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THE SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORKS OF
INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

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ABSTRACT

Refugee sponsors and social service staff of agencies serving Indochinese refugees in Utah were surveyed to determine the relationship between social support and economic self-sufficiency among refugees. Agency staff and refugee sponsors rated contacts by family, work, school, and sponsors who are family members as most useful, with differences emerging between the two groups regarding other sources of social support. Respondents who had been refugees rated some forms of social support higher than nonrefugee respondents. Mutual Assistance Associations were seen as under-utilized resources for helping Indochinese refugees build and maintain networks of social support.

Introduction

Social support networks and informal care-giving by family, friends, neighbors and self-help groups have been recognized only recently as important resources for addressing social needs and increasing the effectiveness of human services (e.g., Caplan, 1974; Collins and Pancoast, 1976; Froland, et al., 1979; Froland, et al., 1981; Gottlieb, 1981; 1983; Speck and Attneave, 1973). Whittaker and Garbarino (1983) define a social support network as:

a set of interconnected relationships among a group of people that provides enduring patterns of nurturance (many or all forms) and provides contingent reinforcement for efforts to cope with life on a day-to-day basis (p. 5).

The concepts of social network and social support are integrated by Caplan's (1974) definition of a personal support system as an:

enduring pattern of continuous or intermittent ties that play a significant part in maintaining the psychological and physical integrity of the individual over time (p. 7).

A person's network of supportive relationships functions as a source of emotional and moral support, physical care and nurturance, information and advice, and tangible aid such as food, money, employment, clothing and shelter (Whittaker, 1983, p. 46). The positive effects of a well-developed social support network have been documented in a number of areas, including aiding men in adjustment to life changes such as unemployment (Cobb,

1976; Gore, 1978), training parents in child management skills (Cohn, 1979; Wahler, 1980b), helping families deal with stress (Stack, 1974; Unger and Powell, 1980); assisting recovering addicts in re-entering the community (Fraser and Hawkins, 1984); and aiding child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Cochran and Brassard, 1979; Sandler, 1980).

Similarly, informal helping networks comprised largely of neighbors, kin, work contacts, and retailers such as hairdressers and bartenders appear to play a significant role in preventing child maltreatment (Garbarino, et al., 1980), linking parents to day care services (Collins and Pancoast, 1976) and performing other concrete social functions. The connections provided by both strong and weak network ties fulfill important functions in mediating life crises and providing day-to-day problem-solving resources (Granovetter, 1973, 1983).

Large and diverse networks, as opposed to small and dense networks, have been associated with successful coping and the absence of problem conditions such as mental illness, alcohol abuse, and drug addiction (Pattison, 1979). Denoff (1982) in a recent study of supportive functions among network members highlighted the role that supportive relationships can play in "buffering" against the impact of illness, divorce, unemployment, and death (see, for example, Andrews et al., 1978; Caplan, 1974; Cobb, 1976; Dean and Lin, 1977; Nuckolls, Cassel, and Kaplan, 1971).¹

But what if a "life crisis" consists of a sudden departure from one's homeland, culture, family and friends, as in the case of Indochinese refugees who were evacuated

or escaped from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos? In contrast to other areas, research on the role of social support networks among Indochinese refugees is less complete, particularly with regard to the role of social supports in helping refugees achieve economic self-sufficiency. This article will report the findings of a survey of refugee agency staff and sponsors regarding the role of social support in helping refugees achieve "economic self-sufficiency"--defined as independence from any form of public assistance (e.g., refugee assistance, AFDC).

Social Supports and Indochinese Refugees: An Overview

The migration/evacuation and resettlement of Indochinese peoples since 1975 constitutes one of the most far-reaching and complex social dislocations in recent history (Hirayama, 1977; Montero, 1979; Moore, 1981). The greatest number of Indochinese refugees who fled Southeast Asia have resettled in the United States (Kelly, 1979). Although the first "waves" of refugees (April and August of 1975) were comprised primarily of Vietnamese, other Asian groups such as ethnic Chinese, Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmong relocated to America as well. Currently it is estimated that 650,000 Indochinese refugees have been resettled in the United States with 9,500 refugees resettled in Utah alone (Moore, 1983).

