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PERSONAL NETWORKS AND THE MATERIAL ADAPTATION OF RECENT
IMMIGRANTS: A STUDY OF FILIPINOS IN HAWAII

University of Hawaii

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PERSONAL NETWORKS AND
THE MATERIAL ADAPTATION OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS:
A STUDY OF FILIPINOS IN HAWAII

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how interpersonal networks influence the process of obtaining a source of income and of establishing adequate housing arrangements among immigrants in the predominantly secondary sector of a host society. Data on recent Ilokano immigrants to Honolulu were obtained from a 1981 survey with 1,484 individuals belonging to 853 households. Detailed case histories were obtained on 45 cases drawn from the survey sample which, together with participant observation, provide the qualitative data base in this multi-method study.

Rather than viewing the migrant as an individual suddenly thrown into a totally alien context, the study focuses on the cushioning mechanisms that mediate in the initial transitions of new immigrants. We examine reliance on personal network contacts as a major resource, in a context that includes formal sources of assistance, which influences the immigrant's ability to arrange housing and to obtain employment.

The current family-oriented migration is very diverse in comparison with earlier arrivals. Although recent immigrants are closely connected with the plantation and the professional workers, as a group, they are distinctive.

Their exposure to urban life varies markedly, they represent all levels of education, they arrive at all possible ages and stages in the life cycle, their previous work is diverse, and both males and females are equally represented. The recent immigrants are part of a steady flow of traffic which is maintained between origin and destination.

Major mechanisms for obtaining and maintaining affordable housing in a tight housing market are the widespread sharing of common dwelling units between households, household extension, and the domestic configuration of the shadow household complex. For obtaining employment, personal network contacts are heavily relied upon to locate jobs. The presence of free or inexpensive domestic labor for housework or child care makes low-wage employment worthwhile. Thus, multiple earners in the household, especially working in different types of industry, improves the household's ability to weather fluctuations which accompany secondary sector employment.

Both survey data and qualitative material provide evidence of the importance of interpersonal connections. The qualitative results, in particular, provide strong evidence of the pervasive role of networks in material adaptation processes. We also find that, despite widely disparate individual backgrounds and attributes of recent immigrants, their material situation in Hawaii reflects a restricted range of outcomes. A hypothesis of the

double-edged effect of networks is developed to explain this pattern. Further examination of this tentative explanation is suggested.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CPI	consumer price index
DPED	Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development
DLIR	Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations
EWPI	East-West Population Institute
HDS	Honolulu Destination Survey
HSPA	Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association
INS	U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service
LHM	life history matrix
NCSO	Philippine National Census and Statistics Office
OEO	Hawaii Office of Employment Opportunity
OHR	Honolulu Office of Human Resources
SISC	Hawaii State Immigrant Services Center
SMS	Survey & Marketing Services, Inc.
SMSA	standard statistical metropolitan area

PREFACE

When concise English terminology does not exist, Ilokano words are used and explained at the first occurrence. Equivalent terms in other languages, often Tagalog, are identified in footnotes as necessary. On occasion, Hawaii pidgin is also used. Unless otherwise indicated, however, all foreign words and phrases are Ilokano. Pseudonyms are used for individuals and establishments cited to maintain the anonymity of respondents.

1. OVERVIEW

The geographic relocation of individuals to a new social context requires adaptation. It is essential for migrants to establish a niche at the destination. At the same time, the host society has to somehow integrate the newly arrived outsiders into the existing social system. Because of these ramifications, adaptation processes have received much attention from social researchers as well as from policy makers and social service providers.

Migrant adaptation studies have, over the years, broadened their scope from a preponderance of individual assimilation-oriented studies to a increasing body of research with a strong structural orientation as well. This development has, in turn, led to a growing recognition that more work needs to be done before a comfortable fit between these levels of explanation is attained. We are currently at a stage where intermediate-level processes require careful attention.

Although essential in explaining the process of adaptation, day-to-day interpersonal network mechanisms are generally neglected in immigration research.¹ Within the

¹ Among the few exceptions to this trend are Anderson's (1974) work with Portuguese in Canada and Kritz and Gurak (1984) on Colombians and Dominicans in New York.

limits of systemic structural constraints, this study examines the role of interpersonal networks, primarily those based on kinship, among recent immigrants in the process of getting settled at the receiving society. Rather than viewing the migrant as an individual suddenly thrown into a totally alien context, this study focuses on the cushioning mechanisms that mediate in the initial transitions of new immigrants.

Although the nature of close personal ties implies a wide range of social, psychological, and economic consequences, this study emphasizes the process of material adaptation among recent Filipino immigrants to Honolulu. It focuses on patterns of reliance, particularly on personal network contacts as a major resource in a context that includes formal assistance sources, which influence the immigrant's ability to arrange housing and to obtain employment. It examines mechanisms and processes at the interpersonal level as they impinge on individual behavior patterns. Furthermore, it situates these configurations in a structural context which imposes restrictions on individual achievement and satisfaction as adaptation outcomes.

Research Focus

This section establishes the focus of the study and outlines the analytical facets into which immigrant adaptation is subdivided.

Background

Choldin [1973:170] identifies the three aspects of adjustment that the migrant must make as material adjustment, morale, and the formation of new social networks. Although these areas are closely related, the major focus of this study is material adjustment, or "that aspect ... in which the migrant obtains the simple requisites of life in the city, particularly a residence and a source of income" [Choldin, 1973:170]. Thus, domestic configurations are examined, being the locus of residential arrangements, and employment profiles are examined as the primary source of immigrant income.

The social network of an immigrant is defined broadly to include informal, face-to-face interaction partners of the individual. These include kinsmen and co-dwellers, friends and ritual kinsmen, neighbors and co-workers. Substantial overlapping occurs among these roles, and in specific situations, it is necessary to also define bounded groups within which individuals are located. The family, the household, and the set of co-dwellers are examples of these.

Facets of Material Adaptation

In this study, material adaptation is delineated into three facets:

- identifying needs and resources
- examining response processes, and
- assessing adaptation outcomes.

First, we focus on the needs of recent immigrants. In identifying adaptation requirements, the situation upon arrival is examined, with housing and employment as major considerations. Formal and informal resources are also surveyed. The following specific aspects are addressed:

- The nature of problems encountered by immigrants which require assistance,
- Whether and to what extent public assistance sources are used, and
- Whether and what alternative resources are used.

We then detail the response processes in the domestic context, while explicitly taking into account the influence of continuing ties with the origin. Employment processes are situated within the larger context of labor market conditions as a possible structural constraint within which networks assist in employment seeking. In particular, housing and employment, as the main requisites of material adaptation, are examined to identify:

- Mechanisms for obtaining and maintaining affordable housing in a tight housing market

- Mechanisms for obtaining and sustaining employment, often at the low end of the pay scale, and
- Relationships of these mechanisms with immigrants' material resources.

Finally, some objective and subjective adaptation outcomes are assessed in a multivariate framework for comparative purposes. We examine the effects of variation in duration at the destination, of transferability of relevant individual attributes between geographic boundaries, and of different structural positions--defined as occupation--in the host society. The contribution of networks to a specific outcome--job placement--is also assessed.

The three major foci correspond to identifying areas of need, processes in response to such needs, and outcomes resulting from this interaction, viewed in light of individual, interpersonal, and structural considerations.

Empirical Basis

A 1981 survey of 1,484 Ilokano migrants in Honolulu provides baseline data on immigrant characteristics and experiences. These are interwoven with qualitative data obtained from two-part, taped interviews with 45 cases drawn from the original survey respondents which provide detailed case-oriented data. The intensive interviews were designed to obtain migration, employment, and housing histories in

greater detail by utilizing a life history matrix. Data which were lacking in the survey, particularly information about reliance on personal networks upon arrival and on obligations to family members, were also obtained. The continuity available from the reinterviews thus provided insights that led to a more productive utilization of the broad-based survey data. Direct unstructured observation carried out at the same time provided first-hand information on actual day-to-day informal interactions which, in many instances, have a bearing on the material well-being of the subjects of the study.

A Multi-Method Approach

This study integrates both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The basic strategy for analysis is to use both survey and field observation or reinterview information to arrive at a holistic picture of material adaptation processes as outlined above.

More specifically, the survey contributes to the understanding of qualitative observations in two ways: (1) by demonstrating the generality of a single observation, and (2) by the verification of field interpretations [Sieber, 1973: 1355-1356]. Conversely, qualitative observations provide (1) a verification of survey findings, especially "when the finding is both surprising and strategic," and (2) illustrations of statistical and historical types that are derived from survey analysis [Sieber, 1973:1346].

This constitutes a multi-method study which "combines fundamentally different types of data to bolster a finding or to provide quasi-replication" [Sullivan and Tienda, 1984:14]. Case material and field observation interwoven with survey findings constitute the basis of the analysis, supplemented with occasional use of government statistics (see Chapter 3).

This study is exploratory in the sense that social networks are examined both in their capacity as influences on material adaptation, and simultaneously as being shaped by existing conditions to which immigrants must adapt. Thus, although later multivariate analysis defines adaptation as a dependent variable, there is a need to examine the two-way direction of effects which, at this stage, is best performed in an exploratory manner. Because social networks are an intermediate level of analysis, we must situate them with the other two levels (individual and structural). The descriptive analyses take into account these three levels:

- the personal or individual characteristics typically used in assimilation studies (such as sex, education, age at arrival, work experience, and length of residence at the destination),
- the structural features of the receiving society, specifically the characteristics of the labor market, which impose constraints on individual adaptation outcomes, and

- the social network (or bounded group) as a mechanism that brings about an accommodation between individual propensities and systemic conditions.

Because little is known about how networks influence adaptation outcomes, and less yet about how adaptation affects network formation, our principal goal in this study is to document and interpret the significance of interpersonal ties in the process of immigrant adaptation.

The wealth of information available from the case studies is used to describe the processes and relationships involved in various adaptive arrangements that immigrants are able to devise. The survey provides a data base on which to test the more general viability of suggestions and insights, without which our findings would be limited to a few cases. Unless otherwise indicated, interpretations of the data are derived from case studies and field experience, while the survey data, more often, are used to assess such interpretations.

Testing of objective and subjective measures of material adaptation outcomes is also carried out in a multivariate framework by using analysis of covariance and ordinary least-squares regression with random indicator (dummy) variables to estimate effects of specific predictors. Because these analyses are constrained by the availability of measures from the survey data (which were collected for a different purpose), and because not enough is known about

these processes to justify an a priori model, the study does not test specific hypotheses.

This study is designed to generate hypotheses from a careful examination of processes. Because most of such findings are derived from specific and detailed chains of events, the qualitative material remain the major foundation in an array of data that includes different types.

Organization of Chapters

Chapter 2 reviews three areas of theoretical and empirical concern as dimensions underlying the focus of this study. Time, geographical location, and level of analysis are examined in the interest of relating our study to other areas of research. In so doing, sources of explanation and areas needing further examination are identified.

Chapter 3 details the data sources, heuristic devices, and analytic methods used in the study. It describes the survey and reinterview data upon which the study is based.

A general background on Philippine migration, particularly to the U.S. and Hawaii, is provided in Chapter 4. This sets up a broader context into which this study's empirical findings can be extended or restricted.

Chapter 5 examines background conditions to immigration in the form of life events and characteristics of immigrants relevant for migration to Hawaii. It also examines how these attributes change after migration.

In Chapter 6, the mechanics of relocating to Hawaii are described with emphasis on the intricate linkages of recent migrants with the much earlier plantation workers and with the less numerous but equally essential immigrant professionals.

Chapter 7 examines areas of difficulty experienced by recent arrivals, and the extent to which formal resources and social supports or personal networks are relied upon in addressing these problems.

Domestic manifestations of material adaptation processes are covered in Chapter 8. These include physical dwelling arrangements, household dynamics which are often governed by economic considerations, and family-oriented obligations which typically involve links with absent family members.

Chapter 9 describes employment-seeking processes, typical employment patterns, and structural constraints in the work situation. Because gender differences are often major, some of this analysis is done separately for males and females.

A multivariate framework is employed in Chapter 10 to examine the correlates of objective and subjective measures of material adaptation outcomes. This analysis relies on survey data.

The final chapter summarizes the substantive findings and reviews them in light of the theoretical dimensions examined in Chapter 2. It also discusses the implications for concept, methodology, and policy, and identifies priority areas requiring further research.

2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter begins with a brief summary of perspectives on immigrant adaptation. It then identifies three dimensions which cut across this study of interpersonal linkages and the material adaptation of recent immigrants. The broad considerations of time, locale, and analytic level correspond to areas of ongoing research and theoretical development which inform our study, and to which our findings can make a contribution through empirical documentation and further refinement of conceptual issues.

Perspectives on Immigrant Adaptation

Two major perspectives on population movement in general give rise to methodological and conceptual dissimilarities which are evident in the approaches to the study of migrant adaptation. The equilibrium model, of neoclassical economic origins, conceptualizes population movements as "the geographical mobility of workers who are responding to imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, labor, capital, and natural resources" [Wood, 1982:300], while the historical-structural perspective is informed by global dependency theory, where

Rather than treating migration as a discrete dimension of social reality that can be subjected to separate investigation, the perspective assumes

that population movement can only be examined in the context of historical analysis of the broader structural transformations underway in a particular social formation. [Wood, 1982:301-302]

When we narrow the focus on immigrant adaptation in particular, the equilibrium perspective is reflected in what is collectively known as the assimilationist school, where the situation of immigrants is defined as one involving a clash between conflicting values and norms, and adaptation occurs when the "new cultural forms are gradually absorbed by immigrants" [Portes, 1984:29].

The historical-structural perspective is congruent with the ethnic-resilience hypothesis on immigrant adaptation. Immigrants and their descendants experience rejection in their attempts to become fully assimilated, and this leads to the reconstitution of ethnic culture, such that "immigrant minorities come to rely on in-group cohesiveness and cultural reassertion as the only effective means to break out of their situation" [Portes, 1984:36].

Because one framework has an individualistic focus and the other is macro-structural, many research findings are difficult to reconcile. As Wood points out, "they are two academic communities that speak utterly different languages for which there is no common idiom" [1982:312].

The major undertaking of this study is to help bridge the gap between these foci. In addition, material adaptation is related to other areas of research concern which we need to identify.

Underlying Dimensions

Although this study addresses only a limited range of adaptation phenomena, it is useful at this point to identify key dimensions which underlie them for two major reasons:

- (1) To situate the study in the stream of ongoing "research, and
- (2) To identify sources of theoretical explanation and indicate the extent to which they might apply to the problem at hand.

Each of the following dimensions reflects a continuum along which our focus can be identified.

Time: Immigration and Ethnicity

Immigration is often a brief, sometimes sporadic period within the time frame of an ethnic group's relationship with a host environment. Chain migration, in particular, occurs in the midst of an ongoing stream--a characteristic which implies the prior existence of relationships between the immigrant group and the host society. Typically, such a relationship takes the form of a minority group vis-a-vis a broadly defined mainstream society. The character of pre-existing ethnic relations then becomes a major consideration in how new immigrants are received. By the same token, the attributes and magnitude of an immigrant stream influence the existing pattern of ethnic or minority relations.

Of the various approaches to immigrant studies, the conceptual framework that most clearly recognizes this interaction is Portes and Manning's [1985] typology² of immigrant modes of structural incorporation. Immigrants finding their way into the primary sector, the secondary sector, the ethnic enclave, or becoming middleman minorities is neither solely a function of prevailing conditions in the receiving society, nor of immigrant characteristics. Rather, it derives from the interplay of both--a process which is often reflected in the character of ethnic communities.

Thus, over the long term development of ethnic relations, immigration represents a brief but intense period which is conditioned by pre-existing group relations at the same time that it can influence the group's future position in the receiving society.

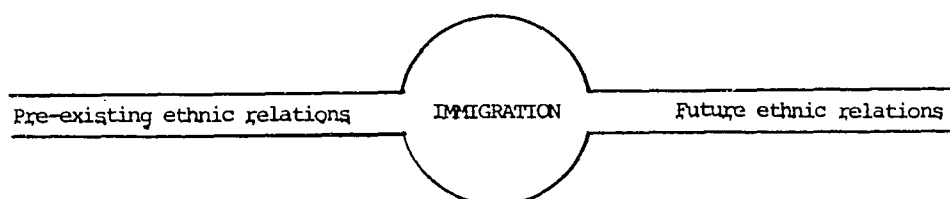
Hirschman is most explicit about clarifying the underlying time dimension on immigrants and minorities:

Studies of immigrant economic progress usually focus upon the short run problems of adaptation to the new environment. Many studies of ethnic and racial stratification tend to look at the long run, with generations rather than years being counted as independent variables. Of course, immigrants become labeled as an ethnic group as their length of local residence grows, but the line is a very indistinct one. [Hirschman, 1982:483]

² This scheme is addressed more fully in Chapter 9, which examines employment patterns.

This observation should serve as a cautionary note in assessing the applicability of related generational studies of minorities to immigrant adaptation outcomes. For instance, models explaining earnings of second and third generation ethnics, or even of Blacks and other resident minorities, should be carefully evaluated before attempting to apply them to immigrants. Even more stringent precautions need to be taken with explanations derived from mainstream populations.

To summarize, the following diagram identifies the focus of this study along a time dimension which takes the form of ethnic or minority relations at the receiving society over time:



A. Time Dimension: Ethnic Relations

The period with which we are concerned in this study is the middle of the diagram (immigration).

Locale: Destination Conditions and Ties with the Origin

Ties with origin is much neglected in migration studies, where focus is often limited to wherever the immigrant is located. While this is easily justifiable, it is unduly restrictive in scope and as a source of explanations. A notable exception to this tendency is the world system perspective on migration, which views international migration as a historical relationship of interdependence between "core" and "periphery" societies [Pessar, 1982:342]. At this level of abstraction, however, it has limited research utility for immigrant adaptation.

Rather than singularly limiting ourselves to the immigrant's current location, it is useful to think in terms of the immigrant's place of origin, the ties that continue to bind, and their possible influences on the immigrant's current adaptation process.

In organizing observations pertaining to individuals at the origin and destination, we need to treat both the sending society and the immigrant's situation as parts of a common analytical framework [Philpott, 1968:466]. This is implicit in the classic work, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America [Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927], which incorporates factors at the sending society in a detailed account of prevailing conditions among turn-of-the-century Polish immigrants and their links with the old country. In a more recent work which traces the emergence of the Korean

community in New York, Kim [1981] also relies heavily on contemporaneous conditions in Korea. He juxtaposes these with processes ongoing in the receiving society. However, because origin conditions are commonly regarded at the societal and broad institutional levels, their full potential for explaining immigrant adaptation remains unfulfilled.

In order to address this deficiency, we need to be able to identify more direct and observable links within social entities which span geographically separate areas. Wood [1982] argues that the household is such a unit, and Pessar [1982] implicitly defines an 'international migrant household' to include members in different geographic locations.

Our approach has been to explicitly go beyond the usual definition of a household as individuals sharing a common residence:

... [W]hen one or more members of a household migrate but there continues to be a significant degree of participation by the migrant(s) in the activities of the household of origin, it becomes possible to regard the household as having a bi-local or multi-local structure. [Caces, et al., 1985:3]

The concept of a shadow household complex which emerges from this situation includes all persons committed to one unit, but a unit which can be analytically decomposed into a co-residing component and a 'shadow household' component. The shadow household consists of all individuals who share

their principal commitments and obligations with a particular household complex, but who do not presently share the same residence. The original formulation of the shadow household complex defines the co-residential component at the origin. In this study, we shift the locus to the destination. Figure 1 adapts the notion of the shadow household to immigrant households³ at the destination.

The crucial ties that bind take the form of mutual commitments and obligations. Although these connections tend to change over time, their impact is often strongest during the first few years following migration. Hence, they need to be explicitly recognized as factors in the immigrant adaptation process.

Because this study focuses on immigrants at the destination, it does not systematically examine the shadow household complex as a unit. However, it addresses various manifestations of commitments and obligations to members located elsewhere, particularly as these are reflected in the immigrants' remittance and visiting patterns, as well as in their efforts to reunite the household complex at the destination (or, less commonly, by return migration). Again, these behavioral arrangements simultaneously influence and are affected by the process of immigrant adaptation, and the fact that a different locale is involved

³ Hereafter, to avoid confusion, household is used to refer to the more common usage of co-residing individuals, while the [shadow] household complex refers to the larger multi-local unit defined above.

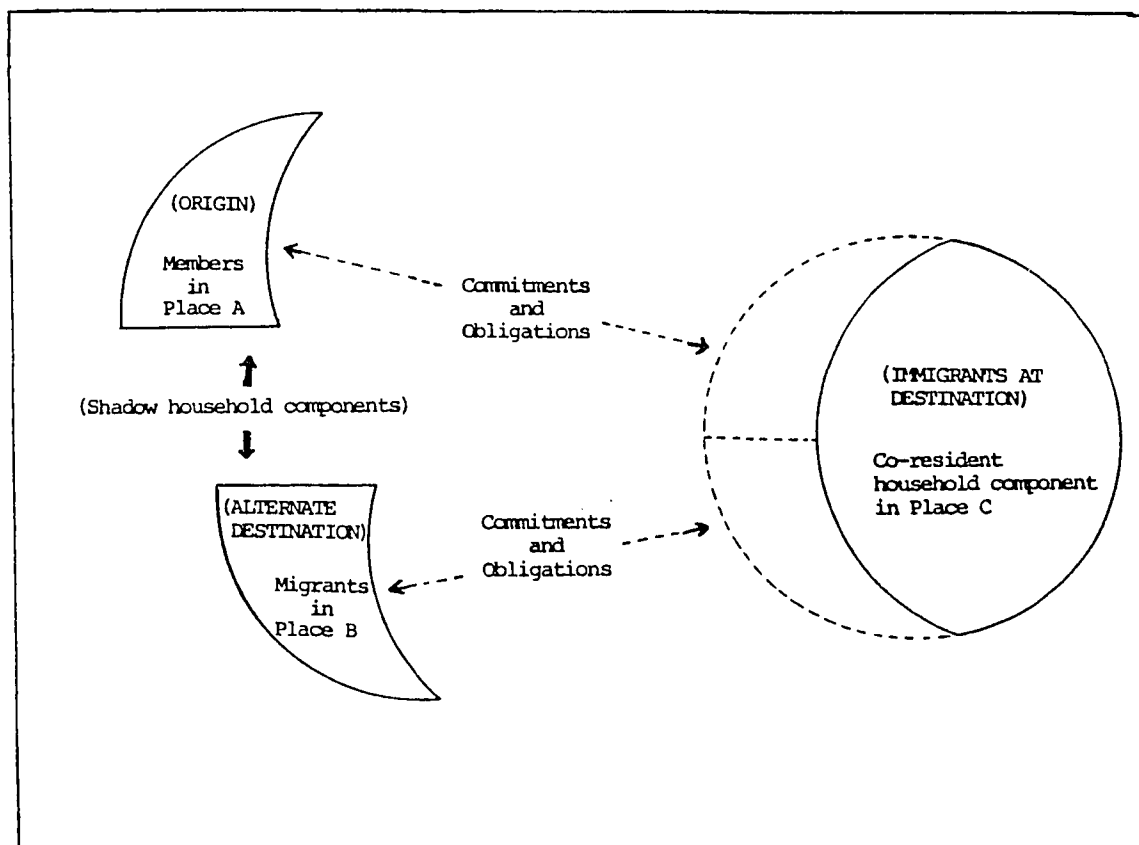


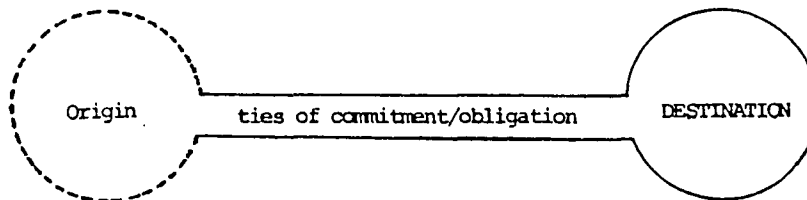
Figure 1: A Multilocal Shadow Household Complex

does not diminish their significance.

Beyond the confines of the shadow household complex, the more generalized influence of origin conditions on immigrant adaptation outcomes, especially on subjective assessments, is likely to persist, at least in the short run.

Along the geographical dimension that underlies our study, we concentrate on conditions at the destination, but recognize a relationship with the origin which might help

explain observed patterns of adaptation. The following diagram identifies the circled area as our main focus:



B. Geographic Dimension: Location of Significant Others

Levels of analysis: Individual-Structural Continuum

The third dimension involves different levels of analysis and the continuing effort to link such levels in order to arrive at more refined explanations for observed patterns.

Two opposing tendencies have characterized immigration research: one emphasizes individual choices and outcomes, while the other emphasizes the structural conditions that make certain choices and outcomes possible.

It is now increasingly recognized that an understanding of migration phenomena "must encompass both the determinants of the parameters of behavior and the factors that motivate individual actors" [Wood, 1982:312]. This requires the identification of mediating social units between structural factors and individual social units [Pessar, 1982:348]. Thus, there is a pressing need for the empirical examination of concepts which would bridge these gaps and lead to a more

integrated perspective [see Collins, 1981; Wood, 1982]. Before identifying these mechanisms, we will briefly review the emergence of this intermediate argument.

Early adaptation studies have implicitly assumed that the 'uprooted' individual migrant, commonly of rural origin and bound for an urban destination, is suddenly faced with drastic adjustment to mass society. According to this view, "a hypothetical villager is to be dropped into the heart [of a city] to assimilate or perish" [Abu-Lughod, 1961:23]. However, empirical findings suggest the important role played by mediating parties and factors in the adjustment process.

In Egypt, Abu-Lughod [1961:23] points out the tendency of villagers to "build for themselves within the city a replica of the culture they left behind." Gans [1962] finds a similar situation among inner city Italian-Americans whom he refers to as "urban villagers." Tilly and Brown [1967] report the prevalence of "auspices" among Delaware migrants. Even among 19th century migrants who, thus far, have been viewed largely as rootless, individualistic wanderers, Darroch [1981] finds evidence of the involvement of families and kinship networks.

These observations imply various linkages between the individual and the systemic levels. Wood [1982] suggests the analysis of household sustenance strategies. The notion of social network has also been advanced as a concept for

precisely the purpose of linking the structural level with the individual level [Collins, 1981; Freeman, 1972].

The social network focuses on interaction sets, rather than individuals, as the key building blocks of social structure [Mitchell, 1969:2]. It is not, therefore, restricted to bounded groups (such as families and households), although it can subsume their members. Many of the network characteristics apply to the relationships within a household, family, or a similar bounded group, since, from any individual member's point of view, the group's members constitute a major part of his or her personal network. However, a network, broadly defined, extends beyond the bounded groups. As Boissevain points out:

... the personal network of an ego is made up of his various relatives. At the same time, there are other linkages with persons he knows from his place of work..., from his neighborhood, and so on, ... [and] the relations that ego maintains in his network are qualitatively diverse. [1968:546]

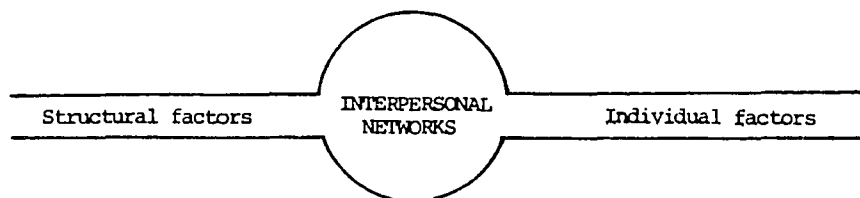
While increasing numbers of studies are beginning to address interpersonal ties (sometimes defined as household strategies or as mechanisms of social support), they have met with mixed results, particularly as a variable in multivariate models of adaptation.⁴ Part of this difficulty may stem from our limited understanding of how networks

⁴ See, for example, Choldin [1973], Kritz and Gurak [1984], Gurak and Kritz [1982], and Tienda [1980].

actually function among immigrants--a process which is only minimally documented.

The major work that sheds light on the process itself is Lomnitz's [1977] landmark study which demonstrates how networks of reciprocal exchange "counteract the vicissitudes of poverty by evening out the risks of uncertainty and insecurity" among shantytown dwellers in Mexico [Wolf in Lomnitz, 1977:xii]. No analogous study has been done on international migrants. Although both situations share underlying similarities, there are sufficient divergencies to warrant a close examination of analogous processes among immigrants. If commonalities are found, then the argument is made all the more convincing. On the other hand, if further distinctions are required, we still gain from a refinement of the conceptual premises.

The core of this study documents the role of interpersonal networks, including those imbedded in kinship and household formations, in the initial adaptation of immigrants. For purposes of delineating our focus on a continuum of analytic levels, the following diagram identifies the intermediate area of interpersonal networks as our emphasis:



C. Levels of Analysis

Synthesis

Bringing together the dimensions outlined above, this study is situated at the intersection of three interrelated but sufficiently distinct crosscurrents of research.

Material adaptation is examined

- in a relatively short and immediate time frame
- at the receiving society, but cognizant of forces operating from a distance, and
- incorporating intermediate level processes which attempt to link individual and structural explanations.

We now turn to the sociological underpinnings of interpersonal connections. The foundation of such linkages lies in mutual expectations, obligations, and commitments. Social exchange theory provides a conceptual framework for explaining the mechanics of reliance on interpersonal networks.

Although the social exchange tradition traces its roots to individual utilitarian conceptions of market conditions

in the 18th century, major modifications have since evolved, particularly from social anthropological research. Two concepts developed by Levi-Strauss [1969] are integral to structural exchange theory and are germane to this study.

First, various forms of social structure rather than individual motives are considered the critical variables in the study of exchange relations [Turner, 1982:207]. Although individually oriented actions and decisions are commonly encountered, this formulation allows us to regard supra-individual units, such as the family or the household, as possible units of maximization. Economists have also begun to recognize this, as is evident in the notion of 'diversification of the portfolio' [Stark, 1982] in an economic explanation of migration decisions at the household level. For example, low individual incomes pooled at the household level might generate a sense of adequacy well beyond what one might expect given marginal individual earnings in isolation. Individual behavior which initially appears to be inexplicable, irrational, or extremely altruistic can be very logical when assessed from the point of view of a social unit such as the family or the household.

Second, exchange relations in social systems are frequently not restricted to direct interaction among individuals, but are protracted into complex networks of indirect exchange [Turner, 1982:208]. The classic mutual

reciprocity model could only explain a small part of kinship social exchange behavior [Ekeh, 1974:204]. Univocal reciprocation, on the other hand,

... implies generalized duties to others (Y¹) from whom one (X¹) cannot expect the fulfillment of one's (X¹) rights, although eventually the rights (of X¹) will be forthcoming from some other source (Z¹). [Ekeh, 1974:205-206]

To this, we should add that indirect exchanges can take place over an extended and indefinite period of time and, particularly with migration, across geographic distances.

Whether direct or univocal, it is useful to distinguish between different types of reciprocal exchange. Using lowland Philippine data, Hollnsteiner [1964] distinguishes utang na loob,⁵ or reciprocity out of a sense of gratitude, from contractual and quasi-contractual reciprocity. It is characterized by "unequal repayment with no prior agreement, explicit or implicit, on the form or quantity of the return" [Hollnsteiner, 1964:40]. Under these conditions, reciprocation with interest by the initially indebted party generates a reversal of the situation of indebtedness. The former creditor now becomes indebted. With the same set of rules in operation, a see-sawing relationship can thus be maintained indefinitely.

