

**Gender Hierarchy among Gujarati Immigrants:
Linking Immigration Rules and Ethnic Norms**

By

Nandini Narain Assar

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APPROVED:

Dr. Toni Calasanti (Chair)

Dr. Evelyn Nakano Glenn

Dr. Dale Wimberley

Dr. Alan Bayer

Dr. Theodore Fuller

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Abstract

Immigration policy and tradition dovetail in their impact on the social organization of immigrant communities, linking the material and non-material aspects of gender. I focus on Asian Indian Patels, who dominate the budget motel business in the United States. I conducted semi-structured interviews with Patel men, women, and teenagers. I stayed overnight in the motels to observe families at work. I was almost always invited to prepare and share a meal, so I observed families at home. My analysis is based on transcribed interviews with participants, fieldnotes, observations, community publications, and information from three key contacts. Most Patels enter the U.S. under family reunification rules in a chain migration. These rules do not recognize families as labor; therefore a majority of documented immigrants are exempt from labor certification. Traditions define Patel women as housewives. The nature of motel work allows women to contribute their labor full-time and still remain housewives: they are not recognized as workers. Community financing and family labor, both escapes from the market economy, allow for the economic success of Patels. When families take on subsequent links in the chain migration, they must meet the costs of migration for new immigrants, and maintain traditional gender hierarchy. When they are the last link in the chain, there is a challenge to this hierarchy. In the second generation, when they remain in the motel business, Patels maintain traditional gender hierarchy. When either partner is linked to the labor market, there is a challenge to traditional gender hierarchy.

I dedicate this work to my grandparents who raised me: Kishan Narain and Vidya Rani. I was privileged to witness their devotion to each other: I saw an equal relationship, and that vision drives my focus on inequality. Though they have been gone for more than 20 years, the love and tenderness flowing from them sustains me today.

I also dedicate this work to my sons Vijith and Viraj for challenging me to constantly do my best. Vijith keeps me focused, and Viraj keeps me motivated.

Finally, I dedicate this work to my higher power, for love and guidance.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM: CONTEXT OF RECEPTION AND GENDER HIERARCHY

Introduction

This study examines how gender hierarchy among Patels in the United States is linked to immigration rules and ethnic norms. In an in-depth case study, using qualitative methods, I examined the family relationships and immigration experiences of people who are engaged in running fifteen budget motels to explore how gender hierarchy in families is linked to family reunification rules and traditional norms.

Immigrants undergo a change in their location in the occupational hierarchy as one outcome of migration; typically experiencing lowered social status initially (Morawska, 1990; Ong and Blumenberg, 1997). In analyzing immigrants' social locations, migration researchers have typically privileged the link between ethnic groups and the wider society (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). However, some recent research examines relationships within ethnic groups and indicates different outcomes for men and women immigrants (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Research also suggests that gender inequality within minority groups in the United States is positively related to material resources (Almquist, 1991). However, prior research on immigrants has not examined culturally specific patterns relating to gender hierarchy. This led me to explore immigration rules as the context in which specific ethnic norms relating to gender are played out. Thus, I am interested in the links between the ethnic norms regarding gender for a specific immigrant group (the Patels), the immigration rules and labor market situation that they encounter in the United States, and their gender hierarchy.

Patels¹ are an agricultural caste from the state of Gujarat² in western India. Although they comprise about 18% of the population in Gujarat, they are a dominant caste (Srinivas, 1959), in that they are pre-eminent in the social and economic hierarchy of the region (Pocock, 1972). They represent a very small proportion of immigrants from India, but Patels dominate the motel business in the United States, controlling an estimated 65% of budget motels and 40% of all hotels and motels nationwide (Mehra, 1993). They have achieved the "American Dream" of economic

¹ Patel is the most common last name used by the Patidars. All Patidars do not use Patel as a last name. In this work, I use the terms Patidar and Patel interchangeably, because the two groups are very close though not synonymous.

success within one generation (Varadraján, 1999). My goal is to explore gender hierarchy among Patels, an immigrant group whose success is based on the economic contributions of both men and women.

In this chapter, I first state the research questions. Next I summarize prior research on gender and immigration, and gender and work. I then discuss Patel traditions related to gender. Finally, I present the rationale for focusing on Patels, along with a brief historical picture of Patels in the United States.

Research Questions

Portes and Rumbaut (1996) point to the context of reception as critical in determining socio-economic outcomes for immigrants, three components of which are immigration rules, the labor market, and ethnic norms.

For immigrants, the most relevant contexts of reception are defined by the policies of the receiving government, the conditions of the host labor market, and the characteristics of their own communities (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, p. 84).

Using Portes and Rumbaut's concept of context of reception, I explore the links between such a context and gender hierarchy among Patels in the motel business. Specifically, I ask the question:

- How are immigration rules, labor market, and ethnic norms linked to gender hierarchy among an economically successful group of immigrants, the Patels?

The "matrix of domination model" explains the ways in which systems of hierarchy are linked to each other (Collins, 1990). Applying this model, I explore how the combination of family reunification immigration rules and the labor market organize a hierarchy of workers based on their differential access to employment. This hierarchy helps explain why immigrants in the United States are concentrated in family businesses. Ethnic norms also organize a hierarchy, which is expressed in family members' differential access to joint resources. This hierarchy is central to understanding traditional gender relations. I examine how these two hierarchies are linked to gender hierarchy among Patels. I derive two sub-questions from the primary research question, which direct the inquiry to specific arenas in which I invited participants to share their experiences and understanding.

How are immigration rules and the labor market linked to gender hierarchy among Patels?

How are ethnic norms linked to gender hierarchy among Patels?

² Gujarat is one of 25 states in India.

Basis of the Research Question

In this section, I summarize prior research on (a) gender and immigration, (b) gender and work, I then discuss (c) Patel traditions related to gender. These three realms form the basis for the research problem.

Gender and Immigration

Immigration policy defines the categories of people who are allowed entry into the United States and their possible reception and integration into the labor market. The combination of immigration status and reception in the labor market contributes significantly to the economic opportunities available to new immigrants. For example, under the family reunification policy, an important consideration for selection is how the costs of migration for new entrants are met. The rules are designed to screen out those who may potentially make demands on the state (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). Thus, family relationships convey the material costs of migration to family-sponsors.

When people enter the country independently as employer-sponsored immigrants they are subject to labor certification. This entails recognition by the state that they are workers, and their admission is viewed in terms of impacts on the economy, productivity, and standard of living in the United States. When immigrants enter the country as family-sponsored dependents, they are exempt from labor certification. There is no recognition of their contribution or impact on the labor market or economy even when they are part of family businesses. In immigration law, families of immigrants are a category separate from workers (Pekin, 1989).

Family reunification rules also do not consider education and skills as relevant criteria in selecting people for entry into the United States. As a result, family-sponsored immigrants include people whose skills are not necessarily in high demand and who may not be highly educated. Thus, Indian immigrant women's levels of education and skill are considerably lower than men's (Sheth, 1995). In mainstream analyses using the family model, migration is an adaptive or reactive response--members pool their income and resources, and share interests and goals. The assumption is that migration is a family strategy, and one of various micro-level choices for economic success available to potential migrants. Resources are not necessarily equally shared and pooled within immigrant families. For example, among Mexicans, the pattern of sharing resources has facilitated men's and constrained women's migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994).

Mainstream migration studies highlight the relationship between an ethnic group and the wider society (e.g., Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Although there is now sufficient research on the

topic of women and immigration to generate substantive reviews (Pedraza, 1991; Tienda and Booth, 1991), in migration studies, gender is often considered important only when women are the focus. However, gender is not merely a demographic variable, but a category of analysis, a set of social relations that influence and organizes migration patterns (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Repak, 1995; Seller, 1994; Friedman-Kasaba, 1996). From this perspective, gender is equally relevant to understanding men and women's migration.

(Mis)perception and neglect of both gender and women's migration can be attributed to the emphasis placed on the human capital model in migration theory. In this model, migration is motivated by economic opportunity, and women's economic activity and labor force participation is either underestimated or ignored (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women [INSTRAW], 1994). Despite the fact that the volume of men and women immigrants is nearly equal, migration studies tend to classify women as dependents who have primarily non-economic roles. They are seen as migrating simply to be with their families (Isbister, 1996). Thus, women's labor is visible only when and if they enter the labor market (Toro-Morn, 1992).

That women migrate to be with their families is supported by the following statistics: more men than women marry spouses from abroad, and more immigrant brides than grooms migrate as a consequence of marriage (Tyree and Donato, 1986). Further, while immigrant spouses from the Western Hemisphere are evenly distributed among men and women, immigrant spouses from the Eastern Hemisphere are predominantly women (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990, p. 159).

Migration studies also typically depict women as passive: either they remain abroad to support households during men's absences, or they accompany men in a dependent capacity. However, viewing women as 'dependent' misses their contributions to immigrant businesses. The nexus of family migration, labor market, and tradition likely plays out in differential ways for men and women. For example, families may make economic gains with immigration without improving the status of women therein (Cackley, 1993). To achieve clarity about gender in the context of a specific immigration policy entails first finding an appropriate analytic frame within which to investigate immigration (Blumberg, 1991).

One framework identifies three possible attitudes of the state towards new immigrants: (a) exclusion, (b) passive acceptance, and (c) active support (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Active support was accorded in recent years only to refugees, the labor market was neutral/positive primarily to white immigrants, and primarily nonwhite immigrants experienced labor market

discrimination. According to Portes and Rumbaut, the family reunification rules can be understood as a government attitude of passive acceptance. These rules include the requirement that established members take economic responsibility for new immigrants. Portes and Rumbaut also distinguish between immigrants' neutral/positive and discriminatory experiences in the labor market. Pertinent to this study, Portes and Rumbaut conclude that "making it" in the United States is complex and only partially determined by motivation and ability of immigrants. Those who work hard may still reap relatively poor rewards.

Family-sponsored immigrants are exempt from labor certification (Baldwin, 1997). It follows from this logic that the effect of immigrants on the economy depends on their participation in the labor market (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). However, evidence from the concentration of various ethnic groups in small family businesses in the United States suggests that immigrant families contribute vast amounts of labor into the economy without a direct link to the labor market, and also without having the benefits accorded to native workers. Research indicates that the proliferation of small businesses of various groups of Asian Americans--including Indian Americans--represents disguised unemployment and cheap labor, a lack of economic opportunities due to language barriers, and employer discrimination (Woo, 1985; Chung, 1979).

Though Portes and Rumbaut's concept of the "context of reception" (policies of the receiving country, the conditions of the host labor market, and the characteristics of their own communities) begins an analysis, it cannot uncover what happens within immigrant communities and families. In their explanation, there are three possibilities of ethnic community experience that immigrants may encounter: no community (when co-ethnics are geographically dispersed in the United States), working-class community, and professional/entrepreneurial community. The experience of Patels does not fit into these three possibilities: Patels are an ethnic community, though are they geographically dispersed; and motel work is akin to service-sector manual labor, which combines working class and entrepreneurial issues. In addition, these three dimensions--policies of the receiving country, the conditions of the host labor market, and the characteristics of their own communities--cannot examine what happens within immigrant families. The explanation remains in the public domain, and therefore at the surface of immigrant families. However feminist analyses have shown that micro-level negotiations within families are fundamentally linked to men and women's locations in the wider society (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Sen, 1990).

While there is a general consensus among scholars, international law, the U.S. government, and a majority of the U.S. population that U.S. immigration policy is gender-neutral and generous (Simpson, 1984), the important issue for me is how gender hierarchy plays out through legal equity within the context of immigration policy (Sen, 1994). Prior research has indicated that social relationships within immigrant groups are organized by laws specifying persons allowed entry as well as the terms of entry (Razin, 1993).

Immigration policies were designed to protect the integrity of marriage as an institution (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990, p. 183). Marriage migration and family reunification are the means to immigrate for those for whom it would otherwise be quite difficult. In some cultures, women are restricted so that migration for them is almost always accomplished in a family context (Bhattacharjee, 1992). When combined with limited possibilities of migration via other routes, these rules engender a strategy in which marriage plays a key role. Women are more likely than men to take part in marriage migration are. The number of men who migrate as husbands is about half that of women who migrate as wives, suggesting that the preference-category visa system provides an impetus for the immigration of married women relative to married men (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990 pp. 169 and 165). The immigrant visa/green card is an object of value in the international marriage market. Among immigrants from India, explicit consideration is accorded to legal residence in the United States along with caste origin, physical traits, schooling, occupation, and other traditional relevant criteria in choosing a mate (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990; Bhargava, 1988). Because more women than men migrate through marriage, and more brides are from the eastern hemisphere, gender relations among Patels are likely to be related to family sponsorship as the rules set up a dependent relationship between family sponsor and new entrant. Thus, both tradition and immigration policy work in tandem with the labor market in a context where gender and racial/ethnic inequalities are played out.

Although they paid careful attention to nationality and ethnicity, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) did not consider gender in their analysis. Hence they implied that the outcomes of migration for men and women within ethnic groups are similar. Because gender is not merely a demographic variable, but a set of social relations that influences and organizes migration patterns (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Repak, 1995; Seller, 1994; Friedman-Kasaba, 1996), Portes and Rumbaut's implication of similar outcomes for men and women immigrants presents a crucial gap in the understanding of migration. Scholars have called for the study of women's migration, and suggested that it can be best accomplished by comparing women and men immigrants (Blumberg

1991). I focused on family reunification rules--the centerpiece of U.S. immigration policy--and added gender to the three criteria Portes and Rumbaut (1996) identify as most significant to understanding socio-economic outcomes for immigrants (U.S. immigration policy, the U.S. labor market, and Patel traditions).

In adding a gender analysis, I have drawn on Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994) work. Her research among Mexican immigrants indicated that outcomes of U.S. immigration policy are gender-specific. When women can claim documented status, they also negotiate a more egalitarian status in families (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Further, when women's contributions to the family directly link to decision-making, the outcome is gender egalitarianism (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Lim, 1997). Others have found that women's status also varies directly with the value and centrality--the recognition--afforded to their work (Blumberg, 1984; Chafetz, 1984). Building on this research, I examined the gender hierarchy of one group of documented immigrants, Patels in the motel business, an economic activity in which women's contributions likely are important to financial success. My analysis focused on the distribution of decision-making between men and women and the relationship this distribution has to men and women's respective contributions to the family's economic success.

Hondagneu-Sotelo found, first, that family decision-making processes precede migration and gender relations shape migration patterns (p. xxiv). For example, the relative economic privilege of some families allows for more egalitarian practices. Those who achieve some semblance of a middle-class lifestyle in Mexico do so by relying on women's labor, often in a family business. This legitimizes women's participation in migration decisions, in sharp contrast to family stage migration, where unilateral decision-making characterizes men's initial departure.

Hondagneu-Sotelo identified two critical conditions of migration that had an impact on gender relations, visible in the division of labor between men and women (p.120). The first was whether the men migrated before the women/family; and the second was whether the women were documented or undocumented. Overall, Hondagneu-Sotelo found that while macro-level structural changes explained the increase in the number of immigrants, they did not account for how people responded to these pressures.

Hondagneu-Sotelo's key finding that gender equality within immigrant families is rooted in the conditions of migration--documented status, whether the women moved singly or as part of a family, and whether the movement enabled women to earn new "freedoms" is of particular relevance to this study. A major determinant of gender hierarchy in the family was the change in

women's and men's relative power and status in the larger society in the United States: women's link to the labor market influences their status at home. Documented women negotiate a more egalitarian family status because their immigration status, and therefore their link to the labor market, is secure. Undocumented women also earn, but their immigration status makes their link to the labor market tenuous, and conducive to perpetuating traditional male-domination. Thus, the manner and extent to which the previous gender division of labor is reproduced is rooted in the conditions of migration. Feminist analysis, like Hondagneu-Sotelo's, that takes a historical perspective shows the links between public policies, institutions, economics, gender, and racial-ethnic formations in the United States. Scholars recognize that immigration rules are manifested structural hierarchies:

A chronological listing of the U.S. Exclusion Acts illustrates the intersection of morality and race, class, gender, and sexuality in the construction of Asians as the yellow peril. The fact that notions of sexuality, gender and race are written into these laws (a) indicates the reason why this particular aspect of the contemporary state a crucial context for third world women's struggles and (b) provides a method of feminist analysis which is located at the intersections of systemic race, class, and sexual paradigms as they are regulated by the liberal state.... [This analysis] suggests the relationships between the economic exigencies of the state (the original reason for immigration) and its gender and racial regimes (Mohanty 1991a, pp. 24, 28).

Mohanty's analysis highlights the relationship between the economic pressures of the capitalist state and its gender and racial/ethnic regimes. It provides a multi-dimensional explanation of the links between immigration policy and systems of inequality (gender and ethnicity).

Immigrants' relationship to the state is important as it determines differential access to national resources (Mandel, 1994). There are three streams of documented immigrants that gain entry based on different aspects of immigration policy: family-sponsored, employer-sponsored, and asylees/refugees. All three have the same access to the labor market (which I have defined as a national resource), although they differ substantially in the claims they may make on benefits from the state. Access to the labor market is likely to be circumscribed by the translation of occupational skills, education, and language. Documented immigrants (averaging about 700,000 to 800,000 per year) are typically better educated and earn more than the native worker. Undocumented immigrants and refugees (averaging about 300,000 to 400,000 per year) tend to be less educated and earn less than the average native workers do (Mandel, 1994).

Apparently, then, in the present historical context, documented status is related to economic success in the United States.³ However, how this might be similar/different by gender is uncertain. Further, as Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) has shown, documented status has a bearing on gender hierarchy among Mexican immigrants. My goal, then, is to extend Hondagneu-Sotelo's research to examine how immigration rules, labor market, and ethnic norms are linked to gender hierarchy among documented immigrants. Whether gender relations in my sample tend towards equality or hierarchy cannot be explained by different immigration statuses. This has allowed me to build on Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994) findings and highlight the experiences for family-sponsored men and women more clearly.

I explored the links between capitalism and patriarchy. One link is likely to be found in the family, which is also the central motif of U.S. immigration policy. Until the 1990 changes in immigration law, more than 94% of documented (non-refugee) immigrants were family-sponsored (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). After 1990, the proportion of documented (non-refugee) family-sponsored immigrants is still the vast majority--about two-thirds (Baldwin, 1997; Isbister, 1996; Heer, 1996). This means that immigration rules continue to facilitate migration in a family context. Clearly, even after the changes to encourage employer-sponsored immigration, family relationships are still central in immigration rules. That family relationships remain central in current policy is significant to this study as a majority of Patels are family-sponsored immigrants (Jain, 1989).

As long as the unit of analysis remains the family, the differential immigration experience of men and women cannot be examined. In addition to immigration rules, these differential experiences occur in the context of the labor market, organized by the gender division of labor. The gender division of labor organizes the labor market and traditional norms. Because gender and work are integrally related in a feminist analysis (Game and Pringle, 1983), this link demands an examination of the conceptual dichotomy of work/housework; that is the aim of this study. In the next section, I summarize pertinent research on gender and work.

³ Whether or not this is related to the fact that documented immigrants are more educated is not clear.

Women's Work and Housework

Economists view the gender division of labor as central to the differentiation between men and women. Scholars maintain that the gender division of labor, and not sexual differences alone, create a difference between men and women (Amott and Matthaei, 1996). Each racial/ethnic group has a historically distinct division of labor. The gender divisions of labor and family systems of people of color have been systematically disrupted and re-organized by racial/ethnic and class processes (Amott and Matthaei, 1996). Thus, racial/ethnic divisions operate in conjunction with gender differences in the economy (Omi and Winant, 1986).

In the economy, gender is manifested in the categories of breadwinner and housewife that anchor the invisibility--the non-recognition--of women's work (Mies, 1982). Mies' analysis indicates that the relationship between these two categories defines women as non-workers, which makes possible the definition of men as workers and breadwinners (Mohanty, 1997). Traditional patriarchal ideologies are thus harnessed to develop capitalist production. These norms are based on the fundamentally masculine concept of work (Mohanty, 1997). A feminist concept of work would include both biological and social reproduction, and not be confined to the production of goods and services (Mies, 1986). The presence and legitimacy of the ideology of the housewife, which defines women in terms of marriage and their place in the home is central in this study as well.

Mies (1986, p. 95) maintains that colonization brought colonized women progressively down from positions of relative power and independence to a degraded status--a counterpart to the process that "civilized" European women. The move to devalue women was crucial for the ideological construction of the "weak" woman, which served the economic purpose of lowering wages for women and creating a casual labor force in both colonial powers and colonized regions (Banerjee 1989; Chowdhury 1989). This analysis is useful in tracing the historical development of immigrant women's housewife status, and thus men's breadwinner status and dominance in the family.

The current understanding of gender and work stems in part from the political economy of domestic labor debate of the 1970s. This debate centered around arguments that women's unpaid labor reproduced the labor force and therefore contributed directly and indirectly to the production of surplus value and the accumulation of capital (Coulson, 1975; Seccombe, 1974). Only when all household labor is shared equally between men and women can this appropriation of surplus value be stemmed (Benston, 1969; Mabry, 1984; James and Dalla Costa, 1972). The terms of this

debate are not centrally concerned with race/ethnicity. The analyses focus on the material aspects of gender, which include economic contributions. They do not address the non-material aspects of gender, which include how people think about themselves and their activities. Nor do they address the crucial association between non-material aspects of gender and decision-making that determines access to joint resources.

The social constructionist framework, which gained prominence in the 1980s, posits that gender is fundamental to the way in which work is organized and that work is central in the social construction of gender (Game and Pringle, 1983). The general consensus among a broad range of feminist scholars within the social constructionist framework is that gender hierarchy is perpetuated because women are denied employment opportunities and income relative to men (England, 1997; The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1997). Other scholars have added that women are disproportionately responsible for domestic work necessary to sustain life (Okin, 1995; Dunn, 1997; Chafetz, 1997; Kelly, 1997; Bradley, 1989). According to this logic, changing women's relationship to employment and domestic responsibilities is the means to gender equity. However, other feminist scholars have long pushed for a change in "what is recognized and socially legitimated as work" (Zimmerman, 1997; Waring, 1988). The latter group of scholars refers to the dichotomy of work and housework.

Women have always worked, but much of the work they perform does not officially "count" as work (Dunn, 1997). Because people are largely defined by the work they do (Pavalko, 1988), the work people do eventually has an impact on how people think about themselves (Dunn, 1995). Work casts a long shadow on the person doing it (England, 1997). If a person's contribution is valued, then work enhances self-worth. Housework, however, is under-valued as is evident in the phrase, "I'm just a housewife" (Matthews, 1987).

Work--formal, informal, and housework--also affects the socio-economic empowerment of women (Ward, 1990). Work leads to empowerment when it makes survival easier for women, increases women's access to resources, gives women more respect, or more opportunities to get together and build networks, or tools for resistance (Leghorn and Parker, 1981). Relative earnings and perceived contributions of spouses affect the distribution of decision-making in families (Sen, 1990; England, 1997; Dunn, 1997). When women's contributions are unrecognized, it also likely constrains women's access to decision-making. Therefore, it would follow from this logic that when women's contributions are not recognized or are devalued, there is no challenge to gender hierarchy.

Women's contributions may be more apparent in family businesses other than motels. For example, among Korean immigrants, the nature of the business--small shops--highlights women's economic contributions. Both men and women are pushed to recognize women's part in the family's economic success when they are working together shoulder to shoulder in work that cannot easily be considered an extension of housework. Recognition leads to significant changes in self-definition and shifts the balance of power in the decision-making domain (Lim, 1997; Bolak, 1997). This shift is conducive to interdependence between men and women, a move that is crucial to a change towards gender equality. In motels, however, women continue in activities that are already a part of housework, and the location remains undifferentiated from home (Jain, 1989).

I differentiated between small budget motels where family labor is the mainstay of the operation and larger franchised enterprises with employees, because the organization of work is distinct in each kind of enterprise. Budget motels conflate the public and private domains: family performs the work, the gender division of labor is based on cultural norms, and motels are also the means of economic success. Franchised operations may be more complex because employees often do part of the work; therefore I focused on budget motels. I examined the gender division of labor in motel work and how it may be associated with the categories of housewife and breadwinner.

Family and community relationships are key to understanding immigrant entrepreneurship such as that exhibited by Patels (Jain, 1989; Thaker, 1982). The direct relationship between entrepreneurship and immigrants does not exist in destinations where immigration rules do not encourage migration in a family context (Phizacklea, 1988). The rate of self-employment among immigrant groups is much higher than the rate among the native born population (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). Further, the gender composition of a particular immigrant group has an impact on that group's economic success (Morawska, 1990). In the United States, the family reunification policy and consequent gender balance tends to favor immigrant groups in which all members of the family can contribute and improve their economic situation. Research shows that women immigrants' labor contributes to the success of family enterprises by keeping labor costs down (Westwood, 1988) and therefore women's labor also likely contributes to the explanation of why disproportionately high numbers of immigrant families are concentrated in small businesses.

There is an increasing convergence between the gender division of labor in the reproductive and productive arenas (Mies, 1986, p. 116). The global tendency is not towards the generalization

of the "free" laborer. Instead, global trends indicate the rise of women who are housewives as the ideal labor force. This means that their work is obscured and does not appear as "free wage labor" but instead is defined as "income generating activity" or remains unrecognized altogether, and is therefore much cheaper than male labor, if paid at all. Further, housewives, in general, are ideologically atomized and isolated: their horizons remain limited by the family. This makes it very difficult to see their place in the production process and for them to become aware of their common interests as workers. Their conditions of work are organized by family and community relationships. Women as housewives (and not men as workers) are thus the most desirable labor force for capital (Mies, 1986).

Although the desirability of immigrant housewives as labor is not yet formally recognized by the state or the community, their labor has long been incorporated into the economy. In general, women's labor in immigrant family businesses represents a cheap, readily available resource. Prior research on Gujarati motel owners has found women running the family business, while men often were employed elsewhere (Jain, 1989; Thaker, 1982). This marks a departure from Patel tradition in which women are rarely involved in family businesses (Leonard and Tibrewal 1993). Patel women's involvement in motel work has the potential for their increased decision making and family status. Indeed, this is the case among various other immigrant groups where women work in other types of family businesses (Lim, 1997; Bolak, 1997).

Research shows that when women contribute economically and also are decision-makers in the arenas where they work, gender relations in the family tend towards equality (Blumberg, 1984; Chafetz, 1984; Ip and Lever-Tracy, 1999). Based on this research, I define one component of gender hierarchy as the relationship between women's contributions to the family's economic success and their decision-making relative to men. When women contribute economically but are not decision-makers in the domains where they work, gender relations tend towards hierarchy. When women's contributions translate into decision-making in the arenas where they work, gender relations in the family tend towards equality. In my concept of gender hierarchy, a second component is men's involvement in housework and childcare, activities that are traditionally defined as being in women's domain (Okin, 1995). Therefore, I examined sharing in housework/childcare, motel work, and decision-making. Power relations embedded in traditional family structure are likely to be central to how housework, motel work, and decision-making are shared among men and women.

Attempts to demonstrate a linkage between the ideological aspects and the experience of gender are well recognized as an arena fraught with challenge (Sangari and Vaid 1989, p. 3). Yet the link is theoretically crucial in examining the relationship between gender divisions of both reproductive and productive labor (Mies, 1986). Men's work and women's work are not categorically different by definition. Instead, their definition depends on the context in which the activities are carried out. Further, the negotiation among men and women in families regarding the allocation of valued and de-valued activities is related to each member's position in the wider society (Sen, 1990). This framework calls for a rejection of conceptual divisions between public/private, political/economic, work/housework, etc. that sustain gender hierarchy.

Gender and Ethnicity: Patel Traditions

Like recent feminist analyses, I address the gendered differentials in power within and between cultures that are often attributed unproblematically to ethnic identity (Das Gupta 1997). Families in my sample share Patel traditions. I examine which of three traditional norms are more prevalent than others among Patels, and how the prevalent norms are linked to gender hierarchy. Because all participants are Patels who share the three traditional norms and ethnicity, whether gender relations tend toward equality or hierarchy in my sample cannot be attributed to cultural differences. Prior research on ethnicity and gender among immigrant and minority groups has taken the directions I summarize below.

In the "ethgender" approach, gender is constructed differentially in various ethnic groups, and in ways that have economic consequences (Geschwender and Carroll-Seguin, 1988; Ransford and Miller, 1983; Jeffries and Ransford, 1980; Geschwender, 1991). For example, one dimension of ethgender is the rate at which married women participate in wage labor, focusing on how they negotiate with traditional views that resist such participation. Chinese-Americans in California have substantially improved their economic status through relatively high earnings generated by married women. When immigrant men cannot earn adequately, women must contribute economically as a means of survival. When women remain out of the labor force, it has negative consequences for the family's standard of living and future mobility of their children (Geschwender and Carroll-Seguin, 1988). Because the unit of analysis remains the family, this approach cannot address the relative position of men and women within families. Therefore it is inadequate to address the experience of Patels, where women may remain secluded from the labor market, yet their children may not be limited in mobility or education.

Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994) three-dimensional approach represents an advance over prior research in understanding the intersecting topics of migration, work, ethnicity, and gender. Women who migrate with papers are more successful than undocumented women in resisting male domination within the family (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). My contention is that link between immigration status and gender hierarchy is likely to be culturally specific. Immigration policy is culturally-specific both because various groups of immigrants enter the United States under different aspects of the law and encounter specific receptions in the labor market, and because cultural norms of a particular group likely interact in specific ways with immigration rules. The ways in which women resist or challenge traditional hierarchical norms, and the conditions that are conducive to such articulations and actions are the focus of this study.

Like other immigrant businesses, motels are likely organized around family structure and relationships. The balance of power in decision-making would therefore be linked to family relationships. Traditional norms relating to gender likely organize marriage patterns among Patels. The immigrant-sponsor relationship can produce a temporary and artificial balance in a marriage. That is, the U.S. citizen's attributes (including the visa-conferring ability) would be equal to that of the foreign partner. However, if one removes the ability to sponsor, the foreign-born partner is likely to be of a higher status than the U.S. mate (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). The norm among Patels is that married women ought to be housewives and not go out to work (Pocock, 1972).⁴ This pattern screens out potential challenges to male privilege--when the bride may equal or surpass the earning power of the groom.

For instance, let us take a fictitious young woman and man: Pia and Jai Patel. If both lived in India and their marriage to each other was arranged, Jai is likely to be higher status than Pia. This is the practice of hypergamy. However, if he is a resident in the United States, then Jai can attract a bride who is of a higher status than Pia (and himself) because of his visa-conferring capacity. The green card is currency in the international marriage market. Once in the United States, Jai's bride remains subject to the traditional norm that married women ought not to go out to work. Thus, even when the bride is higher status and more likely to be economically well-off and/or well-educated prior to marriage, she remains economically subordinate in the United States as well as dependent in her immigration status. Conversely, in a scenario in which Pia is an U.S. resident, she can also attract a groom from India who is of higher status than was possible had she lived in India. Like Jai's immigrant bride, Pia's immigrant groom is also more likely to be

economically well off and/or well educated than she could have attracted as a resident of India. However, once in the United States, because there are fewer barriers to the groom's going out to work, he is more likely to become economically independent while remaining dependent in his immigration status. This pattern of marriage migration reinforces male privilege in this country, regardless of prior status in India, and is thus relevant to gender hierarchy.

Based on this logic, I expected that a majority of grooms are recruited from locations other than India so that they have migration and entrepreneurial experience to draw on and are thus at less of a disadvantage in the United States than men who come directly from India. Usually, men of Indian descent from other locations are more likely to have English language skills. People belonging to groups who migrated once and then moved a second time, even in different generations, are "twice-migrant" (Bhachu, 1988). For instance, Indians (including Patels) were taken to Uganda during British rule as bonded labor to build the railroad. Their descendants settled in East Africa until 1972, when Idi Amin expelled them. Consequently some went to United Kingdom. These Indians would be termed twice-migrant.

The strategy of selecting twice-migrant grooms would diminish the status gap between a bride who was raised in the United States and a groom who was not. That means the relative advantage of a bride raised in the United States (compared to a groom from abroad) would be countered by the groom's first migration experience, entrepreneurial experience, and English language skills, thus bringing the couple closer to traditional gender hierarchy. Because grooms are not expected to stay home (unlike brides), once they gain full immigrant status, men are in a better position in the host society, likely improving men's power within the family.

Because a majority of Indians immigrate to the United States as family-sponsored nuclear family units (Sheth, 1995), hypergamy also means that Indian immigrant women's levels of education, occupation, and income are substantially lower than men's. After immigration, such housewives are less likely to be in a position to leave the marriage, even with full immigrant status.

Based on the organization of marriage, migration, and work, my contention was that when Patels bring brides from Gujarat, India, the new entrants can contribute full-time to motel work because the work is made up of activities that are considered part of housework, and require minimal language skills. The new brides need not 'go out to work' since they reside on the premises, thus preserving a central Patel tradition. That is, even though they are documented, these immigrant women have no direct link to the labor market: family relationships and the family

⁴ All participants agreed that this was the case.

business mediate their labor. When Patels bring grooms from abroad, the new entrants also contribute to motel work, but they are less constrained by language barriers or tradition, and if twice-migrants, they also have relevant immigration and entrepreneurial experience to draw on. The relative situation of men and women in the marriage migration and their location in motels is likely to be linked to gender hierarchy.

A number of facets of the literature review thus far are pertinent to my research goal. First, more women than men immigrate to the United States, contrary to the global trend (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). This suggests that U.S. policies facilitate migration of women. Second, the family reunification policy admits immigrants on the basis of family relationships. From 1965 until 1990, more than 94% of documented immigrants entered the United States under family reunification rules (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). After the reforms of 1990, this proportion has dropped, but still accounts for about 70%-80% of documented immigrants (Baldwin 1997; Isbister 1996; Heer 1996). This means that family relationships remain an important component of immigration rules even after the recent changes that have increased the proportion of employer-sponsored immigrants. Third, more women than men migrate as a consequence of marriage (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). This suggests that the rules facilitate women's marriage migration more than men's. Fourth, documented immigrants are not eligible for social services for three to five years unless they are asylees/refugees (Baldwin, 1997; Isbister, 1996). Therefore, women who migrate as a consequence of marriage must meet their costs of migration within the context of their families and communities, rather than relying on the state.

This review of prior research points to the significance of examining both the material differences between men and women, as well as the ideological aspects of how particular activities are valued in understanding gender hierarchy. The evaluation of women's work is tied up with women's subordinate position in the family and in the labor market. If the nature of the work as productive labor is also conducive to being obscured, then women's contributions to economic success are also more likely to be unrecognized--by the state, by the family, and by the community. In examining gender hierarchy among Patels, my research is sensitive to the evaluation accorded to work when it is simultaneously "women's work" and the source of economic success in this country.

About Patels

In this section, I explain the rationale for selecting Patels as the focus of this study, followed by a brief historical picture of Patels in the United States.

Rationale for focus on Patels

Patels enter this country as part of a chain migration, sponsored by family members under the family reunification rules, thereby making their conditions of migration relatively homogenous. They enter the country in nuclear family units; thus their gender ratio is balanced and homogenous. The U.S. family reunification policy and consequent gender balance tends to favor immigrant groups in which all members of the family can contribute and improve their economic situation. The vast majority of Patel immigrants enter the motel business. Indian Americans now own between 50% and 65% of budget motels nationwide. Of Indian motel-owners, 90-95% are Patels (Lister, 1996; Asian American Hotel Owners Association⁵ Buyer's Guide, 1996). Patels own approximately 12,500 motels and hotels, with a market value of over \$26 billion. Thus, Patels are also relatively homogenous on another dimension: their family businesses.

Scholars note that Indian Americans are at the top of the economic ladder: they have the highest household income of not only immigrant groups, but also white Americans (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Mehra, 1993). Industry estimates are that Indian Americans increased their holdings to slightly more than 50% of all motels in the United States, not just budget motels (Pais, 1995; AAHOA Buyer's Guide, 1996; Varadrajana, 1999). Says H.P. Rama, first president of Asian American Hotel Owners' Association and current President of the American Hotel Owners' Association, "If we can achieve all this with no money, no technical skill, and poor communication, think what they [the next generation] can achieve" (Lister, 1996). Patels evidently maintain traditional family structure, language, marriage, and residence patterns (Dugger, 1998; Assar, 1990; Jain 1989; Thaker, 1982). The stereotypical characterization of Indian immigrants is that they have strong traditional families, make lots of money, and value education (Shah, 1997). Part of the explanation for Patels' success might be gleaned from research that shows immigrant businesses rely heavily on women's contributions to hold down labor costs (Westwood, 1988).

Family-sponsored immigrants enter the United States and work in service-oriented family businesses that are typically labor intensive, although there is no explicit entry preference in the United States for small entrepreneurs with little capital. In the next section, I present a brief historical picture of Patels and motels in the United States, one immigrant group of small

⁵ In 1989, a group of Asian American hoteliers formed the Asian American Hotel Owners' Association (AAHOA) to address issues of discrimination in insurance and financing (<http://www.aahoa.com>)

entrepreneurs who enter this country with little capital and who engage in labor-intensive family business.

Patels in the United States

The first Patel to own a motel in the United States, generally acknowledged to be Bhulabhai V. Patel, came to the United States in 1949. He picked apricots, cotton, and grapes in Northern California for six months, and used the savings to buy a residential hotel in San Francisco (Lister, 1996). Residential hotels were used as subsidized housing for low-income and elderly people in downtown San Francisco. They were run down and in need of repair (Jain, 1989). It was not until 1960 that Bhulabhai Patel purchased his first true hotel property, the 108-room William Penn in San Francisco (Lister, 1996).

Before the immigration reform of 1965, about 100 Indians a year were permitted to immigrate to the U.S. Their entry was facilitated by immigration reforms in which family reunification became the central motif and allowed more Indians to come into this country. In the late 1970s, Patels bought up dying family-run motels that were afflicted by reduced road travel due to the oil price hike. Most Patels arrived with no capital and few skills or experience that translated into the U.S. labor market. Financial institutions were skeptical about extending loans to them. They proceeded with interest-free loans from friends and family, fixed up dilapidated properties and turned them into profitable businesses, even franchised units of national chains. Community financing at no interest is widespread among Gujaratis, especially in the motel business. They do not look to make a profit from each other (Lister, 1996).

The numbers of Indian immigrants doubled between 1980 and 1990 and now exceeds one million (Weiner, 1990). Although Indians now account for 5.3% of all documented immigrants to the United States and are the fifth largest group⁶ (Isbister, 1996), they comprise less than one percent of the U.S. population. One third of Indian immigrants to the United States hail from the state of Gujarat in western India (Mehra, 1993). Of Gujarati immigrants, an estimated 5-8% are Patels (Mehra, 1993). Most Patels came to this country after the immigration reform of 1965 (Lister, 1996). Thus, Patels make up approximately one percent of all immigrants from India to the United States.

Until the 1970s, 83% of Indians entered the United States under employer-sponsored rules (Takaki, 1989). In the 1980s the proportion of employer-sponsored immigrants from India

⁶ Mexicans are the largest group comprising 15% of all documented immigrants.

dropped to 22% (Sheth, 1995). Since then, an increasing number have entered the United States under the fifth preference, family-sponsorship; and by 1992, only 6% of Indian immigrants were employer-sponsored, while 85% were family-sponsored (Sheth, 1995). Because family-sponsored entrants often enter lower-status and low-wage jobs in the service economy (Das Gupta, 1997), the occupational characteristics of Indian immigrants are much more diverse now than they were in the 1970s. The spectrum of occupations ranges from professionals/scientists at one end, includes farmers and small business owners in the middle, and taxi-drivers/newspaper kiosk owners at the other end. A majority (85%) of Gujarati immigrants are involved in small family businesses (Assar, 1990).

Patels are part of a global diasporic community that encompasses South and East Africa, the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and the United Kingdom, in addition to the United States. Significant numbers of Patels come to this country from these other locations in addition to people who come directly from Gujarat. They remain integrated into a community because Patels who leave India retain their village of origin as a point of reference. They maintain ties, retain property, and send resources back into their communities in India (Patel, 1978). Remittances from abroad continue to fund schools, roads, drinking water systems, retirement homes and other community facilities in Gujarati villages (Assar, 1990).

After coming to this country, a majority of Patels also continue to speak Gujarati at home (Jain, 1989; Thaker, 1982). This is important because it ties generations together, defines the borders of the Gujarati community abroad, and also ties immigrants to their places of origin. When children born and raised abroad visit India, they can more easily claim their heritage and extended family relationships because they do not experience a language barrier (Patel, 1972). However, it may also contribute to women's seclusion from the wider host society if they do not know English and do not communicate with people outside the community.

Patel men who come directly from India are mostly farmers, and married women are housewives before migration. Twice-migrant men and women are more likely to be entrepreneurs before coming to the United States (Assar, 1990).

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the research problem and summarized relevant research on which the problem is based. My literature review indicated that immigration rules set up a hierarchy of workers based on immigrants' access to the labor market. It also indicated that

traditional norms organize the family hierarchy of access to joint resources. I contend that these two systems are linked to gender hierarchy through the gender division of labor and the categories of housewife and breadwinner. Next I presented my rationale for choosing Patels as the focus of the study and described Patels, situating them in the U.S. context. Thus, I have framed my research question:

How are immigration rules and ethnic norms linked to gender hierarchy among Patels?

Answering this question builds on Hondagneu-Sotelo's research to tell us how gender hierarchy might be played out among a documented and economically successful immigrant group. In Chapter 2, I discuss the conceptual framework for analysis, define the pertinent concepts, and lay out the model for the research. I then make the research design explicit.

