The social and economic conditions for the incorporation of immigrants have changed dramatically over the course of the last century. Today, an increasing number of immigrants arrive with high levels of skills and economic resources. Nevertheless, immigrants continue to be faced with the task of developing social relationships in their new environment, both with members of their ethnic group and with members of the larger society. This article investigates the influence of the workplace on the structure of social networks among affluent immigrants, the type of support (i.e. social, emotional, or instrumental) provided by relationships with co-workers, and the different strategies of men and women in establishing and maintaining social relationships. Findings are based on ethnographic research conducted in 1997 and 1998 on the social networks of affluent first generation immigrants from Taiwan to Orange County, California.

Introduction

In the history of immigration to the United States, several waves of immigration have occurred under very different circumstances. The most recent period of immigration was induced by the Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965 and is distinct from previous immigration flows. In contrast to earlier waves of immigrants, the recent waves have been primarily non-white immigrants arriving from a large range of non-European countries of origin. Furthermore, they display much greater social and economic diversity and have entered an extremely varied range of occupations in comparison to immigrants arriving prior to 1965 (Massey 1981, Portes and Rumbaut 1996). The differences among recent immigrants in levels and marketability of skills (i.e., human resources) and the differences in economic resources they bring with them, have resulted in the socioeconomic polarization of the foreign-born in the United States. Many high-skilled immigrants are of Asian origin, while many low-skilled immigrants come from primarily Mexico and Central America. The divide between skilled and unskilled immigrants especially influences their acceptance and support by the general population of the United States (Waldinger 1996).

A new phenomenon in immigration statistics is the high number of women who migrate to the United States. In California in 1996, 62% of immigrants from Japan were women, compared to 59% from Mexico and 58% from the Philippines (State of California, Department of Finance, 1999). While the overall proportion of female immigrants in the year 1996 was only slightly above average, at 56%, men were more frequently 18 years old or younger at the time of immigration in contrast to women. Among those over 25 years of age, the proportion of female immigrants was much higher than that of male immigrants. "During the main working ages, from age 20 until age 65, there are only about 70 males for each 100 female legal foreign immigrants in each age group" (State of California, Department of Finance 1999: 9).

Another recent development is that many immigrants no longer reside within close vicinity of other co-ethnics (Massey 1985). Residential clusters are rare among affluent immigrants with high levels of human capital. Instead, their living conditions differ from ethnic enclaves, where ethnic business districts and ethnic residential clusters tend to overlap. More and more, wealthier immigrants find themselves living in suburban areas characterized by seemingly endless rows of single-family dwellings. Such metropolitan areas differ from traditional urban spaces, especially with respect to master plan community structures built for well-to-do residents. They are deconcentrated spaces with a high people to land ratio and an absence of clearly visible city boundaries or public spaces (Gottdiener 1985, Sorkin 1992, Soja 1996, 2000).

Further, advancements in communication and transportation technology have provided people living in different locations with opportunities to stay connected more frequently, at a faster rate, and at a lower cost than ever before (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992, Portes 1999). This allows migrants to move back and forth between places which are separated by greater distances.

These new and distinct conditions of immigration to the United States raise questions about established theoretical assumptions concerning the immigrant incorporation process. The likelihood of integration is best understood by analyzing interaction patterns, specifically the relationships that link co-ethnics to one another and to members of different ethnic groups. Special attention should be given to the relationships that provide access to information and opportunities for various types of social interaction; these help immigrants use diverse resources to cope with the challenges of settlement and adjustment to a new culture.

Increasingly, more research has focused on the role of women in the immigration process (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, Ho 1991, Foner 1998, Hagan 1998, Rose 1998, Pessar 1999, Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999, Mahler 1999, Salaff 2002). Some studies reveal that men who work in groups with other co-ethnics have access to more information that is helpful in the adaptation process than women who work in jobs isolated from one another (Hagan 1998, Mahler 1999). The gender roles in each respective culture, the settlement patterns of ethnic group members, and the proportion between the number of female and male migrants from the same country of origin also play a role in the networking activities of women (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, Ho 1991, Foner 1998).

Investigating the personal networks of immigrants from Taiwan to Southern California, here I assess their likelihood of
The social network perspective makes it possible to operationalize the concept of 'low barriers to interaction' into 'low degrees of constraints in the structure of personal networks'. Individuals with extensive, diverse, and heterogenous ties have low degrees of constraints. Specifically, the extensiveness of a personal network is indicated by its size, measured as number of other people a person knows who are linked through strong, moderately strong, and weak ties. The degree of heterogeneity in personal networks is measured by looking at the proportion of people with different educational backgrounds and occupation-related income levels in a network. In contrast, homophily among network members is expressed as shared ethnicity, sex, age, occupation, family status, etc. (McAllister and Fischer 1983: 82, Marsden 1988).

In terms of diversity, the proportion of network members from other ethnic groups in relation to members of a person's own ethnic group determines this dimension in a personal network. The degree of multiplexity of ties also influences constraints in a personal network, because the higher the number of multiplex ties and overlap of social roles among alters, the more constraining a personal network becomes, leaving fewer opportunities to meet new people or acquire information through different social channels.