The distinction between market transactions and other modes of transaction is an important one in explaining the durability of interpersonal network exchanges. The classic

⁵ This Tagalog term loosely translates to a debt of gratitude.

market transaction is an anonymous one, whereas the family is "the locale of transactions in which identity dominates" [Ben-Porath, 1981:1]. The 'family connection' is characterized as follows:

- It extends over long periods of time, but the duration is not specified in advance,
 - The connection generally encompasses a large variety of activities.
 - Not all terms of the contract are specified explicitly--most activities are contingent on events and are decided sequentially.
 - The highly interdependent elements of the contract exist as a package; and prices cannot be used as multipliers or weights for adding up all the various elements of the contract.
 - There is no balancing of individual components, there is no running quid pro quo. Instead, large outstanding balances are tolerated; when and how these balances are liquidated remains open.
 - Enforcement is mostly internal, although the contract is supported to some extent by the family of origin and by other social forces.
 - To varying degrees, the family contract creates a collective identity that affects the transactions of each member with people outside the family.
 - The most important characteristic of the family contract is that it is imbedded in the identity of the partners, without which it loses its meaning. It is thus specific and nonnegotiable or nontransferable.
- [Ben-Porath, 1981:3]

This list is worth quoting in its entirety because it extends to other interpersonal contacts as well, and it

provides guidelines for explaining why personal networks are likely to be reliable resources in the material adaptation of migrants. With the exception of some affinal bonds, the family connection is permanent, and as such it represents the extreme in a continuum of informal contacts, with the other extreme being the casual, short duration encounter.

Social exchange mechanisms are of wide applicability, and they are particularly relevant to a large proportion of immigrants. Because many migrants are of rural origins, traditional obligations and expectations of network assistance tend to be more pronounced. These are manifested in the process which allows individuals to migrate as well as in the interaction between newly arrived immigrants and their kinsmen. The non-market interpretation of exchange relations provides a basic guide which helps organize our observations.

Throughout the study, interpretations are informed by the underlying dimensions outlined earlier in this chapter. At the conclusion of the study, we will return to them in order to assess our findings in a broader research context. The next chapter discusses data sources and the methods used.

3. DATA AND METHODS

This chapter describes sources of data, procedures for primary data collection, and the interrelationships among the data sources.

The study utilizes an already existing survey data set on recent Filipino immigrants to Hawaii. In addition, this pool was used to identify a small subsample for follow-up interviews which collected more detailed information focusing on personal networks and material adaptation processes. In-depth interviews with 45 respondents were carried out two years after the survey. Field observation was also conducted at the same time.

The general approach taken in the following descriptions and analyses is to use the survey data, whenever available, to approximate prevalence and the case history, observation, and other qualitative data to establish processes. The qualitative information provide a rich source of explanations that validate quantitative trends or raise further questions about taken-for-granted relationships. These findings also suggest various angles from which to approach multivariate statistical models of adaptation using survey data.

The integration of qualitative and quantitative insights is a sociological ideal of long standing. For sociology in general, Sieber [1973] argues convincingly for this integration, because every technique has inherent weaknesses that can be corrected only by crosschecking with other techniques. He suggests that "the traditional design of field work might need to be modified to take advantage of a survey," and vice versa [Sieber, 1973:1358].

For immigrant studies in particular, Sullivan and Tienda [1984] present a strong case for multi-method studies on the basis of the complementarity between qualitative (usually diachronic) and quantitative (usually synchronic) methods. Perhaps the most recent illustration of this methodological combination is Massey's [1984] study of the settlement process of Mexican migrants to the United States. He calls the method "ethnosurvey," which

... combines intensive ethnographic study of a particular community with representative survey sampling in order to generate ethnographically informed quantitative data on social processes operating at the local level. Strictly speaking, the ethnosurvey is neither ethnography nor sample survey, but a marriage of these two complementary approaches.... In design as well as analysis the two approaches inform one another, so that one's weaknesses become the other's strengths. In the end, the data that emerge have much greater validity than would be provided by either method standing alone. [Massey, 1984:3]

Our study is designed to make an explicit connection between survey data and case material from the same sample. What distinguishes this method from most related studies is

the extraction of the ethnographic material from a known population. In a manner of speaking, the qualitative material represents a swatch from a known fabric which we can then subject to close scrutiny. In addition, my being a native speaker of Ilokano and having the same ethnic and social background as the subjects of our study facilitate participant observation and greatly enhance the interpretation of existing data. However, while such intimacy is an invaluable source of insights, it can, as easily, become a source of bias. Hence, other sources of data (notably the sample survey and existing statistical information) are essential ingredients for balanced analysis and interpretation. The next sections describe in detail these major sources.

The Honolulu Destination Survey

The East-West Population Institute (EWPI) conducted a survey of 1,484 post-1964 immigrants to Honolulu from the Ilocos Region of the Philippines in 1981. The Honolulu Destination Survey (HDS)⁶ is part of a three-year longitudinal study of a Philippine migration system which started with an origin-area survey of Ilocos Norte province in 1980, destination surveys at Honolulu and Manila in 1981 (being the major international and internal destinations of

⁶ Hereafter, any references to survey respondents pertain to the Honolulu Destination Survey, unless otherwise specified.

Ilokano migrants), and reinterview and tracking surveys in Ilocos Norte, Honolulu, and Manila in 1982 and 1983.⁷

Sampling Scheme

Individuals residing in Honolulu with the following characteristics were considered eligible respondents for the survey:

- born in an Ilocos province⁸
- arrived in Hawaii no earlier than 1965
- at least 17 but not older than 64 upon arrival, and
- at least 17 but not older than 65 at the time of interview.

Individuals with these characteristics are rare elements of the general Oahu population, and prior indications show an uneven geographic distribution across the island. Thus, the sampling design had to take these factors into account.⁹

The initial sampling frame included all Honolulu census tracts containing non-institutional resident civilians (136 tracts). To obtain a more geographically detailed sampling

⁷ This research project was jointly funded by the U.S. National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NIH Grant 1R01HD13115-01A1) and the Population Center Foundation in Manila, Philippines. For a more detailed description of the Philippine Migration Study, see Fawcett, et al. [198] and De Jong, et al. [1983].

⁸ Abra, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, or La Union.

⁹ Sampling and fieldwork were conducted by Survey & Marketing Services, Inc. (also known as SMS Research), a private survey firm. Detailed procedures are described in a technical report by SMS [1982].

frame, these tracts were translated into "blocks" using information from the Honolulu Office of Human Resources (OHR) Block Survey conducted in 1979, resulting in 1,521 blocks. The expected probability of locating households containing at least one Filipino immigrant was estimated for each of these blocks. To measure this, a ratio of these target households to the total number of dwelling units in the block was calculated. The probability estimates for all blocks ranged between zero and .73. Only 383 blocks had estimates greater than zero, and of these, 246 blocks had estimates lower than .15.

Due to cost considerations and the uneven distribution of the immigrant population, the secondary sampling frame only included blocks with probability estimates of .15 or better for locating households with at least one Filipino immigrant. There were 137 such blocks in 50 census tracts. From this pool, 105 blocks in 39 census tracts were randomly chosen. Smaller clusters of about 20 households each were further identified within these blocks to facilitate fieldwork. In effect, the sample excluded potential subjects residing in areas with a low density of households containing a Filipino immigrant.

It is thus necessary to assess the effect of restricting the sample to higher-density areas. Comparisons using the OHR survey data indicate that Filipino immigrant households in high density areas have characteristics similar to those

in low density areas [SMS, 1982:29]. However, there is evidence that high density area residents are slightly less affluent: home ownership was lower, unemployment slightly higher, household income slightly lower, and household size somewhat larger. These differences have to be considered in interpreting results from the Honolulu Destination Survey. Hence, when statistical information is available from other sources on comparable variables, appropriate comparisons are made.

Survey Data Units

Face-to-face interviews were conducted by a team of trained bilingual Ilokano interviewers, all of whom were also immigrants, over a six-month period from May to October in 1981. Survey data were gathered at the household level as well as at the individual level. The household was defined as any set of persons having shared dwelling and cooking arrangements.¹⁰

Screening information was obtained for each adult member of 1,385 Filipino households. By the eligibility criteria outlined earlier, 853 (62%) of these households were found to contain at least one eligible respondent.

The 853 eligible households contained 2,689 adult members, over half (59%) of whom were eligible respondents. Of the 1,583 eligible adults identified in these households,

¹⁰ Chapter 8 examines the complexities of household and domestic arrangements in detail.

93% completed the individual questionnaire. The remaining 7% included potential respondents who were unavailable after 3 attempts, were temporarily absent at the time of the interviews, refused to be interviewed, or were later found to be ineligible.

About half (51%) of the households had one individual respondent interviewed. Thirty-three percent had two respondents, and the remainder (17%) had three or more respondents.

Households.

Household level data were obtained from the first available adult who could provide information on adult members' names and attributes, and on the household's characteristics. Thus, the household informant may or may not have been the household head. In fact, only 45% of the household informants were household heads. Likewise, the household informant may or may not have been eligible for the individual questionnaires. Fourteen percent of such informants were ineligible for various reasons, which included being born outside the Ilocos region, arriving in Hawaii before 1965, arriving before age 17, or being over the age limits.

Besides providing screening information for identifying eligible respondents, household informants were asked about remittances by all household members, household earnings, current household condition, and housing details.

Individuals.

The individual questionnaire collected data on a wide range of attributes, experiences, and expectations, particularly those relating to migration to Hawaii. Of particular interest for this study are the basic background variables age, sex, education, and life cycle stage; household composition; location of family members; the respondent's position in the migration chain; reported utilization of particular assistance programs; reported problematic experiences in the areas of housing and employment; occupation and earnings in Hawaii; and subjective assessments of life in Hawaii.

Individual interviews took an average of one hour and twenty minutes to complete. There was, however, a large variation in interview time depending on respondent characteristics. The shortest interviews took as little as a half-hour, and were usually with single, literate individuals with short mobility histories. On the opposite extreme, interviews took as much as two and a half hours. Older persons with many children, many previous migrations, and who had reading difficulty¹¹ generally took longer to complete the interview.

¹¹ One intricate section of the questionnaire (on values and expectancies) was administered using cards which the respondent had to read and rate. When the respondent could not read, the items were read by the interviewer and the interview was considerably slowed.

The 1983-84 Honolulu Adaptation Study: Case Histories

The first phase of this study required a preliminary analysis of 1981 survey information relevant to material adjustment in order to identify an appropriate sample for case histories and to determine data constraints. Preliminary results indicated that the individual respondents are classifiable into a few who initiated the migration chain ("key" migrants), a larger number who came as "links" in the chain, and an equally large number who appear to be at the "end" of the migration chain. These types were characterized primarily by a combination of two variables: number of persons preceding the immigrant, and length of residence in Hawaii. These were, in turn, thought likely to reflect differing patterns of material adjustment. Thus, the overriding consideration in selecting case history subjects was maximizing comparisons between categories of migrants which were known to be unevenly represented in the 1981 random sample.

Identifying Cases for Reinterview

Individual respondents in the 1981 survey were stratified into eight groups to ensure adequate representation of immigrants who had few and who had many kinsmen at the time of arrival, and at the same time cut across different arrival cohorts.

Relatives preceding a respondent to Hawaii were weighted according to closeness of their affinity,¹² so that for each respondent, a summary measure of strength of the kinship network at arrival was derived. Each respondent was also assigned to one of four broad arrival cohorts which in turn directly translated to number of years in Hawaii.

The joint distribution of kinship network strength with years of residence in Hawaii indicated an uneven distribution of respondents between strata. With the exception of the 11- to 16-years in Hawaii group, there were consistently fewer respondents with weak kin relationships at the time of arrival for each arrival cohort (Table 1). There is, in fact, a moderate negative association found between these two variables ($\text{Gamma} = -.279$). This indicates that the early arriving respondents tended to have weaker kin networks than those who arrived later, which is to be expected with chain migration.

Equal-sized samples of ten each were drawn from these strata. Systematic sampling with a random start was performed on each stratum with intervals ranging from 11 to 30. The first six names drawn were sent letters informing them about the reinterviews and were then tracked by an

¹² Each relative preceding the respondent was assigned the following weights: 5 for spouse or fiancé(e), 4 for each parent, child, or sibling, 3 each for parent-in-law, son- or daughter-in-law, or brother- or sister-in-law, 2 for each grandparent, and 2 for all other relatives together, except for grandchildren which were each weighted 1. These were then summed for each respondent.

TABLE 1

Joint Distribution of Kinship Network Strength and Years in
Hawaii

Years in Hawaii	Kinship Network				Total
	Strong		Weak		
	N	%*	N	%*	
0 to 2 years	193	12.9	105	7.0	288
3 to 5 years	187	12.5	122	8.1	309
6 to 10 years	211	14.1	185	12.3	396
11 to 16 years	203	13.5	295	19.7	498
Total	794		707		1501**

* Proportion of total (1,501).

** 17 cases were later deleted after final editing.

interviewer. The remaining four names were kept as replacements who were later similarly contacted as necessary. When, for one reason or another, a designated respondent was unavailable, a replacement from the same stratum was contacted.

Because this sampling scheme did not represent any immigrants arriving after 1981, there was the need to augment this pool with new arrivals. After some exploration, a compromise selection factor was devised. Any adult Ilocos-born member of a reinterview respondent's household who arrived after 1981 was also eligible for interview. Limiting new respondents to members of these households ensured that there was at least some previous

information on the new immigrant's household or other household member(s), thus preserving a longitudinal aspect at the household level. The trade-off, however, was that post-1981 immigrants with weak kinship ties upon arrival were not likely to be found in this manner.

In brief, the broad types of respondents represented in the 1983-84 reinterviews were as follows:

- early arrivals (8 to 18 years in Hawaii) with weak kin ties at the time of arrival [7 cases]
- early arrivals with strong kin ties at the time of arrival [11 cases]
- intermediate arrivals (2 to 7 years in Hawaii) with weak kin ties at the time of arrival [12 cases]
- intermediate arrivals with strong kin ties at the time of arrival [9 cases], and
- new arrivals (0 to 2 years) with strong kin ties at the time of arrival [6 cases].

While many of the reinterview respondents were found in their 1981 addresses, others had undergone various changes. One respondent had died, two had married, another separated. Children were born, and new immigrants had arrived. Some had moved to the mainland, or gone on extended vacations to the Philippines. Houses torn down and new family formation also triggered residential changes. Nonetheless, about three out of four original respondents tracked down were eventually found and interviewed.

In all, the case histories included 19 males and 26 females. A broad age range was represented, with the youngest at 22 years old, and the oldest, 67 years old. all major immigrant occupations were also represented--hotel maids; construction, sugar, and pineapple workers; janitors, custodians, and groundskeepers; food service and sales workers. The subsample also included a computer programmer, a nurse, a keypuncher, and a laundry worker. In addition, there were five housewives, a retired worker, one undergoing training, and another looking for work.

Focus of Case Histories

Taped reinterviews were conducted in two sittings by Ilokano-speaking interviewers. The interviews were designed to yield a predominantly qualitative body of data. The first session obtained details of household arrangements, occupancy of dwelling units, and family composition. Employment and residential histories were collected in conjunction with migration and life cycle events. The remainder of the first interview concentrated on the Honolulu experience.

Notes and tape recordings of the first session were then reviewed. From these, portions of the second session were tailored for each individual case. The interviewers returned to clarify previous answers as well as to explore the respondents' social network ties, commitments,

expenditure patterns, and access to assistance sources. The second interview also explored comparative assessments of life in Honolulu relative to other Filipinos in Hawaii, as well as in comparison with the situation in the Philippines.

Several heuristic devices were employed in obtaining the case histories. A comprehensive interview guide for the first and second parts of the interview provided a checklist of topics to be covered for all respondents, in addition to specific questions on a case-by-case basis (see Appendix A). The interviewers also used a formatted listing, genealogical notation, and a life history matrix.

Formatted listing was an efficient means of counting and describing household members. The household listing form was designed to facilitate the complete listing of all members of the respondent's household and their respective attributes in a single table. Each entry included the name, relationship, age, sex, birthplace, occupation, and year of arrival in Hawaii, for every member of the household.

A simplified genealogy of the respondent's immediate kin was also obtained in order to systematically establish an inventory of family members, regardless of their current location. This minimally included the respondent's parents, siblings, spouse, and children. Current locations of these persons were also obtained. If the family member came to Hawaii, the year of arrival was indicated. When applicable, deceased immediate family members were noted. It was not

uncommon for respondents to also volunteer other information, such as explanations for the sequencing of migration. The genealogical information was later used to probe for family migration sequences as well as to examine potential commitments and obligations in other locations.

In organizing data gathering on individual experiences, a life history matrix (LHM) was utilized.¹³ It consists of a large grid with rows corresponding to single calendar years and the associated ages at which the respondent was, from birth to the year of interview. Columns correspond to the key information categories: location and residential composition, family history, education, and employment. Starting with place of birth, the onset and the changes in any of the events of interest were recorded, with frequent moving back and forth between different (and often related) events. This method maintains the temporal sequence of events and therefore provides a better basis for tracing causal connections. Because it is not limited to single events, recall is maximized and cross-checking is built-in. There was wide variability among the respondents in the length and complexity of their life histories. A sample life history using the LHM is shown in Appendix C.

¹³ Balan, et al. [1973] developed the pioneering work on this method. Perlman [1976] provides a detailed appendix on her use of the LHM in studying migrants and squatters in Rio de Janeiro. Lauro [1979] also adapted it to a demographic study of a Thai village.

Unstructured observation

Previous work has strongly emphasized the importance of observation in studying social networks [Lomnitz, 1977; Mitchell, 1969]. At the initial stage of field work, the investigator lived with an Ilokano immigrant family for three months.¹⁴ The residence was located in a predominantly Filipino neighborhood in Kalihi near downtown Honolulu, where a majority (67%) of the survey respondents lived.

This experience provided easy access to unstructured social situations ranging from the performance of day-to-day domestic tasks, visiting, vending and similar exchanges, to less frequent events such as preparations for a kinsman's departure for the Philippines, other relatives stopping in transit from a Philippine vacation to their home on an outer island, a wedding reception upstairs, and even a crisis when a member of the household had to be taken to the emergency room late at night.

A second and unexpected source of observations were the taped interviews. It quickly became obvious from background noises recorded on tapes that few interviews were carried out under ideal conditions. Television sets and stereo sets were playing, children and other adults were carrying on with their activities, telephones were ringing, or dogs barking. Hammering or power saws in the background soon

¹⁴ Regular contact with this family has been maintained for the duration of the study and continues to the present time.

became cues for probing for home renovations and extensions; babysitting males were probed on the performance of domestic tasks.

In retrospect, many of these observations proved very useful in making sense of case accounts, as well as in deciphering obscure and abbreviated survey responses.

Other data sources

Additional qualitative data on housing arrangements were obtained from the Honolulu Follow-up Survey (HFS) which is another phase of the Philippine Migration Study described earlier. The HFS consists of respondents to the 1980 Ilocos Norte Baseline Study who had since migrated to Hawaii.

Other interviews with recent Filipino immigrants, as detailed in earlier reports [Aquino, 1980; Tamkin and Takeuchi, 1981], are cited as illustrative information when appropriate.

Finally, statistical data from published and unpublished tables generated by the U.S. Bureau of the Census were also used. In addition, figures compiled by the Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development (DPED), the Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations (DLIR), the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of the United States Department of Justice, and other published reports were also used. These provided baseline estimates and comparison points in evaluating the survey findings.

To summarize, Table 2 lays out the various data sources and the extent to which each is able to provide information on the specific areas for which data are required. In general, the primary sources of process-oriented information are case histories and observation, while survey data provide measures of prevalence and of outcomes which are amenable to multivariate testing. Information on the receiving society as a whole are derived principally from available government statistics. The latter consist primarily of the 1980 United States Census, immigration statistics, and economic and labor statistics for the state of Hawaii.

On the Process of Description and the Emergence of Explanations

The preceding sections detailing the different data sources may convey an orderliness which does not neatly correspond with arriving at inductive hypotheses. Concurrent with the inductive process, findings and insights from other studies were examined in light of my emerging explanations. In this section I describe these processes to give a flavor of the logic that underlies the description and analysis found in this study.

First, I illustrate the emergence of inductive insights by using two examples. In the course of documenting specific events, I draw on one or more of the sources of data available, and in a somewhat progressively spiral

manner, develop a basis of explanation that applies to a broader range of observations than I started out with.

For instance, in an account of how a newly arrived immigrant found her first job, mention was made of information supplied by a kinswoman regarding a job opening at her workplace because a co-worker went to the Philippines for a vacation. Several questions were raised by this observation. For purposes of illustration, I only pursue two of them here:

- How common is this occurrence?
- What happens when the vacationer returns?

No direct answer to the first question is available. However, an examination of survey data indicates that over half of the respondents visit the Philippines at one time or another. Hence, this observation may not be an isolated instance. Both survey and census data, in addition to observations, also indicate a pattern of immigrants clustering in certain occupational categories, which suggests a high likelihood that a working person in contact with the new immigrant knows about such openings. A combination of sources thus "establishes" that the initial observation is not an unlikely event.

On the question of what happens when the vacationer returns, two further areas were examined. Job sequences from case material show that some vacationers return to the same job, while others find a new one. Further probing

Table 2. SUMMARY OF DATA SOURCES

	Case Histories	Observation and other qualitative data	Survey	Census and other statis- tical sources
<u>Adaptation Needs</u>				
Description of newly arrived situation	+++	+	+	-
Problems encountered	+++	+	+++	+
<u>Resources and Response Processes</u>				
Utilization of formal assistance	++	+	+++	++
Domestic arrangements:				
Broad context - housing market	+	+	+	++
Immigrant patterns -				
Physical dwelling arrangements	+++	+++	+	-
Household organization	+++	+++	+	-
Family obligations	+++	+++	+	-
Employment patterns -				
Broad context - labor market	+	+	+	+++
Immigrant patterns -				
Occupation profiles	++	+	+++	+
Employment seeking process	+++	++	-	-
Household labor allocation	++	++	+	-
<u>Adaptation Outcomes</u>				
Objective indicators -				
Length of job search	++	+	+++	-
Earnings	+	+	+++	-
Subjective assessments	++	+	+++	-

NOTE: For each area requiring information, the data sources are marked as follows: +++ for a major source, ++ for a minor source, + for little information, and - for no information.

established that among the latter, the previously held job did not usually allow them an optimum vacation leave, and so they quit. Job sequences of the newly arrived replacement, on the other hand, indicate two things: he or she gets a foot in the door, thereby gaining local job experience, albeit short-duration; or he or she is retained in such a job.

From the two points initially pursued, I begin to recognize a negative and a positive aspect of employment in a particular occupation. It is relatively easy to gain entry, but it does not necessarily come with long-term stability. Perhaps other occupations reflect these aspects as well. An underlying duality begins to emerge. Are there analogous processes in other spheres (e.g. in residential arrangements)?

The second example is drawn from domestic arrangements. Over time, a specific residential profile in Honolulu begins with (1) a lone immigrant arriving and initially staying with his cousin's family. (2) When his wife arrives and begins to work, they move to an apartment. Meanwhile, their children are born. (3) After his mother arrives, this family returns to the relatives' house and rent the bottom half, upon the invitation of the owner-relative. In closely examining each of these stages and by comparing them with other cases, an underlying similarity between Stage 1 and Stage 3 becomes discernible: living in close proximity with

relatives implied a relatively inexpensive arrangement due to cost sharing, and incorporated an element of social integration with kinsmen that was not evident in Stage 2. Such integration appears to have mitigated the lone immigrant's (and later, his older mother's) potential isolation. In addition, the monetary savings involved in the first and third arrangement were targeted for specific uses: initially, to finance the migration of the wife and mother, and in the current arrangement (Stage 3), to accumulate enough for a down payment on their own house purchase. Stage 2, on the other hand, represented an episode where the working couple's combined resources enabled them to afford an arrangement with greater privacy. As in the first example, analogous assessments of prevalence were carried out to the extent possible from other available data. Again, trade-offs were evident in housing arrangements which reflect both advantages as well as disadvantages in the involvement of kinsmen in domestic arrangements.

As mentioned earlier, while these inductive processes were taking place, findings from other studies were also considered, particularly as broader explanations began to emerge. What do other studies find, and how are they similar or different? The most developed area in immigrant adaptation literature in terms of explanation pertains to adaptation outcomes, particularly earnings outcomes. An

earnings model similar to those found in previous studies was tested with survey data for purposes of comparability. This, however, represents a small part of the study.

I initially started out to document (in what I thought would be a straightforward descriptive study) the role of interpersonal networks in the adaptation of individual immigrants in order to augment what Tilly and Brown [1967], Choldin [1973], Anderson [1976], and others have done so far. In the course of this task, many implicit dualities became evident which at times, paradoxically, resulted in similar outcomes. While attempting to uncover an explanation for this, a major impetus came from the social network theorists who argued that personal networks provide an intermediate level of explanation [Freeman, 1972; Collins, 1981; Granovetter, 1973] which can bridge the gap between individual-level and structural explanations. Translating the network-level explanation into observable processes thus became a major undertaking.

A chronology of this study would have two parallel and intertwined strands corresponding to the generation of inductive observations and to the use of existing theoretical insights. These two progressively became fused in the conduct of the study. Thus, two kinds of findings are anticipated. Clearly, earnings predictions are deductive results, but the more novel product is an emerging hypothesis. The explanations provided should therefore be

treated as a tentative hypothesis rather than conclusive results.

The processes illustrated above are not always explicit in the chapters that follow, since my principal emphasis is on documentation. The final chapter then distills the emerging explanations into a hypothesis of the double-edged network processes that lead to the restricted range of outcomes observed, and then situates these findings in the larger body of research on immigrant adaptation. By stimulating further debate, empirical verification, and conceptual refinement, the tentative explanations developed in this study can make a significant contribution to social science.

4. FILIPINO MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

This chapter reviews the characteristics of and factors influencing Filipino immigration to the United States in general and to Hawaii in particular. In addition, it summarizes the current profile of Filipino immigration from different sources of information. These then provide the larger context in which survey, case history, and observation data used in this study are interpreted.

Background

Migration among Filipinos, particularly Ilokanos, is well documented. In general, the Philippine population may be characterized as highly mobile. Figures for 1970 indicate that every seventh Filipino had changed residence between 1960 and 1970, with a little over half of these cases crossing regional boundaries [Flieger, Koppin and Lim, 1976:10]. Some variation between the major Filipino ethnic groups has been observed [Juan and Kim, 1977:29], and this trend is particularly evident among the Ilokano language group in northern Luzon [Keesing, 1962; Lewis, 1971]. Ilokanos, who constitute the majority of Filipinos in Hawaii, represent one stream of this long-standing pattern of geographic mobility.

Smith [1981] reports that the Ilocos coast reached the population saturation point long before other areas of the Philippines. Consequently,

... since the mid-nineteenth century, the Ilocanos have displayed ... patterned demographic response(s) to population pressure ... including delayed marriage, high levels of celibacy, diminished levels of childbearing within marriage, and heavy out-migration to both national and international destinations. [iii, emphasis added]

Keely [1973] summarizes the major population movements, indicating that these are directed towards urban and frontier areas, as well as to the United States.

Hawaii has long been a major destination area for U.S.-bound Filipinos. The magnitude of their migration to Hawaii has been large. In addition, Filipinos continue to arrive in substantial numbers. This stream, which started in 1906 with the recruitment of plantation labor, is currently the largest immigrant group coming into the state. Over half of all immigrants intending to settle in Hawaii originate from the Philippines. These are mirrored in the 1980 Census figures: 6.3% of Hawaii's total population¹⁵ are born in the Philippines. An additional 7.4% are Hawaii-born descendants of earlier Filipino immigrants [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a:13-65].

¹⁵ The Hawaii population for 1980 was 964,691.

General factors

Several factors contributed to the upsurge of Filipino immigration to the U.S. after 1964. Among these are, historically, the colonial domination of the Philippines by the United States (ca. 1898 - 1946), as well as continuing economic, military, and political bonds between these two countries [Keely and Fox 1974:1].

A number of studies stress the systemic factors resulting from this background which lead to sustained migration. These studies focus on the dependent position of the Philippines in the world economy [Pido 1980; Sharma 1981], as well as on processes deeply ingrained in its social structures which lead to a strong propensity to migrate. An example of this is "colonial mentality." Lott [1976] argues that the Philippine educational system is so American-oriented that it breeds a strong predisposition among individuals for a desire to migrate to the U.S.

Besides structural processes, social psychological explanations have merited much attention. Numerous studies address individual or more micro-level motivations and explanations for migration.¹⁶

Although both structural and social psychological determinants of migration are essential in

¹⁶ See Abad [1981] for a comprehensive review of recent literature on this area. For this study of Ilokano migration, De Jong, *et al.* [1983] also propose micro-level explanations.

migrants, the impact of U.S. immigration policy requires some discussion.

Immediate Factor: U.S. Immigration Policy

The recent migration trend to the U.S. observed above was triggered by the passage of the 1965 U.S. Immigration Act which substantially modified the immigrant quota system. This piece of legislation is necessary for establishing the context for this study.

Historically, the immigration policy of the United States has reflected periodic pressures for regulating immigration through legislation or executive action designed to encourage certain national groups to enter the U.S., as well as to restrict or totally exclude other groups. In 1882, for instance, the Chinese Exclusion Act barred Chinese from entering the U.S. Through the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907, Japanese were effectively excluded as well [see Ikeda, et al. 1975:1-4].

The immigrant quota system was established in 1924. This was pegged on the ethnic composition of the U.S. population based on the 1890 census.¹⁷ The racist undertones of the quotas established are evident in the congressional hearings leading to the passage of this law [U.S. Congressional

¹⁷ The 1890 census was chosen in favor of the more current 1910 enumeration as the quota baseline primarily because the numeric advantage of the Nordic stocks had, by the early 20th century, been diminished by the rapid influx of the Mediterranean stocks.

Record, 1924]. In 1952, the McCarran-Walter Act modified the system slightly when first preference for issuing visas was given to professionals. However, the previously set quotas amounting to 100 annually for most Asian countries were still in effect.

The advent of the civil rights movement, in conjunction with other forces, led to the change in legislation enacted in 1965. The U.S. Immigration Act of 1965 had three major goals:

- abolition of the national origins quota system
- placing of greater emphasis on family relationships as a basis for selection of immigrants (family reunification), and
- labor protection [Keely 1971:159].

Of particular interest here is the goal of family reunification. This is clearly reflected in the new preference system of issuing visas. First and second preferences were given to unmarried children of U.S. citizens and to spouses and children of permanent residents, respectively. This displaced professionals to third preference. Other immediate relatives also fell within the hierarchy of visa preferences, or became altogether exempt from the visa preference system¹⁸ [Keely 1980:17].

¹⁸ Spouses and parents of U.S. citizens are non-preference immigrants. These account for much of the excess of Filipino arrivals over the annual limit of 20,000 immigrant visas.

Magnitude and Features

In 1980, there were slightly over half a million (501,440) Philippine-born individuals in the United States.¹⁹ A disproportionate number of these were residing in Hawaii (11.7%), and the bulk of the Hawaii residents were in the Honolulu SMSA²⁰ [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a:13-8 and 13-9]. In effect, one out of eight Philippine-born persons in the United States lived in Hawaii, and one in eleven were in Honolulu. Before narrowing the focus on Hawaii, a summary of nation-wide trends is in order.

