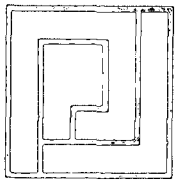
FILIPINO CHAIN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES



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ABSTRACT

The study investigates the process of chain migration of Filipinos to the United States. From a random sample of 356 successful visa applicants at the U.S. Embassy, the following findings emerged: 1) the sample is a heterogeneous mix of people in terms of education and occupational skills; 2) the most commonly mentioned reason for migration is family reunion; 3) the process of chain migration is mostly commonly begun in a family by the movement of the oldest sibling, both male and female; and 4) migration, once begun, has a snowballing effect, adding new movers within a family and creating the potential for movement in other families that may be attached to it through consanguinal ties.

INTRODUCTION

The single most prominent area of destination for Filipino migrants has been the United States. From the turn-of-the-century migration of Filipino male agricultural workers to the plantation of Hawaii and California, to the present-day exodus of a more heterogeneous group, migration to the United States has been an unabated phenomenon, its volume regulated probably only by restrictions of the United States immigration law. Although the effect of such population movement in recent years has been put into the background due to migration of labor to other countries, specifically in the Middle East, Filipino migration to the United States is still very significant because this migration involves a permanent move: migration to the Middle East is only a temporary one and may not, in a strict sense, even be considered migration at all.

The history of Filipino migration to the United States is well-documented in the writings of Lasker (1969), Smith (1976) and Keely (1973), among others. It has been noted (Smith) that such moves can be categorized into two waves, dichotomized by time of entry, and type of skills, educational attainment, and age-sex composition of the migrants. The first wave consisted of predominantly male agricultural workers with low levels of educational attainment, whose time of entry spanned the beginning of the century to the start of World War II. The second wave was composed mainly of highly skilled professionals of a more proportionate

sex ratio, whose entry in significant numbers started after the 1965 amendments to the U.S. immigration law. In between these time periods, the volume of the migrant stream was minimal.

The 1965 amendments to the U.S. immigration law is a significant landmark in the history of Filipino migration. Prior to this, migration was subject to the national origins quota system, limiting the number of migrants from any one country, particularly those from Asia. With the abolition of such a quota system, and the introduction of a non-numerically-limited immediate-relatives category and a preference system based on blood and affinal relationship, the floodgates to Filipino migration were suddenly opened. Thus, the annual average of 2,477 migrants in the period 1953-1965 rose dramatically to 17,127 in the period 1966-1970. By the 1980s, this further increased to 35,000, not including those who left for the United States on a working visa and who may have later applied for immigrant status.

The U.S. immigration law grants immigrant status to qualified persons based on the following criteria:

1. Immediate-relatives category – not subject to numerical limitations and granted to the spouse, minor children, and parents of U.S. citizens ;
2. Preference categories:
   - P1 (first preference) – adult unmarried children of U.S. citizens ;
   - P2 (second preference) – spouse and unmarried children of permanent resident aliens;
   - P3 (third preference) – professionals ;
   - P4 (fourth preference) – married children of U.S. citizens;
   - P5 (fifth preference) – brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens;
   - P6 (sixth preference) – persons capable of performing specified skills and unskilled labor not of a temporary nature for which a shortage of employable and willing persons exists in the U.S..

One important feature of the law is its built-in bias for family migration, thereby lending legal sanction to the process of chain migration or "the movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by a system of primary social relationships with previous migrants" (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964). Under the law's provisions, ease of entry (gauged by the time lag between date of filing of petition and actual visa approval) depends on the degree of affinal and consanguinal relationship between petitioner or sponsor and potential migrant, and on the status of the former, whether U.S. citizen or permanent resident alien.

RELATED STUDIES

Studies of chain migration have emphasized the role of the family network both at place of origin and at place of destination prior to and after the actual move. These studies tackled basic issues covering three areas:

1. how relatives ease the pain of adjustment through economic and non-economic support;
2. how kinship ties are strengthened or weakened by the migration process; and
3. how socioeconomic achievement is hampered or facilitated by the kinship network.

Choldin (1973) has shown that migrants to the Chicago area receive help from kinsmen in the form of material assistance, new social connections, and moral support. Litwak (1960) found that despite spatial distribution of households, the extended family persists in an industrial setting in terms of continued interaction among kinfolk of different generations. The members of the kin-group perform various tasks for one another; strong affective ties exist among them.

Tienda (1980), in a study of Mexican legal entrants to the U.S., sought to relate familism (measured by the expected aid from relatives at destination), and human capital factors such as educational attainment, facility in English and total previous U.S. residence, with the migrant's assimilation three years after entry. Specifically, her study aimed at finding out whether migrants who are more involved in family relationships but have lower education and less facility in English will be assimilated as much as those who are less involved with the family but have higher education and more facility in English. Although her findings failed to show significant relationships between the variables and assimilation, the study nevertheless illustrated that kinship plays an important role in migration.

In 1890, the French sociologist Le Play suggested that family and kinship networks not only encourage migration but facilitate it as well. When conditions demand, a stem family, i.e., a parent household, encourages migration of offspring or its "branches" as a means of extending opportunities to the domestic unit. Thus, while providing a means of escape from limited opportunities, the returns sent to the stem family contribute to its survival (Wilkening, et al., 1968). Presumably, a major factor motivating migration is the desire on the part of the family to maintain or enhance its economic status.

Chen (1980), in her study of Filipino migrants to the Canadian city of Thunder Bay, provides some insights into the mechanics of Filipino international migration. Under the general framework of chain migration as defined by the MacDonalds, she describes the patterns of support to migrants given by kinsmen both in the receiving and in the sending community. This support is exhibited at all stages of the migration process from the initial step of disseminating information about Canada while the migrant is still in the Philippines, to sponsorship of his entry and through various social, economic, and psychological assistance after the move.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The phenomenon of Filipino families migrating to the United States in a series of moves, although familiar

at the common sense level, has not been thoroughly explored in research. This study[1] aims to contribute to the understanding of this phenomenon through a systematic analysis of Filipino chain migrants, i.e., those whose movement follows and is supported by previous migrants as opposed to individual independent migration.

Chain migration is referred to in this study as a series of moves taken by migrants, relying on the support functions of information dissemination, provisions for transportation expenses, and initial accommodation and employment provided through a system of primary social relationships with previous migrants, particularly in the context of the family. This definition, therefore, broadens that of the MacDonalds to include, aside from the kinds of support previous migrants extend to new ones, the actual sequence of movement connoted by calling the process a chain.