In Chapter 3, I discuss research methods and methodology, reflecting on my own location as a researcher. I describe the sample, outline strategies for analysis. In Chapter 4, I present the findings with a preliminary interpretation. In Chapter 5, I analyze the context of reception of Patels in relation to participants' position in the chain migration. In Chapter 6, I analyze gender hierarchy in relation to participants' position in the migration chain. Finally, in Chapter 7, I summarize the main findings and highlight the analysis of gender hierarchy. I also consider possible alternative explanations for the findings and present an argument supporting my analysis as more plausible than the alternatives.

CHAPTER 2: FRAMEWORK, CONCEPTS, AND RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter, I first lay out my general analytic framework. Next, I define relevant concepts, including gender, gender hierarchy, and the context of reception. Finally, I incorporate these into my conceptual model and the research design.

Conceptual Framework

The following statement galvanized my focus on feminist scholarship and global gender inequality when I came across it early in my graduate career:

Women represent sixty percent of the world's population, they perform more than sixty percent of working hours, receive one-tenth of world income, and own less than one percent of world property (UN Commission on the Status of Women, 1980).

The statistics of women's status at a global level led me to question how work is defined, and therefore rewarded and valued. This study remains rooted in these concerns.

What is the link between capitalism, various patriarchies, and gender hierarchies? From a socialist feminist approach, I draw on the notion that gender inequality is rooted in the nexus of patriarchy and capitalism (Calasanti and Bailey, 1991). The sexual division of reproductive labor in the home interacts with and reinforces the sexual division in the labor market (Barrett, 1980; Sokoloff, 1980). While earlier analyses attended to the logic of production and reproduction and men's privilege in both spheres, they did not address differences across race, ethnic, and class groups in women's relationship to reproductive labor (Glenn, 1992). Reproductive labor is divided along racial as well as gender lines, and the specificity of this division varies regionally and over time as capitalism shifts parts of reproductive labor from the household to the market (Glenn, 1992). In this study, I look at one specific organization of commodified and uncommodified reproductive labor among Patels doing motel work.

I draw on critical theories that focus on power relations, particularly political economy and feminist theories. I use the matrix of domination framework elaborated by Patricia Hill Collins (1990) which focuses on the links between various systems of hierarchy. I also draw on Sen's (1990, 1995) cooperative conflict model to understand men's and women's definition of their own status in the family and the balance of power in the realm of decision-making. Sen's model

meshes well with the matrix of domination framework because he recognizes the multiplicity of identities that operate at the individual level.

Everyone has many identities. Being a man or a woman is one of them. Being a member of a family is another. Membership of a class, an occupation group, a nation, or a community can be the basis of particular links. One's individuality co-exists with a variety of such identities. Our understanding of our interests, well-being, obligations, objectives, and legitimate behavior is influenced by the various--and sometimes conflicting--effects of these diverse identities (Sen, 1990, p. 125).

Women's access to decision-making has been examined extensively in the literature in development economics (Pappanek, 1990; Sen, 1990, 1995; Mies, 1986; Okin, 1995). In my view, this is the best developed framework to explore the idea that men and women in the same family may have divergent social locations, and that gender cannot be divorced from economic analyses (Sen, 1990). Perception and well-being are two central concepts used in examining the respective experiences of men and women. Bargaining and capabilities models use these concepts to capture the coexistence of extensive conflicts and pervasive cooperation in family and household arrangements (Nussbaum and Glover, 1995). In some contexts, the family exerts such a strong influence on perceptions that it may be difficult for women to form a clear notion of individual welfare (Sen, 1990). I will draw on Sen's (1990) cooperative conflict model to examine the relationship between Patel women's contributions to economic success, their access to decision-making in the motel business, and their status within the family.

Drawing from these theoretical approaches, I maintain that U.S. immigration policy sets up a hierarchy of workers among immigrants, of which citizens are also a part. In this scheme, access to the labor market is a national resource and the hierarchy is based on differential access to this resource. Although family and employer-sponsored immigrants make up the majority of documented immigrants, they cannot claim social service and welfare benefits for three to five years, yet are liable for all taxes (Isbister, 1996). Limited access to benefits is particularly relevant for immigrant women who can no longer rely on joint family resources or community support for survival. The basis of the logic is that costs of migration must be borne by the sponsors--employers or families--and not by the state. Family and employer-sponsored immigrants can, however, claim access to the labor market, which enables them to meet migration costs. If their access to the labor market is constrained, threatened, or severed, the outcomes are negative. For example, if an immigrant leaves a job in which an employer has sponsored them, then they are

subject to deportation. Similarly, if family ties sour with someone who has sponsored them, they are also subject to deportation.

New immigrants who are also new brides are likely to be particularly disadvantaged. Their subordinate status in the family, when combined with dependent immigration status, can be especially confining. Under the family reunification rules, new spouses are granted conditional status for the first two years. Then, the citizen/resident spouse must file an application to remove the conditional status. This gives the citizen/resident spouse complete control over the new immigrant's status. Although ostensibly gender neutral, U.S. immigration policy is part of a global system in which no nation in the world grants women and men the same access to the resources of the nation state (McClintock, 1997). For instance, in this country, men and women immigrants encounter different receptions in the labor market related to the gender division of labor.

The Violence against Women Act of 1994 recognizes the potential for oppression under the current rules--it allows spouses with conditional status who can document abuse to file for immigrant status independently of residents/citizens (U.S. Department of Justice, 1998). It is overwhelmingly women who apply for a change of status under this new law (Smith, 1998). However, the rules remain oppressive for new immigrants whose status remains in the hands of resident/citizen spouses unless they can document abuse. While family reunification rules encourage immigration in a family context, and people can enter the United States as spouses when it would otherwise be difficult for them to gain entry, the rules also set up a hierarchical relationship between the family sponsor and the new entrant, particularly pertinent between spouses.

Immigrant groups with high levels of self-employment and family workers (like Patels) are also associated with more gender inequality than immigrants who seek employment in the labor market (Almquist, 1991). Generally, men become the managers of the family enterprise, and women become unpaid service workers in the family business. Male Indian owners of small family businesses often have their wives working for them. "Her unpaid labor is rationalized on the grounds that she is her husband's helpmate: her labor becomes an extension of her household duties" (Bhattacharjee, 1992, p. 36). Either both spouses work together, or, if the motels are small enough, the motel work is done by the woman alone. Labor is hired only when the wife is unable to "help" (Jain, 1989).

As already discussed in Chapter 1, recent research on immigrant groups also suggests a direct relationship between economic contribution and decision-making power among men and women. Research also indicates a change to more egalitarian patterns after migration when women's labor substantially contributes to economic success (Lim, 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Kibria, 1993; Lamphere, 1987; Pessar, 1986). This body of research supports and extends Boserup's (1970) challenge to the common assumption that women's rights and status automatically improve as societies modernize, become more productive, and economically better-off. Because women's reproductive labor is not defined as "work" in the global economy (Beneria and Sen, 1979, 1981, 1982), it does not necessarily follow that when communities and families make economic gains, women's status in the family improves.

This study examines how access to the labor market, shaped by immigration rules, and access to decision-making, shaped by gendered ethnic traditions, are linked to gender hierarchy. Although focused on one ethnic immigrant group, the study relates to a wider population. The experiences of Patels will point to the issues that are relevant in untangling the particular situation of Patels; and they are likely to be pertinent and facilitate an analysis of other immigrant groups as well.

The relation of a particular case to generalized social relations is a point of entry to untangle social and economic processes (Smith 1987, p 157).

I aim to untangle the social and economic processes of capitalism and patriarchy. Although it was not my goal to conduct a study whose findings are generalizable across ethnic populations, I do believe that my findings are generalizable to Patels in motels who are not part of my sample. The significance of the study lies in understanding gender hierarchy by examining how women's work in the family is linked to their place in the wider society through the gender division of labor at home, in motel work, and in the labor market. Thus, the study adds to an understanding of how systems of hierarchy are linked to each other,⁷ as well as to the understanding of the gender division of labor. Below, I discuss Sen's concepts and framework, useful in examining linked gender relations at home and in society.

⁷ This is departure from earlier analyses which examine how the systems operate, rather than how they are linked to each other.

Sen's Cooperative Conflict Model

Sen's (1990) cooperative conflict model builds on earlier work in development economics and explores family relationships in the context of the wider society. In this analysis, members of a family face two sets of simultaneous problems: that of cooperation, which involves adding to total resources; and that of conflict, which involves sharing total resources among members. The gender division of labor is one part of both sets. In an important insight regarding cooperation and conflict in the family, Sen disputes the usual equation of well-being with the fulfillment of perceived interests. Women may be fulfilling family obligations without attending to their own well-being; for example when women feed their families without meeting their own nutritional needs. Fulfilling this perceived family interest conflicts with their own well-being. Sen also notes the possible link between perception and legitimacy of tradition, which are directly related to the well-being of men and women. So, in the previous example, there is a link between the tradition that women feed men and children first, and the perception that women's nutritional needs are both less and less central.

Sen (1990) emphasizes the importance of taking an integrated view of activities, outside and inside the home, on which the prosperity of a family depends. He examines four dimensions in which women's position within the family is directly related to their location in the wider society. One dimension, the "breakdown well-being response", refers to a person's vulnerability or strength in securing a favorable outcome in the event of a family breakdown. A family breakdown refers to what happens when two people in a family fail to cooperate in a solution that would be better for both, and affects the two people's respective bargaining powers. There may be several possible arrangements that are better for both people than the breakdown position, but one person may be worse off if the cooperation fails. The likelihood of being better or worse off in a failure to cooperate also influences the choices a person is likely to make even when there is no breakdown of the family, and may apply particularly to women in traditional societies.

The second dimension is "differentiating between well-being and agency." In some contexts, family identity may exert such a strong influence that an individual may not have a clear notion of their individual welfare; they may not perceive their own success to be identified with or even closely connected with their own well-being. Intra-family allocation of resources often involves significant inequalities unfavorable to the well-being of women. The absence of resistance to inequality is not necessarily evidence of the absence of that inequality. Women may be habituated to inequality, unaware of possibilities of social change, resigned to fate, or be willing to

accept the legitimacy of the established order. If a woman attaches less value to her well-being, then the outcome is likely to be less favorable to her. However, there are objective aspects of personal interest and welfare in terms of a person's functioning and capabilities (e.g. what he or she is able to do or be), that can be observed even when the corresponding self-interest does not exist (Sen, 1990). For instance, having the necessary skills to function in society--speaking and reading English, driving, and so on in the U.S. context--are relevant aspects of a person's functioning, quite apart from self-interest.

The third dimension that links women's statuses in the family and the wider society is termed "perception of contributions." Perceived contributions are distinct from actual contributions and can be important in skewing outcomes in favor of the perceived contributor. Perceived contribution refers to the link between economic contribution and women's status in the family. If a woman does not see her activity as value-producing, she also subscribes to its devaluation (Mies, 1982). Perceptions have a powerful connection to outcomes. This is key in determining gender relations in families. It is not uncommon for women and men to dismiss housework as "not real work" (Anderson, Armitage, Jack, and Wittner, 1990). It is likely that Patel women and men adhere to a similar evaluation of housework. Earning outside the family context can provide women with a better breakdown position, possibly a clearer perception of individuality and well-being, and a higher perceived contribution to the family's economic position. Political recognition of gender inequality and women's gainful employment can bring about sharp changes in these perceptions (Sen, 1990).

The fourth dimension that links women's status in the family and the wider society is "transmission of asymmetries." Those who benefit from privilege (e.g., in ownership, education, and training) typically ensure their advantage in the future; and the disadvantage of those who do not benefit is also assured in the future. The asymmetries thus established are stable and likely to be sustained over generations and over time. These four dimensions that link women's statuses in the family and in the wider society are useful in understanding gender hierarchy because the analysis takes into account the gender divisions of labor at home and in the wider society and the differential allocation of shared resources among men and women within families.

Gender Divisions of Labor

In family businesses, the division of labor and rewards is likely defined by relationships based on kinship/community ties, not by economic calculations or the labor market. Power

relations operate in families in ways that are beyond economic logic, based on culturally ascribed roles that are not reducible to material contributions to the family (Nash, 1988). Cultural constraints are also embedded in gender divisions of work and housework and men's and women's unequal access to decision-making. My attention is on immigrant women who contribute labor toward economic success while remaining outside the labor market. Family relationships often span several locations, some joint resources are pooled, and some interests and goals are shared among members, but there are contradictory interests among members as well. How these conflicting interests typically play out demonstrate the gender hierarchy within families.

Cultural characteristics of Patidars as a group may be a particularly good fit with the current needs of the U.S. labor market, which would contribute to their economic success in the motel business. The traditional family among Patels is the extended family which includes patrilineal and patrilateral male relatives (Pocock, 1972). The connection between immigration policy and family enterprises is played out among Patels in that motel owners live together on the premises, reducing labor costs and saving substantially on rent, utilities, child care, and transport costs. As Jain (1989) notes, "A motel provides at once real estate, living quarters, a business, and employment for the entire family." The motel-owning family is at once a unit of production and reproduction.

Feminist scholarship explores the link between family hierarchy and status in the wider society by examining the work women do, much of which is not paid and not considered productive (Okin, 1995; Dasgupta, 1993; Pappanek, 1990). My focus on motel work is pertinent because it spans production/reproduction and public/private spheres. Patel men and women who do motel work also live together--at the motel. Therefore neither the work nor the location are easily categorized as being in either one or the other domain.

What is the relationship between the patriarchal domestic domain and capitalism in motel work? The bulk of motel work can easily be viewed as an extension of the domestic domain--it involves cleaning and laundry. A gap between women's perceived and actual contributions to the family's economic success is likely in motel work because it may require no additional skills or training for women. However, men are likely to need training since they are not typically well-versed in domestic skills. If the enterprise has a woman involved, then training for men and children can probably be provided easily within family relationships.

While motel work blurs the boundaries between public and private, it may not lead to gender equality if hierarchy is re-asserted by other means, for example, by language and other

skills necessary to function independently in the wider society. Indian immigrant women typically have less education than immigrant men (Sheth, 1995) and therefore less fluency in English⁸. However, the difference may be less significant in motel work than in other businesses, because a person does not need to be fluent in order to do a substantial portion of the work. Therefore, women can contribute substantially to motel work while being less fluent in English without posing a disadvantage to the business. Immigration rules that facilitate marriage migration and male privilege (as explained in the fictional example of Jai and Pia in Chapter 1) could be a means to re-assert a particular definition of family, to draw the distinction between public and private. Therefore, the definitions of the family imposed by the state and traditional norms, and thus the categories of public and private, are likely re-inscribed and remain significant.

Despite the importance of their labor for family economic success, women who migrate as wives continue to be "dependents" under the family reunification policy, and their contributions to the economy are thus not recognized. Although not addressing gender, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) also note that the material and moral resources available to immigrants through the state and their own communities contribute to the separation of skills and rewards.

Both economic success and impoverishment of various immigrant groups are often ascribed to cultural traits (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Such arguments ignore the context of reception that immigrants face. Access to the labor market differs among immigrant groups based on their own traditions. Access to the labor market is also subject to ethnically-specific gendered notions of the relative appropriateness of various jobs as well as the location of each ethnic/immigrant group in the U.S. racial map (Mohanty, 1997). For immigrants involved in family businesses, then, the link to the labor market is mediated by both the nature of the work and gender relations. Thus, the specific gender relations among different groups of immigrants occur in the context of the two systems of hierarchical access to collective resources: the hierarchy of workers set up by immigration rules that determines access to the labor market (a national resource); and the hierarchical relationship set up by ethnic norms and the labor market between family sponsor and new entrant that determines access to joint family/community resources. Using this as the conceptual background, my analysis examines the context in which Patels become economically successful, with careful attention to gender.

⁸ In India, fluency in English is related to schooling. In better recognized institutions, English is the language of instruction.

Concepts

In this section, I will define the concepts relevant for my analysis: gender, gender hierarchy, and context of reception (immigration rules, labor market, and ethnic norms).

Gender

Gender is a relationship: the relative social location of men and women in the society (Ammott and Matthaei, 1996). It is one component in a matrix of structures (including ethnicity, class, age, etc.) that intersect to establish a social location for each individual (Collins, 1990). Glenn's (1989) concept of gender adds a global perspective to the matrix of domination model. Drawing on Collins' and Glenn's concepts of gender, the following four assumptions underlie the notion of gender for my analysis. First, although gender is typically discussed in terms of political and social struggle, it is also inextricably linked to the global economy. In different regions of the world, gender is organized and understood in qualitatively different modes, and these modes are inseparable from the economic processes that structure these regions.

Second, gender is not reducible to male-female relations within families. These relations are embedded in a social context that influences the outcomes of negotiations between men and women in families. The possibility that women can survive outside marriage reduces male domination in the family. If patriarchal heterosexual marriage is the only imaginable form for organizing sexuality, nurturing, pooling of resources, provisioning households, and reproducing the labor force, then power relations are relatively more difficult to challenge.

Third, power relations are not a necessary attribute of gender. This is central to an alternative vision in which human differences are not automatically linked to social hierarchies. Capitalism and various patriarchies transform a gender division of labor into systematic oppression of racial/ethnic women (and men). That is, a division of labor based on differences (which may be logical), is transformed into an expression of social hierarchy.

And fourth, the ideological and economic aspects of gender are closely, but not directly, related. I explore aspects of this relationship. Specifically, I examine the links between (a) women's contributions to the family's economic success and their decision-making power in the family business, and (b) men's contributions to housework and childcare and their dominant status in the family.

Gender Hierarchy

Gender hierarchy refers to men's and women's differential access to scarce resources, including decision-making power, material goods, services, status, discretionary time, food and medical care, personal autonomy, education, and safety from physical coercion and assault (Chafetz, 1991). There are both individual and institutional dimensions to gender inequality (Fenstermaker, West, and Zimmerman, 1991).

I focus on the link between men and women's involvement in motel work as related to their decision-making in the business. Research suggests that when women engage in motel work they may not be recognized as workers, hence they do not gain decision-making power (Jain, 1989). I also consider men and women's involvement in housework and childcare to explore how economic and ideological aspects are intertwined. There is a link between economic resources and ability to resist housework (Katz, 1991; Coleman, 1991). Men claim breadwinner (dominant) status in the family, and thus exemption from housework--which is not considered work anyway.

Examining the link between women's contributions and their access to resources is one way to explore the sequences of actions through which people share resources for survival (Acker, 1988). One should examine women's participation and contributions in formal work, informal work, and house work, and their access to resources in the relations of distribution vis-à-vis husbands, families, racial/ethnic groups, and communities (Ward, 1990; Dill, 1986; Bookman, 1988; Westwood, 1985; Sen, 1990). These concerns underlie my research.

Because I concur with feminist scholars who have challenged the split between the public and private domains (Bhattacharjee, 1997; Ward, 1990; Mies, 1986), my research also questions the basis for making such an analytic distinction. For women, the boundaries between formal work, informal work, and housework are permeable and overlapping; for men they are relatively distinct at least between formal work and housework (or lack thereof) (Ward, 1990). Motels are a good example of the integration of public and private domains and consideration of this permeability is integral to a more complete understanding of women's work.

Lack of access to education and resources constrains the work many immigrant women may do. They are channeled into low-paying work, or encouraged to stay home upon marriage (Afshar, 1987). In this context, work that defies cultural norms about female employment is a form of resistance and could be empowering (Aptheker, 1989; Bookman and Morgen, 1988). However, patriarchal practices limit women's empowerment when women continue to perform

traditional roles through reliance on gender norms (Ward, 1990) that facilitate a traditional gender division (and evaluation) of labor.

Gender hierarchy is evident in the division of labor between men and women in motel work, in the kinds of jobs that men and women do, and in the status of these jobs. For instance, women may be more likely to do cleaning and laundry, considered to be a low status job, both at home and for the motel. Men may be more likely to do both these jobs for the motel, and less likely to do them at home, thus indicating their relative dominance. If this were the case then it would show that men assert their dominance by refusing housework because they would do the same job in the motel. It would also show that it is the context that determines whether men and/or women perform a particular job.

I identify tensions/contradictions as indications of negotiation between men and women, and of the relative evaluations attached to particular jobs in the society. One way of demarcating hierarchy is by identifying what people refuse to do, and to explore the rationale behind their refusal. If women are in hierarchical relationships with men, they are less likely to be able to refuse any job that the men consider undesirable, even if women also consider it to be low-status or undesirable.

Second, I examine the relationship between the gender division of labor and the sharing of decision-making power. I consider spending, business investment, and family policy decisions: who gets an education, training, or inherits property/business interests. Research suggests that for a majority of Indian immigrants, men are the primary decision-makers (Mogelonsky, 1995). As a result, I anticipate that men dominate decision-making among Patels as well. If women contribute their labor to the business and they also gain a measure of decision-making power in the business, then it would indicate gender equity. However, if women contribute to the motel but do not make business decisions, then it would indicate gender hierarchy.

Third, I examine the extent to which men and women share housework and childcare as an indicator of gender equality in the family. Gender hierarchy is evident in the division of labor between men and women in housework. I explore whether women's contributions to motels are paralleled by men's involvement in housework and childcare. These jobs are traditionally considered “women's work”, therefore men may refuse to engage in them. Men's disconnection from housework and childcare could reinforce traditional gender hierarchy in this context.

That most Gujaratis entered the United States as part of a family or through the support of a family member has a major impact on how they are integrated into the economy. Family

businesses have access to women's labor, mediated by kinship and cultural norms that emphasize women's housewife status, which also reinforces gender hierarchy. If an immigrant woman cannot continue in the marriage, she would have no home, money, or access to social services, and would be without community support or marketable skills. If a man cannot continue in the marriage, he is more likely to elicit family/community support (Bhattacharjee, 1992). There are indications that immigration status is a central concern of women immigrants from India (Mehrotra, 1995).

Context of Reception

As I stated earlier, the context of reception immigrants face has a significant impact on family relationships. By context of reception, I am referring to the combination of family reunification rules, the U.S. labor market, and ethnic norms (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).

Family Reunification Rules

Family reunification rules denote the conjugal tie as a priority for immigration and more significant than other family relationships. Consequently, it is faster and easier for a person to enter the United States as the spouse of a citizen or resident than to immigrate on the basis of other family relationships (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990, p.172). As noted earlier, women are more likely to enter this country as spouses than are men. For women immigrants, a "good" marriage provides an alternative to a job as a means of economic support. Under these rules, they are considered dependents of a primary wage earner (Heer, 1996). As dependents, such women rely on family relationships for survival.

As explained in Chapter 1, immigration rules define access to the labor market by specifying who is eligible to seek employment, as well as specifying who bears the costs of migration for new immigrants. Both the labor market and immigrant traditions are linked through the gender division of labor which specify what kinds of work men and women may do. If access to the labor market is a national resource, then who is considered a worker has a profound impact on the claims that person can make in this system. If women immigrants are seen as dependents, not workers, regardless of their contributions, then this can serve to facilitate women's subordination in the wider society as well as within the family and community.

Since 1986, family reunification rules give the resident spouse complete control over the immigration process for the new immigrant spouse, thus facilitating potential subordination of

new immigrant spouses. The rules confer dominance on the resident spouse. One component of immigration rules includes marriage as an economic relationship. Consequently, family members' potential immigration claims are linked to their marital status. For example, sons and daughters of U.S. citizens lose priority after marriage--moving from First to Fourth Preference under family reunification rules. Sons and daughters of permanent residents lose their claim altogether to immigrate under family reunification rules once they get married (Baldwin, 1997). (See appendix B for visa preference provisions).

Research shows that immigrants' location in the occupational hierarchy typically changes after migration (Morawska, 1990; Ong and Blumenberg, 1997). For example, Patels' change in occupational hierarchy is a move from high status agriculture and land-ownership in Gujarat (Pocock, 1972) to service-oriented businesses in this country which are relatively low-status (Patel, 1972). I found evidence to support the view that motel work is considered relatively low status in my interviews as well. Both first and second generation participants did not see motel work as particularly desirable.

Kamla (W): I was kind of embarrassed--when people said, "What does your Dad do?"-- that my Dad owned a motel just like everyone else, you know, that he is not a doctor or a lawyer or anything like that.

Vijay (M): It's different and it's difficult growing up being the motel owner. When you are asked what your father does -- "He owns this motel"--that always looks a little bit strange.

First generation participants also indicated that they found motel work less than acceptable for their children, i.e. they would not like their children to continue doing it.

Dev (M): If they study well, they should study, do some management courses...do something good in the hospitality industry, and then...I mean, I wouldn't like them to continue at this place.

And Ajay, who has recently arrived from Gujarat and is currently searching for a motel, describes the understanding of motel work in Gujarat thus:

Ajay (M): When the people are coming here, in India they say, "You are going to take Pichhora, this Chaddar (bed sheet)"--that is the way they are talking in India. They call it Pichhora, the motel business. "You take the Pichhora daily and put it in the washer and dryer and make the beds." They are saying in India-- "It means you are going to clean lavatories. You have to clean lavatories when the maid is not coming." They are talking like this-- "It is hard. It is not good. You have to clean the rest rooms and all these things in America. It is not a necessity to go to America for you. You have a lot of money, a lot of business here." So many people are telling me so....

It is clear that some components of motel work--washing used linen and cleaning bathrooms--makes it undesirable and low status for men. People in Gujarat have long been aware that life abroad is not easy. Therefore, work that would be defined as inappropriate or below a Patidar man's status in India was exempt from criticism if it yielded economic gain (Patel, 1972). Patels' movement into the motel industry represents a change in their social location from the dominant caste in Gujarat (Pocock, 1972) to a minority group in the United States. Although they have moved down in the occupational hierarchy, they have managed to achieve the American Dream--they are an economic success--by doing undesirable work.

In Gujarat, Patel women are largely housewives (read: non-workers), and men are land-owners and farmers (read: workers and breadwinners). They arrive in the United States as family units under family reunification rules, and men and women both work in motels. Is motel work also undesirable for women as it is for men? How do traditional gender norms play out in motel work? What does it mean if some traditional patterns are evident and not others? I will address this question later in this chapter.

Access to the US labor market

In Chapter 1, I noted that immigration rules set up a hierarchy of workers, with status related to their labor market access. In my research, I am specifically interested in how the high incidence of self-employment among immigrants from Asia plays out for women immigrants who work in family businesses.

Language skills and employment experience are especially relevant to new immigrants' reception in the labor market. However, as these are not considered among the criteria for acceptance of family-sponsored immigrants, many do not have the minimum fluency and skills to find employment. Consequently, their access to the labor market is substantially constrained. A popular strategy to fill the gap between immigrants' fluency and skills and the requirements for suitable employment is for immigrants to become self-employed, usually in labor-intensive family businesses oriented towards the service-sector. This strategy is particularly effective among groups that have a balanced gender composition, because all family members can contribute their labor in the enterprise, including women and children. A balanced composition means that the group can easily perform both men's work and women's work as necessary for the family and the business. All members who contribute are workers, from this perspective.

Although family and employer-sponsored immigrants are both legally permitted to seek employment right away, they cannot claim access to benefits that are available to native workers

for the first five years, even though they are liable for all taxes (Isbister, 1996). This ensures that new immigrants are subject to their sponsors. For family-sponsored immigrants, it means they must survive within the family relationships for the entire period.

To summarize, family-sponsored immigrants are not screened for skills and training because their impact on the economy is not considered. They may not be fluent in English, and may or may not have other skills that translate well in the labor market. Asian immigrants have the highest incidence of self-employment in small service-oriented businesses, where all members can contribute. Because their employment opportunities are constrained and they are ineligible to claim workers' benefits, they must survive within their families and communities where traditional norms organize relationships.

Ethnic Norms

By ethnic norms, I am referring to cultural patterns and practices prevalent among Patels in India and abroad. These behaviors are relevant because they point to what is emphasized and valued in the community. Patels maintain their place of origin as a point of reference when they move abroad and this helps maintain the community. I selected the three following indicators of ethnic norms as most relevant to motel work. First, residence patterns are important because motels provide living quarters for established families that they share with new immigrants to get them started in the business. Second, marriage patterns are important because they are a part of Patidar ethos (with an emphasis on hypergamy). Patidars are highly stratified internally. There is also an emphasis on endogamy, so many recruit spouses from within their caste for the second generation. Finally, support for kin and community is an indicator of adherence to traditional values and very important to economic success (Pocock, 1972). Each of these three indicators represents both material and non-material contributions to the success story of Patels in the motel business. I explain the relevance of each of these norms for my examination of gender hierarchy below.

Marriage patterns. Marriages are centrally important in Patel communities.⁹ "A Patidar achieves his social self through marriage" (Pocock, 1972). Hypergamy is a norm: among

⁹Patels in the U.S. have formed associations specifically aimed at facilitating finding suitable spouses for the second generation. The Charottar Patidar Samaj is a nationwide organization in the

Patels, it is customary to marry young women to men with higher status. Emigration is inserted into the hierarchy at an upper level. In the past, parents preferred an immigrant son-in-law over a rich farmer or professional who remained in India (Patel, 1972). Until the 1980s, parents did not prefer immigrant daughter-in-laws; however, they would consider such an arrangement if it included the prospect of a son going abroad with the bride. This marriage route to emigration is used most for countries like the United States, where spouses are permitted to immigrate (Thaker, 1982).

Even after moving abroad, marriages among Patels are arranged with the place of origin as a point of reference (Jain, 1989). That is, Patels abroad still practice village exogamy in that they will look for a spouse whose family hails from another village in Gujarat (Assar, 1990). Prior research suggests that marriage patterns remain largely traditional among Patels in the United States (Jain, 1989; Thaker, 1982). In the 1980s, marriage negotiations were often conducted with the immigration status as a central concern (Luthra, 1989; Menon, 1988; Bhargava, 1988). Based on this history, I believed that marriage migration related to family reunification rules would be a significant source of brides for Patels in the motel business (and hence also a source of unpaid family labor).

Residence patterns. Residence patterns are integrally related to marriage patterns among Patels. In Gujarat, Patels typically practice caste endogamy and village exogamy. That is, they select spouses from within the caste but from another village. Residence patterns are patrilocal. New brides move to their husband's village and reside with his family. The ideal family is a joint, extended group that includes and emphasizes patrilineal kin. In these norms, men's patrilineal and patrilateral relationships are most important. This means that the groom's male relatives from his father's side of the family are more significant for both spouses after marriage (Pocock, 1972). For women, "family" means husbands, children, and in-laws. For men, "family" refers to wives, children, siblings (including their spouses and children), and parents. The asymmetry thus established is transmitted to the next generation in terms of access to joint family resources and status in the family.

U.S. that meets the need to find suitable partners within the community for Patels who hail from the district of Charottar. A district is roughly comparable to a county in the U.S. There are similar associations for Patels from other districts in Gujarat.

Since they practice village exogamy, brides are usually physically removed from parents and siblings at marriage. Married daughters may visit their parents and sons-in-law may visit but not reside with the bride's parents. The stringent version of this norm is that parents may visit their daughter in her new home only very briefly. Married brothers do not typically reside with married sisters. Siblings may visit each other. Younger unmarried siblings may reside with older married siblings, regardless of gender. Residential patterns are significant because they represent a particular social status and evaluation of women in relation to men. Residence patterns are also one component of legal property rights and inheritance rules in India (Chen, 1995). Since the family reunification rules in the United States are equally applicable to men's and women's relatives, they could potentially be the basis of a challenge to the structure of the traditional family.

Community support patterns. A significant traditional norm among Patels is providing help to others, especially people from their own community. Until recently, Patels in the United States did not formally organize in the motel business. However, in 1985, insurance companies across the United States suddenly canceled property insurance to all Indian motel owners. The insurance industry believed Indian motel owners to be part of a conspiracy to buy properties, burn them down, and collect insurance. The actions of the insurance industry prompted a group of Indian motel owners to form the Midsouth Indemnity Association. Once organized, they were successful in getting affordable insurance for hundreds of Indian motel owners (<http://www.aahoa.org>. 1997).

Community support enables Patels to build their businesses on terms that are more favorable than commercially available opportunities and thus enables them to overcome racial and ethnic biases in commercial financing and the labor market. In business terms, this means pooling resources to come up with down payments for properties, and using terms that are more favorable to new entrepreneurs than those available from commercial institutions (Jacob and Ganguly, 1994). Large family and community networks and financing give these businesses a chance to grow and expand. Such support is important because the savings and loan debacle has made borrowing difficult. Since then, lenders tend to favor experienced operators, and sellers demand \$100,000 down payments for small motels instead of the \$25,000 they once accepted (Woodyard, 1995).

This example of pooled resources suggests that Patels do not emphasize patrilineal relationships in lending support. As a result of a tradition of helping each other, a group of hotel

and motel owners formed the Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA) in 1989. The goal of this organization is to address issues of discrimination in commercial financing and insurance, and to provide professional awareness of Asian American hoteliers. The prevalent view is that everyone should share what information they have with the community so that they can all prosper, according to Jay Patel, second generation motel owner (Lister, 1996). AAHOA now boasts a membership of over 4,000.

As outlined above, the three indicators of ethnic norms significant for my analysis are marriage patterns, residence patterns, and community financial support for business. In the next sections, I lay out the conceptual model and research design of my study.

Analytic Logic: Links between Gender Hierarchy, Immigration Rules, And Ethnic Norms

According to socialist-feminist analysis, gender hierarchy is rooted in the interaction between capitalism and patriarchy: the gender division of reproductive labor in the family interacts with and supports gender divisions in the labor market (Glenn, 1992; Calasanti and Bailey, 1991). My research examines gender divisions of labor by focusing on three indicators of ethnic norms, in the context of U.S. immigration policy and labor market to examine how the gender division of labor in the family is related to gender divisions in the labor market. In Chapter 1, I established a link between men's dominance in the family and their ability to resist low-status jobs. I also established that housework is considered low-status, or "not-work." Specific jobs like cleaning and laundry are particularly undesirable. All three traditional patterns reinforce male privilege, as already discussed. However, they may or may not be conducive to economic gain in the United States. As noted before, one dimension of economic success is women's contributions to family businesses.

I examine gender divisions of labor in housework and motel work to uncover how they interact with each other. If traditional norms are evident that reinforce male privilege among Patels, who are economically successful, then this selective interaction of ethnic norms with immigration rules, and the labor market shows one association between capitalism and patriarchy. The indicators can show two possible schemes: (a) Consistent: when traditional or non-traditional patterns are evident on three indicators of ethnic norms. This would mean that the sharing of housework and male dominance in the family is unrelated to gender divisions in motel work; and

(b) Inconsistent: when traditional patterns are evident on some indicators and not others. This would mean that gender hierarchy among Patels is associated with the context of reception.

Consistent Patterns

There are two possible consistent patterns: either all three norms are traditional, or they are all non-traditional. See Table 2.1 on page 38.

Condition A

Consistently traditional patterns in all three indicators of ethnic norms would suggest that traditional gender relations that organize housework and gender divisions in the labor market are unrelated. It would mean that women marry men of higher status. The couple would reside with men's patrilineal or patrilineal kin (and not with women's families or men's matrilineal/matrilineal kin), and be supported also by men's patrilineal or patrilineal families (but not by women's families or men's matrilineal/matrilineal kin). This pattern would constrain the possibilities for support for the couple, and therefore be less suitable for their economic success.

Let me use the fictitious Pia and Jai Patel again to illustrate this logic. In the first possibility, condition A, if all three indicators were traditional, Pia would marry a man of higher status, and thus be more likely to be subordinate in the marital relationship. If he sponsors her, she would have a dependent immigration status. She would be less educated, and less likely to be fluent in English, and therefore less able to seek employment--making her more likely to be economically dependent as well. If she sponsors him, he will have dependent migration status, but is likely to be more educated and/or economically better off than her, and thus less likely to be economically dependent. They would have fewer sources of support because they would be likely to reside with his family and not hers. As a traditional married woman, Pia would likely be expected not to go outside the home to work. And because his family lends financial support and not hers, it would likely add to his privilege and her subordination in the marital relationship. Pia's breakdown position would be weak in condition A. Traditional gender relations in this instance do not support gender divisions in the labor market because Pia remains secluded.

Condition B

A lack of traditional patterns in all three indicators would suggest that ethnic norms, immigration rules, and gender divisions in the labor market are not linked to gender hierarchy.

That is, if immigrant women typically sponsor and marry men of equal or lower status; couples live independently of both sets of parents, or with the bride's family as well; and support is offered without emphasis on patrilineal relationships, this pattern would expand possibilities for support, but does not encourage Pia to contribute her labor in the family business.

Because Pia would sponsor and marry a man of equal or lower status, she is likely to have similar or better education and language skills. Whether the couple resides with either Pia's or Jai's family, she is less likely to be subordinate in the marital relationship. Because they are not practicing hypergamy, it would be less significant for Pia to not go outside the home to work. If they reside with her family, Pia will likely be supported in motel and housework and could claim an interest in the family motel business. If her family lends financial and other support to the couple, it would again make her position stronger in the marriage. In other words, Pia's breakdown position is much stronger in the possibility of condition B. This arrangement does not support gender divisions in the labor market because it does not facilitate male privilege in the family. If employed, Pia could be earning equal to or more than her husband. In a family business, she could claim a share of business decisions because she is educated and fluent.

Inconsistent Patterns

Inconsistent findings for the three indicators (some traditional patterns are evident and not others) would suggest that family reunification policy and the labor market selectively interact with particular ethnic traditions. I expect that the pattern of ethnic norms that is evident is associated with the simultaneous reinforcing of male privilege and economic success. This would be evidence that capitalism and patriarchy operate in tandem.

Condition C

One possibility of inconsistent patterns is that marriage and residence patterns are traditional, and support patterns are non-traditional. This would mean that women marry men of higher status, reside only with men's patrilineal or patrilineal kin (and not with women's families or men's matrilineal/matrilineal kin), and get support from all families. In the example, Pia would

Table 2.1.

Possible Patterns of Traditional Norms after Migration: Links between Gender Hierarchy and Ethnic Norms

<i>Possible combinations</i>	<i>Indicator 1: marriage patterns</i>	<i>Indicator 2: residence patterns</i>	<i>Indicator 3: support patterns</i>	<i>Type of situation</i>	<i>Claim</i>
condition A	traditional	traditional	traditional	CONSISTENT PATTERN: ethnic norms do not interact with immigration rules & motel work	no association between economic success and gender hierarchy
condition B	non-traditional	non-traditional	non-traditional		
condition C	traditional	traditional	non-traditional	INCONSISTENT PATTERN: ethnic norms selectively interact with immigration rules & motel work	association between economic success and gender hierarchy
condition D	non-traditional	traditional	traditional		
condition E	traditional	non-traditional	traditional		
condition F	non-traditional	non-traditional	traditional		
condition G	traditional	non-traditional	non-traditional		
condition H	non-traditional	traditional	non-traditional		

Key:

Traditional

Marriage patterns: hypergamy--women marry men of higher status

caste endogamy--marriages are within caste

village exogamy--bride and groom hail from different places

Residential patterns: patrilocal--new couple live with man's family

Support patterns: patrilateral--mutual support exclusively among patrilateral kin

Nontraditional

Marriage patterns: do not follow hypergamy, caste endogamy or village exogamy

Residential patterns--are not patrilocal

Support patterns--mutual support not exclusive to patrikin

Consistent Pattern: When all three indicators are either traditional or non-traditional.

Inconsistent Pattern: When some traditional patterns are in evidence, but not others.

marry a man of higher status and the couple would reside with his family. She is likely to be less educated and fluent in English than her husband. A traditional pattern would constrain the couple from the possibility of sharing a residence with her family. Her breakdown position would be weak. However, if her family also lends support, then her breakdown position is somewhat strengthened. This arrangement would be associated with supporting male privilege, but not as conducive to economic success.

Condition D

Another possibility is that marriage patterns are non-traditional, residence patterns are traditional, and support is also traditional. This would mean the Patel women marry men of equal or lower status, or marry out of their caste. After migration, new immigrants reside exclusively with men's patrilineal or patrilateral relatives, and support only men's patrilineal and patrilateral kin. Traditional residential and support patterns would be less conducive to economic success because it would reduce the number of possible sources of support for each couple. Non-traditional marriage patterns would mean that the community would be less cohesive and less traditional family relationships would be more likely. Here, the pattern would be less supportive of male privilege and economic success.

Condition E

A third possibility of inconsistent patterns would be if marriage patterns remained largely traditional. However, if residence and support patterns were non-traditional, then it would allow for more sources of support. In this case, Pia would marry a man with higher status. He would be more fluent and better educated than her. However, they would live with either his or her family, and be supported by all extended family, thus maximizing the sources of support. This pattern would support both male privilege and economic success.

Condition F

In this possibility, the bride could be of equal or higher status than the groom. The new couple could live with her family, or on their own, but support would be exclusively among patrilateral kin. This pattern does not make sense.

Condition G

In this situation, the groom would be of higher status, the couple would live with her family or on their own, and family from both sides would support them.

Condition H

Here, the bride is of equal or higher status than the groom, they reside with the groom's family, and support would come from both sides.

I have discussed the list of possibilities in detail to outline the logic of distinguishing between consistent and inconsistent patterns of ethnic norms. It is obvious that immigrants will forego some previous cultural patterns in the host country. The point is that the evident patterns are related to both economic and gender hierarchies in the wider society, as well as in the particular immigrant group. The pattern that best supports economic success also supports male privilege. I anticipate that the pattern will show (as I outlined in Chapter 1 in Mohanty's (1991a) analysis) an association between economic pressures (capitalism manifested) and gender hierarchy (patriarchy manifested). This is the link between systems of hierarchy manifested in immigration policy, the labor market, ethnic norms, and gender relations.

Immigration rules, the labor market, and ethnic norms are all implicated because they can and do facilitate or interrupt traditional patterns of gender hierarchy. It is my contention that the patterns that are more likely to result in economic gain are likely to be facilitated by immigration rules, the labor market, and ethnic norms in tandem. The three indicators of ethnic norms represent cultural patterns through which we can examine the intersection of patriarchy and capitalism. In the next section, I lay out the conceptual model and research design.