Broad trends

Smith identifies major differences between 'first wave' and 'second wave' migrants over time, which correspond to "the low socioeconomic origin agricultural migrants of the early decades of the century, as against the high-origin, often professional flow of recent years" [Smith, 1976:307]. He also notes substantial differences among Hawaii, California, and other groups of Filipinos in the U.S.

¹⁹ Figures for the U.S. as a whole are extracted from tabulations on the foreign-born from the 1980 Census of Population and Housing provided by the Center for International Research, Bureau of the Census.

²⁰ The Honolulu standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) encompasses the City and County of Honolulu, which is the whole island of Oahu.

Although the contrasts were fairly clear between the plantation and the professional 'waves' in the early seventies, the numbers and proportion entering the United States as professionals have progressively declined since then, from 26.5% in the 1970 to 1974 period, to a low of 0.4% in 1980 and 2.1% in 1981 [Fawcett, et al., 1984:Appendix Table 5]. Clearly, virtually all of the current immigration from the Philippines, professionals included, is now occurring under family reunification provisions. How this affects the Filipino-American demographic profile is just beginning to unfold.

Because Hawaii has a substantial population of family-sponsored immigrants, it provides some early indications of how this recent and increasingly diverse inflow might adapt to the receiving society. With this backdrop we turn to the Hawaii situation.

Immigrants in Hawaii

Historical circumstances played a major role in shaping Filipino migration to Hawaii. Hawaii was a U.S. territory and the Philippines was simultaneously a colonial possession of the U.S. during the first half of this century. Junasa [1982:95] summarizes the beginnings of this relationship:

The Philippine revolution against Spain was virtually won when U.S. expansionist tendencies led to intervention. Spanish officials, reluctant to surrender to Filipino forces, capitulated instead to the U.S. in the Treaty of Paris, 10 December 1898. Seeking a labor supply free from external control, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters'

Association (HSPA) found the Philippines an expedient source. Filipinos, then, were U.S. nationals who could move freely and their entry to the Islands would be scrutinized only by fellow Americans serving the respective territorial governments of Hawaii and the Philippines. Thus, in 1906, the importation of Filipino laborers began.

The ensuing linkages led to a substantial number of Filipino workers settling in Hawaii's plantation-dominated pre-war economy.

The early migration of plantation workers is relatively well-documented. Between 1909 and 1946--the years of most active recruitment of plantation workers--the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) brought a total of 125,917 Filipinos to Hawaii [Dorita, 1954:131]. Almost nine in ten of these migrants were males.²¹

This flow slowed to a trickle after the Philippines became independent from the United States in 1946. However, when the new immigration law was implemented in 1965, a large number of the Filipinos already in Hawaii became eligible to petition for their relatives. Chain migration thus became prevalent, revitalizing the ethnic community.²²

²¹ For more detail on the Filipino labor migration to the Hawaii plantations and to West Coast agricultural areas, see also Lasker [1931], Melendy [1974], and Sharma [1981]. More recently, Anderson, *et al.* [1984] provide a detailed account, with biographical information, on the movement of plantation workers to Hawaii [see, especially pp. 1-24].

²² Alcantara [1973] examines the progression from being transients to leading settled lives among early workers and their recently arriving kinsmen in a contemporary Hawaii plantation setting.

INS estimates of aliens intending to reside in Hawaii who were admitted between 1965 and 1981 add up to 110,639 individuals, 54% of whom originated from the Philippines [Agbayani, 1984]. Table 3 reflects the pattern of increase in Filipino arrivals from the early 1960s, both in absolute numbers, as well as in proportion of the total number of aliens arriving in Hawaii.

A current picture of Filipinos in Hawaii can be drawn from various statistical sources, foremost of which is census data. As a proportion of the state population in 1980, 13.7% were of Filipino ancestry, of whom almost half (46%) were foreign-born [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a:13-65].

The characteristics of both foreign- and native-born individuals of Filipino ancestry are described in other studies and are only summarized here. Carino, using data from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) 1975 survey, establishes yet again that

Filipinos as a group occupy the lower strata of the host society's social and economic life. Filipinos had the lowest proportions of male and female labor force participants in the professional/technical/management occupations.... The situation is similar with income: The median income of employed Filipinos was much lower than that of all Oahu residents and higher only than the median incomes of Samoans and Blacks. [Carino, 1981:41]

It is generally agreed that the majority of Filipinos in Hawaii are of Ilokano extraction. Although no firm measures exist, Lasman, et al. [1971] estimate that 82% of Filipino

TABLE 3

Aliens Reporting Hawaii as their State of Intended
Residence, 1961 to 1981

Year*	Total Aliens Admitted (Number)	Originating from the Philippines	
		N	%
1961	1,762	530	30.1
1962	2,048	776	37.9
1963	1,767	569	32.2
1964	1,623	455	28.0
1965	1,721	477	26.0
1966	3,070	1,352	44.0
1967	3,825	2,147	56.1
1968	4,693	3,033	64.6
1969	5,199	3,181	61.2
1970**	9,013	6,426	71.3
1971	6,055	3,704	61.2
1972	6,765	3,764	55.6
1973	6,881	3,178	46.2
1974	6,549	3,418	52.2
1975	7,012	2,913	41.5
1976	7,798	3,222	41.3
1976, Jul-Sept	1,882	859	45.6
1977	7,825	3,568	45.6
1978	9,053	4,398	48.6
1979	8,944	5,016	56.1
1980***	6,729	3,983	59.2
1981***	7,634	4,708	61.7

*Years ended June 30 through 1976 and September 30 thereafter.

**Because of a change in tabulation procedures in 1970, officials have noted the possibility of some double counting in the data for this year.

***Preliminary figures from unpublished monthly records of the INS.

Sources: Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development Statistical Report 101 (Table 11, p. 15) Statistical Report 108 (Table 13, p. 16), and Statistical Report 154 (Table 18), and unpublished monthly records of the United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Honolulu District, cited in Hawaii SISC [1982:3].

immigrants in Hawaii originate from the Ilocos region. The Honolulu survey on which this study is based indicates that 75% of all Philippine-born individuals screened for the survey were born in the Ilocos provinces.

The general picture outlined above requires careful consideration as the broad context for interpreting and qualifying the data described in the preceding chapter.

Considerations in Using the Honolulu Destination Survey

In using the Honolulu Destination Survey sample as a representation of Filipino immigrants in Hawaii, the following sample characteristics may affect the interpretation of results:

- the predominantly urban nature of the Honolulu SMSA, out of which the sample was drawn
- the exclusion of pre-1965 immigrants
- the exclusion of neighborhoods with low Filipino concentrations, and
- the exclusion of immigrants who were not born in the Ilocos provinces.

The implications of these factors are best illustrated with a concrete example. Table 4 summarizes the occupational distribution of Hawaii and Honolulu workers, those of Filipino ancestry statewide, and the survey sample. While the survey profile is very similar to the state's recent Filipino immigrant profile, the caveats listed above explain some divergences.

Table 4
Occupational Distribution, 1980 Hawaii Census and HDS Data

	Hawaii	Honolulu	Hawaii Population, Filipino Ancestry			1981
		SMSA	Born in	Philippine-Born		Honolulu
	(All) ^a	(All) ^b	the U.S. ^c	All ^d	1970-1980 Immigrants ^a	Destination Survey (HDS)
Managerial and professional specialty occupations	23.5	24.7	11.1	6.7	5.6	3.2
Executive, administrative, and managerial	11.7	12.3	6.7	2.9	2.2	2.3
Professional specialty occupations	11.8	12.3	4.4	3.8	3.4	0.9
Technical, sales, and administrative support occupations	32.0	33.8	30.0	18.0	18.5	12.2
Technicians and related support occupations	2.9	3.1	2.5	2.2	2.4	1.4
Sales occupations	11.4	11.8	9.3	7.2	7.2	4.2
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	17.6	18.9	10.7	8.6	8.9	6.6
Service occupations	17.9	17.6	21.3	31.5	35.5	45.9
Private household occupations	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.8
Protective service occupations	1.8	1.9	2.0	0.8	0.8	0.7
Service occupations, except protective and household	15.7	15.4	19.2	30.4	34.5	44.4
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	3.4	1.8	4.4	11.4	11.2	7.6
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	11.6	11.3	14.7	9.6	7.1	6.2
Operators, fabricators, and laborers	11.7	10.9	18.6	22.8	22.1	26.9
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	3.3	3.4	4.8	8.9	9.9	14.8
Transportation and material moving occupations	4.0	3.5	6.8	5.3	3.3	2.4
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	4.3	3.6	7.0	8.6	8.8	7.9
Total (N)	100.1* (415,181)	100.1* (324,113)	100.1* (24,458)	100.0 (30,174)	100.0 (15,647)	100.0 (1,182)

* Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Sources: ^a U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Hawaii, Table 196(A), p. 13-12.

^b U. S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing: Census Tracts, Honolulu, Hawaii, Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1983.

^c Unpublished census special tabulations.

First, in making comparisons with the state-wide Filipino immigrant population, we must bear in mind that the Honolulu SMSA, where the survey was conducted, is predominantly urban. This means that its share of farming or extractive occupations is proportionately less than statewide figures. Conversely, manufacturing and similar employment which are centered in urban settings would have proportionately larger representation. Given this situation, we can consider the lower proportion of agricultural employment and the higher proportion of operatives and service workers among the sample (relative to the Filipino immigrant population state-wide) to be fairly accurate.

Second, comparison with all foreign-born Filipinos includes many early immigrants. Thus, the recent Filipino immigrant column is the more suitable baseline. Nonetheless, these still include immigrants who arrived as children who are now in the labor force. The survey is more restrictive in its scope and only includes those who came as adults, and only after 1964.

Third, the exclusion of low Filipino density areas in the survey, as explained in the preceding chapter, eliminates what few other professional and technical workers there are because they are more likely to reside in suburban areas or in middle class neighborhoods of low Filipino concentrations. Although these occupation categories are underrepresented in the survey due to the sampling scheme,

census figures indicate that there are not many of them in the first place, so that the degree of their underrepresentation is probably slight.

Finally, the survey sample is restricted to Ilocos-born Ilokanos. Ilokano speakers, by most estimates, comprise some 70 to 80 percent of the Filipinos in Hawaii. The sample excludes Visayans, Tagalogs, and other Philippine ethnic groups. Although the effect of this selection is not clear, the differences between Ilokanos and other Filipinos are likely to be minimal, especially for those with plantation connections and of rural origins.

Having set the historical and contemporary context, and having defined limitations on data representativeness, we will now examine life events as segments of a biographical sequence which influence immigrant adaptation and which could in turn be affected by migration events.

5. IMMIGRANT LIFE HISTORIES

To provide a context for migration and material adaptation in Hawaii, it is necessary to examine key background processes in the lives of immigrants. Although guided by concepts generally used in conventional variable-by-variable discussions, this chapter is organized along typical life events and focuses on the chronology of birth and early childhood, education and entry into the labor force, marriage and family formation. The particular emphasis of this description lies in aspects of these events which figure in migration and material adaptation, either as predisposing factors or as more proximate considerations.

Typical events provide the bases of initial discussion in each general area. Variations, especially major divergencies which have noteworthy consequences on migration to Hawaii are also addressed in each of these areas. As will become evident, it is often necessary to identify more than one 'typical' pattern because of gender, age, period, and migration cohort differences among the immigrants.

By way of introduction, communities of origin and of transition are described first.

Communities of Origin and Transition

Communities Ilokano immigrants come from are predominantly rural. Although often located in farming areas, descriptive accounts of Ilocos barrios indicate that many of them are well-connected with larger towns through regular transportation routes [Griffiths, 1978; Lewis, 1971]. However, there still exists a wide range of variation among these areas when it comes to the presence of urban amenities. Lee's [1983: Appendix A] recent compilation of community facilities in a sample of Ilocos Norte municipalities indicates that the number of enterprises ranged between 29 and 816; percentage of households with electricity was between 35% and 71%; number of recreational facilities was between 3 and 25; and total number of school between 11 and 46. Many of these facilities are found in areas of high population concentration or of administrative functioning.

Census and government reports generally designate administrative centers (poblacion) as urban areas, and outlying areas as rural--a distinction sometimes blurred by the arbitrary nature of political boundaries. What is of greater usefulness is the recognition among residents themselves of distinctions between the town (ili) and the farm or village (away or barrio²³).

²³ More recent usage replaces the term barrio with barangay. However, the poblacion has also been divided into barangay units. Hence, to avoid confusion, the older term, barrio, which denotes a rural area, is used here.

The town (ili) often denotes not only an administrative center, but, more importantly, the marketplace, the main bus stop or station, the parish church, the plaza, and the high school. Larger towns would likely have a vocational school or small college, a clinic or small hospital, a rural bank, and a scattering of services--a tailor or dress shop, a notary public, the telephone or telegraph connection, and the ubiquitous dollar changer. Thus, one goes to town for myriad reasons. Typically, one goes to trade, to study, to worship. One also obtains birth, baptismal, and marriage certificates, pays residence tax (cedula), sends letters or receives mail at the post office, converts dollars to pesos, or gets on or off the Manila bus.

The town is a local hub of activity to which all but the most isolated individuals are exposed in varying degrees and frequency. At the minimum, all who come to Hawaii have a sense of the distinction between farm and town--a seminal contrast between the rural and the quasi-urban. Yet, a sense of wonder is sometimes expressed, as is typical of rural migrants to a big city. A 58-year-old newly arrived housewife describes her initial impression of Honolulu:

They took me to see Sea Life Park, to Ala Moana [shopping center], they took me around.... The way I see it, especially when we walk around at night, Wow! The surroundings are all lit up! There isn't anything like that in Laoag.²⁴ Cars,

²⁴ Laoag is the capital city of Ilocos Norte, and the most urbanized in that area.

one after the other. There isn't anything like that you can see--only tricycles.²⁵ [Case 49]

Many make the further distinction between the town and the big city, particularly metropolitan Manila. All immigrants pass through this primate city of six million.²⁶ For most, this involves a brief sojourn to obtain a passport, report to the U.S. embassy for a visa, and board a plane to Hawaii. Others stay for an extended period prior to moving to Hawaii, primarily to study or to work. On occasion, those with a good measure of Manila exposure make comparisons between Manila and Honolulu. In general, they associate more hustle and bustle with Manila, sometimes accompanied by a note of disappointment about Honolulu:

[My cousin took me] 'round the island, and I said, "Ugh, this is Hawaii? So small!" I was comparing it to Manila--"Where are the big shopping centers?" ... and they took me to Ala Moana ... "Is this all?" (laughter) I was really frustrated, disappointed--very disappointed.... I expected Hawaii to be something like the mainland, 'cause it's also U.S.... [Case 15]

Experience in the big city is also perceived as useful. Queried about finding his way around Honolulu on his own when he first arrived, an immigrant who had worked in Manila prior to coming to Hawaii responded that he would not get

²⁵ Tricycles are motorized pedicabs which provide the major means of short-distance public transportation in a typical town.

²⁶ The 1980 census reports the population of the National Capital Region at 5,925,844 which comprises approximately 8% of the total Philippine population [Philippines NCSO, 1982:2].

lost in Hawaii, since he "would not even get lost in Manila."

The main point to remember is that the recent immigrant pool includes classic country folk, sophisticated cosmopolites, and many more in between. However, it is safe to characterize this group as predominantly of rural origins, since the majority (62%) of the survey respondents never lived outside the Ilocos prior to coming to Hawaii. Slightly more males than females had prior migration experience outside the Ilocos region before coming to Hawaii. While the majority of both sexes never moved before coming to Hawaii, 40.3% of males and 36.6% of females had prior migration experience.

Family Backgrounds

Like most individuals, the typical migrant is born and raised in a family environment consisting of the father, the mother, and siblings. Sib sizes are large, averaging 4.7 surviving siblings per respondent. It is not uncommon, however, to find that at some point while they were growing up, not all siblings were residing with their parents, nor were both parents always present. This is due to two distinct but often related processes: (1) shifting guardianship, and (2) absence of one or both parents. These, in addition to family life cycle changes, tend to rearrange the early circumstances of the immigrants.

Because no standard terminology exists, I define shifting guardianship as occurring when the major responsibility for a child is transferred from the parents to other adults or back to the parents. It commonly occurs informally but is, on occasion, formalized. One of many children may spend several months with his mother's childless sister and her husband in a neighboring village. Alternatively, a child from a similar background may spend the greater part of a few years with her grandparents a few houses away from her parents.

There are no quantitative measures in this study of what proportion among the respondents directly experienced this phenomenon. However, my own observation while growing up, as well as life history data indicate a common enough occurrence of shifting guardianship in village life which would make it a familiar event for individuals growing up in such communities. Corroborative evidence exists in an ethnographic account of child rearing in an Ilocos barrio. Nydegger and Nydegger [1966:159] note this phenomenon on the subject of adoption:

[The term adoption] is not really accurate, since adoption [in the barrio]... means little more in most cases than moving the child's official residence next door. It certainly implies no separation from the parents.... The process is gradual.... After a period of six months to a year, during which time the child resides in both households, he either takes up permanent residence in the new household or, if unwilling, is passed over in favor of the next child.

In the Ilocos village they studied, ten of the 64 children between one and ten years of age were involved in such a transition.

These children seemed more or less willing.... In no case did a child seem upset by impending adoption nor, as we have indicated, is there any reason for it. The child is not rejected by his parents, who continue to help him when necessary; rather, he is sought after by a friendly relative. [Nydegger and Nydegger 1966:159]

In effect, the phenomenon of shifting guardianship broadens the range of early social interaction beyond the nuclear family, and establishes a predisposition towards domestic arrangements which modify the nuclear family from time to time. Arrangements of shifting guardianship vary widely in terms of physical distance and duration.²⁷ These lead to further variations in emotional attachments and concomitant obligations between the child, the guardians, and the family of orientation.

Shifting guardianship is sometimes formalized by legal adoption. In many instances, this is done to legitimize relationships such as those described above to fit legal definitions, often for immigration purposes.²⁸ Adopting parents are almost invariably related to the adopted child. Thus, frequent interaction continues between the child and

²⁷ Anderson, et al. [1984:112] indicate that among rural Filipinos in Hawaii, it is not uncommon to find "children may stay for days at a time at the home of their grandmother or an aunt."

²⁸ Griffiths mentions adoption as one of the "extraordinary means of entering" the United States [1978:60-61].

his or her biological family. This could continue even in Hawaii, such as in the case of Catalina:

Catalina's youngest of six children, Pedro, was born in 1965. Her sister had one son and adopted the new-born Pedro as her second child. Catalina and the rest of her children came to Hawaii through her husband, while Pedro was brought over by his adoptive parents. They now live near each other. "Our son who was adopted usually comes over, occasionally stays, then returns to their own home." [Case 43]

Absence of one or both parents occurs from early demise, abandonment, or employment in a different location. No systematic data are available on any of these. However, information volunteered by survey respondents can be regarded as low estimates of incidence: 2.1% reported their father as either deceased or having abandoned them while they were growing up, and 1.2% reported their mother as deceased.

Employment of fathers entailing absence from the Ilocos was also volunteered, and this is particularly relevant to establishing Hawaii links. Approximately 5% of the survey respondents' fathers were pineapple field hands, sugar cutters, or plantation workers of some sort while they were growing up. This figure should likewise be regarded as a low estimate of respondents' fathers working in Hawaii.

From case histories and informal observation, the phenomenon of fathers working in Hawaii while the children were young appears fairly common. Cecilia's husband provides a typical example:

Cecilia got married in 1936 and had three children before her husband came to Hawaii in 1946. She had one more child in 1954, after her husband came home for a one-month vacation. Two sons then came to join their father in Hawaii in 1965 and Cecilia arrived with the two remaining children in 1968.

[Case 02]

The developmental cycle of families also influences the structuring of early family backgrounds. Newly married couples and young parents often do not yet have their own house, and may initially live with their parents or parents-in-law. Increasing resources and growing families later lead to establishing their own houses. The marriage of children and birth of grandchildren can bring about either generational extension if they continue to reside together, or the "empty nest" stage if not.

Shifting guardianship can forestall the "empty nest" stage. The absence of a parent can likewise lead to variations in patterns of extension or nucleation. Thus, developmental stages in the family life cycle interact with two distinct phenomena to define the early domestic context of many immigrants. This background lays a foundation for resilient domestic formations which maximize the ability to accommodate the stresses and strains of migration at the origin as well as at the destination.

Education

Recent immigrants to Hawaii represent all levels of schooling, from those with no formal education to college graduates. Before examining the details of attainment, it is useful to identify aspects of education which have a direct bearing on adaptation.

First and most obvious, education provides basic skills. At the most elementary level, education represents literacy, and at higher levels, it provides specialized training in the professions or in vocational trades. Although this significance of education appears straightforward, immigration introduces complications due to the difficulties of having foreign credentials recognized at the destination and, more broadly, due to the imperfect transferability of skills to a new environment.

Second and probably more relevant to adaptation, education in the Philippines represents proficiency in English. The first year or two of schooling is conducted in the vernacular, and subsequent grades rely on English as the primary medium of instruction. Hence, anyone who has completed elementary education could be expected to have a working knowledge of English, albeit severely restricted by Filipino idiom and a heavy accent.

Third and least obvious, the experiences associated with the process of acquiring an education often represent exposure to early variations in geographic mobility and the

concomitant domestic arrangements. Commuting, circulation, and other short-term migration for schooling can occur relatively early in life.

With few exceptions, children begin schooling at around age seven. Almost all barrios have at least a primary school.²⁹ Thus, this stage of schooling does not usually take children away from the home village.

For those who continue their schooling, especially into high school, a variety of arrangements is possible. Children who live in town (or where high schools are located) do not experience much change, since they continue to live at home. Those who live in adjacent areas which have a reliable transportation link with town commute to school on a daily basis. Finally, children from outlying areas who continue their education into high school typically have lodging arrangements in town and are away from their homes for the week. Lydia is not an uncommon case in this respect:

She completed elementary schooling in their barrio, then went to high school in Laoag at age 13. "I was boarding (agkaskasero)--there were several of us, and I would go home every Friday." She then proceeded to Manila to try college after finishing high school. [c28]

²⁹ The Philippine system of education has 4 years of primary schooling and 2 years of intermediate schooling. Together, these constitute the six years of elementary education required for entry into high school, which in turn consists of 4 years. Unlike the American system, then, a high school graduate has 10 years of schooling before entering college.

For many who obtain several years of education, then, the associated processes provide early exposure to short-term and short-distance migration episodes--if not for themselves, for their schoolmates. These situations generally are defined within the "normal" range of behavior patterns.

Using survey data, we will now examine educational attainment, which represents both training as well as English proficiency. Overall, the survey respondents average 8.5 years of education. This figure, however, masks some essential distinctions. In particular, gender and period effects are worth noting.

Average years of schooling for male and female immigrants are 8.6 and 8.5 years respectively. Although these summary figures indicate little contrast between the sexes, the distribution pattern within the sexes differs. The standard deviation for males of 3.7 years represents greater homogeneity in comparison to females, with a standard deviation of 4.1 years.

Table 5 clearly demonstrates different patterns for male and female immigrants by using categorized levels of education. On one hand, there are slightly more females without formal education, but there also are proportionately more female college graduates (see top and bottom rows of Table 5). On the other hand, there are proportionately more males with some high school education and who completed high

school than females. Hence, although average levels of education are virtually the same between the sexes, the patterns are different for males and females.

TABLE 5
Level of Education by Sex

Level of Education	Total %	Male %	Female %
No formal education	2.8	1.3	3.9
Primary	15.0	14.4	15.4
Intermediate	21.7	21.1	22.2
Some high school	12.9	14.8	11.4
High school graduate	15.4	18.9	12.8
Some college	15.2	15.2	15.2
College graduate	17.1	14.4	19.2
Total (N)	100.1* (1,484)	100.1* (640)	100.1* (844)

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

A more dramatic factor influencing levels of education is reflected in the strong negative association between age and years of schooling, as measured by a zero-order correlation of $-.524$.

Before pursuing this further, it is necessary to examine what "age" represents. Bearing in mind that the Philippine system of public education has undergone major restructuring with the advent of the American colonial administration (pre-World War II), and that this process has continued well

into the post-war years, age in this instance represents exposure to different stages in the development of the educational system from the 1920s to the 1970s. Age is thus a proxy for period effects which primarily operate at the systemic rather than the individual level.

The trend is clear from Table 6. Individuals who are more recently exposed to the educational institutions (i.e., younger schooling cohorts in a more developed system) have progressively higher educational attainment measures, with the exception of the youngest cohort. For the youngest subgroup, the slightly lower mean is due primarily to an interruption in schooling brought about by migration to Hawaii. It is often the case for these younger adults, particularly those with family already in Hawaii, to immigrate as soon as high school is completed.

Because of hindrances to further schooling in Hawaii, this often means a permanent interruption of formal education. During the survey respondents' first year in Hawaii, only 2.4% listed their main activity as being a student, while most respondents took up employment. Of those who were students when they left the Ilocos and came directly to Hawaii, only 17% reported going to school during their first year after arrival.

The opportunity, desire, or necessity of earning a livelihood often precludes further schooling in Hawaii. Edna, a schoolteacher in the Philippines, demonstrates a case of inability to go to school due to necessity:

TABLE 6
Educational Attainment by Age Category

Age Category	Average Years of Schooling	% Completing 10 Years	N
19 or younger	10.0	62.5	24
20 to 24	11.0	85.8	127
25 to 29	10.4	69.8	192
30 to 34	10.2	65.2	242
35 to 39	9.6	55.7	192
40 to 44	8.5	41.0	178
45 to 49	7.8	37.1	124
50 to 54	6.7	26.4	125
55 to 59	5.6	15.5	148
60 or older	4.3	7.6	132
All Respondents	8.5	47.7	1,484

"I applied for the teaching profession when I first arrived, but the requirements in 1969 [stipulated that] you must go to school for two years. I was unable to fulfill that because I had six children when I arrived, we were renting, and my husband was not in construction work, so I had to accept any kind of work, as long as it was honest." [p10]

Establishing credentials in preparation for schooling in Hawaii is also a major hurdle. A newly arrived college sophomore was advised to "go back to high school, that's the easiest way you can go up to college or the university," [e15] because her college credits could not be transferred and her high school education was only ten years.

All told, one out of five (19%) of the immigrants received training or further schooling after coming to

Hawaii. Table 7 summarizes the different areas in which training is pursued. Formal education, which includes standard high school and college coursework, accounts for less than one-quarter (23%) of all Hawaii-trained respondents. Auxiliary training includes studying in adult education programs, English proficiency, citizenship orientation, and related areas, and accounts for about one-fifth (21%). Office and clerical skills command the largest proportion (26%), with most of these trainees acquiring secretarial, keypunching, bookkeeping, typing, and similar skills. The remaining categories each account for less than 10% of Hawaii-trained immigrants.

TABLE 7
Areas of Training Acquired in Hawaii

Type of Training	% of All Respondents	% of Rs Training	N
Formal education	4.4	23.2	66
Auxiliary training-- adult ed, English, etc.	4.0	20.7	59
Office/clerical skills	5.1	26.3	75
Vocational skills	1.9	9.8	28
Skilled trades	0.4	2.1	6
Services, e.g. bar tending, housekeeping	1.5	8.1	23
On the job training	1.1	6.0	17
Not specified	0.7	3.9	11
Total (N)	19.1 (1,484)	100.1 (285)	285

The youngest age category (19 or younger) had the largest proportion of all age groups obtaining training in Hawaii. However, the proportion remains small. Only a third (34%) of this age bracket obtained training. Among this segment, less than half (47%) continued formal schooling, over a third (38%) obtained clerical skills, and the remainder (15%) took vocational courses.

Entry into the labor force and Ilocos work experience

Work usually follows after leaving school. For those who spend only a few years in school, this often takes the form of helping with farming and the care of animals for boys, and doing housework or babysitting younger siblings for girls. Because these early experiences are often performed as unpaid family workers, it is not always clear at what point the transition into the work force takes place. This situation is very much like what Balan et al. [1973:114] describe as the "blurry beginnings" of employment. For example, Raul was thirteen years old when he stopped schooling:

Raul went to stay with his brother and sister-in-law in Manila when he dropped out of high school. "I won't say that I worked, because I was just helping, without pay." He would help mind their sari-sari store³⁰ to compensate for his staying with them for free. [Case C50]

³⁰ A sari-sari store is a small neighborhood sundry store which sells merchandise in small amounts, such as soda, candy, sugar, soap, canned goods, and similar products.

Even with the exchange of money for services, it is not always defined as paid work due to the identity of the parties involved in the transactions. Petra's early activities after going to vocational school to learn dressmaking were as follows:

"We were just farming then, and also, I was sewing, but just our clothes. Sometimes relatives would come and ask me to sew for them, and then they would reward me with, say, five pesos--if that's what they have. That is what I did [before coming to Hawaii]." [Case B5]

Half (49%) of the survey respondents worked prior to their initial departure from the Ilocos. The other half who were not working consisted mostly of an equal number of students and housewives (43% each), with the remainder (14%) either looking for work, retired, or incapacitated.

Little information exists on the activities of migrants who lived in other places after leaving the Ilocos and prior to immigrating to Hawaii. Of those who did not come directly to Hawaii, half had gone to Manila on their first move out of the Ilocos. Earlier findings suggest that migration to Manila is usually for the specific purpose of obtaining an education and, to a lesser extent, to work [Gardner, et al., 1981]. Indications from case histories are consistent with these earlier findings.

Of survey respondents who were employed in the Ilocos prior to departure, the majority (56%) were engaged in farming, either as owner-operators, tenant farmers, or farm laborers. Male non-farm workers were dispersed in a wide

range of occupations, with small numbers in fishing, carpentry, or working as agricultural technicians and miscellaneous laborers. Among employed females, there were more than a few teachers and seamstresses, and smaller numbers of vendors, beauticians, and domestics for private households.

Activity and work patterns are examined again after arrival in Honolulu (Chapter 9). The next section focuses on marriage and early family formation.

Marriage and early family formation

The survey sample of adult immigrants shows that 12% had never married, and since majority of these were younger respondents, they, too, were likely to get married in the future.³¹ Nine percent were married with no children, 19% were married with children who were six years old or younger, and the remaining 60% were married with children of school or working age.

Substantial differences exist between immigrants who were married before immigration and those who married afterwards. Those who were married by the time of their immigration to Hawaii constituted 59% of all the survey respondents. They tended to marry younger, at the median age of 22 years, with men marrying at an older age (24) than women (21). Predictably, the married immigrants were older when they

³¹ In fact, two of the case histories who were single in 1981 had married by the time they were reinterviewed.

arrived in Hawaii. Median age at arrival for these males was 40, and for females, 35.

While the average number of surviving children for all married respondents was 3.35, this group that was married prior to migration averaged more, with 4.05 children, many of whom were born in the Philippines.

Most of these respondents had been married for several years by the time they migrated to Hawaii, averaging 12.4 years of marriage by the time of migration, and as many as 45 years. However, about one-third of this group were recently married, within the five years preceding migration. Fully one-quarter got married less than two years before departure for Hawaii, and 18% had been married less than a year when they immigrated.

Those who were single when they first arrived in Hawaii (41% of the respondents) show a different marriage and fertility profile. By the time of the survey, over two-thirds (68%) of this group were married. They tended to marry older, at a median age of 26. Males also married at slightly older (27) ages than females (26). Median age at arrival was 23 and 22 for males and females respectively.

Before turning to family formation among this group, we need to recognize two distinct patterns of post-migration marriage. Although an individual may get married after immigration to Hawaii, this is not synonymous with getting married in Hawaii. Almost half (48%) of those who got

married after coming to Hawaii returned to the Philippines to get married. More specifically, over half (61%) of males who married after immigration returned to the Philippines to get married, while about a third (36%) of the females did so. Vicente is a good example of this profile.