This study particularly seeks to understand the Filipino chain migrants as to the sequence of their moves, and the role of kinship networks in their decision to migrate, choice of destination and potential adjustment process. The study also tries to look into the socio-demographic profile of the migrants. It is hypothesized that due to the inherent bias of U.S. immigration law favoring chain movement of relatives, a third wave of migration with a low level of migrant selectivity distinct from the first two waves is created. Whereas the first two waves were highly selective for agricultural workers and highly skilled professionals, respectively, the third wave has no such distinguishing feature; hence, the present wave of migrants may be more heterogeneous in composition. If true, the much-vaunted "brain drain" phenomenon to the United States may no longer exist.

METHODOLOGY

A random sample of 356 successful applicants for emigration to the United States were interviewed during a two-week period at the visa section of the U.S. embassy. The sample was categorized according to the degree of relationship with the person who petitioned for their entry, namely: spouses (105); unmarried children above 18 years of age (109); parents (79); siblings (46); and fiancees (17). A sixth category was originally intended for inclusion consisting of professionals who applied directly for immigration outside of the system of family migration, but the interview period yielded only five respondents; hence, this group was excluded in the analysis.

Interviews were conducted during the waiting time between verbal approval of visa application by a U.S. embassy official and actual release of visa documents. This minimized possible response bias due to anxiety and apprehension, since interviews were conducted only among those whose visa applications had already been approved.

Having been conducted at place of origin, this study, therefore, is subject to some limitations. Firstly, the sample consists of potential migrants, hence, the possibility that some respondents for some reason may not

make the move after all. This is unavoidable, but the small number, if any, will not seriously jeopardize the data. Secondly, some of the support expected of kinsmen at destination may not be forthcoming upon the migrants' entry. However, the fact that the potential movers had already received support at this stage of the migration process, through sponsorship of their entry into the United States and other types of support, qualify them to be chain migrants even when the whole range of probable support is not received.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Age and Sex

Table 1 shows the age and sex composition of the sample population. In general, females outnumbered males with a ratio of 71 males for every 100 females. However, in the categories of child and sibling, males had a slight edge over the females. For both sexes, ages clustered around the 18-49 age groups in all categories, with the exception of the parent category where respondents were predictably older, i.e., in the 50-69 age group.

The large number of females in the age group 18-29 among spouses and fiancees reflect the basic characteristics of members of this group. This was composed of young brides and fiancees joining their spouses and their intended spouses, respectively. Respondents in the child category, on the other hand, were mainly college undergraduates or fresh out of college, which explains their relatively youthful composition.

The seemingly middle-aged composition of respondents in the sibling category (89 percent in age group 30-59) is a reflection of the long waiting time between date of petition and actual visa approval in this category, this being low in the preference system. Due to the large number of petitions in this category and the relatively small quota available, a backlog of cases awaiting approval pile up each year, and waiting time can stretch from 10 to 12 years.

Educational Attainment

Of the 356 migrants, a total of 126 (35.39 percent) were college graduates, while 58 (16.29 percent) were college undergraduates, making a total of 51.68 percent in all having had some and/or finished college education (See Table 2). This finding is generally consistent with findings in other studies on the subject (Medina, 1982; Cher, 1980; Gupta, 1973), although the present figures are not outstandingly large. Migrants continue to be a highly-educated group as found in other studies, but no longer as overwhelmingly well-educated as in the past decades.

Spouses were the most highly-educated as a group, with the highest percentage of college graduates among them. Fiancees had the least percentage of college graduates, although a high 35.29 percent have had some college education. The category of parents had the least percentage of those with at least some college education. Many of the respondents in this

Table 1. Migrant Category By Age and Sex

Migrant Category	18–29		30–39		40–49		50–59		60–69		70+		Total		Sex* Ratio
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Spouse	17	42	10	18	1	12	–	2	1	2	–	–	29	76	38
Child	44	36	14	9	2	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	60	49	122
Parent	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	22	14	20	6	4	32	47	68
Sibling	–	–	8	6	9	7	6	5	3	–	–	–	24	22	109
Fiancee	3	13	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	14	21
Total	64	91	32	34	13	25	18	29	18	22	6	4	148	208	71
(%)	(17.98)	(25.56)	(8.98)	(9.55)	(3.65)	(7.02)	(5.06)	(8.15)	(5.06)	(6.18)	(1.69)	(1.12)	(41.57)	(58.43)	(100.0

**Number of males per hundred females*

Table 2. Migrant Category By Educational Background

Migrant Category	No Schooling	Elementary	High School	Vocational	College Undergraduate	College Graduate	Total
Spouse	0	9	29	8	14	45	105
(%)		(8.57)	(27.62)	(7.62)	(13.33)	(42.86)	(100.0)
Child	0	5	29	8	26	41	109
(%)		(4.59)	(26.6)	(7.34)	(23.85)	(37.61)	(100.0)
Parent	3	31	15	5	3	22	79
(%)	(3.8)	(39.24)	(18.98)	(6.33)	(3.8)	(27.85)	(100.0)
Sibling	0	7	11	5	9	14	46
(%)		(15.22)	(23.91)	(10.87)	(19.57)	(30.43)	(100.0)
Fiancee	0	2	3	2	6	4	17
(%)		(11.77)	(17.65)	(11.76)	(35.29)	(23.53)	(100.0)
Total	3	54	87	28	58	126	356
(%)	(.84)	(15.17)	(24.44)	(7.87)	(16.29)	(35.39)	(100.0)

Figures in parenthesis are percentage.

group did not have higher than elementary schooling (39.24 percent) and three (3.8 percent) had no schooling at all.

Table 3 shows the distribution of types of degrees completed by the 126 respondents who finished college. The most popular course, having been finished by 29.37 percent in the sample was commerce (used here to include Bachelor of Arts in business management, business administration, marketing and accountancy), followed by education (Bachelor of Science in education and Bachelor of Science in elementary education) and engineering. This distribution reflects the popularity of these courses in the Philippine educational system both in the past and at present. Commerce and engineering are currently the most popular courses, as education was a generation ago, which is why, among parents, the latter was the most commonly finished course.

Graduates in the medical fields (nursing, medicine, medical technology) come in fourth in proportion to the number of graduates in the sample. The small percentage of graduates in this group is a seeming contradiction to the laymen's notion that graduates in the medical field, especially nursing, are the ones most likely to go to the United States. This small number of graduates in the medical field in the sample could be due to the fact that graduates of this area of specialization generally migrate with working visas. They change their status to permanent resident aliens later on during their stay in the United States.