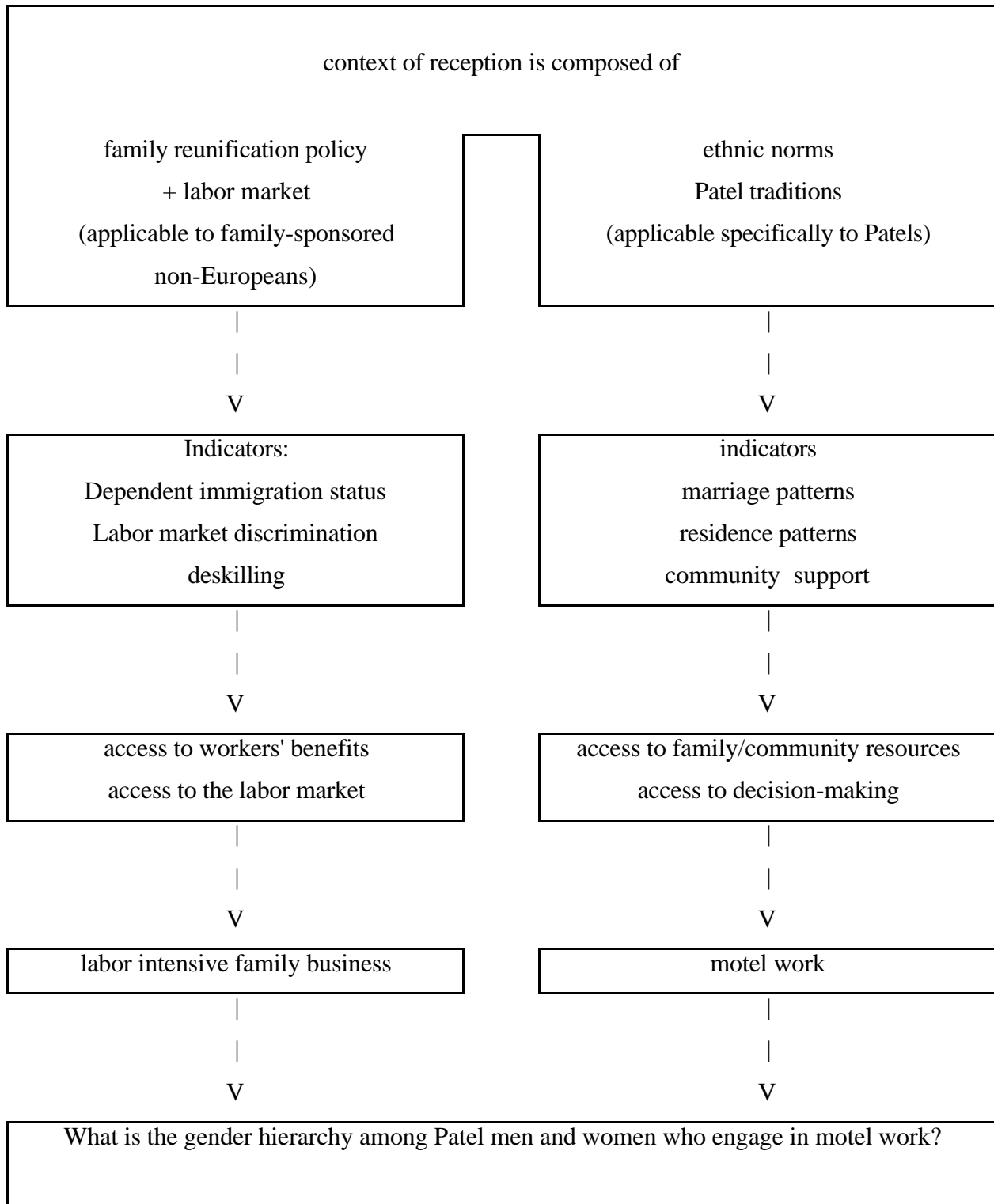
Conceptual Model

On the next page is a visual conceptual model (Figure 2.2) of the possible operation of the systems of hierarchy set up by immigration rules and traditional norms that I referred to in Chapter 1. The model represents a nexus of capitalism (manifested in migration policy and the labor market) and patriarchy (manifested in traditional hierarchical gender norms). I used this model to examine gender hierarchy among Patels.

How are the family reunification policy, U.S. labor market, and ethnic norms of Patels linked to gender hierarchy? If patterns are consistent (either all three are traditional, or all three are

non-traditional) on the indicators of ethnic norms (marriage patterns, residence patterns, and financial support), then economic success is not likely to be linked to gender hierarchy. If the findings are inconsistent (some traditional patterns related to gender are evident but not others), then economic success is related to gender hierarchy. This is not a causal relationship, but an association. I believe one such link could be the shared emphasis on marriage as a central feature both of Patel tradition and as part of the family reunification policy. Both systems facilitate male privilege.

Figure 2.2. Conceptual Model



I picture the components of the two sides of the figure as the two sides of a zipper. The gender division of labor, manifested in gender hierarchy, closes the zipper's teeth, binding them, and provides the interaction that holds them in place and together. When gender hierarchy is challenged, the zipper comes undone. For this model, I considered immigration rules and the labor market together because such a consideration would be relevant to any group of non-European, family-sponsored immigrants. I considered ethnic norms separately because they are specific to Patels. Examining whether the two components of the context of reception (ethnic norms and immigration rules/labor market) are associated with immigrants' labor in consistent ways will indicate whether such a link exists between ethnic norms and gender hierarchy. That is, if women are defined by the family reunification policy/U.S. labor market as dependents and/or non-workers and this definition is consistent with traditional patterns among Patels, then both definitions are linked to gender hierarchy. The two patriarchies, one based on traditional Patel norms, and the other based on the U.S. and global political economy, likely operate in tandem. Thus, I examined how the links operate between the hierarchy stemming from various patriarchies, reflected in women's position in the family, and the hierarchy that stems from capitalist economy, reflected in U.S. immigration policy and labor market.

Research Design

The theoretical understanding stemming from recent analyses of migration that pay nuanced attention to ethnicity assume that the experience of men and women immigrants within each ethnic group is similar (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). This analysis fails to address why, given the unequal social status of men and women in ethnic communities, the experience of migration would be similar for men and women. Based on socialist-feminist analysis (Bailey and Calasanti, 1991; Glenn, 1992) and the structural inequalities evident for men and women immigrants, it makes sense to examine how ethnic norms, immigration rules and the labor market, and gender fit together.

Mainstream analyses (Burawoy, 1976; Nee and Wong, 1985) inevitably suggest that economic and ethnic explanations take priority over gender analysis. Therefore they privilege the links between ethnic immigrant groups and the wider society, rather than also examining what happens within immigrant families and communities. However, feminist analysis suggests a different connection between economic and gender explanations: that groups with more economic resources are more likely have more unequal gender relations (Almquist, 1991).

I use the matrix of domination model (Collins, 1990) and the cooperative conflict model (Sen, 1990) to understand the experiences of Patels in the motel business. I pay close attention to traditional patterns (ethnic norms) and gender as they relate to the context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). I examine the status women hold in the family as related to their position in society.

Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994) research represents sophisticated analyses that do not rely on the primacy of links between an immigrant community and the wider society: she also examines immigrant families and communities. The variation in gender relations in her research is explained by varied immigrant status of the women that determines the security of their link to the labor market. Mexican immigrant women who achieve full immigrant status negotiate more equitable gender relations since they can legally seek to be employed. Women who are undocumented also earn, but their status is conducive to male dominance as they are subject to deportation and live in fear of being discovered by the INS. That is, it is not only the fact that women contribute economically that is significant in more equitable gender relations. The context in which they make their contribution is linked to whether gender relations tend to be hierarchical or equitable.

My analysis was built on Hondagneu-Sotelo's findings by focusing on the links between the context of reception, ethnic norms, and gender relations in immigrant families. To get at these links, I needed to examine a group that does not vary in their immigration status, their link to the labor market, nor their ethnic norms. Further, since work and gender are integrally related, I also examined what is considered work by those who do it and the context in which it is so defined.

How are immigration policy, ethnic norms, and gender linked among Patels in the motel business? Based on the pilot study I conducted in 1990, I hypothesized that Patels routinely recruit spouses from abroad because the green card is currency in the international marriage market (Luthra, 1989; Bhargava, 1988; Menon, 1988). New immigrant brides then likely contribute by working full-time in the motel business since housework skills are sufficient for the bulk of the work, and minimal language skills are sufficient since limited interaction is necessary with clients and the wider society. Brides occupy the least powerful position in the family hierarchy (Pocock, 1972), and this likely translates to less access to decision-making in the business. As recruit grooms recruited from abroad, men are more likely to have insufficient housework skills due to their socialization, better language skills (Sheth, 1995), and more access to education and the wider society. They are also more likely to develop language and other skills because men's interaction with the wider society is more acceptable than that of married women who are supposed to remain

housewives. Therefore, though the immigration rules allow for marriage migration of both men and women, immigrants' reception in the labor market and the different expectations outlined by their own ethnic traditions likely differentiate between men's and women's experiences in the United States thus linking the contexts of reception, ethnic norms, and gender hierarchy.

To understand men's and women's experiences, I used semi-structured taped interviews, observation, and secondary sources. I began the analysis by identifying inconsistencies between the accounts of men and women in the same family, and between first and second generation accounts within families. Inconsistencies called for increased focus, probing, and reflection for analysis. My observations, carefully recorded in field notes, reinforced participants' articulation of their experiences. These records allowed me to highlight the points at which structural constraints and participants' understanding of their own contributions to the family economy and their status within the family converged, thus showing the links between immigration policy, ethnic norms, and gender relations evident among Patels.

Secondary sources (e.g. Gujarat newspaper, Charottar Patidar Samaj newsletter, and Asian-American Hotel Owners Association publications) provided an overview of issues relevant to Patels in the United States. These sources highlighted selection of spouses for young people, and community financing as the two most significant arenas, evident because Patels in the United States have formed community organizations specifically to address both these issues.

Key contacts helped define the Patel community, and the norms prevalent in the Patel community; added insight into Patels' migration experience; and provided the references needed to gain access to the community. In-depth semi-structured interviews explored individuals' own understanding of their participation in motel work, traditional norms, and the immigration process. Observation allowed me to assess how men and women in families share motel work and housework and their own relative evaluation of these activities.

Altogether, observation, interviews, key contacts and secondary sources allowed me access to information relevant to examining how Patels understand their work and migration experiences, and how immigration rules, ethnic norms and gender are linked. This understanding informs the theoretical framework of migration studies in which ethnic norms have been highlighted without attention to gender analysis, and builds on the theoretical framework which posits that gender and work are integrally connected.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I highlight the conditions that facilitate challenges to gender hierarchy. In the next chapter, I describe how I conducted the research.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter, I first discuss why I chose the methods that I used in this study and reflect on my own location as a researcher. Next, I describe the methods I used. I then present a composite of participants' situations, organized by a typology of first links, intermediate links, and last links in a migration chain. In the interests of anonymity and confidentiality, I cannot describe each particular situation in full as Patels are a close-knit community. Therefore, I only present composites that lay out the context of reception and the family relationships that are critical to my research.

Methodology

The core of feminist analysis is that there is no one truth, authority, or objective method that leads to the production of pure knowledge (Spender, 1985). I set out to render a feminist analysis of how immigration status, ethnic traditions, and gender are linked. In taking an interpretive approach, secondary sources, observations, and semi-structured interviews allowed me to access how participants experienced and understood gender relations. When observation is combined with interviews, the researcher can better understand what people think about what they do. As a result, knowledge is derived from the perspective of participants as well as the theoretical framework of the researcher (Hochschild, 1989). I chose methods that would allow me access to decision-making processes and gender relations within families, two arenas in which information was likely to be relatively difficult to elicit.

I want to understand gender in the context of women's experiences. Feminist research allows participants to "talk back" (hooks, 1989) by paying close attention to the wording of questions--ensuring that they invite women to articulate their views--and by using open-ended questions (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). The interviews provided insights into the meanings that participants give to work and migration experiences, and they also highlighted explicit and implicit traditional practices. I was particularly interested in the gaps and silences in the interviews, which I explore later in this chapter. Careful listening and a flexible format allowed the process to incorporate questions that probed and become focused on participants' reality. I chose open-ended interview research because I wanted to understand participants' perceptions of their situations and because, unlike ethnography, it does not require long-term involvement with the participants. I

used feminist theory to guide my analysis; therefore I looked for gaps and disjunctures between participants' experiences and the terms and categories available to them to understand their experiences (Smith, 1987). I began my analysis by looking for contradictions between the views of men and women in the same family, between first and second generations in the same family, as and between what a particular participant said and observation of what that person did.

Open-ended interview research explores participants' views, maximizes discovery, allows for an inductive approach to analyzing data, and allows the researcher to generate theory (Reinharz, 1992). Thus, the researcher can draw on participants' understandings, insights, and the meaning that they give to their experiences. Interviews are extensions of conversations, with important distinctions. They differ in the intensity of listening to the content of what participants say. Researchers pick up on key words and mark meaningful omissions and nonverbal cues.¹⁰ Participants are encouraged to elaborate, clarify, and give examples. Open-ended interview research allows access to participants' thoughts and memories on their own terms, in their own words (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Reinharz, 1992). Attention to non-verbal communication is important because members of non-dominant groups may not clearly articulate their views, and members of dominant groups may not recognize their privilege (Reinharz, 1992).

Flexibility is a second important strength of qualitative research. Indeed, by some accounts, flexibility and change in research focus are a necessary component of qualitative research so that the research can incorporate the themes and new ideas that emerge in the process (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Semi-structured interviews also still let researchers gain access to the understanding and insights of participants, and let the content and flow of topics change to match participants' knowledge and perception (Rubin and Rubin, 1995).

I want to understand the everyday decisions, motives, meanings, and activities that make up immigrants' lives. This information is best approached through open-ended interviews through which a researcher can obtain descriptions participants' experiences and understanding with respect to interpreting particular phenomena (Kvale, 1996). A particular strength of interviews is the ability to capture the complexity and variety of participants' views relating to some phenomena. Observation and informal conversations were also important to elicit this information.

Semi-structured interviews are conducive to exploratory research and incorporating participants' experience into the theoretical framework (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). The goal in

¹⁰ I wrote detailed fieldnotes that described the gaps I became aware of after each visit to a motel, both when I did interviews and when I was observing.

such a project is to gain an understanding of how participants make sense of their situations rather than capturing precise data of a codable nature to explain something (Fontana and Frey, 1994). Often, changes in focus, design, questions, or procedures are considered necessary to produce valid results: that is, to demonstrate that the participants' culture, not that of the researchers, is being described and analyzed (Eisenhart and Howe, 1992). Although researchers differentiate between open-ended interviews and observation, the two go hand in hand. Much of the data gathered in observation comes from informal interactions (Lofland, 1971).

Research is an inherently social and cultural practice, with deeply rooted moral, political, and personal dimensions. Researchers inevitably take sides, for it is impossible to do value-neutral research (Denzin, 1989; Becker, 1967). It is widely accepted among feminist sociologists today that objectivity in research is neither possible, nor even necessarily desirable (Smith, 1987). There has been a shift towards particular, contextual knowledge that requires researchers to situate themselves within the matrix of domination vis-à-vis the groups that they interact with, and to make these locations visible to their audience (Mies, 1984). This process involves for them a reflection on their privilege and its impact upon the research.

....feminist anthropologists, sociologists, and to a much lesser extent psychologists have been.... exploring the implications of self-understanding and self-assessment for doing social science in general, and fieldwork in particular, and making the connections between their self-understandings and theoretical accounts of what they hear and observe (Bolak, 1996, pp. 108).

Semi-structured interviews can directly confront these issues in ways more difficult for other approaches because it demands the establishment of relationships with the potential for the researcher to feel empathetic, involved, and connected with participants. Researcher self-reflection is also integral to open-ended interview research. In contrast, it is easier and more likely for researchers to operate at a level of abstraction when the data consist of numbers rather than specific people whose faces and lives are known. Both the personal connection and the structural location of researchers and participants contribute to the integrity, level of trust, and ultimately, the knowledge gained through open-ended interviews. Recognition of the power relations inherent in research relationships has given rise to the "inside/outsider" debate.

The strong version of the "insider doctrine" claims that particular groups have an epistemological monopoly on access to particular knowledge. The less strident rendition asserts that some groups have privileged, but not exclusive, access. It is difficult for a researcher to claim insider status in either case except in very specific contexts (Shahrani, 1994). Conversely, the

strong rendition of the "outsider doctrine" is that knowledge about groups is accessible only to outsiders who are not biased or blinded by membership. The less strident version proclaims that the prospects for achieving certain kinds of insights may actually be better for the outsider (Merton, 1972). While the insider/outsider debate typically presents a dichotomy, neither status is essential for research. Field researchers are involved in constant negotiation, and power relations are an integral part of this dynamic.

The more recent "outsider within" perspective (Collins, 1986) renders insider/outsider issues more complex. Based on the Marxist notion that the perspective of subordinated social groups is less distorted than that of dominant groups, Collins argues that the less distorted vantage of marginalized groups results from having been socialized in more than one domain. That is, because of historic and current power differentials, dominated groups must understand the workings of dominant groups in addition to their own communities to ensure their own survival. Members of dominant groups have no need for a similar understanding of dominated communities. Thus race, class, and gender are all implicated in this hierarchy.

Collins' notion of the outsider within breaks down the either/or dichotomy -- i.e., one is inside or not, outside or not. It also suggests the epistemological privileges/benefits that might be associated with being simultaneously "within" and "without." Her discussion alludes to the complexity and dynamism involved in the translation of structural locations in field research. That is, not only are statuses multiple, but they are also negotiated. For this project, the notion of 'semi-distanced insider' (Bolak, 1997) was useful in locating me in the field. In other words, I had both insider and outsider statuses simultaneously. Explicit discussion of this issue with participants also revealed that they saw me as both insider and outsider as I discuss later in the chapter when I explore my own location as a researcher.

My identity as an Indian woman helped considerably in the research because I was better able to comprehend silences in communications with participants. These gaps structure our understandings as much as the direct information we get from participants. Silences must be understood as varying between "what goes without saying, what cannot be said, and a refusal to say" (Visweswaran, 1994, pp. 50-51). In the following section, I discuss two issues that I found especially significant in the research process: sharing the research agenda with participants, and the advantages and disadvantages of being an Indian doing research on Indians. I relate my responses to both issues to the three types of silences or gaps. I see myself as being a "semi-distanced insider" (Bolak, 1996).

An outsider-within perspective (Collins, 1986) points to a focus on women's experiences. Drawing on feminist standpoint epistemology, my research assumes that because women have less power and status, they also have a less distorted, more complete viewpoint of social reality (Hartsock, 1987). Therefore, my emphasis was on women's experience, although I interviewed men as well for depth and balance. To understand women in a society that limits their choices, researchers must allow for instances in which what women think may not be reflected in what they do, and also encourage women to say the unsaid (Anderson, Armitage, Jack, and Whittner, 1990). I looked for rupture or a crisis in women's lives, because it allows them to discern the unequal relationships which shape their lives (Mies, 1983). Ruptures in participants' lives and in my life gave me added insight as well. Finally, I shared my analysis with Gujarati immigrants to ensure that I had not missed the point altogether (Wolcott, 1995).

Only when there is a rupture in the 'normal' life of a woman: i.e., a crisis such as divorce or the end of a relationship, is there a chance for her to become conscious of her true condition. In the 'experience of crises' and rupture with normalcy, women are confronted with the real social relationships in which they had unconsciously been submerged as objects. As long as normalcy is not disrupted, they are not able to admit even to themselves that these relationships are oppressive and exploitative (Mies, 1984, pp. 360).

Drawing on Mies' observation about patriarchal exploitation, I examined my own migration to the United States. The experience was a rupture in my life. Moving from a privileged, secure life in India to this country was a big step down for me economically. As the spouse of a foreign student, I did not have the status to seek employment in the United States. The notion of access to the labor market as a national resource is rooted in my experience of exclusion. The rules allowed me to accompany my spouse, following the logic that the family [read women] is a natural and social unit of society that must be supported because it is crucial for the well-being of workers [read men] (Pekin, 1989). Clearly, workers and families are distinct categories in this logic. As a 'dependent' spouse, the rules were not about my well-being. They required that the student spouse show enough funds to support a dependent. There was no consideration of whether the dependent had access to the funds.

The assumption was that the student would be economically responsible for the dependent person. However, dependents' access to funds is often constrained. Moving from economic security into poverty is a difficult transition under any circumstances. In addition, I had no acceptable/legal choices with which to improve my economic situation. Reflecting on the context of my own immigration experience led me to question the policies under which people enter the

United States. Comparing men's and women's experiences in their context of reception has the potential to bring oppressive and exploitative social relationships to the forefront. Following Mies (1984) and my own experience, I looked for experiences of rupture in women participants' experiences.

Being explicit about our locations is both an ethical stance and consistent with the demands of feminist research. Our hierarchical positions significantly shape the questions we ask, the data we create, how we interpret them, and the reception of this knowledge in the world. As the power structure in the society ultimately determines the validity of theoretical and methodological claims (Stepan, 1990), our relations to it are central. As researchers, we must consciously situate ourselves in this power structure.

Participants stated explicitly that the sharing of information would likely have been less had I not been Indian. For example, they would have hesitated to share or prepare food with me or invite me to prayer meetings. Although I gained access into the homes of most participants, I was denied access three times. I will discuss these "refusals to say" (Visweswaran, 1994) later in this chapter. Participants agreed that our interviews and conversations were influenced by the cultural context of being Indian, which gave me an added lens other researchers have also found valuable:

The most important [advantage] is that the 'lenses' through which they see social reality may allow minority scholars to ask questions and gather information others could not. The unique methodological advantage of insider field research is that it is less apt to encourage distrust and hostility, and the experience of being excluded or of being allowed to 'see' only what people of color want them [the researchers] to see (Zinn, 1979).

While drawing from this viewpoint, I do not imply that scholars should not conduct research among groups to which they do not belong. Particular researchers who are members of dominant groups have accomplished nuanced, incisive analyses of the experiences of dominated peoples through their open-ness and close attention to the structural hierarchies inherent in the research, and their own place within them (e.g. Mies, 1982; Rowbotham, 1993). However, I do contend that close attention to the structural location of the researcher and the power relations inherent in research are necessary for accurate and insightful analyses.

Sharing the Research Agenda with Participants

Awareness of the inherent hierarchy in research helped me make better decisions. I had to figure out how much of my research agenda to reveal to participants. How could I resist the inherent hierarchy in the research relationship and look for collaboration from participants if I did not reveal what I am looking at? However, if I did lay out the research agenda, then it was likely to color responses. I decided to indicate a general interest in the motel business and family decision-making processes, without specific reference to gender issues. On this issue, I chose protecting the integrity of the research over inviting collaboration from participants for two additional reasons, beyond influencing responses.

First, men who work in motels were likely to consider what they do to be devalued women's work: thus they might be embarrassed by my knowledge of this. I became aware of this possibility early on when one potential participant at first agreed to talk with me, but then angrily declined to take part when he learned that I wanted to observe him at work.

Second, most immigrants, men and women, are likely to be wary of displaying or admitting to overt gender inequality, believing that gender equity is the norm in Western society, and that expressions of gender hierarchy are likely to be interpreted as an indication of "backward" customs. Immigrants from post-colonial regions are particularly sensitized to the notion of being considered backward by the mainstream (Assar and Mehrotra, 1996).

Further, in many Asian cultures there is a strong norm, associated with group welfare, against divulging information about one's own community to the wider society, especially if it could be construed as negative. While the issue of criticizing one's community is relevant for all groups, in the context of a racist society it is magnified for immigrant groups, even for those who have the "model minority" label as Indian immigrants in the United States do. As a result, I expected information concerning women's and men's access to resources to be difficult to elicit because if participants voiced explicit inequality they would be vulnerable to being considered "backward." Therefore, relating to gaps in the communication that indicate "what cannot be said" (Visweswaran, 1994) became particularly significant.

The unwritten rule of not saying what could be construed as negative by the wider society is enforced by fear of ostracization from one's community if one departs from the rule (Martin and Mohanty, 1986). As an Indian immigrant, I am faced with the dilemma of how to critique a community of which I am a part (albeit marginally), and whose members have opened their homes and lives to me. What keeps people from questioning their own communities is the fear of

nowhere to go: that one can never again have a safe place like home (Martin and Mohanty, 1986). Although I shared my analysis with Gujaratis, and I have confidence in the data, my research exposes me to risk of rejection from other Indians because it critiques tradition.

The consequences of publication are a major concern for me. Is it possible to highlight and critique particular "traditional" relationships without targeting the community as a whole, or even particular segments of the community? Participants took a leap into the unknown when they shared their lives with me. Their only assurance that I would not do anything that might reflect negatively on them was through the personal referrals. Readers who consider safeguarding traditional norms as a central goal could interpret my research as negative. I accommodate the dissonance between the unwritten rule against divulging potentially negative information and the questioning of tradition by drawing on another notion of community: one that is not based on ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics, but on a context of struggle. I have access to such a feminist immigrant (intellectual) community, and I will draw on it to build my analysis.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Being an Indian Doing Research about Indians

The task of self-reflexivity is particularly relevant in research by and about Indians due to the numerous ethnicities contained within the nation-state of India. Indians are constantly traversing across political, ethnic, and linguistic boundaries (Assar and Mehrotra, 1996). I found my location as a non-Gujarati Indian immigrant woman to be the source of both insider and outsider statuses. As an Indian immigrant, I am an insider relative to the wider society. As an insider, I am able to peel back layers that may typically remain invisible. However, since I am not Gujarati, I am an outsider to the Patel community. At another level, as an outsider in the wider society, doing research on outsiders, I confront conflicts and tensions that do not come up for white western researchers. For example, I faced the dilemma of how much to reveal in a racist society. Both insider and outsider statuses worked to my advantage in this research. Awareness of structural hierarchies allowed me to make better decisions that simultaneously safe-guarded participants and generated data relevant for the research.

As an Indian immigrant woman I was more accessible to women and less threatening for men. It was very important that I was aware of and observed strict norms about meeting with men. I could also draw on a shared cultural context to probe issues. For example, among middle class Indians, there is a strong negative sanction against women joining service occupations, such as nursing, secretarial work, and flight attendants (Assar and Mehrotra, 1996). This is an

unspoken rule related to "what goes without saying" (Visweswaran, 1994). It is important in this case because it helps to intensify the isolation of both men and women who work in motels, which they see as a service occupation. Because of this, women may prefer to see themselves as housewives, and men may not acknowledge their service work. At another level, it could also be keeping Patel women from exploring employment in service occupations. In addition, still under "what goes without saying," participants shared racial and other biases with me assuming that I shared them as well, or at least assuming that I would understand. Interestingly, all participants reported that they felt safe in discussing norms relating to marriage because I am an outsider to the Patel community, and therefore unable to use the information they gave me except in an academic context.

My ethnic identity was central in gaining entry to the Patel community and establishing rapport. As an Indian immigrant woman, I am familiar with the general cultural codes but I am not Gujarati. In other words, although I am an insider in relation to the wider society, I am not part of the Gujarati ethnic community so I am an outsider as well. I shared "Indian-ness"--food, language, clothing, religion, and general ethos--with participants. Because I am not Gujarati, I had fewer preconceptions about particular Patel norms than a co-ethnic might have, and I could hear participants' accounts without the filter of Gujarati-ness. However, the shared Indian background does matter--it is likely that I have preconceptions that a non-Indian may not.

Insider/outsider status in the context of research is layered, contested, and negotiated terrain (Reissman, 1991; Beoku-Betts, 1994). Insider/outsider status of the researcher is negotiated in the specific context of each field relationship (Beoku-Betts, 1994). Rather than a dichotomy, insider/outsider statuses could be more usefully seen as the ends of a continuum. Participants were explicit about the impact of my dual status--they said they would not feel as free to discuss intimate family and community dynamics with another Patel, as they would be concerned about repercussions from within the community. It was highly unlikely that I could use the information they offered in any way other than academically. They knew it was not relevant in my life because I do not live within the norms of their community.

While being a semi-distanced insider with a base-line cultural understanding facilitated my research, it also was a disadvantage at times. My location in the community is devalued--a divorced woman, middle-aged, with two children and little money. Had participants known in advance that I am divorced, it would most likely have influenced our interactions. Although I did not conceal my marital status, I did not highlight it either. If a participant asked me about it

directly, I told them. Like Spivak (1996), in my research context, my position as a divorced woman among Indians is much more problematic than my race, class, or gender.

I shared cooking, shopping, running errands, motel work, and childcare activities with the women. I attended community events like prayer meetings and festivals. Participants were explicit in saying that they would have been hesitant to include me in the group activities had I not been Indian. My involvement at various levels was instrumental in gaining a measure of rapport and trust. It would have likely taken significantly longer to establish a similar level of comfort without a shared nationality or specific referrals from people that participants knew and respected. Even with these two powerful bases for commonality, potential participants did refuse to engage with the study in three separate instances described below. When I encountered such resistance, I chose not to pursue those particular people as participants.

Although my familiarity with the language and cultural codes was a huge asset, the fact that I wanted to talk to women first negatively influenced some potential participants' decision to take part in the project. One man refused to be interviewed and also excluded other members of his family from taking part in the study after learning that I wanted to observe him at work. In a second instance, a husband refused to engage with me once he learned that I was first going to interview the wife. In the third instance, after they heard my intention to interview them separately, the wife refused to engage with me, but I did one of the longest and most detailed interviews with the husband. These are gaps that relate to "refusals to say."

Another advantage of knowing the cultural codes was that I could highlight or overshadow my own characteristics to facilitate the research. For instance, being divorced marginalizes me among Indians. My retired father came to live with me at the time I conducted the interviews. This legitimized my status and helped in raising my level of acceptance with participants and in the community. I knew it was important to share the information with participants that my father was living with me, and so I included him when I attended community events. Participants also pointedly observed that I drove a vehicle from the university motor pool when I traveled to interview them. Using a state vehicle apparently gave the project added legitimacy in participants' eyes.

Data Collection

Over ten months, I gathered data using observation, semi-structured tape-recorded interviews, and informal conversations with Gujarati men, women, and teenagers. The interviews

ranged from twenty minutes to four hours in length. I attended community gatherings and public functions when possible. I also interviewed two key contacts regarding the traditions and community norms among Gujarati immigrants in the United States. These methods allowed me to assess complex and intimate social dynamics pertinent to decision-making and adherence to traditional cultural norms. I used snowball referrals to select a non-random sample of participants. I looked for participants who are Patel and involved in running small motels as family businesses in this region. Interviews were in English or Hindi. Gujaratis who are not fluent in English were conversant in Hindi, which is close to Gujarati. I also learned conversational Gujarati.

Snowball sampling was very important for the research as initial referrals helped establish a baseline level of trust. In each case, I had a referral from another participant or contact person. In other words, I did not begin the research relationship "cold." I continued with snowball sampling until I had thirty-two in-depth tape-recorded interviews. I interviewed some participants more than once, depending on the context and their engagement. The interviews were semi-structured: I prepared a list of questions to be covered, but these were not the only areas that we covered. Participants often asked about me and my life, and I took the time to respond honestly and directly. When issues or topics arose that they considered important and were not on my list, we discussed them. Then we returned to the list. My attempt was to reach each person in the family, but I was not always successful in this. I sought the women first, and I was initially less successful in this. Later on, I became more adept at arranging interviews, although it was difficult to initiate contact with women who were not fluent in English.

The first time I went to a motel, I observed until lunch time. I shared lunch with participants in the kitchen that adjoined the front desk. We engaged in informal conversation for several hours, and I left. I went back two weeks later and attempted to interview the husband and wife individually because researchers have found that women are more likely to articulate their concerns without men present (Rubin, 1976). This proved to be difficult to do as the husband frequently walked about the living area where I was interviewing his wife, taking care of the phone, etc. Therefore, the next time I scheduled a visit, I was careful to insist on a private space to interview each person. All subsequent interviews except one, were conducted in privacy at my request, without other adult family members present. There was one instance in which the husband remained in the room despite my request for privacy, and the wife offered monosyllabic and very short answers to my questions.

I asked each family I interviewed for a referral to another family of Patel motel owners. After making phone contact, I visited the family to whom I was referred. I observed them working, and accompanied the wife as she went about her work, talking with her informally and lending a hand. The main purpose of the first meeting was to establish connections with participants via food, music, entertainment, sharing in the work, and outings. I returned to each site a second time shortly after the first visit to conduct interviews in Hindi and English. Each interview was tape-recorded and later translated and transcribed by either myself or my father. I offered all participants an opportunity to turn the tape recorder off when they did not want our conversation to be taped. My offer was taken up on two occasions. Respecting the two participants' hesitation, I have chosen not to include the untaped portion of the interviews as data for this project.

I used data triangulation as a means of mutual confirmation and validation of findings. Each method counteracts the threats to validity in another method of data collection that I used (Fielding, 1986). Secondary sources were invaluable in providing an overview of the community at the national and regional levels: I had magazines, newsletters, Internet sources, and a regional directory of Gujarati motel owners. This was important to draw on the perspective of Patels who were not in my sample. I did this to ensure that there were no pertinent issues that the sample may have missed altogether. In addition, I relied on two key contacts who helped me begin the study by providing references to potential participants. This helped me grasp the big picture about the Patel community and also gave me some insight into the particular situations of participants with whom I did the first interviews.

It was important that my observations reinforce what I heard in interviews, and that I include my interpretation of events. Direct observation is likely to yield a more accurate picture of behavior than self-report (Hochschild, 1989). It was more likely that I would gain a more complete picture from observing participants over 24 hours than relying solely on interviews conducted over one to three hours. I kept detailed fieldnotes on each excursion. The focus, depth, and detail that I sought are what Geertz (1973) has called thick description. The interviews and observations provided a rich source of data that highlighted gender relations in families, and in their housework and motel work. In the interviews, participants articulated the meaning they gave to their experiences as well as the traditional norms and other structural constraints and facilitator that guided their choices. I describe the methods I used in the order that I used them in my research.

Secondary Sources

I began my research by reviewing secondary sources of data about Patel immigrants, and by presenting the project outline to two key contacts. I had already met them as part of the local Indian community. The written sources included a regional directory of Gujarati motel owners (1995), the first two issues of GUJARAT newspaper (a bilingual monthly), the AAHOA buyers' guide and website (1996), and the newsletter of the Charottar Patidar Samaj (1997), the association of Patels from the district of Charottar, Gujarat. Most of my participants hailed from this district. Key informants provided initial referrals to motel-owners, with whom I established phone contact first. The first potential participants requested a description of my project, which I provided. Once they saw the description, they agreed to meet me. It is important to establish a connection that allows for some level of trust before asking people to participate in such a project (Hondgneu-Sotelo, 1994), and in some cases participants asked me many questions before agreeing to take part. Three times, the initial contact did not lead to participation in the study, when people were not interested or refused to take part.

I began collecting data from secondary sources by examining portrayals of women's migration experiences in GUJARAT, a Gujarati/English bilingual newspaper published in New York. The bilingual composition of this source was important because language barriers can be formidable for new immigrant brides, as I discuss in Chapter 6. Among other articles, I found first-person accounts of Gujarati brides who experienced domination from husbands and in-laws and isolation from support systems. These accounts encouraged me to examine gender relations among families who did motel work.

Observation

Once I established first contact by telephone, I visited the motels to meet participants and began to observe. When possible, I stayed overnight at the motels to observe families at work and thus to become more aware of the whole range of activities that are necessary in the day, and observe the division of labor in motel work. Observations were useful in assessing what participants expressed in interviews. When I had come to establish some rapport and observed participants at work, I conducted semi-structured, open-ended and tape-recorded interviews. (See Appendix A for a checklist of topics and questions covered in interviews.) I observed participants at work and at home. This was crucial to the study and was facilitated by the fact that most families reside on the premises of the motels that they run. I worked with the women when

possible in the motels. I participated in preparing and sharing meals, childcare, grocery shopping, and recreational activities.

The first contact with each family was low key, in which I primarily had informal conversations and observed. When I initially approached participants, armed with referrals from the key contacts, I was careful to speak with the women first. This was important for two reasons: first, because I knew from prior experience that my initial exposure to each situation would have a powerful influence on my perceptions (Assar, 1990), and second because I am interested in women's lives. I wanted my understanding to be situated in women's understanding (Harding, 1987). I interviewed each participant in private because women tend to discuss their lives more freely when men are not present (Rubin, 1976). My aim was to make the first contact with women, although I was not uniformly successful in this.

It was remarkable to me that without exception, participants refused remuneration for motel rooms when I stayed overnight to observe motel work, even after I explained that research funds were available and earmarked for this purpose. Refusal to accept payment could be linked to leveling the hierarchy inherent in the research relationship. My offer to pay for a motel room was rooted in economics. Participants' refusal to accept payment was possibly rooted in social exchange. In economic exchange, power is linked to control of resources. In social exchange, power is linked to accumulating uncollected non-economic debts. Economic debts can be written off under non-economic rules of exchange by the movement from economic to social exchange (Curtis, 1986). By refusing payment, participants brought our interactions out of economic exchange and into the social realm of non-economic exchange, which gave them more power in our interaction because I became indebted to them.

Semi-structured Interviews

To begin asking the research questions I conducted four preliminary interviews, following the sequence laid out above. Although I made a list of topics and open-ended questions, I did not expect to follow it precisely. Appendix A contains a list of guiding topics and open ended questions. Getting to know the participants helped elicit the information I was after. The interviews resembled extended conversations, in which we periodically re-established the link with the project by addressing the next question on the checklist. The significant difference is that I was listening very closely, probing, and periodically reflecting what I had understood to check that I was not missing the point.

The four preliminary interviews indicated that the immigration patterns among Patels had changed, so that marriage migration was less important to the overall picture in the 1990s than it had been during the 1980s. Flexibility is one strength of qualitative inquiry, as it allows adjustment of the research focus. Therefore, shifting my focus, I was more exploratory and less focused on marriage migration for the remainder of the 28 interviews. I conducted a total of 32.

I included the preliminary interviews in the sample because, after taking into account what I learned, I continued to select participants by the same criteria as I used to select participants for the preliminary interviews and I did not change the interview checklist, rather I changed the order and priority in which I approached each topic. I became aware after several interviews that I had been particularly fortunate in getting the initial referral: I had some of the more insightful information from the first four participants regarding what issues were currently taking center stage in the immigration experience of Patels.

Establishing rapport is the paramount assignment in the field because the goal of interviewing is to understand participants' perspectives. Rapport opens doors for more informed research. When possible, I worked along with the women because I could talk with them during this time as well as observe the work. It established a rapport that was valuable for the project. We drew on our shared experiences as immigrant women and as mothers to become comfortable with each other. I interpreted it as a sign of acceptance and trust when women asked me to share and prepare meals. Trust was central to the success of my study. Here my Indian-ness was an asset because I could share in the cooking: I was familiar with the foods they were preparing. It was important to me that I contribute in some way to the participants' lives, that I find a small measure of reciprocity, as they contributed in large measure to my interests.

In general, in addition to nationality, the gender of the researcher and participants matters, as the interview takes place within the cultural boundaries of a society in which masculine and feminine are differentiated and unequal. In typical interviews, there is also a hierarchical relation between researcher and participant, with the researcher being dominant (Fontana and Frey, 1994). In sex-segregated populations like Indians, the problems of entree may be heightened by the researcher's sex. These concerns are magnified for women researchers in a patriarchal society, who also face the added burden of potential sexual overtures (Warren, 1988). Solutions to these problems have been to equate women researchers with androgynes or to grant them honorary male status. At the same time, there may be advantages to being female and therefore being considered harmless (Warren, 1988). Feminist scholars have responded to concerns about the researcher's

gender by positing an alternative paradigm, which emphasizes reciprocity and minimizes the inherent hierarchy in the traditional interview (Oakley, 1981; Reinharz, 1992). At various times in this project, I called on all of these various responses to address gender in the research interaction.

I believe it was less threatening for the men and more comfortable for the women when I took into account the Indian cultural context in which unrelated men and women do not typically have extended, direct, one-on-one interactions. Therefore, I did not offer or attempt to share men's activities, but only observed them at work when feasible. If the researcher had been an Indian man who wanted to interview families, he would have likely faced more resistance from both men and women, especially in gaining private access to women and young girls. Being an Indian woman gave me relatively easy access and privacy to interact with women and young girls. Families are usually hesitant to allow Indian or Western men to interview young girls in private. A Western woman would also not be easily allowed to interact freely with young girls, in my view. Among many minority groups there is a healthy mistrust of researchers from the dominant group (Baca Zinn, 1979). With both women and young girls, I shared an interest in events in India. I was also able to share in the motel work, cooking, housework, and childcare.

To maneuver around the norm against adult men and women having a prolonged one-on-one interaction, I interviewed men away from other adult family members, but always either in a public place, like an office, lobby, or restaurant, or in the presence of children, if at home. I tried to interview the women when the men were not around. My negotiation with this norm was about "what goes without saying" (Visweswaran, 1994). Given the context, if I had attempted to interview men without other people present it would likely to have influenced the interaction. Because I was traveling alone and talking with men, it did prompt one male visitor from India to make an unpleasant suggestion. Being aware of potentially questionable responses from men and realizing that I was vulnerable as a researcher and as a woman, I was careful not to allow an opening for such innuendo. I experienced such discomfort only once during the ten months that I did interviews. Establishing my credibility was crucial: other participants who were present when the incident happened did not share this man's assumptions. When I left the living room in response, they supported me by following me out and continuing our conversation without him in the kitchen. They also ensured, without my requesting it, that I did not encounter him again during the rest of my visit. Therefore it was possible to avert a potentially damaging situation, which may have compromised the project or substantially influenced its outcome.