He arrived at age 25, worked and went to school for two years, and then returned for a vacation and to marry his fiancée in Manila before coming back to work. His wife followed to Hawaii several months later. [Case 18]

The other half (52%) of those getting married after migration married in the United States, almost all in Hawaii. Because of the large Filipino community, many of these marriages occur between immigrants of similar origins. For example, Oscar, who arrived after he finished high school at age 17, got married three years later to another immigrant whose family was, like Oscar's, already in Hawaii [D46].

Both of these patterns suggest different explanations for similar outcomes on age at marriage. Delayed marriage is likely to occur for those who return to marry in the Philippines because of the need to earn in order to cover transportation expenses, not only for the individual, but also for the future spouse. In addition to transportation costs, wedding expenses are likely to be major, particularly since the social standing of a returning immigrant in the community requires material validation. Thus, it usually takes a year or two, and sometimes more, before marriage of

this type can take place. Delayed marriage is also likely to occur for those who marry at the destination because it takes time to re-establish social connections. While there are often many relatives in the new immigrant's social circle, he or she must go beyond the kinsmen for a marriage partner. It is not clear to what extent the social networks play the role of a marriage broker.

The average fertility of respondents who married after immigration was less than half (1.82 children) of those who married prior to arrival (4.05). Although this does not necessarily represent completion of family formation by the younger respondents, any further increase is not likely to be substantial.³²

It is clear from this description that major differences are associated with marital status at arrival.

³² For currently married respondents in the childbearing years who had no living children during the survey, an average of 2.09 children was expected. Three-quarters of currently married respondents who were still in the childbearing years, or whose wives were still in the childbearing years, did not expect any additional children. Of the remainder who expected more children ($N=128$), an average of 1.33 additional children were expected. Taking all of these into account, the completed average would still be close to 2 children for those forming their families in Hawaii.

Summary

In examining key life events of recent immigrants, many diversities become readily apparent. Predominantly rural-origin migrants are further differentiated into those with prior migration experience and those who came directly to Hawaii. Case material and observations indicate early family backgrounds which go well beyond nuclear family arrangements. All levels of educational attainment are represented, as are most age categories, with a clear pattern of progressively higher levels of education with younger age cohorts. The blurry beginnings of early employment are outlined, and contrasts between married and unmarried immigrants are evident.

These attributes, along with prevailing structural factors and with interpersonal ties, become major considerations in examining adaptation processes among immigrants. The diversity documented in this chapter makes this task all the more challenging. The next chapter focuses on the long-standing links that allow the large magnitude of immigration to take place.

6. UNBROKEN CHAINS: LINKS AMONG IMMIGRANTS

Using information from recent immigrants, this chapter examines the beginnings of the migration chain, the maintenance and facilitation of the series, and the completion or regeneration of the migration sequence.

Two themes underlie this discussion. First, many connections exist among the plantation workers, the immigrant professionals, and the recent arrivals. While these streams are distinct, they are not unrelated. The second and more latent theme concerns selectivity criteria and corresponding immigrant attributes. In the process of conforming with legally defined selection criteria based on family reunification, a highly diverse set of individual migrants are "selected." The relative homogeneity previously found among plantation workers and immigrant professionals has given way to the range of demographic attributes to be found in the family. There is wide variation in age and age at arrival, and about equal proportions of both sexes are represented (not to mention the social attributes discussed in the previous chapter).

We begin by examining survey and case history data on immigration processes. Predecessors, travel companions, and migrants following our respondents to Hawaii are described.

We then assess prospects of continuing migration in the near future, and briefly document the diversity in age, age at arrival, and sex distribution among the recent immigrants which result from the high priority accorded family reunification.

Immigration Routes

Almost all the survey respondents (92.4%) entered the United States with immigrant visas. Four percent entered as citizens, 1.9% initially entered on tourist visas, and 1.4% first came under various other classes, which include military personnel, students, temporary workers, and exchange visitors. The following discussion will focus on the first two types.

Citizen-entrants

Sixty survey respondents (4% of the immigrant sample) entered as United States citizens by virtue of their parentage. By the jus sanguinis principle of citizenship, any individual born of an American parent is eligible for American citizenship as well. American citizenship of the parent is generally acquired either by (1) naturalization prior to family formation, or (2) his or her birth in the United States.

The first mode of citizenship acquisition, by males, was accomplished through early employment in the United States

or through service in the U.S. armed forces.³³ The late husband of Modesta, a 58-year-old housewife, worked at Pearl Harbor and illustrates this profile:

Modesta's husband first came to Hawaii in 1931. "He came home in 1948, and we got married then [their son was born in 1949]. He came to Hawaii again, stayed for five years, then went back for another vacation." [Their daughter was born in 1955.] In 1958 he went for another vacation in Laoag and died of a heart attack while there. Because he was a naturalized citizen, their two children were eligible for American citizenship. Modesta was then petitioned by her daughter who came to Hawaii in 1978. [Case 49]

The second and more common mode of citizenship acquisition for respondents' parents concern individuals who were born in the Hawaii plantation setting. By the ius soli principle of citizenship eligibility, being born on American soil made this person eligible for American citizenship. However, during his or her childhood, the plantation family had left Hawaii and returned to the Philippines. He or she then grew up, got married, and reared children in the Ilocos who had now become eligible for U.S. citizenship due to their "American" parentage.³⁴ Norma, a 37-year old data entry operator is an example of this:

Norma's mother was born in Hilo, but grew up in the Philippines, married, and had two children there. Norma came to Hawaii in 1968 with her

³³ These men were ineligible for the Honolulu Destination Survey because of their early arrivals in the U.S.

³⁴ These individuals were also ineligible for the HDS because they were born outside the Ilocos. Thus, information on them could only be obtained indirectly from their children or spouses who were eligible survey respondents.

husband because "I am a citizen. If I am not able to come by my 23rd birthday, I'm gonna lose my citizenship." [Case 28]

It is not uncommon, then, to find the American-born parent becoming an integral part of the migration chain due to his or her favorable legal status. The family of Lydia, a 55-year-old housewife, illustrates this:

Lydia's husband was born on Kauai, Hawaii in 1924. He went back to the Philippines with his parents in 1929. He married Lydia in 1951 and they had seven children, all of whom are still unmarried. Lydia's husband and their two oldest children, both daughters, came to Hawaii together in 1972. Their third child, also a daughter, came in 1977. Lydia arrived in 1981 by herself. Their sixth child, a son, arrived the following year, leaving three other children in the Philippines who are expected to join them later. [Case 26]

Most of these parents are now in their fifties and sixties, and are in the process of relocating most if not all of their family members to Hawaii.

Except for the unique legal status, however, the "American" parent is, by and large, an Ilokano who has lived most of his or her life in the Ilocos. Because such an individual's experience with Hawaii is limited to the very early stages of childhood, the same social and economic adjustments as are demanded of other immigrants are required.

To summarize, the legal status of immigrants who first enter the United States as eligible citizens by birth originates from the much earlier plantation experience of their grandparents or the early employment of their fathers

in the United States which led to naturalization. The theme of persistent links with the plantation workers and other immigrant "waves" is developed further in the next section which addresses a much larger proportion of the recent Ilokano arrivals--those who entered the U.S. as immigrants.

Immigrant-entrants

As indicated earlier, an overwhelming majority of the survey respondents arrived as immigrants.³⁵ Very few (1.5%) of these came as professional or third preference immigrants. The latter category came without visa sponsors and often became the beginning of a family migration chain. Vicente, a 35-year-old computer programmer, is one such case:

Vicente worked as a survey engineer in the Philippines. He came as a professional to Hawaii in 1973. He returned to get married in the Philippines in 1975. His wife arrived the following year. He became naturalized in 1978, and his mother came in 1979. She in turn has petitioned for two of her children and plans to petition for four more. [Case 18]

Such cases, however, are exceptional. Virtually all (98.5%) of those who came on immigrant visas were petitioned by close kinsmen. A spouse was responsible for petitioning over one-third (35%) of these respondents. Another one-third (33%) were petitioned by a parent. A sibling

³⁵ These are also referred to as permanent residents or holders of a 'green card.'

petitioned 16% of these respondents, while a child or another relative were each responsible for 8% more.

The concentration of petitioners among spouses or parents is a reflection of immigration statutes and the resulting immigration strategy. The few children-petitioners are often citizens who bring in one or both parents, much like the case described above. This parent can then petition for his or her other children at a higher priority status. Thus, instead of a waiting period of over 10 years for a sibling to bring in another sibling, a citizen's parent can immigrate within a few months and be instrumental in bringing his or her unmarried children in 3 to 5 years.

Like the citizen-entrants, immigrants who were petitioned by family members also have strong links with earlier migrants. This can occur through family ties with immigrant professionals, as in the case of a 27-year-old construction laborer:

Emilio is the sixth of eight children. His oldest brother, a civil engineer, came to Hawaii on a professional visa in 1969 and later petitioned for their mother, who came in 1977. She in turn petitioned for her children. Emilio and an older sister, both single at the time, arrived together in 1981. [Their father died in the Philippines in 1980.] Four siblings remain in the Ilocos (two of whom are unmarried) and another sibling lives in Manila. [Case 41]

The plantation connection is perhaps the most common link for many immigrants. Jose, a 44-year-old pineapple field laborer, is only one of many examples:

Jose's father came to work in the plantation in 1946. Jose, born in 1940, is the oldest of five

children. His mother came to Hawaii with three of his brothers in 1966, and his sister came in 1968. Jose has a family and was the last sibling to arrive in 1978. His wife and six children remain in the Philippines--they were included in Jose's original petition by his father and are expected to arrive within the year [1984]. [Case 40]

Yet another connection is forged through marital union. The much-delayed marriage of a retired plantation worker to a younger woman from the Ilocos could open up a new branch in a migration chain, as could a more conventional marriage which involves anyone of the pioneers and linked immigrants already described above. In fact, it is this particular linkage which has the potential to regenerate a migration chain. However, as we saw from the discussion on marriage patterns, half of the unmarried immigrants who have since married have found partners in Hawaii. On the other hand, there is the other half who can give rise to new migration chains consisting of the spouse's family.

Migration Sequences

Regardless of the legal classification of the recent immigrants, just about every single one of them had a predecessor to Hawaii. Over half traveled to Hawaii with someone else. Two-thirds had relatives arriving after themselves, with some more expected. This section examines the sequencing of migration.

Predecessors

Virtually all (99.2%) respondents were preceded by family members or relatives to Hawaii. Only 12 individuals (0.8%) had nobody preceding them to Hawaii.³⁶ Almost one in five (18%) of the arriving immigrants were preceded by one family member--their visa petitioner. The remainder had other kinsmen already in Hawaii besides their visa petitioner or sponsor when they arrived. About one-fourth (24%) of the respondents were preceded by two kinsmen, 18% had three, 23% had four or five, and 18% more were preceded by more than five family members to Hawaii.

Any and all categories of relatives are included among the immigrants' predecessors to Hawaii, as seen in Table 8. Almost half (47%) were preceded by at least one brother or sister. About a third (32%) were preceded by their spouses, 29% were preceded by their fathers, and 19% by their mothers. Brothers- and sisters-in-law married to the numerous siblings already in Hawaii were also identified as predecessors by 29% of the respondents. Half of the respondents, often the same ones preceded by immediate family members, were also preceded by other relatives who consist mainly of cousins, uncles, and aunts.

These family members and relatives provide the immediate context into which the immigrant is placed. However, before pursuing these arrangements upon arrival, we need to

³⁶ However, 7 of these had at least one companion when they arrived.

TABLE 8
Kinsmen Preceding Respondents to Hawaii

Relationship	% of Respondents*	(N)
Spouse	32.1	(476)
Father	28.5	(423)
Mother	18.5	(275)
Sibling(s)	46.9	(696)
Sibling(s) -in-law	28.8	(427)
Unmarried child(ren)	5.9	(88)
Married child(ren)	9.0	(133)
Child(ren) -in-law	5.0	(74)
Grandparent(s)	3.5	(52)
Grandchild(ren)	1.8	(27)
Fiance(e)	0.8	(12)
Other relatives	49.7	(738)
No predecessors	0.8	(12)

*Total number of respondents is 1,484. Frequencies and proportions do not add up to 100% due to multiple responses.

recognize an even more immediate phenomenon which is instrumental in easing the first part of the immigrant transition: the trip to Hawaii.

Travel companions

Over half (57.7%) of the respondents traveled to Hawaii with someone, usually a family member or relative. Often a parent traveled with minor children, or siblings traveled together. Table 9 indicates that almost one-fourth of all respondents traveled with their children, and one-fifth

traveled with siblings. Our first case is Sion, who was 46 years old and the only remaining member of her family of orientation in the Philippines. She traveled to Hawaii with her husband and all five of their children in 1979. Another case, Tomas, was 25 years old when he came to Hawaii with his older sister to join their parents. Edna was 21 when she arrived with two sisters and a brother, while Vicente, the immigrant professional, traveled alone. In some instances, immigrants and vacationers³⁷ travel to Hawaii together. From these indications, it is clear that the phenomenon of multiple travelers is widespread.

TABLE 9

Travel Companion(s) of Accompanied Immigrants

Companion(s)	% of All Rs	% of Accompanied Rs*	(N)
Spouse	12.1	20.9	(179)
Father or Mother	9.1	15.8	(135)
Child(ren)	24.1	41.8	(358)
Sibling(s)	21.0	36.4	(312)
Other Relatives	6.9	12.0	(103)
Unrelated Individual(s)	2.4	4.1	(35)

*Total number of all respondents is 1,484. There were 857 accompanied immigrants, each of whom was accompanied by one or more type of companion. Frequencies and proportions do not add up to 100% due to multiple responses.

³⁷ Chapter 9 examines visits to the Philippines in greater detail.

The pattern of multiple travelers is noteworthy because of its double-edged implications. On one hand, the passage to a new land, in the context of what is probably the immigrant's first airplane ride, is rather intimidating. Departure, immigration, and customs procedures are equally unfamiliar. Having a companion through this experience definitely eases a major hurdle. On the other hand, the cost of travel is multiplied by the size of the traveling party. When finances are tight, as is the case with many immigrant families, this trend has the effect either of delaying the trip until such time as enough money becomes available for all to travel, or of causing a major financial burden in a short period of time.

Migrants Who Follow

Although less than half (45%) of all respondents had petitioned for family members, a larger proportion--two-thirds (67%) of the respondents--had already been followed to Hawaii by other family members or relatives by the time of the survey.

Table 10 mirrors the relationship criteria stipulated by immigration law. Note, for instance, the lower proportion of married children (2%) and the often associated children-in-law (2%), and the higher proportion of unmarried children (22%) in comparison with predecessors of the same relationships (9%, 5%, and 6% respectively).

TABLE 10

Kinsmen Arriving in Hawaii After the Respondents

Relationship	% of Respondents*	(N)
Spouse	18.8	(279)
Father	9.2	(136)
Mother	18.0	(267)
Sibling(s)	33.2	(493)
Sibling(s)-in-law	8.2	(122)
Unmarried child(ren)	22.2	(330)
Married child(ren)	2.3	(34)
Child(ren)-in-law	2.4	(35)
Grandparent(s)	0.9	(14)
Grandchild(ren)	0.5	(8)
Fiance(e)	0.3	(4)
Other relative(s)	15.8	(234)
No one followed	32.1	(477)

*Total number of respondents is 1,484. Frequencies and proportions do not add up to 100% due to multiple responses.

The number of immigrants following our survey respondents to Hawaii is expected to rise, since about one out of five (19%) of those who had no family members arriving after them had already filed petitions for family members who were simply awaiting their turn to immigrate. At the time the case histories were obtained from reinterview respondents, several of these individuals had already arrived.

The waiting period between filing a petition and actual immigration is influenced by two factors: obtaining an immigrant visa, and arranging for sufficient money to

finance the move. Procedures for obtaining an immigrant visa require documentation, in the form of an affidavit of support, of the sponsor's financial capacity to keep the prospective immigrant from becoming a public charge at the destination. For virtually all visa sponsors, this requires securing employment. This process can take some time. In addition to documentation procedures, the waiting period is also affected by the oversubscribed visa preference categories at the United States embassy in the Philippines. There is a backlog in most of the preference categories which lengthens the waiting period for many immigrants. Okamura [1982:163] cites a Honolulu immigration official's information that "in 1981, there was a backlog of 250,000 visa applications that were pending approval by the American Embassy in Manila." At the current 20,000 annual ceiling, this translates to an immigration queue long enough to fill annual visas through 1993.

Earning and saving money to finance the migration of family members takes time as well. It is not unusual to find that immigrants who anticipate bringing family members to Hawaii in the foreseeable future take every opportunity to earn and save money. Overtime work and obtaining a second job are typical ways of increasing one's earning capacity.

About a third (36%) of those who have neither been followed by family members nor have filed petitions for them

expressed an intention to file petitions in the future. More than likely, these individuals are awaiting naturalization, which would optimize petitioning at higher preference categories, or better yet, at categories not subject to numerical limitations. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is cognizant of this, as observed in a recent naturalization ceremony in Honolulu for over a thousand immigrants. After the court proceedings, a voter registration table was set up outside. The INS set up its own stand in the lobby specifically to dispense forms for petitioning for relatives [INS Form 1-130]. Thus, the first actions of the new American citizens were to register as voters, and to begin the process of petitioning for family members in the country of origin.

Completion of the Migration Chain

The preceding description of migration sequences might draw an overall picture of immigration growing like a rolling snowball. This impression, however, is not completely accurate. Given the limits on numbers and relationships allowed by immigration law, families do reach the point where all the members have been reunited, or where there are no longer any individuals who are eligible to immigrate. An examination of the location of surviving family members among the case histories reveals that 29 out of 45 had no immediate family members (parents, siblings,

spouse or children) in the Philippines who were eligible to immigrate--they either had all their close kinsmen in the U.S., or had only married siblings who were generally older and settled remaining in the Philippines. Only six cases had family members (parent, spouse, or unmarried child) who were expected to arrive in the future, and the remaining 10 cases had potential but unlikely-to-migrate kinsmen in the Philippines.

In general, we can identify four types of chain migrants from a cross-classification of survey respondents' past petitioning behavior and their intentions to petition other kinsmen in the future. Figure 2 defines the dimensions of this typology. Excluding a small number (5%) of respondents who were uncertain about their intentions to petition relatives in the future, the remaining proportions of respondents falling within each category are indicated.

Past links have petitioned at least one family member and do not intend to petition any more. Over one quarter (27%) of all respondents fall within this category. A past link has been instrumental in maintaining a migration chain, and has completed that role. The most common profile in this category is the immigrant petitioner who has no other eligible family members to petition.

Current links have also petitioned at least one family member, and plan to petition more. These immigrants are in mid-stream and intend to continue in this role. Sixteen

Past Petitioning	Future Intention to Petition*	
	YES	NO
YES	Current link (16%)	Past link (27%)
NO	Potential link (17%)	End of chain (35%)

*Excludes uncertain. Total adds up to 95% of respondents.

Figure 2: Typology of Chain Migrants

percent of the survey respondents fall within this category. Typically, it consists of permanent residents who have filed petitions for their spouses or minor children, and plan to petition siblings when they become citizens. It appears that the prospects of carrying out such intentions are somewhat tenuous for two reasons: the visa preference categories for the intended petitioners are low and extremely oversubscribed, and the very long waiting periods involved tend to lower the likelihood of a kinsman's actual migration in the future.

Potential links have clear intentions of petitioning for a family member, but have not had the chance to, thus far. Almost invariably, these immigrants are relatively recent

arrivals and are getting settled prior to petitioning for their spouses or unmarried children. Potential links appear more likely than current links to succeed in bringing family members to the United States because of the higher preference categories involved.

Finally, there is the end-of-the-chain migrant who neither has petitioned, nor intends to petition anyone in the future. Over a third (35%) of the respondents fall in this category, which consists mainly of family members who come later, and whose family members are already in Hawaii.

In general, there is an identifiable segment of the immigrant population which has no involvement in the legal complexities of immigrant petitioning. About a third of the immigrants expect to file petitions in the future, including some under rather tenuous conditions over the long term. Indeed, the same criterion of family reunification which brought about the influx of family members, carries with it an inherent regulatory mechanism by defining its limits. While the momentum for continued immigration is evident in current and potential links, past links and end-of-the-chain migrants indicate a mechanism which ensures a steady but not a runaway growth in the immigrant population. The finite supply of eligible family members for petitioning under family reunification provisions applies a "brake" to the uncontrolled flow of legal immigrants. Perhaps we are approaching the 'natural' limits of the phenomenal growth of immigration in the last two decades.

Diversity Among "Selected" Immigrants

The continuing stream of related immigrants which we have just documented results in large networks at the destination consisting not only of immediate family members, but also other relatives and, in many instances, friends and former neighbors from the community of origin. The social context is characterized by a steady flow of traffic between both places, primarily through vacationing immigrants and the arrival of new ones.

Yet, the common thread of kinship that binds these immigrants together also, by definition, incorporates built-in diversity in demographic characteristics. Families require both males and females; they also consist of at least two generations. Both of these elements are reflected in the attributes of recent immigrants.

Males and females are about equally represented.³⁸ Immigrants arriving in the last twenty years represent all age groups. Our survey sample indicates that about 68% of recent adult immigrants were between the age of 20 and 45 when they arrived.³⁹ The high variability in age at arrival and the almost even sex distribution result from a

³⁸ Females outnumbered males in the immigrant sample (57% and 43% respectively). However, this is due in part to the higher likelihood of finding women at home during the survey. No such disproportion is evident among the household profiles.

³⁹ Mean age at arrival is 32.7 years, with a standard deviation of 12.3 years. No major difference between males and females were noted.

"selectivity" criterion set by immigration policy which operates to diversify rather than restrict the range of demographic attributes of immigrants.

7. IDENTIFYING ADAPTATION NEEDS: PROBLEMS AND FORMAL RESOURCES

This chapter addresses the immigrant's situation immediately upon arrival in Hawaii to set the stage for the next two chapters. The nature of problems encountered by new immigrants are examined using survey estimates and case histories. As a major means of addressing problems, we also examine utilization patterns by immigrants of publicly available services. The low rates of reliance on formal services leave many needs unmet. We identify these needs in this chapter, and in the two chapters that follow, examine how, with the assistance of interpersonal networks, these needs are addressed.

Arrival in Hawaii

The immigrant's arrival in Hawaii is best viewed as a social occasion for renewing contact with friends and relatives--directly with those in Hawaii, and indirectly with those in the Ilocos. The latter occurs because, invariably, the traveler carries letters, messages, and news from home for those in Hawaii.

When all the immigration paperwork is completed and tickets are purchased, family members in Honolulu are notified, usually by long-distance telephone, of the date,

time, and airline on which the immigrant will arrive. These kinsmen, along with other available relatives and friends proceed to meet the immigrant(s) at the airport.⁴⁰ It is customary for this party to proceed to a close relative's home (usually the immigrant's first residence in Hawaii), and have a modest reception over lunch. Friends and relatives give the new immigrant small amounts of cash--in the \$10 to \$20 range--as pocket money at their initial reunion. Similar contact is made with other relatives, over the next few days, either at the new immigrant's residence or through the new arrival being taken around to friends' or relatives' homes.

A typical pattern which is evident in numerous case histories is that relatively soon after arrival (a matter of days or hours), the new immigrant gets associated with a particular individual who plays a major role in orienting the former to the new environment. Because many of the kinsmen have to return to work right away, this key person may or may not be a close family member. For a 34-year-old college graduate joining her husband's family in Honolulu, it was her husband who familiarized her with various routines, such as taking the bus, going to the store, or using laundry facilities. On the other hand, a 59-year-old

⁴⁰ Preparations from the prospective immigrant's viewpoint involves close coordination with the visa sponsor in arranging proper documentation, financing of travel, and arrival arrangements. See Griffiths [1978:58ff.] for details.

man, arriving last in his family, was taken around by his wife's uncle, with whom they were renting at the time. Since this old man (wife's uncle) was no longer working, he had the time to take the newly arrived, also older man, to various places, to the park, and even around the island. Similarly, a 17-year-old girl spent much of her first few weeks in Hawaii with a female cousin who was her own age.

The interpersonal contacts that take place during the period immediately following arrival are often crucial in establishing the foundation of immigrant adaptation. Before we examine these, we need first of all to identify the areas requiring immediate attention, and to assess the extent to which other resources, particularly formally organized assistance, are utilized.

Range of problems encountered

The survey data provide a succinct summary of the prevalence of problems among immigrants. Thus, we begin with information on prevalence, and use case histories and observation to document the nature of these problems. Individual survey respondents were asked whether they had, in the course of their stay in Hawaii, ever experienced problems relating to the following specific areas: housing, employment, education, and language. When other problems outside these areas were mentioned, these were also described.

About half (47%) did not report encountering any problems. Over one-quarter (28%) reported problems in one area only, while the remaining 24% identified more than one problem area. Table 11 summarizes the incidence of problems in specific areas as a proportion of all survey respondents and of problem reporters only. Overall, each problem area was identified by one-fourth or fewer of all respondents. Housing problems had the highest incidence, reported by 26% of all respondents or almost half (46%) of the problem reporters. Employment, language, and other (primarily financial) problems each were reported by about one-fifth of all respondents, while schooling was reported by 3%.

TABLE 11
Problem Areas Reported by the Survey Sample

Problem area	% of All Rs*	% of Problem Reporters**	(N)
Housing	25.7	48.7	(381)
Employment	20.4	38.7	(303)
Language	18.9	35.9	(281)
Schooling	2.8	5.4	(42)
Other problems	21.4	40.6	(318)

*Total number of respondents is 1,484.

**Number of problem reporters is 783.

Respondents reporting more than one problem area were also asked to identify which one was the most serious.

These responses, together with problems identified by those reporting only one were combined to determine the areas of greatest concern among those reporting problems. Over a third (35%) identified housing as most problematic. About one-fourth (27%) picked employment, and one-fifth (21%) specified other areas. Language was mentioned by 15%, and only 3% chose schooling. The next sections examine these problems in greater detail.

Housing problems

As indicated earlier, housing problems were reported by one-quarter (26%) of all the survey respondents. A more detailed examination of open-ended questionnaire responses^{*1} indicates that cost is a major concern. Almost half (44%) of housing problem reporters, or 11% of all respondents, specify high rent, utility bills, home mortgage payments, or interest rates as a problem. A general inability to afford purchase of or access to better housing was expressed.

Having to share housing with other households is also a major problem (26% of housing problem reporters). This affects both renters and owners. Closely related with having to share housing is the problem of crowding (23% of housing problem reporters). Respondents expressed this

^{*1} Up to two detailed descriptions were coded. Most gave only one response, while 24% gave two specific housing problems.

sometimes in the form of limited space, and other times as having too many people in the dwelling unit.

Poor housing quality and location are mentioned by 19% of the housing problem reporters. These include noise, inadequate ventilation, and a general state of disrepair or lack of proper maintenance. Other housing problems encountered (12% altogether) involved disputes with the landlord, neighbors, or other occupants of the dwelling; past or threatened eviction, and the inability to qualify for public housing. Table 12 summarizes the distribution of specific housing problems.

TABLE 12
Report of Specific Housing Problems

Problem	% of All Rs	% of Housing Problem Rs*	(N)
High cost	11.3	44.1	(168)
House sharing	6.6	25.7	(98)
Crowding	6.0	23.4	(89)
Poor quality or location	4.8	18.6	(71)
Other housing problems	3.2	12.3	(47)

*Multiple response item with 381 respondents. Total number of respondents is 1,484.

Employment-related problems

One-fifth (20%) of the survey respondents indicated experiencing job-related problems. Table 13 provides a breakdown of more specific problems in this area. The most frequently mentioned difficulty is in finding employment or obtaining a better job (27% of employment problem reporters). Inadequate earnings or low pay is also a major problem (22%). This category includes low wage rates as well as confounding effects of other factors (such as short work hours) on total earnings. More specifically mentioned as a problem is insufficient work time (20%). This problem manifests itself in various ways. Seasonality and periodic lay-offs result in stretches of unemployment, while slow-downs and part-time or on call status result in relatively regular reporting to work, but at less than full employment.

Hard work is mentioned less frequently (7%). Unsatisfactory terms of employment (7%) include lack of job security, benefits, and unions. Only 4% of the problems involve the unsuitability of training to the job. A similar proportion identify low social origins or weak characteristics as problematic for employment--specifically poor English language proficiency, low education, and old age which make working all the more difficult. Other job-related problems (20%) include inconvenient locations and schedules, adjustment on the job, high taxes, and visa impediments to work.

TABLE 13
Report of Specific Employment Problems

Problem	% of All Rs	% of Employment Problem Rs*	(N)
Obtaining employment	5.5	27.1	(82)
Low earnings	4.4	21.8	(66)
Insufficient work time	4.1	20.1	(61)
Hard work	1.4	6.9	(21)
Unsatisfactory terms of employment	1.4	6.9	(21)
Mismatch of job to skills	0.8	4.0	(12)
Lack of desirable em- ployee attributes	0.9	4.3	(13)
Other employment problems	4.0	19.5	(59)

*Multiple response item with 303 respondents, thus, proportions do not sum to 100%.
Total number of respondents is 1,484.

Other problems

Almost one-fifth (19%) of the respondents mentioned language as a problem area. Of these, 62% specified the area of English proficiency. This mainly refers to difficulty in understanding, speaking, or writing English, and is common among older and lower-educated immigrants.

A second major language problem involves difficulties pertaining to dialect variations (31%). Rather than lacking proficiency in standard English, communication difficulties are generated by a strong Filipino accent, American slang,

or Hawaii pidgin English. A construction worker who completed high school and a year of vocational training in the Philippines explains this:

"... [at work], what I had trouble with before was their slang, you know, their kapakay⁴² English, and I could not understand ... especially when they were saying 'puka,' and I didn't know that it meant a hole. And 'pau it,' they say, and I didn't know.... I was just starting out and it's difficult to understand when it's your first time to hear." [Case 41]

Other problems identified by 21% of the respondents were, to a large degree, financial in nature. These include difficulties with paying bills, high taxes, lack of savings, and inadequate finances in general.

Only 3% of the respondents mentioned schooling problems. Most of these had to do with the high cost of schooling. Poor academic performance, low educational attainment, and undesirable school environment were also mentioned. To a much lesser extent, problems relating to health, child care, transportation, and immigration status were also mentioned.

In summary, it is clear from this discussion that housing and employment matters are of paramount concern. These are examined closely in the next two chapters. Before these, however, the next section examines the extent to which formally organized sources of assistance are utilized.

⁴² From the Hawaiian word kapakahi, which translates to a state of being jumbled or upside-down.

Use of Services

Survey respondents were also asked about their use of various services and assistance agencies. Specifically, they were asked about the services of the Kalihi-Palama Immigrant Services Center, the Susannah Wesley Community Center, and Operation Manong, as well as the following programs: unemployment compensation, Medicaid, food stamps, government housing supplement, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and any others they specified.

About one-third (34%) of all the respondents reported using one or more of these or other related services. When asked if any of this usage occurred during the 12 months preceding the 1981 survey, even fewer of the respondents (9%) reported any utilization.⁴³ This indicates that almost three-fourths of those who ever used these services did not use them in the year preceding the survey.

Closer scrutiny of the subpopulation who ever used services also indicates that 82% used only one type of assistance, 14% used two types, and the remainder (4%) used more than two. This includes two exceptional cases who used as many as six different services.