Occupational Skills

Data on occupational skills are based either on the respondent's occupation at time of survey, or on past occupation if not employed as of survey date as in the case of parents who might have retired or those who might have resigned from their jobs in view of their impending move. Those listed in the category "None" represented those who had never worked (Table 4).

It is generally believed that migrants to the United States are highly-skilled professionals. However, in the sample studied, although 20.22 percent of all respondents reported professional/administrative/managerial skills, a larger proportion had never worked (29.5 percent). This may be partly explained by the high number of females in the sample and the presence of young migrants still in college. On the whole, this contrasts with the general findings of Keely and Gupta whose works on the occupational structure of Filipino migrants to the United States point to a significantly large proportion of professionals. Even with the inclusion of the five immigrants in the category "professionals", the total distribution of occupational skills in this study will not be significantly altered.

These findings on occupational skills point to a real change in the character of Filipino migration. Whereas at the initial implementation of the 1965 amendments, a large volume of professionals were granted immigrant visas, such is no longer the case in later decades. With the small quota

Table 3. Migrant Category By Type of Degree Completed

Migrant Category	Medical	Engineering	Commerce	Law	Education	Social Science	Natural Science	Humanities	Others[1]	Total
Spouse	6	4	16	0	8	4	3	0	4	45
Child	7	14	9	0	1	5	0	0	5	41
Parent	0	1	8	1	11	1	0	0	0	22
Sibling	2	1	3	1	4	0	0	1	2	14
Fiancee	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	14
Total	16	20	37	2	25	10	3	1	12	126
(%)	(12.7)	(15.87)	(29.37)	(1.59)	(19.84)	(7.94)	(2.38)	(.79)	(9.52)	(100.0)

[1] *B.S. in food and nutrition, home economics, criminology, A.B. fine arts, Associate in nautical engineering.*

Table 4. Migrant Category By Occupational Skills[a]

Migrant Category	Professional	Administrative/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Agricultural	Skilled*	Semi-Skilled Unskilled**	Personal Services***	None	Total
Spouse	18	2	16	10	3	10	5	18	22	105
Child	16	6	16	7	4	6	3	4	44	109
Parent	12	8	2	8	11	5	0	3	30	79
Sibling	7	0	0	8	9	10	2	5	5	46
Fiancee	2	1	3	1	1	1	0	5	3	17
Total	55	17	40	34	28	32	10	35	105	356
(%)	(15.45)	(4.77)	(11.23)	(9.55)	(7.87)	(8.99)	(2.81)	(9.83)	(29.5)	(100.0)

**e.g. auto mechanic, telephone operator, seamstress, jeepney driver*
***e.g. factory helper, waitress, security guard, messenger*
****e.g. beautician, hospitality girl, night club entertainer, manicurist*

[a] *Examples of occupations in each group of occupational skills are as follows:*
professional: lawyer, engineer, teacher, nurse
administrative/managerial: branch manager of a bank, school supervisor
clerical: typist, bookkeeper, secretary, office clerk
sales: sari-sari store owner, drug detailman, insurance underwriter, businessman
agricultural: farmer, fisherman

granted the P3 (professionals) category and the immigration law favoring family migration, the level of skills of migrants no longer hold the premium as the qualifying factor for migration, and there is therefore less migrant selectivity. This conclusion can only be conjectural at this point, however, because of the small sample size studied. Nevertheless, this can serve as a take-off point for a larger study involving a bigger sample in order to ascertain whether such a trend can be observed on a more macro level. If true, this can be an evidence of a third wave of migration, distinct from the first two waves because of its heterogeneity.

FINDINGS

Chain Migration

At present, the movement of Filipinos to the United States can best be described as occurring under the auspices of chain migration. Generally, under this framework, migration occurs in a series of moves involving different members of a family, with kinsmen facilitating each move through a network of support that operate at both ends of the migration process. Kinsmen at origin assist in the preparations for migration while those at destination help ease the tensions and anxieties attendant to each move by taking care of the immediate needs of each migrant upon entry.

Since the sample in this study consists of those still about to make the move, questions geared at ascertaining the extent to which they rely on the kinship networks were more in the form of eliciting the kinds of help they expected to receive from relatives at destination as well as the help they had already received from kin at both ends. Except for six respondents who said they expected no help at all, all other migrants in this study expected their kinsmen in the United States to take care of them upon entry. The support expected ranged from the more concrete, e.g., financial support and accommodations at the time of arrival, to the more generalized, e.g., moral support and help in adjusting to the new environment (Table 5). Moreover, the majority of the migrants had already received help by way of financing their transportation and other expenses (Tables 6 and 7). Thus, this kinship assistance network gives migration from the Philippines the character of being a family undertaking rather than an individualized move that it often is in other societies.

Some of the enthusiasm displayed by kinsmen at place of origin in assisting the potential mover probably stems from the knowledge that the movement of the present migrant will facilitate their own. This is especially true in the case of children and spouses being left behind. When a married person migrates through his own family of orientation (his parents, brothers and sisters), his spouse may enthusiastically support the move not only so she can migrate as well, but also because migration of the spouse's own family of orientation can likewise commence in the future. For children, they may even actually

Table 5. Migrant Category By Kinds of Help Expected From Relatives in the U.S.*

Migrant Category	Financial Support	Accommodations	Look for a Job	Help Adjust	Moral Support	All the Preceding	No Help Expected
Spouse	30	25	18	4	10	47	1
Child	47	60	27	1	5	19	1
Parent	22	32	8	1	0	35	2
Sibling	15	28	17	0	2	7	2
Fiancee	1	2	0	0	0	15	0
Total	115	147	70	6	17	123	6

**Most respondents gave more than one answer, hence, the total exceeds the number of respondents.*

encourage an elderly parent to migrate, knowing that when the parent moves, they are next in line.

The migrant stream in contemporary times seems to have reached that stage where migration has become an institutionalized pattern, with the decision to migrate no longer strictly subject to individual assessments of conditions at place of destination as it is to family-based decisions. With a kin-based support network operating at both ends of the movement, those who refuse to be linked on to the chain may actually be considered the deviants.

Perceptions of the United States

Respondents were asked what their perception of life in the United States was like. Findings show that while more than half of the respondents had positive assessment, there were many other types of perceptions (Table 8). Twenty-two respondents (6.18 percent) seemed to be reluctant migrants as attested to by their negative perceptions of the place of destination. Their answers were neither categorically positive nor negative, and are thus termed "neutral". Still others seemed to have mixed feelings about the place they were migrating to, pointing out what appear to be positive and negative perceptions. This group of responses are classified as "ambivalent"

Those whose answers are classified as "conditional" were those who saw the United States as providing opportunities, albeit in a limited way. Invariably, their responses reflected strong economic orientation and work ethics, recognizing that chances for advancement were open only to those who were willing to work hard.