Ethnographic background

At the time of research, approximately 40,000 of Orange County's 2.8 million residents were immigrants from Taiwan. Although people of Mexican and Vietnamese ancestry concentrate in the north, the southern part features no visible ethnic clusters. It is also characterized by urban sprawl, endless rows of tract housing, a lack of city centers, and masterplan communities with housing prices starting at $250,000.

Immigrants from Taiwan do not share a single ethnic affiliation. In fact, many immigrants claim several different associations with places of origin and cultural groups which at times overlap, but also separate them (Ng 1998). Not all immigrants who arrived in the United States from Taiwan automatically think of themselves as Taiwanese or are seen as
Taiwanese by others, including the INS and Census Bureau. Taiwan was settled by four groups: the aborigines (yuanzhumin), who came from various islands of the South Pacific; the Hoklo (fukao) who started in the 16th century to migrate in large numbers from the coastal areas of southern Fujian province in mainland China (Ahern & Gates, 1981), together with the Hakka (kejia) from northeastern Guangdong province and the hilly areas of southern Fujian province (Constable, 1996; Leung 1999); and finally a small group of political refugees from various places in mainland China, who arrived together in 1949 after the collapse of the Nationalist regime and are called the "Mainlanders" (daluren). Informants frequently used the distinction 'Taiwanese people' to refer to Hoklo and Hakka descendants and 'Chinese people' for descendants of the Mainlanders, and thus I employ both the terms 'ethnic Taiwanese' and 'ethnic Chinese' to portray immigrants from Taiwan.

Informants gave various reasons for emigration. They included the political situation in Taiwan, especially the imminent threat of a takeover by the Communist party of Mainland China, the quest for higher education both for themselves and their children, and, among recent immigrants, the pursuit of a quality of life characterized by wide open spaces, larger houses, low levels of pollution, and less demanding high schools for their children. Although other areas of North America are also preferred regions of settlement for immigrants from Taiwan - the San Francisco Bay Area and Silicon Valley, as well as metropolitan areas surrounding New York City, Los Angeles, Seattle, Vancouver, Toronto, Atlanta, Houston and Washington D.C./Baltimore – a growing number of immigrants are selecting Orange County for the mild climate, the availability of large houses in newly developed subdivisions, a lower concentration of co-ethnics than Los Angeles County, and easy travel to Taiwan.

Immigrants from Taiwan to the southern parts of Orange County are socio-economically homogenous. The majority of informants are professionals or married to professionals, including doctors, engineers, computer analysts, and educators. Some run their own business, mostly in computer technology. There are also a few informants, most of them women, who were employed in service jobs such as real estate agents, office managers, and hair dressers. Half of all female informants in this study are homemakers.

There are three distinct cohorts of immigrants from Taiwan in Southern California. Members of the first cohort arrived between the late 1950s and mid 1960s, most coming alone or with a spouse as students in pursuit of a graduate degree. The second cohort was rather large due to the changed conditions after the Hart-Celler Act of 1965, which reduced barriers to Asian immigrants. This cohort continues to include students, who had easier access to visas than before, but also large numbers of immigrants who came as relatives of former students who sponsored their visas. This pattern of immigration spans the time between the late 1960s and the mid 1980s. The third cohort consists of immigrants who have arrived since the late 1980s. Compared to previous waves of immigration, there are hardly any graduate students among them, since few decide to stay in the United States after graduation. Instead most newcomers are relatives of already established immigrants or independent business owners. The main characteristic of this cohort is that, due to the economic down-turn in the United States in the late 1980s, most immigrant families from Taiwan have settled as divided families, meaning that mother and children actually live in North America, while the main breadwinner continues to generate the income in East Asia (Chen 1992: 55). Other than some members of the second cohort who decided to leave their families behind and return for more lucrative jobs in Taiwan after many years of employment in the United States, members of the third cohort have pursued this strategy from the beginning of their immigration (see also Salaff n.d.).

Immigrants themselves call the phenomenon of husbands who shuttle between two continents across the Pacific ocean 'astronaut husbands' (taikong ren) (Ong and Nonini 1997, Wong 1998, Beal and Sos 2000, Waters 2000). This is further emphasized by their mocking transformation of the traditional proverb nan zai wai, nil zai mei, which means "the man is responsible for the outside affairs, the woman is responsible for the inside affairs of the household" into the phrase nan zai tai nil zai mei, which means "the man is in Taiwan and the woman is in America"?

However, gender roles have not changed completely in response to the immigration experience. The following quote represents the sentiment of many women who compare their experience to their presumption of U.S. American couples' lifestyles in general:

"Despite that the times have changed in Taiwan as well, it's still like this: women cover the inside and men cover the outside (nü zai nei, nan zai wai). Men still can't go into the kitchen. In America they think it's the task of both, and then men don't really have many places to go - not like in Taiwan. Here, men like to buy houses and insurance and stuff, and then they have to pay it off. So it is all very regulated, and you can't really take off and change. And it's stable." (informant #28)

The role of the workplace in the social networks of male and female immigrants

The following sections examine the characteristics of personal networks of affluent immigrants from Taiwan with a focus on the nature and function of relationships formed at the workplace.