Utah is the fifth most heavily impacted state in the country when extent of refugee resettlement is measured on a per capita basis. Paradoxically, it has one of the lowest refugee welfare dependency rates in the nation (11%), when the national average for 1984 was at 52% (Kerpen, 1985,

p. 21). The purpose of this study was to identify those services and social supports that account for this remarkable record.

The Role of Social Supports in Attainment of Self-Sufficiency

Social support among Asian and Pacific Americans is strongly correlated with self-sufficiency in the areas of health, transportation, employment, mental illness and household maintenance (Chen, 1977; Lin and Lin, 1978; Lin, et al., 1979; Salcido, et al., 1980). However, for refugees, uprooted by war and resettled across the globe, the lack of family, extended family, and religious support systems that were so common in their homelands has made adjustment to life in America difficult (Haines, 1981; Moore, 1981; Timberlake and Cook, 1984). American resettlement policies have complicated this adjustment by scattering refugees across the fifty states, thereby destroying whatever shreds of support may have survived the journey from Asia (Brown, 1982; Liu, et al., 1979; Nhu, 1976). In contrast to their Asian American counterparts, many Indochinese have arrived in American communities without the traditional resources provided by family and church.

Refugees have been forced to seek new and possibly alien social supports. Increasing numbers of community "Mutual Assistance Associations" and relatively high rates of secondary migration are indicators that America's most recent newcomers are building community networks or moving to ethnic enclaves to maximize physical, emotional, and economic support networks (Haines, Rutherford and Thomas, 1986; Montero, 1979; Skinner and Hendricks, 1979; Starr and Roberts, 1982; Vinh,

1981). Despite these recent developments, the construction of social support networks is a formidable task. Moore (1981) observes that:

Confucian and Buddhist conduct patterns which encourage passivity, stoicism, and personal reserve combine with a tradition of devotion to the family (nuclear and extended) to disallow seeking support or affirmation outside the family system (p. 102).

The cultural, religious, and family orientation of many refugees may be a barrier to the formation of nonfamily and comparatively more western social networks. Although limited in size, the networks that refugees are able to form appear to be useful in achieving self-sufficiency. A number of studies have reported that refugee sponsors, voluntary agencies (VOLAGS), family members, church groups, and ministers, teachers, physicians, Mutual Assistance Agency (MAA) staff, shopkeepers, and respected neighborhood leaders or elders fulfill important roles in helping refugees obtain jobs and adjust to American life (Bureau of Social Science Research, 1982; Harding and Looney, 1977; Lamphier, 1983; Vinh, 1981; Winkler, 1981; Wright, 1981)). But most of these data are anecdotal and no study has attempted to weigh the comparative usefulness of network members from alternative spheres of contact--the family, the workplace, the neighborhood, the school and the church.

Utah Refugee Study

Method

The findings reported here are from a survey of (1) workers, supervisors and administrators of agencies serving Indochinese refugees in Utah; and (2) a sample of sponsors of Indochinese refugees in Utah. Refugee agency staff and refugee sponsors were surveyed using a questionnaire that included both open and closed ended questions. As part of the survey respondents were asked to rate the "usefulness" of certain refugee social or cultural supports (e.g., family, school, and work-related contacts).

Agency Staff Sample

For the staff survey, as many Utah refugee workers as possible were surveyed. Questionnaires were distributed at a statewide staff retreat and mailed to virtually every refugee serving agency in Utah that could be identified by the state refugee office. These included all four Mutual Assistance Associations (Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese), Utah's Asian Association, Utah Department of Social Services Field Service Offices, English as a Second Language and Vocational Training Projects, local Refugee Coordinating Councils, local and State Health Offices, all Voluntary Resettlement Agencies (American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Tolstoy Foundation, and United States Catholic Conference), and other refugee-serving community agencies and groups such as local VISTA Volunteer offices, the Voluntary Action Center, and the Community Action Program.