The rest of the respondents manifested no ideas about the United States. This "no idea" answer could be due either to a real absence of prior assessments of the place of destination reflective of a complete reliance on family networks with no immediate need to know more about the destination, or, a refusal to give answers to the interviewer.

Table 6. Migrant Category By Source of Transportation Expenses

Migrant Category	Respondent	Relatives in the U.S.	Relatives in the Phil.	Respondent and Relatives in U.S.	Respondent and Relatives in the Phil.	Relatives in the Phil. and in the U.S.	Fiancee	Fly Now Pay Later*	U.S. Government**	Total
Spouse	12	64	3	8	0	2	0	2	14	105
Child	15	80	3	1	0	3	0	7	0	109
Parent	15	55	2	2	0	4	0	0	1	79
Sibling	7	26	2	1	5	1	0	4	0	46
Fiancee	1	0	0	0	1	0	15	0	0	17
Total	50	225	10	12	6	10	15	13	15	356
(%)	(14.04)	(63.2)	(2.81)	(3.37)	(1.69)	(2.81)	(4.21)	(3.65)	(4.21)	(100.0)

**Arrangements for payment was not ascertained*
***Relatives of U.S. armed forces personnel*

Table 7. Migrant Category By Source of Financing for Other Expenses Attendant to the Impending Move

Migrant Category	Respondent	Relatives in U.S.	Relatives in the Phil.	Respondent and Relatives in U.S.	Respondent and Relatives in the Phil.	Relatives in the U.S. and in the Phil.	Fiancee	No Other Expenses	No Answer	Total
Spouse	25	49	3	16	2	3	–	5	2	105
Child	22	65	13	1	1	5	–	1	1	109
Parent	24	33	7	2	4	7	–	–	2	79
Sibling	23	9	5	3	3	1	–	1	1	46
Fiancee	4	–	1	–	–	–	12	–	–	17
Total	98	156	29	22	10	16	12	7	6	356
%	(27.53)	(43.82)	(8.15)	(6.18)	(2.81)	(4.49)	(3.37)	(1.97)	(1.68)	(100.0)

Table 8. Migrant Category By Perception of Conditions* At Place of Destination

Migrant Category	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Ambivalent	Conditional	No Idea	Total
Spouse	41	6	18	15	12	13	105
Child	66	5	9	7	18	4	109
Parent	40	8	7	11	2	11	79
Sibling	25	3	4	5	5	4	46
Fiancee	10	0	3	2	1	1	17
Total	182	22	41	40	38	33	356
(%)	(51.12)	(6.18)	(11.52)	(11.23)	(10.67)	(9.27)	(100.0)

**Examples of responses under the various categories are as follows:*
positive – high standard of living, jobs are easily available, plenty of food
negative – racial discrimination, harder life, less free time, no maids, lonely
neutral – same life as in the Philippines
ambivalent – hard life but financially rewarding, economically rich but socially poor
conditional – easy to land a job if one is hardworking

All in all, it appears that not all migrants expected the United States to be the "golden land of opportunity" as commonly believed. Those with negative assessments may be migrants who reluctantly decided to go out of a sense of obligation to their families (both in the Philippines and in the United States) who expected them to move for various reasons.

The differences in the perception of the United States have implications for later adjustment of the migrants. The majority who expected the United States to have all the things they were not able to get at place of origin could be in for culture shock. Chances for adjustment with no major trauma may be better for those migrants who realistically recognized that the United States, although a place of opportunity, had its negative side. These were migrants who gave conditional and ambivalent answers. Migrants with purely negative perceptions may only find themselves validating what to them was a foregone conclusion and for this group, adjustment may prove most difficult. Fortunately, for the migrant, the presence of the kinship network could help in the adjustment process. It could also be a convenient scapegoat for later problems.

Migration Motives

Central to an understanding of migration is the study of the reasons behind the movement. Studies in this area have established the prevalence of the economic motive in voluntary migration. This can translate to a perception of the place of destination as providing opportunities for economic well-being not otherwise available at place of origin, or a perception of one's current residence as not having enough opportunities commensurate to one's potentials. Some migrants move in search of better jobs, giving

up what they already have, while others move because there are no jobs available to them at place of origin.

Migration motives were elicited from the sample by a direct open-ended question, with each respondent mentioning as many reasons for migration as he could think of. Surprisingly, the economic motive was not the most popular reason for migrating (Table 9). On the whole, whenever respondents did mention the economic motive, it was coupled with family reunion. To reunite with kin was the most frequently-given response. The purely economic motive only came fourth in the hierarchy. This pattern was most apparent among spouses and parents, with the latter mentioning still another motive more often than all other groups, i.e., to petition other relatives. For all respondents, migration meant the regrouping of the basic family unit or at least part of it; hence, the popularity of family reunion motives.

Spouses, understandably, were strongly motivated by family reunion out of the basic value for family togetherness. The relative weakness of the economic motive in this group could be largely due to its predominantly female composition. This in no way implies that Filipino women are not strongly motivated by economic factors. For this group of married women, the role of providing for the economic needs of the family was probably perceived as belonging to the male head; hence, economic motives were superseded by the desire for family reunion. It could probably be that the economic motive played its role indirectly in the respondent's choice of a migrant or foreign spouse in the first place. For parents with grown-up children who could support them, the economic motive figured insignificantly. They were migrating because their children in the United States needed them for reasons other than directly economic, e.g., as parental surrogates, or because their children in the Philippines needed their movement to facilitate their own. For both groups, i.e., spouses

Table 9. Migrant Category By Migration Motive*

Migrant Category	Economic	Family Reunion	Economic and Family Reunion	To Petition Relatives	To Find Out What U.S. Is Really Like/Adventure	Others**
Spouse	7	76	20	5	14	2
Child	27	44	33	2	19	7
Parent	7	50	12	18	20	4
Sibling	19	9	11	7	12	2
Fiancee	1	17***	0	1	0	0
Total	61	196	76	33	65	15

**Most respondents gave more than one answer, hence, the total exceeds the number of respondents.*

***e.g., to study, to join the U.S. air force, does not want to waste the petition.*

****All fiancees gave the answer "to marry fiance". These were included under family reunion.*

and parents, manifest motives were reflective of a basic norm that wives are supported by husbands while elderly parents depend on their grown-up children.