Network composition by social roles

Results from the analysis of network composition by social roles reveal that the largest proportion of ties links informants to recreational contacts (22% of all ties, N=587), followed by ties to co-workers or business partners (16.5%). Relationships with former classmates or alumni of the same university (13.5%) and faith related contacts to members of the same Christian church congregation or Buddhist prayer group (13%) account for two more large segments of an individual's social network. By contrast, the proportion of kinship relations in immigrants networks is relatively small (9%). Further roles are
those of fellow parents who meet at school events or during the joint outings of their children (7%), members of joint associations (6%), such as the 'Taiwanese American Chamber of Commerce' or the 'North American Taiwanese Professor Association,' and people who meet at training events, for example at the adult school (4%). Only a small proportion of network members are neighbors (3%) and a few informants mentioned friends of friends, who cannot be associated with any of the other roles (4%).

The composition of social networks among immigrants to Southern California differs from the typical network features people experienced prior to migration from Taiwan. Although differences also exist in Taiwan itself, mainly in terms of the amount of kin relationships in rural and urban networks (Greenhalgh 1984: 542, Gallin 1978: 279), a few general comparisons can be made. Networks of urban residents in Taiwan had fewer exclusively leisure related contacts than the immigrants reported here and rather larger proportions of work related contacts, many of which were actually multiplex in nature doubling as recreational contacts (Chu 1996, Tsui and Farh 1997). Not surprisingly, the average network size of urban residents in Taiwan was bigger than the average 13 ties immigrants listed after a decade of settlement in the United States. Social interaction in Taiwan's cities also included larger proportions of ties to kin group members and neighbors (Gates 1992, Thornton 1994).

The role of co-workers in social networks

Compared to typical network compositions in Taiwan, but also to the networks of non-immigrant European-Americans (Schweizer et al. 1998), both the proportions of work-related contacts and kin group members in immigrants' networks are rather low. A closer look at these two observations shows that fewer kinship relations are not just a function of fewer relatives in the United States. Many middle-class and upper middle class immigrants keep close relationships only to members of their extended family. They prefer to rely on former classmates rather than kin group members for information and emotional support (see also Wong and Salaff 1998 on similar preferences among immigrants from Hong Kong).

The role of co-workers in affluent immigrants' networks needs further scrutiny. Most of the co-workers mentioned as network members have jobs that are similar to the informant's. The likelihood of a relationship between co-workers is much higher if they are both from Taiwan, and even more so if they share the same ethnicity.

"I am not really close with any co-worker. Only once, when I worked for UCLA medical center - there was one Chinese co-worker. We became acquainted - we went to office birthday parties together." (informant #6)

"Those co-workers who work together day by day they are the most closest. Same type of work. We go out and eat together with my wife and their wives. That kind of co-workers we are three. Two of them are from Taiwan also and one is native American." (informant #30)

Co-workers exchange job related information and chat about general events (see discussion of types of support below). Most relationships between fellow co-workers are weak ties, since co-workers share only the workplace as a common context of interaction (i.e., uniplex ties) with the exception of an occasional dinner. Few co-workers engage in social activities outside the workplace. Most informants who are in the workforce, especially women, state that they have little time for social gatherings during the workweek. After long commutes, traffic jams, errands and housework, little time and energy are left for social activities. Instead weekends are reserved for recreational activities and other social enterprises. Co-workers who either live far away or do not share similar recreational or social interests are unlikely to become a part of a person's set of multiplex relations.

"Ah - when I used to work - I worked for an American firm - there were a lot of Mexicans - and one woman from Thailand whom I was a bit closer to. With the others - there was not much interaction. My husband has a lot of Chinese colleagues. But we don't have much private contact with those Chinese colleagues either. If the interests don't overlap there is not much in common. Those who play Tennis or Golf - they can only hang out with their likes. He (my husband) can only go and be with those who golf since he golfs as well. That's ok - he does that - he goes out with those - but his other colleagues - none of them dances - or likes Karaoke - so we don't go and have fun with them." (informant #64)

Network homophily

That most informants stated that sharing a common background was the most important criteria for establishing and maintaining relationships with others is reflected in the sociodemographic similarities of network members. Network homophily is especially visible in the occupations of interaction partners. The following table presents the raw count of interaction between members of the four occupational groups identified earlier. The comparison with the expected count generated by chi-square calculations listed in brackets reveals the strong tendencies of preferences for interaction with others who share the same social standing and have similar time budgets due to their responsibilities in the workplace, in a business, or in the household.

The table shows that informants are more likely to have more ties with people who share the same socioeconomic background. Homemakers seek other homemakers more often and professionals interact more frequently with other professionals (significant at p=0.0001). All other interactions between members of different occupational groups are lower than would be expected by chance. The only exception is the exchange taking place between business owners and people who work in service related occupations. The two groups are often linked by reasons of job-task overlap.
Anthropology of Work Review

Table 1. Interaction patterns of informants by alters for occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>homemaker</th>
<th>service jobs</th>
<th>professionals</th>
<th>business owners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>homemakers</td>
<td>45 (29)</td>
<td>29 (25)</td>
<td>37 (53)</td>
<td>10 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>service jobs</td>
<td>15 (16)</td>
<td>14 (14)</td>
<td>21 (28)</td>
<td>15 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professionals</td>
<td>26 (36)</td>
<td>26 (32)</td>
<td>84 (66)</td>
<td>15 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business owners</td>
<td>2 (7)</td>
<td>8 (7)</td>
<td>18 (31)</td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: numbers reflect the raw counts of ties. The expected number of ties, listed in brackets, is rounded.