One hundred Agency Staff surveys were distributed or mailed, and 68 were returned. The majority of respondents were

front line workers (38, 56%) followed by agency or program directors (12, 18%), supervisors (7, 10%), volunteers (5, 7%), teachers or trainers (2, 3%) or "other" staff (4, 6%).

Staff from over eighteen refugee agencies participated. The largest group of respondents worked for the State Department of Social Services (20, 29%), followed by Job Service staff (10, 15%) and Voluntary Agency staff (10, 15%). On average, respondents had worked 3.7 years with refugees, but there was wide variation with some working less than one year and others between seven and nine years.

Of the agency staff returning the survey, many were caucasian (24, 39%) but Vietnamese (11, 16%), Laotian (9, 14%), Chinese or Chinese-Vietnamese (6, 10%), Hmong (5, 8%) and other ethnic groups (Cambodian, black, Native American and Hispanic) were represented. A large proportion of the respondents had been refugees themselves (38, 43%) and had sponsored at least one refugee (22, 37%). Years of education for the respondents ranged from 6 to 22 years, with a mean of 15.3 years. Thus from the perspective of state refugee experts the sample appears representative of refugee agency staff with the exception of a slightly higher average amount of education.

In terms of religious preference, 25 respondents (39%) were Latter Day Saints (L.D.S.), followed by Buddhists (14, 22%), Catholics (8, 12%), or Protestants (3, 5%). One respondent listed Traditional (Confucianism/Taoism/Buddhism) and 13 respondents reported a variety of other religions.

Sponsor Sample

A systematic random sample of 230 sponsors of Indochinese refugees was selected from the total population of 832 sponsors affiliated with three major voluntary resettlement agencies: American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Tolstoy Foundation, and United States Catholic Conference. Virtually all refugees in Utah other than a small number of secondary migrants have been assigned a sponsor from these agencies. The population of 832 sponsors constituted the total number of refugee sponsors in Utah from January 1975 to August, 1983. The sponsors chosen for the study were mailed a questionnaire along with a cover letter describing the purpose of the study.

Of the 230 sponsor surveys that were mailed, 51 were returned. This limited response may be due to the time required to complete the survey (35 minutes). These data cannot be generalized and will be used only to provide a comparison to the sponsor data. The number of refugees sponsored ranged from 1 to 19 with an average of 5.2. Respondents had worked an average of 3.2 years as sponsors or volunteers with refugees, but there was wide variation with some working less than one year and others up to six years.

Of the persons returning the survey, the majority of the respondents were caucasian (34, 76%) but Vietnamese (7, 16%), Native American (2, 4%), Chinese-Vietnamese (1, 2%), and other ethnic groups were represented (six respondents did not report their ethnicity).

Only eight respondents (16%) had been refugees themselves, thus state administrators estimate that refugee

sponsors are slightly under-represented in the sample. Years of education for the respondents ranged from 10 to 22 years with a mean of 15.7 years. Most respondents were managers or professionals (20, 43%). Technical/sales/administrative staff (9, 19%), service staff (7, 15%) and housewives (5, 11%) were the next largest occupational categories. Fifty-three percent of the sponsors reported an income in the over \$30,000 range (26, 53%). The next largest group had incomes of 15,001-20,000 (8, 16%). Thus, roughly 88% (43) of the respondents had incomes of 15,000 or above.

In terms of religious preference, 41 (82%) of the sponsors were Latter Day Saints, followed by Buddhists (5, 10%). One respondent reported being Protestant and four respondents reported "other" religions. In reviewing the sponsor demographics with state and voluntary agency staff, the sample appears biased by an over-response of college-educated and LDS sponsors who constitute roughly half of all refugee sponsors in Utah.

Ratings of Social Supports

Staff responses. Refugees have contact and receive supportive help or services from many individuals and groups. These persons can be important sources of assistance in relation to obtaining training, securing employment, locating health services, and so on. A seven-point rating scale ranging from "1" (Not Useful) to "7" (Extremely Useful) was used by respondents to rate the usefulness of various contacts for helping refugees achieve economic self-sufficiency.