Children and siblings, who cannot rely on kin for full support as much as spouses and parents, are presumably those who are less motivated by family reunion, they being pulled by economic factors much more strongly. Children in the sample mentioned economic motives more frequently than did spouses and parents. However, family reunion still remained the most popular motive among them. Apparently, being relatively young and unmarried, many children still feel close enough to their family of orientation for it to serve as a strong reason to migrate. In contrast to the American value for independence of children at a relatively early age, family togetherness for these Filipino children, as long as they are unmarried, remains desirable and therefore worth pursuing.

The economic motive appeared strongest among siblings not only because this was the most frequently-mentioned response, but also because they were willing to make the move in middle-age. Being older and predominantly married, the respondents considered the need to be reunited with kin as secondary only to the more important motive of providing what is perceived to be better chances for economic well-being, not only for themselves but for their own spouses and children.

The third most frequently mentioned motive of the sample respondents was to find out what the United States is really like. This is explainable in the light of the prevalence of American cultural influence on Filipino values and behavior. The pervasiveness of information and misinformation on anything American in Filipino mass media and everyday experiences, and the emphasis on the American way of life as the embodiment of the good life, had conceivably created the desire among these migrants to see for themselves the good life.

On the whole, the analysis of migration motives point out the salience of kinship networks in the migration process. Apparently, the presence of kin not only alleviate anxiety for the migrant, but more importantly, for many migrants, serve as the single most salient pull factor of the destination.

Place of Destination

Based on the sample studied, the most popular states of destination were California (50.56 percent) and Hawaii (14.89 percent), both traditional receiving areas for Filipino migrants dating back to the first wave. Presumably, when migration picked up again after the 1965 amendments, Filipinos petitioned by relatives already in the United States (at that time predominantly California and Hawaii because these were the plantation sites) chose to settle in the same place as their kinsmen.

Findings as to place of destination, therefore, support the hypothesis that the presence of relatives in the area serves as an inducement for migrants to go there. Migrant destination is under-

standably mainly California and Hawaii which have at present the largest and second largest number of Filipinos, respectively. Movement to these areas has continuously served as the link to the chain of potential and probable migrants to the same destination. This, however, does not preclude the possibility of settling in other states as the sample has shown. In addition to California and Hawaii, the migrants mentioned 30 other states of destination (Table 10).

Migration Sequence

The analysis of the sequence of chain migration of Filipinos logically begins with that first decisive move – the migration of the first member of the family.[2] The first migrant plays a decisive role in the migration process because it is he who blazes the trail that others follow, should he choose to be supportive of succeeding moves. He supplies first-hand feedback information about the destination, and provides the necessary financial support should kinsmen themselves decide to go.

Among the Filipinos studied by Chen, the first migrant to Canada is usually the elder sister, a finding which she interprets as a clear reflection of the "pioneering immigrant role" of this sibling. Furthermore, she adds, "one cannot help but begin to realize the important position an older sister occupies in a Filipino family. She not only braves the high seas on her way ahead of anyone else in the family; she also launches a continuous effort to bring others. This observation holds true to members of family and kin, to such an appreciable extent, once she has settled down. This observation holds true whether that older sister is single or married" (Chen, 1980).

To find out whether such elder sister role can be applied to other areas of destination, specifically the United States, this study tried to determine the sibling position of the first migrant in each respondent's family of orientation. Findings show an extension of the elder sister pioneering immigrant role to include the elder brother (Table 11).

Of the 188 reported first migrants in the three categories studied, (i.e., parent, child and sibling), 44 (23.4 percent) were the eldest males in their families and 72 (33.3 percent) were the eldest females, together adding up to 61.7percent of the total, the single most numerous response. Many of these eldest males and females (82 out of 188) or 43.62 percent were first born children in the family (Table 12). This finding points out the significant role of the eldest, male or female, in the Filipino migration process; perhaps a reflection of a more generalized role for the eldest child in the typical Filipino household structure.

The most significant point to consider in the analysis of chain migration is the manner by which the first migrant managed to move. By asking each respondent to indicate how the first migrant in the family was able to leave, the typical strategies for starting a chain are derived. As shown in Table 13, migration in a family most commonly begins in one of the following

Table 10. Migrant Category By Place of Destination

Migrant Category	California	Guam	Hawaii	Illinois	Maryland	New York	Texas	New Jersey	D.C.	Others	Total
Spouse	44	3	17	2	1	3	4	6	3	22	105
Child	66	3	8	9	1	3	0	4	2	13	109
Parent	37	5	15	6	1	1	3	3	1	7	79
Sibling	27	0	9	1	2	0	0	0	1	6	46
Fiancee	6	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	17
Total	180	11	53	20	6	7	7	13	7	52	356
(%)	(50.56)	(3.09)	(14.89)	(5.62)	(1.68)	(1.966)	(1.966)	(3.65)	(14.61)	(1.966)	(100.0)

Table 11. Migrant Category By Sex-Related Sibling Position of First Migrant

Migrant Category	Eldest Male	Eldest Female	Others*	Total
Parent	13	28	38	79
Child	14	30	19	63**
Sibling	17	14	15	46
Total	44	72	72	188
(%)	(23.4)	(38.3)	(38.3)	(100.0)

**other sibling positions like second eldest male/female, third eldest male/female to n-eldest male/female.*

***does not include 46 first migrant parents whose sibling positions were not ascertained.*

Table 12. Migrant Category By Sibling Position and Sex of First Migrant

Migrant Category	1	2	3	4 to n	Total
Parent					
Male	10	6	7	12	35
Female	21	8	9	6	44
Child					
Male	10	4	5	5	24
Female	18	6	12	3	39
Sibling					
Male	12	8	3	2	25
Female	11	5	3	2	21
Total	82	37	39	30	188*
(%)	(43.62)	(19.68)	(20.74)	(15.96)	(100.0)

**does not include 46 first migrant parents whose sibling positions were not ascertained.*

ways, in the order of frequency: marriage to an American citizen; leaving on a working visa; joining a branch of the U.S. armed forces; or, joining a chain began by a relative outside respondent's nuclear family.

Contrary to popular belief (Table 13), only a few (1.69 percent) of first migrants left with a tourist visa, although this could only be a reflection of apprehension on the part of the respondent to divulge what, to him, could be incriminating information. It appears that marriage accounts for the movement of most first migrants, with females outnumbering males in this category. Likewise, more females were able to leave on a working visa, presumably as nurses, nursing being a predominantly female field in the Philippines. Nevertheless, although outnumbered in the preceding strategies, males find the opportunity to leave for the United States by enlisting in a branch of its armed forces, notably the navy.