Credibility, Trustworthiness, and Limitations

Terms such as credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependability, trustworthiness, and confirmability are more pertinent to qualitative research than the criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity applied to quantitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Hall and Stevens, 1991). Credibility or authenticity in qualitative research is the closest parallel to validity in quantitative analysis. Like other feminist qualitative researchers, I attend to credibility by including an account of how the research problem emerged, how different sources of information were gathered and used, and how I conducted the research (DeVault, 1991; Reissman, 1990). It is a question of whether I see what I think I see--the degree to which findings can be interpreted as correct (Berg and Berg, 1993). I am mindful of my own position as a researcher and its possible impact on relationships with participants as well as on my interpretation of gender hierarchy.

I used multiple sources of evidence to enhance credibility. The use of multi-methods reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding. In qualitative research, triangulation is not a tool or strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation (Denzin, 1989; Fielding and Fielding, 1986). When participants emphasized an understanding or explanation, I trusted their understanding. For example, when a participant explained that she considered the motel to be like a "30 room house" that she was taking care of, and I also saw evidence of this belief in my observations, it led me to trust her explanation. If several participants articulated similar understandings, then it strengthened that explanation. When I encountered inconsistencies in the accounts of family members or in my observations, I explored the relevant issues in depth, and have presented them as dissent in my analysis. I explored in depth by referring to what other participants said about the inconsistencies I encountered, as well as by reflecting on them at length. I continued interviewing, reviewing transcripts, and making sense of participants' stories as long as the stories offered new information. I stopped interviewing when the flow of new information slowed and I began to hear experiences that I had heard before (Kvale, 1996).

Reliability is the degree to which the findings are independent of chance or accident. In qualitative research, the closest term would be trustworthiness (Oleson, 1998). It is the extent to which a process would yield the same result whenever it is carried out. I accomplish this by laying out the theoretical basis of the research question which then drive the methods of data collection, the interview checklist, my assumptions at the beginning of the study, and an explicit account of my interpretation of the data. The trustworthiness or reliability of this study is also enhanced by an

explicit discussion of the framework which guided the research question, which in turn determined the methods (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984). I have laid out the research design and analysis so that it is accessible to readers by including the interview checklist, explaining how I selected the topics, describing how the data was organized and analyzed, and reporting the results in terms of theoretically meaningful concepts. The selection of variables, indicators, and assessments are also made explicit and are appropriate and justifiable.

Trustworthiness of this study is enhanced by the explicit discussion of my own location as a researcher. I have highlighted several dimensions of my own status that I believe had a bearing on my interaction with participants. Other researchers who carefully negotiate the dimensions of their locations that I consider pertinent in a research interaction could replicate this study with similar findings. A careful description of what I have done is necessary to assure validity and reliability of qualitative research (Berg and Berg, 1993).

Although I have confidence in my analysis, there are limitations to the interpretation I present. Perhaps the most obvious limitation is that participants' behavior and explanations were affected by my presence. I countered this effect by using multiple sources of data and my own understanding of gender hierarchy, in addition to what participants told me.

Not sharing the explicit research agenda with participants contributes to the credibility of the findings because responses were not colored by my explicit concerns. At the same time, not sharing the research agenda with participants is perhaps also the most serious limitation of the research, because I gave up the possibility of close collaboration as participants did not know exactly what I was interested in.

Another possible limitation to the study could be the small number of marital relationships that make up the categories of the last links and the second generation. However, since I did not code the interviews for place in the migration chain, I did not know this was the case until I had crafted the analysis. My analysis, despite limitations, presents a rich contextual picture and the most plausible interpretation of how immigration rules and ethnic norms are linked to gender hierarchy among Patels in the motel business. In the next section, I describe the sample of participants for this study.

Sample Description

The regional directory of Gujarati families with 66 listings includes the number, gender and ages of children. I targeted families with children over the age of 15 because I wanted to include the second generation in the project. I describe families in detail, but only as part of a composite,

so that participants cannot be identified by their circumstances. This was very difficult to do because the information I am after becomes evident specifically in family relationships and in the context of reception. Therefore the descriptions may appear stilted or contrived on occasion, when I have combined several different situations.

I describe a composite of situations I encountered in each of the three immigration categories: participants who are the first link in the chain migration, those who are intermediate links, and finally, those who are the last links in the migration chain. These categories became pertinent in my analysis because they allow me to differentiate between those immigrants with access to resources and support of family members who had migrated before, and those who lack such access and/or support. Every family in the first two categories sponsored several family members and helped to meet their costs of migration. The third category is composed of people who had the support of family members who had immigrated before them, but did not in turn sponsor new immigrants.

Although all names, places, and identifying information are changed to preserve anonymity, I retained family relationships for each motel business. It is in the family relationships that the negotiations--that is, the tension, contradictions, and conflicts--between contributions and decision-making become evident. I focused my analysis on the marital relationships at each motel because this is the relationship in which all three components of gender hierarchy: motel work, decision-making, and housework, were negotiated and shared. Therefore, I have used only married couples in the main categories (position in the migration chain) to describe the sample. Interviews with unmarried participants provided depth and support for the analysis of each family situation, and I have described them by generation in appendix C.

First Links

This category included 20% of married couples in my sample, and was the smallest of the three groups. Nobody in this group was family-sponsored. Although members of this group may have missed out on some of the more intimate kinds of support as part of their migration experience, they could all draw on the community's support in business. They came to the United States after the immigration reform of 1965 and were either employer-sponsored or investors. Everyone in this group provided support to subsequent immigrants, thus beginning a migration chain. The men were either farmers or professionals before migration, if they came directly from

India. The women were housewives before migration. If they were twice-migrant, then both spouses had entrepreneurial or employment experiences.

One situation describes a family that had expected to be sponsored by relatives. Family members filed immigration papers once the new entrants arrived as visitors. Upon arrival, the relationship with the family sponsors soured and their immigration papers were revoked. In order to remain in the United States without a family sponsor they were obliged to invest all their money in family businesses (they chose two motels) so that they could claim immigrant status as investors. Their position became that of families who are the beginning of a migration chain and they underwent severe financial hardship. Indeed, one woman in this family had not been to visit her family in India since they first came to the United States 17 years ago.

In another scenario, men came to the United States as employer-sponsored immigrants. In one case, the wife was employer-sponsored as well. They have sponsored several siblings with their families, as well as parents. In a third scenario, a young couple decided to move to Canada to be on their own after making decisions that caused financial loss to the family farm in Gujarat. Both have a seventh grade education. Canada's relatively less strict immigration rules facilitated their move. In Canada, the man learned carpentry, and the woman worked in a factory. Once they gained Canadian resident status, they were able to simply cross the border and have been conducting business in the United States since the late 1970s with no restrictions. They have supported three siblings and one parent, all of whom took the route of gaining Canadian immigration first, and then moving to the United States. This family took advantage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1988 to finally claim U.S. resident status. I explore migration status in detail in Chapter 6 when I consider immigration rules.

Participants' educational levels in this first category ranged from a seventh grade education to graduate professional training. There was wide disparity in English language skills among spouses in this group. Men were comfortable conducting interviews in English. Several women were unable or uncomfortable with conversational English and chose to have the interview conducted in Hindi. Language skills are related to formal schooling because the better recognized elementary, secondary, and higher education institutions in India use English as the medium of instruction.

Intermediate Links

This category included the largest proportion of married couples, about 50%. All of these families had both a family sponsor and someone they sponsored. They entered the United States under the family reunification rules as part of a migration chain. Men and women were equally represented as both sponsors and sponsored. Usually, the couple moved to the United States through the sponsorship of a sibling and then were initiated into motels by drawing on community experience, expertise, and support once they realized that they could make better economic gains in a motel business than through the employment opportunities available to them. All the families in this category sponsored and supported subsequent immigrants who may be kin according to the immigration rules, or people from their place of origin who were not considered kin by the rules. That is, new entrants gained entry through family sponsorship, but non-kin members of the community also met their costs of migration.

In one situation, a couple immigrated independently: a sibling sponsored each person. They met and married in India when both had returned to find a spouse. In turn, they were helping a family from their village of origin to learn the motel business. The latter entrants were not kin as recognized by immigration rules. However, both families were living together, sharing the motel and housework, and the new entrants were learning the business at the same time. Both women expressed having felt isolated and were especially appreciative of the time the two families lived together, because the women could support each other in both the motel and housework.

In other situations, women supported retired parents-in-law, disabled husbands, children, and also sponsored siblings from the income derived from a budget motel. They reported that they could earn enough while meeting their family obligations because of the close fit between the nature of motel work, the reasonable income, and family duties.

Last Links

About 30% of married couples were the last links in the migration chain: sponsored by family as part of the migration chain, but they have not sponsored subsequent immigrants in turn. This category is equally divided between first and second generation participants. (See Appendix C for a description of participants by generation.) Spouses in this group have comparable education, in contrast to people in the other two categories in which spouses' educational levels are

more likely to be disparate. Language skills were also relatively equivalent among spouses in this group. See Table 3.1 for description of sample by position in migration chain.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed methods, methodology, and described the sample. Data collected from the combination of semi-structured interviews, observation, and secondary sources provided more holistic information and countered the threats to credibility in each method. Careful description of the research process and attention to my own location as a researcher enhances the trustworthiness of the study. I described the sample in terms of their position in the migration chain. In chapter 4, I present the findings and a preliminary analysis. In Chapters 5 and 6, I focus on interpreting and understanding the findings.

I arrived at the findings by coding the translated, transcribed interviews for evidence of gender hierarchy first, using the NUD*IST 4 program. I used the program as a search engine to access coded data throughout the analysis. I maintained a diary of detailed fieldnotes, in which I described the motels I visited as well as my thoughts and experiences regarding each family situation and my visits. I referred to the observations related to each interview during coding and analysis.

Table 3.1.

Sample by position in migration chain

first links	20% of married couples, first generation
intermediate links	50% of married couples, first generation
last links	30% of married couples, first and second generation

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

In this chapter, I identify the findings, that I interpret further in Chapters 5 and 6. My research questions are:

How are immigration rules and the labor market linked to gender hierarchy among Patels?

How are ethnic norms linked to gender hierarchy among Patels?

In letting participants guide me to what is significant in their current experiences regarding immigration rules and traditional norms, my findings did not necessarily follow my expectations. For example, when I began the interviews, based on my earlier study (Assar, 1990), I believed that brides recruited from abroad via marriage migration were providing substantial portions of unpaid family labor, which contributed to the economic success of Patels in the motel business. However, after four interviews, I had to revise this view because there was no current evidence of the process of marriage migration among participants and they did not refer to it as present in the community either. Thus, the interpretation and analysis that emerged is grounded in evidence from interviews, observation, and secondary sources and sometimes diverged from what I thought was happening before I began this study. I conducted 32 in-depth interviews in 19 locations. I gathered data on 16 couples.

The dependent variable for this research is gender hierarchy. Gender hierarchy is evident when decision-making power is not in proportion to economic contributions. I measured gender hierarchy by examining, first, the relationship between men's and women's sharing of motel work and their access to decision making. That is, when they shared motel work but not decisions, it was evidence of gender hierarchy.

and some decisions it was leaning toward gender hierarchy.

and shared decisions, it was evidence of gender egalitarianism.

I am focusing here on the relationship between sharing the work and sharing the decisions. That is, if a couple did not share motel work, and also did not share decisions, it would not indicate either gender hierarchy or equality. However, all the couples in my sample did share motel work in some fashion. Therefore it becomes pertinent to examine how sharing the work influences or does not influence access to decision-making.

Second, I examined men and women's sharing of housework and childcare. That is, when they did not share childcare or housework, it was evidence of gender hierarchy.

shared childcare but not housework, it was leaning toward gender hierarchy.

shared childcare and housework, it was evidence of gender egalitarianism.

Motel work, housework, and childcare all contribute to economic success. Thus, I include productive and reproductive labor in my concept of work. When they did not share (a) and (b), gender relations were hierarchical. When they shared either (a) or (b), but not both, their situation remained conducive to gender hierarchy. When they shared both (a) and (b), then I saw evidence of more egalitarian gender relations. A partial sharing of motel work means that men were associated with high status jobs, and women with the low status jobs of motel work. Similarly, a partial sharing of housework and childcare means that men were associated with the relatively high status jobs in housework, such as shopping or driving children to activities, and women were associated with low status jobs such as cleaning, cooking, and laundry. In the table below, the couples who shared only high status portions of housework and childcare are combined with those who did not share housework because the pattern of partial sharing continues to facilitate hierarchical gender relations. Thus, there are three categories of sharing relationships in my sample.

In the first category, men were involved in the higher status jobs of motel work like making business decisions, office work, and interacting with vendors etc., and resisted low status jobs like cleaning and laundry. Women were absent from higher status jobs, and responsible for low status jobs. Men and women in this category did not share decisions or housework and childcare. Five couples fit this description, and thus show evidence of gender hierarchy.

In the second category, although the sharing of motel work and decisions was similar to that in the first category, the sharing of housework and childcare was different. Men in this category shared shopping or driving children, but they continued to resist low status jobs like cleaning and/or laundry. Since women were excluded from decision-making in this category, and men resisted low status jobs, I interpret these relationships as being hierarchical. Seven couples fit this description, also showing evidence of gender hierarchy.

In the third category, men and women share all aspects of motel work including the low status jobs of cleaning and laundry. Women share decision-making in this category, although not equally with men. Men and women share all aspects of housework, including low status jobs. Four couples fit this description, and show evidence of gender egalitarianism. I chart out these three categories in Table 4.1 on p. 68.

On examining the sharing of motel work and housework, it became evident that the gender division of labor was parallel in both domains. As is evident in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 below, there are no instances when couples shared housework or motel work equally but did not share decision-

making. That is, couples who shared decision-making also shared equally in the housework and motel work, and couples who did not share decision-making did not share equally in housework and motel work. This finding leads me to conclude that gender hierarchy organizes housework,

Table 4.1.

Sample in terms of gender hierarchy

Number of couples	Motel work and decisions		Housework and childcare		Gender hierarchy
	Share motel work	Share decisions	Share shopping and childcare	Share cleaning and cooking	
5	Partial	Not shared	Not shared	Not shared	Hierarchy
7	Partial	Not shared	Yes	Not shared	Hierarchy
4	Yes	Partial	Yes	Yes	Equality

Note:

Partial sharing of motel work: men do higher status jobs of motel work such as office work and interacting with vendors etc., and resist low status jobs such as cleaning and laundry.

Partial sharing of decisions: Business decision making still remains largely men's domain, although women have some input in less significant arenas such as decorating interiors.

Figure 4.1:

Continuum of sharing decisions and housework

Hierarchy		Egalitarianism
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Men make decisions, do not share housework (5 couples)	Men make decisions, partially share housework (7 couples)	Women partially share decisions, men share housework (4 couples)

There are 5 couples who partially share motel work and nothing else. There are 7 couples who partially share motel work and housework but do not share decisions. There are 4 couples who share both motel work and housework and partially share decisions.

Table 4.2

Relation between decision-making and housework

		Decision-making	
		Not shared	Shared
Housework/ childcare	Not shared/partial	N=12	N=0
	Shared	N=0	N=4

Table 4.3

Relation between decision-making and motel work

		Decision-making	
		Not shared	Shared
Motel work	Partial	N=12	N=0
	Shared	N=0	N=4

motel work, and decision-making in similar ways. If one type of sharing is found, then other types tend to be found as well. Or, if one type is absent, other types are absent as well.

The following findings regarding links between gender hierarchy and ethnic norms, and gender hierarchy and immigration rules and the labor market emerged from the data. I will discuss them in detail in chapters 5 and 6.

First, the three indicators of ethnic norms--marriage patterns, residence patterns, and support patterns--are inconsistent for participants throughout the migration chain. That is, some traditional patterns are evident and others are transformed. I will examine the possible criteria that might be the basis for distinguishing sustained traditional patterns from transformed ones.

Following the logic laid out in Chapter 2, inconsistent patterns may mean that immigration rules and the labor market selectively interact with traditional norms, facilitating some traditional patterns and interrupting others. In particular, I found that the norms regarding patrilocal residence and the emphasis on men's patrilateral relatives were significantly altered in the first generation. Most first generation families shared residence with bi-lateral kin who needed support to get started, regardless of the specific relationship. Often, such support was visible between non-kin as well. However, in the second generation, residence patterns more closely resembled traditional norms, and first generation participants expressed traditional ideas in the way they imagined future living arrangements with their children.

Second, couples who do not share decision-making also do not share housework. Traditional norms defining housewife and breadwinner status organize both motel work and housework in parallel ways.

This pattern was prevalent in first and second generations, thus showing that the gender division of labor is one link between the economic success of the family and traditional norms that define family status of breadwinner and housewife. I interpret this as evidence that ethnic norms and gender hierarchy are related.

Third, gender hierarchy among Patels is associated with whether the family sponsors and supports new entrants, as seen in Table 4.4.

Couples who sponsored and supported new entrants also showed evidence of hierarchical gender relations. Couples who did not sponsor or support new entrants were more likely to be gender egalitarian. I will discuss this as one example of a link between migration policy and gender hierarchy.

When families did not need to meet costs of migration for new entrants, then gender relations were more equitable. I will discuss this as supporting the matrix of domination framework for analyzing the interaction of immigration rules, the labor market, and ethnic norms. Thus, my analysis focuses on the links between the three systems, rather than on how each system operates.

Table 4.4.

Couples by gender hierarchy and support for new entrants

	Couples who supported new entrants	Couples who did not support new entrants
Gender Hierarchy	11	1
Gender Egalitarianism	1	3

Finally, gender hierarchy among second generation Patels is associated with whether they continue in the family motel business. When a second generation couples continued in the family motel business, they were more likely to have traditional hierarchical gender relations. If either partner was employed, then more egalitarian gender relations were in evidence. I interpret this as further evidence of the connection between ethnic norms and gender hierarchy. It also shows a link between the labor market and gender hierarchy.

In the following three tables, I chart the findings in terms of gender hierarchy in the categories described in Table 4.1. Although the literature on women and work suggests that women's employment experience is likely to enhance their status within the family, there is no association between women's employment experience and family status in my sample. Drawing on Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994) research which shows that migration status influences women's position in the family among Mexican immigrants, one plausible explanation for the lack of association between employment experience and improved family status among Patel immigrants could be that the family's position in the migration chain is associated with gender hierarchy in the family. As will be evident in the tables, families that were the first and intermediate links in the migration chain and thus had sponsored family members did not share decisions, motel work, and housework, and thus had more traditional hierarchical gender relations. Families that were the last links and who did not sponsor more immigrants shared decisions, motel work and housework more equitably and thus tended towards more equal gender relations. These findings answer the first research question;

How are immigration rules and the labor market linked to gender hierarchy among Patels?

Table 4.5.

Couples who did not share decisions and housework

<i>Couples</i>	<i>Position in migration chain</i>	<i>Women's employment experience</i>
Mahesh and Sudha	First link	Employed briefly in India before marriage-migration
Das and Neela	First link	None. Worked in family business in London for 12 years before migration to the United States
Ram and Sita	Intermediate link	None
Vikram and Mala	Intermediate link	Employed in the United States
Dharam and Kali	Intermediate link	Employed in the United States until recently
Krishna and Radha	First link	Employed in a factory job in Canada for 7 years. Not employed before migration

All couples in this group sponsored and/or supported subsequent new entrants, facilitated by the family reunification immigration policy which is the centerpiece of U.S. immigration law. I interpret this as evidence of a link between immigration policy and gender hierarchy. Although the literature suggests that employment improves women's family status, women's employment experience in this group did not translate into more egalitarian gender relations in the family.

Table 4.6

Women's employment experience by sharing decisions and housework

Couple	Women's employment experience	Sharing decisions	Sharing housework
Mahesh & Sudha	Yes	No	No
Das & Neela	No	No	No
Ram & Sita	No	No	No
Vikram & Mala	Yes	No	No
Dharam & Kali	Yes	No	No
Krishna & Radha	Yes	No	No

This table shows that women in hierarchical relationships include those with and without employment experience

Table 4.7.

Couples that did not share decisions and men shared some jobs at home

Couples	Position in migration chain	Women's employment experience
Dev and Rita	Intermediate link	None
Jai and Pia	Intermediate link	None
Sadhu and Paro	Intermediate link	None
Puran and Nina	Intermediate link	Employed full-time for several years in United States in a factory job
Mohit and Bina	Intermediate link	Part-time factory job in London
Sheela and Arun	Last link	None

All the couples in this group work together in a family motel business. Some changes in traditional norms are evident as men share the higher status jobs in housework and childcare. However, as stated earlier, since men refuse to do the low status jobs, the relationship remains hierarchical. Although some women in this group also had employment experience, it did not translate into egalitarian gender relations. One couple did not sponsor or support new immigrants. In this instance, they continued in the family motel business without other employment experience. Therefore, although they did not have the economic pressure to meet migration costs of new immigrants, they also did not have the benefit of employment experience .

Table 4.8.

Couples who shared both decision-making and housework

Couples	Position and sponsorship in migration chain	Women's employment experience
Bela and Neel	Last link	Employed in India before migration.
Jaya and Arun	Last link	Employed in India before migration and employed in the United States before getting a motel.
Champa and Jagdish	Last link	Currently employed.
Bhanu and Manu	First link	Employed in India and the United States prior to and after marriage.

All the women in this group had employment experience. Three families did not sponsor migration for new entrants.

Three out of four couples in this group did not sponsor or support new entrants. However, the one couple that did was unusual as they were the only ones in my sample who migrated independent of each other as professionals and both were employed both before and after their marriage. Their better earning capacity therefore enabled them to meet costs of migration for subsequent immigrants. They could thus escape the pattern of relying on family labor and business to meet migration costs. I saw evidence of egalitarian gender relationships in all four families. These couples shared decision-making, and shared all jobs both motel work and housework.

All the women had employment experience. This indicates that although women's employment experience is not sufficient for challenging gender hierarchy, when combined with no economic pressure to meet costs of migration for new immigrants, it may be associated with gender egalitarian relationships.

I had difficulty in deciding where to place one couple due to their circumstances. Arun is disabled due to a traffic accident four years ago. He is in a wheelchair, in pain, and not likely to be able to walk in the future. Jaya, therefore, does the motel work. Arun's relatives, who make business decisions, own the motel. Her retired parents-in-law assist her in housework and childcare. However, Jaya is in complete charge of the daily operations. Although Arun and Jaya do not share decisions and housework, their relationship does not demonstrate traditional gender hierarchy. Jaya speaks English and is the only driver in the family. She does all the daily motel work and makes all the daily decisions. When I arrived at her motel, she was framed in the door of a motel room, fixing the woodwork. If I had a camera, I would have liked to use the image of Jaya with a tape measure around her neck and a hammer in her hand, woodworking with a hired man, to illustrate the wide range of contributions that women make in the motel business. Jaya shares housework and childcare with her parents-in-law. This pattern of sharing replicates the status of other women in this category. Instead of sharing motel work, decisions, and housework with her husband, she shares them with her husband's parents and relatives. In other words, the relatives' contributions substitute for what the men in other couples in this category do, therefore I placed Jaya and Arun in this category.

The three tables (4.2, 4.3, and 4.4) include interviews with all married participants, both first and second generation. There were no unmarried first-generation participants. Both unmarried men and women of the second generation had grown up contributing substantially to

motel work. None of the second generation women (married or single) had a share in their parents' motel. Two-thirds of the second generation men had a share in their parents' motel.

A large body of research has shown that women's employment is directly related to their improved status within the family (Sen, 1990; World Bank, 1991). Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) has shown that this direct relationship is mediated by immigration status. In this study, I show that the relationship between women's status in the family and employment is associated with ethnic norms relating to gender that define housewife and breadwinner status in the family. In the next two chapters I explore and interpret these findings further. In chapter 7, I will summarize my analysis, and indicate directions for future research.

CHAPTER 5: THE CONTEXT OF RECEPTION AND GENDER HIERARCHY

Bhavna (W)¹¹: In the mornings, we are bhangis (harijans, whose work is to sweep and clean): we clean the rooms. In the afternoons, we are bawarchis (domestic cooks): we cook and feed our families. And in the evening, we are sethanis (business caste): we dress up nicely, sit in the office and collect money from the customers. That is our life in the motel business.

Bhavna's succinct description of women's typical day in the motel business conveys powerful insights about motel work and what is traditionally expected of women. In this chapter, I interpret the findings linking traditional Patel norms, motel work, family reunification, and gender hierarchy.

First, I lay out the context of reception--that is Patel traditions, immigration rules and the labor market--in relation to the participants' position in the migration chain. As noted in the previous chapter, over the course of my interviews, it became clear that two of the three indicators of ethnic norms that I had selected were less significant than I had envisioned. Although marriage patterns and residence patterns remain relevant for analysis, the two indicators that were uppermost in participants' explanations were first, married women should not go outside the home to work, and second, any needed support should come from the community. Therefore my analysis focuses on these norms as well as marriage and residence patterns.

My data suggest that the labor market access that results from immigration rules meshes with the hierarchy of access to joint family resources set up by traditional norms and are related to gender hierarchy among Patels. The dependent status of family-sponsored immigrants translates differently for men and women due to traditional norms that define married women as housewives and men as breadwinners. In turn, these norms are linked to the organization of motel work and housework for Patels.

In this chapter, I will interpret my main findings concerning the links between gender hierarchy and ethnic norms. First, I found that the three indicators of ethnic norms (marriage patterns, residence patterns, and support patterns) are inconsistent for participants throughout the migration chain. That is, some traditional patterns continue while others do not. Based on my discussion in chapter 2, I conclude that there is an association between meeting costs of migration and male privilege in marital relationships.

¹¹(W)=woman; (M)=man

Second, the data show that couples who do not share decision-making also do not share housework. Traditional norms defining housewife and breadwinner status organize both motel work and housework in parallel ways. Housewives are delegated low status jobs like cleaning floors and bathrooms. Breadwinners, when they participate in housework, refuse the low status jobs, though they may undertake higher status jobs like shopping or childcare. Breadwinners' ability to not engage in low status jobs is evidence of male privilege in a marital relationship.

Ethnic Norms

Below, I explore two ethnic norms among Patels that are relevant to their concentration and success in budget motels and influence gender hierarchy. That is, when traditional norms contribute to meeting costs of migration for subsequent immigrants, they are in evidence. And when traditional norms constrain the capacity of new immigrants to meet costs of migration for subsequent immigrants, then they do not continue.

Evidence of these norms among immigrant Patels may be associated with immigration rules/labor market and gender hierarchy. The first traditional norm is that women ought to be housewives and not work outside the home, and second is that established members should provide support to new entrants who are part of the community. The significance of these two norms for immigrant Patels is underscored by the formation of two community associations that are specifically focused on recruiting spouses and providing business and financial support.¹² Both these norms contribute to the capacity of established immigrants to meet costs for new immigrants.

¹² The Charottar Patidar Samaj is an association of Patels from the district of Charottar. Matrimonials are the number one item on the agenda. At their annual meetings, young men and women and their families select spouses. At the 1997 meeting, more than 900 candidates submitted their bios for this purpose, and more than 3000 people attended. The newsletter of this organization reports that the process is highly successful in arranging matches within the caste community.

The Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA) is an organization of hotel and motel owners. More than 90 percent of members are Patels. AAHOA's agenda focuses on business and financial support. Their annual meetings attract 3000 people. Their literature reports that they are also highly successful in supporting the financial and business concerns of members.

Housewives and breadwinners

Higher castes in India practice seclusion of women. When caste groups gain status, they adopt the practices associated with groups higher than them in status in an attempt to distance themselves from those who are lower--a process that is termed "sanskritization" (Srinivas, 1959; Srinivas and Shah, 1968). This process has specific implications for the work women are allowed to do. Generally, it involves the withdrawal of women from the labor market (Chen, 1995).

At the turn of the century, Patels gained social standing and became the dominant caste in Gujarat in terms of wealth and status (Pocock, 1972; Hardiman, 1977; Breman, 1985). Until the 1930s, Patel women in Gujarat worked in the family fields (Pocock, 1972), consistent with Patels' earlier, non-dominant status. In order to consolidate their improved status, Patels began to seclude women at home, and the majority of women no longer worked in the family fields. Consequently, the norm that women are housewives and ought not to go "out to work" remains particularly significant for Patels even after migration to the United States because they retain their place of origin as a point of reference. At the same time, such seclusion is a relatively recent tradition. In the excerpt below, Dev describes an instance where women continue to work in the fields, where the tradition has not yet changed, as an exception to the norm that is now prevalent among the majority of Patels in India.

I: How would you describe the kind of work that men and women in your community do in Gujarat?

Dev (M): In big cities, ladies are not going out to work. They're at home taking care of things at home, family, etc. Most of the people--the ladies, even gents--don't have to work on their own on the farms. They get labor from outside--from northern Gujarat or at times from Madhya Pradesh. But even now, in Surat district there are some families where the ladies go out to the fields to work. Yeah, even now they go. And it's not that they can't afford help, it's a tradition that they work in the fields. I think that in Surat district ladies do more physical work than the gents, especially in fields and all. It is there.

Well, during our time my mother didn't work much--she did work, but she didn't do much physical work. She went to the fields, but that was probably because of supervision and all. She didn't do any physical work. At times she had to clean up the back-yard when the labor didn't come. Of course, my wife and children did not have to do that when we were there--in certain parts of Gujarat the ladies do work, even now they work, but they do little physical strenuous work.

Dev's account illustrates that the norm against women going outside the home to work is both relatively new, and also fluid, depending on the context

The norm that married women are housewives and ought not to go out to work is a common theme that runs through the interviews.

I: What would an ideal family situation in the United States be?

Dev (M): The mother should be home when the children are home, to take care of them. Most of the time in India the lady is home to look after the kids

Participants agreed that it was the norm among Patels that married women ought to be housewives and not go out to work.

In India, education does not offer alternatives to being housewives and did not facilitate a change in family status for women in this study. They remained housewives regardless of their training:

Mina (W, who earned a BA prior to her marriage): My father believed women have to be in the house and should be housewives. His overall view was -- "you have to be a housewife."

Bela (W, who earned a BA prior to her marriage): My father was the only one who had a job. And we were seven people in the house. So we wanted to help him. But he would not allow us to go outside and work. So I used to go to somebody's house or take them to our house and teach them as a private tutor. So I did that, but I never worked outside, I never did a job, because my father did not like that idea.

In traditional patriarchal extended families, women are to be maintained by their fathers and brothers before marriage, and by their husbands' families after marriage (Chen, 1995). Traditional family structures which assign women to domesticity and dependence (and thus designate men as breadwinners) are not sufficient to meet subsistence and economic needs of immigrants. The evidence from participants suggests that men's employment in the United States cannot meet both the economic needs of families and the costs of migration for new immigrants. Men cannot fulfill the role of sole breadwinner. Instead of having to break with tradition by sending women to work (and thus also to lose status), these conflicting pressures can be assuaged by engaging women in motel work. However, men maintain breadwinner status by retaining decision-making power in motels. This compromise with tradition allows Patel immigrants to maintain social. Women contribute economically but remain in the home as housewives, and men maintain breadwinner status.

Motel work and housewives' skills

Motel work is done "at home," interspersed with housework and childcare. In addition to conflating the public and private domains, motel work blurs the distinction between reproductive and productive labor on three dimensions. Temporally, a person can combine childcare/housework with motel work because they occur interspersed with each other or simultaneously. For example, it is possible to watch children and attend to the front desk at the same time. Conceptually, motel work can be conflated with housework--it can easily be seen as an extension of housework since the specific activities are exactly the same. It is the context that shifts. For example, a person can do one load of laundry for the family, and continue to do more laundry for the motel, all at the same time and using the same washing machine. There is no break or change in the activity. And spatially, motel work challenges the physical separation of production and reproduction because most owners reside on the premises. The front desk is often literally next to the kitchen.

The bulk of the work in small budget motels consists of cleaning and laundry: skills that women are already socialized to do, and which are easily incorporated as an extension of the domestic domain. At the same time, most men do need to be trained to do this work because they are not similarly. One man who did not get the benefit of on-the-job training recounted his first experience of doing motel laundry on his own, before his wife and children joined him. He first did motel laundry two weeks after landing in the United States, and it took him all night to wash and fold sheets and towels. In this family, as well as in others who were the first and intermediate links in the migration chain, both men and women said that men will do laundry and clean for motels only when no women or employees are available, but they will not do the same jobs at home.

Family businesses depend on traditions to transform immigrant women into workers committed to a common goal of the economic success of the family. These traditions are also anchored in the roles of daughters, wives, and mothers (Mohanty, 1997). These roles for women are based on ideologies of domesticity and womanhood that organize both productive and reproductive labor (Westwood, 1988). These ideas tend to keep women's and men's "traditional" status firmly in place.

The motel business demands round-the-clock attention, a fact that does not contradict traditional ideas about women's place in the home and her domestic and duties. The home now

includes the business. Participants were unanimous in ascribing this as a central component of their choice to engage in motel work. Sudha articulates this notion succinctly:

I: You could have chosen a store or something else. Why did you decide on a motel?

Sudha (W): One thing--I can take care of my children. My children were growing at that time. My little one was only 2 years old. So I wanted to take care of my kids, and at the same time do a business. In a store, you cannot do the business and take care of your kids. That's one reason. I can cook, I can take care of customers, I can take care of my kids, I can take care of my husband, and I can cook for them. I can give food--home food--and at the same time I can take care of my kids too, you know and run the business at the same time. That's the reason I chose a motel. All in the same place. See--the kitchen is attached with the office so I can take care of both things. If I take another business, I cannot take care of both things. If I have a gift store, I cannot go home and cook and do these things because it is not a side-by-side. If you run a restaurant, you cannot get both things together. Only in this business, you are together ... you are not apart from your children.

Others express a similar logic in their family's decision to engage in motel work:

Bela (W): In the motel business, the family stays together all the time...everyone together. If it is a store, then you stay [one person] at the house and one person in the store. If you've got small kids, one has to stay with the small kids. That's the big trouble too!

Nisha (W): In the motel business, I don't have to leave my kids alone or with baby-sitters. That's what I wanted.

Pia (W): The motel business is good for the children. We can spend more time with them...A store requires leaving the home for work. For example if the child comes to the grocery store after school, neither the child nor the parents will like it. In the motel business there is an advantage of staying with the family at the place of work.

These excerpts illustrate one component of Patels' reasoning for engaging in motel work as compared to other businesses. Women conveyed a strong commitment to fulfilling traditional roles in the family and my observations concurred that women attended to motel work together with cooking, childcare, and other housework. The work was seamless, and they did not differentiate between motel and housework in time, space, or responsibility.

Patel tradition, motel work, and immigration policy dovetail to define Patel women as dependents and "not-workers." Traditionally, married women are supposed to be housewives. The jobs that they do, cleaning, laundry, and childcare are devalued in the labor market so that women who do it cannot earn enough to sustain themselves. That is, women's skills in motel work and housework does not translate well as experience for employment. Finally, the family

reunification policy also defines women who migrate as part of a family as dependent. Although men who migrate are also defined this way, Patel traditions of men being the breadwinner, and the labor market where the jobs men do in motels like office work, maintenance, banking and finance are valued more than the jobs women do in motel work. Therefore the three dimensions operate to sustain a hierarchical relationship between men and women who do motel work.

The three dimensions mesh together to allow established families to meet costs of migration for new immigrants without losing status as women contribute their labor directly into the business after migration and they are housewives. Also, the bulk of motel work is mostly what is considered "women's work"--activities that women are already prepared to do. However, women's skills are not recognized even when men do not have them and have to be trained. Women and girls learn the necessary skills as part of their gender socialization. Nisha is training the girls she is raising to be competent in housework and motel work.

Nisha (W): They (the children) help me after school and whenever they have time. They help me. My daughter is 11 years old. When we are working in the rooms, my niece [age 15] does the laundry, answers the phones, etc. My niece and daughter do the cleaning, vacuuming, etc. There is a lot of laundry to do, which I do sometimes on week-ends. When I do the laundry after 9 p.m., I do it myself as the children are in bed. Otherwise, they help in the laundry and other work. Lot of cleaning work, particularly on week-ends. Usually I like to do everything myself and it goes quite fast. For cleaning the rooms, others help.

Following the logic that women who do motel work are housewives, girls also see and accept motel work as part of what they learn in order to become women. Their labor is then integrated into motel work, with no recognition of its contribution or significance to the family income. Most significant to my analysis is children's perception that women are housewives, and as such, their contributions to motel work are incidental and discretionary.

Kiran (W): Dev Mama earns so much....She (Nisha) doesn't like sitting at home. When we are not there, then she gets bored and everything. Probably, she is waiting for us....I have no idea what she does when she is home.

Similarly, several second generation participants responded that their mothers are housewives. Upon probing, they said that their mothers do motel work.

I: And what about your mother?

Ajay (M): She was...a housewife. Well, in England she worked. But I was too young to remember what she did there. And ever since we came to the United States she has been a housewife.

I: How about the motel?

Ajay: Yes, she works around here.

Although Ajay's mother works in the motel, he describes her as a housewife. This is significant because the labor that women put into motel work does not become the basis from which they can negotiate more participation in housework from their husbands.

For instance, Sudha was running a small motel single-handedly while her husband was employed full-time. After our interview, she invited me to stay for the evening. Sudha and I prepared an Indian meal together. I noted that the husband and son did not take part in any part of the preparation or clean-up. I found it particularly notable because in her interview, Sudha had described how the motel business was the source of meeting the costs of migration for four of her husband's siblings and their families. When I asked Sudha to describe her typical day, her response shows clearly that her status in the family remains that of a housewife even though she runs the motel on her own:

Sudha (W): In the morning, I get up before my husband. Then he gets up, gets ready for work. I make tea and pack lunches for my kids, make him breakfast--whatever he wants to eat. And then I again lay down a little bit before starting my routine work. Then I finish folding my laundry. See just now, I put my laundry in a bag. O.K. I finished the rooms. When you called me, I was doing the rooms. I finished the rooms, put the laundry in, ate a little bit of left-overs, and started doing this daily work, routine work--used to do every day.

We (she is referring to everyone who does motel work) have to do it every day even in the snow or winter, we have to do it--give customers service because customers need everyday service. We cannot keep up.

And then I put my laundry in and the evening begins--at four o'clock my kids come and then five o'clock my husband comes. Then I started doing my evening work--cook dinner. About 7:00- 8:00 we eat. I clean my dishes and at the same time, I am taking care of my customers also. And after watching the news 11:30, twelve o'clock we sleep.

If Sudha, her husband, and her children recognize that Sudha's motel work is full-time work like her husband's employment, they would be more likely to share the housework. Their current perception which conflates housework and motel work, however, allows Mahesh breadwinner status by virtue of his employment, and thus also allows him to refuse housework. Similarly, Sudha sees him as the breadwinner and herself as a housewife, therefore she continues to take on all the domestic work. When I observed this family one afternoon, her day went exactly as she described. She was taking care of customers and doing both motel and housework alone.

While women continue their traditional responsibilities, they take on additional economic responsibilities specifically to meet migration costs for subsequent links in the migration chain. Many women were explicit about this necessity:

Sudha (W): Well, when they see your family, people want to come over here. They need financial support, don't they? A job alone won't work. So you need to do something. That's why we got in the business.

Clearly, Sudha's work is influenced by her family relationships. She chose motel work because she felt an obligation to meet the costs of migration for family members and because it is compatible with her housework and childcare responsibilities.

In my fieldnotes, I also found that women's perception of motel work and housework are conflated. I noted that Payal said she enjoyed housekeeping and decorating. That is one of the things she looked forward to before she got married--decorating her own place after she got married. She plans to redecorate motel rooms in the winter to make them more welcoming. Her hobby is sewing and she wants to use her skills to improve appearance of the rooms--by making new curtains, pillows etc.

Payal does not differentiate between the imagined future home that she wanted to decorate and the motel where she and her husband work today. Her socialization as a housewife melds with her motel work. I worked with Payal to clean rooms and bathrooms, and to collect dirty linens to be washed. We did the jobs together, similar to what we might do at home with no special equipment or technology. We went directly from cleaning rooms to preparing a hot lunch for five people without a break or change.

There was a pervasive perception among participants that motel work is suitable for housewives. In the following excerpt, the participant relays that motel work is something that his brother thought that a housewife (the brother's wife) could easily do, the assumption being that motel work is close to what housewives do anyway.

I: How did your brother-in-law get into the motel business?

Pravin (M): He was looking for a business. At that time he had been laid off I think, and he was looking for another job. Meanwhile, somebody told him about this motel that was closed. The owner was trying to sell it very cheap. He bought the small motel thinking his wife can take care of the motel.

Both women and men typically think about motel work as similar to housework when women do it. The following excerpts highlight this point directly:

Sudha (W): I have to give them (customers) towels, whatever they need. And if they are not in the room, I make beds for them and clean up--bathroom and everything--afterwards I am thinking about that--this is a 30 room house I am cleaning every day.

Nina (W): I always find something to do. This is a big motel. This is just like a 44 bedroom house to me. In a house you always find something to do.

Sudha and Nina see motel work and housework to be akin. I found the perception of motel work as akin to and conflated with housework among second generation women too, as the following accounts show.

I: What was it like growing up here?

Deepa (W): Instead of household chores we had motel chores. I know more of the responsibility was put on my older sister than on me. I guess she was 12--no she must have been 10 or 11. I was seven and she's three years older than me. So, she had a lot of responsibility at a very young age. When my mother had to go somewhere, she stayed at the front desk. She was able to take care of that part. My sister and I were always the ones who went out and made the beds. It was our responsibility to make beds. When we were done, we would have to go and fold the towels and do other chores. We were given big responsibility so young. It was given to us and we could do it. It was a part of life -- like cleaning up the house, and I guess, this is what we had to do.