When we examine the specific services used by these respondents, three broad areas are immediately identifiable. These are:

⁴³ This figure is only for the services specified above.

TABLE 14
Details of Services Used

Type of service/program*	% of all Respondents	% of Users	(N)
<u>Employment-related programs:</u>			
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION	21.4	62.2	(317)
Job placement-government program	4.3	12.5	(64)
Job placement-commercial agency	1.6	4.7	(24)
Other employment-related services	1.5	4.5	(23)
<u>Entitlement programs:</u>			
FOOD STAMPS	4.8	13.8	(71)
MEDICAID	1.9	5.5	(28)
GOVERNMENT HOUSING ASSISTANCE	1.7	4.9	(25)
AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN (AFDC)	0.6	1.8	(9)
Other government assistance	1.1	3.3	(17)
<u>Other agencies or services:</u>			
KALIHI-PALAMA IMMIGRANT SERVICES CENTER	1.4	3.9	(20)
SUSANNAH WESLEY COMMUNITY CENTER	1.0	2.9	(15)
OPERATION MANONG	0.4	1.2	(6)
Miscellaneous organizations	1.5	4.5	(23)

*Multiple responses from 510 service users. Total number of respondents is 1,484.

NOTE: Services in capital letters were explicitly asked about in the HDS. Remaining items were derived from 'Other specified' categories.

- employment-related services
- entitlement programs, and
- a residual category which consists mainly of volunteer non-profit agencies.

Table 14 lists the distribution of users within each of these areas.

Employment-related services

Approximately three-quarters of the service users utilized employment-related services and programs. These consist mainly of those who sought assistance in locating a job from all sources and those who received unemployment compensation.

Meriting special attention are the users of unemployment compensation, who account for over half (62%) of all service users. Because this particular program is restricted to individuals who have previously worked and contributed to unemployment benefits, the recipients generally view this as a compensation which they have earned. Nonetheless, reinterview cases varied in the degree to which they are able to avail of this program. A 62-year-old laid-off nursery worker who used to be a teacher in the Philippines kept close track of his unemployment benefits and knew exactly how many more weeks of compensation he was eligible for before it ran out. On the other hand, a laid-off pineapple field hand was unable to avail of unemployment compensation benefits because he did not have his alien card on hand. He finally did collect some of what he was entitled to shortly before they were called back to work when he went to file with his co-workers.

Those who sought assistance in finding employment mostly went to city or state-run placement programs, as well as to the federally funded Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) program. While we tend to assume that these individuals succeeded in finding jobs through these channels, some interview subjects emphasized that although they did seek assistance from a government agency, they were unsuccessful in locating a job through them. Maria, a 22-year old cashier, describes her early experience with a government employment agency where she and her mother went:

"[At XXX office] they let us fill up forms and stuff. I took keypunching in the Philippines, but everytime, they always think it's obsolete. All the things that you learn there isn't given credit. It's nothing. They let you list all your educational background, and nothing. They wouldn't even call you. I didn't get a job, and neither did my Mom." [Case 30]

She eventually found a job through her cousin.

Private employment agencies are also used, but for a large fee. Alma, a 38-year-old food pantry worker, illustrates this profile by her description:

"A friend of mine tell me that 'Oh, why don't you go to the agency?' So I went to an agency, that's why I find my fulltime job, Woolworth. But I paid 30% of my gross income for 60 days to them. So by the time I got my part-time [job] again, I paid again 30%." [Case 23]

Alma expects to go to an agency when she looks for her next part-time job.

Other services under this general category include training arranged through the CETA program, through one's

employer, or through labor unions and employee organizations.

The main distinguishing feature of the first category of services is that the recipients feel they are deserving of these benefits or assistance by virtue of:

- their previous contributions, as in unemployment compensation and other worker benefits
- their anticipated contribution in taxes once they are gainfully employed, as in seeking the assistance of government training and placement programs,
- the payment of a standard fee for the service, as in engaging an employment agency for job search, and
- their status as dues-paying members of an organization, such as a labor union or employees' organization.

Entitlement programs

Government entitlement programs generally require the recipient to satisfy specific criteria of need before he or she is deemed eligible to receive assistance. These include food stamps, welfare payments, and similar benefits.

These services are generally viewed as dole-outs and are often distinguished from the "earned" benefits described above. Among the reinterviews, this type of formal assistance was observed in the case of an immigrant experiencing a situation of extreme and unanticipated hardship:

Victoria became pregnant four months after she joined her husband in Hawaii. When she delivered, her baby had birth defects--he could not see, hear, nor swallow, and had to be fed through a tube. She rarely took the baby home, and he stayed in the hospital for four months before he died. Hospital expenses amounted to a little less than \$100,000. "That is why we asked for welfare assistance and the DSS[H] also gave some.... The doctors at the hospital told us to apply, and our neighbor also told us about another program [for the handicapped baby]. Our relatives just volunteered to help. We did spend a lot, but if it had only been [my husband and I], it would have been impossible for me. With God's grace, it's all paid for now." [Case 05]

A second case more clearly reflects the decision-making involved in the use of this type of service:

Teofilo was 65 when he had to stop working as a janitor in a Waikiki restaurant because he had developed glaucoma. The Hawaii Medical Services Association (HMSA), his health insurance carrier, paid for his surgical expenses, but he could no longer work due to poor vision. "My former boss and my doctor told me that I can go and apply for SSI. I thought about it for a long time, I almost did not go.... Then, when my savings were almost depleted, I tried.... I mustered up my courage to go." [Case 20]

The programs in this category generally require low incomes and other difficult circumstances, such as being a single parent. Recipients of these services tend to be stigmatized and defined as charity cases.

While underreporting is more likely to occur in this category of services, the low incidence of reliance on this type of assistance is consistent with other estimates. State-wide figures for January 1981 indicate that 2.6% of over 26,000 recipients of welfare were Philippine-born. One out of 10 (10.4%) food stamp recipients were Philippine-born

as were 16.6% of those receiving Medicaid assistance [Hawaii DPED, 1982a:Table 23]. Since these include all immigrants regardless of age or year of arrival, the relatively high Medicaid use is explained by the inclusion of many elderly plantation workers (largely excluded from our sample) who are now receiving Medicaid assistance.**

The low rates of utilization are probably due to ineligibility for these programs. A second factor which can only be suggested here is the reluctance of immigrants who anticipate sponsoring subsequent immigrants to establish 'need', for fear that such documentation could jeopardize their ability to issue affidavits of support for later immigrants.

Other services and agencies

Organizations designed to assist new immigrants in their initial transitions tend to have a limited scope and even more limited resources. Consequently, they also have a small clientele. Examples of these are the Kalihi-Palama Immigrant Services Center, the Susannah Wesley Community Center, Operation Manong, and other non-profit organizations with a service-oriented thrust.

** The elderly subsample also explains the high rates of welfare, food stamps, and Medicaid use among Filipino immigrants reported by Kincaid and Yum [1981].

Utilization rates in Table 14 are very low, and this is consistent with earlier agency reports indicating substantial underrepresentation of Filipinos among the clientele of service providers such as the Kalihi-Palama Immigrant Services Center [Omori, 1979:101]. Recalling that approximately 50% of all immigrants settling in Hawaii are of Philippine origins, only 14% of this agency's caseload for fiscal year 1981-82 was Filipino [Hawaii State Immigrant Services Center, 1982:37].

Low use of services may occur for several reasons, including the agencies' focus, resources, and location. Potential users may be unaware of the agency or not feel the need for agency assistance.

An intermediary set of factors can help explain the low rate of use. In the first two types of services used--employment and entitlements--all of these individuals were either (1) accompanied by a relative, friend, or co-worker in their initial visit with the service provider, or (2) referred to the agency with specific directions by a person known to them, such as a doctor or employer. In the second case, the process is not so much a formal referral to the agency, as it is a specific recommendation or suggestion from a trusted individual that sets an immigrant in motion towards enlisting the assistance of a service provider.

The small size and low rates of utilization by the immigrant sample of the smaller non-profit agencies preclude

the formation of personal network links that could serve as such a conduit. Few people know about them, even fewer have used them, and thus, only a handful are able to channel new immigrant clients to them.

It is quite clear that individual immigrants do not simply find and use the services of an agency in a vacuum. The web of interpersonal links provides the intermediary between agencies and their immigrant clients.

Adaptation Needs

As we saw in the earlier part of this chapter, the paramount concerns of newly arrived immigrants center around employment and housing. In examining the pattern of reliance on publicly available services, we also saw that, with the exception of unemployment compensation, only a negligible proportion of recent immigrants use formal sources of assistance. In addition, the range of services available address adaptation needs in very limited ways. For instance, the issue of affordable housing is so broad that it goes far beyond the scope of any assistance agency. While unemployment compensation provides temporary relief for a specific employment problem, other concerns, such as underemployment, cannot be similarly addressed by agencies.

We note from this discussion the major issues of affordable housing and adequate income as matters of immediate consequence to recently arrived immigrants (as

they are, in slightly different manifestations, to the population at large). Public resources do not provide a significant answer to these concerns. The immigrants, operating under severe resource constraints, must apply their one strong suit--interpersonal network contacts--to arrive at a reasonably stable resolution. The next chapters examine these processes in detail.

8. THE DOMESTIC CONTEXT

Under conditions of limited finances and strong interpersonal links, the issue of obtaining affordable housing must be situated in the immigrant's household and familial (collectively, domestic) context. This is necessary because the processes that lead to low-cost and socially integrated arrangements take place in such domestic groups.

This chapter consists of three major sections corresponding with distinct but closely intertwined facets of domestic groups. Bender [1967] identifies co-residence, domestic functions, and kinship as distinctive dimensions underlying the definition of domestic units.

Co-residence refers to "living together, which is minimally characterized by a proximity in sleeping arrangements and a sentiment similar to that expressed in our folk concept of home" [Bender, 1967:498].

Domestic functions are "concerned with the day-to-day necessities of living, including the provision and preparation of food and the care of children" [Bender, 1967:499]. This group corresponds most closely to the household definition employed in the Honolulu Destination Survey. Hereafter, "household" refers to this narrowly defined unit.

The family is strictly defined in terms of kinship relationships:

To include the criteria of co-residence and domestic functions in the definition of the family results in the absurdity of having to deny the existence of families when their members do not reside together or when they do not form domestic units. [Bender, 1967:499]

This point is particularly important when we deal with the geographic movement of individual family members.

Although these three dimensions often correspond, they also vary independently. For this reason, we shall first examine these dimensions separately before discussing how the resulting configurations are related to one another and to other adaptation functions, particularly employment patterns.

Co-Residence: Physical Dwelling Arrangements

In 1981 the vacancy rate for rental housing in Honolulu was a low 1.1%. Since 1977, the slowdown in construction of new housing put home purchasing beyond the reach of middle- and low-income households [Hawaii State Immigrant Services Center, 1982:9]. Other studies have similarly documented the high demand for housing in Honolulu [Ikeda, et al., 1975; Hawaii State Immigrant Services Center, 1973]. Our focus here is on how immigrants, under constraints of low individual incomes and a tight housing market, respond to these conditions and arrive at various arrangements involving both immigrant home owners and renters, often

bound by kinship, which are rather unusual by host society standards.

When survey findings are juxtaposed with Honolulu census data on housing arrangements, two points emerge: there are proportionately more renters among immigrants, and rental costs are substantially lower for immigrants than for the city as a whole.

A majority (58%) of the survey households were renting at the time of the interviews. Over a third (36%) owned or were buying their dwelling unit, while the remainder (6%) had other housing arrangements. Analogous figures for Honolulu households were 49.9% owners and 50.1% renters [U.S. Bureau of Census, 1983a:H-1].

Immigrant renter households were paying an average of \$195 monthly rental. This amount, however, is subject to wide variability--as low as \$12.00 a month for a shared plantation house, and up to \$600.00 a month. Nonetheless, the survey households were still paying substantially less than the average Honolulu renter households. While the median⁴⁵ rent for Honolulu in 1980 was \$315 per month, the survey households were paying a median of \$185. This pattern is largely due to the common occurrence of two or more households sharing the same dwelling unit, as the subsequent descriptions demonstrate.

⁴⁵ Average rents are not reported in published Census figures.

For owner households, house purchase occurred as early as 1947. Thus, current house payments range from none for fully paid homes to \$1,600 a month, averaging \$577 for those still making monthly payments on their houses.

Other housing arrangements include a few households staying for free; sharing rent, utilities and other expenses; providing services such as cleaning and babysitting in exchange for housing; and giving whatever amount the household can afford.

These patterns can be regarded as symptoms as well as responses to a generally tight housing market.

In order to establish a concrete reference point for much of the description and analysis that follows, it is worthwhile at this point to describe in detail a fairly common dwelling unit organization--a large two-story house containing many individuals belonging to several households.

Simeon's house, purchased in 1977, has four identifiable physical sections, as follows:

- A. One upstairs side with three bedrooms, a kitchen, and two bathrooms
- B. The other upstairs side with four bedrooms, a kitchen, and two bathrooms
- C. A five-bedroom section downstairs, and
- D. A two-bedroom extension downstairs which is under construction.

There is a total of 29 individuals residing in this dwelling unit, distributed in the following households:

- I. Simeon, his wife, and their three children occupy section A
- II. Simeon's parents and their two unmarried children occupy part of section B.
- III. Simeon's sister Aida, her husband, and their three-year-old son share occupancy

of section B with households II and IV.
 IV. Simeon's other sister Lucia, her husband,
 and their two-year-old son, occupy
 section B as well.

V and VI are two unrelated tenant families
 who occupy section C, and have a
 total of 14 individuals between the
 two households. [13D]

The house of Simeon incorporates the most common residential arrangements we are likely to find when we identify from the various components three major types.

First, there is Simeon's household, the resident-owner, who rents out part of the house to kinsmen or unrelated individuals in order to generate income for mortgage payments or for further expansion and improvement of the house. The owner's quarters are often physically separated from the others, and the household corresponds to a nuclear family.

Second, there is Simeon's family of orientation (the occupants of section B), who represent households sharing the dwelling unit of a close kinsman and contributing to house payments in the process. This is a quasi-renter relationship which is characterized by regular contributions to the monthly housing costs, but often to break even and not for profit-making on the part of the owner, nor for free on the part of the kinsmen. Contributions to housing by such households are not clearly defined as rent. When a case with this type of housing situation was asked about monthly expenditures for housing, she replied that "\$100 is what we give them to help with house payments" [E5].

Third, there are the unrelated individuals or households who rent part of a home and represent households who gain access to less expensive housing while at the same time providing additional revenue to the house owner. These renter households are often linked with the owners by ties of distant kinship, common areas of origin, or common language group.

There are several variations in patterns of maintaining affordable dwelling arrangements. Joint ownership of a house is not uncommon, and neither is the conversion of a two-story house into a boarding home. Individuals who would otherwise become single-member households join kinsmen's households as well.

Joint purchase of a house usually occurs between close kinsmen under conditions where one couple could not, by itself, qualify for financing. Renato's house purchase reflects this strategy.

Renato and his wife Eusebia, Eusebia's two sisters and their husbands, and Eusebia's then-unmarried brother, bought a two-story house together in 1976. "We all combined our resources because we did not have a lot of money." Two of these families now live upstairs, the third couple lives on another island, and Renato's family occupy the downstairs area. Renato and Eusebia brought their grown children who used to rent elsewhere to stay with them so that the children can help with payments. "If only a few of us stay [in this house], we will have a difficult time paying." The non-resident co-owners provided the down payment, and the three resident co-owning families take care of monthly mortgage payments. If and when the house is sold, the four co-owning couples will divide the proceeds. [Case 37]

In this instance, pooling of resources transcends household boundaries, but remains within a close family circle.

Operating a care home or a boarding home is another means of subsidizing housing costs. Care homes are licensed, supervised, and funded by the state for the care of elderly or handicapped individuals in a non-institutional environment. When Edna [01] was reinterviewed, she was responsible for four mentally disabled female residents who occupy the downstairs bedrooms of their two-story house. She estimated her gross receipts at around \$2,000 a month, out of which costs for the residents' shelter and other needs are deducted.

Single individuals or those with families left in the Philippines typically become members of already existing households, rather than establishing a single-member household. This arrangement is usually maintained until the immigrant is more settled. Such arrangements, even with close kinsmen, generate strong feelings of obligation to reciprocate or to at least minimize their being a burden on the household. In the words of a single female who initially stayed with her brother's family:

"... for three months, I don't have money to share, and I was so ashamed. I want to buy something, but still hard for me 'cause I don't have my own job, so by the time I got [a] job, that's the time.... Like for snacks in the afternoon, I'm sooo ashamed to get home without anything to bring at home." [36]

After obtaining employment, these individuals begin contributing regularly to household expenditures.

Sometimes, a care home operation, quasi-renter arrangements, and a resident co-owner with associated adult individuals can all be found in the same dwelling unit or compound. The underlying principle is essentially the same: maximize revenue from the physical structure by dividing the costs into smaller shares but among many contributors.

Honolulu Residential Histories

The underlying maximization principle is evident in the sharing of space, as we saw above. In addition, it is equally evident in the use of residential space over time.

From the viewpoint of a homeowner awaiting the immigration of close kinsmen, it is sometimes useful to rent out what is presently an extra room to individuals or small households (such as a recently arrived immigrant) needing temporary housing. This generates some short-term income for the homeowner, which may in turn contribute to financing a kinsman's migration. At the same time, this arrangement provides a low-cost and socially integrated housing alternative to the temporary occupant.

We find among immigrant residence histories some evidence of residential movement due to the impending arrival of the owner's relatives who are expected to stay with the owner. Even among related occupants or quasi-renters, residential

mobility can be triggered by a similar chain of events. The first residence, usually with a close family member, is regarded a staging point, and an implicit understanding exists concerning use of that space over time. When asked why they moved out of her mother's brother's house which was their first residence, an immigrant responded that some other relatives were coming to Hawaii, and "so they took over our room" [D30].

The residential and household histories reveal that a change of residence does not necessarily entail a change in household composition. Likewise, a change in household composition is not always accompanied by residential mobility. In fact, the features of a dwelling unit may change even without residential change. Aida's history illustrates these processes perfectly:

When Aida arrived in 1976 with three younger siblings, they joined their mother and married older brother's family in a rented house. They all moved together in 1977 to a house purchased by her brother, where their father joined them from the Philippines in 1978. Aida got married in 1980 and her husband moved into her residence. At that point, the newly married couple established their own separate cooking arrangements (banga)⁴⁶ and thus formed a new household. In the meantime, the house was expanded with the addition of an extension downstairs.

⁴⁶ Banga, the Ilokano word for a cooking pot, is the root for a native definition of a household, kabanga, or a unit characterized by shared cooking arrangements which often implies an economic unit. Balay (house), on the other hand, is the root for a residential group, kabbalay, which pertains to those sharing the same dwelling unit.

House Sharing

At least 22% of all households surveyed in 1981 were involved in shared housing arrangements. Since this represents volunteered information, it should be regarded as a low estimate. Other data indicate a much higher incidence of households sharing the same dwelling unit. Among the 41 households represented in the case histories, 33 shared their dwellings with other households. May, et al. [1973:34] estimate from their Ilokano immigrant sample that 84% of their Kalihi-Palama residents co-share their living quarters with other households. Both renters and owners are represented, albeit reflecting different manifestations of two major underlying factors: a generally tight housing situation, and fulfilling family obligations by extending use of the dwelling, presumably on a temporary basis, to newly arriving family members.

It is clear from the allocation of space and housing costs that functioning domestic units are usually organized at a smaller scale than the group which occupies a dwelling unit. The next section addresses this smaller configuration.

Domestic Functions in Honolulu Immigrant Households

As mentioned earlier, this domestic group shares common day-to-day tasks, which translates to housework. It minimally consists of grocery shopping, cooking, keeping the house clean, and doing the laundry. Often, adults who stay home are also responsible for looking after the children. While most of these functions are bundled up in the role of a housewife, there are indications that non-working men in immigrant households perform similar domestic functions.

Retired or work-disabled household members provide domestic labor, albeit to a limited degree. For example:

Manuel, who is 43 years old, cannot obtain manual work due to a disability which required heart surgery. He stays home, drops off and picks up their three children in school, goes to the market, cleans the house and yard, and cooks the rice for most meals. His wife works full time, cooks what the rest of the meals consist of (masida), does the laundry, and oversees other household tasks. [U1]

Physical impairment, while representing a major limitation in an individual's ability to function in the labor market, is a minimal constraint for performing most domestic functions.

Similarly, low- or un-educated older housewives who would suffer a severe handicap in the labor market typically perform household tasks, thus providing an opportunity for daughters or daughters-in-law to engage in paid work.

Laid-off workers also provide domestic labor, although in this case, it is usually temporary and of a highly variable

duration. When workers are told to "stay home", it could mean anywhere from a few days to a few months. Lay-off periods are fairly common. One estimate of its prevalence is the reported use of unemployment compensation (24% of all who ever worked). This, however, should be regarded as a low estimate since not all laid off workers collect unemployment compensation.

Domestic work performance in households with more than one employed member is also allocated according to staggered work shifts.⁴⁷ Because many of the immigrant occupations are not day jobs of the 8-to-5 variety, it is not unusual to find that, especially for large households, there is usually an adult at home most of the time, and not just in the evening or on weekends.

When no internal flexibility in any of the above forms is present within the household, other alternatives for child care (which is the most problematic of the domestic tasks) may be found among co-dwellers or in the ethnic neighborhood. Cynthia illustrates the alternative situation:

Cynthia's household consists only of three members: herself, her husband, and their 7-year-old daughter. Her husband does yard work, while she works at a laundry. Since they both work, supervision of the child is shared with their co-dwellers, who are also kinsmen. A total of 24 persons occupy the 9-bedroom, 2-story house.

⁴⁷ Presser and Cain [1983] observed that in a 1980 sample of U.S. households with children and with both spouses employed full time, one-third of the couples included at least one who worked other than a regular day shift.

"We are all related, because the ones here are my parents-in-law, and the young [unmarried] lady is my sister-in-law. My brother-in-law also stays here, and my nephew. The one upstairs is one of my sisters-in-law, and the others that we share the house with are all relatives of my husband." Besides her housemates, four other houses on the same street are occupied by relatives. [HH5]

Household size and composition

Household size ranged from single-member households to a 15-member household. About one-fifth (20.4%) contained more than six individuals, with most households containing between three and six members (see Table 15). One quarter (25.6%) of these households consisted of adults only. Almost half (47.5%) had one or two members under 18, and the rest of the households (26.9%) had up to six members under 18.

Median household size for the sample is 5 persons, which is almost twice the median for Honolulu housing units (2.84). Because Census figures are measured for housing units rather than households, and since we know that immigrant households often share common dwelling units, a comparison between immigrant households and Honolulu households would probably result in an even greater contrast.

TABLE 15

Distribution of Sample and Honolulu Households by Size

Number of Persons	% of Sample Households	% of Honolulu Housing Units*
1 to 2 persons	14.2	43.5
3 to 4 persons	33.0	37.0
5 to 6 persons	32.3	14.7
7 to 9 persons	16.6	
10 to 15 persons	3.8	(4.8)
Total (N)	99.9** (853)	100.0 (230,214)

*Census figures are reported for housing units.

**Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a. p. H-1.

Household resources

Household income provides a basic measure of resources at the disposal of households. Total household income before taxes was reported in income ranges and is summarized in Table 16. By comparison with Honolulu households, there are proportionately fewer immigrant households in the lowest category, but there also were much fewer in the highest category. This pattern is due to multiple earners in households.

Most households reported income receipts from more than one household member. These sources included wages, pensions, rent, and supplemental assistance. About

TABLE 16

Total Household Income, Sample and Honolulu Households

Income Bracket	% of Sample Households	% of Honolulu Households*
Less than \$10,000	11.8	20.8
\$10,000 to \$14,999	17.5	14.0
\$15,000 to \$19,999	20.3	12.5
\$20,000 to \$24,999	18.4	11.6
\$25,000 to \$34,999	17.2	18.1
\$35,000 or more	14.7	23.0
Total (N)	99.9** (836)	100.0 (230,931)

*Household income for 1979 from the U.S. Bureau of Census, 1983a. Table P-11.

**Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

one-fifth (18.6%) of the households had one income-generating member. Almost half (47.8%) reported two members receiving income, and the remaining third (33.7%) had three or more members receiving some form of income. Table 17 reflects the joint distribution of household income bracket and the number of income recipients in the household. An overwhelming majority [85%] of single-earner households fall below \$20,000, while 77% of households with three or more earners have household incomes exceeding \$20,000. This begins to indicate the extent to which multiple earners within households surmount relatively low individual incomes through pooling resources which result in reasonable collective household incomes.

TABLE 17

Joint Distribution of Household Income Bracket and Number of
Income Recipients

Income Bracket	Number of Income Recipients		
	One	Two	Three or more
Less than \$10,000	38.1	8.3	2.2
\$10,000 to \$14,999	28.4	21.5	5.4
\$15,000 to \$19,999	19.4	24.3	15.5
\$20,000 to \$24,999	9.0	22.8	17.6
\$25,000 to \$34,999	3.2	18.0	23.7
\$35,000 or more	1.9	5.2	35.6
Total (N)	100.0 (155)	101.1* (400)	100.0 (278)

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Not surprisingly, total household income is strongly related to the number of household members receiving income [$\text{Gamma}=.622$].

Family Obligations: The Shadow Household Complex

A key starting point for this section is the recognition of persistent obligations, commitments, and a sense of identification with family members even though they may be in a separate geographic location [Litwak, 1960; Trager, 1984]. It is necessary to further narrow down this unit to members who continue to maintain observable and sustained links across geographical distances, such as the shadow household complex discussed in Chapter 2.

Discussion in this section is organized according to two types of family members depending on their location: those who are in the same domestic function group (household), and those who are absent. First, we establish the locations of immediate family members. Some of these are members of the Honolulu household, and here, we consider ties with close family members in other locations, particularly those in the Philippines.

Location of Family Members

Most of the respondents who were currently married (91%) were residing with their spouses. Of the remaining 9% with absent spouses, more than four out of five (86%) were in the Philippines during the 1981 survey, and the remainder (14%) were elsewhere in the U.S. While more of the absent spouses residing in the U.S. were typically husbands working elsewhere, a majority of the absent spouses in the Philippines were wives of men in Hawaii.

A majority of the respondents' parents were also living in the United States and, more specifically, in Hawaii. About two-thirds of all surviving fathers (65%) were in the U.S., and almost half of these were living in their respondent-children's dwelling. The remaining one-third (35%) were in the Philippines. A slightly smaller proportion (59%) of surviving mothers were in the U.S. Similarly, almost half of these were living in the same

house as the respondent. The rest of the mothers (41%) remained in the Philippines or had come to Hawaii and then returned to the Philippines.

Over half (58%) of all respondents with children have at least one of them in the same house, with more elsewhere in Hawaii. Assessing it from the Philippine side, very few (13%) of the respondents with children had any of them living in the Ilocos. Only 6% had any children elsewhere in the Philippines. These figures indicate that for most respondents, children no longer represent a strong link with the Philippines.

Siblings, however, follow a very different pattern of geographical distribution. Very few respondents were without any surviving siblings (3%). Overall, respondents had an average of 4.66 living siblings--a figure consistent with high fertility of their parental generations. Over one-third (35%) of respondents with siblings did not have any residing in Hawaii in 1981. However, the two-thirds (65%) who did have siblings in Hawaii tended to have more than one, averaging 3.03 siblings each.

An even larger proportion (75%) had siblings in the Philippines. This group also tended to have several, averaging 3.19 siblings each in that location. The remaining 25% had no siblings residing in the Philippines.

About one out of five (19%) had siblings elsewhere in the U.S., and a few (5%) had siblings in other countries as well.

The overwhelming presence of close kin in Hawaii as well as in the Philippines establishes a firm basis for continued contact and interaction between these two areas. Siblings provide the major connection with the Philippines. Parents are the next most common. However, children and spouses are unlikely continuing links since they tend to join the family in Hawaii.

The previous section on households examined the components who live in Honolulu. The next section examines the nature and maintenance of continuing contacts with kinsmen in the Philippines.

Ties with Absent Family Members

Two major mechanisms for maintaining long-distance family ties are examined in this section: visiting and remittances. Because there is no systematic data on a third mechanism--correspondence--it is addressed in conjunction with remittances and visiting. A fourth mechanism, that of reunification at the destination, is covered in much of this study and requires no further detail here.

Visiting.

The cost of visiting the home country includes three major components: transportation, expenses for presents and consumer goods from the U.S., and expenses for upkeep while in the Philippines. There is some variation in travel costs. By 1981 standards, special air fares allowed round

trips for as low as \$500, with full-fare round trip fare at almost \$1,000.

Before departure, a wide assortment of items are assembled for the visitor to bring back to the Philippines. These commonly include such articles as shoes, watches, clothing, soap, cosmetics, coffee, canned corned beef, chocolates, apples, oranges, and grapes. Letters, money, and more of the same items are brought by neighboring friends and relatives to entrust to the traveler for delivery to family and friends in the Ilocos.⁴⁸

By many reports, the traveler is expected to spend a substantial amount while in the Philippines, much of which goes to entertaining relatives. One returnee said they continually had to feed about a dozen relatives and friends on almost every meal at their house for the duration of the four-week visit.⁴⁹

In effect, a thousand dollars represents the barest minimum necessary for each individual return visit. In addition to these costs, it is common to find visitors traveling with someone, rather than alone, which implies a further multiplication of the minimum costs. Depending on the reasons for visiting, the costs could escalate even

⁴⁸ Griffiths [1978:45] describes analogous preparations for departure from the Ilocos to Hawaii. Besides letters, travelers bring back packages of Philippine candy, dried fish, dried shrimp and similar delicacies.

⁴⁹ Again, Griffiths [1982] provides an ethnographic account of a visitor's arrival in the Ilocos which clearly conveys the high social status accorded the returnee.

more. The three most common reasons for traveling home are:

- in response to a crisis situation, mainly a serious illness or death in the family,
- to get married, as discussed in Chapter 5, or as a member of a wedding party, and
- for a vacation, which has a strong status validation aspect.⁵⁰

Considering the distance and the cost of air travel between Hawaii and the Philippines, a remarkable 61% of all the survey respondents have taken at least one return trip to the Philippines since they first came to Hawaii. If we exclude immigrants who have been here for less than a year as being unlikely to have had the opportunity to visit, the proportion of return visitors increases to 70%. Table 18 further breaks down the occurrence of visiting by length of residence. By the third to fifth year in Hawaii, over half of the respondents had already returned at least once to the Philippines. The pattern is consistent: the highest proportion visiting occurs among those with the longest period of Hawaii residence.

⁵⁰ Soriano [1982] discusses the notion of "displaced social mobility" among returning immigrants. Although his analysis pertains to retired plantation workers who return to stay, some of the same arguments also apply to short-duration return visitors.

TABLE 18

Return Trips to the Philippines by Length of Residence in Hawaii

Number of Years in Hawaii	% Visiting the Philippines	(N)
0 to 2 years	15.7	(331)
3 to 5 years	57.4	(303)
6 to 10 years	76.3	(405)
11 to 16 years	82.2	(445)
(All Respondents)	60.7	(1,484)

Remittances.

Over three-fourths (76%) of all survey households sent money to the Philippines in the year preceding the survey. Amounts sent by each sending household over a 12-month period varied widely, from as little as five dollars to as much as \$7,000, averaging \$438 for all households and \$599 per sending household. Table 19 summarizes the amounts sent by remitting households.