When one migrates on a working visa, or marries an American, or enlists in the U.S. armed forces, one can be considered truly a pioneering migrant being ahead of everyone else in the family, and making the move independently of his kinsmen in the Philippines. Migrants who are married, however, have two families to refer to – one of procreation (spouse and children) and another of orientation (parents and siblings). Thus, some first migrants are first to make the move but only from one familial point of view. This is reflected in the response category "petitioned by a relative", referring to those who join a chain already begun in another family. One typical example is a married woman whose husband is petitioned by a relative from his (the husband's) own family of orientation. If the wife has no other relative in the United States from her family of orientation,

Table 13. How Did First Migrant Go Vs. Sex of First Migrant.
(All Migrant Categories Included)

Manner of Migration	Male	Female	Both Sexes N	(%)	Sex Ratio
Marriage:					
to U.S. citizen of Filipino parentage	21	46	67	18.82	45
to native American	3	39	42	11.8	8
Working visa	27	42	69	19.38	55
Joined U.S. armed forces	64	0	64	17.98	All males
Petitioned by relatives (outside of nuclear family)	34	27	61	17.13	126
Petitioned by fiancee	1	19	20	5.62	5
As immigrant (P3 – professional)	4	9	13	3.65	44
Born in U.S.	3	5	8	2.26	60
As tourist	2	4	6	1.69	50
Student visa	0	4	4	1.12	All females
Don't know/no answer	2	0	2	.56	All males
Total	161	195	356	100.00	82.56

she is considered a first migrant in that family but a chain migrant in the other.

Evidently, the movement of the first migrant produces a snowballing effect creating a large pool of potential migrants whose actual movement is regulated only by the preference systems category of U.S. immigration law. Had there been no set quotas for the number of immigrant visas granted annually under such system, Filipino migrants to the United States could very well swell into millions.

Having begun the process of chain migration with the initial and crucial move, the family commences its movement in a series of steps that can span decades and may eventually transport all its members to the area of destination.

To derive the particular steps taken by different members of each family, respondents were asked to enumerate all the relatives already in the United States, and indicate who petitioned whom. However, because many respondents did not know or could not recall the early migration history of their relatives, they were asked to describe the sequence of movement only in the nuclear family they were most familiar with. Thus, children and siblings limited themselves to the nuclear family of orientation, while parents described specifically the movement of the nuclear family of procreation. The spouses, whose movement is directly linked with that of their husbands/wives, described the migration sequence in the family they married into.

Spouses

Table 14 shows that of the 105 spouses interviewed, 29 (27.61 percent) were true pioneering migrants, being married to native Americans. All the rest were chain migrants differentiated from one another by their

Table 14. How Did First Migrant Go Vs. Relationship of First Migrant to Respondent (Spouse Category)

Manner of Migration	Husband	Wife	Respondent Himself	Child	Total (%)
True pioneering migrant: married native American	–	–	29	–	29 (27.61)
Second-stage migrant:					
Working visa	9	1	–		10 (9.52)
Joined U.S. navy	9	–	–	1	10 (9.52)
As immigrant (P3 – professional)	1	–	–	–	1 (.95)
As tourist	1	–	–	–	1 (.95)
Second to nth stage migrant:					
Petitioned by relatives (outside of nuclear family)	21	13	–	–	34 (32.40)
Married U.S. citizen of Filipino parentage	1	–	16	–	17 (16.20)
Born in U.S.	1	2	–	–	3 (2.85)
Total	43	16	45	1	105 (100.0)

Note: Respondents who married U.S. citizens of American parentage are considered true first migrants, both in the family of orientation and family of procreation, while respondents whose spouses left with working visa, thru the U.S. armed forces, as immigrants or as tourists, are second-stage migrants. Those whose spouses were petitioned by relatives, or are married U.S. citizens of Filipino parentage, or were born in the U.S. are second-stage migrant as far as the respondents' family of procreation is concerned, but maybe third, fourth, or nth stage migrants when the chain is traced back to the respondents' spouses' family of orientation.

ordinal position in the migration sequence. Twenty-two (20.95 percent) were second-stage migrants, generally succeeding the pioneering move made by their spouses. Others followed via longer routes, which illustrate the extent to which chain migration can be carried on.

The particular sequence of migration in the spouses' category involving three to six steps is shown in Figure 1. All family positions refer to the respondent's spouse's family of orientation.

As evident in Figure 1, chain migration can and does involve more and more individuals and more and more families as each person who is able to leave exercises his prerogative to petition for relatives as soon as he is eligible. Since most of the spouses are first migrants in their family of orientation, it can safely be assumed that many, if not all, will begin the process of chain migration in their respective families, thus lengthening the chains even more.

Parents

No respondent in this category can be considered truly a pioneering migrant although most are first migrants in their family of orientation. Unlike

Figure 1. Migration Sequence in Respondents' Spouses' Family of Orientation

A. Three-Step Migration

Sp's Fa	Sp's Mo	Sp's Bro.	Sp's Child
↓	↓	↓	↓
Sp	Sp	Sp	Sp
↓	↓	↓	↓
R	R	R	R

B. Four-Step Migration

Sp's Sis	Sp's	Sp's Bro.	Sp's Grandfa	Sp's Grandmo
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Sp's Mo	Sp's Fa	Sp's Fa.	Sp's Fa	Sp's Mo
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Sp	Sp	Sp	Sp	Sp
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
R	R	R	R	R

C. Five-Step Migration

Sp's Sis' Sp	Sp's Sis' Sp	Sp's Grandfa
↓	↓	↓
Sp's Sis	Sp's Sis	Sp's Fas' Bro
↓	↓	↓
Sp's Mo	Sp's Fa	Sp's Fa
↓	↓	↓
Sp	Sp	Sp
↓	↓	↓
R	R	R

D. Six-Step Migration

Sps' Sis' Sp's Fa
↓
Sp's Sis' Sp
↓
Sp's Sis
↓
Sp's Mo
↓
Sp
↓
R

Legend:
R – respondent
Sp – spouse
Mo – mother
Fa – father
Bro – brother
Sis – sister
Ch – child
Grandfa – grandfather
Grandmo – grandmother

spouses, parents are unlikely to start new chains among their own siblings because of their advanced age and the long waiting time inherent in the P5 category under which they can petition siblings. Seventy eight (98.7 percent) of the 79 respondents were second-stage migrants, generally following the first move made by their children (Table 15).