Patterns of social, emotional and instrumental support

The following section looks at the relationship between social roles and support to determine which specific types of support are associated with a given role. Since instrumental support, which refers to the provision of information, is different from activities associated with social and emotional support, their patterns are discussed separately. For the study of social and emotional support, table 2 and figure 1 show two alternative ways for understanding the connection between roles and support types. The first simply looks at bivariate correlations between the various roles and types of support. The other, a multivariate approach, examines the relationships between roles and types of support with the use of a two-dimensional graph by way of correspondence analysis (Greenacre 1984).

Table 2 displays results from bivariate analysis of a series of dichotomous variables. The provision of support was recorded as either given or not and dummy variables were created for some of the role relations, such as 'being a classmate' (yes/no). Recreational activities enjoyed with others and training-related groups, such as adult schools, are summarized into a single dummy variable 'joint hobby.' Membership in associations, religious organizations and parent-teacher organizations are combined as the variable 'joint organization.'

In an examination of table 2, a difference between gender roles is clear. Women fulfill more traditional role expectations and are the most likely providers of information about childcare and education. They join each other for leisurely shopping sprees and invite each other to join new recreational groups.

Although the table reveals a variety of associations, the focus here is on relationships generated by or at the workplace. Co-workers and business partners are the only social roles associated with the discussion of work-related issues. It is noteworthy that work related issues are not relevant among people who have joint hobbies or meet each other at association meetings or in religious settings. When looking at variables that are negatively related, it becomes evident that co-workers are hardly invited home and not likely to be invited to join new organizations. There is no automatic recruitment of co-workers for professional associations. In addition, members of organizations such as professional or political associations do not talk about child-related issues or neighborhood matters.

Apparently informants strongly compartmentalize their relationships. Someone related in terms of recreational activities is not necessarily approached for other activities. Associations, especially church groups, do not mix with groups that engage in sports or music activities. Immigrants seem to keep their various social circles separate from one another.

Table 2. Correlation of types of social and emotional support with social roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of social and emotional support</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Kin/non-Kin</th>
<th>Classmate</th>
<th>Co-worker</th>
<th>Neighbor</th>
<th>Joint hobby</th>
<th>Joint assoc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood issues</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
<td>-0.103*</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.517***</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
<td>-0.127*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work issues</td>
<td>-0.105*</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
<td>-0.138**</td>
<td>0.592***</td>
<td>-0.063</td>
<td>-0.024</td>
<td>0.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child issues</td>
<td>0.191***</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>-0.146***</td>
<td>-0.079</td>
<td>0.228***</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>-0.106*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invite to dine out</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
<td>0.148***</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>-0.091</td>
<td>0.100</td>
<td>0.055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invite home</td>
<td>-0.031</td>
<td>0.309***</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>-0.141**</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>0.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join shopping</td>
<td>0.207***</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>-0.062</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join new recreat. activity</td>
<td>0.157***</td>
<td>-0.050</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>-0.73</td>
<td>0.458***</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join new social organization</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>-0.130*</td>
<td>-0.072</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>0.430***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seek personal advice from</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.387***</td>
<td>0.291***</td>
<td>-0.119*</td>
<td>-0.068</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provide personal advice to</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>0.338***</td>
<td>0.154***</td>
<td>-0.060</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pearsons product moment correlation. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, p<0.005, ****p<0.001.

Volume XXIII, Numbers 3-4
Figure 1 provides a different approach to the relationships between social roles and types of support through the use of correspondence analysis (Weller and Romney 1990) that allows for a visual display of table 2's row and column relationships in a role by support matrix. It records the aggregated number of times a classmate or a coworker are mentioned by all informants as providers of a certain role (e.g., either to seek advice in personal matters or to come along to a new recreational activity). The goal was to detect the patterns among informants' responses with respect to social and emotional support and specific roles, including how the support types are related to one another and how roles are associated with one another (Freeman and Ruan 1997: 95). A social role and a type of support are related to one another to the extent that a specific support is performed by the holder of a specific social role. Two roles are linked to each other if they are consistently involved with the same types of support. Two types of support are associated with one another if they are consistently involved with the same role relationships.

In the figure, roles are labeled with abbreviated upper case letters and the various types of support relationships as well as emotional relationship are labeled with small letters. The two dimensions together explain 52.9% of the variance; the first dimension accounts for 28.2% and the second dimension for 24.8% of the variance.