These figures total a little more than \$373,000 from 623 households over a one-year period. This is not an insignificant sum by Hawaii standards, especially coming from low- to middle-income households. This amount converted to over 2.8 million pesos in 1981,⁵¹ which is even

⁵¹ At that time, \$1 was worth approximately 7.5 pesos. See also Soriano [1982:167 ff.] for a more detailed assessment of the value of the dollar in the Ilocos.

TABLE 19

Amounts Remitted by Respondent Households, 12-Month Period

Total Remitted	% of All Households	% of Sending Households	(N)
None	27.0	-	(230)
\$5 to \$100	20.5	28.1	(175)
\$101 to \$300	22.6	31.0	(193)
\$301 to \$500	9.1	12.5	(78)
\$501 to \$1,000	10.2	14.0	(87)
Over \$1,000	10.6	14.5	(90)
Total (N)	100.0 (853)	100.1* (623)	

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

more substantial in the Philippines.

Although the majority (55%) of remitting households sent money to only one receiving party in the Philippines, the remaining remitter households (45%) sent to as many as four different recipients each. Thus, the following analysis examines the incidence of households mentioning particular recipients or uses of remittances in the context of multiple responses. Percentages in Table 20 indicate to whom remittances were sent, with the same source household sending to one or more different recipients. Similarly for Table 21, percentages indicate what the remittance was used for, with the same source household sending remittances for one or more different uses.

TABLE 20
Recipients of Household Remittances

Recipient*	% of all Households	% of sending Households	(N)
Spouse	4.9	6.5	(42)
Child(ren)	14.3	18.9	(122)
Parent(s)	22.4	29.5	(191)
Sibling(s)	30.2	39.9	(258)
Sent to House hold	8.0	10.5	(68)
Other relatives	26.6	35.1	(227)
Non-relatives	0.5	0.6	(4)

*Total number of households was 853, with 623 households remitting. Frequencies and proportions do not add up to 100% due to multiple responses.

Siblings, parents, and other relatives of members of sending households were the most frequently mentioned recipients of remittances. Children, spouses, and whole households in the Philippines were less frequently mentioned. This is due mainly to the trend mentioned earlier that not many spouses and children of immigrants remain in the Ilocos, whereas parents, siblings, and other relatives continue to reside there in significant numbers. This pattern provides solid evidence of continuing bonds through remittances between kinsmen in Hawaii and in the Philippines.

Household informants were also asked about what they expected each remittance to be used for. Table 21

summarizes these figures. Over two out of five sending households expected at least one of their remittances to be used for daily needs, including food and clothing. Almost the same proportion sent money as gifts or assistance, often to supplement day-to-day expenses.

TABLE 21
Uses of Household Remittances

Expected Use*	% of all Households	% of sending Households	(N)
Daily needs	31.3	41.3	(267)
Gifts or assistance	29.5	38.9	(252)
Schooling expenses	18.2	24.0	(155)
General unspecified expenses	15.6	20.6	(133)
Medical expenses	4.1	5.4	(35)
Investment	2.7	3.6	(23)
Ritual expenses	2.1	2.8	(18)
Repayment of debts	0.9	1.2	(8)
Migration expenses**	4.3	5.7	(37)

*Total number of households was 853, with 623 households remitting. Frequencies and proportions do not add up to 100% due to multiple responses.

**This is in addition to expenditures for migration obtained at the individual level.

Investment was mentioned by very few sending households. This included home repair, purchase of real property and work animals (carabao), and money with which to mortgage someone else's property. However, almost one-quarter of the

remitting households sent money for school expenses, which can be viewed as an investment in the development of human capital.

Other little-mentioned uses were for medical and ritual expenses, and the repayment of debts. The first two of these are generally associated with rare or crisis events which would explain, in part, the low incidence found over a one-year period of remittances. These include the illness or death (and funeral) of kinsmen, as well as wedding expenses.

Individual respondents were asked in the survey whether they had ever financially assisted anyone in migrating to Hawaii. Almost half (44%) did so, mainly by providing air fare. In most instances, expenses for processing papers were also provided. Because individual respondents had already provided information specifically on financial assistance for migration, the proportion (4%) reflected in Table 21 is extremely underestimated.

Summary

The combination of a generally difficult housing market, low individual earnings, and strong interpersonal ties generate co-residential arrangements which involve relatively large numbers of individuals who are often related to one another.

These large co-residential groups are organized into smaller groups, or narrowly defined "households" which pool the typically low individual earnings and create a viable unit which has access to an economical dwelling arrangement and which is the locus of shared domestic tasks.

Families, on the other hand, can be widely dispersed geographically, often with key members in the Philippines. Ties of obligation and commitment continue to bind these elements together, and future reunification at the destination, or retirement at the origin, are common long-term goals. In the short run, remittances and return visits are major mechanisms for sustaining these ties. The monetary costs of remittances and return visits are substantial, especially when viewed in the context of the tighter financial situation of recent immigrants.

In effect, there are two sides to the issue of interpersonal ties and housing arrangements. Close ties are a resource as well as a constraint. Such ties provide the basis for pooling low earnings and sharing household tasks, yet because they generate obligations (sometimes at the origin), there is a concomitant burden, albeit short-term, in financial resources which can lead all the more to a necessity for maintaining the low-cost and high density housing arrangements.

9. EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

This chapter examines employment patterns, being the principal source of income. While our focus is on the role of interpersonal networks in the employment process, we need to recognize broader labor market conditions, as well as consider the relevance of individual attributes in obtaining employment.

We begin with a review of labor market conditions in order to define structural constraints on individual and interpersonal factors. We then examine individual activity patterns, employment profiles, and the distinctive features of immigrant employment. Because there is an unexplained tendency for individuals of diverse backgrounds to cluster in specific occupational categories, we turn to the process of job-seeking and the role of interpersonal networks as a major channeling mechanism that might partially explain this phenomenon.

Macro-Structural Context

Our approach to the context of immigrant employment requires an examination of existing structural patterns. Specifically, we review a typology developed to explain patterns of immigrant employment, and then use available

statistics to identify the structural location of Filipino immigrants in Hawaii.

Modes of Structural Incorporation

Three modes of incorporation of new immigrants into the United States labor market have been documented. These are:

- the primary sector, which derives from employment in the oligopolistic sector in the advanced capitalist economy,
- the secondary sector, which is associated with the competitive or peripheral sector of the economy, and
- the ethnic enclave, which derives from employment within a self-enclosed minority population. [Wilson and Portes, 1980]

The immigration of foreign professionals, also known as the "brain drain," is directed at the primary sector, which offers "jobs with relatively high wages, good working conditions, chances of advancement, equity and due process in the administration of work rules, and above all, employment stability" [Piore, 1975:126].

Many of those who come under family reunification provisions,⁵² particularly those from the Philippines, find employment in the secondary sector, where the jobs require little or no prior training, cluster at the low end of the wage scale, have little or no mobility opportunities, and

⁵² These provisions are discussed in detail in the section on U.S. immigration policy in the Chapter 4.

are characterized by rapid turnover. Although the secondary labor market is associated with the peripheral sector of the economy, the fit is not perfect: some jobs in competitive enterprises lack the above characteristics, and conversely, some specialized branches in oligopolistic firms can be defined as part of the secondary labor market by the above criteria [Portes, 1981:284]. This is true, for instance, with agricultural laborers employed by large corporations in Hawaii, and with domestic service workers in the highly differentiated tourist industry.

Immigrant enclaves⁵³ are characterized by a significant proportion of the immigrant labor force working in enterprises owned by other immigrants [Light, 1972]. Unlike the secondary labor market, these are occupationally heterogeneous and have significant opportunities for economic advancement [Portes, 1981:291]. Cubans among the Hispanics [Wilson and Portes, 1980] and Koreans among the Asian immigrants [Bonacich, Light, and Wong, 1977] illustrate this mode of structural incorporation.

For Filipino immigrants, the "brain drain" issue of the 1960s and 1970s has faded in recent years, mainly as a consequence of the declining proportion of immigrants

⁵³ A further distinction between immigrant enclaves and middleman minorities is suggested by Portes and Manning [1985], where middleman minorities are characterized as relatively smaller in size, more spatially dispersed, more homogeneous in occupational location, and more knowledgeable of the host language and institutions. For this discussion, however, 'immigrant enclaves' is broadly used to include both.

entering the U.S. on professional visas [see Fawcett, et al., 1984:Appendix Table 5]. Few of the recent Filipino immigrants to Hawaii find employment in the primary segment of the labor market.

In addition, there does not exist a well-developed Filipino ethnic enclave. For instance, in 1972,⁵⁴ Filipinos owned only 2.6% of all firms belonging to Asian Americans in Hawaii. While Japanese and Chinese had a firms-per-ten thousand ratio of 78 and 71 respectively, Filipinos ranked lowest, with 8.3 firms per 10,000. Filipino-owned firms employed less than one percent of the employees in all such firms, and they averaged only 3.4 employees per firm, which is also the lowest. Hence, employment opportunities from within the ethnic community are minimal.

This leaves employment in the secondary labor market as the main mode of structural incorporation among recent Filipino immigrants in Hawaii. This segment becomes a major arena in which personal networks operate to secure and maintain a source of income for the new immigrants.

⁵⁴ These figures are from the 1972 Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises done by the Bureau of the Census, summarized in Magdalena [1977:Table 2].

Opportunities in the Hawaii Labor Market

While the existence of relatively better employment opportunities in Hawaii is a major recurrent theme in conversations with recent immigrants, there is an equally strong second major theme: a clear qualification is imposed on employment expectations. The opportunities are there if one is not picky about the type of job one obtains; if one is willing to take any honest job that comes along; and if one is willing to work hard--in short, if occupational prestige is not of paramount concern.

A review of immigrant activities establishes that, with few exceptions, those who look for work do find employment. During the 1981 survey, only 3.2% of the respondents were looking for work. For the same period, the average rate of unemployment for Honolulu was 5.3% [Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1981:2A].

At the same time, there is overwhelming evidence to support the second dominant theme noted above, which concerns the type of employment found. Table 22 juxtaposes the state-wide distribution of occupations with those of Filipino ancestry in Hawaii. Filipinos are broken down into the native-born and the foreign-born, with a further identification among the latter of recent immigrants, or those who arrived between 1970 and 1980.

Workers of Filipino ancestry comprise 13.5% of the state's labor force. Foreign-born Filipinos and recently

Table 22
1980 Census Distribution of Hawaii and Filipino Labor Force Participants by Occupation Groups and Selected Occupations

	State (All) ^a	Filipino Ancestry					
		Philippine-Born					
		All ^b		All ^c		1970-80 migrants ^d	
		N	%*	N	%*	N	%*
Total employed persons 16 years or over	415,181	56,050	13.5	30,174	7.3	15,647	3.8
Managerial and professional specialty occupations	97,606	4,837	(5.0)*	2,005	(2.1)	879	(0.9)
Technical, sales, and administrative support occupations	132,651	13,111	(9.9)	5,438	(4.1)	2,887	(2.2)
Sales occupations	47,475	4,572	(9.6)	2,167	(4.6)	1,121	(2.4)
Cashiers	8,762	1,478	16.9	-	-	-	-
Service occupations	74,149	15,097	20.4	9,505	12.8	5,559	7.5
Service occupations, except protective and household	65,024	14,217	21.9	9,183	14.1	5,396	8.3
Food service occupations	32,721	5,729	17.5	-	-	-	-
Cleaning and building service occupations	16,397	5,842	35.6	-	-	-	-
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	14,154	4,724	33.4	3,452	24.4	1,749	12.4
Farm workers and related occupations	10,885	4,440	40.8	-	-	-	-
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	48,198	6,604	13.7	2,908	(6.0)	1,116	(2.3)
Construction trades	21,108	2,979	14.1	-	-	-	-
Operators, fabricators, and laborers	48,423	11,677	24.1	6,866	14.2	3,457	7.1
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	17,993	4,451	24.7	2,605	14.5	1,384	7.7
Construction laborers	3,366	939	27.9	-	-	-	-

*Figures in parentheses indicate areas of proportionate underrepresentation.

Sources: ^aU.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Hawaii, Table 68, p. 13-29.

^bIbid., Table 96, p. 13-67.

^cUnpublished census special tabulations.

arrived immigrants comprise 7.3% and 3.8% respectively. We can use these proportions as baselines, and expect to find roughly the same proportions in each occupational category if the representation of Filipino workers followed the same pattern as the statewide labor force.⁵⁵ All things being equal, we should find the same proportions consistently along each column. Obviously, this is not the case.

There is a clear pattern of underrepresentation of Filipinos in the managerial, professional, and white collar occupations, and of overrepresentation among the services, agriculture, and operatives. These trends become more pronounced among the foreign-born and among the more recent arrivals.

Besides differential distributions between broad occupational groups, there also exists differentiation within categories. For example, while technical, sales, and administrative support occupations, as a category, reflects an overall underrepresentation of Filipino workers, there is overrepresentation among cashiers in particular. Also, while Filipinos are overrepresented in services as a whole, this is much more so among janitorial workers and less so among food service workers. Whereas only 13% of the state

⁵⁵ Although we must recognize the existence of variations in the attributes of ethnic groups which affect occupational distributions, a systematic assessment would require a multivariate framework which is not possible with these census tabulations, and lies outside the scope of this study.

work force is of Filipino ancestry, fully 41% of the state's farm workers are of Filipino ancestry.

This highly uneven distribution reflects ethnic and immigrant labor concentrated in occupations requiring few skills, low rates of return, high instability, and lacking in career ladders. These attributes suggest incorporation in the competitive sector of a segmented labor market.⁵⁶ This pattern is particularly well-documented in a specific area of Filipino immigrant employment, the hotel industry. Bouslog [1985] establishes from state-wide data that Filipinos and the foreign-born have high probabilities of secondary sector employment. Although this is partly explained by educational achievement, "foreign-born Filipinos bear an additional labor market handicap which does not appear related to levels of acculturation or to language ability."

Immigrant Work Patterns

We turn now to establishing a profile of immigrant work patterns mainly from survey data. Three broad areas are examined: the incidence of working, areas of occupational concentration, and the more distinctive features of immigrant employment.

⁵⁶ For a thorough discussion of this theoretical perspective, see Cain [1976] and Harrison and Sum [1979].

Activity Patterns

Overall, 89% of the survey respondents have worked in Hawaii. Virtually all males (98%) have worked at some point during their stay in Hawaii, as have 83% of female respondents. The remaining 11% who were never employed are a diverse group.

The respondents were asked whether they worked during their first 12 months in Hawaii. Those who did not work were asked what their main activity was during the 12-month period following their arrival.⁵⁷ About one quarter of the respondents did not engage in paid work. A majority of this group were housewives (74%). Unemployed job seekers comprised 10%, students 10%, and the remainder (6%) were retired or not employed for other reasons, such as work disability or old age.

Respondents were also asked whether they were currently working at the time of the 1981 survey.⁵⁸ Four out of five (80%) of the respondents were employed. Of those not working, the proportion of job-seekers and of retired or

⁵⁷ Because the respondents arrived anywhere between 1965 and 1981, the year of reference varied from subject to subject. Hence, this measure reflects activity during a specific phase following migration and not during a calendar period.

⁵⁸ This measures activity at a given point in time, regardless of duration at the destination. Survey data on employment were obtained only for the first year following arrival and for the year preceding the survey. With this constraint, a systematic disaggregation by period, cohort, or duration can only be done by dividing the sample into smaller subsets which would yield numerous empty cells.

disabled individuals had risen to 16% and 13% respectively. There were proportionately fewer (3%) students, and fewer were engaged in housekeeping as well (68%).

A further breakdown of first year activities by sex, as shown in Table 23 reveals, first of all, an overwhelming majority of females in the non-working category. While almost all males (95%) found employment during their first year in Hawaii, less than two-thirds (61%) of the females were employed during the same stage of their residence in Hawaii.

TABLE 23
Activity During the First Year in Hawaii, by Sex

	% of all Respondents		% of non-working Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Working	95.0	60.7		
Not working	5.1	39.3		
Looking for work	1.9	3.1	37.5	7.9
Student	1.9	2.9	37.5	7.3
Housekeeping	-	31.8	-	81.0
Retired/too old	0.5	-	9.4	-
Other non-working	0.8	1.5	15.6	3.9
Total	100.1*	100.0	100.0	100.1*
(N)	(640)	(842)	(32)	(331)

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

For 1981, a similar breakdown of main activities by sex reveals a reduction of the employment gap between males and females. The proportion of employed males was slightly less (91%), and the proportion of females had risen to 72% (see Table 24). However, females still dominated the category of non-workers, mainly due to their responsibilities as home makers.⁵⁹ Erlinda, a 52-year-old housewife, exemplifies this profile:

When Erlinda arrived with her son in 1971, she had already been preceded by her husband and another son. She never looked for work, because "my children have already jobs when I came so they won't let me work." [Case 08]

As discussed in the previous chapter, adults who stay home are often responsible for looking after young children. When a 58-year-old widowed housewife was asked if she ever tried to find a job in Hawaii, she replied:

"That is what I keep telling my daughter, but she says, 'The reason that you came is to look after your grandson, so if you go to work, who will look after him? [Compared with] my taking him to a babysitter, it's better if you look after him,' [my daughter] said." [Case 49]

In general, females who have never worked in Hawaii consist of two types: those who have recently arrived and are looking for their first job at the destination, and older housewives, who often provide child care, and are unlikely to seek employment in the future. The few males

⁵⁹ Because 'housekeeper' is also a specific paid occupation, (such as a housekeeper for a condominium), to minimize ambiguity, the term 'home maker' is sometimes used to refer to a housekeeper for one's own home.

TABLE 24
Activity in 1981, by Sex

	% of all Respondents		% of non-working Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Working	91.4	72.3		
Not working	8.5	27.8		
Looking for work	3.4	2.9	40.0	10.3
Student	0.5	0.6	5.5	2.1
Housekeeping	0.3	23.0	3.6	82.8
Retired/too old	2.0	-	23.6	-
Other non-working	2.3	1.3	27.3	4.7
Total	99.9*	100.1*	100.0	100.1*
(N)	(639)	(840)	(55)	(233)

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

who have never worked in Hawaii are much like the first type of female non-workers--they have only recently arrived and will probably be working in the near future. These men have a median length of residence in Hawaii of less than one year, while all non-working women have a median of three years.

Still, by far the most common activity for both males and females is working for pay. Most workers had one job at the time of the survey, and 12% were then working at more than one job. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the situation of these workers.

Occupational Profiles: Blue, Pink, and White Collar

This section would normally be titled "career patterns" in occupational attainment studies. However, the most obvious characteristic of the types of employment found by recent immigrants is, with few exceptions, that career lines are conspicuously absent. Among reinterview cases, for instance, there is little evidence of upward mobility in their occupation histories, as we shall see later in this chapter.

The trend of disproportionate occupational distribution established at the macro scale is examined now using the survey and reinterview data. Census classifications are used initially to allow easy comparison with other existing statistics. Table 25 uses the 1980 Census classification scheme for occupations and establishes that, for both the very first occupation in Hawaii as well as occupations in 1981, the largest proportion of immigrant jobs were in the services. The proportion of males in this category declined slightly over time, while females registered an increase from 40% to 46%. Technical and other white collar occupations also reflect an increase over time, as do managerial, professional, and crafts occupations. Farming and operative occupations, on the other hand, register a decline over time.

Since the utility of the Census classification is limited by the fact that over three quarters of the respondents are

clustered in only two categories (services and operatives), more informative occupational categories were developed from actual distributions and are used for the remainder of the discussion.

Table 26 summarizes the most common occupations for all ever-employed survey respondents. Food service work is the most frequently obtained first job, and despite a decline over time, continued to be the largest in 1981. Janitorial work and pineapple-related occupations together provide almost one quarter (24%) of all first jobs, but later show a decline. Because occupations dominated by a specific gender are apparent in this combined listing (e.g. hotel maids for women and construction work for men), a separate listing by sex was developed.

Table 27 shows that among males, almost a third (30%) start work in Hawaii as food service workers or janitors, with many working as dishwashers. Employment in the pineapple fields and canneries account for 14% of the first jobs. These occupations reflect a proportionate decline in 1981, suggesting movement away from these jobs and into construction or skilled trades and into utility and maintenance work.

Within the mobility constraints of blue collar occupations, these shifts can be regarded as "career"⁶⁰ mobility, not so much in terms of prestige as it is an

⁶⁰ Anderson [1974] documents similar blue-collar "career" progressions among Portuguese immigrants in Toronto.

Table 25
 Census Classification of First Job and 1981 Job of Honolulu Destination Survey Respondents, by Sex

	All Respondents		Males		Females	
	First	1981	First	1981	First	1981
Managerial and professional specialty occupations	1.1	3.2	0.8	2.3	1.5	4.0
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	0.3	2.3	0.3	1.6	0.3	3.0
Professional specialty occupations	0.8	0.9	0.5	0.7	1.2	1.0
Technical, sales, and administrative support occupations	8.5	12.2	4.3	6.6	12.2	17.4
Technicians and related support occupations	0.4	1.4	0.6	1.9	0.1	0.8
Sales occupations	4.2	4.2	1.3	1.4	6.9	6.9
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	3.9	6.6	2.4	3.3	5.2	9.8
Service occupations	42.8	45.9	47.3	45.5	38.9	46.2
Private household occupations	1.6	0.8	1.4	0.5	1.9	1.0
Protective service occupations	0.6	0.7	1.3	1.2	-	-
Service occupations, except protective and household	40.6	44.4	44.6	43.8	37.0	45.0
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	10.7	7.6	14.2	9.2	7.6	6.1
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	3.6	6.2	5.6	11.1	1.7	1.7
Operators, fabricators, and laborers	33.3	26.9	27.8	25.5	38.2	24.7
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	24.9	14.8	12.9	6.1	35.7	23.2
Transportation and material moving occupations	0.5	2.4	1.0	4.5	-	0.3
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	7.9	7.9	13.9	14.9	2.5	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.2*	100.1*	100.1*
(N)	(1,321)	(1,182)	(626)	(578)	(695)	(604)

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

TABLE 26

Most Common Immigrant Occupations in the HDS

	First Job	1981 Occupation
Food service workers	13.0	11.7
Janitors and cleaners	8.9	5.6
Hotel maids	5.8	9.1
Housekeepers for hotels and business establishments	4.5	6.2
Utility and maintenance workers	2.4	6.2
Pineapple pickers and field hands	6.8	4.7
Pineapple processing workers	8.4	2.4
Other food processing workers	5.1	4.0
Construction workers	3.3	5.7
Landscaping and yard workers	3.5	2.8
Other laborers	3.4	2.4
Carpenters and other craftsmen	3.0	6.7
Laundry workers	4.4	2.1
Clothing and textile workers	5.8	5.7
Clerical workers	3.9	6.9
Retail sales workers	3.6	3.1
Health service workers	3.1	3.7
All other occupations	11.2	11.1
Total (N)	100.1* (1,321)	100.1* (1,137)

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

improvement using the criteria of job stability or earnings. For example, a migrant who starts out as a dishwasher is more likely to have his work hours cut during slow work periods, whereas a maintenance man has a steady eight-hour job in most instances. Heavy manual work is required in both pineapple agriculture and construction work. However,

TABLE 27
Most Common Male Occupations

	First Job	1981 Occupation
Dishwashers, waiters, busboys and and other food service workers	18.2	16.7
Janitors and cleaners	12.0	6.3
Utility and maintenance workers	4.5	10.4
Housemen for hotels and business establishments	3.4	4.5
Carpenters and other craftsmen	5.9	12.4
Construction workers	6.9	11.6
Landscaping and yard workers	6.6	5.6
Other laborers	6.2	4.5
Pineapple pickers and field hands	8.5	5.0
Sugar and other agricultural workers	5.8	4.8
Tray boys, machine operators, and other pineapple cannery workers	5.4	0.7
All other occupations	16.8	17.6
Total (N)	100.2* (626)	100.1* (558)

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

the pay rates vary markedly, with pineapple workers receiving close to the minimum wage and construction workers earning twice as much or even more. The job changes experienced by a 34-year-old truck driver who arrived at age 17 illustrate some of these occupation changes:

Nestor first worked as a tray boy at the pineapple cannery after graduation from a Philippine high school. He worked for about one year, then was laid off. After that, he was hired as a laborer at a shipyard, and four years later, was again laid off. One month later, he started working as

a laborer at the sugar company. While there, he found out that there was an opening for a truck driver, and the company trained him. This is now Nestor's main job. In addition, he works part-time as a fry cook at a diner. [46]

While Nestor's case represents upward job mobility over a long period of time, the next case is more common and represents lateral rather than vertical movement:

A 56-year-old Ilocos farmer who arrived four years before the interviews shared his first job with his wife. They both worked for a small company cleaning offices at night (3 hours), until the firm went bankrupt two months later. His daughter then helped him apply for another job. He got called the very same day to work as a machine cleaner at a pineapple processing plant, and has continuously worked this job since then. [07]

To get a better view of a specific occupation, we focus on dishwashers, since it is the most common first job among males. Of the 63 men who first worked as dishwashers, the majority (57%) started work within their first month in Hawaii and earned an average of \$4.20 per hour (in 1981 dollars). All levels of education were represented, with a third finishing high school education. A wide age range was also represented--17 to 51 years. Less than one-third (31%) were still working on the same job in 1981.

This type of work illustrates many characteristics of an immigrant-dominated occupation: it requires few skills and it is easy to obtain. But it pays low and has a high turnover rate.

Analogous features are observed among occupations of women [Table 28]. With the exception of cleaners,

maintenance workers, and pineapple pickers, all the major occupations are feminine in character. There are two broad types. The service, manufacturing, and processing occupations are female-dominated or pink-collar categories, and there is a small but growing white collar segment consisting mostly of clerical workers.

TABLE 28
Most Common Female Occupations

	First Job	1981 Occupation
Hotel maids	10.9	18.0
Housekeepers for hotels and business establishments	5.6	7.8
Janitors and cleaners	6.2	5.0
Pantry workers, counter girls and other food service workers	8.3	6.9
Ironers, folders, sorters, and other laundry workers	7.3	3.8
Seamstresses and other clothing and textile workers	10.4	10.5
Pineapple trimmers and packers	11.1	3.8
Trimmers and packers for tuna and other food products	6.5	5.4
Cashiers and sales clerks	6.2	5.9
Keypunchers, bookkeepers, and other clerical workers	5.2	10.0
Nurse's aides, LPNs and other health care workers	5.2	6.2
Pineapple pickers and field hands	5.3	4.3
All other occupations	11.8	12.3
Total (N)	100.0 (695)	99.9* (579)

*Does not equal 100 due to rounding.

For purposes of illustration, two cases are examined.

Linda is a 56-year-old mother of 5 children who had previously worked as a midwife and an office clerk in the Philippines. She arrived in 1979 and first worked for one month as a fry cook and counter girl at a drive-in. After that, she worked at a slipper factory. A year later (while still working this job), she found her current housekeeping job with a Waikiki hotel. She worked a total of two years at the factory, and has now settled into her housekeeping job. [22]

Within the same occupation, it is not uncommon to find changes in employer as well:

Rita, now 29 years old, had one year of college education when she came to Hawaii in 1976. Through her sister-in-law who "worked long time in that place," Rita found work as a hotel maid at the Marine Rigger Hotel. She worked there for eight months. "Because we are working only for short hours, sometimes four hours, three hours," a friend helped her find another job. She started working, also as a maid at High Surf Hotel in 1977, and is still on the same job at present. [13]

Although the broad categories are the same as the men's, the sexual division of labor among occupations is clear. For example, among pineapple processing workers, the trimmers and packers are invariably female, while the machine operators and equipment handlers are almost all male.

The shifting proportions between first job and 1981 occupation suggest that pineapple and food service work tend to provide initial employment, but are left for other jobs. Hotel domestic workers register an increase, as do office clerical workers.

Hotel maids constitute the largest occupation category among women, with 76 starting work in this occupation, and

the numbers growing to 104 in 1981. As with the dishwashers, hotel maids have a wide range of individual attributes. About one-third of both first job workers and 1981 maids completed at least a high school education. Immigrant women between the ages of 17 and 56 were represented. Average hourly earnings amounted to \$4.66. Again, more than half (60%) of these workers stayed with this job no more than a year, suggesting a high rate of turnover.

In many respects, these occupational profiles correspond to the earlier features of secondary labor market employment. Men of diverse backgrounds find themselves in similar blue-collar occupations. Similarly diverse women are found working in pink- or, to a lesser extent, low-level white collar occupations.

Features of Immigrant Employment

Before we shift to how interpersonal factors influence occupational placement, two features characterizing immigrant employment are worth noting. These pertain to multiple jobs and work fluctuations.

Multiple Employment.

New immigrants are often depicted as hard workers who commonly take advantage of opportunities to "moonlight".

Among Ilokano immigrants, the terms double job and part-time have become integrated in the everyday language.⁶¹

Among the survey respondents who were employed at the time of the study, 12% were working in more than one job. This proportion can be regarded as an estimate of prevalence for a given point in time. However, it is clear from the life history material and from observations that many more workers experience the "double job" phenomenon at some point in their employment in Hawaii. For specific individuals, it is not necessarily a continuing lifetime phenomenon.

A quick comparison of single job and multiple job workers is helpful. For brevity, we will refer to them as single and double job workers. Double job workers tended to have a lower hourly rate (median of \$4.52 per hour) than single job workers (\$4.88). However, because double job workers spent more hours working (median of 60 hours a week) than single job workers (40 hours), their total weekly earnings were higher (median of \$266 per week) than those of single job workers (\$200 per week). Double job workers have been in Hawaii for a shorter period of time (median of 6 years) than single job workers (7 years). There were proportionately more single individuals engaged in multiple jobs (19%) than

⁶¹ The Ilokano prefix ag is attached to the English phrase or truncated phrase, treated as a root, and becomes a verb, as in ag-dabel, 'to do double [work]', or ag-partaym, 'to do part-time [work]'. These are then conjugated and used in ordinary conversation as regular Ilokano verbs, e.g. Nagparpartaymak, 'I was doing part-time [work].'

in one job (12%). Finally, one-third of the double job workers had one or both parents in the same house, while less than one-fourth (24%) of the single job workers were in a similar arrangement.

These characteristics suggest several conditions which underlie the "double job" phenomenon. First, there is the situation of need, as indicated by the disparity in the rate of earnings. While rate reflects an absolute measurement, relative needs are equally important to assess. Perception of a need to earn more can arise not only from a condition of low rates, but also from the anticipation of future expenditure. For example, the expenses to be incurred in the expected migration of other family members can become an overwhelming reason for engaging in double jobs. Similarly, prospective investment in a house or planned visits to the Philippines are common reasons for seeking extra employment. Still another factor that could lead to working two jobs is the prevalence of work fluctuations in many immigrant occupations. We turn to this subject next.

Employment Fluctuations.

As indicated in an earlier discussion of immigrant problems (Chapter 7), work fluctuations are a feature of the immigrant employment pattern. This takes many forms.

Among pineapple workers, both agricultural as well as manufacturing, the seasonal nature of the product guarantees periodic peak and lay-off periods over the agricultural

cycle. This is clearly reflected in the monthly job counts generated by the Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations. For 1981 in Honolulu, January estimates indicate a low jobcount of 700 agricultural and 1,150 processing jobs. At the peak pineapple season in July, there are twice as many agricultural jobs (1,450), and four times as many in pineapple processing (4,650) [Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1981:Table 20-D]. While there is plenty of opportunity for overtime work during the summer months, all but the essential workers get laid off for the remainder of the year.