The migration sequence followed by the parent category is illustrated in Figure 2. Familial relationships refer to the respondents' family of procreation.

Parents go by the shorter route mainly because they are petitioned under the immediate relatives category where no quotas are set. It is also the relative ease with which they are able to enter the United States that makes them necessary links in the process of chain migration.

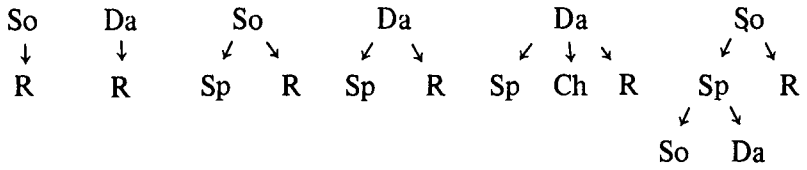
Referring to Figure 1, it is evident that parents figure prominently in migration involving three or more steps. Since they can be petitioned easily when their migrant children become U.S. citizens and, once in the United States, they in turn can petition their adult unmarried children under the P2 category, their movement is necessary if their children in the Philippines, who look forward to future migration, are to make the move in less time. Such future migrants can be petitioned by their own siblings, but this strategy will involve a longer waiting-time period. As has been discussed elsewhere in this paper, parents are aware of the role that they play in facilitating future migration, as evidenced by the fact that, among all the migrant groups, they mention the motive "to petition other relatives" most often. Moreover, parents perform an additional role for their children in the United States – that of parental surrogates, a common role performed by parents in the Filipino family structure.

Table 15. How Did First Migrant Go Vs. Relationship of First Migrant to Respondent (Parent Category)

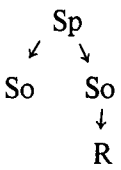
Manner of Migration	Son	Daughter	Spouse	Total	
				N	(%)
Marriage:					
to U.S. citizen of Filipino Parentage	5	17	–	22	27.84
to native American	1	5	–	6	7.60
Working visa	6	13	1	20	25.31
Joined U.S. armed forces	19	–	–	19	24.10
Petitioned by relatives (outside of nuclear family)	1	1	–	2	2.53
Petitioned by Fiancee	1	1	–	2	2.53
As immigrant (P3 – professional)	1	2	–	3	3.73
As tourist	–	2	–	2	2.53
Student visa	–	2	–	2	2.53
Don't know/No answer	1	–	–	1	1.30
Total	35	43	1	79	100.00

Figure 2. Migration Sequence in Parents' Family of Procreation

A. Two-Step Migration



B. Three-Step Migration



Legend: R – respondent; Sp – spouse; So – son; Da – daughter; Ch – child

C. Children

Samples of the two-step and three-step migration sequence followed in the children's family of orientation are shown in Figure 3 below. The three-step migration with a sibling starting the chain, as illustrated, further corroborates the finding that parents generally perform the vital role of facilitating migration of children still in the area of origin.

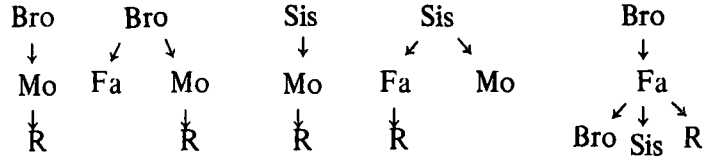
On the whole, the migration sequence for those petitioned under the category "adult unmarried children" seems very simple, involving either a two-step or three-step sequence. This is mainly due to the fact that questions on chain migration are specific to the nuclear family of orientation, such that linkages to chains formed in another family are no longer manifested in the respondents' answers.

However, the real sequence of steps in the migration process and the respondents' position in it can be inferred from Table 16 which shows the first migrant in the respondent's family of orientation and the manner by which he/she was able to leave for the United States. As shown in the table, while migration in the majority of cases in this group truly began within the nuclear family of orientation such as those who went with working visas, joined the U.S. armed forces, married native Americans, or left as immigrants or tourists, a sizeable group of 24 (22.02 percent) was petitioned by relatives, indicating linkages to other chains. These 24 first migrants were parents of the respondents. Presumably, these parents were petitioned by their own siblings. Given the time element in the P5 category, these siblings could have migrated some

Figure 3. Migration Sequence in Children's Family of Orientation

A. Two-Step Migration

B. Three-Step Migration



Legend:

R – **respondent**
Fa – **father**
Mo – **mother**
Bro – **brother**
Sis – **sister**

Table 16. How Did First Migrant Go Vs. Relationship of First Migrant to the Respondent (Children Category)

Manner of Migration	Parent	Brother	Sister	Total (%)
Marriage:				
to U.S. Citizen of Filipino parentage	4	1	11	16 (14.68)
to native Americans	3	–	2	5 (4.59)
Working visa	4	2	21	27 (24.77)
Joined U.S. armed forces	2	17	–	19 (17.43)
Petitioned by relatives (outside of nuclear family)	24	–	–	24 (22.02)
Petitioned by fiancee	-	1	–	1 (0.92)
As immigrant (P3 – professional)	4	–	5	9 (8.25)
Born in U.S.	5	–	–	5 (4.59)
As tourist	–	1	1	2 (1.83)
Don't know	–	1	–	1 (0.92)
Total	46	23	40	109 (100.0)

decades ago, possibly as part of the first wave of Filipino migration. Thus, while the actual number of steps in the migration sequence is few, the time involved in completing it is long.

Siblings

Table 17 shows that migration among the sibling group most often commences with the first migrant joining the U.S. armed forces. The second most common strategy is to enter the United States through marriage or with a working visa.

For migrants in the sibling group, migration is a long-awaited step, one that is finally forthcoming after a decade of waiting. Although majority were second stage migrants (Figure 4), their position in the migration sequence belied the difficulties attendant to their impending move. All of them were already at the age where one normally expects a person to be already settled. Being middle-aged, they would probably find starting anew in a foreign environment doubly difficult since some of the opportunities open to younger migrants might no longer be available to them. Furthermore, because most of them were married, there was considerable pressure for them to achieve more than what was expected of younger, single migrants with no dependents. It was also their marital status that prevented them from going via the parent route.

As in the case of spouses and parents, chain migration is not likely to stop with each respondent's move. Because they were married, their spouses and children were next in line. Their spouses, in turn, could begin the chain in their own families of orientation, thus lengthening the chain.