Clusters depict roles and relations which have much in common with each other. More closely related clusters are closer together in the figure. At first sight three clusters and a loosely connected pair are evident. Most central are immigrants who share a recreational activity, attend adult school or attend associations together, or are members of the same religious organization. They ask each other to join new organizations, new recreational activities (hidden under
TABLE 3. Correlation between types of instrumental support and social roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of instrumental support</th>
<th>Gender female/male</th>
<th>Kin/ non-Kin</th>
<th>Classmate yes/no</th>
<th>Co-worker yes/no</th>
<th>Neighbor yes/no</th>
<th>Joint hobby group yes/no</th>
<th>Joint assoc. yes/no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>find a house</td>
<td>-0.182****</td>
<td>0.213****</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.148****</td>
<td>-0.042</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>-0.061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find a job</td>
<td>-0.049</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>-0.029</td>
<td>0.239****</td>
<td>-0.061</td>
<td>-0.120*</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find financial information</td>
<td>-0.138**</td>
<td>0.231****</td>
<td>0.191****</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>-0.060</td>
<td>-0.035</td>
<td>0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find health care, insurance info.</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>0.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find help to buy a car</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>0.093</td>
<td>-0.053</td>
<td>0.043</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.064</td>
<td>-0.013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pearsons product moment correlation. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.005, ****p<0.001

ASSOC and HOBBY in the graph) and dine out at restaurants together.

The loosely connected pair of the role 'co-worker' and the support type 'talk about work issues' confirms findings presented earlier. Co-workers tend to bridge networks, because some supply additional types of support such as going out to dinner and occasionally joining in a recreational activity. However, the outlier position of work related communication topics in the graph shows clearly that few non-co-workers converse about work related matters. This might seem unusual at first, since it is often assumed that people from Taiwan are avid businesspeople who leave out no networking opportunity to develop new business enterprises (Wong 1988, Gold 1994, Weidenbaum 1996, Forschauer 1998). This particular sample included a majority of employed and self-employed professionals with few needs to rely on social events to find new clients.

Nevertheless, immigrants do not avoid talking about business opportunities at social gatherings. They might not talk about their actual work situation, but exchange insights about financial opportunities in general, such as good investment opportunities or stock options. Results of the analysis of the correlation between types of instrumental support and social roles depicted in table 3 make this clearer.

Instrumental support was elicited from informants regarding finding a new house, job, car, financial information (i.e., investment opportunities) and information on health care providers. Co-workers were an important source of information. They introduce informants to real estate agents in their own personal networks. More importantly, they are each other's resource regarding job opportunities, relying on relations with former or current co-workers for help in finding alternative or new employment following layoffs. Especially in industries like computer software, co-workers often follow each other to different companies.

However, financial affairs tend not to be discussed with other co-workers. Instead, immigrants prefer to contact former classmates and family members to learn about new investment opportunities. Given that members of the extended family often do not live in the immediate vicinity of each other, it is noteworthy that they are significantly related to assistance in finding a house. This type of instrumental support was originally expected to be the least associated with the role of kin group members based on the assumption that people find a house through word-of-mouth, which is generally associated with weak ties (Granovetter 1973, Henning 1996). The significance of the correlation is due to the fact that many informants either have a real estate agent among their kin group or have a relative that has a close friend who is a broker.

The biggest insight revealed by the correspondence analysis of each type of support relationships and social roles is the ubiquity of opportunities for casual socializing in the social networks of informants, along with the confirmation that the role of family members is indeed equal to and interchangeable with the role of former classmates. In addition, an interesting gender effect was detected among the providers of various types of information. With a few exceptions, almost all types of information were supplied by men. Furthermore, work related issues are not a focal point of affiliation among immigrants. Although business partners and co-workers of various ethnic backgrounds are in easy reach at the workplace where informants who work spend most of their time, on average up to 60-70% of their waking hours, the lack of opportunity to interact with 'people from the same background' (i.e., fellow ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese) at the workplace, prompts informants to join recreational groups and other types of organizations.

Gender differences in personal network structures

The social networks of men and women are on average equal in size (n=13). However, women have less diverse networks due to lower percentages of non-ethnics in their networks (t (58)=2.715, p<0.01). Despite the difficulties of finding friends in the vast urban sprawl of southern Orange County, the networks of women, both homemakers and those employed, have on average a higher degree of multiplexity among their network members. In this respect they are less extensive than the networks of men.

The presence or absence of husbands, who might live in Taiwan or elsewhere in East Asia for most parts of the year,
does not have a significant effect on the structure of women's social networks. In fact, women whose parents and most of their extended family members continue to live in Taiwan, attend more recreational activities than women with a number of family members in the United States. They have more time than they did in Taiwan to take private vocal lessons, attend folk dance classes, and engage in new hobbies.

Typical evaluations by female immigrants refer to the boredom they experience on the one hand and, on the other, the appreciation of fewer social obligations afforded by the size and composition of their social networks.