The tourist-oriented services also experience seasonality, with activity peaking during the winter and vacation periods. Work fluctuations in these areas (for hotel maids, laundry workers, and related services) take the form of longer or shorter work hours, as appropriate to the volume of visitors arriving in the islands.

The construction trades experience yet another form of work fluctuation--a less predictable type which is tied to prevailing economic conditions. The period of recession in the second half of the seventies resulted in many lay-offs of varying durations, sometimes lasting for several months.

As with the double-job feature, everyday language reflects these work fluctuations. We observed the widespread use of terms such as na-'lay off' [got laid off], 'on-call'ak [I was on call], ag'busy' kami [we get busy], or

agislo [work is slow]. Another reflection of the prevalence of fluctuations is the reported use of unemployment compensation. More than one out of five respondents have, at some time, received unemployment compensation. This is a low estimate of the incidence of fluctuations.

Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to see why some individuals work two jobs, and why the majority of households have more than one income earner. Having more than one source of income, either as an individual or as a household, works to diversify income sources and minimize risks associated with the state of flux characteristic of immigrant employment.

Interpersonal Networks and the Process of Job Seeking

This section focuses on how networks influence the process of job-seeking among immigrants. It is drawn entirely from case history and observation material. Our approach was to ask the subjects to recount the events that led to their first job.

Keeping in mind that most of the jobs in question have high rates of turnover and require little specialized skills, the role of personal networks becomes paramount in the closely intertwined processes of gaining entry and acquiring the rudimentary skills.

Because there is a critical mass of Filipino immigrants in certain specific occupational groups, personal networks

become extremely efficient at providing specific and timely information on employment opportunities. For example,

"One of the maids went to the Philippines, so there were not enough people to work. One of the workers there, who happened to be my aunt, called me up. 'Come here,' she said. 'Come and work if you like.' So, 'Yes,' I said, and I went. And our manager liked my work, that is why I stayed, up to the time I quit [after finding a better paying job], just this past June." [Case 05]

While the most common conduits of information are kinsmen, highly transient and casual person-to-person interaction within the neighborhood and ethnic context is another form of the information channel, as demonstrated in the following instance:

"First, I was working part-time at Kopako. And then, when I was walking down the street, I met a woman. 'O, where did you come from,' she asked me [in Ilokano], because I was smiling. 'I came from my part-time [job].' 'Is your job only part-time?' she said, 'If you want, go and apply at Stronk Clinic, they have an opening.'"

"The next day, ... I told my husband, 'I am going to apply at Stronk Clinic--can you accompany me--I don't know where it is.' And also, this business of filling up applications. It's alright if you just fill it up, but there are other questions.... With the grace of God, I was able to [get the job]." [Case 03]

Another function of personal network contacts is illustrated in the case above. It pertains to accompanying the immigrant to the potential employment site and providing assistance in following application procedures. Whether the information on a job opening is gathered from personal contacts or from classified advertisements, newly arrived

immigrants are often unfamiliar with locations and local custom, so that the assistance of available kinsmen in enlisted.

A third and fairly common role that personal networks play is in transmitting the rudiments of specific occupational tasks to new immigrants. Even though most occupations do not require specialized skills, they do have specific methods that need to be learned, especially when we consider the backgrounds of the immigrants. For instance, cleaning bathrooms or making beds can be completely foreign to a rural Ilocos housewife whose experience is largely without indoor plumbing, nor with Western-style beds. Probably the only ones explicitly trained to make a bed with square corners are those with nursing or midwifery training. This is where informal links become essential. Marina was a housewife and illustrates this "training":

Marina just started on her first "real" job as a cleaning lady four months after arrival in Hawaii. When asked how she was doing, she replied that it was not too bad "because I already knew how to clean toilets, and I just had to learn to clean the showers." She had assisted her sister-in-law, who cleans at the INS, on a few occasions. It was from this experience that she learned the "proper" way to clean comfort rooms. [HM6]

Another case, Maria (the same one who first tried and failed to find a job through a government placement office), started her first job as a sales clerk in Waikiki by "just tagging along," helping her cousin part-time and getting paid on a cash basis. Many similar instances of gaining

exposure to work situations on an informal basis which then lead to regular employment underline a key function of network links in work-related processes.

Yet another role that networks play in the employment-seeking process is in directing the immigrant to an agency that could assist in obtaining employment. Recall the case of Alma cited earlier [p. 121], who found her present job through a commercial employment agency upon the suggestion of her friend. Vicente, a college graduate, also found a job through a government employment agency, which he found out about through his cousin. "He came with me that first time, then I returned [by myself]."

Finally, network contacts can directly provide employment. While this is not so common, it does happen. Operators of small yard maintenance outfits are in a position to hire their newly-arrived immigrant relatives or townmates to work for them. Cesar, who was 51 when he arrived, illustrates this:

"After I arrived, my wife's brother-in-law said, 'Why don't we go and visit our kayong [brother-in-law], just in case there is an opening where he is working.' We went to visit our kayong. Then, 'Go and talk to our boss--he might agree.' We talked, and with the grace of God, he saw that I was still younger than them. 'I cannot be sure yet, but I will call you, just leave your telephone number.' After three days, he called me up. I was just part-time, he only made me work for three days. Then, he called me up again and said, 'Just hold on for a little while, because when this young man you worked with goes [back] to school, then you can become permanent.' This was July, so in August, when classes started, he employed me again and I have worked steadily up to now. [48]

Occasionally, a subcontractor in the construction trades would also provide employment for unskilled laborers.

This discussion clearly establishes how personal networks are, almost invariably, instrumental in linking new immigrants with employment opportunities. This can take the following forms:

- providing specific and timely information on employment opportunities,
- accompanying the new immigrant to potential employment sites and providing assistance in application procedures,
- providing orientation or rudimentary training in specific occupational tasks,
- directing the immigrant to an agency that could assist in obtaining employment, and
- directly providing work.

Some qualifications now have to be imposed on these processes. Employment-related information available from these personal networks are almost always restricted to the very same occupational categories in which most immigrants are concentrated. In the words of a college graduate who became a chambermaid,

"My father and his friends had almost no knowledge of how one could get a teaching job in Hawaii. Most of the friends I made knew about getting jobs in the hotels or in the construction business, but no one seemed to know about teaching, so I was mostly on my own." [DT1]

The network's ability to accompany and assist in application procedures are similarly restricted to areas with which they are familiar. Again, this restriction keeps them to much the same occupational categories. By contrast, a college graduate whose first occupation in Hawaii was a construction field engineer found out about the job from a newspaper advertisement. In this case, the network's participation was in a cousin taking him to the general contractor to apply.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, publicly available services and agencies designed to assist in job placement have only limited effectiveness in obtaining employment for immigrants.

With regard to networks providing direct employment, few opportunities exist because there are few Filipino enterprises that could provide employment. In general, the Filipino community has not developed into an enclave. Unlike the Korean, Chinese, or Cuban ethnic entrepreneurs, no major employment opportunities exist within the ethnic confines [see Magdalena, 1977].

Besides limitations on the range of connections available through personal networks, there is suggestive evidence that these interpersonal linkages can provide a mechanism which restores congruence between immigrant aspirations and the social and economic position they are able to attain. This is accomplished mainly through encouraging a shift in the

individual's goals and underlying criteria for defining satisfactory outcomes. Maximized utilization of skills and the attainment of high status occupations give way to other criteria, such as comparatively good pay and benefits, or "relative stability and adequacy of work hours. These, in turn, more favorably define the major types of employment available to immigrants. The same college graduate quoted above reflects this subtle shift:

"I did try to apply for a job in bicultural education as a teacher's aide, but the salary was so small and it was part-time. At least in the hotel, we have medical insurance and other benefits, and the pay is enough." [DT1]

It is not unusual to find that after some years, a college graduate working as a maintenance man or hotel maid no longer aspires for an occupation which utilizes his or her education. The interpersonal network contributes to this resignation, albeit in a passive manner. Many of the immigrants were told beforehand that they ought to be prepared for low prestige work, and they, in turn, would advise prospective immigrants of the same conditions. Sustained interaction with relatives and friends in the same position tends to encourage acceptance of their situation as the status quo.

This discussion has focused on employment seeking from the worker's perspective. Some form of self-selection into specific occupations is taking place, which explains part of the occupational distribution. The other side of the coin

consists of the choices made by employers, which we cannot examine for lack of information.

Summary

This chapter has demonstrated some features of immigrant employment which cannot be easily detected from standard occupational classifications. Although most of the occupations are concentrated in a few broad categories, there is a clear pattern of sex-differentiated occupations. Rates of employment are high, but the areas in which work is found are characterized by periodic underemployment. This in part contributes to a tendency to engage in two jobs at the same time.

The nature of occupations, mainly in the secondary sector of the labor market, generates both a positive and a negative consequence. On one hand, it is relatively easy to obtain employment, especially since immigrant networks are well situated as timely intermediaries or informants on frequent job openings, which require few specialized skills. On the other hand, these jobs often pay very little, or are highly subject to fluctuation, or both. These very same conditions lead to high rates of turnover, which brings us back to how come these jobs are frequently available in the first place. In the process of job placement under these circumstances, interpersonal networks are an essential mechanism. However, their effectiveness is restricted

within the confines of immigrant-dominated secondary sector occupations.

10. CORRELATES OF MATERIAL ADAPTATION

We shift from examining processes and mechanisms of material adaptation to assessing outcomes. What this chapter seeks to accomplish is to examine correlates of material adaptation outcomes for which there are adequate measures. We use survey data to explore two manifestations of material adaptation: objective or observable outcomes, and subjective assessments, or individual judgments. Within the limits of available measures, three sets of predictors are identified which correspond with individual, interpersonal, and structural factors.

Analysis of covariance is employed to test models of adaptation because the set of predictors for each outcome includes both discrete as well as continuous variables. This technique also allows testing for interaction effects. Multiple regressions with random indicator (dummy) variables are then used to generate the estimates of magnitude of each predictor's effect.

Objective Outcomes: Earnings and Finding Work

One of the most used measures of adaptation is earnings, and for a good reason. It determines what people can afford--the type of accommodations, whether and how one should pool resources with others, how much one can channel toward maintaining obligations, and so forth.

Earnings

The basic model for hourly earnings includes three individual attributes suggested by earlier studies and two structural variables. Interpersonal connections, while relevant for job placement, do not directly influence rate of pay, and are excluded from the earnings model.

The individual attributes are gender, education, and previous work experience, while the structural variables are occupational category as a proxy for position in the labor market, and time period as a proxy for prevailing economic conditions. The specific forms that previous experience and time period take vary for the equations on first earnings and 1981 earnings.

Gender is implicitly recognized as an important variable in many studies of earnings that restrict themselves to male earnings. This is a somewhat backhanded recognition of the potentially complicating effects of examining both sexes at the same time. Education is well-established in the mainstream literature as a determinant of earnings [Duncan,

Featherman, and Duncan, 1972] and requires no further discussion at this point. Work experience would theoretically improve one's earning, unless there are barriers to the transferability of skills [Chiswick, 1984].

Our use of occupational categories requires some explanation. Occupation, usually translated into a prestige scale, is conventionally regarded an individual attribute. However, we find that in the restricted range of immigrant occupations, the use of prestige scores conceals underlying distinctions which are consequential to earnings.⁶² It also became clear that occupations, to a large measure, reflect conditions in the broader areas of employment such as, for a maid, the visitor industry or for a carpenter, the construction industry. Hence, the decision to regard occupational category as a proxy for structural position.

As we saw in the previous chapter, many fluctuations affect total earnings among immigrants. In order to minimize distortion introduced by variation in work hours (which is a related but separate matter), we chose hourly earnings as the dependent variable for two phases in the

⁶² While prestige scores (Socioeconomic Index or SEI scores) are theoretically a function of education and earnings, this relationship is not so straightforward among immigrants. The zero-order correlation of adjusted first earnings and SEI is .152, and is higher but not by much for 1981 earnings ($r=.254$). While education has a moderate correlation with SEI (.326 with first occupation and .400 with 1981), it has almost nothing to do with earnings (.048 with first earnings and .073 with 1981 earnings).

immigrant's stay in Hawaii--the first earnings, and earnings at the time of the survey.

Because first jobs were obtained anywhere between 1965 and 1981, these earnings were first standardized by adjusting all first earnings to their equivalent in 1981 dollars.⁶³ The model incorporates the following specific predictors of first earnings at the destination:

- education, in years of schooling
- gender
- work experience in the Ilocos, as farm or non-farm work
- occupation, measured as occupation category, and
- year of arrival in four categories to approximate period effects.

Using analysis of covariance, we introduced all the predictors and a two-way interaction term with sex and occupation. This model explains 28% of the variance in first earnings ($R^2 = .279$). Tests of significance for each predictor indicated education and Ilocos work experience as non-significant. All other terms, including the sex-occupation interaction, were significant. This result suggests that in addition to the independent effects of sex and occupation on earnings, particular combinations of these two attributes also generate statistically significant effects.

⁶³ Appendix E explains how the Consumer Price Index for Honolulu was used for this purpose. 1981 was chosen as the reference year for easier substantive interpretation.

In order to obtain a better grasp on these relationships, we need to examine the direction and magnitude of the effects. Estimates were calculated separately for males and females. Table 29 displays unstandardized regression coefficients and their corresponding standard errors⁶⁴ from multiple regression using dummy variables for categorical predictors. These provide us with estimates of the magnitude of effects of both categorical and interval predictors which are not provided by the initial analysis of covariance.

The model accounts for 27% of the variability in first earnings among men ($R^2=.266$), and for slightly less--22%--among women ($R^2=.226$). Considering that most immigrant earnings models account for 20% to 40% of variation,⁶⁵ these are moderate results. The overall level of earnings of males is higher than that of females, as we can see in the difference in intercepts. Controlling for other factors, men earn 73 cents more per hour than women.

Among men, the effect of education on earnings is extremely small and not statistically significant, as is the effect of work experience in the Ilocos. Although

⁶⁴ Coefficients which are less than twice their standard errors are not statistically significant at the .05 level.

⁶⁵ Income prediction models are generally better fitting for mainstream populations. For income assessments which include immigrants, see Chiswick [1979, 1984], Fujii and Mak [1983], Hirschman and Wong [1982], Portes and Bach [1980], and Wong [1984].

Table 29

Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for Adjusted Hourly Earnings
(in 1981 Cents) on First Hawaii Job for Male and Female Immigrants

	Males (N=422)		Females (N=158)	
	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error
Education	.41	2.96	1.59	2.78
(Occupation)				
Agriculture	-112.67	70.45	-121.05*	41.59
Crafts	130.05	76.69	-22.13	66.87
Operatives	71.15	68.62	-104.02*	33.98
Services	-84.71	67.41	-22.97	30.76
White Collar				
(Ilocos Work Experience)				
Farm	-2.13	21.38	-4.78	21.17
Non-Farm				
(Period of Arrival)				
1965 to 1969	167.92*	32.14	128.59*	36.45
1970 to 1974	120.57*	32.67	149.82*	33.89
1975 to 1979	52.47	30.96	104.78*	31.88
1980 to 1981				
Intercept	419.50*	82.10	346.04*	49.68
Multiple R ²	.266		.226	

* Statistically significant at .05

occupational effects are large in magnitude, none are statistically significant. Two periods of arrival--1965 to 1969 and 1970 to 1974--are significant and very large. When other factors are held constant, those who arrived between 1965 and 1969 earned \$1.68 more in adjusted hourly earnings than those arriving in 1980 or 1981. Similarly, first earnings of those who arrived between 1970 and 1974 were worth \$1.21 more in 1981 dollars than the most recent arrivals.

For women, on the other hand, education and Ilocos work experience had slightly larger but still non-significant effects. The pattern of occupation category effects, however, are somewhat different from the men's. Female agricultural workers earn \$1.21 less per hour than white collar workers, and operatives earn \$1.04 less as well. The latter observation runs in the opposite direction compared with the men, where operatives earn 71 cents more than their white collar workers. Period effects are also significant and substantial for women, with all arrivals prior to 1980 earning at least \$1.00 more in adjusted earnings than the most recent immigrants.

In general, these results establish that for first earnings, education and previous work experience are not good predictors. This is consistent with what we found earlier in our examination of early employment patterns. Although the effects of occupational category is large, only

female employment in agriculture and operatives have statistically significant effects. Period effects are by far the strongest and unlikely to be due to chance. This leads us to the conclusion that for early earnings, prevailing economic conditions appear to be the main source of explanation, while the personal attributes education and work experience are not particularly relevant.

Hourly earnings in 1981 were also assessed using similar underlying concepts, as follows:

- education, in years of schooling
- gender
- work experience in Hawaii, in months, and
- occupation, measured as occupation category.

The period effect in the analysis of first earnings is held constant in this case since all earnings were for 1981. Work experience in Hawaii was derived by subtracting the length of job wait from the total number of months in Hawaii. Although not a precise measure of job experience, this is a cleaner measure for work experience than the more commonly used duration of residence at the receiving society.

We followed the same procedure as that used for first earnings. Again, analysis of covariance resulted in a statistically significant sex-occupation interaction effect, and this time, all predictors had statistically significant effects. Collectively, the main effects and the interaction

term accounted for over half of the variability in hourly income [$R^2=.531$]. Separate regression estimates for males and females are summarized in Table 30.

We now see a drastic difference in variance explained between males and females. While this model of earnings accounts for over 50% of variability in men's earnings, the same model accounts for only 17% among females. Overall levels of hourly wage follow the earlier pattern, with females earning about 47 cents less, after controlling for other factors.

Each year of education contributes 10 cents more to males' hourly wages, while the returns to education for females is only half as much (5 cents). Similarly for work experience in Hawaii, each month makes a difference of two cents more for men, and only half a cent for women. The effects of occupation are major, and the patterns differ for men and women. Among males, the service workers earn the lowest pay, almost two dollars less per hour than white collar men, and three dollars less than the highest-paid category, craftsmen. In dollar amounts, an immigrant male with 10 years of schooling and one year work experience in Hawaii earns \$2.58 as a service worker, and \$6.63 as a crafts or construction worker.

For females, the pattern is reversed. Crafts workers earn the least--almost a dollar less than white collar workers, and agricultural workers earn the most--44 cents

Table 30

Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for 1981
Hourly Earnings (in Cents) for Males and Females

	Males (N=555)		Females (N=577)	
	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error
Education (years)	9.6	2.6	4.6	1.3
(Occupation)				
Agriculture	-95.6	44.5	44.1	21.5
Crafts	113.2	40.7	-99.4	33.5
Operatives	50.4	36.3 (n.s.)	-52.7	14.2
Services	-191.5	34.8	-14.4	12.4 (n.s.)
White Collar				
Hawaii work experience (months)	2.27	.2	.6	.09
Intercept	427.0	48.5	374.6	20.9
Multiple R ²	.521		.166	

more than white collar females. The female worker with the same profile as our prototype male worker above earns \$4.72 in the agricultural sector, and \$3.29 in crafts.

Male and female workers manifest different levels as well as overall trends in these models. The utility of the predictors also varies, justifying separate earnings models for males and females. The results also underline the fact that existing models apply better to males than to females. This is mainly because these models are derived primarily from research on male earnings. Models of female earnings, on the other hand, require much more refinement.

In general, the results also indicate some differences between early earnings and later earnings. A better fit of education with earnings appears to develop over time, as indicated by the significance of education which was irrelevant in first year earnings. Work experience obtained in Hawaii shows both substantive and statistical significance, whereas foreign experience does not. This implies a lack of transferability of experience into this labor market. Occupation effects persist, although gender differences require separate assessments of their effects.

These results are consistent with similar quantitative assessments of immigrant earnings. Portes [1981] documents the 'irrelevance' of education and occupational skills for workers in the secondary labor market. This implies the existence of barriers to the transferability of skills

(including work experience) to the host community as developed by Chiswick [1979; 1984]. For Hawaii in particular, Fujii and Mak find that Filipino immigrants are even more disadvantaged. Among Asian foreign-born men, "the effect of schooling on income is lowest among Filipino men" [Fujii and Mak, 1983:769]. As mentioned earlier, no similar studies exist on women.

Length of Job Wait

A second objective manifestation of the adaptation process is assessed from how many months it took the new immigrant to find employment. In this situation, the underlying model is similar to the earnings model, with one modification. Interpersonal ties, as we saw in the previous chapter, are instrumental in the process of job placement. This justifies the inclusion of network size as a proxy for the availability of informal assistance in job-seeking. The following predictors were assessed:

- gender
- education in years
- work experience in the Ilocos, as farm or non-farm work
- network size, measured as the number of family members preceding the immigrant to Hawaii, and
- category in which the first occupation was found.

When subjected to analysis of covariance, this model resulted in an R^2 value of .131. A test for statistical interactions yielded no statistically significant terms.

Estimates of the magnitude of effects were again derived from multiple regression with dummy variables, as summarized in Table 31.

TABLE 31
Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for Length of
Job Wait

	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error of Estimate
Education	-0.33	.17
Network Size	-0.56	.23
(Occupation)		
Agriculture	-4.14	2.93 (n.s.)
Crafts	-1.68	3.62 (n.s.)
Operatives	-2.79	2.65 (n.s.)
Services	0.28	2.59 (n.s.)
White Collar		
(Ilocos work experience)		
Farm	0.65	1.28 (n.s.)
Non-farm		
(Gender)		
Female	10.49	1.21
Male		
INTERCEPT	7.3	
R ² = .131		(N=661)

Immigrants with higher education had a slightly shorter waiting period for their first job than those with less education. A similar effect was found for those who had larger networks. This suggests a tendency for networks to facilitate job seeking, specifically by shortening the

period of finding a job. Females take much longer than males to obtain employment, with a difference of 10.5 months. The earlier descriptive findings thus hold up with the introduction of statistical controls.

Job seekers who used to be farmers in the Philippines are slightly disadvantaged compared to non-farm workers in finding their first job. Among the different occupational groups, agricultural workers take the shortest time to find jobs and, in order, operatives, crafts, white collar occupations, and services, which take the longest. However, these differences, as well as those due to farm and non-farm backgrounds, have a larger than 5% probability that they are due to chance.

From this analysis it appears that networks have a measurable effect of reducing the amount of time it takes to find a job. This tends to support Litwak's [1960] argument that immigrants who can benefit from pre-established family networks are in an advantaged position to integrate themselves in the new environment. However, more conclusive evidence is necessary before this or the alternative position,⁶⁶ which argues that networks hamper integration by encouraging dependence on kinsmen, is clearly established.

⁶⁶ See Tienda [1980] for a succinct review of the competing contentions.

Subjective Assessments: Individual Satisfaction

Survey respondents were asked to rate their level of satisfaction with their financial condition and their life in general at three points in time: before leaving the Ilocos, soon after arrival in Hawaii, and at the time of the survey (1981). An eleven-point ladder scale from zero to ten was used for these ratings. Table 32 reflects the mean rating for each item rated.

TABLE 32

Mean Satisfaction Ratings for Financial Condition and Life
in General

Period	Financial		Life in General	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Before leaving the Ilocos	4.38	(1,450)	4.83	(1,454)
Soon after migration to Hawaii	4.47	(1,460)	5.03	(1,460)
At the time of survey [1981]*	5.98	(1,376)	6.44	(1,378)

*Asked only of those in Hawaii for longer than six months.

Satisfaction ratings of life in general is higher than the level of financial satisfaction. The pattern of improvement over time is also progressive, with the ratings at the time of the survey reflecting the highest average ratings for both financial and general satisfaction. These

measures are strongly correlated with each other, with all zero-order correlations exceeding .60.

Assessments at the time of interview are used for this analysis, primarily because these are subjective judgments, and the most current would be the least likely to reflect distortion. This time period also allows the assessment of varying durations of residence at the destination.

The basic model incorporates gender, education, income, and length of residence in Hawaii as the individual factors. Length of residence is a measure of the individual's degree of familiarity with the host environment.

Financial Condition

First, we examine a model of financial satisfaction at the time of interview, which includes the following predictors:

- total weekly earnings⁶⁷
- education
- length of residence in Hawaii, in years
- occupation category, and
- gender.

Interaction effects were ruled out, and analysis of covariance produced an R^2 value of .111. Table 33 contains

⁶⁷ An alternative definition of financial ability was also examined. Household income dichotomized as under \$20,000 and \$20,000 or greater was used in the same model and yielded remarkably similar results.

TABLE 33

Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for Financial Satisfaction

	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error of Estimate
Weekly earnings (cents)	.00003*	.000006
Education (years)	.08	.02
Residence in Hawaii (years)	.06	.01
(Occupation)		
Agriculture	1.02	.26
Crafts	.12	.26 (n.s.)
Operatives	.06	.18 (n.s.)
Services	.08	.17 (n.s.)
White collar		
(Gender)		
Female	.48	.11
Male		
INTERCEPT	3.79	
R ² = .111		(N = 1,082)

*The anomaly of an infinitesimal value determined to be statistically significant is because the unit of measurement for weekly earnings is very small (cents) and takes very large values. It is also compounded by the dependent variable (rating) which is restricted to an 11-point scale.

the parameter estimates derived from a multiple regression similar to the earlier ones.

Earnings, education, and length of residence in Hawaii maintain positive effects on financial satisfaction ratings. On the average, females give higher ratings by almost half a point (.48). This is not a small amount in light of the limited 11-point range of the satisfaction ratings. Even

more remarkable is the one-point difference associated with being in agricultural occupations. It appears that agricultural workers express a higher level of financial satisfaction, although it is not clear why.

Because objective indicators (e.g. earnings) show that agricultural workers do not necessarily have a more advantageous financial position--in fact, they earn the least-- the explanation for this finding must come from subjective and contextual factors. Low housing costs (plantation homes) and the ability to raise products for home consumption (instead of "having to buy everything," the common urban complaint) can only be suggested here as possible explanations worthy of exploring in future research.

Condition of Life in General

For satisfaction with life in general, a model similar to the previous one is examined, with the addition of the variable on network size. Interaction effects were ruled out. This model generated an R^2 value of .121 and Table 34 contains the regression coefficients with dummy variables.

The pattern is similar to financial satisfaction, except for its higher level. Although operatives and service workers appear to have a slight tendency to rate lower than white collar workers, agricultural workers and females continue to show a strong positive effect on the level of satisfaction rating.

TABLE 34

Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for Satisfaction
with Life in General

	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error of Estimate
Earnings	.00003*	.000006
Education	.07	.02
Network Size	.04	.02
Years in Hawaii	.07	.01
(Occupation)		
Agriculture	.95	.25
Crafts	.06	.26 (n.s.)
Operatives	-.11	.18 (n.s.)
Services	-.04	.17 (n.s.)
White collar		
(Gender)		
Female	.49	.12
Male		
INTERCEPT	4.24	
R ² = .121		(N=1,083)

*See note in Table 33.

Summary

These quantitative evaluations of indicators of material adaptation have indicated some major correlates. Gender, an ascriptive attribute, is the basis of substantial differentiations. Likewise, one's position in the economy, as reflected in occupational category, introduces further distinctions. Small effects are associated with length of residence and social networks, while little or negligible effects can be traced to achievements at the places of

origin (education and prior employment). There is, however, some indication that education gains significance in later stages of the migrant's stay, quite possibly due to his or her having had some opportunity, albeit limited, to locate a more suitable position. In general, it is safe to conclude that what immigrants bring with them by way of education or work experience are not particularly relevant in their initial adaptation to the receiving society. Previous studies indicate that "pre-migration variables are much less important for predicting [adjustment] than post-migration items" [Wang, 1981:118; see also Barringer, 1971], and our results point in the same direction.

Using a rough measure of social networks in conjunction with other predictors, a significant effect on length of job wait was noted. This suggests that further refinement of measures is worth pursuing in the future to clarify the relationship that is apparent here.

Finally, in assessing subjective outcomes, the results are sufficiently different in pattern and magnitude from analogous models assessing objective outcomes to warrant a conclusion that the distinction between these two must be maintained. Although they are related, the processes that lead to objective and subjective outcomes appear to be quite different.

11. CONCLUSIONS

We now examine our findings in light of the broader conceptual and empirical dimensions that underlie this study. As the preceding chapters demonstrate, the interpersonal networks that cushion individual immigrants in their initial transition to the receiving social structures are characterized by many dual tendencies which make it difficult to identify them unilaterally as assets or liabilities to the parties involved. For instance, the long-standing connections with earlier immigrants which generate large networks simultaneously ease the process of job seeking as well as narrow the range of jobs to immigrant- or minority-dominated areas of employment. Likewise, the maintenance of concrete links with the origin areas simultaneously provide a favorable basis for social comparison as well as impose commitment costs on the limited resources of the recent immigrant.

First, we review our key findings, and in the process identify recurrent themes. These allow us to focus on the emerging hypothesis of immigrant networks as a double-edged mechanism which leads to homogenizing adaptation outcomes. Next, we examine the broader implications as well as limitations of our findings by situating them along the

dimensions of time, location, and level of analysis. We also identify important areas which require further research, and suggest methodological constraints in field work which should be recognized and put to better use in future data gathering operations.

Review of Findings

We arrive at our conclusions on the basis of distinct but linked types of observation: a sample survey of recent immigrants, in-depth reinterviews with some of the same subjects, field experience, and summary statistical profiles.

Unlike the earliest plantation workers who were predominantly young males, or the more recent male and female immigrant professionals who were highly skilled and relatively young, the current influx of immigrants reflects a wide diversity in their background characteristics. Although recent immigrants are closely connected with the plantation and the professional workers, as a group, they are distinctive. Their exposure to urban life varies markedly, they represent all levels of education, they arrive at all possible ages and stages in the life cycle, their previous work is diverse, and both males and females are equally represented. In short, the selectivity operating in earlier migrations is much less evident in the recent immigrants' background characteristics. Furthermore,

a steady flow of traffic is maintained between origin and destination.

We find from survey data that while the incidence of problems regarding housing, employment, and related areas are fairly widespread, little use is made of the limited range of publicly available sources of assistance. From case histories and observation, the main resources appear to be interpersonal networks, which are intricately involved in domestic arrangements and in obtaining employment.

Specifically, interpersonal ties directly provide timely information and assistance for employment of new immigrants in secondary sector occupations. No formal services are easily available for housing. Thus, immigrants must devise their own arrangements. Almost invariably, this involves sharing quarters with close kinsmen who have preceded them to Hawaii.

Within the context of a generally tight housing market, many kinsmen and a large ethnic neighborhood, of limited individual earnings and low to moderate household incomes, house sharing between households has become a major strategy for maintaining relatively low housing costs, both for owner and renter households. Because many immigrants continue to have family obligations at their places of origin, there is even greater need to minimize expenditures and set aside money for remittances, visits, or for anticipated major expenses to finance the migration of other family members.

Close ties thus represent a resource (the basis of pooling resources) as well as a constraint (obligation costs). The household itself is typically large, generationally extended, and located close to similar such households in an ethnic neighborhood. These domestic characteristics generate flexibilities in the performance of household tasks which allow most adult members to become economically productive.

However, individual economic rewards are limited by their location in the labor market. Major differences in background characteristics often are not manifested in occupational outcomes, which cluster in the secondary sector of the labor market. Individuals with little formal education and college graduates eventually find similar occupations with little difference in pay attributable to education, especially during the early years. Young, middle-aged, and older-aged arrivals find work in the same occupations, as do persons with little work experience or many years of work in the Philippines. The only persistent individual basis of differentiation is gender, which is reflected in occupational segregation, in turn corresponding with major differences in earnings. Many of the immigrant occupations are characterized by underemployment in the form of work fluctuations over time. This in part leads to individuals working more than one job and, at the household level, the employment of two or more adults which function to augment as well as diversify sources of household income.