Fiancees

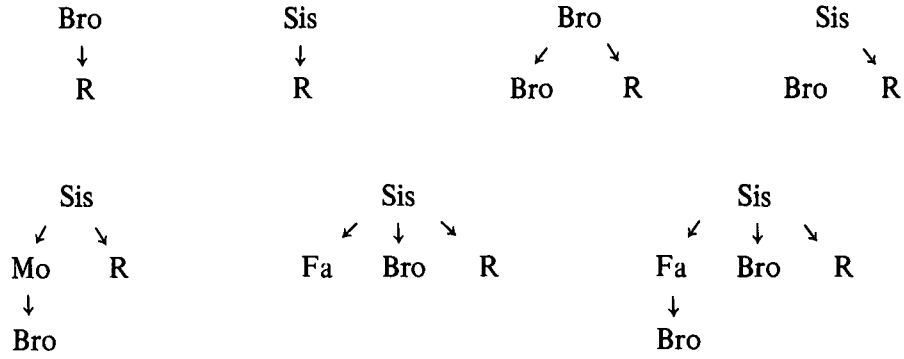
Fiancees are true pioneering migrants because they intend to marry Americans; hence, no migration sequence is as yet evident in this group.

Table 17. How Did First Migrant Go Vs. Relationship of First Migrant to the Respondent (Sibling Category)

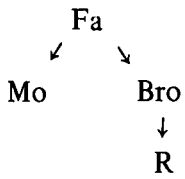
Manner of Migration	Brother	Sister	Parent	Total (%)
Marriage:				
to U.S. citizen of Filipino parentage	2	10	–	12 (26.10)
to native Americans	–	2	–	2 (4.34)
Working Visa	6	6	–	12 (26.10)
Joined U.S. Armed Forces	16	–	–	16 (34.78)
Petitioned by relative (outside of nuclear family)	–	–	1	1 (2.17)
As tourist	–	1	–	1 (2.17)
Student visa	–	2	–	2 (4.34)
Total	24	21	1	46 (100.0)

Figure 4. Migration Sequence in Sibling's Family of Orientation

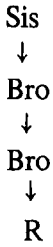
A. Two-Step Migration



B. Three-Step Migration



C. Four-Step Migration



Legend:
R – respondent
Fa – father
Mo – mother
Bro – brother
Sis – sister

They are expected to begin their own chains once they become eligible to petition.

CONCLUSION

This study, as shown from the responses of 356 immigrant visa grantees, highlights the important role of the family and kingroup in Filipino migration to the United States. To begin with, the migrant's decision to move is family-based, and no longer strictly motivated by economic reasons alone. To reunite with kin is the most frequent motive given by the respondents. Even when the economic factor is mentioned, this is coupled by the desire for family reunion. The migrant's choice of destination is likewise affected by the kinship factor. Majority of the migrants are moving to the area where the relatives are settled, mainly California and Hawaii. Another very important role performed by the family and kingroup is to provide support to

the migrant before his departure from the Philippines and upon his arrival in the United States. The kingroup network, operating both at place of origin and at place of destination, provides the migrant with transportation and other expenses attendant to the move. Moreover, relatives are expected to assist by way of financial and moral support, accommodations, and job placement in the new environment.

One major finding of the study, as gleaned from the socio-demographic profile of the migrants, is a possible change in the character of Filipino migration. There seems to be an evident trend towards a more heterogenous third wave migration, distinct from the first wave of male agricultural workers during the first half of the 1900s, and the second wave of highly-skilled professional men and women during the late 60s and the 70s. The present migrants belonged to various age groups, namely: 18-29 years (44 percent), 30-49 years (29 percent), and 50-70 (27 percent). Although 52 percent reached or finished college, 15 percent, 24 percent and eight percent had had only elementary, high school, and vocational education, respectively; .84 percent (three parents) had had no schooling at all. As to occupational skills, 20 percent had professional, administrative or managerial background, while 50 percent had work experience classified variably as clerical, sales, agricultural, skilled (auto mechanic, telephone operator, seamstress, jeepney driver), semi-skilled and unskilled (factory helper, waitress, security guard, messenger) or personal services (beautician, hospitality girl, nightclub entertainer, manicurist). About 30 percent of the sample had never worked (mostly housewives, students, fresh graduates) and therefore had no known occupational skills.

Another major finding of the study is that each migrant's move is part of a chain which consists of a series of moves involving different members of the family. The chain begins with the first decisive move of one member of the family who, in the majority of cases, is the eldest male or the eldest female among the siblings. This initial pioneering migrant move by means of marrying an American citizen, going on a working visa, joining a branch of the U.S. armed forces, usually the navy, or joining a chain begun by relatives outside the immediate family. The series of steps that follow this initial and crucial move is designed to eventually transport all the family members to destination. The migration sequence adopted is usually in accordance with the preferential system set by the U.S. immigration law, so as to complete the family migration within the shortest possible time. In this connection, it is noted that parents are necessary links in the process of chain migration because they can be petitioned easily by their migrant children under the immediate relatives category where no quotas are set. The parents, in turn, petition their adult unmarried children under the second preference category. Thus, the parents' movement is necessary if their children are to migrate in less time.

The chain does not end with the movement of the last member of the

family, for the spouses of the members may lengthen the chain by extending this to their own respective families or parents and siblings. Likewise, the offspring of the family members who originally started the chain may later petition for their own spouses and children, thus lengthening the chain further. It is evident, therefore, that chain migration involves more and more individuals and more and more families as each person who leaves exercises his prerogative to petition for relatives as soon as he is eligible.

On the whole, the study brings to fore what is hitherto already familiar knowledge, i.e., entire families taking up their roots and moving to the "promised land" that is the United States. Through chain migration, the opportunity to move is opened to a wide variety of Filipinos with an equally wide variety of skills and training, with few chances of social dislocation and maladjustment compared to migrants who move outside of its network. On the individual level, chain migration to the United States offers advantages not otherwise available had the migrant moved to other destinations like the Middle East. For Philippine society in general, each move has its advantages and disadvantages. One advantage is that each employable migrant creates a vacancy that can be filled by one who stays behind. As for those who have not worked, their move creates no vacancy behind, but it also lessens the aspirants for jobs in the labor market. Another advantage is that, since movement to the United States is a permanent one, the difficulties attendant to reabsorbing returning migrants to the labor force is averted. But the same permanency in movement can be a disadvantage when one considers those whose skills are otherwise needed at the place of origin. Each highly skilled migrant carries along with his skills, the direct and indirect investments of the place of origin in his training, the benefits of which accrue to the place of destination.

NOTES

[1]This study was funded by the National Research Council of the Philippines.

[2]The word "family" as used in this analysis of migration sequence includes only the nuclear or immediate members, specifically, parents and children.

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