Each of the supportive contacts along with agency staff and refugee sponsor ratings of social support are presented in Table 1. Agency staff rate family member, state assimilation or social service worker, voluntary agency, and work-related contacts as most useful. However, each of the groups judged all of the contacts to be helpful as all the median ratings for both samples were 4.1 or above.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

Because a high percentage of respondents were social service line staff, a separate analysis was conducted to determine whether the ratings of state social service worker contacts were different from those of other respondents. As might be expected, state social service worker contacts were rated higher by the state staff (Mann-Whitney U = 198.0, $z = 3.37$, $p \leq .001$).³ These high ratings may be due to inherent biases--a belief in and commitment to social service work with refugees. However, state workers differ from nonstate workers in important ways. More are refugees themselves and fewer belong to the Church of Latter Day Saints; thus they may value government-related services more than church-related services for helping refugees find employment.

Sponsor Responses. In contrast to the Agency staff, refugee sponsors rate social service worker and voluntary resettlement agency contacts as less useful and rate sponsors who are family members, church-related contacts, and other friends as more useful in helping refugees attain economic self-sufficiency.

Comparison of Staff and Sponsor Data with National and Local Refugee Data.

In contrast to the opinions of sponsors, a recent study of 96 Utah refugees found that 28% of the refugees listed social service or other professional workers as their primary source of support as well as sponsors. Other important services included family members (22%), friends (13%), religious leaders (6%), and Mutual Assistance Agencies (2%), (Fraser and Pecora, 1984, p. 18).

Furthermore in this same study, the majority of refugees reported that their first job was obtained most often through their sponsor (42%), followed by friends and relatives (19%), individual efforts (17%), or use of state employment offices (14%). VOGALs (6%) and social service agency (3%) contacts were also helpful while no church contacts were used to obtain their first job (Fraser and Pecora, 1984, p. 13). Thus the high ratings of church contacts and low ratings of social service workers by the refugee sponsors were not supported by the refugee interview data while sponsor ratings of other supports were similar to refugee ratings.

Agency staff and sponsor data are also supported partially by the findings of a recent study of the adaptation of Vietnamese refugees in three areas in the United States. The Bureau of Social Science Research (BSSR) in interviewing 555 Vietnamese refugees in Los Angeles and Orange Counties, Houston/Galveston, and New Orleans found that for the most part, refugees relied on their own resources and social networks to locate and obtain their first and second jobs (Bureau of Social Science Research, 1982, p. 33; Dunning and

Greenbaum, 1982, pp. 126-131). More specifically, of the 52% of the refugees using "personal contacts" to get their first jobs, about half of these personal contacts were refugees' sponsors, and half were friends or relatives. By contrast, only six percent of the refugees obtained their first jobs through voluntary resettlement agencies (VOLAGS), and six percent through formal placement services such as public and private employment agencies, school placement services, and job training programs (Dunning and Greenbau, 1982, p. 131). These findings are also consistent with the important role that family networks play with regard to routine internal migration inside the United States (Price and Sikes. 1975).

Refugee Staff Responses. To determine whether responses differed for various subgroups of each sample, several nonparametric bivariable analyses were undertaken. In comparing LDS and non-LDS sponsors, no significant differences were found. However, when sponsors were divided into refugee ($n = 8$) and nonrefugee ($n = 39$) groups, nonrefugee sponsors tended to view work contacts (Mann-Whitney $U = 69.5$, $z = -1.74$, $p < .08$) and church contacts (Mann-Whitney $U = 94.0$, $z = -1.85$, $p < .06$) as slightly more useful. Similarly, sponsors who earn more than \$30,000 a year (one of 26 of whom was a refugee) when compared to those earning less placed greater weight on school contacts (Mann-Whitney $U = 132.0$, $z = -2.06$, $p < .04$), neighbors (Mann-Whitney $U = 168.0$, $z = -2.04$, $p < .05$), and family-related sponsorship (Mann-Whitney $U = 118.5$, $z = -2.31$, $p < .03$). With the exception of family related sponsors, this suggests that sponsors who are American or who have succeeded in American society view western social supports as more useful.