Similarly, Bani articulates the blurred lines between motel work and housework on spatial, temporal, and conceptual dimensions.

Bani (W): I think I grew up in kind of an odd environment.

I: Why do you say odd?

Bani: Well, not many people live where their parents work. Your home life is supposed to be separate from your work life, I think, and here it is the same thing. Whereas here there is always a combination of the two--even when you are eating dinner and a customer comes.

Still, there are pervasive distinctions between what men and women do (or cannot do), both in motel work and in housework. Paradoxically, while Patels choose motels so that women can continue fulfilling their traditional duties, the situation also contains the potential for the most radical changes in gender hierarchy through the work that must be done. That is, men who work in motels typically do women's work as part of the motel work. The term "women's work" does not mean the work that women do, or even the occupations in which women are concentrated. Rather, it refers to the categorization of jobs and tasks for men and women according to notions of appropriate femininity, domesticity, and ethnic stereotypes. It structures the work women do, and can even preclude women from being defined as workers altogether (Mohanty, 1997, p. 6). Patriarchal ideologies that fix women's role in the family are part of immigrants' traditions. These ideologies are also reproduced and consolidated in ways that provide profit for the U.S. economy, as I show later.

In spite of the evident distinctions between women's work and men's work, when asked, some participants expressed that both spouses were equal partners in the business and shared the work and decisions. For instance, Payal claims below that decisions are shared.

I: How are decisions made in your family in the case of important family matters like whether to take up new work or not?

Payal (W): The two of us discuss the matter and make a joint decision. [Like] whether I can handle the responsibility of two motels or not. I spend a lot of time in room cleaning for the motel, which I did not do in my earlier life. I have to give a lot of my attention to the maintenance of the motel rooms.

Although participants said both spouses were equal partners, they did not specify until I probed how they shared the work and decisions. Upon probing, however, I found that in a majority of families, primarily men made business decisions, and cleaning work remained primarily in women's domain (especially floors and bathrooms). Men did not routinely take part in cleaning floors and bathrooms unless there were no women available to do it. Only one of the men I observed cleaned rooms. He made beds and did laundry in my presence, and he was working with a woman employee. The other men I interviewed and observed took the front desk, did yard work, maintenance, or cleaned the pool while I was around. One man watched small grandchildren. Women cleaned, cooked, did childcare, laundry, beds, front desk, maintenance, pool, and yard work. Men are in charge of financial transactions and business decisions--whether to take a loan, expand the business, add property, make improvements, hire help, or buy a franchise. I will discuss this in more detail in the next section. Women are responsible for the daily work. Although I could not observe all of these gendered divisions, it was a common allocation according to the interviews.

Assuming that motel work is suitable for housewives has several crucial implications for gender relations. It supports the rhetoric that women are not "working" outside the home. It keeps women out of the labor market and their experience does not translate into recognition or mobility in the wider society even as they contribute full-time to the economic support of the family. Women do not accumulate their own individual resources because they are unpaid workers, regardless of significant contribution to family income (Lim, 1997).

Women were not always aware that they would be contributing to motel work as part of their family role upon marriage. When this happened, it was often a cause for distress if women migrated as brides. Participants expressed that motel work was often assumed to be suitable for housewives, with no input from the women who were thus assigned.

Vijay (M): Before it was that they would just come and get married--and this is first generation and some second generation--get married and put the wife in the motel. But it's changing. I mean my wife has already told me, "No way, no how am I getting into this motel business." And I respect her for that. When she joined us, she said "I am a nutritionist, and I am going to stay a nutritionist."

Mina, quoted below, came to the United States as a bride. She described how she wanted to continue in her chosen field, library science, but was unable to find suitable opportunities while living in a small community where the motel was located. In addition, her husband and in-laws apparently assumed that she would contribute to motel work. The first few years were very difficult for her--she described crying most days and arguing with her husband.

I: And you wanted to go into the motel business?

Mina (W): No. At that time I had never heard about a motel. First time I heard the word "motel" I asked my husband, "What is a motel?" He said, "It's just like a hotel business." When he came there, he already planned to work in a motel. So he told me I am going to start working in a motel.

I: When you came from India, can you tell me what your life was like?

Mina: Oh! Ya. I was so miserable. (Laughter) Because I had so many dreams. We had a fight every single day about this thing, you know. I said "Why can't we have employees to run some hours and we get some time off?" And I cried almost every single day because I felt homesick.

I: So I am hearing that it was not what you expected.

Mina: Right. It was a totally different...

I: What did you expect your life would be like?

Mina: Life would be like...I'll have a good house and work at a 9 to 5 job and sometimes get weekends off. But in this business you never get weekends off. You work all the time, you are there, and you never get off. It's 24 hours, you are there. Then I had the impression that in a motel you can do the office work and get out of it. But it involves each and every thing. Sometimes you have to do labor work too. So it was a big change for me. When I came here I had to do some laundry--I never expected that I would do that kind of work when I was in India. Because we feel it's a labor job--you can hire any one to do it. In this business you have to be ready any time because of the employment problem--employees can walk out any time.

Mina was not aware that she would be working in a motel until after the marriage. Her husband and in-laws assumed that she would do it as a part of her status as a new bride. Though Mina did not agree, she found out the labor market and geographic isolation worked against her finding work as a librarian or enrolling in further academics. Therefore, despite her resistance, she ended up working in the motel as she was expected to do.

Some participants said motel work is less stressful than working in low-paying jobs. For instance, Pia, quoted below, finds that motel work suits her better than low-wage employment.¹³

Pia (W): I worked for two weeks in a book shop. The books of a particular title had to be packed in a box. The boxes were quite heavy to handle and lifting them was not easy. Each box was about 40 to 50 pounds. Then we had to pick up the boxes from the carts also. If I could get a clerical job, I would prefer it. But it is very difficult to get clerical jobs without being fluent in English. I found it hard to do the manual labor in that job. In India, I had never done such type of work. I found it difficult to do this work here.

The links between tradition, labor-market and immigration rules become evident here. Pia was family-sponsored, and thus her language and occupational skills were not taken into consideration. Her lack of language skills facilitates a weak position in the labor market. The entire family immigrated at once and initially lived with her sister. Since Pia does not speak English, she can only find manual employment, or “labor jobs” as many participants call this kind of work. As a member of a high status group that secludes women from working outside the home, Pia is not accustomed or socialized to doing manual labor, so she finds the employment difficult. Meanwhile, family and friends suggest that buying a motel might be both more lucrative and less stressful. Pia's husband agrees--he does not consider the motel business to be hard work, since women do it.

Arun (M): In the motel business, if it is small it is easy. For big motels, you have to work hard. In Staunton we saw a Days Inn--and an Indian family in which the woman is doing only half a day of work. She is observing, she is not doing it herself.

I: You think that the motel business will be easy for you?

Arun: Not a challenge. It is not too tough...I see it is easy doing the motel business. It is easier than other businesses.

Arun and Pia had not yet experienced operating a motel on their own. I met them two days after they arrived in South Carolina from New York. They had close ties with friends who are well-established in a motel business and who trained them and helped them find their own motel. By the time I concluded my interviews ten months later, they were settled into the small motel in which they got their training.

¹³Pia spoke no English. Her interview was conducted in Hindi and then translated during transcription.

In sum, the data shows that participants do not distinguish motel work from housework when women do it, as women are expected to do motel work as part of their family roles; that women prefer motel work to manual employment; and that men perceive motel work as relatively simple when compared with other kinds of businesses. The assumption is that women can do motel work and therefore it is easy. In the next section, I explore the organization of motel work and breadwinners.

Motel work and breadwinners

In stark contrast to women's experiences, when men do motel work it is clearly differentiated from housework. Their worker/breadwinner status is redrawn when men do certain jobs for the motel but not for the home. This is very interesting because the jobs remain the same, and the location remains the same. What changes is the context in which the work is done. For instance, men will clean rooms or do laundry for the motel when necessary, but are less likely to do so at home. Men's dominant status is maintained by the work they refuse to do. The following excerpts highlight this distinction between housework and motel work that men make:

Mina (W): One thing I would change in my husband is I wish he will help me in all the aspects [at home] just like I am helping him in business. Sometimes, I am stretched out--everything is on me. I am not asking him to help me in cooking but in [other] household chores. If I have company and I say please help me to put the trays out or vacuum if [only] he would be more sensible and appreciate my work, then I think I will be happy. He is taking so much for granted--the housework. So I wish I can change him. He will not say no, but he will say, "Oh! I don't have time!" I have to push him so much, he will not understand. I have to push him.

I: So he didn't have to do cleaning in the small motel? You hired someone to do the cleaning? But still, sometimes they don't show up.

Mina: Oh yes! Then he helped us. At that time, he helped. But we sometimes just keep the rooms dirty on Sundays and wait for maids to come on Monday and they do the job. Only one thing I want to change him--just be sensitive--just be like a woman and think about it. It's hard to change. He is very flexible in business. He has cleaned the toilet. It's not like he has never done it. He has done it.

I: Are you saying then that he separates what is his business and what is his home? He will do some jobs in the motel but he won't do them at home?

Mina: Yeah. I think the way he was raised still has its effect on him.

Mina's husband is affected by traditional gender socialization--"the way he was raised"--and so he refuses to engage in housework. However, he does overcome that socialization when he cannot refuse the same jobs in the context of the motel.

Motel work takes advantage of women's domestic skills while simultaneously devaluing the same skills as "women's work" and thus is not appropriate for men to engage in. As a result, when men do engage in these jobs, gender relations do not necessarily tend towards equality. The following incident taken from my fieldnotes illustrates this point clearly.

Jai's father, Das, was taking care of two grandsons, aged 3 and 4. He told me that childcare is typically shared in the afternoons between both grandparents, but Jai's mother had gone shopping with a house guest that day. So, I gathered that Jai's father was involved in ongoing childcare for their grandsons. The TV was tuned to a children's network with aggressive advertising of toys. Jai's father, Das, was playing with and cuddling the boys. When there was a commercial for a baby doll, he asked the 3-yr-old in a teasing way whether the child would like to have the doll being advertised. The boy vehemently denied such a desire by saying, "That's for girls!" Das looked at me with a satisfied, indulgent and proud smile. The child had given the right answer. I thought it was ironic because Das was committed to routine childcare on a daily basis. And it was evident to me that he was enjoying it very much. He was changing diapers, cuddling up with a blanket and rocking the toddler to sleep, and at the same time making sure that this activity was firmly inscribed in the grandsons' views as women's work, and not appropriate for boys.

The devaluation of women's work in the family and in the labor market (Glenn, 1992) also plays out in motels when there is a high turnover of employees, and women are the back-up workers (and eventually men when women cannot do the entire job) as depicted below. The low-pay, low-status housekeeping jobs are plagued by high turnover. As it was common for hired help to be absent from cleaning jobs, the cleaning work became the responsibility of the women. This was the case even in the larger franchised operations. The following excerpts portray such a situation at three motels with varying number of rooms and owned by people at all three stages of the migration chain. Sudha runs a small motel of 30 rooms and is the sole operator.

Sudha (W): O.K., in the big franchises they have several maids. So if one doesn't come you can give another one more work. If out of seven, five maids come then you can divide the work among them. But in a small business there is only one employee and if she doesn't come then you have to work.

Sheela, who runs a larger franchised operation with 50+ rooms describes similar trouble spots as Sudha. Sheela described herself as a partner with her husband in a franchised operation.

I: What are the trouble spots in the business?

Sheela (W): Employees. Lot of turnover in the housekeeping department. That's the main thing--just try and get good people, keep good people. Front desk, we

don't have a problem. But housekeeping is a hard job. And when they want the job, they keep calling. Then maybe they will work one day and then won't come back. Or I say, "O.K. let me go ahead and hire you, start tomorrow." Well, they won't even show up. I don't know why there is such a great turnover in housekeeping that every single hotel in the world has the same problem with housekeepers. That's probably by far the biggest hurdle. If they don't show up I am in a bind. There is no backup. I have to do it myself. I am the backup. Because I don't have any other option. I need the rooms and I have got to clean them. And it is hard to find somebody to do it. I mean, where am I going to call?

I found a similar situation regarding cleaning help even in very large operations, with 150+ rooms. In the following excerpt, Mina's husband contributes to the cleaning when employees are absent as it is impossible for her to clean all the rooms in a big operation. However, he will clean in the context of the business when no other choices are available: i.e., no employee or woman is available to do it.

Mina (W): In this business we have to be ready any time because of the employment problem--employees can walk out any time. It happened last July or August. At 10:30 p.m. we got a call that the night janitor is not coming to do the job and we had no substitute. So me and my husband we worked the whole night. In India, you have all kinds of help--money can buy anything there. But here, it's difficult, very difficult.

As families become economically successful, indicated by the increasing size of the motel operations, women do not become more able to resist devalued work. Women continue to be the back-up for cleaning and laundry. As in the situation described by Mina, men will do this work in the motel only when no women or employees are available to do it.

The following excerpt highlights another dimension in which housework and motel work are similar and support traditional gender divisions. Women's work entails the routine, day-to-day tasks which are time-bound in specific ways. For instance, rooms must be cleaned and laundry completed at certain times each day. Men's work entails long-term tasks and decisions which can be completed over a period of time, and in which a person's commitment is more flexible and negotiable.

Sudha (W): Because this is a small motel, I have to watch so many things by myself. I don't get help--in India you can get servants and maids. I don't get that here. I have to work by myself--top to bottom, everything--laundry I do... --sometimes it causes stress. In running the business, if I have enough help I am all right. But if I don't have help, I run here and there. When I work in the back, I leave a note over here in case a customer comes--"I am working that side." So the customer will come to me for a room. Then I have to come back again to the office to give the customer a room. Then I go back. In the summer we run full, we have a garden going and people coming. So many things going on and lots of people

come. So I just come and go, come and go. I can't do the rooms and do this and do other stuff as well. So then mentally, I get worn out sometimes. I get customer calls from the time I get up every morning: somebody calling from long distance, somebody wants something, somebody checks out, somebody wants ice, that kind of stuff. I have to constantly give them service. So after a while my mind gets stressed. But over here I have to do everything by myself. So I cannot depend on anybody, I have to work. For that, I have to keep up my work. I cannot let it go by saying "O.K., we will do it tomorrow--these rooms, leave it--do it tomorrow." It happens once in while. If I am very sick and unable to do it then it might happen.

I: Then won't your husband take care of it, if you are sick?

Sudha: No. No. He is working. He cannot leave his job. His job is important. He won't take my work. I won't let him do that at all. His job is important. He is working in the railroad, he is the engineer supervisor. I cannot let him do that.

I: What about the outside work like any purchasing or banking?

Sudha: That my husband does. Sometimes I do the banking too in between. If he is not here I would go to the bank. But usually my husband goes to the bank and does his own banking too. And outside purchasing, my husband does. Whatever we require for maintenance he goes and gets it --he does it. Once in a while when he is out of town I do it.

Men often claimed that they shared all the work. However, women from the same family said that the men were less likely to undertake particular jobs unless no woman or employee was available. For instance, Dev asserts that motel work is shared and he does all the jobs as necessary. However, his wife Nisha says that he will not clean the bathrooms and either she does them or the maid does. Further, all participants who are the first and intermediate links said that men will typically not do housework.

Dev (M): No. In America, this will not work. You will have to pay for the work you are not willing to do. In India, people are too class and caste-conscious, and they will not do certain jobs, like washing laundry or cleaning bathrooms. Here even the manager of a fast-food joint will mop the floor or clean the bathroom if need be. At seven o'clock, when the store closes, everybody gets busy with the clean-up and you cannot figure out who is the manager and who is the waiter.

I: Do you have to do more rooms?

Dev: Yes, one or two more rooms. Take the present situation. We may not be as busy but three rooms have checked out just now, about half an hour ago. We have to clean them right away as we can get customers any time. We do not want to take a chance. We do not wait for a moment and are always ready. If we think, "The maid is not here, who will clean the bathrooms?" it won't work. If we think, "No, I can't do the bathrooms"... We can't afford to not keep all the rooms ready, maid or no maid.

Dev was changing bed linens with the help of a maid while we were talking. This was the only instance in which I observed a man cleaning rooms (but not bathrooms). Nisha, Dev's wife, had this to say when we spoke about cleaning:

Nisha (W): Nancy (the maid) comes every day except Wednesdays, when she has to go somewhere for house-cleaning.

I: So on Wednesdays, you have class and Nancy doesn't come. How do you do all the work in the motel?

Nisha: He would do all the beds, etc. When I come back from my class I clean the bathrooms.

I: How about at home? Who does all the cleaning at home?

Nisha: Me... (Laughter) Of course, I have lot of work at home. Every third day I have to do laundry for everybody.

Nisha's and Dev's statements highlight the inconsistencies between men's and women's accounts of how motel work is shared. Men say that they share all the work, and in this case, Dev asserted that it included cleaning bathrooms. However, Nisha clearly specified that Dev did not clean bathrooms--in the motel or at home. I did not observe a single instance of men cleaning floors or bathrooms, but many instances of women doing this work.

Again and again, as in this excerpt, I heard that men would not clean floors and bathrooms--that was always assigned to women, except among two couples who had the most egalitarian relationships.

Ajay (M): Well, I guess my Dad takes care of getting all the sheets and things out of the rooms and starting the laundry, and maybe making the beds, while my Mom will do the vacuuming, clean the bathrooms and the tables, and things like that.

In this section, I highlighted how housewives and breadwinners' statuses and skills organize motel work and housework. In the next section, I will consider decision-making and how it is associated with the relative contributions of men and women.

Sharing Decision-making

Following traditional gender divisions, decision-making among motel owners remains firmly in men's domain. In my sample, sharing ranged from men being totally responsible for business decisions such as whether or not to buy a franchise or buy new properties and other financial aspects, to sharing a part of such decisions. Even in the most equal relationships, when women described themselves as partners and did share in some decisions, men retained the bulk of business decisions. The accounts below show the widespread acceptance by both men and women that men are decision-makers in the business.

Nina (W): Well, let's see. He makes all the decisions. But he won't make decisions without asking me. So we both make decisions together. Maybe the final decision is his. But he always asks me before he makes any decision. Right now, we are thinking to buy another property, another motel business. So we go to other places and look for a motel. We go together and if I do not like something, I

will always tell him what is a good buy or what is a bad buy. And also he will tell me what amounts of money he wants to send to whom or how he wants to invest - so we both work together. Ya.

I: Is it like a partnership?

Nina: Ya. Partnership. He won't make the decision without asking me.

Sometimes we have a difference of opinion. And I can say he is the one who makes the final decision. I don't like it sometimes but then I agree with him later other times. This decision to take the franchise, I didn't like it at first.

Neela and her husband were part of the group of couples that were most egalitarian in their relationships. She also said that she and her husband shared decisions, but then clarified that they relied on advice from his brother-in-law.

I: So how are your responsibilities spread out now? Who does the planning and investing and the financial decisions?

Neela (W): For financial things--the majority--75% he is doing and 25% he takes my opinion...and we consider my brother-in-law a lot. We take advice from him for everything, everything. But whatever we are doing, we are doing parallel, you know, me and my husband.

Bit the focus is on the brother-in-law's input:

I: Now in your family, who has the responsibility for money or investment decisions, financial decisions, buying decisions, etc.?

Navin (M): Normally what happens--my brother-in-law has been here since 12-13 years in this particular business--so he guides all the time and we take advice from him. To resolve all problems we always go for somebody's advice. We have some friends also and we have our brother-in-law. So experienced people always help with problems and how to resolve them.

Men almost always are responsible for the financial and business end, as shown above, work that involves interactions with the wider society. Apparently, then, the gender division of motel work is similar to that of housework. In other words, the notions of housewife and breadwinner also organize motel work.

In the next section I examine community/kin support as the second indicator of ethnic norms that is central for participants' economic success in motels and how it is linked to gender hierarchy.

Community Support

The second ethnic norm that is significant in my analysis is that of community help and support. Patels have access to community experience, expertise, and financing on non-commercial terms. Gujaratis loan money to each other to help businesses start at no interest, like Korean

immigrants' kyes or lending circles. For example, a 40-room building in a good location, bought for \$500,000 can turn \$100,000 profit a year. Owners can pay off the debt in a short time (Woodyard, 1995). As Das proudly outlined:

Das (M): We have friends, we borrow money, paying them when they need it. Or if they don't need, [we can] hold it. ...I can raise two million dollars within two weeks. Just call in today and give the guy one week, and they send the check. When we got the land, we didn't have money. Only \$7000 in pocket, and they [the sellers] wanted \$400,000 cash. I called in every one in New York, just borrowed and paid them [later].

Among Patels, support includes the emotional, material, financial, and business realms. Significantly, business/financial support appears to be available to any member of the community who requests it and is not limited to kin or extended family. However, the new immigrants and the established family must have some prior connection to make the other kinds of support available. Patels look to provide as much support as possible, including on-the-job training and sharing of living quarters (usually on terms favorable to the new immigrants), as I show below.

The following excerpts exemplify the way Patels think about helping--ways that stand in contrast to the emphasis on blood and conjugal relationships that is evident in immigration rules. The first example is that of helping non-kin.

Dev (M): ...and then this guy [who comes from the same place] came to America and we put him there. He's managing a motel owned by my sister. And we have given all terms and conditions favorable to him, not to my sister. That's what we have done from our side. We're giving him this to operate on his own--he just has to maintain the property. And we'll give him a share also at the end of the day when we want to sell out the property. It has been written down and agreed that he'll get a share from this property. He will manage it and whatever [profits] he gets from the property, he will keep. He doesn't have to give even a penny to my sister. He has to pay the mortgage and upkeep the property.

Similarly, Mina outlines the support that they received as extended family members.

Mina (W): See, my brother-in-law supported us so much in the beginning. That's why we are so successful in this business. First he bought the motel, it was his. ...But the deal was that we paid everything, all the bills, the mortgage and everything--and whatever profits we made, we kept. That's how we got the money to invest in other property. If he would not have bought this property, I don't think we would have gone into this business.

As the above descriptions attest, Patels do not look to make a profit from selling property to new immigrants from their own community; they just want to break even. This ensures a good deal for both parties. The seller is assured of a reasonable price for the investment, and the buyer is sure of a good price and also the necessary support to get started, including on-the-job training.

A new immigrant described recent attempts to buy a motel in the same town as an established family (negotiations that eventually fell through). While considering the second motel, the two families had planned to operate the existing and new motels jointly because they are located close together. The arrangement did not work out because the current owner (an Indian who was not Patel) had tried to make a profit from the deal.

This norm of providing support is very strong. I observed several situations in which established Patel families extended substantial material support to new immigrant families who were part of the community and were not kin. Unrelated families often shared living quarters and resources for extended periods and trained new immigrants in the budget motel business. The new and established families had to have some prior links, either kin or community, for this arrangement to work.

In one instance of non-kin support, the new family rented a small apartment nearby but continued to rely on the established family to learn the business. Every morning, the new immigrants would go to the motel and share in the work. The two families were jointly searching for another motel, though it was not pre-determined which family would move to the new location. They maximized their chances of finding a suitable property because their search included bigger motels for the established family to move into, as well as small motels for the new family to take over.

I: So these days you are going around to look at motels?

Arun (M): Ya. In the morning, I go to Dev's motel. We work together, so that I get the experience. Then the proposals are going on. So if a call comes and we collect the data from all motels--how much growth is there and three years' financial background, and then we will go see the motel together.

I: So the new motel you are looking at, is it going to be for you or is it going to be for him?

Arun: It is not certain. If Dev wants to go, then I will handle this motel. I will stay here one or two years. Then I am going to buy the motel. It is not fixed whether Dev will stay here or go.

Their search ended when the established family decided to move up into a larger franchised operation in a bigger city, and the new immigrants took over the smaller motel. Neither party made a profit from this deal but they both benefited from it. Dev got a reliable, well-trained family to run the motel. Arun wanted to buy that motel in the future, so he was invested in running it well. Arun and Pia learned the business and were supported through the difficult first years of a small business. Both parties evaded commercial credit, and did not need to compete in the labor market as employees or as employers.

In addition to training in motel work and sharing living quarters, Patels rely on each other for financial support. Participants repaid debts incurred to buy motels within short periods. The returns on motels frequently run about 20-25% a year. Smaller motels yield a higher return than larger ones, because the costs can be better contained (Woodyard, 1995). One participant said that it was possible for him to repay the entire debt incurred within a year because the family did all the work, and cut fixed costs to a bare minimum.

I: Did you ever think about going to a bank for a loan?

Pravin (M): We tried at the bank, went to a couple of banks. They said, "We can't loan you the money. You are not qualified, you don't have collateral." First time, it's hard. Most Indians have bought their first or second motel through owner financing. That is the easier way. We can't qualify for bank loans, but owners don't have rigid requirements. Then I had one very good friend who kept pushing me to go into motel business. He said, "If you like the motel, tell me, and I will give you the money." He just gave me the money as a loan, he did not become a partner. So I used the money right. He said, "When you make money, you return it to me." That's how I got the money to buy the motel. Yes, I was able to repay him within one year. I paid him back in one year--physical work, yes. But in the beginning you try to do everything yourself because everything you do saves money. Usually with 35% occupancy of the motel, you can't survive. There is no way you can survive. You will go bankrupt. But we did survive with 35% occupancy, because we did as much work as possible ourselves, tried to make expenses as small as possible. When we can't increase revenue, then we try to cut down costs as much as we can.

In this case, the financial and business support came from two different men, a friend and a brother-in-law, and the labor came from family members. Other participants gave examples of different combinations of sources of support.

In Gujarat, financial support typically flows among men's patrilineal kin and is considered unusual among women's kin (Jain, 1989). There is evidence of this pattern in participants' accounts that money more often goes to support men's kin in Gujarat, and a woman has no inheritance claim to property belonging either to her father or father-in-law.

Rajni (M): You know, they (her parents) don't expect any financial help. Even if they need it, they won't take it from us. It's always that they don't take it from the daughter, you know. So also any of her family members, in addition to her parents, will not take from us.

I: Do you own property in India?

Nisha (W): Do you mean on my father's side or my in-laws'?

I: I mean you. Do you own property?

Nisha: No, no, not me. I have got some gold and jewelry. That's my property.

These comments indicate that participants privilege patrilineal and patrilineal family relationships with people in Gujarat.

Traditionally, for women, "family" means husband, children, and in-laws. For men, "family" refers to wife, children, siblings (including their spouses and children), and parents (Pocock, 1972). In some societies, women are socialized in ways that lead them to not differentiate between their own individual well-being and that of their families (Sen, 1990).¹⁴ That means that women do not differentiate between their own interests and that of their husbands, children and in-laws. Among Patels, since the family has different meanings for men and women, the asymmetry thus established is transmitted to the next generation in terms of access to joint family resources and family status.

However, among immigrants there is no evidence of this patrilineal emphasis in providing support to new entrants, and they support bi-lateral kin. All family relationships are equally recognized as sources of support in negotiating the process of migration. I believe that the change is associated with recognition of bi-lateral kin in the rules of family-sponsorship. Equal recognition of bi-lateral relationships likely exerts pressure on unequal relationships between couples to become more egalitarian. When women have equal access to kin and their resources, they could draw support when the marriage is under threat or breaks down. It would also allow women a better position to negotiate within the marriage, if they have the support of their families to draw on. However, the pressure towards more egalitarian relationships is countered among Patels by a traditional definition of family that differs for men and women.

Further, Patels in this country also do not typically differentiate between kin and non-kin in the community. This translates into a tremendous business advantage for the entire community because they are buffered from the market of commercial finance economically, and also from racial/ethnic biases they may encounter there. It also translates into confidence in making business/financial decisions because they have the support and backing of the community, as the following excerpts highlight.

Bina (W): Patels have guts. Suppose there are two families, and there is a property which demands \$100,000 down payment. A Patel man will give \$100,000 just like that. And the Punjabi, Marathi [other Indian ethnic group

¹⁴Among upper caste and propertied Indians of the northern part of the country in general and Patels in particular, the norm is that young girls are not considered to be full members of the families into which they are born. They are often referred to as visitors, who will eventually go to live with their husband's family after marriage, which is considered their "real" family. Under traditional patriarchy, women are to be maintained by their fathers before marriage, by their husband after marriage, and by grown sons or husband's families if widowed (Chen 1995).

members] or any other man might hesitate. ...He doesn't have the guts to invest that much money. I have experience. One of my friends in Canada is looking for a motel. But as soon as we tell them about a good property in which they have to invest \$100,000 he says, "Oh, let me think about it." If you take time to think about it you are not going to get that property. We have experience that a good property just goes. We have the guts to invest money--big confidence. Yes, you can say that. We have very good family support and very good community support--100%--you need moral support. And we have very good moral support. See, if we want to do something we can ask my brother or sister-in-law to help. We have confidence, 100% confidence that they will help us. That makes lot of difference. Every Gujarati has moral support. We have very much a community feeling.

Dev (M): Well, it is kind of obligatory to help your own people. It is. Of course, they have to be on their own [eventually], but initially they need some support--moral, financial, every kind of support you need--because you are absolutely new to the place.

Equal support for bi-lateral kin and community members is evidence that traditional norms, such as support for patrilineal kin that would constrain immigrants' meeting migration costs for new entrants are not prevalent in this country. Families who are the first links in the migration chain cannot always benefit from family support, but they can count on substantial community support in financing and in business. Intermediate and last links in the migration chain have the benefit of both family and community support. This pattern of community support that provides a buffer from the market in the United States is evidently maintained into the second generation.

In this section, I have presented evidence that community support is one traditional norm that is significant to Patels' success in motels. However, immigrants do not privilege men's patrilineal kin, and the support is available to all kin and community members. In the next section, I examine data regarding marriage patterns and residence patterns. I had envisaged that traditional patterns in these two indicators of ethnic norms would be significant, but it turned out that they were not as central as I had thought. However, they are still pertinent to the analysis, as I explain below.

Marriage and Residence Patterns

According to the logic laid out in Chapter 2, family reunification rules and motel work interact so that traditional hierarchical gender norms, such as male privilege among married couples, that contribute to meeting costs of migration are evident. Other traditional hierarchical

gender norms that are likely to constrain established families from meeting costs of migration for new entrants, such as privileging patrilateral relationships in providing support, are interrupted.

In the three charts below, I lay out the indicators of ethnic norms and gender hierarchy in relation to participants' positions in the migration chain. No consistent patterns of ethnic norms indicators emerged among couples. However, couples who continued the migration chain by sponsoring more family members are more likely to have hierarchical gender relations than participants who did not sponsor anyone.

The gender division of labor in motel work mirrored the housework in each family. Couples who were first links and intermediate links sponsored subsequent family, and did not share decisions. Some men in the intermediate link families shared some portion of the housework, such as shopping or childcare. However, all men who were first and intermediate links refused the low status jobs of cleaning floors and bathrooms in motel work and at home. I consider this division of labor a partial sharing. Couples who are last links in the migration chain share decisions. Men shared in housework and motel work, including the low status jobs. This suggests that gender hierarchy, evident in the gender division of labor, is related to whether immigrants must meet costs of migration for subsequent members. It also indicates that the gender division of labor reflects family relationships. That is, women who are subordinate in their role as housewives are also more likely to be responsible for low status jobs in motel work and less likely to share in decision-making. When women have more equal relationships at home, they also share motel work more equitably.

In the following three charts I describe the sample in terms of their gender hierarchy, presented in chapter 4. All couples share motel work, unless otherwise noted. These charts show that the indicators of ethnic norms are inconsistent for couples. According my conceptual model, this means that male privilege is associated with meeting migration costs for new entrants. I will show in this chapter that male privilege in couples directly relates to traditional norms that define housewife and breadwinner. Although some traditional norms are not in evidence among all couples, the couples who sponsor and support subsequent immigrants also have hierarchical gender relations. The indicators of gender hierarchy that I used are first, the relationship between motel work and decision-making; and second, the relationship between motel work and housework. That is, if a couple shared motel work equally and also shared decisions, then they are equal. If they shared motel work partially but did not share decisions, they are hierarchical; and if a couple shared motel work but not housework, they are hierarchical. If they shared unequally in

motel work and housework, I consider that relationship hierarchical. In this category, men did not do low status jobs in the motel unless no women or employees were available and did not do low status jobs at home. If men and women shared equally in motel work and housework, then I consider their relationship equal. As noted chapter 4, the gender division of motel work is parallel to that of housework. Traditional norms of what is considered “women’s work” and therefore the domain of housewives organize both housework and motel work: the link between ethnic norms and gender hierarchy. As noted in chapter 2, when ethnic norms are inconsistent, it leads me to the conclusion that there is an association between economic success of a family and male privilege in that family. When couples do not have the economic pressure of meeting migration costs for new entrants, they are likely to have more equal relationships. Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 chart out how ethnic norms and gender hierarchy are linked for couples who have hierarchical and equal gender relations.

For couples who do not share both decision-making and housework (everyone represented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2), marriage patterns remain traditional. As the structure of the family is hierarchical, based on patriarchal norms described earlier, the gender hierarchy in marriage patterns supports economic goals and is conducive to Patels' meeting costs of migration for subsequent new entrants.

However, residence and community support patterns are largely non-traditional for families in this group, indicating that family reunification rules and the labor market have no influence on traditional patterns. If Patels followed traditional patrilocal residence patterns, it would not be conducive to meeting the costs of migration for new entrants. For example, in the traditional pattern married brothers live with each other, and married sisters moved to their husband's home. However, my participants reported many instances of married brothers and sisters living together. Thus if they adhered to traditional norms, married siblings would not support each other by living together after migrating to this country.

Significantly, all families in the sample were inconsistent on the three indicators of traditional norms, suggesting that family reunification policy and motel work selectively interact with ethnic norms. If community support followed a non-traditional pattern, it would mean that the family reunification rules/labor market do not facilitate all traditional support patterns. Indeed, if Patels limited their support to patrilateral kin, as in the example of living space above, then they would be less able to meet the costs of migration for new entrants. Therefore, if traditional patterns are conducive to an enhanced capacity to meet the costs of migration (like sharing living

space among married brothers and sisters), then the immigration rules/labor market are likely to facilitate that trend.

Thus far, we see that marriage patterns are traditional and incorporate the labor of new brides in motel work. Residence patterns are non-traditional, and enlarge the pool of established members from which new entrants can rely on. Support patterns are also non-traditional, expanding the sources of support that new entrants can draw on. Thus, the traditional norms evident among immigrants are those that are conducive to meeting migration costs for new entrants.

Table 5.3 consists of four couples who shared decision making, and shared motel work and housework equally. Three out of the four are last links in the migration chain, i.e. they did not meet migration costs for new entrants. The fourth couple is discussed at length below.

Among all participants, the traditional emphasis on men's patrilineal relationships and patrilocality were altered after family-sponsored migration. As noted before, participants shared residences with kin from both men's and women's families with no stigma attached when they first arrived, or later on when they sponsored someone. This pattern of residence is linked to the fact that the immigration rules are gender neutral in their recognition of blood ties. For example, there is a large proportion of married brothers and sisters (and their families) sharing a residence. In order to meet the costs of migration for new entrants, family sponsors are obliged to share their residences with people that would not be appropriate in Gujarat. This occurs because siblings sponsor each other (and their families) under the current rules, and then must provide for the new entrants. This arrangement is not typical or acceptable according to Patel tradition, but is commonplace and not stigmatized in the United States. Another common arrangement is parents residing with married daughters--considered inappropriate in Gujarat, but not remarkable in the U.S. context. The changes from the traditional patrilocal pattern have the potential for shifting the balance of power and status in families and shows that immigration rules interact with traditional residence patterns. However, in the second generation this change may revert back to more traditional patterns, as I discuss later in this chapter.

Table 5.1.

Couples who had hierarchical gender relations, did not share decisions and housework, and met migration costs for new entrants.

<i>Indicators of ethnic norms</i>	<i>Indicators of gender hierarchy</i> • <i>Motel work/ Decisions</i> • <i>Motel work/ Housework</i>	<i>Position of couple in migration chain</i>	<i>Couple</i>
Inconsistent	•Partial/ do not share •Partial/ do not share	First link	Mahesh and Sudha
Inconsistent	•Partial/ do not share •Partial/ do not share	First link	Das and Neela
Inconsistent	•Partial/ do not share •Partial/ do not share	Intermediate link	Ram and Sita
Inconsistent	•Partial/ do not share •Partial/ do not share	Intermediate link	Vikram and Mala
Inconsistent	•Do not share/ do not share •Do not share/ do not share	Intermediate link	* Dharam and Kali
Inconsistent	•Partial/ do not share •Partial/ do not share	First link	Krishna and Radha

Note:

Partial = men refuse low status jobs

*= do not share motel work because Kali is employed

Indicators of ethnic norms= marriage patterns, residence patterns, support patterns

Indicators of gender hierarchy= relationship between motel work and decision making,
relationship between motel work and housework

Table 5.2.

Couples who had hierarchical gender relations, shared some housework, and met migration costs for new entrants

<i>Indicators of ethnic norms</i>	<i>Indicators of gender hierarchy</i>	<i>Position of couple in migration chain</i>	<i>Description</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •<i>Motel work/ Decisions</i> •<i>Motel work/ Housework</i> 		
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Partial/ do not share •Partial/ partial 	Intermediate link	Dev and Rita
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Partial/ do not share •Partial/ partial 	Intermediate link	Jai and Pia
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Partial/ do not share •Partial/ partial 	Intermediate link	Sadhu and Paro
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Partial/ do not share •Partial/ partial 	Intermediate link	◇ Puran and Nina
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Partial/ do not share •Partial/ partial 	Intermediate link	Mohit and Bina

Key: Partial = men refuse low status jobs

◇=do not share motel work because Puran is employed

∞=Arun is disabled

Table 5.3.

Couples who had more equal relationships, shared decisions and housework, and did not meet migration costs for new entrants.

<i>Indicators of ethnic norms</i>	<i>Indicators of gender hierarchy</i>	<i>Position of couple in migration chain</i>	<i>Couple</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •<i>Motel work/ Decisions</i> •<i>Motel work/ Housework</i> 		
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Share/ share •Share/ share 	Last link	Neel and Bela
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Do not share/ do not share •Share/ share 	Last link	* Champa and Jagdish
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Share/ share •Share/ share 	Last link	Jaya and Arun
Inconsistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Share/ share •Share/ share 	∞ First link	Bhanu and Manu

Key: share =men share motel work and housework, including devalued jobs

*=do not share motel work because Champa is employed

∞= I included this couple here as they migrated independently of each other as professionals, and were both employed before they bought a motel. Thus, they were better able than typical participants to meet migration costs for new entrants because of their better earning capacity

My interpretation of the findings in tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 is as follows:

First, gender hierarchy is related to meeting migration costs for new entrants, and second, gender hierarchy organizes motel work and housework among couples in similar ways. That is, sharing of motel work mirrors sharing of housework.

Table 5.4

Summary of tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3

Position in chain migration	Couples who had hierarchical gender relations, did not share decisions and housework, and met migration costs for new entrants.	Couples who had hierarchical gender relations, shared some housework, and met migration costs for new entrants	Couples who had more equal relationships, shared decisions and housework, and did not meet migration costs for new entrants.
First link	3	0	1
Intermediate link	3	5	0
Last link	0	1	3

Table 5.4 shows a fairly strong pattern:

- Couples in a "first link" position have hierarchical gender relations (partially share motel work but do not share decisions or housework), and meet migration costs for new entrants.
- Most couples in an "intermediate link" position have hierarchical gender relations (partially share motel work and housework, but not decisions), and meet migration costs for new entrants. Some couples in this position are more hierarchical.
- Couples in a "last link" position have more egalitarian gender relations (share housework, motel work, and decisions), and do not meet migration costs for new entrants.

There are two exceptions. In both cases, the wife is employed.

Table 5.5

Marriage patterns

Position of couple in migration chain	Marriage Patterns	
	Hypergamy	Endogamy
First link	3/3	2/3
Intermediate link	9/9	9/9
Last links	4/4	4/4

In families who are the first link in the migration chain, I found traditional marriage patterns among all participants. Whether they migrated singly or in family units, all participants adhered to hypergamy and endogamy, both traditional Patel norms relating to marriage (Pocock, 1972). When men migrated before marriage, they returned to India to select brides. In my entire sample, there were only two women participants who migrated before marriage on their own. One, Prema, was sponsored by her sister before marriage, and the other, Bina, was employer-sponsored.

Among families who are intermediate links in the migration chain, I also found traditional marriage patterns. When participants migrated singly, they maintained traditional hypergamy by selecting brides in India and twice-migrant grooms. Immigration status was of central importance in the selection criteria. I did not find instances in which women sponsored spouses from India and thus controlled the new entrants' immigration status. I did find instances in which men sponsored spouses from India and thus controlled new brides' immigration status.

In families who are the last links in the migration chain, hypergamy remains the norm as well, since most couples married before migration. When an unmarried man migrates, he is likely to return to India to seek a spouse. Migration status remains important in the selection criteria for partners.

Among the second generation, hypergamy and immigration status were no longer central concerns. The emphasis shifted to endogamy when seeking spouses raised in the United States. That is, the boundaries of the pool of acceptable partners shifted from a particular Patel community to include anyone who is Indian. Below are exemplary quotes from parents of second generation Patels who, in considering spouses for their children, indicate such a shift in the criteria.

Bela (W): Well--we would be happy if our son or daughter gets married to an Indian, you know, not [necessarily] within the community, but any Indian. We have been telling my niece in Chicago, "Now it's time, lets start looking for boys." I mean, she is free. If not Patel, not Gujarati, let it be Punjabi, or from U.P. or from the [Indian] South, anything--except probably not Muslim.

Pravin (M): As long as our children are married to Indians, it's fine. And that's what I keep telling my son, "As long as you get married to an Indian, I have no problem. We have no objection to it."