"When it comes to myself, I do have no problems here. But when it comes to friends - that's a problem. It's not easy to find friends here, everybody is so busy. This makes this place very boring." (informant #42)

"In America life is simple and everyone just cares about themselves (zai meiguo shei dou wei ziji). Yet, in Taiwan life is more complex and often too much trouble with relatives and relations. But it has one advantage, so to speak, to live here. You have fewer relatives here, and fewer 'friends. Therefore you don't have to attend many social events. In Taiwan on the other hand, it is most likely you have a lot of relatives, a lot of friends. Then there is that person marrying, and that one is having a birthday. Every day you are busy to the nines. Taiwan can be very exhausting (Tai renao)." (informant #34)

Although the average size of male and female networks is reportedly the same, the extensiveness of men's networks shows a bimodal distribution. Male immigrants either have very large or very small networks, depending on how much they join ethnic community associations and recreational activities. Men explained their choices for or against membership in a professional or political association in reference to the perceived common background of and familiarity with current members as opposed to time constraints. Frequently male informants compared their rather diminished social environment in California to the greater opportunities for socializing they could be able to enjoy if they had followed the example of other immigrants and returned to Taiwan.

"Do I regret not going back? Nah. maybe. but sometimes the situation forces you, the job, the family. But I found a job and I raised a family and then your center already evolved in a certain direction. My kids were born here and it is good for them - and so I continued to stay here. It depends on the moment when you have to make the decision - where you are at. Some of my classmates went back in the beginning of the 90s when the economy was in recession. Yet I didn't go." (informant #36)

In general, throughout the southern part of Orange County there are many opportunities to increase the size of one's personal network through the involvement in different organizations and the pool of weak ties they represent. Immigrants go through phases of more or less involvement in various community organizations. These social groups, which are almost exclusively ethnic organizations, have highly fluctuating membership rosters. Yet within the structure of opportunities based on homophilous relationships, immigrants, in particular women, make conscious decisions to keep the size of their networks small.

"If I would participate in everything I could affiliate myself with in relation to my school, work, and interests, I might as well have stayed in Taiwan." (informant #54).

Lowering constraints to interaction

The structure of immigrants' personal network includes four features that lower the constraints to interaction with people of mixed ethnic background, increasing the likelihood of integration into the larger society: membership in the workforce, length of residence, birthplace of children, and English skills.

Immigrants who are either employed or self-employed have a larger number of network members from other ethnic groups (t(58)=3.137, p<0.005). The length of residence in the United States has a similar effect for all immigrants who have lived here longer than 10 years. The birthplace of children also has an influence on the number of non-ethnic network members. Parents of U.S. born children are more likely to know parents of non-Chinese or Taiwanese children than parents who brought their children to the United States after they completed elementary school in Taiwan (t(58)=3.588, p<0.001). Finally, another important aspect is the level of English speaking ability among immigrants. Based on a combination of emic and etic evaluation of informants' English skills, three levels were distinguished as fluent with no accent, fluent with very noticeable accent, and not fluent in English. These different levels actually correspond with the proportion of members of other ethnic groups in the personal networks of immigrants (F(2,27)=17.796, p<0.0001). Certainly, the main difference is between immigrants with very good English skills and those who are still in the process of learning (Tukey HSD p<0.0001). However, a significant difference also exists between those who are fluent with no accent and those who speak with a very audible accent (Tukey HSD p<0.01). Most of them, including high-earning professionals, feel too embarrassed to engage in close relationships with non-Chinese speakers.

"I don't know if I mentioned it - but sometimes I am too shy - or I think they don't accept me and I am speaking English that sounds too strange. With other foreigners I am less hesitant to speak English - with Americans I am more hesitant. Yet it's the same English. (...) because if you come into a room, it's more comfortable if people understand your language and have the same background. Because even now as I am able to speak English, a lot of other people do not understand my words. It's difficult for them, and it's very embarrassing. So you try not to talk too much. " (informant #31)

However, even in personal networks with these four characteristics, the percentage of members from other ethnic groups is only 13% (sd = 7.7). This suggests that the social networks of immigrants are rather homogenous and almost devoid of members of other ethnic groups, especially outside the workplace environment.
Summary of findings

Networks of affluent immigrants from Taiwan are comparatively small in size. The influence of the workplace on the structure of personal networks is minor. The majority of ties to co-workers is weak in nature, especially with co-workers of different ethnic backgrounds. Other than with former classmates and selected partners in recreational activities, few immigrants have developed moderate or strong ties with their co-workers. The main type of support exchanged with co-workers or business partners is instrumental, which reinforces Granovetter's (1973) findings on weak ties. People at the workplace provide each other with information about other job opportunities and finding houses but not investment opportunities. They rarely plan for a joint trip to the theatre, take up a new hobby together, or give each other emotional support.

Overall, most immigrants look for relationships with others who share very similar backgrounds. They are more likely to find a high degree of homophily outside the workplace than at the workplace.

In terms of the likelihood of integration into the larger society, constraints to the development of diverse, extensive, heterogenous ties in personal networks are greater than expected. Although immigrants arrive with high levels of human and economic capital, they rarely interact with members of other ethnic groups outside of work and school environments. Human capital in the form of accent-free English skills increases the likelihood of integration, but economic capital seems to have little effect. While dispersed settlement keeps some immigrants from interacting frequently with other co-ethnics, the decentralized urban structures and the lack of central urban spaces do not foster interaction with members of other ethnic groups. Social relationships reside predominantly with members of the same ethnic group.