Because of these differences, the responses of only the staff members who were refugees were calculated to compare with those of refugee sponsors. As shown in Table 2, they differ markedly from the responses of the total sample.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

Comparing the responses of both groups of refugees, State Refugee Social Service workers are rated higher on the average than other kinds of support. Utah has made a concerted effort to train and hire Asian refugees to work in refugee worker positions. Refugee workers spend as much time in refugees' homes--helping solve concrete problems--as they spend in their field offices. This reaching-out philosophy characterizes the delivery of refugee social services and may be related to the high regard they sustain among agency staff and refugee sponsors.

There is little agreement between the two groups on midrange rankings. Staff members rate other friends as not as helpful as work contacts, and sponsors disagree diametrically. On the other hand, both groups rate family contacts, voluntary agency services, and school contacts in the midsector, though they disagree on the exact order. Sponsors who are refugees rate support from family-related sponsors as the most useful. Staff members disagree, ranking it fifth.

There is relatively greater agreement on the supports which are less useful in achieving economic self-sufficiency. Both groups rate Mutual Assistance Associations (MAA's) last.⁴ Although exact rankings differ, Indochinese respondents generally

find church contacts, ethnic businesses and neighbors as less useful. Sponsors tended to rate unrelated sponsor contacts higher than staff, but the median ratings differed only by .278 points.

Comparing Tables 1 and 2, the subsamples of refugees rate family contacts somewhat lower than the total groups of staff and sponsor respondents. They rate the State Refugee Social Service workers higher and, perhaps reflecting the absence of a strong Buddhist organization in Utah, church contact lower.

Pronounced differences exist for some areas between nonrefugee and refugee sponsors. The aggregate group rated family contacts first, while the subsample of refugee respondents rated it sixth. The total sample of sponsors rated state refugee services eleventh but refugee sponsors rated them second. There is basic agreement on the importance of school and family sponsor contacts, but church contacts are rated as more useful by nonrefugee respondents. In subsequent analyses, the proportion of LDS sponsors in the total sample was found to be significantly larger than the proportion of LDS church members in the sample of sponsors who were refugees. This could account for the difference in ratings of church contacts, but the proportion in the refugee sponsor subsample is not stable as a result of the sample size ($n = 8$).

Dimensions of Social Support. Each question in this study focused on achieving economic self-sufficiency. In contrast, the BSSR research examined social adjustment, employment patterns, the receipt of welfare payments, and other

areas. Our questionnaire specifically identified twelve different sources of support that refugee agency staff believe are important for locating and maintaining employment. Given this greater specificity, it is possible that underlying clusters of various social supports may conform to the BSSR finding of the importance of personal contacts for obtaining jobs. In the field of drug abuse, Fraser and Hawkins (1984) recently reported that caution must be used in assuming that each sector of a network constitutes a dimension of support. Their data indicated that multiple sectors contribute to three or four fairly stable sources of support.

To determine if specific clusters of social support exist, an exploratory factor analysis using staff data was conducted. Shown in Table 3, this analysis must be interpreted with caution. The skewness in the staff ratings may have affected the factor loadings. Notwithstanding, in an exploratory sense, the factor structure is indicative of four basic clusters of social support among refugees. "Community supports" include church, ethnic business, and neighbor contacts. "Service system supports" are comprised of interactions with social service workers, unrelated sponsors, and school contacts (usually from English as a Second Language or Vocational Training). "Close family supports" are represented by family and work contacts while "Other family supports" are represented by family sponsors.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

Simple structure is not achieved on two dimensions of family support as refugee sponsors who are family members emerge as a

distinct factor separate from other family contacts. Yet it is significant that two aspects of family support emerge, and that these kinds of support are independent of support from the community and the service system. The first kind represents help received from closely-tied family members, while the second may represent sponsorship provided by uncles, nephews and other extended family members who may not have as frequent or intimate contact with refugees. If most family sponsors are indeed extended family members, these data would indicate the importance of weak family ties in Asian subcultures and are consistent with a growing literature on weak ties (Blau, 1974; Friedkin, 1982; Granovetter, 1973). However, family sponsor contacts may be an important employment resource for refugees apart from other family members, particularly if the sponsor is a close family relative who assumes an independent and significant role in locating jobs.