Prema (W): My condition is with my sons, "If you marry any outside girl, you have to live separate from me. I cannot stay with you and your wife. You can, I mean, you can go anywhere in this world." They know very well that I cannot live with a girl from a different culture--like a westernized girl. It will be difficult for me and difficult for her too. So it's right to live separate and just talk on the phone and have nice relations, that's what I thought.

Lata (W): I know it is my parents' decision, "Marry a nice Indian boy, that's all I require, that's all I want." (Laughter). That's the Indian way--that's how I grew up.

Bela, Lata, and Pravin explicitly accept broadening the pool of potentially acceptable spouses from Patel to Indian. Prema, in saying that she would not accept a western bride for her sons, implies that she would accept a girl who is Indian. Although first generation men and women both prefer Indian spouses for their children, there is dissension among second generation Patels. Second generation men are much more agreeable to finding a spouse who was raised in India. This means that they recognize and accept hierarchical marital relationships that are part of traditional norms more than young women. Deepak's preference, stated clearly below, is for a bride who is more accommodating. I interpret this as a preference for a bride who accepts male privilege.

Deepak (M): My choice--"Mom, Dad, I would really like someone of my heritage who is not Americanized."

In another instance, Payal points out that there are both possibilities for second generation men--to marry brides from India as well as brides raised in this country.

Payal (W): Some like to get married to a girl here, for she is already familiar with the lifestyle here and would take less time to adjust after getting married. The other kind prefer to get married to a girl from India for she is likely to be more accommodating and flexible in her habits as compared to a girl living in United States. If she is interested to come to this country, she can only come after marrying a person settled here.

Although all participants stated that while they were willing to accept any Indian, they would prefer within-caste matches. None of the second generation couples I interviewed had married outside their caste, and indeed, some expressed surprising instances of traditional caste orthodoxy.

I: So, is caste still an important consideration?

Sheela (W): Ya, for our caste, it is. It's pretty important that you marry within your own caste.

I: Was it something central when you were looking for a partner, that it had to be somebody in your caste?

Sheela: It had to be. It had to be. Ya, it was pretty strict. Most Indian people want to stay in the caste.

However, as I show below, second generation women are unanimous in rejecting the possibility of marrying a groom from India. Many are agreeable to an arranged match, but they also articulated resistance to hierarchical gender relations. Second generation women are more

inclined to find a spouse of Indian origin who was raised in the United States. This difference is based on young women believing that marriage to men raised in India is likely to be associated with more traditional gender norms, and that means more hierarchical gender relations. Young women were less compliant with marrying Indian spouses than young men:

Kamla (W): I want to get married to whomever I want. I didn't grow up with Indian boys. I have seen Dad and I know the old-style Indian mentality--that the woman's place is in the home and men don't find the woman's role to be equal to them. I grew up with a lot of that and so I have a lot of resentment towards Indian males in that particular way.....

Bela, quoted below, articulates young women's resistance to gender hierarchy clearly:

Bela (W): If you bring a girl from India, she adjusts with the boy. But a girl from here, when she goes to marry in India or if the boy comes from India, they don't adjust at all--the girl and boy both. In India, boys can make the rules or give orders to girls. If my daughter gets married and brings a boy [from India] and if he gives an order, my daughter won't take it. And that's the way fighting starts--arguments. And that's the way if boys come from India, they give orders and girls don't need orders....

However, immigration status is still central when the second generation recruits spouses from India, as the following excerpt highlights.

Mina (W): I would say first determine the immigration status of the boy you are marrying: whether he is a green card holder, he is on [an] H-1 visa, business visa, or a citizen. I would say: if he is a green card holder, don't get married, because now the waiting is too long--it is about 5 years. After 5 years, she can enter this country to join him. I say, then forget it. Citizen I say yes, or H-1 right away yes, because he can bring her with him. And I would consider what kind of financial position the guy has and also education from here, a degree from any university from here. It really helps, otherwise you have to work a minimum wage job.

These excerpts illustrate that marriage patterns are tending toward non-traditional for second generation Patels, although many traditional concerns remain in place; that second generation men and women have disparate perspectives on marriage-migration; and that migration status remains a central concern in marriage negotiations, although it is no longer as important in the international marriage market as it was in the 1980s.

Immigration Rules

Family is central in U.S. immigration policy--the importance of maintaining the family as a social unit is well accepted by scholars, law-makers, and U.S. citizens (Simpson, 1984). In international law, the family is a natural unit: "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by the law and state" (International Covenant on Civil

and Political Rights). A similar statement is found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Perruchoud, 1989). In U.S. immigration law, the family is conceptualized in social terms: "Reuniting of families, which is very important for the well-being of migrant workers, should be actively encouraged in accordance with UN standards concerning the protection of the family" (Pekin, 1989).

Clearly, U.S. immigration law treats the family as a different category from workers. Assumptions about gender and work are apparent in the framework of immigration policy. The laws are designed to facilitate the well-being of workers. This discourse masks and ignores economic realities. Family relationships translate into economic terms because when children of citizens marry, they lose priority and move from first to fourth preference (see appendix B for preference categories). However, when children of citizens marry, family relationships do not become less important. In another example, when children reach age 21, they lose priority. After all, if the rules were based on family relationships, then one can argue that relationships do not cease to exist when children reach age 21. What changes is the economic responsibility that parents may have. This example highlights how immigration rules are economically linked to immigrants' family relationships.

Family reunification rules do not identify families as workers--their acceptance is based on non-market, non-economic, human rights concerns. However, policies that view families as dependent regardless of whether each person contributes economically seem misplaced in the context of increased family labor in family businesses. Family reunification multiplies opportunities for immigrants if they fit into a particular definition of family. Family ideology is central in immigrant businesses as well--women work in the motels because they are helping their families.

Dev describes his encounter with U.S. immigration below. As long as his sister took economic responsibility for the entire family, the main criterion for selection was met. Note that traditional patterns of support and residence are suspended in all the following instances.

Dev (M): For the green card, we had an interview on the basis of the application. They just asked me, just a formality. Unless they change the law they cannot refuse a blood relation. They asked my sister for an affidavit of support. They didn't even interview my sister. We both (husband and wife) went together. They asked me certain questions and asked her, "You are also with him?" They even didn't ask who the children were. We were all standing together. They did not go into details. I could have taken my niece also as one of my children. Of course, she was born before our wedding. (Laughter)

Thus, the policy does reunite families when sponsors take economic responsibility, and ignores other criteria. In the following story also, as long as the family sponsors were taking economic responsibility for the new entrants, there were no barriers to their entry.

Pravin (M): We got an offer from Nina's sister after we got married. They said, "We want our family members to come here." We were the first ones to come here in my family. Once Nina's sister started sponsoring all her sisters, Nina was the first one to come here. But we did not have any money to buy the tickets to come from India to here. At that time we did not know that my sister-in-law can help us with money for our tickets. So once we got it approved and we got the visas, they called and asked, "You got the visas?" We said, "Ya, we got the visas." Then she asked when we want to come. I said, "Give us 6 to 8 months' time. By that time we may be able to come up with some money to buy the tickets." She said, "No, no, no, no. You don't have to worry about the tickets. We'll send you the tickets from here." We said, "Well, if you are sending the tickets, we can come tomorrow. (Laughter) Because that is the only problem we have. If you can send us the tickets, then we can come as early as you want us to." They sent us the tickets, and within a month we were here.

Dilip, a second generation motel owner, describes his family's migration experience. In this account as well, it is the economic support that is key in getting immigrant status.

Dilip (M): Right now we have a total of 38 hotels. It's my father and my mom's six brothers. They are all involved. There is no such thing as little in the motel business. The whole thing that happened was that my uncle was here. He is a chemical engineer and then he bought a restaurant. And then he talked to my mother and my father in India to see if they want to come up here. They would buy a motel and my father can run it and so forth. So, you know, then, Dad came in and my uncle called in his brothers and so forth. My uncle bought it and my dad ran it.

In Sheela's story, she describes her maternal grandmother as living with a daughter. This is an atypical situation that is stigmatized in Gujarat; however, it is not unusual or remarkable in the United States. Sheela's family also has an experience in which economic support was the key characteristic that allowed the migration of many family members.

Sheela (W): My dad, both of his parents are still alive and they are here in Georgia at my uncle's house. And my mom, her father passed away a couple of years back but her mother is still alive and she is in New Jersey with my mom's sister.

I: Your father's siblings and your mother's siblings?

Sheela: Everybody is here in America.

I: How many?

Sheela: My mom has four sisters and one brother, and my dad has two brothers. Everybody is here.

I: And your father's older brother is doing what? Ah! Motel business. Is everybody ...

Sheela: Everybody is in the motel business! Everybody we know is in the motel business.

Sheela went on to describe a process similar to one I had observed. Family members would sponsor new entrants who would live in the motel and learn the business, and eventually set up their own establishment. Several participants said that all their siblings in this country were in the motel business.

A key to immigrant status is a person's right to seek employment. That is, someone who claims immigrant status has a right to seek employment in the United States, as compared to a visitor who may come to conduct business but not to seek employment. The right to seek employment in the United States is also the main difference between documented and undocumented immigrants. However, as pointed out earlier, the vast majority of documented immigrants enter the United States under family reunification rules, and are thus exempt from labor certification (Isbister, 1996; Heer, 1996). A majority of women migrate in a family context, and the rules do not include family labor in the domain of work. Although family-sponsored immigrants' definition as family members takes precedence over their role as workers, family relationships are economic as well. The notion of "dependent" clearly includes an economic component. Sponsors must take economic responsibility for new entrants

Recent changes in the rules bring the economic dimension to the surface. Until 1997, the rules allowed the family sponsor and the financial sponsor to be two different people. That is, extended families or communities could pool their resources to cover some of the costs of migration for new immigrants. After January 1997, the rules changed so that now the family sponsor must show economic resources in order to file papers for subsequent immigrants. In other words, family relationships are now a necessary but not sufficient criteria for migration. There is discussion about constricting or doing away altogether with the fifth preference category (siblings of U.S. citizens and their spouses and children) (Baldwin, 1997). Participants commented on this trend and the effect it has on the migration chain already, as the excerpts below illustrates.

I: After you have come, you haven't sponsored anybody else to come to the United States?

Pravin (M): No. In the beginning my brother and sister were not interested in coming here. My father did come to visit us first time. Once he got back, he told everybody how things are here. Then my brother and sister said they want to come. But, you know, now it is so hard to get a visa. Because if I file application for them right now, it would take 15 to 20 years by the time their turn comes. And in 15-20 years, they will be 65-70 years old. It is not worth it to try it that way. Because they will be under 5th Preference as brothers and sisters. And 5th Preference takes at least 15-20 years now. It's too late.

Lata's experience is similar.

I: So then why did you move from England to the United States?

Lata (W): Only for one thing: if we come to America we can bring my husband's brother's kids. They can come. That's the only thing we thought about.

I: But they decided not to come?

Lata: They want to come. But now immigration, they are very strict. It's taking a very long time. See, we filed the papers in April 1985 and still we don't have any ...And specially his brother's case, they want to come. If they come, it's fine. But it's not working out the way we thought.

I: Why?

Lata: Me and my husband came here and we applied in 1985 for everyone. And now we got the letter, we got the form. You can send it and make the fingerprints for the visa. They got the call.

I: Oh! They did.

Lata: Ya. One of the brothers. But now their kids are 21 years old so they can't come. That's why it is not worth anything. See, his brother has a good position. They don't want to come here, but they want to bring their kids. But the kids are all 21 years old now. The last one will be 21 in December. We wait for him. If he gets the chance, he can come.

The cut off date of age 21 for "dependent" status reflects the economic basis that organizes family relationships in the immigration rules.

The economic dimension between immigration policy and family enterprises is evident among Gujaratis in the United States: motel owners live on the motel premises, saving substantially on rent, utilities, child care, and transport costs. Family members work there, thus reducing labor costs. My earlier study¹⁵, indicates that about 85% of family-sponsored Patels entered family businesses, mainly motels (Assar, 1990). Seventy percent of the sample in this study entered this country as family-sponsored immigrants.

In this section, I presented evidence that immigration rules do not consider family-sponsored immigrants as workers, although they contribute large amounts of labor into the economy through family businesses. I highlighted the masked economic dimension of family sponsorship rules. Economics considerations are central to family sponsorship in addition to the stated goal of reunification of families. In recent years, family relationships have declined in significance and the economic dimension of family sponsorship has gained in importance. In the next section, I will consider how their reception in the labor market helps propel immigrants towards disproportionately high rates of self-employment.

Labor Market Context

Participants described a process of de-skilling and discrimination that is evidently the experience of immigrants from the third world who come to the United States and Canada (Banerji, 1998). According to the Census Bureau, 25.2% of immigrants have college degrees but flounder in low-skill jobs. They are told that their degrees from universities in their native countries are not valid here (Associated Press, June 1999).¹⁶ Training and experience from developing countries is also often not recognized as relevant in the United States. For example, Dev was a successful entrepreneur in India. However, his experience and skills did not translate well in the United States. After working in fast food, he eventually went into motel work. Dev also discussed his friend (who hails from the same place in Gujarat) who arrived from New Jersey with his family two days prior to this interview, with the specific intent of learning the motel business. This is an example of the change in occupational hierarchy that is an accepted part of migrating from third world countries.

Dev (M): Many of the people who come from India are well-off there. My friend has recently come from India. He must be doing business worth crores¹⁷ of rupees every year. He has a big office with 20 employees in India. He now has a convenience store here and does most of the work himself--dealing with wholesalers, stacking shelves in the store, cleaning up--everything. You come here and you have got to do it to succeed. One cannot afford to have help in this country. One cannot think it is below one's dignity to do certain jobs. There is nobody else to do it. You can't have it both ways--that you want to drive a Toyota Camry and you don't want to do certain types of work.

Evidently, the friend's experience in managing a multi-million dollar business with 20 employees in India translates into owning a convenience store in the United States with no employees. In addition to moving down in the occupational hierarchy after migration, there are also employer tactics to increase profits by paying the lowest possible wages that qualified immigrants must negotiate. Bina is the only woman in my sample who was employer-sponsored. She arrived

¹⁵ As part of my graduate training, I conducted a study of Indian immigrants in small family enterprises in 1990: a convenience store, a motel, and a restaurant. I did semi-structured, tape-recorded interviews with 6 people and did 60 hours of observation at the business sites.

¹⁶ In response to this practice Reymundo and Maria Marin have set up the InterAmerican College in National City, California, a non-profit school where immigrants who were professionals in their native countries are put on a fast track to earn a degree in the U.S. The school has approval from the state to grant degrees.

¹⁷ 1 crore=10 million

single, and then chose a spouse in the United States, taking care that immigration-status-conferring ability was not a consideration in the match. Bina describes her husband's experience with employment . The following excerpt illustrates how employer tactics to increase profits influenced Bina's husband to change from a career in corporate research to a motel business.

Bina (W): You see, at first he [her husband] didn't want any business. He was working for a company. He had a Ph.D. in chemistry from Princeton University. I was working as a nurse. He got laid off a couple of times. Because, you know, they hire you for certain years, then because you get raises, they hire younger graduates to keep the pay low. Two or three times, he was laid off. Third time he was laid off, he said he is not working for someone else anymore. And he would not have me working and sit home himself.

Several participants hold professional degrees; however, they were unable to gain professional employment in the United States. Vikram, quoted below, is a civil engineer who has several years of professional experience prior to migration. At first, Vikram wanted professional employment in the United States. He soon realized that the employment that was available would not allow him to meet the costs of migration for family members. Moreover, available employment was subject to employer discrimination. Since expertise and advice was readily available about the motel business from family and the community, Vikram decided to buy a motel.

Vikram (M): I wanted to study design work for engineering. The first job I got was a construction job. Of course I took it because there was no other job available. I stayed for four months and they gave me a layout job. There was somebody new who came over there. The president told me to teach him my job. This American was an industrial engineer. They wanted to employ him because the president was in some church and he had promised them. As soon as I trained him I was out.

Vikram and Mala have sponsored six siblings with their families since they bought the motel. Pravin also described employer discrimination and a glass ceiling as the reason he quit his engineering job:

Pravin (M): We have seen that when you go to work, whether you are educated in India or in the United States, there will be discrimination. But in engineering there is less discrimination than if you go into management. They will let you become a big engineer but they will not let you become a manager unless you are white. We had a friend who worked for Dupont Company. He was a mechanical engineer, working for so many years. He was working with a team. Everybody works in a team for a project. He could become the chief engineer but he could not become the manager of the team, because they will accept your engineering abilities but they will not take orders from you, no matter how qualified you are, or how educated you are. They will never take orders from you. That's why they will never allow you to become a manager.

Pravin's experience gives insight into a common route into motel work. He elaborates his experience below:

Pravin (M): We came to the United States in 1979 and the first job I had was working in McDonald's cleaning dishes. I am a civil engineer, but when I came here, that's where I started. Then I had a part time job at a drug store. Then I got a job in a Seven Eleven store. We were trying hard to get a job in Seven Eleven at that time because within 24 hours, we got full medical insurance. Luckily I had an Indian friend who helped me get a job in the construction company where he worked. I worked 7 years and then I hit the glass ceiling: I realized that I had no place to go. I was going to be there the rest of my life wherever I was, no place to go up. It was an American company. Last two years, I was the only person in the company from the minorities. There weren't any blacks working in the company. My friend quit for the same reason. He was the senior-most person in the company, he had a professional engineer's license and they put a 24-year-old college kid as his boss. And that was the reason he quit.

It's very hard, for you always have to give them 125% efficiency. If you work less than 100% efficiency, then everybody is after you. You make one small mistake and the whole office knows right away that "he made a mistake!" I was in the Estimating Department. Everything you do there has to do with money. If you make a small mistake, it comes to thousands of dollars for the company. So everything you do has to be very precise. But like everywhere else, human error can happen. When other people made a mistake the attitude was: "Don't worry, it can happen." When I made a mistake, everyone in the office that knew that I screwed up on a job. And then you can never go to the top, you never get promoted. All you can get is the "cost of living" adjustment. I said this is not for me. At that time my family was going into the motel business because the first member of the family had a motel. The only place he could advise us is the motel business.

We don't have any choice in the beginning. We are educated but in this country one needs more education for a good salary. I tried. I have personal experience with this in 1973. I had a Bachelor's, they didn't give me a good response. They want some more advanced study and more experience in the job. So I cannot get a job that pays \$10 or \$15 an hour. I have to go for a job that pays \$6 for an hour. And then we thought that if we go for this business, we might make good and we can stay together.

These excerpts illustrate how motel work for Patels is often a choice, a resistance strategy to negotiate pressures of the labor market due to a change in occupational hierarchy, employer practices to increase profits, as well as employer discrimination.

There is a double link here between immigration rules, the labor market, and motel work. On the one hand, more immigrants are family-sponsored than employer-sponsored, and therefore are less likely to have professional skills. On the other hand, those who do have professional training experience deskilling and discrimination. Drawing on the experience and expertise of

prior immigrants is a major consideration for going into the motel business after facing the adverse conditions in the job market.

While they may be a resistance strategy to the pressures of the labor market, small family businesses are also a form of self-exploitation: they are profitable only because all members of the family contribute their labor. Living quarters are often adjacent, so that work and family life are completely integrated (Glenn, 1990, p. 181). Family income depends on the labor of men and women. If immigrant small business is a form of cheap labor (Bonacich, 1984), the state does not recognize those who work in family businesses as workers. Since family-sponsored immigrants currently account for 70-80% of documented immigrants, the labor of immigrant women who work in family businesses is subsumed in "traditional" family ideology. Among Patels, family ideology includes women's status as housewives who ought not go outside the home to work and thus they are not recognized as workers. Thus family sponsorship rules and gender hierarchy are linked through an overlapping definition of what is considered work which excludes family labor and housewives labor.

Discussion

When participants sponsored more family members to come to the United States, they needed higher economic returns to provide for the new entrants. Supporting two or more people for an extended period involves a considerable expense, even when the new immigrants have access to community financing. It includes training newcomers to succeed in the business--and is accomplished by having them work together with the established family members. Community financing, job-training, and sharing living quarters and expenses is possible and works well because the residence and workplace are located on the same premises. Participants expressed consciousness of the necessity for increased economic input to meet family responsibilities. I found traditional gender hierarchy among families who sponsored subsequent links in the migration chain.

When the next link in the migration chain is forged, it serves to reinforce "tradition" in two ways. First, the new immigrants are immersed in it when they arrive; and second, it requires increased contributions from more established members, which are met by further cutting costs, sharing living expenses, and intensifying labor inputs. Since women in families who sponsor new immigrants are responsible for a major share of motel work and all the housework, intensification

of labor affects men and women differentially. Evidently, gender hierarchy among Patels relates to meeting the costs of migration for subsequent links in the chain migration.

Community support is crucial to getting started in a motel, because commercial financing is very difficult to get. Families who are at the beginning of the migration chain gained a conditional right to work in the United States at immigration. They entered the United States without family sponsors. The three routes represented in my sample were as entrepreneurs, employer-sponsored, and through Canada. In each scenario, this group had to meet their own costs of migration. Professionals whose qualifications translated into the U.S. labor market were employer-sponsored. As employer-sponsored immigrants, they were tied to their first jobs for three years. A combination of secure access to the labor market and financial support from the community enabled them to meet their own costs of migration. These experiences were relatively rare, there were three employer-sponsored immigrants in my sample. The more typical experience is that education, experience, and skills from abroad were not well-received in the United States. However, even when immigrants' qualifications were accepted, they experienced the glass ceiling and eventually decided that a family business provided more security than the vagaries of the labor market.

Men who are first links in the migration chain were either farmers or had small businesses prior to immigrating. Direct migrants from Gujarat were more likely to have been farmers, and twice-migrants are more likely to have entrepreneurial experience. Many women who migrated directly from Gujarat were housewives prior to migration. Twice-migrant women are more likely to have either employment experience and/or to have shared in a family business.

Family reunification rules are important because family-sponsored immigrants typically move in family units and therefore the gender composition is balanced and we know that gender composition is linked to an immigrant group's economic success (Morawska, 1990). This is pertinent for Patels because men and women work together in motels. As reported in the media:

Owners can put their families to work, reducing labor costs to practically nothing. The wife did the housekeeping. The husband did the front desk, and both of them together at night did the laundry and folded the sheets. The husband and wife, as a team, worked almost 16 hours a day. Doing that, [they] saved money from the payroll, and could turn around and pay off the debt. It hardly took two or three years to return the money to the lenders (Woodyard, 1995).

These families had to operate a business in order to meet the costs of migration for subsequent new immigrants. They were explicit in the recognition that it was not possible to meet these costs even with two paychecks, considering the kinds of employment opportunities that were available

to them. One participant recounted that he and his wife felt a family obligation to help out those members who wanted to immigrate. Although they were both employed, and the man is a qualified engineer, their jobs were not secure. The new entrants would need to learn English and other skills, like driving. Therefore, after considering other businesses, this couple decided on buying a motel because they could integrate the labor that new immigrants could contribute along with living space that they would need. They sponsored six siblings with their families. When the new entrants first arrived, one woman contributed substantially by doing housework for eight people, another woman contributed by doing motel work, while a third woman found employment as a seamstress in a garment factory in New Jersey. Women began contributing right away by doing what they are socialized to do. Buying a motel ensured that all eight people would have work. Finding a business to which everyone can contribute is crucial to economic success for new immigrants.

Participants who were the last links in the migration chain made up about one-third of the married couples in the sample. They did not need to cover the costs of migration for new entrants and had the benefit of the support of prior immigrants. All the women had employment experience. In this group, there is clear evidence of an interaction of ethnic norms with motel work. Thus, the release of economic pressure, accompanied by women's employment experience together were conducive to equal marital relationships and a more equitable sharing of motel work.

Among the second generation of Patels, I differentiate between those who continue in the family business without seeking employment, and those who venture out into the job market after completing their education. This exposure to the labor market contributes to substantially different gender relations, as I will show in the next chapter. The conjugal relationship is central in the analysis of gender hierarchy, therefore I have focused on married couples. Participants did articulate hierarchical gender relations between fathers and daughters. However, I found it difficult to clarify the benefits of male privilege among unmarried men. I illustrate the privilege for men through their interest/share in the family business in the next chapter. When second generation men continued in the motel business, they gained a share in their father's business. When second generation women continued in motels, it was through their husband's share in his family business. Men explained that sons typically carry on the family business. Daughters may become involved if the sons-in-law are so inclined.

Conclusion

Family-sponsored immigrants continue to make up the vast majority of documented immigrants. Therefore, the experiences of family-sponsored immigrants are centrally important in assessing immigration to the United States. The experience of Patels suggests that education, experience, and language skills are less significant than family labor (organized by traditional norms regarding housewives and breadwinners) and community financing in making an economic success in the United States. Both family labor and community financing operate outside of the market rules; indeed, they are a buffer to the market economy.

Portes and Rumbaut (1996) maintain that the U.S. government policy towards newcomers can be differentiated into active support (accorded only to refugees and asylees) and passive acceptance. Further, their analysis of the labor market reception of newcomers can be characterized as differentiating between neutral or positive (accorded primarily to white immigrants) and discriminatory (experienced by non-white immigrants). Indians have the highest average income of all groups. This group must make huge inputs of labor to achieve economic success in the face of passive acceptance in government policy and discriminatory reception in the U.S. labor market.

The theme that emerged from the interviews illuminates that the links between systems of hierarchy hinge on the status attached to different kinds of work--indeed, whether it is considered work or not-work is determined by the context and not by the activity. The category of "women's work" remains in place, and remains low status, regardless of who actually does it. As discussed before, Patels move from a high status of agriculturists and landowners in Gujarat to the low-status service work in budget motels in the United States. This move does not mean lowering of status within the community, as long as it goes along with substantial economic gain (Patel, 1972). As long as the hierarchy of men and women remains in place, Patels can claim adherence to traditional norms and therefore retain a high status with reference to their place of origin in Gujarat. In the next chapter I examine the gender relations of Patel immigrants by examining sharing of motel work, decision-making, and housework

CHAPTER 6: SHARING MOTEL WORK, HOUSEWORK, AND DECISION-MAKING

My findings indicate that for Patels, the relationship between motel work and gender hierarchy is influenced by three factors: one, pressures to meet the costs for subsequent links in the migration chain; two, the nature of motel work, a major portion of which is similar to housework; and three, the fact that women with employment experience were equally likely to be or not be in a hierarchical gender relationship. But, what seems to be important for both motel and employment experiences is the economic pressure caused by costs of subsequent migration. In this sense, the family sponsorship encouraged by immigration policy is linked to gender hierarchy.

In this chapter, I examine women's contributions to family business related to their decision-making in motels, and how couples share motel work related to sharing housework. I then demonstrate that the link between women's contributions and decision making varies among Patel immigrants who are the first, intermediate, and last links in the migration chain.

My findings indicate that women who have employment experience other than motel work are likely to negotiate equitable marital relationships only when families also do not need to meet the costs of migration for subsequent immigrants. It may be that when families continue the migration chain, the economic pressure to provide for/support new immigrants runs counter to the potentially equitable relationships that women's labor-market experience presents. The financial obligations migration are significant in encouraging Patels to enter motel work, as Chapter 5 illustrated. Established family members perceive it as a family obligation to help and support new immigrants. Immigration rules of family-sponsorship facilitate this process because a key consideration for admission is that sponsors meet new immigrants' costs of migration. Couples who are the first links or intermediate links in the migration chain are less likely to negotiate more equitable marital relationships even when the women have prior labor-market experience. However, women who have employment experience **AND** who are the last links in the chain negotiate egalitarian gender relations. There was one couple who was the last link in the migration chain and the woman did not have employment experience. This couple had a gender hierarchical relationship. I am not suggesting that women's employment leads directly to egalitarian relationships. However, when women had employment experience and they did not need to meet the costs for new entrants, they were likely to have more equal relationships, as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1.

Gender hierarchy, location in migration chain, and women's employment experience.

	Gender relations	
Women's employment	Hierarchical	Egalitarian
experience	First generation: 2 first links 2 intermediate links	First generation: 1 first link 2 last links second generation: 1 last link
no experience	First generation: 2 first links 4 intermediate links Second generation: 1 last link 1 intermediate link	none

Table 6.1 shows that

- a) both women's employment experience and a release from the economic pressures of migration costs are necessary for couples to have egalitarian relationships
- b) women with employment experience are equally likely to have hierarchical and egalitarian gender relations.
- c) women with no employment experience are unlikely to have egalitarian gender relationships, regardless of their location in the migration chain.

In this study, one family that was a first link in the migration chain also had equal gender relations. This case is unique because it is the only instance in which both partners came to this country independently as employer-sponsored immigrants and then got married. Both partners were professionally employed, and could thus earn significantly more than the family-sponsored immigrants that make up the rest of the sample. This earning capacity also provided the means by which they could meet the costs of migration for subsequent links in the migration chain. Their experience does not conflict with the explanation that meeting costs of migration exerts a pressure that counters the potential benefits of women's employment for gender relations. A professional qualification and independent immigration experience made this woman's link to the labor market especially secure.

Although in the last chapter, I distinguished between couples who did not share decisions and housework and those who shared decisions and housework partially, here, I conflate the two categories because in both situations, gender relations are hierarchical. Thus, to sharpen the analysis, I am now differentiating between relationships that are hierarchical and egalitarian.

My analysis of first generation Patels is consistent with the experience of second generation of Patels. Interviews suggest that when second generation couples remain in the motel business and women do not have employment experience, then they are likely to have hierarchical gender relations. When either partner was employed or had prior employment experience, then gender relations were more likely to be egalitarian. Hierarchical gender relations are likely even when second generation Patels do not have to meet migration costs, suggesting that the nature of motel work might also inhibit egalitarian gender relations. I did interview second generation Patels who had employment experience and who were not doing motel work. Among the second generation, when women had employment experience and when they were the last links, couples were likely to have egalitarian gender relations. There were no instances of couples in which women had no employment experience and who did not sponsor new entrants having egalitarian gender relations, as seen in table 6.1.

When second generation Patels remain in the motel business, then they also tend to maintain traditional gender relations. When second generation Patels seek other, then their gender relations tend to be egalitarian. This suggests that the nature of motel work is likely to be pertinent. Women who work in motels do not apparently make the same gains as women who experience other employment. This suggests that motel work is organized by a gender division of labor that parallels how housework is organized, and is thus considered compatible with women's housewife

status. Further, it is also possible that because it is contiguous with household labor, the addition of motel work is less recognized. A woman who works outside the home cannot combine her labor in the same way, so it is easier to differentiate and demand men's participation at home. Indeed, among Koreans immigrants with grocery stores, women's contributions to the business are more visible, leading to a change in self- image. In turn, this leads to more equal gender relations (Lim, 1997).

Although both men and women work in the family motel business, yet women remain housewives. One consequence of retaining the housewife status is that women's decision-making power also remains in the domestic domain. Thus, changing women's relationship to employment and housework does not automatically generate a change in gender hierarchy. It is not only the particular activities that men or women perform which define them as men's or women's work, but the ideological context in terms of ethnic definitions of what is considered gender appropriate and domesticity (Mohanty, 1997). For example, cleaning is typically women's work. When necessary, men do this job in the context of the motel, but only when no woman or employee is available to do it.

When men undertake women's work, they take their gender privilege with them and this translates into an advantage (Williams, 1992). Men's and women's social status determines their experience in sex-segregated work. The stereotypes that differentiate masculinity and femininity, and degrade that which is defined as feminine, are deeply entrenched in the culture and social structure (Williams, 1989). Historically, when women undertake men's work (for example, secretarial work) then the work loses status (Andersen, 1993). The ideological aspects of gender are closely but not directly related to the material dimensions. This means that the economic impact of a particular work task translates into status or power differentially for men and women. For example, although both men and women engage in motel work, decision-making in the business remains firmly in men's domain, and women's decision-making remains in the domestic domain. Among second generation Patels, the linkage between motel business and gender hierarchy becomes clearer than it is among the first generation. Data suggests that motel work itself is one condition that might inhibit egalitarian gender relations among couples. Thus, second generation couples who continue in the motel business without experiencing employment have hierarchical marital relationships.

The finding of more equal gender relations when both conditions are evident--women's employment experience and a release from economic pressure to meet migration costs for

subsequent immigrants--builds our understanding of immigrant women's status in the family. These findings build on a considerable body of research that reveals that women's participation in "gainful" economic activity influences women's position within the family (Sen, 1990; Bardhan, 1985; Standing, 1985). It also supports research that shows that it is not only a matter of employment, but also of the conditions under which women work that determine their status within the family (Chen, 1989).

Exploring the relationship between the material and non-material aspects of gender leads to a re-examination of the central concepts of workers/breadwinners and non-workers/housewives which demarcate men's and women's contributions to the family, community, and society (Mohanty, 1997; Mies, 1982). To interpret my findings, I will draw on scholarship in development economics to analyze decision-making and gender. This framework takes into account relationships within the family and also considers social locations in the wider society. In the rest of this chapter, I present my understanding of gender hierarchy among Patels and lay out the basis for my interpretation.

Gender Relations and Cooperative Conflict

My analysis thus far indicates that seeing motel work as similar to housework and thus suitable for housewives and a particular family's location in the migration chain are both related to gender hierarchy. By focusing on the power relations embedded in tradition, recent research shows the construction of tradition across the borders of India and the United States and its differential effects on immigrant women (Das Gupta, 1997). For instance, women experience increased constraints more often than men after migration. Adopting such a Third World feminist perspective that highlights gender hierarchy across national boundaries allows me to argue for a transnational approach that links gender and global inequality. My analysis seeks to moving the unit of analysis away from regional or national boundaries to processes across cultures. I explore the nature of traditional norms, especially those relating to gender, and immigration rules. Indu Krishnan's thought-provoking film, *Knowing Her Place*, about an immigrant woman from India highlights the differential experience of migration for men and women, and shows movingly that "given that there is no rupture in patriarchal power with migration, merely its reconfiguration, the consequences of diaspora are specifically different for immigrant men and women" (Mani, 1993, p.33-34).

Cultural traditions relating to gender result in a double bind for immigrant women. They must adhere to social traditions (including traditional gender relations) that have a high degree of survival value, and simultaneously, women must contribute economically. A double bind constrains recognition of a discrepancy between what exists and what ought to be. For example, it means no recognition of the discrepancy between women's contributions to motel work and their lack of decision-making. That is, women often take on part of the responsibilities of the breadwinner, while retaining housewife status. Similarly, immigrant men share their breadwinner responsibilities without giving up their privilege. The outcome could be a second generation that is doubly double-bound (Varadhan, 1987). That is, second generation women are subjected to more constraints than second generation men as well as more constraints than women who do not migrate because ethnic norms necessitate that they retain traditional housewife status while contributing economically, as I will show below.

The focus on the power relations embedded in tradition is pertinent to this study precisely because motels confound the distinction between the public and private spheres.¹⁸ Mohanty (1997) and Mies (1982) point out that the concepts of housewife and worker are defined in opposition to each other. Being a housewife is associated with being feminine, and being a worker is associated with being masculine.¹⁹ Breadwinners are considered workers, and housewives are considered non-workers. When women go outside the home to work, their traditional status as a housewife is destabilized. Similarly, when a man loses his breadwinner status, his masculinity is called into question. Bina, who is a first link in the migration chain and the only woman in my sample who was employer-sponsored, described how her husband felt when he was laid off and she was still employed:

Bina (W): Main thing is, you know, he was losing his manhood. "My wife makes money and I am getting laid off." He didn't feel too good...

Other participants saw men as the primary earners in motel work, and thus they remained breadwinners--an understanding that conflates the meanings of manhood and breadwinner/worker-

¹⁸ I gratefully acknowledge the insights of S. Charusheela in thinking through and organizing this section.

¹⁹ Either/or dichotomous categories, in which the relations are (a) in terms of difference, (b) the difference is not complementary, (c) unstable, and (d) enmeshed in political economy, are the leitmotif of systems of domination (Collins 1986). The categories of housewife/breadwinner comply with Collins' criteria.

-and follows the fundamentally masculine concept of worker and labor. I also heard a conflation of womanhood and housewife that excludes women from the concept of worker and women's work from the concept of labor. These definitions are not equal in status.

Family members experience contradictory pressures of cooperation (pooling joint resources) and conflict (dividing available joint resources among members) (Sen, 1990). Four aspects of family dynamics are relevant to understanding gender hierarchy among Patels. First, women may not necessarily separate their own well-being from that of their families, that leads to behavior which may be positive for the family but negative for women. The second family dynamic explores how each family members' position in the wider society is reflected in family negotiations, even when the family remains intact. The third dynamic examines the discrepancy between what women contribute and how their contributions are perceived. The fourth family dynamic addresses the perpetuation of gender inequalities over time and over generations. This "cooperative conflict" framework addresses the links between women's status in the family and in the wider society.

As part of production, labor allocation may be one of two arenas of competing interests, conflict, and negotiation between men and women in a family (Katz, 1991). However, in the case of Patel motel-owners, there is already an evident gender differential: women are socialized into putting the needs of the family before their own. There is very little explicit negotiation about allocation of women's labor: it is assumed that they will do motel work as part of the family relationship. Resources and income are completely pooled. The assumption that labor is completely pooled becomes evident when young women resist such an arrangement. Participants recounted that in the 1980s young women were unaware of what motel work entailed, and therefore many who wanted to migrate to the United States married motel-owners.

I: Do people in India have a good idea of what motel work is like?

Sudha (W): No. Absolutely not. If you tell your friends life is like that, they won't understand. Till they come over here and see all the facts over here, they won't be knowing anything, even though you were writing everything, still they won't understand anything. They don't understand till they come over here and look with their eyes. Then their eyes will open. See, on the opposite side, the grass is [always] greener. They don't think about what you told them--how difficult it is. They don't understand. No, not at all. It's not easy at all. I am telling the truth--telling my life...

Young women who recently came to the United States spoke of the constraints imposed on them here, and the increased contributions of labor that were expected of them. The data indicates that though there are changes, the assumption that women will do motel work as part of their married

status continues. This assumption is apparent among those who migrated in the 1980s, such as Mina and Nina quoted below, as well as women who migrated recently, such as Prema quoted below, who moved two years ago.

Mina (W): We were fascinated because we saw movies and read about America. There is so much potential and so many opportunities. ...they said if I study further I would get a good job in the United States. Then one of my friends came here and she wrote me also that if you study here you will get a good job. When I came here I looked around for a good university, but it was far away from us.

I: Tell me about the first motel when you came from India.

Mina: It was a small motel, not a franchise. And my husband and his brother were working for their older brother who is a cardiologist. He bought a motel and they were working there. The motel was a junk one. So we threw all the trash out and we worked very hard. My husband and younger brother-in-law worked day and night for a year, and then I came in '84. When I joined them I was so miserable. (Laughter) Because I had so many dreams. I had dreamed we'll go on vacation and have a good time. My husband came to India to get married just for two weeks and we didn't have a real honeymoon. So I thought we will go on a honeymoon, we will wander about this country. But boy! It was chaos....

I: What was your expectation when you came to the United States?

Nina (W): I did not know anything. The only thing in my mind was that when you go to America you make a lot of money. But I never had any idea how much I have to work. No I did not have any idea. I did not know what you have to do in America. My sister was here but she didn't say much about it. Once I came here I started learning everything. So every time I wrote a letter I always said you won't get money from a tree, you have to work very hard. In India everybody says that you have to sweat for the money. This is not sweat--you have to use your blood! (Laughter) I wrote everybody because in India lots of girls never work outside the home. Always in India you have somebody come and clean your house, wash your dishes, and here you have to do everything by yourself. For the first two years it was very hard.

I: After coming from India, what was the greatest change in your life?

Prema (W): I spend a lot of time in cleaning rooms for the motel, which I didn't do in my earlier life. I have to give a lot of my attention to the maintenance of motel rooms.

The expectation that married women will contribute to motel work is based on an assumption that women's well-being and agency are undifferentiated. I explore this assumption in the next section.

Differentiating between Well-Being and Agency

A person may have goals other than the pursuit of their own well-being (Sen, 1985, 1990). Making choices is influenced by a sense of obligation and a perception of legitimate behavior (such

as women's role in the family), and should not be confused with well-being. That is, a person may or may not make choices that are closely connected to or identified with that person's own well-being (Sen, 1990). For a woman in rural India, the notion of personal well-being may be unintelligible; she is likely to speak in terms of her family's well-being (Sen, 1990). Many Patel women grew up in rural India, thus they are not likely to differentiate between personal well-being and that of their families even if their choices may have negative consequences for them individually. The following excerpt from an interview with a newly migrant Patel woman highlights this process:

Prema (W): For us, this is a foreign land. Our relatives are living far away. Also, I do not know English well. Without a good knowledge of English, it is difficult here. I miss my relatives and near and dear ones who are in India. I also miss the many social activists in India. Here, there is little social life and we have nowhere to go for a visit.

I: Then why does your husband like it here?

Prema: This, I have not been able to understand so far. (Laughter) ...I and the children will follow the husband wherever he decides to go. In our community, a wife does not think of leaving her husband or go for a divorce even if she does not agree with her husband's decision. I must stay with my husband and the children. If he wants to live here permanently, I shall accept it. Although I keep telling him that we shall be better off living in India. (Laughter)

Prema is clear in her decision. She must remain with her husband and family though she does not agree, finds no benefits from the migration (not even economic, since this family was quite well-off prior to migration), loses support systems, and finds herself at a substantial disadvantage due to language barriers.

Language is more of a constraint for women than men. Unless they are professionally qualified (only one woman in my sample was), women were more likely than men to not speak English. Lack of English fluency means that women must survive entirely within the Gujarati community. The disparity in language skills between spouses is most evident among first-link participants. When the men are employer-sponsored, they are likely to already be fluent in English. If they are not already fluent, men's on-the-job interactions compel them to develop at least a working knowledge of English. In contrast, women who are first links in the chain are not usually employer-sponsored, and therefore they are less likely to be or become fluent. Language barriers are both a cause and a consequence of women doing motel work.