The gender roles in establishing and maintaining relationships continue to resemble traditional patterns. The higher degree of multiplexity in the network of women shows that they spend more effort on the creation of small social circles. However, men and women cope differently with the new opportunity structure in their new environment. Although many ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese women find life in the seemingly endless tracts of housing in Southern California "dull" and rather uneventful, they enjoy the fact that they have even more freedom from kinship and neighborhood obligations than they experienced in urban Taiwan. They also feel a sense of relief that there is less need to weave and maintain social connections and they have more time for pursuing recreational interests. Many actually prefer the decrease in network size when moving to the United States. Nevertheless, they are interested in customs and attitudes of mainstream America and many like the opportunities for self-expression afforded to women in the United States. Lack of fluency in English is the main obstacle for many homemakers who are actually very interested to learn more about the life of other people in South Orange County. These tendencies also show that the wide-spread assumption in American society that women establish and maintain social relationships more actively than men, extends to immigrants as well, or as Wellman and Wortley conclude in their findings on personal network structures "men fix things, women fix relationships" (1990: 582).

On the other hand, men who moved to southern Orange County experience a different set of limitations. Unlike women they often come to the conclusion that life in Taiwan has more to offer than life in America. Although few turn their thoughts into action, many immigrants contemplate a return to Taiwan or a change in their occupation to entrepreneurship involving frequent travel to East Asia. The myth of 'America the land of unending potential and opportunities' may not necessarily become reality for them. They are disappointed about the lack of jobs available that present them with status recognitions comparable to their previous occupation in Taiwan or the occupations their education would have given them access to in Taiwan. Although immigrants who came as students in the 1960's and 1970's and chose to stay in the United States have landed well-paying jobs in their field of expertise, these positions have comparatively lower status than the same job in Taiwan. Male informants often reported that in the United States they are just "one of the boys" within their respective companies. Not only do they sense a so-called 'glass ceiling' (Fong 1998) for Asian Americans in U.S. companies, they also mourn the lack of opportunities to gain wide-spread social recognition since their social playing field is reduced almost exclusively to the ethnic community.

Conclusions

The workplace and relationships with co-workers constitute only a small part of the social world of immigrants from Taiwan. The affluence of most ethnic Taiwanese and Chinese living in southern Orange County has the effect that they no longer need to rely on good relations with members of their ethnic community for their material well-being and information on life in California. Goods and services that community members exchange are usually matters of convenience and rarely of necessity. Instead, ties have become more social than instrumental.

Interaction with co-ethnics is a source of comfort and acceptance as well as a framework for building relationships that can help to sustain assets brought to the host country. It also ensures the access to the availability of future opportunities. Economic survival and mobility are still the driving force for immigrant choices and actions, yet they are no longer executed in predominantly ethnic workplaces or businesses. Instead, these goals are secured through participation in their social spheres after work. Although affluent immigrants prefer to live in and work outside an ethnic enclave economy, they have created an ethnic social enclave for themselves. These are not isolated phenomena. Similar developments have been observed among Iranian (Bozorgmehr et al. 1996, Bozorgmehr 1997), Indian (Lessinger 1992, Purkayastha 2000), and Korean immigrants in settlement areas with urban deconcentration (Goode 1990, Park 1997).

In terms of assimilation, it can be concluded that structural assimilation of first generation ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants occurs only in relation to secondary institutions of
the mainstream society, but not to primary institutions. Nevertheless, economic assimilation and socioeconomic mobility is attainable for affluent, well-trained immigrants without any economic costs involved in keeping ethnic attachments (Fugita and O'Brien 1991, Reitz and Sklar 1997). The traditional paradigm which assumes that ethnic assimilation takes place in a straight-line with newly arrived immigrants starting at the bottom of the economic scale and gradually moving up the economic ladder does not apply for highly skilled immigrants from Taiwan. Instead, ethnic institutions and culturally specific behaviors and values often assist rather than hinder the process of incorporation.

Although exclusion from the majority group's social sphere may not have economic implications, and is therefore rarely seen as a punishment, it eventually keeps ethnic group members from participating in higher level economic and political decisions by imposing a glass ceiling to upward mobility (Woo 1999). It may also serve to reinforce the cohesion of the ethnic group, something that might not always be desirable depending on the value system of the society at large.

This study has made this quite obvious. Ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese men working in the United States have to struggle with the fact that, despite the global compatibility of their education and their professional skills, immigration takes a toll. Any adaptation and familiarization process to a new environment requires time, especially regarding the establishment of lasting social relationships. As much as it is possible to enter a company at a high level, in terms of social interaction, immigrants have to become accustomed to the appropriate social customs and formalities gradually and from the bottom up. In this respect, the notion that "ethnic attachment carries no economic costs" put forth by Reitz and Sklar (1997:267) needs to be reconsidered. For the group of immigrants from Taiwan such a notion may apply from a financial point of view. However, from the point of view of personal satisfaction it causes a real dilemma. The comfort of interaction with co-ethnics stands against the social costs of not interacting with co-workers outside of work. Eventually, the lack of social interaction with non-ethnic colleagues contributes to the perceived glass ceiling for the career aspirations of ethnic employees (Fong 1998).