Work contacts load on close family supports, replicating the BSSR and Utah refugee interview findings that job contacts are often made through close family ties. Both family dimensions have poor factor structure, possibly because they are based on crudely measured dimensions of family support. Subsequent research should attempt to more fully describe these dimensions by including more items that relate to aspects of family support as well as including more sophisticated measures of social support (Pfouts and Safier, 1981; Tardy, 1985).

The results of the factor analysis extend the BSSR findings and parallel the sponsor data. Tentatively, the social

support networks of Indochinese refugees may be conceptualized as consisting of four basic elements: community supports, service system supports; close family supports; and family sponsor supports.

Summary and Recommendations

These preliminary findings underscore the controversy over resettlement policies that promote small, relatively isolated refugee communities rather than ethnic enclaves similar to those in Miami, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York (see Haines, et al., 1981, p. 312). Refugee support networks established in reorientation centers may, during the resettlement process, be dissolved, leaving the refugees with few informal contacts upon which to rely. Recognition of the importance and utility of informal contacts for employment and emotional support is one of the prime reasons why states are actively organizing and promoting Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs). These refugee-composed community organizations can be an important linking resource for refugees.

As of 1980, there were over 500 MAAs in America; up from less than 100 in 1976 (Vinh, 1981, p. 50). Currently, however, the challenge in Utah and elsewhere is how to organize these services in such a way that informal support networks arise and carry on in the absence of public funding (Moore, 1983). As funding for refugee social services is reduced, MAAs will be asked to assume an assistance-giving posture similar to that of the extended family and Buddhist church. Is this a fair request?

These data reflect the problems MAAs have encountered here in Utah. Yet in other states such as Wisconsin and California, MAAs have been highly praised as a vehicle for promoting economic self-sufficiency. However, problems may remain with these and other secular refugee self-help groups. The concept of an extrafamilial, extrachurch support of this type may be too far removed from the traditional Asian way of life to address the total range of refugee needs. In addition, community resources will have to supplement spiritual or familial ties if MAA's are to survive future decreases in public funding. Careful attention must be given to the creation of Mutual Assistance Associations and the training of the leaders of these organizations. Moreover, taking into account separation of church and state, policies to support America's growing Indochinese Buddhist organizations should be investigated.

Finally, in Utah it appears that social services as well as family supports have been particularly helpful. There is little evidence for the often heard hypothesis that Utah's Mormon culture accounts for its low dependency rate. Far more important than the socioreligious infrastructure of the state may be the State's relatively lower rate of unemployment and the way refugee social services were staffed and designed.⁵ In addition to informal supports provided by close and extended family members, formal services were found to be associated with economic self-sufficiency.⁶ Reports from staff members, corroborated by reports from sponsors who were refugees, suggest that Utah's extraordinary record in assisting refugees in achieving economic

self-sufficiency is due in part to a vigorous attempt to hire bicultural workers and an equally vigorous commitment to assist refugees across a broad range of financial, educational, vocational and social needs. The services provided focused on strengthening families by using an in-home, case management approach. Community supports have not been well developed, but formal supports--including services provided by the voluntary agencies--appear to have supplemented family supports in a way that has produced one of the nation's highest self-sufficiency rates among America's most recent newcomers.

FOOTNOTES

¹The "buffering" hypotheses regarding social support and illness has been both questioned and extended by some recent research (see Lin, et al., 1978, p. 110).

²Because the ratings were skewed toward helpfulness, normality could not be assumed. Therefore, nonparametric statistics were used.