Bhavna (W): See, this is a business in which you don't need any qualification. I come across lot of people who don't know the English very well even though they are running this business. See I lived in a cosmopolitan city. So compared to other people, I have a very good command of English. I know how to speak Marathi, I

know how to speak Hindi very well. But people from Gujarat, my friends who moved here don't know how to speak English. But even then she will be successful at the front desk because you don't need that much English. You just say, yes, too bad, this rate, this and this is key and money..... you know, that's it. Everybody is a hard worker. So this business is very good. you don't need preparation, education, or very good English to survive very well over here. If you go to any other field, primary thing is you need very good basic qualification, professional or something like that, good command in English. But without English and without education, you can run this business very well.

In another instance below, Nisha sees her own interests as being subsumed by her husband's. She is currently doing motel work, raising three children, and also taking classes at the local community college. Nisha's education (a BA in Home Science) and socialization had not prepared her for employment, so she enrolled in computer programming classes. However, she remains clear about her family obligations.

Nisha (W): If my husband buys a new motel, I shall leave my studies and help him with the business. I started with accounting and then got interested in computers, so I joined the course in computers and I really like it. I am taking the courses slowly, not too many credits.

She recognizes that she will have to contribute more to a bigger motel, and thus will give up her education. Nisha does not consider her own interests as different from those of her family, and this fact influences her status in the family and in the wider society. Indeed, as I show below, although women do motel work, they are still seen as housewives whose contribution to motel work is not central to the family's success. The husband is seen as the breadwinner, responsible for the earnings that support the family.

Perceived Contribution of Men and Women

A person's perceived contribution to the family is more critical than her or his actual contribution. For instance, if Patel women are perceived as carrying half or more of the workload in motels, then the allocation of joint resources might be more favorable to them. Kiran, a teenager who came to the United States very recently, articulated this point clearly when she said that her uncle earns so much in the motel that his wife can stay at home. This girl's uncle and aunt work together in the motel and the children, including Kiran, also work weekends and holidays. However, it is clear that in Kiran's perception, her uncle is the breadwinner, her aunt is the housewife, and everyone depends on him to provide for them.

Kiran (W): OK. Nisha Mami has already woken up when I get up. When we come back from school, [we watch] a little bit of TV--just relaxing stuff and she talks to us. Then she cooks and we have dinner, and then we go to sleep. She does homework at night after that. She is preparing for a job, I think. She can always stay at home. Dev Mama earns so much. She wants to do something. She doesn't like sitting at home. When we are not there, then she gets bored and everything. Probably, she is waiting for us...I have no idea what she does when she is home.

Kiran conveys clearly that her uncle is the breadwinner and earns enough to support the family. At the same time, she believes that her aunt's contributions are incidental. However, her aunt Nisha, said that she works in the motel during the day. I also observed her at work during my visit.

Kiran also underplays her own contributions as well.

Kiran: Gosh! there is so much laundry. In the summer I do the laundry. It is easy for the machine does everything. Now I can fold towels so quick. At first, I was folding one and he [her uncle] had folded a whole pile there. Now, I can fold towels real quick. My cousin got married this summer in Hong Kong. I was here. Nisha Mami's Dad and Mom and her sister's son were here. So we and her sister's 16 year old son Chetan took care of the whole motel, everything. We were almost half a month by ourselves. It was kind of fun. There wasn't any need for me to work before the summer, like at the front desk. He [her uncle] didn't want me to do that.

Kiran's account that her uncle is the breadwinner was supported when I interviewed the couple involved as well. However, her aunt acknowledged that Kiran contributed substantially to cleaning and laundry after school and on weekends. Obviously, then, the breadwinner/worker category remains firmly in place, without reference to who is doing the work. Other participants conveyed similar perceptions about men as breadwinners. For instance, Bela who works in a small family motel describes her status as a housewife, "I am not working now. I am just the housewife." Her son also described her as a housewife. However, when I probed and asked specifically whether she does motel work, he responded "Yes, she does that."

In the following interview, Krishna describes his spouse as a housewife.

I: Tell me what your wife was doing in India and in Canada before you had the motel.

Krishna (M): Actually she was, most of the time, just a housewife in India and Canada.

I: O.K. So she was a housewife in India and also in Canada.

Krishna: Most of the time she is here [at the motel] more than I am because I have to get out and do some other work.

I: You mean like going to the bank

Krishna: Ya, and other work. Sometimes I have to go out of town too.

I: Does she drive?

Krishna: No. She is not driving.

I: Does she help you with your finances?

Krishna: She is with me but I am doing it myself. Housework, that's the main thing she is doing in this country too.

Their daughters said that their mother worked in a factory in Canada, and she has also been working in the family motel since they arrived in this country. However, in Krishna's perceptions, she is responsible mainly for housework and thus remains a housewife in all three contexts. Krishna's perception of his wife's contributions and status diverges from that of the daughters.

In the following account, Pravin acknowledges that his wife works with him in the motel. However, he also makes it clear that her contributions to the motel do not change her domestic responsibilities.

Pravin (W): In the morning, she wakes up and then the first thing she does is make tea for us. And we have tea together. Then after we finish tea, I go straight to take a shower, but she has to clean all the dishes. After I get ready, we start cleaning rooms. If a customer comes, I will go to the office but she keeps cleaning and doing laundry. Once I come home in the evening, I go downstairs and watch TV for a while. She has to start cooking.

I: When do you do your accounts? You do all the paper work?

Pravin: Yes. All the paper work -- writing checks and everything. Meanwhile she has to work on cooking. And after cooking, she has to wash all the dishes.

It is clear from Pravin's account that he separates his motel work from his home, while such a distinction is blurred for his wife. It is precisely this blurred boundary that allows for slippage-- and is associated with women's perceived contributions and gender hierarchy. If men continue to be breadwinners, regardless of who actually does the work, then they can also claim privileged status and refuse devalued jobs--both in motel work and at home. That men are considered breadwinners and thus privileged translates to gender hierarchy in the family through the breakdown well-being response which is the focus of the next section.

Fallback Position in Marital Relationships

In the case of a marital dissolution, the position of one person is likely to be worse. Fear of a weak breakdown position would tend to determine the negotiation and strongly influence its outcome. Patel norms, the labor market, and immigration law can provide insight in this family dynamic. For example, if the breakdown position of Patel women is weak due to their location in the labor market and their isolation, then it influences their negotiations and status within the family. This excerpt by Ajay, a second generation Patel man, puts it succinctly:

Ajay: Say my mother wants a divorce from my Dad. What is she going to do? She has no education. She has never been on her own. She probably doesn't even know how to use the credit card. So she stakes a lot. She stakes a lot for her kids too.

Ajay sees that his mother's fallback position is very weak and this has an impact on the decisions she is likely to make. In the excerpt below, Mina outlines the constraints her friend experiences which keep her in an unhappy marriage

Mina (W): If she leaves her husband where will she go? Where will she get the financial support? So she might go on with this. My friend does everything, everything--keeping accounts, running the motel, house and everything. But so many times she feels, "I want to leave my husband but I can't because of my child and my family. How will my parents feel? If I leave my husband, my father would die." I have seen her husband insult her in front of so many people and she just said nothing.

In contrast to Mina's friend's experience, women's fallback positions are increasingly improving in Gujarat. This change is evident as the green card has lost its importance in the marriage market in the 1990s. In the 1970s and 1980s women in Gujarat did not have a clear picture of what motel work involved, as the earlier excerpts showed. Participants reported that young women in Gujarat are more selective in the 1990s: they refuse to marriage migration with small motel owners because they see it as a menial job:

Vikram (M): But see, the trend is changing too: that is my experience. One of my nephews has gone to get married over there and he interviewed many girls. So many girls gave the requirement that they don't want to come to America to do labor work like that. They refused. I was astonished because up till now it was not like that. They have come to know that what you are doing is just labor work. If I go to India and I say, "I have a motel--I have to clean rooms," they will definitely laugh at me, because I am educated and I have to do that. Same thing may be true for the girls and the green card. A person may not like to come here if they are well set.

Mina (W): I think girls are getting equal to boys in India. They are getting good jobs. I have seen change. So many [women] own businesses now. It may be small, like garment business or beauty parlor business. They are more independent. And they think, "Why should I go for all this? I have a good life here, I have good money here, so why should I prefer to go for hard work or for a labor job?"

India is changing, however the changes are not accessible to immigrant Patel women. They remain isolated from alternatives to traditional frameworks in the United States due to language barriers, disconnection from the labor market, and because they do not live in residential neighborhoods.

There is no forum for Patel women to become involved with the wider society in the United States, or to gain access to spaces that provide alternatives to the tradition of family and community.

Immigrants from India commonly remember the India of origin as a conflict-free place in which everyone knows their place. "They look back to a remembered India and teach their children the values of 20 years ago. The heart of that teaching is an observance of hierarchies: the child giving deference to the parent, the daughter-in-law to the mother-in-law, the wife to the husband." (Dugger, 1998). This view produces contradictions for immigrant women in relation to men. For instance, second generation women college students in the United States report less freedom than their counterparts in India (Mani, 1993). The notions that emerge in immigrant communities bear small relation to contemporary India. What first generation immigrants enforce is specific to when they left India. There is a discrepancy between this version of social interaction and what people in India actually do.

"You can do many more things in India than I can do here. My father's nephews and nieces in India do the things he would still say 'no' to. They wear their hair short, go out with friends, hold hands with the opposite sex..." (Das Gupta, 1997, p. 580).

Similarly, immigrant Patel women who remain in motels feel more constraints in the United States than they did in Gujarat as the following excerpts show. Kiran, the high school girl, very recently came to the United States to live with her aunt and uncle.

Kiran (W): If I think back, my home was Baroda--one of the biggest cities, university city--and I had so many friends. We used to go out every day. And here I am. But here somehow I guess I don't feel I can go out with friends anymore. It's different. If something happens and I have to go back to India, I would be happy....

Kiran's constrained feeling that she cannot go out with friends is reinforced by the family's views. Kiran's aunt was clear about this when she said:

Nisha (W): We don't encourage her to go out. Her parents want her to concentrate on studies. She gets good grades and does not go out much. Yes. The main thing is that she misses her friends in India. Here she does not have many friends....

Pia, a young woman who married and moved to the United States two years ago also feel constrained. This young couple is already sharing their home and experience in the motel business with another family from their village.

Pia (W): People in India think that it is good to go abroad, life has better possibilities. Only after coming here, one realizes the truth as compared to the dreams one had. (Laugh) I never thought of these things. I got married and came

over to this country. Here one does not have the kind of social life and relaxation we had in India. Here one keeps working the whole day, eating meals and cleaning up. Life in India is much different than here. Here I have not yet learnt how to drive a car. So I have to be dependent on others to go out for shopping or other work. In India there is no such problem--I can go out any time.

Bhavna and her family moved to the United States eight years ago. She also experienced migration as increasing constraints in her life.

Bhavna (W): We had a very different life in our country--very different. You just have to dial the phone if you need anything--you have servants. You never have to do anything by yourself. It was a 180 degree change. My life in my country and my life here is 180 degree rotation. It's a 180, so it's a reverse you can say. Over here I am working in the kitchen and I am working in the motel and taking care of the kids too.

Women participants of all ages who are first generation unanimously agreed that their lives after migration to the United States entailed more work and more constraints than they had in Gujarat.

Men participants expressed satisfaction at the economic opportunities that made them financial successes in the United States. Men in the more egalitarian families did recognize that women work more after migration.

Navin (M): For Indian ladies, life in the United States is harder than it is in India. In India, at that time, I don't know what's going on right now, the only job they had was to take care of the family--I mean prepare nice dinners and take care of all the family chores. Here, their job is still there, I mean, they have to take care of cooking, cleaning and all the family--on top of that then they have to work. She works the whole day with me taking care of motel plus she has to take care of the family. I mean cooking, cleaning and all that. I can help and I do help her, you know, that's just help. But she is the one who does most of the work.

A plausible explanation for the increased constraints on Patel women who do motel work is their weak link to the labor market. They realize that if the family was to break down, their prospects are not promising in the wider society. Thus, my understanding of first generation women's experience is that life in the United States entails more constraints and more hard work for them than life before migration. This perspective was shared by men in families with more equal relationships--they shared the view that motel work adds to women's work after migration. Thus, inequalities between men and women are reorganized across national borders, which is discussed further in the next section.

Transmission of Asymmetries Among Men and Women

Two dimensions of asymmetry among men and women are transmitted across generations: income pooling and labor contributions.

Income -pooling

I found tension around income- pooling. In motels, income derives in kind as well as from cash. A major portion of the income is in the form of housing and utilities. Therefore, living space is one arena of income pooling. Dilip described the housing/income connection in the motel business in a way that applies to all the families that I met:

Dilip (M): I am satisfied with what I'm doing and the income I'm getting. I don't think that a job can give me more income than what this gives me. Because you see very little cash coming in, but if I consider other things, it's O.K. If the two of us go to work outside, we can't make better living than this. Because here we are with all these things...staying, utilities, everything's included. For all these things you would need one thousand dollars in a month.

Housing is also a means of transmitting asymmetries and self-exploitation to the second generation. I found families with severely constrained living space, according to U.S. middle class norms. Motel owners typically reside on the premises, located primarily around exits to interstate highways, not in suburban middle-class neighborhoods. Patels' lack of access to the U.S. middle class norm of a single family home in the suburbs is not the result of family negotiations. It is a consequence of the conflation of the public and private domains. The issue here is not who controls income; rather it is one of relative deprivation and self-exploitation, which is a crucial part of Patels' economic success story. Patels typically do not own homes--they live in motels.

I see an irony in a situation where women who are housewives do not have adequate living space. Often, women do not have the space or the resources conducive to meeting family needs, even though they remain responsible for meeting those needs. For example, one family had no private kitchen or eating space--they had to use the restaurant kitchen and eat in their motel rooms. Another family used the connecting area between two motel rooms and a vanity as their kitchen for many years.

Participants who grew up in motels voiced unanimously that they felt deprived of living space as compared to their peers. Deepa and Kamla, quoted below, are second generation sisters in their twenties. Their parents are the first links in a migration chain. Both sisters' views were expressed independently, since I interviewed each person in private. Their accounts represent the experiences shared by many second generation Patels.

Deepa (W): I would have liked our parents to have a home for us, a house home where you have your living room, bedroom and kitchen--those are the things I was obsessed with having grown up in a motel. I couldn't stand it that we couldn't stay in a house, we had to be in a motel. It just didn't feel like a home to me--I always thought, when I grow up I wanted to have a home of my own. That's what I wanted the most. If I had anything to do with it I would say, "Buy a house."

Kamla (W): I didn't like the fact that we had a motel instead of a real house with rooms and a backyard--that would probably have been the biggest thing for me while I was growing up.

The following two excerpts are from a mother and daughter who are last links in a migration chain. Bela described the living space available for a family of four, and her daughter Bani describes how she and her brother responded to these conditions. Bela was employed for 15 years in a factory job in the U.K. prior to coming to the United States. Significantly for my analysis, their family sponsors are employed and not in the motel business, and therefore could offer only limited financial support and no practical support.

I: And how many rooms for you and your family?

Bela (W): We got this one kitchen and one bedroom. And when the kids were here, they had the [motel] room next to our room. When we first came everything was here in this room. Our bed was here, no bedroom, nothing--dining table there. We spent two years in this room. That's an addition--then we added that living room--it was the office at that time. And in the night time me and my daughter slept there. And my son and my husband slept here. After two years we built a better office and then we built that bedroom.

Bela's daughter reflects on the living space:

Bani (W): I think [living in a motel] sums up as very different. It feels that it's not--it doesn't feel like a home. When you are in a house, it's all together. Here you have to go outside on the porch to go somewhere. My room is the motel rather than the house itself. That was kind of different.

I: So you and your brother shared a motel room?

Bani: Ya. I got the feeling it's different. It's not as spacious--what we have to live in. There were quarters that were provided already. I mean, it's fine, and we made it through [his] senior year in that much room. We added on to it--it was just a room and a little kitchen and that was it.

While women fulfill their housewife role by doing motel work, men may not fulfill their breadwinner roles in motel work. Ajay, also a second generation participant whose family is an intermediate link in the chain migration, also describes inadequate quarters:

Ajay (M): Our first was a 120 room hotel. Ya. It was a learning experience. It was a big one--we stayed in a hotel for 12 years. Yes, for 12 years the kitchen was a small vanity between connecting doors--me and my little brother were in one room and the other room was my parents'.

Vijay is also of the second generation and also discussed their experience of constrained living space as follows:

Vijay (M): Well, I have lived in hotels since 1979. There was a six month period when I actually got to live in a house. I loved it. I have never lived in a house for an extended period of time. In London we lived over our store. I have always lived in our businesses, as far as I can remember. Now I want my kids to live in a house. I would love to go to bed and get up whenever I want and not hear a bell. I have listened to bells since 1979. You know, at night, buzz. I don't want Mom to get up at night any more. When I get up in the morning I would like to take a hot shower and not have to depend on how many rooms we have rented and if somebody just took a shower we just have to wait. My kids also get up at eight o'clock, they have to go to school. They sometimes have had to wait for school because there was no hot water in the shower. There are certain things that I would like to have for my family and myself. First of all I want my kids to go out and play, live in a nicer neighborhood, have friends to grow up with that they have known since childhood. That's something which I and Champa never had. Champa went to four high schools. I can only imagine what she went through. Four high schools--I don't want that for my kids. I mean, what really got me was this Christmas holiday Mom's and Dad's nieces were here. And we sent them back in front of customers: "Shhh! Customers in front, don't come now!" I felt the restrictions, I have been around them too long--just don't want any more. I want my mom to be in charge when our kids are at school. I want her to step into the car and go shopping if she wants to. She has to walk over to the laundry room to get mail. I'd like to have a house where we have laundry up on the first floor. Lot of kids who grew up in motels will probably say the same thing. A simple house here, you know, with 3 bathrooms or 2 bathrooms whatever is fantastic compared with what we had. We had one bathroom in the basement. And we had to go through the store and go down the basement to get to the bathroom. Stuff like that, it's basic.

I: In that hotel with 120 rooms, you all lived in the apartment and then you had your own....

Vijay: Separate rooms. We didn't have an apartment. Mom and Dad on the end room together, my two sisters were in the next room and I was in the next room. We just had rooms. The kitchen was downstairs. We used the restaurant kitchen basically. You eat in your room. You are a big hotel owner's kid, and 4-5 months into it, all of a sudden I was helping in the kitchen, scrubbing dishes and floors-- do your beds....

Kamla and her two sisters also described very cramped living conditions:

Kamla (W): When we first moved here we were next door, not in this room. When you first walk in now, it is the kitchen--it wasn't a kitchen then. There is a little door that leads to the living room. It wasn't like that--it was just a room. That's where my little sister Rina lived and slept. They had a little kitchen-type setup there, you know, that's where Mom did all the cooking. And the office was where my parents slept. So they didn't have their own privacy, they never had it. Everything was ours--so it was never theirs, it was never mine--it was ours. This room was mine for a while when Rina was gone, Deepa was at school, and I was still here. And then Dad made the kitchen into a kitchen in style. So this has

been in five years he has made a lot of improvements. But we never had privacy. I mean either Deepa and I shared the room together or Deepa and Rina shared the room together--you know, we never had our own room.

The second generation's experiences of relative deprivation are based on a combination of traditional norms in which extended families share living space and expenses, and the self-exploitation necessary for success. Sharing living space is in keeping with the model of the traditional extended family, adapted and applied in a new context. First generation immigrants' definition of living space is different from U.S. middle-class norms. Their, and is an important factor in Patels' economic success. Second generation participants expressed frustration at being isolated from residential neighborhoods, and being deprived of daily interactions with other children. However, first generation Patel families do not encourage close daily interaction with other children. They prefer that young girls remain ensconced in the Gujarati community, as I have already discussed. Here we can see social structures dovetailing into a situation in which Patel families in motels live in relative isolation from the wider society. Women are more likely to be isolated than men as they often do not speak English, do not drive, are not involved in "outside work" like banking and purchasing, and are not located in residential neighborhoods and thus have no families as neighbors with whom they can interact.

In this section, I described transmission of asymmetries between men and women over time and over generations through income and housing. Next, I consider the transmission of inequalities through the relative contributions of labor.

Contributions of Labor: Sharing Motel Work and Housework

Among Patel immigrants, women's labor combines housework and motel work, while men are able to resist housework to a remarkable extent.

Mina (W): But sometimes even if they can afford it they don't want to do it. I can give you an example. I just told you about that 22-room motel. The guy is very well-to-do, but he never ... He can afford to put a dishwasher in the kitchen but they don't have a dishwasher. His wife does the dishes. And still she cooks twice a day fresh every day. She helps him in the motel too. I think women work more here than in India. See, she handles children, husband, business, everything. And my husband believes no Indian man... Men should not do household work. He should not do any work in house, you know. He should be just sitting on the sofa and have everything just like a macho man. (Laughter)

In contrast to the hierarchical gender relations in this family, Bhavna, quoted below, has a more equal relationship. Bhavna's education was similar to her husband's. She also wrote a newspaper column and managed a home office in India. She was careful to explain that her activities did not take her away from home--that she worked at home. When I observed her household, the husband and two teenage boys shared substantially in the housework. Bhavna observed that the patterns in her house are not typical for others in her community:

Bhavna (W): I didn't see a single man who can help in the kitchen, or who could make food for the wife...no, not in our caste. They don't. They have an ego, you know. Men have egos. They came from India but they have never changed themselves. They have egos. "Oh, no, we cannot do those things, not that!" No, they don't change. They don't change. They have a certain insulting thing, they have an ego. The men who came over here at an early age for study, if they are in this country for the last 20-25 years, then they might have changed. But not the men who came to this country since last ten years. I have come across a lot of people. I am talking about my brother-in-law. He came from Trinidad, he is 55-56 now. But he has an ego. He is a real nice man but in family life, he doesn't help my sister in a single thing, in the kitchen or not. He is very good at the desk, but they never go out...nor does he do the rooms...nothing, no...

Bina also understands men's resistance to housework as linked to patriarchal ideology.

Bina (W): Lot of men demand that the wife cooks their food, clean their clothes. They sit and they want their food on the table ... all kinds of food. Patel women and their husbands...make tea for husband, make coffee for husband. Small motels are killing. Women don't keep the books. They know nothing about what's going on as far as the finances are concerned. Patel women, if they have a 16-room motel, they can possibly clean ten rooms. Ten rooms, if they clean it takes them 4 hours. If they give \$12 [to a maid], how much time they would save? Twelve dollars is no big deal. They can get somebody. Right. But their husbands say, "Do it" and they do it. If you are going to clean 14 rooms, your back will hurt, your legs will hurt, your hands get red, and you get so tired in the evening ... why?

These excerpts show the link between access to resources and ability to resist housework among Patels: men successfully resist housework. A main resource men have is patriarchal ideology, and it may or may not be combined with other resources. Men's resistance to housework allows them to avoid particular low-status jobs that are a part of motel work and are seen as women's domain. Women, as Bina says in the excerpt above, cannot resist this work: the combination of family position, classification of the work as women's work, their disconnection from decision-making, and the direction of the husbands together with women's weak position in the labor market ensure that women do motel work.

Bhavna further explains that women can cover all aspects of motel work and housework including the low-status jobs, while men cannot.

Bhavna (W): Motel business basically depends on women. I can say that. Although the whole family is in business, if a woman is alone she can handle everything. But if a man is alone in this business he cannot handle certain things. I am talking in general--he cannot clean the bathroom. He can run the desk very easily but he cannot also do kitchen work. He cannot do other things--he can do laundry but he cannot do other aspects of the work. If women go away for a week then we have to cook for the whole week. If men were to go away they don't have to do anything. We are taking care of accounts, we are taking care of desk, children, kitchen, laundry, cleaning outside...

I read this as an indication of how masculinity and femininity is played out in the division of labor: men resist housework and low status jobs in motel work. Women do not have the resources to resist these jobs, whether or not they consider it low status as well.

I: Do you find motel work more suitable for you than what you were doing before?

Bela (W): No, it's not suitable, but I make it suitable. I don't like it. But sometimes one feels more duty.

Patriarchal ideology allows men to refuse low status jobs as long as women or employees are available to do but "duty" compels women to take them on. Thus, men's and women's contributions of labor in motels are qualitatively different.

Asymmetries transmitted to the second generation were the most difficult to document among unmarried participants. Differences and inequality were evident in two arenas: in the training and expectations of young men and women to engage in motel work and housework. Young women were expected to serve men in the family, and they were expected to contribute to motel work as a continuation of their socialization as women. This is evident when several women remarked that the division of labor among men and women in housework and motel work are similar. Young men also were expected to contribute to motel work, but it was not seen as a part of their socialization as men. Second generation women were keenly aware of gender inequalities in the community, and some were particularly articulate in their resistance to traditional hierarchical gender relations, as the quote below from Bela about her daughter shows:

Bela (W): If her father asks, "Give me a glass of water", she says, "Father, why don't you take the water yourself?" And then he says, "I am your father. Can't you give me water?" (Giggles) That's why it is very hard to deal with kids. It's a culture gap. And sometimes my husband gets mad. Sometimes she is joking but still my husband is very hot tempered, he gets very mad easily. She says, "I am joking. I give you water. Don't get upset."

See, one of my sister's daughters is a doctor. She is a pharmacologist. And she has the same ideas (as my daughter). She grew up in this country. When they considered that she could sponsor a groom, she told her parents, "I don't want to marry a man from India. I can marry an Indian here. But men from

India order too much and they want Indian cooking everyday. And I am not going to cook every day."

The gender division of labor in the home also organizes motel work. Below, Champa and Vijay (wife and husband) describe the way that work is divided among men and women in their family.

Champa (W): Our friend Ajay is a different matter... Yes, he likes his wife to come in and serve him, and all that stuff.

Yes, my mother-in-law cooks, she takes care of the motel, takes care of the kids, so she does quite a bit. That's one reason Vijay wants to move away from the motel. I think she's done it all her life--in England she did the stores. She's always worked all her life. And its amazing, the contrast between parents. My mother doesn't work, but my father will help out. If she needs help he'll do stuff for her. But my father-in-law is an old-fashioned type of person. You couldn't ask him to do laundry or anything, nor vacuuming I don't think. My father does not say, "This is a woman's job." He doesn't have the attitude that he wouldn't do a woman's job or that doing laundry is a woman's job. Whereas my father-in-law is different.

Vijay (M): I notice there is more tendency of guys to say, "It's a girl's job to do and not for the boys in the family." Champa washes dishes. If I wash, Dad will say, "Why are you doing that?"--the old mentality. But if it were me and dad only, like we were for six months, then I cooked for my dad. Then it wasn't an issue for I was not married at that time, I didn't have a wife. I could do everything for him. We could take turns cooking, not wash dishes every night. Then it wasn't an issue. Recently in the past 3-4 months I noticed the comments since me and Champa got married, it just bugs me. "Champa is there, Mom is there. Why are you washing dishes?" Why not?

For Vijay and Champa, then, the transmission of gender asymmetries has not been smooth. They do not accept the ways that women's work and men's work has been traditionally defined. Champa also compares her own father and mother with her husband's parents in terms of how they define men's work and women's work.

I found resistance to traditional gender hierarchy more often among second generation women than second generation men, as Kamla points out in the excerpt below.

Kamla (W): I don't mind if they take care of me but I am still my own person. I am myself, I am doing what I like to do anyhow. It's taken me a lot of time to achieve where I want to go. But I have done it. I guess, to me, it was more proving myself. I don't have to be 18 and get married and leave my parent's household and go to my husband's. I wanted to prove to myself that I will have to live paycheck to paycheck and really struggle with two jobs just to pay the bills.

I guess just the whole Indian culture is saying that you have to have a man taking care of you. It's changing a lot, you know. I want to keep my culture, as far as the language and heritage we have. But there are a few things that need to be changed, as far as.... Well a lot of boys I know, Indian boys I know, have got

married to Indian girls. I don't know why girls tend to go elsewhere to find their mates and not in their own culture.

Kamla's experience is that second generation women refuse marriage to Indian men, but second generation men do marry Indian women. This suggests that women are more resistant to gender hierarchical relationships.

Deepa (W): I'm 25, my older sister is 28. We're both single. Each of us wants a career, not so much in the hotels. What I want in life is to get myself oriented in what I want to do, have a career and establish my education and find a lucrative position somewhere, and settle down and support myself. For me, if I find somebody I want to be involved with, that would be what I desire best. Once my parents had actually introduced me to somebody, and I just rebelled at the whole thought of it I just rejected that outright. It started out with my older sister. When my parents started, wanted my older sister to get married, that was a big struggle for her. She didn't want to. And she has had more of the confrontations of having to meet new people than I did. I had, may be, two. I had two. I don't know how many she had.

Bela (W): My sister's daughter grew up in this country. She told her parents, "I don't want to marry a boy from India. I can marry an Indian boy here. Boys from India, they order too much and they want Indian cooking everyday . And I am not going to cook every day."

Kamla (W): It would be tough if I went back to India to get myself a husband. When I was in India in 1992, that's what I was there for, finding a husband. But I can't imagine being the way I am and getting married to someone from India. Even though in education, he may be just as capable as I am, or may be even more so, but their life style is so different. And my wants and needs are different probably. And that's something I don't want to take.

Second generation men, in contrast, were amenable to sponsoring a bride from India. For example, one participant had an arranged marriage and sponsored his bride from India. He was agreeable to it, he said, as his mother had taught him traditional norms.

Ajay (M): You are brought up here and you go through some of the American culture and things like that. But I always thank my mother for teaching me our culture and always being strict on it.

Other second generation men agreed with the interpretation that it was more likely for men to sponsor brides from India than it was for women to sponsor grooms. As the excerpts show, participants understand that sponsoring a bride from India is related to the gender division of labor in the home.

Champa (W): Yes, Ajay likes his wife to come in and serve him and all that. He likes even a "thali" (a plate with food served) But we are changing him. He better change.... I like him.

Vijay (M): I don't think Ajay thinks of himself in that way.

I: What is Ajay's wife like?

Champa: I think she is very sweet. Her and I get along. She gets mad at his attitude. Vijay is nothing like that. They are fine people, you know. Cooking is only one thing.

Vijay: Ajay is very male oriented as far as remarks go. If you observe him in his house, he expects his wife to serve him. I notice that because I have a tendency to get up and get my own stuff. I don't say, "Champa, can I have this?" Whereas if you go to his house, you will see him do that at times. He is doing it: "Kali, some more rice!" It is right in front of him and she is serving him. To me that's odd.

Further, as Deepa elaborates, traditional relationships are carried out in the arena of inheritances and shares in business and property. She highlights the fact that daughters do not typically have a share in the joint family resources after they are married. This situation illustrates one main theme emerging from this study: both men and women contribute to family resources, but do not have the same access to these resources.

Deepa (W): What I've seen and observed in the multi-generation family--we have grandparents, mother, dad, son and wife, mostly sons--the daughters are mostly given away. So I think that's problematic. I can't get over that....

Kamla (W): My Dad has inherited all the land. The land that came from my grandfather and the remaining land from my grandmother was also mostly his. I don't know if it's still in his name, but his brothers run it. They take the profits, he doesn't get any profits. When we get up there, my grandfather gives him money to rent cars, for travel expenses and all that. But I also know he has this land. I know my Dad gives his profits to his brothers. My dad does not say, "It's all mine." He wants to share with his brothers. He says, "Just because I was born first, why should I have it all?"

I: How about his sisters?

Kamla: His sisters, no. I don't know if he has given to the sisters too. His sisters are married into very wealthy families and they are taken care of. They don't need anything from the family business or family land.

In this section, participants describe how men refuse low status jobs, whether they are motel work or housework, stemming from their gender socialization. This organization of work is based on a gender division of labor that is guided by what is considered appropriate femininity and masculinity among Patels. Masculinity is defined in part by men claiming the status of breadwinner and thus refusing low status jobs. Femininity is defined in large measure by women

being denied equal access to family resources, as well as by being socialized to perform certain jobs--in motel work and in housework. For example, even when women are entitled to an equal share of inheritances, it is considered appropriate that the property goes to men. The jobs that make up motel work are not considered to be particularly suitable for socializing men. The possibility of sharing in the business could be an important criterion for recruiting second generation men into the family business, and it could also be significant to the relatively less decision-making power of second generation women in motels. Thus, asymmetries are successfully transmitted from one generation to the next through the type of training in motel work.

In recent years, however, there has been a reverse movement of qualified men returning to the family business after being professionally employed in the United States. Most second generation Patels in the motel business are involved with the larger, franchised operations, with many employees, a move up from the small budget. Second generation Patels do not experience the language barriers or other disadvantages that their parents faced, as the following excerpt shows:

Raj (M): Second generation is a different breed. They are shrewder in the sense that they have mastered the language. Our parents were shrewd, but they would let certain things get away because they were, in a way, intimidated. ... So, second generation is a different breed. Right now AAHOA is investing a lot of time and effort and funds on the second generation. Because the second and third generation think, "I would have to go flush that toilet out, I would have to plunge that toilet, I would have to go clean that commode, I would have to go make that bed." But that's not it any more. Once we understand that it's at a different level we can be untouchable in this industry, for we have the education that our parents didn't get. We know the lifestyle of this country and the most important thing is that we know how to speak the language. So if anybody comes to intimidate us we can put them in their place.... the second generation really has their family backing. Now, only thing that needs to be done is--daddy needs to put his ego in his pocket and let his daughter or son take over, with his guidance. Because right now, the first generation still controls things: "I know best, I built this empire." I know you built the empire, that's OK. It might be you were in luck or might be you knew what you were doing. Now let me--give me a chance. You know both parties need to learn a balance. Give me advice but let me make the decision. And let me take your hard work to the level that you really wanted to. So now both generations need to get educated in that aspect.

I: Are sons and daughters going into motels at the same rate?

Raj: Actually females are the backbone of the hotel industry. They are the ones who take care of the property. But in terms of education it is such a male-dominant culture....

There is inconsistency in the understanding between of first and second generations on other counts as well. For instance, although the first generation kept childcare and family

responsibilities as a priority in selecting the business, second generation participants experienced "growing up by ourselves" because both parents worked in the motel. This account highlights the differential treatment accorded to sons and daughters, as well as second generation women's resistance.

Jagdish (M): I think, after the first two girls they [my parents] wanted to have a boy. I think if they had two boys in the beginning, then none of us would have existed..... (Laughter) Then they tried until they got me. They babied me, my Mom and Dad did, when I was a baby. And the end result was, I got away with what I wanted. If I said it, they did it.

We had very little money and Dad was working hard to get my other two sisters to England. My Dad worked for a year as a security guard for the railroad [in U.K.], and various other jobs, to get enough money to get me and my Mom [from India] and to get my oldest sister married. And that left my two little sisters, Abha and Meeta in India with my relatives. So then both of them worked to get enough money to get those two over.

First year that I remember, my oldest sister saw my parents maybe one hour a day, for they were both working two jobs. Dad would come and sit for a while and then go to the next job. Mom would do the same thing. I know my oldest sister raising me for the first two years. Everything I remember about life in the first few years, I remember with my sister. I remember spending 90% of my time with my sister. I was very little at that time, but my sister, I remember sheif I used a plate, she'd say, "Wash it now." It wasn't any sexy stuff with her. She would have none of "I'll do it if I can." I learned to be self sufficient too. If I wanted something to eat, with my Mom working in the shop and Dad out at the other store, I cooked myself. My Mom worked downstairs [in the shop] from 10 o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock in the evening. My sisters would be cooking, and of course, even though I was the only boy, I would be in the kitchen too.

[When we came to this country] I was 12. We had the motel. I was expected to fix the beds. I don't think there was any differentiation. We had to clean the rooms, my sisters and I were always together. I would take one room and bathroom, my sister would take the next one. Next thing, I would be down in the laundry room. We all had to. We did whatever we had to. It was always me and my sisters together. Sometimes [I feel like] we raised ourselves because Mom and Dad were busy with business--well, doing things for our benefit. That's why I want to have a house, five o'clock I want to be home, and I want to spend time with my kids.

Jagdish said that his early experience in U.K. was important for resisting the traditional asymmetrical status of girls and boys in the family. Although his parents held traditional views, they were unable to transmit that asymmetry as they could not spend much time with the children when they were younger. His sisters did not reinforce male privilege in the household.

Discussion of Gender Relations and Sen's Cooperative Conflict Model

There is a commonsensical tendency to view immigrants as becoming less hierarchical in gender relations due to western influences. There is a trend towards more egalitarian relations, but it cannot merely be attributed to cultural assimilation. Instead, this shift occurs in the context of what immigrant group encounters in the host society and their response strategies. Among Patels in the motel business, when the pressures of chain migration are removed, women can negotiate from a stronger position and challenge gender hierarchy. For immigrants who face exclusion from resources and jobs, adherence to gender hierarchy could be an economic survival strategy.

Like many racial-ethnic immigrants, Patel women remain segregated from the wider society into the second generation if they continue in the family motel business. However, the labor of segregated women is well-integrated into the economy. Work does not enhance women's position unless it generates independently controlled resources (Blumberg, 1990). Motel work does not do this, and women who engage in it typically do not experience enhanced status. In the United States, the definition of racial/ethnic women as workers took precedence over their domestic roles in the wider society (Glenn, 1992). However, Patel women's definition as housewives takes precedence over their definition as workers at both levels--within the family and in the wider society.

My analysis explores gender hierarchy in the context of family reunification immigration rules. Each link in the migration chain operates in a particular economic context, related to the immigration rules and the labor market; each has specific links to gender hierarchy. The economic context of each link is related to the access they have to national resources, such as workers' benefits and social services, in this country. Thus, the economic context is one dimension pertinent to defining outsiders and insiders.

Immigration laws are also fundamentally about defining insiders and outsiders (Bhattacharjee, 1997, p. 319). Instead of the commonly accepted dichotomy between public and private, "home" for immigrants represents multiple levels: the conventional domestic sphere of the heterosexual patriarchal family, the extended ethnic community, and finally, as a reference to nation of origin. For motel owners, home is also their workplace. This contradicts the public/private dichotomy which pervades both structural analysis and economic models around bargaining. The layered process of home--family, community, and place of origin-- is evident among Patel families in the motel business: public and private spaces are no longer different and

separate. Even the physical location defies categorization. Motel work cannot be easily categorized in any specific domain: it is productive-reproductive-unwaged-public-private.

Glenn (1992) has argued that reproductive labor is divided along racial and gender lines, and that the specific characteristics of the division vary regionally and change over time as capitalism reorganizes reproductive labor, shifting parts of it from the household to the market. The relationships of men and women who work in budget motels also span the household and market: public and private realms. However, the work is not connected to the formal labor market and family, kin and community determine work conditions. Once a family comes to the United States under family reunification rules, they are dependent on family sponsors and the community for survival. Financial institutions do not extend credit on affordable terms; new immigrants are ineligible for social services; their skills and experience do not translate well, therefore their position in the labor market is weak; and they often do not have language skills. Against this stacked deck, Patels have achieved remarkable economic success in motels.

Patels consciously use the various levels of "home" as a strategy to survive in a biased society. Community financing for businesses removes initial commercial needs from the market. So, the two major factors that contribute to the economic success of Patels in budget motels--community financing and family labor--are both removed from the market: .

I would argue that among Patels who are in the motel business, the non-market strategies of community and family involvement are significant to gender hierarchy. If Patels were to follow the individualistic model widely promoted in a capitalist economy, then the profit motive would drive their interactions with each other, and they likely would not be as successful economically in the United States. Jay Patel, a second generation motel-owner says:

In the larger community you are on your own. In this [Patel] community, it's much more relational, much more supportive. An individual never does business, family units do it. They adopt each other, form groups, and share the workload.Whatever information you have, you share. That helps bring everyone up
(Quoted in Lister, 1996, p. 56).

While seeing oneself as part of a group can have the above positive impacts at both individual and group levels, it can also have negative outcomes for segments of the group. As noted before (Sen, 1990), women are socialized to put the welfare of their family over their own. This training has gender-specific outcomes in rural India, as well as in the United States. In the next section, I discuss how women's traditional socialization supports their subordinate status in the United States.

Reinventing Traditions at Home

The gender division of labor in small motels arises from the traditional concept of Patel women as housewives. Traditional gender hierarchy is reinvented through practices that highlight women's subordinate status in the family. For instance, interview and observational data suggest that eating patterns remain traditional in most families that I visited. One set of observations shows gender hierarchy in eating patterns in this family:

Jaya and her mother-in-law cooked. Her husband and father-in-law watched TV. Bhaskar took care of the front desk and answered the phone, but when a customer needed towels, Jaya had to attend to it.

When the food was ready, the children ate first, sitting on the kitchen floor. Next, the table was set up, and the men ate there. I was also offered a place at the table, but I refused and said I would eat later. Mother-in-law, Jaya and I ate last, while the children watched TV at first, and later joined us to eat some more.

I was offered a place at the men's dinner table several times in different families, which indicated to me that I was being offered honorary masculine status. Interestingly, in one family, the father fed the children before he ate, indicating a shift in traditional patterns. However, the men still ate before the women, following the traditional pattern.

Although the sharing of living space follows the traditional family ideal, the context and meaning has changed. The definition of traditional joint families in India is related to property rights shared by male relatives, and was prevalent primarily among landowners. Sharing living space in motels in this country is connected to cutting costs and providing support for newcomers, whether they are family or not. However, participants' experiences showed that patrilineal ties are not primary. For instance, married sisters living together, married brothers living with married sisters, parents living with married daughters, and sons-in-law living with brides parents were all in evidence. These arrangements are not typical in India, but are commonplace among first generation Patels in this country.