An assessment of objective adaptation outcomes indicates major effects of occupation category, period of arrival and gender; a small but probably increasing effect of education as the immigrant stays longer,⁶⁸ and no discernible effect of Ilocos work experience on earnings in Hawaii. Net of other factors, social networks had a small and significant effect, reducing the length of time it took to find the first job.

Interesting results emerged when subjective adaptation outcomes were tested. Agricultural workers and females, who occupy objectively inferior positions (lower earnings), gave higher satisfaction ratings when other predictors were controlled. These results underline the usefulness of examining adaptation as both the subjective, individually meaningful perception of one's condition, and the objective outcomes which are more readily comparable to other groups. Although objective and subjective conditions may be closely associated, this study demonstrates that we should not equate immigrant satisfaction with objective material conditions.

Both survey data and qualitative material provide overwhelming evidence of the importance of interpersonal connections. The qualitative results, in particular, provide strong evidence of the pervasive role of networks in

⁶⁸ In addition, education effects appear to mimic that prevailing in the host society, i.e., lower returns for females.

material adaptation processes. We also find that, despite widely disparate individual backgrounds and attributes of recent immigrants, their material situation in Hawaii reflect a restricted range of outcomes. Processes involving interpersonal linkages and arrangements suggest a remarkable homogeneity which might explain this pattern. We now develop an emerging hypothesis to illustrate this. Although it is specific to employment, the underlying logic can be generalized to related material conditions. Because findings on the effect of networks come primarily from exploratory qualitative data, they might best be treated as hypotheses rather than conclusions.

Emerging Hypothesis: The Double-Edged Effect of Networks

As we develop the hypothesis that networks have a double-edged effect on immigrant employment processes, two features require discussion: this is an intermediate-level factor; and it has homogenizing implications on outcomes.

Structural forces are pervasive influences, and individuals manifest a wide variety of characteristics. While structural effects on individuals are generally acknowledged, we know very little about the process by which structural effects are manifested. This study demonstrates by using complementary qualitative and quantitative data that personal networks provide a key connection--a funnel, as it were--between social structural forces and individual

behavior. How the individual experiences the none-too-tangible macrostructure while establishing a niche in a new environment is mediated by the range of interpersonal ties.

However, a caveat is necessary on the range of interpersonal ties. Among recent Ilokano immigrants in Hawaii, such connections are, to a large degree, limited to kin and friends from the same ethnic neighborhood and labor market segment. This can be characterized as largely horizontal linkages. In contrast, at their places of origin, there was a well developed patron-client system of relationships which provided significant vertical integration. Analogous vertical links are only minimally developed in Hawaii. We are therefore faced with networks embedded within a specific segment of the social structure.

The tendency towards homogeneous outcomes is explained to a major degree by the workings of social networks operating within structurally constrained spheres. While personal networks provide a mechanism that cushions new immigrants from the new and alien host society, they simultaneously and unwittingly channel new immigrants to the societal segments with which they are most familiar. This is best demonstrated in employment-seeking processes.

The process is double-edged. It is most beneficial to those with few skills, little experience, or generally lower social origins. Without network mechanisms, these

individuals are likely to have difficulty in finding income-generating activities. However, the same mechanism only offers limited opportunities for others that, under conditions of less restrictive labor market conditions, might have obtained better economic positions. This can operate through two processes: (1) By omission, where the lack of integration with other sectors breeds a failure to provide accurate and timely access to employment opportunities outside the areas of occupational concentration, and (2) by a more insidious effect upon aspirations, where the networks are likely to reinforce, if not actively encourage, a redefinition of individual aspirations to become more congruent with what is attainable within sectoral constraints. Thus, while personal network arrangements provide an extremely resilient mechanism for obtaining basic employment, their effectiveness is limited to specific strata: specific occupations, mostly in the peripheral sector with high concentrations of immigrant workers. (An analogous process in seeking affordable housing might locate accommodations in high-density, ethnically concentrated neighborhoods.)

In general, this implies a condition where similar adaptation outcomes might be expected from immigrants of varying backgrounds. This may come about in the following manner: Personal networks offer a given range of choices which, to a large degree, is determined by their structural

position. Individuals with relatively better endowments⁶⁹ tend to have a broader range of capabilities, and thus are constrained by the options available through the networks. On the other hand, individuals with relatively worse endowments, given the same choices, are accorded opportunities by the networks which would otherwise have been few and far between. Consequently, while the effects on different types of individuals are different, the objective outcomes tend to be similar. Retrospective evidence suggests that by relying on networks, there is a clear default mode into which most of these chain migrants are channeled. In the absence of strong intervention (in the form of extraordinary individual effort) or a stroke of fortune, good or bad, the majority find their way, through the funnel-like workings of strong kin-based interpersonal links, to peripheral sector employment (and residence in low-cost, high-density, and ethnically concentrated neighborhoods). Such arrangements simultaneously encourage or reinforce the maintenance of strong material and symbolic ties with kinsmen both in Honolulu and at the places of origin.

This hypothesis does not, by any means, deny the existence of variability in individual outcomes. It simply defines the limited range within which structural mechanisms

⁶⁹ By endowments we refer to useful attributes such as education, job experience, youthfulness, and similar assets.

restrict such variability. Given the wide range of immigrant background characteristics, we find a remarkable degree of homogeneity in adaptation outcomes which cannot be explained by individual attributes alone. The integral role of social networks as mechanisms for individual placement in the larger socio-economic sphere improves our understanding of how the broad structural conditions filter through interpersonal connections and influence individual outcomes.

Discussion

The preceding section locates our study in the continuum of levels of analysis discussed at the beginning of this study. Networks connect structural forces with individual factors primarily as channeling mechanisms. This being the case, the structural location and individual characteristics of interpersonal network links are important areas which require further investigation.

Along a temporal dimension, the processes we have observed are heavily conditioned by the pre-existing structural position of the immigrant group in the host society. In Hawaii, ethnic differences in patterns of immigrant integration are explained as "a joint function of the individual attributes of the immigrants and the character of the established ethnic communities" [Hirata, 1971:iv]. Studies of both internal and international migration have also found a strong tendency of receiving

society conditions to overshadow individual background factors in their subsequent adaptation [Barringer, 1971; Wang, 1981]. We find that the ongoing processes of Filipino immigrant incorporation into the labor market tend to be consistent with the pre-existing pattern at the destination, thus reinforcing a long-run propensity for Filipino ethnics in Hawaii to be concentrated in secondary sector occupations.

The origin considerations have both tangible and intangible manifestations in the material adaptation process. Observed costs of maintaining obligations at a distance are major, and influence arrangements at the destination. Such material costs may be offset by the less tangible manifestations which show up in satisfaction ratings. In assessing outcomes, inconsistencies are evident between the objective positions attained by immigrants and their corresponding subjective assessments.

The reference groups used for comparison might provide important sources of explanation for these disparities. Material standards in Hawaii are frequently contrasted with those in the Philippines. In addition, the time period used as a reference point is often prior to the immigrant's departure--generally characterized by a state of flux in the immigrant's life. When the basis of social comparison is the area of origin, we might partially account for why immigrants can be satisfied under less-than-ideal

conditions, at least in the short run. As long as the "significant other" consists of kin or ethnic networks, particularly those at the places of origin, a reasonable sense of satisfaction can prevail among immigrants even under conditions of sub-standard material levels by comparison with prevailing host society norms.

In assessing the applicability of these findings to other immigrant situations, we have to explicitly consider three factors which constrain or encourage given adaptation outcomes:

- individual characteristics of the immigrants,
- the nature of personal networks, and
- the economic structure of the receiving society.

On the economic structure of the receiving society, we can use Hawaii and California as examples. Hawaii's economy is dominated by tourism and military spending [see Kent, 1983], whereas California has a much larger and a more diverse economic base. Hence, for the latter, opportunities outside of the secondary sector might be realistic alternatives, as demonstrated by the employment of professional Filipinos in the primary sector or by ethnic enclave opportunities for Korean immigrants.

The structural position within which the networks function is as crucial a distinction as whether or not personal networks cut across ethnicity and structural location. A community consisting of mainland "brain drain"

professionals might be well situated as information bearers on employment opportunities in the primary sector. However, such jobs require specialized training or specific skills, and network connections are not a sufficient basis for obtaining employment. If the skills are present (and transferable), the network links can become a major help. If not, only positions of political patronage are likely to be attained with interpersonal connections at this level. Given these considerations, the findings of this study are most applicable to secondary sector and to ethnic enclave employment. In general, network links may be a necessary and sufficient condition for employment in some structural positions, and not for others.

The characteristics of immigrants also impose limitations on generalizing these findings. Social backgrounds vary over a wide range, but one attribute which these Filipino immigrants have in common is that they are legal immigrants, almost all of whom have migrated under family reunification provisions. This provides the basis for kinship ties at the destination when the immigrant arrives. The most similar immigrant group to the Ilokanos in Hawaii is the legal Mexican immigration to the United States. Besides other similarities, such as generally lower social origins, predominantly rural backgrounds, and the apparent lack of significant entrepreneurial propensity,⁷⁰ both countries

⁷⁰ Unlike the "model minority" Asian Americans (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) and Hispanic (pre-boatlift Cubans)

share a long history of Spanish colonial domination, a strong Catholic influence, and continuing close political and economic ties with the United States. Thus, many similarities can be expected between these immigrant populations.

In addition to identifying similar immigrant groups, it is equally necessary to point out the groups for which these findings might have limited usefulness for reasons of different structural locations or individual attributes. Three stand out: the professional Filipinos, most of whom are on the U.S. mainland, the "model minorities," particularly those of East Asian origins, and the undocumented aliens. Professional Filipinos and "model minority" immigrants are largely situated in primary sector or ethnic enclave positions which are characterized by structural features which are different from secondary sector employment. Undocumented aliens, while in peripheral employment similar to the Ilokano sample, represent an additional individual handicap in their legal vulnerability. Nonetheless, the growing numbers of family members who arrive as kinsmen of immigrant professionals or even of Indochinese refugees [Gordon, 1984] indicate that in the future, there is an increasing potential for these upcoming

both the Filipino and the Mexican immigrant populations have not developed ethnic enclaves of entrepreneurial activity.

groups to rely on personal networks in ways very similar to what we have documented in this study.

Areas for Further Research

This study raises many questions regarding the intermediary role of networks in immigrant adaptation. We illustrate these areas here by focusing on three broad issues which require further examination.

First, there is the underlying issue of long-term versus short-term influences. Networks evidently play an important role in occupational placement, but what keeps immigrants in similar occupations over the long run? The possibility that networks implicitly encourage remaining in such occupation was suggested earlier, but requires empirical investigation. The same issue raises the question of what happens to ties with the origin (and their concomitant impact on adaptation patterns) over the long term. Are the domestic patterns we observe at the destination temporary strategies for survival among immigrants, or do they become features of the ethnic community over the long run?

A second issue concerns the effect of structural position and, more broadly, conditions at the receiving society. This involves both ethnic relations as well as economic conditions. We have examined a minority population located in a predominantly secondary segment of the labor market. Knowing how network patterns operate in other sectors (such

as in the ethnic enclave or among middleman minorities) would yield explanations which can contribute to the development of a more comprehensive theoretical explanation than what exists now. Granovetter's [1973; 1974] work on network patterns involved in obtaining professional and white collar jobs indicates the 'strength of weak ties' for generating access to a broader range of opportunities. Lomnitz [1977] documented how tight networks of family and neighborhood are integral in maintaining minimal housing and fluctuating employment requirements in a marginal shantytown, and Anderson [1974] studied similar processes among working-class Portuguese immigrants in Canada. These are among the few studies that provide the beginnings of exploring networks in different structural settings.

Finally, there is the emerging implication of homogenization--that reliance on networks, under the same labor market (structural) conditions, affects individuals differently. Apparent constraints are imposed on better-endowed individuals, while added benefits are accorded lesser-endowed individuals. The next step is to systematically assess this suggestion. If borne out empirically, it can account for many of the inconclusive findings on the effect of networks on adaptation processes [see Tienda, 1981].

Methodological Significance

The use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies in this study combined to produce a more informed analysis of survey data, and a generalizable baseline which serves as an observable grid in which case material and observations are situated. At many points in the description and analysis, information on prevalence as well as process are combined. It was neither easy nor desirable to separate them.

Our approach has, in turn, pointed to continuing deficiencies in data gathering procedures. Most noteworthy is the prevailing requirement of privacy during the interview situation. There is overwhelming evidence that this is more the exception than the rule in actual field situations. While the general tendency is to assume this problem away, it appears that for much of the information derived from retrospective factual (rather than opinion) surveys, the presence of other knowledgeable individuals in the interview situation can contribute to a more accurate picture of the events we are trying to reconstruct. Not only is this desirable for factual information, it is often unavoidable under the crowded conditions in immigrant dwellings units. Perhaps we can begin to develop a systematic way of recording the histories of family and domestic units analogous to the individual life history, that are tied not only to generations, but to calendar time

and geographic contexts as well, which would define a true supra-individual unit of data collection. This approach, if appropriately refined, might provide us with a methodological tool for obtaining better data on units such as households or families. Although these are recognized as important units, we have yet to advance beyond using individual informants to obtain information on these larger units.

This multi-method study of interpersonal networks and immigrant adaptation documented individual, intermediate-level, and structural processes and, in the process, developed a hypothesis reflecting a paradox which can only be unraveled by simultaneously recognizing the effects of the different levels of analysis. Because the emerging explanation is tentative, its main contribution is in generating debate, stimulating further empirical examination, and in the long run, the development of a a better conceptual framework for studying migration.

Appendix A. INTERVIEW GUIDES

Case No. _____

First Interview Checklist

1. Composition of household (pangabangsaan)

- ☐ -establish persons who usually live in the respondent's household, starting with the head of household.
- ☐ -USE THE HOUSEHOLD LISTING FORM to record name, relationship to the household head, sex, age, place of birth, and activity status.
- ☐ -check for any non-usual residents and determine the reason for their presence.

2. Composition of the dwelling unit

- ☐ -establish type of dwelling unit, physical characteristics (no. of floors, bedrooms, kitchen, bath) and ownership or rental arrangements.
- ☐ -determine number of households in the dwelling unit and relationships between occupants, if any.

3. Location of family members

- ☐ -USE GENEALOGICAL NOTATION to record the individual's position:
(A triangle designates a male, a circle designates a female, and a diamond designates a person of undetermined sex. An equal sign indicates a marriage tie.)
- ☐ -Determine number of siblings and draw on chart, together with parents and, if applicable, spouse and children.
- ☐ -Write the current residence under each individual figure.
- ☐ -Shade any deceased members of the family.
- ☐ -For all members who are in Hawaii, number each individual to correspond with sequence of arrival.
- ☐ -Draw a circle around those who belong to the same household and assign a letter to each household (e.g. Household A, Household B, etc.).
- ☐ -Indicate if any of the households are in the same dwelling unit.

4. Individual life history (USE THE LIFE HISTORY MATRIX)

- ☐ -migration/residence: all places in which the respondent has resided for at least 6 months since birth up to the move to Hawaii, and reasons for moving.
- ☐ -From the time of arrival in Hawaii, track the various residences of the respondent and the reasons for the changes in dwelling units.
- ☐ -household composition: establish the relationship of the respondent to other members of his/her household at the time, particularly to the household head and other adult members.
- ☐ -Also indicate residence type, e.g. own house/apartment/boarding house/etc.
- ☐ -family history: indicate occurrences of marriage (or separation) and births, as well as deaths in the family. Also include other demographic changes (such as migration) in the family which may have a bearing on the events being followed.
- ☐ -education/trainings: establish if and when the respondent started formal education and track up to the time he/she left school, but probe for situations where further training was acquired at a later time.
- ☐ -occupational history: establish when the respondent first started to work, and determine enough of a job description and a description of the employer or place of work to allow a detailed classification of the type of work. Two columns are provided for cases of "double jobs," and if necessary the back of the page may be used for a third simultaneous occupation.
- ☐ -IN CASES WHERE MORE THAN ONE ITEM CHANGES WITHIN THE SAME YEAR, NUMBER THE ITEMS TO INDICATE WHICH EVENT TOOK PLACE FIRST.
- ☐ -CROSSCHECK at the end of the life history for the period just before coming to Hawaii, e.g. "At the time just before you came to Hawaii, you were living in your own house in Los Angeles, with your wife and 3 children. Is this correct? ... And you had finished your high school diploma and was then working part-time as a messenger at the municipal hall? ..."
- ☐ -also do the same check for the current situation (the last line entered into the life history matrix). Fill in any additional information or change incorrect information as appropriate.

5. Situation upon arrival

- ☐ review who among relatives and friends were already here at the time of arrival
- ☐ establish details of how the respondent was received:
 - ☐ reception at the airport: who met?
 - ☐ first accommodations: who provided, what arrangements, who else were there?
 - ☐ familiarization/orientation to new place: "paslar," how to get basic needs, how to get to various places, work; learning to drive or learning bus routes; other routines
 - ☐ locating first job: any help in locating, nature of first job, distance from residence, means of getting to work, ethnic diversity at place of work
- ☐ determine the main difficulty resulting from moving during the first three months after arrival, get details.
- ☐ establish whether the respondent was able to do anything about this (and any other difficulty mentioned relating to moving), and find out what was done. Probe for assistance from both personal and formal sources.

6. Situation in the last 12 months

- ☐ establish details of activity the respondent is currently engaged in:
 - ☐ where located, where the respondent currently lives and how long it takes to get to the location of activity.
 - ☐ mode of getting to place of activity
 - ☐ ethnic diversity at the place of activity
- ☐ determine the main difficulty currently being encountered, get details.
- ☐ establish whether the respondent is able to do anything about this (and any other current difficulty mentioned), and find out what was done. Probe for assistance from both personal and formal sources.

Case No. _____

Second Interview Checklist:

1. Review background

- ☐ USE CHECKLIST GENERATED FROM FIRST INTERVIEW TAPES. Go over information earlier derived and obtain any missing information or clarify any unclear information.

2. Social network characteristics

- ☐ establish which family members or relatives, if any (more), were here at the time of arrival
- ☐ how much and what type of contact there was between the respondent and these kinmen at the time of arrival
- ☐ how much and what type of contact there is now between R and these kinmen.
- ☐ establish whether R had any friends or former neighbors already here at the time of arrival, and how much and what type of contact there was then as well as now between R and these persons.
- ☐ establish whether any family or relatives followed R to Hawaii, and how much and what type of contact there is between R and these kinmen at present.
- ☐ establish whether any friends or former neighbors came to Hawaii after R's arrival, and how much and what type of contact there is now between R and these persons.
- ☐ establish any new kinship (e.g. in-laws) as well as friendship ties R has developed here in Hawaii, and how much and what type of contact there is at present between R and these persons.
- ☐ determine R's religious affiliation, if any, and find out if R was ever a *pinong/alnang*, and for whose children. (If R has children, establish whether they have *comadres* and *compadres* here.) Establish how much and what type of contact there is at present between R and the *comadres/compadres*.

3. Commitments of R

(REFER TO ATTACHED NOTES FOR ADDITIONAL GUIDELINES APPROPRIATE TO R'S BACKGROUND, AND COVER THE FOLLOWING GENERAL AREAS:)

- ☐ R's obligations to support other family members (PROBE FOR SPOUSE, CHILDREN, PARENTS, OR BROTHERS)
- ☐ those obliged to support R
- ☐ nature of these obligations, i.e. continuing vs. crisis
- ☐ remittances, recipients, and projected uses

4. Access to and use of other assistance sources

- ☐ determine access to and use of credit/savings institutions such as credit unions, employment agencies, migrant centers, and other social services (RELATE TO SPECIFIC PROBLEM AREAS ALREADY PARTIALLY COVERED ABOVE)
- ☐ determine how R gained information on and access to any assistance sources mentioned (PROBE FOR RELIANCE ON INTERMEDIARIES e.g., *pangkuyog* IN ANY USE OF FORMAL SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE)

5. Expenditure patterns (at present)

- ☐ ask hypothetical questions: If R had \$5,000 to use for any purpose desired, how would R use it? (PROBE CAREFULLY. VARIOUS GENERAL POSSIBILITIES MIGHT BE CONSUMER SPENDING, I.E. BUY SPECIFIC ITEMS, GO FOR VACATION (where?), INVESTMENT (in what?), SAVINGS (for what), REPAY LOANS (what kind of loans), ETC.)
- ☐ with reference to last month's household income, determine proportion spent on various areas, e.g. housing expenses, food, clothing, transportation, other necessities, entertainment, insurance, repayment of loans, savings, remittances, etc. (IF IT IS EASIER TO DETERMINE ACTUAL AMOUNTS, TAKE THE MAJOR EXPENSES AND DETERMINE TOTAL INCOME FOR LAST MONTH. WE CAN FIGURE OUT PERCENTAGES AFTERWARDS)

6. Subjective assessments

- ☐ assess R's degree of satisfaction with housing, job, income, and life in general at two points in time: upon first arrival, and at present. Reference groups for assessment will be the place of origin, the Filipino community here, and the destination (Honolulu) standards, then terminate interview.

Appendix B. HOUSEHOLD LISTING FORM

HOUSEHOLD LISTING FORM

Case No. _____

	Household Members	Relationship	Sex	Age	Place of Birth		Year of Arrival	Main Activity
Line Number	1. Kayatko koma ti agsaludsod maipapan kadagiti kakabangayo ditoy a pagtaengan. Pakibagman man dagiti nagan dagiti kakabangayo. (RECORD FIRST AND LAST NAMES)	2. Agkapin-ano kayo kenni _____? (RECORD RELATIONSHIP TO INFORMANT)	3. (INFER SEX FROM NAME OR ASK:) Lalaki kadi wenno babai ni _____? (RECORD M OR F)	4. Mano ti tawennan?	5. Nakayanakan kadi ni _____? Province or State Country		6. (ASK ONLY OF THOSE BORN IN THE PHILIPPINES) Ania nga tawen idi damo ni _____ ti umay ditoy Amerika?	7. Ania ti kangrunaan nga ar-aramiden ni _____ (ti agdama/Ania ti pag-sapul-an ni _____)? (IF WORKING, RECORD MAIN OCCUPATION)
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								

1.1 Adda pay kadi sabsabali nga kabangayo nga saanyo pay nga naibaga? Agraman ditoy dagiti kabangayo a saanyo a kabaglan.
(IF YES, ENTER ADDITIONAL PERSONS ABOVE)

(CIRCLE LINE NUMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD INFORMANT)

Appendix C. SAMPLE CASE HISTORY IN LHM FORMAT

LIFE HISTORY MATRIX											
										Case No. (SAMPLE)	Page 1 of 3
		RESIDENTIAL HISTORY		HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION		FAMILY HISTORY	EDUCATION OR OTHER TRAINING	ACTIVITY/OCCUPATION HISTORY		AGE	YEAR
YEAR	AGE	Place of residence	Reason for move	Residence type	Co-dwellers: HHH/other adults			Primary activity or occupation	Secondary activity or occupation		
1945	0	San Nicolas, Ilocos Norte		own house	parents, 2 sisters, brother					0	1945
1946	1									1	1946
1947	2									2	1947
1948	3									3	1948
1949	4									4	1949
1950	5									5	1950
1951	6						Started school			6	1951
1952	7									7	1952
1953	8									8	1953
1954	9									9	1954
1955	10				parents, brother, sister	oldest sister came to Hawaii				10	1955
1956	11									11	1956
1957	12		commuting daily to normal high school				Completed 6th grade Started High school			12	1957
1958	13									13	1958

(more)

LIFE HISTORY MATRIX

Case No. (SAMPLE)

Page 2 of 3

YEAR	AGE	RESIDENTIAL HISTORY		HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION		FAMILY HISTORY	EDUCATION OR OTHER TRAINING	ACTIVITY/OCCUPATION HISTORY		AGE	YEAR
		Place of residence	Reason for move	Residence type	Co-dwellers: HH/other adults			Primary activity or occupation	Secondary activity or occupation		
1959	14						stopped school (HS year II)			14	1959
1960	15									15	1960
1961	16						resumed school			16	1961
1962	17									17	1962
1963	18	Manila	to work	cousin's house	cousins and their family		finished high school	construction work		18	1963
1964	19									19	1964
1965	20	Pasiguit, Iloilo North	work on paper coming to Hawaii	own house	parents, brother & sister			stopped work		20	1965
1966	21	Hawaii - Kona Beach	petitioned by sister	sister's house	sister and her family			sugar cane carrier operator	part-time bartender	21	1966
1967	22									22	1967
1968	23	(went to Phil.)	for 3-month vacation			got married (in RP)	studied accounting (stopped when went home)	Tractor operator same company	(stopped when went home)	23	1968
1969	24	Ewa Plantation	company gave house when wife arrived	plantation house	wife (parents stayed with sister's HH)	wife arrived in Hawaii				24	1969
1970	25					father & mother arrived			bus driver, part-time	25	1970
1971	26					first child (son) born				26	1971
1972	27									27	1972

(more)

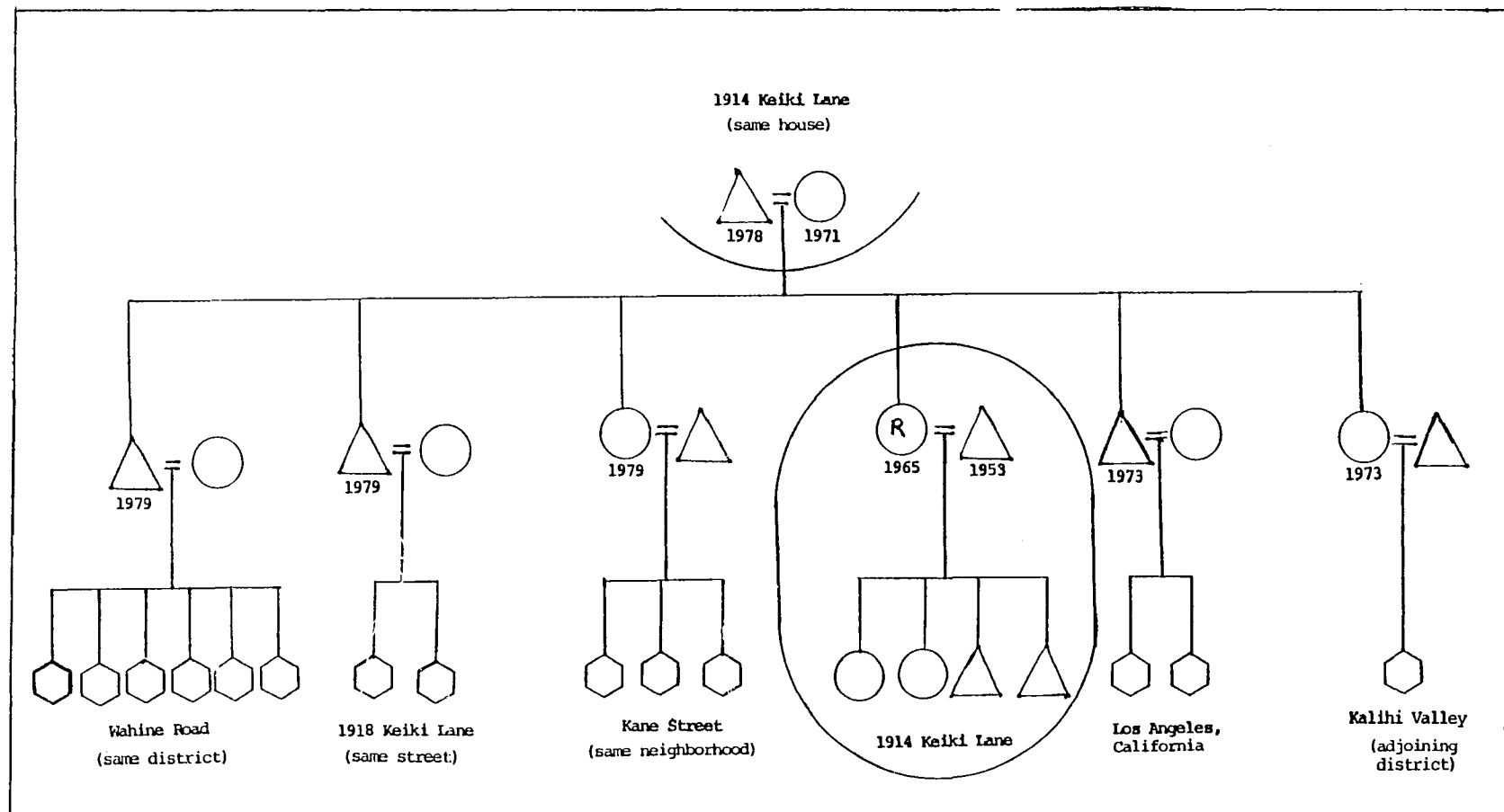
LIFE HISTORY MATRIX

Case No. (SAMPLE)

Page 3 of 3

YEAR	AGE	RESIDENTIAL HISTORY		HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION		FAMILY HISTORY	EDUCATION OR OTHER TRAINING	ACTIVITY/OCCUPATION HISTORY		AGE	YEAR
		Place of residence	Reason for move	Residence type	Co-dwellers: HHH/other adults			Primary activity or occupation	Secondary activity or occupation		
1973	28					second child (daughter) born		heavy truck driver Same Co		28	1973
1974	29								stopped part-time work	29	1974
1975	30					third child (daughter) born				30	1975
1976	31									31	1976
1977	32	Pikake St, Elva	bought a house	own house	wife and 3 children					32	1977
1978	33							trainer for heavy equipment for same company		33	1978
1979	34									34	1979
1980	35								tour bus driver, part-time	35	1980
1981	36									36	1981
1982	37									37	1982
1983	38								stopped part-time work	38	1983
19	39									39	19
19	40									40	19
19	41									41	19

Appendix D. AN INVENTORY OF FAMILY MEMBERS, USING THE GENEALOGICAL METHOD



R = Respondent

Appendix E

ADJUSTMENT PROCEDURE FOR FIRST YEAR EARNINGS

A 1981 standardization factor for each year was calculated to allow an approximation in 1981 dollars of earnings by immigrants arriving in different years (Table 35 on the next page). This factor was derived as the ratio of the CPI for each year and the 1981 CPI. As one moves back in time from 1981, the factor becomes increasingly smaller as it parallels the CPIs on which it is based. Instead of converting earnings to their 1967 CPI base year dollar value, then, this procedure allows conversion to the 1981 value which was current at the time of the survey. (A similar procedure may be used for any other year used as a baseline.)

Earnings during any given year were then "inflated" to their 1981 dollar value by dividing the unadjusted earnings by the 1981 standardization factor corresponding to that year.

TABLE 35

Consumer Price Index and 1981 Income Adjustment Factor for
Honolulu, 1965 to 1981

Year	CPI, Base Year 1967	1981 Standardization Factor*
1965	94.6	.327
1966	97.3	.384
1967	100.0	.396
1968	103.8	.411
1969	108.5	.430
1970	114.2	.453
1971	118.9	.471
1972	122.8	.487
1973	128.3	.508
1974	141.9	.562
1975	155.0	.614
1976	162.8	.645
1977	171.0	.677
1978	184.1	.729
1979	204.6	.811
1980	228.5	.905
1981	252.4	1.000

*1981 standardization factor = CPI/252.4

Sources: Hawaii. Data Book, 1972, p. 91 and
Data Book, 1982, pp. 323-324.

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