³At the time of the surveys, MAAs had recently been reorganized. Consequently, this finding should not necessarily be interpreted as opposition to the concept of self-help organizations. Rather poor ratings of Utah's MAA's are likely due to their comparative youth, shortage of direct service staff, lack of a longstanding record of helping refugees, and difficulty in establishing stable leadership.

⁴For the last four years Utah's unemployment rate has been approximately two percentage points below the national average. While this comparatively lower rate suggests greater opportunity to become self-sufficient, Utah's dependency rate is lower than that of other states with equivalent rates of unemployment. Following the example of Starr and Roberts (1981), it would be useful to analyze a broader range of contextual variables to assess their impact on refugee self-sufficiency in those states with lower rates of refugee dependency on public assistance.

⁵See Fraser, Pecora and Popuang (1984).

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Rank Order of Social Supports by Degree of Usefulness for
Helping Refugees Achieve Economic Self-Sufficiency

Table 1

	Median Rating of Usefulness ^a (N = 68)	Agency Staff Rank	Median Rating of Usefulness ^a (N = 51)	Refugee Sponsor Rank
Family Contacts	6.0	1	6.5	1
State Refugee Social Service Workers	5.9	3b	4.6	11
Voluntary Agency Resettlement Services	5.9	3	5.1	9
Work-related Contacts	5.9	3	5.6	6.5
School-related Contacts	5.3	5.5	5.8	4
Sponsors who are family members	5.3	5.5	6.0	2
Church-related contacts	5.0	8	5.8	4b
Other friends	5.0	8	5.8	4
Unrelated sponsors	5.0	8	5.6	6.5
Ethnic business or restaurants	4.9	10	5.1	9
Neighbors	4.7	11	5.1	9
Mutual Assistance Associations	4.5	12	4.1	12

^a Ratings of Usefulness (perceived impact) were reported using a 7-point scale with the following scale anchors: (1) Not useful; (7) Extremely Useful.

^b Types of support with tied ranking are listed alphabetically.

Table 2

Rank Order of Social Supports by Degree of Impact on
Economic Self-Sufficiency: Refugee Respondents Only

	Refugee Staff (N = 29)		Refugee Sponsors (N = 8)	
	Median Rating of Usefulness	Rank	Median Rating of Usefulness	Rank
1. Family Contact	5.833	2.5	5.000	6.0
2. State Refugee Social Service Workers	6.250	1.0	6.000	2.0
3. Voluntary Agency Svcs.	5.833	2.5	5.000	6.0
4. Work Contacts	5.643	4.0	4.333	9.5
5. School Contacts	5.192	6.0	5.500	3.5
6. Family Sponsors	5.286	5.0	6.250	1.0
7. Church Contacts	4.813	8.5	4.250	11.0
8. Other Friends	4.813	8.5	5.500	3.5
9. Unrelated Sponsors	4.722	10.0	5.000	6.0
10. Ethnic Business	4.500	11.0	4.333	9.5
11. Neighbors	5.000	7.0	4.500	8.0
12. Mutual Assistance Assoc.	4.286	12.0	3.500	12.0

Ratings of usefulness were reported using a 7-point scale with the
following scale anchors: 1) Not useful; 7) Extremely useful.

Table 3

Factor Analysis: Results of Staff Ratings of
Social Supports among Indochinese Refugees (N = 46)^a

Variable List	Community Supports	Service System Supports	Close Family Supports	Weak Family Supports
1. Church contacts	.729			
2. Ethnic business contacts	.634			
3. Neighborhood contacts	.535			
4. Unrelated sponsor contacts		.740		
5. Social service worker contacts		.609		
6. School contacts		.525		
7. Family contacts			.784	
8. Work contacts			.500	
9. Family sponsor contacts				.790

Eigen value	2.96	1.94	1.45	1.13
Percent of Total Variation	24.6	16.2	12.1	9.4
Percent of Communality	43.9	26.6	17.2	12.3

^aOnly loadings .500 or greater are reported. The factor solution, varimax rotated, accounts for 62.4 of the common variation. Contacts which failed to load on any of the four factors are deleted from the variable list.