However, once the costs of migration are met and families become established in the United States, my data suggest that the trend among second generation Patels is to return to a traditional emphasis on patrilocality and men's patrilineal family relationships. All four second generation married couples in my sample followed traditional residence patterns. First generation

parents of unmarried youngsters say that they are likely to revert to traditional residential patterns when their children grow up.

Dev (M): Well, future would be ... the ideal thing would be probably all of us staying together, especially my son, his wife and we staying together.....

Nisha (W): My daughter will go to another place after she gets married, and....

Among married second generation Patels who remain in the family motel business, couples typically shared a residence with the husband's parents for the first few years. They viewed it as an advantage because the grandparents share in childcare and living expenses, the father and son share the motel business, and the wives and children do the motel work.

I: Are you still living with your family?

Ajay (M): Yes. That's one thing that really helps because you know that some of your fixed cost, your housing and board is paid for and it is supplied by your parents.

The home is a site of traditional gender norms that inscribe hierarchy, but it is also the site in which some norms are resisted: for example, when married sisters and their families share a residence. That motels can provide extra rooms for more family members when necessary is a central component of support. However, traditional hierarchical norms are likely to be reinscribed in the second generation if all members of the family continue to do motel work.

Among first generation Patels, traditional hierarchical gender relations could be undermined by a lack of patrilineal emphasis in sharing of living space. However, the economic pressure to meet costs of migration for new entrants supports traditional hierarchical gender relations, facilitated by the reception that men and women get in the labor market in this country. When the two are combined, as among first and intermediate links, then hierarchical gender relations prevail. When second generation Patels continue in the motel business, traditional hierarchical gender relations prevail; continued motel work is one condition that inhibits gender hierarchy. This analysis suggests that traditional gender hierarchy is reinvented at home among second generation Patels in the motel business. In the next section, I discuss how gender hierarchy is reinscribed.

Reinventing Traditions Outside the Home

For Gujarati immigrants, the family motel business mediates between all three components of the context of reception and gender hierarchy. A biased labor market in the United States does not allow conventional forms of gender hierarchy among families in the motel

business because men's training, skills, and experience gained abroad do not result in comparable employment in the United States.

Participants articulated three kinds of discrimination: their skills and experience gained abroad were not recognized; they experienced a glass ceiling and were unable to reach senior supervisory positions; and they could not find jobs that were lucrative. This downward occupational shift is one reason new immigrants into family enterprises.

The general devaluing of skills that women bring to the family business parallels the non-recognition of skills and experience in the occupational hierarchy. Cleaning and laundry are the bulk of motel work, yet they have low status and both within the family and in the labor-market. Even when this work is paid, low wages and low status ensure high turnover and instability for both employers and employees. Further, like housework, this experience does not translate into value in the long term. One can do cleaning work for 20 years without any substantial improvement in pay or conditions of work.

This section illustrates how immigration rules, the labor market, ethnic traditions, and gender interact with each other in all dimensions of society. The public and private domains blend together in the interaction. In the next section, I examine the specific relationship between the work a person does and their decision-making power in the family as one crucial aspect that organizes gender hierarchy.

Relationship between Contributions of Labor and Decision-Making

Although both first and second generation Patels say that those who do the work ought to make the decisions about it, I found that in practice, men and women share the motel work, but men make the decisions among both generations. Among the first generation, women make only household decisions, because the perception remains that they are housewives.

Among the second generation, participants who remained in the motel business said that they were equal partners. Upon probing, however, women routinely agreed that they left major business decisions to men: financing, buying new property etc., while making minor decisions like room decor. The structure of small motel business is conducive to perpetuating traditional gender hierarchy. In the following excerpt, Sheela (second generation) defines her role in relation to her husband's. Both are engaged full time in motel work.

Sheela (W): I call the housekeepers every day, oversee the front desk, recent sales and marketing type things, handle the accounts receivable, discuss anything that needs to be done. I mean I do everything...I'll pull the weeds out, you know...whatever needs to be done. He [her husband] does just about everything,

too. He is more into the paper end of it. He does new development, any kind of paper work that needs to be done, that sort of thing. I don't really get into the new development end of it too much. My husband handles all that. He just tells me that they are building something, or they decided to build something, and that's fine. Once everything is set, that's when I take over, get into the design end of it. I don't get involved in the other process too much. He takes care of all that.

Although she sees herself as an equal partner in the business, Sheela clearly understands and accepts her husband as making the major decisions. Women do the housekeeping and supervising jobs in larger operations, and they are the backups for when employees do not show up. Women's position in the business is linked to their status within the family.

First and Intermediate Links

All the women in the categories of first and intermediate links do motel work in the United States. Some women had employment experience, and some had worked in family businesses before coming to the United States. Once they come to the this country (and many are sponsors for subsequent family members), they are housewives working in family motels—regardless of whether or type of employment experience. Apparently, housewife status translates into less access to major decision-making in the business.

For example, Neela is working in a small family motel. She lives on the premises with her husband, son and daughter-in-law and two small grandsons. Her son has a franchised motel, and the daughter-in-law is employed elsewhere full-time. Neela worked for many years in the family business in the U.K., and has been doing motel work in the United States. The following excerpts from Neela's interview exemplify how women simultaneously are housewives and work in motels.

Neela (W): Me and my husband worked--I worked in the restaurant, and he worked in the motel. It was a big motel.

I: You told me you were the cook?

Neela: Ya. Because the cook was not good. Sometimes they let us down - I had to cook. I had to do everything--waitress--I had to do everything. If the waitress did not come, I had to do it. And cooking. Sometimes, when the cook let us down. ... that time, I hadn't got much experience like [I do] now....

I: In London, you worked in the store. What was your job in the store?

Neela: My job? Everything. Everything. All round. Like here in the motel, if the maid won't come, I have to clean the rooms. Same thing [in the store] we had to learn everything. When we go into business, we must learn everything. If you have got a restaurant you must know how to cook, how to set tables ... If you are in the motel business you should know how to be a desk clerk, do night duty, the maid's job, and serve the customers. You should know everything.

I: Tell me what everybody's responsibilities are at home: shopping, cooking, taking care of the children...

Neela: I do everything most of the time. See, in business it is very hard and it is very tough. If you want to do business you have to give up lot of things. It is not an easy business. And only men can't do it. Ladies have to give support too. There is no way for kids and other things, you can't survive.

Neela remains completely responsible for housework, and has no decision-making power. In his interview, Neela's son Raj discussed the relative decision-making power between his parents. Then he went on to highlight traditional patterns relating to gender and housework, which are apparent to him as a second generation Patel.

I: Do they [your parents] usually have a joint [business] decision?

Raj (M): I think its Dad 95% and Mom 5%. Dad pretty much tells Mom what he wants to do. That's the way I figure it. It's not like me and my sisters, not like we are now. My father, I admire him, I love him. He did some great things for us. I wouldn't want to be like him--he should treat my Mom better, maybe as an equal.

In her interview, Champa, the daughter-in-law, confirmed Raj and Neela's accounts. All three agree that the father makes the business decisions and does not share in domestic work, and the mother shares in the motel work and has no say in the decision-making. Although he says that business decisions are shared, his account contradicts the descriptions of three family members.

I: So when you make a business decision, then is it a family decision?

Das (M): Ya, family decision. We talk about it, discuss. Sometime there is difference of opinion. Wife says, "No, we don't want to do it. We don't want to do this." Choice is sometimes hers, "No, I don't want to do this." I try to convince her. And [the person] who makes the decision about something is [the person who has] to do the work. Women make decisions about home.

Neela's fallback position in the wider society is extremely weak. She has a seventh grade education and Das has a B.Sc. They were married when she was 13. She taught herself English while in the U.K. Although she can get by communicating in English, she is neither fluent in nor confident of her language skills. For 17 years, she has been unable to see her family in India, or to pay for their travel to visit her. Other than her grown children, she has no other family in this country because she is part of the first link in the migration chain. Her weak position obviously has an impact on her status within the family, and the negotiation of the work she undertakes. This situation is typical of families who are the first links in the migration chain.

The contrast between traditional hierarchical gender norms and more equal gender relations is highlighted when we examine Bina's and Bhavna's situations. Bhavna is part of a last link in the migration chain, she is not employer-sponsored. I will discuss Bhavna's gender egalitarian

situation in the next section. Like Neela, Bina is also part of the first link in the migration chain. But she immigrated on her own, is professionally qualified herself and employed in the United States, and married a professionally qualified man who was employer-sponsored. She is not Patel but married one. Bina's education and secure link to employment is linked to her family status and the way that this couple share motel work and decisions. Bina sees the way that they share work as being equal--the way men would share the work, rather than based on hierarchical gender norms. Note that Bina does not differentiate between motel work and housework as she describes the traditional gender norms that organize both arenas.

I: What was your involvement in business decisions?

Bina (W): My husband and I were a team. We were both like men. We would consult each other and we divided all work. So I did marketing, public relations and he was good in accounting, bookkeeping, excellent in math. So we decided what's good. He didn't like to talk to people. He said you have more friends, you go out and I will do this. (Laughter) If we had a problem we sat and discussed what we could do. If he had a good suggestion or I had a good suggestion, we either took it or we dropped it. So we worked like a team ... team work. He let me go sometimes when I said I want this thing no matter what. He didn't like it but he would say, "O.K. go for it." And I did the same thing. So if he forced me I would not do it ever. And if I forced him it's just a miserable life. So we kept our own choice. Lot of men demand that their wives cook their food, clean their clothes. He had no demands. He never demanded anything from me. He washed his own clothes all the time, took care of the kids. If we had to pick up our daughter, he would decide to do it on his own. If I decided I am going to pick her up too, I would see his car and come back. And if he went home early, he would start the food to cook if I came home later than him. Many things like that. He might cook and he would say, "We can now sit and eat." He didn't ask at all ...

A significant proportion of women who are intermediate links had some employment or business experience either prior to migrating (if they were twice-migrant) or after coming to the United States but before embarking on the motel business. The following excerpts are from an interview with Nisha who has two children, a small motel, and is an intermediate link in the migration chain. She describes the changes in her life after coming to the United States. Towards the end, she articulated her resistance to a traditional gender division of labor by declaring that she is determined that her son will learn to do all the jobs, even the ones his father refuses, although she acknowledges the strong influence of his father's behavior

Nisha (W): Life is totally different here. I have to take care of my home and a motel. In India, I didn't have to worry about my children and cooking. There, I had a maid who helped me in cooking and other work for the whole day in the house. Here I have to do all the work of cooking, cleaning, all the work of my home, and look after the children. It was an easy life there, compared to here. Also

security there. Usually I make chapatis²⁰ almost every day and serve them hot. I make chapatis, vegetables, curry, and rice almost every day.

I: My children like parathas²¹ very much. They ask me to make them often.

Nisha: The elder one, does he help you?

I: No! He does not.

Nisha: Typical Indian style--but I have decided for my son to help in the kitchen. When he grows up he should be helping me. My children like to cook. My sister's sons help her a lot--she doesn't have daughters. They do everything--cleaning the rooms etc. I teach my children everything, even if their father does not like to do everything--typically Indian! But my son has great affect of his father on him. My daughter can do everything, and so can my niece.

Nisha's excerpt describes her gendered status at home, points out the increase in her work after migration--she added both housework and motel work. She also indicates her own and her sister's resistance to traditional gender norms organizing the socialization of the second generation. The sisters encourage their boys to take on housework. Girls are already socialized into doing both motel work and housework.

Patels who are intermediate links in the migration chain inhabit a complex terrain. Mina, quoted below, came to the United States as a new bride and was plunged, into motel work. Mina's in-laws have continued to support them financially, and to sponsor more family members. Mina separates the motels that are part of the family business from the operations that she and her husband Ram have bought with other partners with the help of a commercial loan. The profits from and decision-making in the family business remain in Ram's domain.

I: Tell me about your business decisions. I am getting a mixed message because when we were talking before, you said he makes the decisions.

Mina (W): We discuss also. Sometimes he listens--sometimes he changes his mind. But most of the time, he makes the decisions. It happened two years ago when we built that property and I wanted to move there, Charleston. But my husband said, "No, I want to just stay with my brother." I couldn't change his mind.

I: Sometimes, can you do something too if he doesn't agree?

Mina: --for the Charleston property--we are in charge of everything, the rest of the partners are silent--they are not involved much. So if he doesn't agree then I still do it over there. See, we have a conflict sometimes. I do something and some time later, he understands that I made the right decision.

But evidently, Mina does make some decisions in the properties that are not family business. Ram asserts his privilege at home by refusing any part of housework. The distinction between family owned and operated motels and non-family motels helps to clarify how motel work mediates the

²⁰Unleavened flat whole-wheat bread, akin to tortillas.

links between tradition and gender hierarchy, and also between immigration rules and gender hierarchy. Clearly, then, Mina has more input in the business that is independent from her in-laws.

Last Links

Among families who had the benefit of support from family members who moved to the United States before them, and who had not in turn sponsored more family members, couples espoused a trend toward gender equality. Men were more likely to say they share in housework and devalued jobs in motel work. Women were more likely to assert their share in decision-making in the business. In these families, sons are taught to share in domestic work. My observations support the interview data. For instance, I stopped by one motel unannounced to return a newsletter. I found the man at home alone, preparing a meal for the family. This is quite atypical for Indian men generally, and specifically among Patels. In an earlier visit, when I shared a meal with this family, I observed that the two teenage sons did indeed clear the table, store leftovers, and clean dishes without prompting from either parent. It was evident that this was their usual routine. In her account, Bhavna articulated her position on this clearly:

Bhavna (W): But whatever we are doing, we are doing parallel, you know, me and my husband. He is helping me in kitchen also. He cooks good. He can feed my kids easily. My husband is 100% exceptional. He does everything, he helps me in everything I do--in the kitchen, washing dishes, doing my laundry, everything. Sometimes he can sweep this floor too--vacuum and everything. So I trained my sons to do everything. The boys clean their bathroom every weekend--one is cleaning bathroom, the other is vacuuming in the house. Next week they switch jobs. They fold when I complete my laundry. I just take everything to my bed and they pick up their clothes and fold and keep in a proper place. I force them to do lot of work. They clean dishes, they can do everything. And I don't have girls, so at a lot of family gatherings, they help me in kitchen--cleaning, washing dishes, taking out the food whatever I demand, they just take out from the refrigerator and give me. Ya, they work with me like helping hands, you know. If a mother is working, how the daughter helps, the same way they are helping me. It's unusual because when we eat dinner together, I make roti and give them--serve them hot. Then I sit and we finish all together. I finish my dinner and I just stand in front of my sink. The younger one puts all the vessels and dishes in the sink, the older one will take out my yogurt containers and if there is leftover food, he puts it in the fridge....the younger one takes a mop and cleans my oven and dining table. Next day, they have a rotation, they switch by themselves, they never argue. I have to just rinse my dishes and they set them in the dishwasher. That's our routine. So within a maximum of 10 minutes, we all four will be out in office--sit on the sofa within 10 minutes. It's not the case that after having dinner, my son will be going to his

²¹Stuffed, fried flat bread.

room, my husband will be in the office and I am all alone working in the kitchen. They don't like that. I don't like that either. So this is our hallmark--we work together, we sit together. Its not that one is working and another is resting. We four are working parallel.

Bhavna provided an articulate account of traditional gender norms as they organize housework. She points out that eating together, and sharing in the preparation and cleaning up of meals is a central component of resistance to hierarchical gender norms.

Families who are the last links in the migration chain also exhibited more sharing of decision-making in the business. Women have a voice in what happens in the future. For instance, one major issue among small motel-owners is whether or not to buy a franchise. In my sample, women who are last links participated substantially more in business decisions, as the following excerpts show. Nina was employed in a factory job for several years in the United States before they bought the motel. Both Nina and her husband Pravin described a daily routine in which they shared the motel work and the housework:

Pravin (M): It is almost time to start cooking the dinner. Nina starts cooking the dinner, and I take care of the office, or I help her in the kitchen a little bit. I like to spend time in the kitchen--most of the time, she cooks herself. I try to be with her all the time. I will be with her in the kitchen.

This couple changed traditional gender hierarchy by sharing housework and motel work. All participants who are the last links in a migration chain reported both women's sharing in business decision-making as well as men's sharing in the daily housework. Neither of these activities was shared equally, but there was more sharing than among participants who were first and intermediate links. Decision-making among families who are first and intermediate links is completely in men's domain. Since women at all stages of the migration chain contribute their labor to motels, this shows that the pressure to meet costs of migration for subsequent family-sponsored immigrants contributes to maintaining traditional gender hierarchy in immigrant families. Second generation participants' gender relations were closely associated with whether they remained in the motel business.

Conclusions

My analysis challenges structural models that assume some public-private distinction. This dichotomy is conflated in the case of budget motels. Hierarchical gender relations based on

male privilege facilitate the incorporation of women's labor into motel work. Women are constrained by the obligation to meet migration costs for new entrants, and thus cannot refuse the additional work. If women were to refuse motel work, it would mean that families could not support new entrants, thus constituting economic loss for the family and the community. Capitalism and various patriarchies work in tandem in this instance: economic success together with gender hierarchy. Ethnic traditions, immigration law, the labor market, and individual agency are all involved in a complex relationship.

At both macro- and micro-levels, the relationship between gender inequality and gender division of labor calls for a reformulation of what is considered "work," and highlights the necessity of re-conceptualizing who we see as workers. The findings of this study reiterate the call of all feminist research on work, and specifically Mies' (1986) call to reformulate the concept of work to include biological and reproductive labor. Both concepts (work and workers) are inadequate in understanding how material and non-material aspects of gender and work are linked. What would it mean if Patel women perceived themselves and were perceived to be workers/breadwinners instead of housewives?

The policy implications of such a reformulation become clear. If the state recognizes family-sponsored immigrants as workers, they would then have access to benefits at par with other workers. Immigrant women who work in family businesses are an unrecognized source of cheap labor in the United States. If they are seen as workers, then they would be subject to the constraints of other workers, as well as have access to benefits accorded to workers.

Scholars in economics suggest that the relative gender equity of non-immigrant women in the West probably has more to do with the simultaneous emergence of macro-economic stability and social safety nets than with employment opportunities alone (Charusheela and Danby, 1997). Women need another source of security before they can afford to challenge patriarchal networks that provide resources for survival, albeit at the cost of women's autonomy. To challenge traditional gender hierarchy, women's employment experience is a necessary but insufficient condition. Economic pressures to meet costs of migration for new immigrants need to be eased as well.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF IMMIGRATION RULES, LABOR MARKET EXPERIENCE, ETHNIC NORMS, AND GENDER HIERARCHY

The purpose of this chapter is to address my research questions in light of the findings, and to summarize my analysis of links between the context of reception and gender hierarchy among Patels. I will reflect on the limitations of this study and how I might address them in the future in my own research. Finally, I will briefly outline future directions for the study of gender hierarchy and the context of reception for immigrants to this country.

Research Questions and Findings

My general research question was--How are immigration rules, labor market, and ethnic norms linked to gender hierarchy among an economically successful group of immigrants, the Patels? I derived two sub-questions from this question which directed the inquiry to specific arenas in which I invited participants to share their experiences and understanding. These questions were -- How are immigration rules and the labor market linked to gender hierarchy among Patels? And-- How are ethnic norms linked to gender hierarchy among Patels?

I identified three indicators of ethnic norms as salient to this analysis: marriage patterns, residence patterns, and support from kin and community. All three traditional patterns are significantly linked to gender hierarchy, as the analysis in Chapter 4 shows. Patels follow hypergamy in traditional marriage patterns. That is, brides usually marry grooms of higher status. Traditional residence patterns emphasize patrilateral kin: Brides are physically removed from their families by marrying men from other villages. It is unusual for grooms to reside with bride's kin. Finally, financial support flows freely from men's patrilateral kin, and is not the norm among women's matrilineal relationships. In addition to the three indicators of ethnic norms that I identified before I began the interviews, I also used relevant evidence of traditional norms that I observed: men and women eating together or in sequence, and women serving men food.

If Patels move towards more egalitarian patterns on all three indicators, then immigration rules are not likely linked to gender hierarchy in this country. I proposed that if Patels show evidence of traditional patterns on all three indicators, then immigration rules likely are also not linked to gender hierarchy, since that would mean that traditional gender norms migrate across national borders intact. If all three indicators show change, immigration rules could be seen as

working against traditional gender norms. If Patels move towards more egalitarian patterns in particular indicators, but remain traditional others, then immigration rules likely support/facilitate some dimensions of traditional norms, and are thus linked to gender hierarchy.

The significant finding of this study is that the direct relationship between women's secure link to the labor market and enhanced family status is mediated among Patels by their location in the migration chain and a family's continued involvement in the motel business in the second generation. These findings support and build on prior research among Mexican immigrants that shows that gender relations are directly linked to the security of women's link to the labor market (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Documented women negotiate more egalitarian family relationships based on their secure link to the U.S. labor market. Undocumented women also earn, but their gender relations are hierarchical because they live in fear of being deported. Below, I present my findings in relation to the research questions.

How are immigration rules and the labor market linked to gender hierarchy among Patels? Gender hierarchy among Patels is related to whether families sponsor subsequent new members. When families sponsor new immigrants, they must meet the costs of migration. This situation is conducive to traditional hierarchical gender relations among families. When they do not need to meet costs of migration for new immigrants, then families tend towards more equal gender relations.

Women's location in the labor market is related to their motel work. When Patels seek employment in the United States, the kinds of jobs that are available to them offer fewer financial rewards than motel work. Therefore, they choose motel work over other paid employment. The hierarchy of capitalism, manifested in men's and women's location in the occupational hierarchy, and patriarchy, manifested in women's motel work, operate in tandem here. However, families who escape the pressures of capitalism by not sponsoring new immigrants, and women who counter the pressures of patriarchy through employment experience have more equal relationships as evidenced by the sharing of both decision-making and low status jobs in housework and motel work.

How are ethnic norms linked to gender hierarchy among Patels? Indicators of ethnic norms are inconsistent for all participants. Although all three traditional family patterns are patriarchal and hierarchical, if they reduce a family's ability to meet the costs of migration, then some traditional family patterns are challenged. This means that the family reunification policy

selectively supports traditional hierarchical gender norms that suit the exigencies of the capitalist state, and interrupt other traditional hierarchical gender norms.

The categories of housewives and breadwinners--and the skills and status accorded to each--organize both motel work and housework among Patels, as I showed in Chapter 6. That is, men assert their privilege by refusing low status jobs, both in motel work and housework, and by retaining the decision-making power in motels even when women contribute substantially. The similarity between motel work and housework is significant in this organization. This analysis is supported by the situation in second generation families, who are more likely to have hierarchical gender relations if the family remains in the motel business than if couples seek employment.

I lay out the findings and analysis in Table 7.1 below, illustrating the relationship between gender hierarchy and the context of reception for Patel immigrants to this country who are in the budget motel business. It is evident that the location of the family in the migration chain shapes gender relations for that couple. Couples who met costs of migration for new entrants (first and intermediate links) showed evidence of gender hierarchy. Labor market experience shaped gender relations for both men and women. That is, lack of recognition of experience and skills gained abroad together with discriminatory employment experiences in this country shaped men's engagement with motel work. For women, the data suggests that prior employment experience outside of motels shapes gender relations in the marriage. Finally, ethnic norms also shaped gender relations. All couples showed changes in some traditional norms but not others. This means that the immigration rules and labor market in this country facilitate some traditions while resisting others. In short, traditional practices that are conducive to meeting costs of migration for new entrants are facilitated, such as hypergamy in marriage patterns; while traditions that may constrain immigrants' capacity to meet such costs are changed, such as patrilateral emphasis on sharing residences and other resources.

My findings support prior research that suggests that gender inequality among minority groups in this country is positively related to material resources (Almquist, 1990). Indian immigrants have the highest annual income of all groups in the United States, including white Americans. Migration researchers typically focus on the relationship of ethnic groups and the wider society (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). However, feminist analysis that examines relationships within ethnic groups has shown that immigration has different outcomes for men and women (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). This study builds on feminist research to show the relationship between immigration rules, the labor market, ethnic norms, and gender hierarchy.

Table 7.1

Relationship of immigration rules, ethnic norms, and gender hierarchy among Patels.

	Location in Migration Chain		
	First links	Intermediate links	Last links
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All but one family had hierarchical gender relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All families had hierarchical gender relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All had relatively more equal gender relations
Ethnic norms: marriage patterns, residence patterns, community/kin support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inconsistent: traditional marriage & non-traditional residence and support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inconsistent: traditional marriage & non-traditional residence and support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inconsistent: traditional marriage & non-traditional residence and support
Status and skills related to housewives/breadwinners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized motel work and housework 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized motel work and housework 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did NOT organize motel work or housework
Family reunification rules/ labor market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Met costs of migration for new entrants • Some women had employment experience; one had professional education. • Language barriers, higher for women • All men had employment experience/professional education, and experienced de-skilling and/or employer discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Met costs of migration for new entrants • Some women had employment experience • Language barriers, higher for women • All men had employment experience or were self-employed and experienced de-skilling and/or employer discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did NOT sponsor new entrants • All women had employment experience • More language fluency for both men and women • All men had employment experience or were self-employed and experienced de-skilling and/or employer discrimination

Conclusions

For Patel women, two factors mediate the link to the labor market that documented immigrant status represents. One is the location of each family on the migration chain, and the other is the strong ethnic norm among Patels that married women ought to be housewives and not work outside the home. Thus immigration rules that encourage family sponsorship and some ethnic norms are linked to gender hierarchy among Patels.

Among families who are the first links in the migration chain, women's prior experience in the labor market does not translate into more egalitarian gender relations. Sponsoring subsequent immigrants means that families must meet their costs of migration. Families who are the first links can meet these costs because they have secured the right to work--they have a direct link to the labor market. However, a combination of employer discrimination and the economic pressure of bringing more family members to the United States push first generation immigrants toward small family enterprises. When Patels select a business, it is important to find work to which everyone can contribute. In addition, there is a strong norm that married women ought to remain at home. These concerns are successfully integrated in motel work: minimal language skills are necessary, it is buffered from employer discrimination, many new entrants can be accommodated literally and can begin to contribute economically right away, and women can do motel work without going outside the home. Further, since the women remain housewives and have no direct link to the labor market, their decision-making also remains in the domestic domain. Women's added labor provides the economic means to meet the costs of migration for new entrants, and participants recognize that the returns from motel work are significantly more than what men and women could earn if employed in the labor market.

Families who are intermediate links in the migration chain face a situation similar to those who are first links, with one significant added benefit: they can rely on prior immigrants for all kinds of support. When they sponsor more links in the migration chain, they too must meet the costs of migration for new entrants. Thus, women also contribute to meeting migration costs by doing motel work. A secure link to the labor market through documented status does not translate into more egalitarian gender relations as women are not employed.

Among families who are the last links in the migration chain, the pressure to meet costs of migration for new entrants is removed. In addition, they have the benefit of support from prior immigrants. Here we see significantly more egalitarian marital relationships. Women have more input in business decisions, and men contribute more to housework. When the pressure to meet

migration costs for new immigrants is removed, women can better resist being largely responsible for low status work. They are less bound by family obligations.

Indications are that among the second generation, when they remain in the family motel business, then they are likely to also maintain hierarchical family relations. Research suggests that women's contributions in all family businesses are ignored or downplayed. When I examined the nature of motel work, I found processes by which women's contributions can be downplayed.

Ethnic norms are linked to gender hierarchy among Patels through the processes that downplay women's contributions. There is a differential evaluation of motel work, depending on whether men or women do it. When women do it, motel work is considered similar to housework and thus appropriate for housewives. When men do it, motel work is sharply distinguished from housework. Traditional notions of gender hierarchy organize the work so that the low status jobs are routinely assigned to women. Men will do them only when no women are available. Further, when men engage in activities typically categorized as "women's work," the work remains low status and men take care to dissociate from it.

This analysis also shows that immigration rules dealing with family sponsorship as one component of the context of reception, are linked to gender hierarchy among Patels. Where families are located in the migration chain is linked to whether gender relations tend to be hierarchical or egalitarian. My data also suggests a link between second component of the context of reception, the labor market, and gender hierarchy among second generation Patels. Among this group (which was not the focus of my study), when families forge a direct link to the labor market it is conducive to egalitarian gender relations.

These three components (immigration rules, the labor market, and ethnic norms) are a matrix of structures that facilitate hierarchical relationships in immigrant families. Aspects of both capitalism and patriarchy, that are reflected in traditional norms, immigration rules and the labor market intersect and work in tandem to constrain men and women in different and unequal ways. However, my study also suggests that when they can escape the pressures from both structures, then couples are more egalitarian.

The findings of this research on Patels in motels, when combined with research on Koreans in small shops (Lim, 1997) and Mexicans (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994), illustrate the complex interaction of capitalism and patriarchy. Korean women also contribute substantially to family business. Like Patels, Korean women's contributions are a departure from their traditional gender division of labor in which the husband is the breadwinner and the wife stays at home.

However, the experience of working together in the shop breaks down the traditional division of labor since men and women share similar work—as co-workers. This leads to a shift in the self-definition of Korean women from housewives (and thus subordinate) to breadwinners. Women work as hard and as many hours as their husbands, doing similar work, and thus earn the status of equal breadwinners, gaining a foothold to challenge gender inequality (Lim, 1997).

Mexican women seek employment, whether they are documented or undocumented. The security of women's link to the labor market determines whether they challenge gender inequality (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Among Patels in motel work, however, the experience of working in the motel (also their residence), and the nature of motel work—which is akin to housework—is less conducive to breaking down the traditional gender division of labor. Men and women do not necessarily share similar work as co-workers. And when they do, men can still refuse the low status jobs at home to maintain their privilege. Thus, there is not necessarily a shift in women's self-definition as housewives. In addition, women's housewife status indicates social standing for the family. Women do not claim the status of equal breadwinners. Patel women gain equality when families do not need to meet costs of migration for new entrants, which they understand as family obligation. Then, women have room to negotiate more equal relationships.

Possible Alternative Explanations

In her analysis of gender relations among Mexican immigrants, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) found that family decision-making processes preceded the migration. Further, families who were economically better off prior to migrating to this country tended to have more egalitarian relationships because their economic success was often based on family businesses in which women assumed responsibility. Families who had little access to economic resources before migration tended to have gender hierarchical relationships.

Among Patels, however, a similar association between economic resources prior to migration and egalitarian gender relations is not evident. One reason is that most families who migrate are economically better off before migration. That is, unlike Mexicans, among Patels only people with significant resources are able to make the move. Thus, it is not possible to make a comparison among Patel immigrants between families who did and did not have economic resources prior to migration. Further, there are several families in my sample in which women worked in family businesses prior to migration to this country. Contrary to the situation with

Mexican immigrants, I found that women's work in family businesses prior to migration had no association with more egalitarian relationships.

Education is often a source of increased family status for women. However, among Patels, educated women per se did not have more egalitarian relationships. Several women I interviewed had completed a bachelor's degree and were in hierarchical relationships (Men in these families had professional degrees, making them more qualified than the women, as is customary in the practice of hypergamy). However, it is possible that when a couple has equivalent education, they tend to be more egalitarian. Among the couples who had egalitarian relationships, men and women had equivalent levels of education. However, there were also instances when both men and women had equivalent although low levels of education along with hierarchical relationships. More research is needed to clarify the association of differential education among men and women with hierarchical gender relationships.

Limitations of this study and proposals to address them

I propose three studies that extend my dissertation research and highlight the links between immigration rules, the host labor market, ethnic traditions, and gender. The first study addresses the indication that employment outside of motel work is related to gender hierarchy among second generation couples. In this project, I did not focus on the second generation, and therefore there is a small number of second generation couples. Second generation Patels are more likely to operate larger franchised enterprises that are located in and around urban areas. I have extensive community contacts that will facilitate this research. My findings also suggest that hierarchical gender relations among second generation Patels may be linked to whether they continue in the motel business. When second generation Patels continue in the motel business, traditional gender hierarchy is more likely among couples. When women have other employment experience, more egalitarian relationships are likely.

A second limitation of this study is that it does not address cross-national experiences of immigration, although I am interested in processes across national borders. Thus the second proposed study would be to examine the experiences of Patels in Canada. It would be a cross-national analysis of migration policies and the labor market in Canada and the United States. Some participants in this study made their way to this country through Canada. As they are less stringent than U.S. policies, Canadian immigration rules did not screen out people whose costs of migration were not being met by families or employers. Upon arrival, immigrants to Canada have

immediate access to national resources (such as health care). Therefore, for the second proposed study, I would examine the link between immigration policies, the labor market, and traditional norms relating to gender among Patels in Canada.

A third limitation of the dissertation research is that it does not compare gender hierarchy before and after settlement in this country. Therefore, for the third proposed study, I will trace Patels' migration back to Gujarat. This project includes the perspectives of Patels who remained in India and did not emigrate, and s depth to the analysis. Prior migration research has either focused on the region of origin of immigrants or their destination. A central aspect of my larger research agenda is that it seeks to span both origin and destination for a particular population. I would have references from participants in my earlier studies for their families in India, thus making a concrete link between the earlier studies and the fieldwork in India required in this subsequent project.²²

The proposed studies would contribute to existing scholarship on gender, migration, and "work". One goal of the proposed research is to generate data that informs public policy at various levels. When immigration rules and traditional norms do not consider women to be workers, then this assessment is conducive to women's insecure status in the labor market and thus to a subordinate status in the family. Research that clarifies a link between public policy and women's status in the family could inform immigration policy. Current policy in the United States does not consider immigrants who enter under family reunification rules to be workers. This research could also inform labor laws. Under prevailing laws, immigrants who work in family businesses are not covered by the protections and benefits afforded to workers. My research would also be pertinent to the rules that allow access to social services in the United States. Under present rules, immigrants cannot claim benefits for three to five years after arriving in the United States.

There is a recent trend to consider gender analysis in the formulation of public policy in the United States. For instance, the Violence against Women Act of 1994 includes provisions for spouses of residents/citizens to make independent applications for citizenship when they can document abuse (Heer, 1996; Isbister, 1996). It is overwhelmingly women who apply for a change of status under this new law (Smith, 1998). However, the rules remain oppressive for spouses who do not document abuse.

²² To develop a practical plan for fieldwork in India, I will renew an affiliation with Dr. Sujata Patel, Chair, Department of Sociology, Sreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey (SNDT) Women's University, Bombay; and Dr. Ghanshyam Shah, Center for Social Studies, South Gujarat University, Surat. I was born, raised, and educated in India, which will also be an advantage in conducting this study.

Other examples of this trend are the guidelines issued by the Clinton administration that recognize gender-based persecution as a reason to gain asylum or refuge (Associated Press, 1996); and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's recognition of women's issues as an emerging priority in U.S. foreign policy (Washington Post, 1997). By clarifying the link between work and gender, my proposed research will provide a basis to formulate public policies that are conducive to more equitable outcomes.

Building on these Findings for Future Research

This research examines gender hierarchy as one of the main building blocks of society, as a social process of relations that constructs inequality. Maintaining social inequality is a central function of the powers of the state and legitimates economic, emotional, and sexual exploitation of women. This research shows that gender is cross cut by ethnicity and economics. The combination of social characteristics is not just added to each other: each affects the others, and they work with or against each other. Since gender hierarchy supports a system which favors men, changing it means that women gain some of men's privilege such as freedom from housework and men gain some of women's responsibilities, such as childcare. Since race and class are intertwined with gender, it is unlikely that gender inequality can be addressed without attention to racial/ethnic and economic exploitation (Lorber, 1998).

Structuring for equality, therefore, requires that everyone has equal access to education, work, income, opportunities for satisfying family relationships, and freedom from violence and exploitation. In order for people to be equal, families, work, communities, etc. would have to consider all members to be equal and equally valued and rewarded. Thus, everyone who does socially useful work must be recognized, and rewarded with the means to sustain themselves. If the production of goods and services continues to be more highly valued, inequality will persist.

If we are to imagine a world without gender inequality, research is necessary to highlight how inequalities in other domains interact to support or resist it. Among the Patels, for example, husbands are typically higher status than wives. When family-sponsorship rules resist this hierarchy, the labor market in this country interacts to support gender inequality. Further research is needed to clarify and highlight how the various social structures are linked to each other. Such an explanation is imperative to understanding a social order that gives some people greater advantages, privilege, and opportunities at the expense of others. Practically, such an understanding will allow us to set up structures of work and family life that build equality by

distributing responsibilities and rewards equitably. Parenting, for example, can be valued as much as breadwinning. Work would be organized on the equal worth of a variety of jobs.

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Appendix A

Sub-question re: ethnic norms

(1) How are Patel traditions linked to gender hierarchy?

Interview checklist:

1. How did you and your spouse come to the United States? Tell me how the decision was made.
2. What are the criteria that your family considers in negotiating marriage arrangements? What are the selection criteria for brides and grooms?
3. How do young women in Gujarat view going abroad after marriage? How about young men? How do Gujaratis in the United States think of the marriage negotiation process?
4. Tell me about the relationship between the bride and groom's families.
5. How does your extended family regard dowry? What happened in your own marriage?
6. What is important in tradition and marriage arrangements for Gujaratis who live in the United States?
7. In hard times, who would you look to for help and guidance?
8. Who do you think counts on your support?
9. What kind of support are you likely to give/get?
10. Tell me about the education/training you think boys ought to have.
11. Girls?
12. What is your responsibility to your extended family/community?
13. Tell me how you came to this business. How were the financial and property decisions made? What is your responsibility to your family now--planning, investing, buying, cooking, cleaning, etc. Your spouse?
14. What are your contributions to your family's economic success?
15. What were your responsibilities to your family before you came to the United States? What were your contributions?
16. Where do you experience tensions in your life? Your spouse? Your children?
17. What would you say to a young couple in the United States whose marriage was not working out?
18. How is your household organized--living arrangements and domestic duties.

Sub-question re: immigration rules

(2) How is family reunification policy linked to gender hierarchy among Patels doing motel work?

Interview checklist:

1. How did you and your spouse get your green cards? Did you use the services of a lawyer? Was it complicated or stressful? What were your concerns?
2. Did you have the "conditional" status.? Are you/your spouse still "conditional"? If no, then tell me about your life before and after the conditional status. was removed.
3. Tell me your understanding of the process of immigration to the United States.
4. Which members of your/your spouse's families immigrated with your help?
5. Tell me about the people who lived with you after coming to the United States or that you lived with. Were you working together? Tell me how the work was done.
6. What did you do before coming to the United States? After? What about your spouse?
7. Tell me about a typical day in your life from the time you wake up.
8. Tell me about a typical day for your spouse, children, other members of the household.
9. When your children get married, what would you like to see happen?
10. Which are your most significant family relationships?
11. Tell me about financial support to and from family and friends. For example, do you send money to your family? your spouse? If you should decide to expand the business, who can you count on? How are financial business decisions made?
12. What are the significant changes in your life, in your thinking, since you moved to the United States?
13. What are the sources from which you draw your strongest support--material and emotional?
14. How do members of your family who remain in Gujarat see you now?
15. Are Gujaratis and other immigrants who come to the United States similar in their experiences and views? What is unique or special about the Gujarati community?
16. Is there anything you'd like to tell me?

APPENDIX B

Visa preferences for family and employer sponsored immigrants (Jasso & Rosenzweig 1990)

Award of every immigrant visa (excluding asylees/refugees) requires at least one U.S. sponsor, either a family member or an employer who is as central an actor in the immigration process as the immigrant.

Preference	Provision
First	Unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens and their children
Second	Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent residents
Third	Professionals of exceptional ability and their spouses and children
Fourth	Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens and their spouses and children
Fifth	Siblings of U.S. citizens (age 21 or above) and their spouses and children
Sixth	Workers in skilled/unskilled occupations whose labor is needed in the United States and their spouses and children

Spouses, children, and parents of U.S. citizens (age 21 or over) are admitted without limitation.

APPENDIX C

Generations

I include everyone who came to the United States as an adult in the category of first generation participants. There are people who came directly from India as well as twice migrants. Everyone in this category is married and almost everyone does motel work. One man was employed full-time. Roughly 70% of participants are first generation.

I include in the category of "second generation" everyone who had completed high school in the United States regardless of whether they were born and raised in the United States or abroad. This definition is based on the idea that high school in the United States is a major socializing experience (Das Gupta, 1997). About 30% of participants are second generation. There were both married and unmarried participants in this category. Three second generation couples are included in the sample. There are now sufficient numbers of Patels in the United States so that they can maintain ethnic norms relating to marriage without recruiting spouses from abroad. Parents of this group of participants could be anywhere in the migration chain: first, intermediate, or last links. However, all-but-one second generation participants are last links themselves: they have typically not sponsored new immigrants. One participant in this category had sponsored a wife from India, and therefore is an intermediate link.

Although a large proportion of second generation Patels move into professional positions, there are significant numbers who continue in the motel business. When they remain in the motel business, second generation Patels are likely to be involved in larger franchised operations with employees, in contrast to budget motels in which family labor is the mainstay of the operation. Recent trends are for second and first generation professionals to leave employment and return to motels as a more stable, less biased, and more lucrative alternative to the job market.

Among the second generation, one-third were employed outside the motel business and in two-thirds were continuing in the motel business. They became part of my sample because I interviewed them when I went to their parents' motel, and they were present. Either both generations lived together, or the second generation participants were at the parents' place for a visit. Two-thirds of second generation families continued to share a residence with extended family, and that is how they became part of my sample. All participants were recruited in relation to a particular motel business.

Table C.1

Sample by generations

first generation	70% of sample. All married. Range from 7th grade to professionally qualified
second generation	30% of sample. Married and unmarried. All college-bound or college-educated.