Findings of this study also give reason to conclude that women are more likely than men to respond to opportunities for interaction with members of the larger society. This suggestion is mainly derived from observations of different coping strategies and attitudes towards life in America. Female immigrants consider living in the deconcentrated spaces of masterplan communities an advantage. They enjoy the changed conditions for social interaction. Men prefer opportunities to build and rely on large number of strong ties as experienced in Taiwan and offered by the ethnic enclaves of Chinatowns. In addition, this study confirms the findings of other research on the role of women in the immigration process, namely that in contrast to men, women are often reluctant to return to their country of origin, because they might have to give up some of the advantages they have gained while living abroad (Gmelch 1995, Ong 1996, Foner 1998, Pessar 1999, Hongdagneu-Sotolo 1999, 2000).

Notes
1. The literature distinguishes between four major waves of immigration: the first wave is identified as Northwest Europeans who immigrated up to the mid-nineteenth century. The second wave consisted of Southern and Eastern Europeans arriving between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. And the third wave is identified as the movement from the South to the North of black Americans, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans which was initiated by the two world wars. The fourth wave of immigrants coming mostly from Latin America and Asia began after the introduction of the Hart-Celler Act of Immigration in 1965 and is ongoing (Muller and Espenshade 1985, Chan 1990, Waldinger 1996).
2. The nature and character of immigration to the United States has varied over the course of the hundred years. While the rate of immigrants in comparison to the total population was high in 1900 and 1910 at 13.6% and 14.7% respectively, it steadily declined to reach its lowest point in 1970 at 4.8%. Yet, even since the early 1970's, after the implementation of the Hart-Celler Act, the number of immigrants has been continuously on the rise by a percentage increase of almost two digits. In 1996, about 1 of every 10 residents in the United States was foreign born, totaling 24.6 million people. More than one fourth, 27%, were born in Mexico; another 27% were born in Asia; 17% were born in Europe; and 12% were born in Central or South America. The most recent nature of immigration increase is also exemplified by the fact that more than one fourth of the present foreign-born population of the United States arrived after 1990.
3. The predominance of women in the legal flow of immigrants stands in contrast to the flow of illegal immigrants, who are predominantly men, at least based upon apprehensions by the INS.
4. Ethnic enclaves are often home to an 'ethnic enclave economy', which offers job opportunities for ethnic group members who do not have the necessary language abilities and other skills to compete in the mainstream economy. Ethnic businesses find protected markets, cheap labor, and adequate financial support (Light and Bonacich 1988, Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996, Portes and Stepick 1993).
5. At the group level, social network analysis studies whole networks, also called sociometric networks, created by the complete set of all ties among members of a given group.
6. The U.S. Bureau of the Census has actually established a separate category for ethnic association as Taiwanese in the 2000 Census. However, not all immigrants from Taiwan have made use of this identification.
7. The rhyme of the two sets of words 'wai/ tai' ('outside' and 'Taiwan'), and 'nei/mei' ('inside' and 'America') turns it into a pun and gives it added meaning. Informants always chuckled...
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about the obviousness of the 'nei' / 'mei' combination. 'Mei' means 'beautiful', America is the 'beautiful country' and naturally a woman's place is associated with the notion of a beautiful location.

8. This informant answered the interview questions in English. His expression "native American" refers to American citizens in general.

9. The metric scaling procedure of correspondence analysis can then be used to look at all three relationships simultaneously. This part of the correspondence analysis is the process of 'singular value decomposition' which identifies the basic structure of a matrix (Weller and Romney 1990). It transforms the observed variables into a new set of variables. These new variables are ordered such that the first dimension is associated with the most variance in the original data and the following dimensions are displaying successively decreasing levels of variance. The variation in rows and columns is therefore reproduced and reorganized. This simplification allows for the visualization of the relationship among roles and support types as well as between them.

10. Calculations for the correspondence analysis were done using UCINET V (Borgatti, Everett and Freeman 1999). The scatter plot graph was produced with SYSDAT 10.0.

11. Children born in Taiwan who arrived in the United States in time for junior highschool are called members of the '1.5 generation' (Rumbaut 1994, Zhou 1999:7).

12. This is not to say that life in America is without any hardships for female immigrants. The psychological stress of having an 'astronaut' husband has an effect on some women whose husbands are neither present nor completely absent from day-to-day activities. They have to accommodate their husband's schedule rather than their own interests (Wong 1998, Waters 2000).

13. The notion of 'primary institutions' refers to social groups such as fraternities, churches, self-help groups, but also families in the majority culture. The latter condition requests wide-spread intermarriage between different ethnic groups (Gordon 1964).

14. Interestingly, Reitz and Sklar found in their study of immigrants to Canada that while economic costs do evolve and accumulate for European immigrants who do not engage in social activities with members of the core society, that is not necessarily the case for non-European immigrants (Reitz and Sklar 1997: 269). This represents a very specific form of discrimination along color lines.

15. Since Chinatowns and their ethnic enclaves are considered to consist of mainly lower class immigrants, affluent men from Taiwan would never consider to settle there, despite the more desirable social environment.

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