UCLA
Program on International Migration

Title

Unequal Ties: Immigrants' Initial Social Capital and Labor Market Stratification

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/23q686v3

Author

UCLA, CSIM

Publication Date

2024-05-22

Peer reviewed

Unequal Ties: Immigrants' Initial Social Capital and Labor Market Stratification

Sung S. Park[a]

Tianjian Lai[b]

Roger D. Waldinger[b]

Affiliations:
[a] Princeton University
[b] University of California, Los Angeles

Please direct all correspondence to Sung S. Park, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544, USA. E-mail: sung.s.park@princeton.edu.

Unequal Ties: Immigrants' Initial Social Capital and Labor Market Stratification

ABSTRACT

Social capital (SC) plays a fundamental role in immigration, by easing entry into a new environment. We advance a novel approach to assessing the role of SC for immigrants' labor market incorporation. First, we isolate the impact of SC *activation* from the mere presence of potential help. Second, we disentangle the diverse components of migration-related SC by distinguishing between individual- (IM) and community-level (CM) connections in the country of destination. Third, we trace the roles of IM SC and CM SC across multiple labor market outcomes, ranging from the search to secure the first job to the quality of the first job to longer-term occupational mobility. Absent activation, IM SC has virtually no impact on any of the outcomes. Rather, migrants' IM SC yield their fundamental impact when activated, contributing to a successful job search while steering them into first jobs that are of lower quality relative to their pre-migration occupation. In contrast, CM SC facilitates the initial job search and filters immigrants into higher-quality first jobs. Moreover, immigrants who arrive when CM SC is at its most mature stage reap the clearest benefits in improving their occupational status. These findings underscore the importance of both early settlement IM SC and CM SC in the processes of immigrants' labor market stratification.

INTRODUCTION

  Social capital theory represents at once the most distinctively sociological and the most influential contribution to our understanding of international migration. It identifies a fundamental feature of migration: why those migrations, once begun, tend to persist. The argument is simple: social networks provide the mechanisms for connecting an initial, highly selective group of immigrants with a gradually growing base of followers from home. As pioneer immigrants typically leave most family members behind, they remain tied to people still at home. Hence, feedback from place of immigration to place of emigration – whether involving communication, remittances, or return trips – invariably generate resources that facilitate later departures. Over time, migrants also become embedded in the place of immigration, generating the capacity to help new arrivals. As the contacts linking veterans and newcomers rest on social relationships developed prior to the migration decision, "the latter draw upon obligations implicit in relationships such as kinship and friendship to gain access to employment and assistance at the point of destination" (Massey et al. 1993, 449).

  While deeply influential and insightful, this approach offers a problematic conceptualization of the key concept – social capital (SC). Existing research has tended to assume that the activation of migration-relevant resources is a latent quality of personal connections, potentially conflating the presence of ties with their usage (Garip 2008; Garip and Asad 2016; Liu 2013). However, access to persons with the capacity to help does not necessarily entail the mobilization of their resources (Pedulla and Pager 2019). For example, newcomers interacting with veterans may find migration-related information is "in the air" whereby potential job leads are picked up in casual conversation with veterans, or desirable work behaviors are modelled after unobtrusively observing established compatriots. Alternatively, help might be activated, as in MacDonald and MacDonald's classic article, which, in first advancing the concept of "chain migration" describes "initial accommodations and employment arranged by… social relationships with previous migrants" (1964, 82) as one of its

components. This study departs from prior research by differentiating the existence of personal connections from the utilization of those ties.

The classic formulations also define SC as resources accessed through membership in some type of social organization (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Portes 1998). Yet, the relevant collectivities vary. Adapting the term introduced by Massey and Aysa-Lastra (2011) and applying the conceptualization of DiMaggio, Garip, and Asad (DiMaggio and Garip 2011; Garip and Asad 2016), this study separates connections based on dyadic, egocentric ties – *individual migration social capital* (IM SC) – from those derived from a wider, more diverse, but still bounded social circle – which we refer to as *community migration social capital* (CM SC). Upon first glance, the difference between these two forms of migration-related SC seemingly parallels the well-known distinction between strong and weak ties. Yet in the migration context, these two types comprise part of a broader developmental trajectory unfolding in points of origin and destination. In the place of destination, as immigrants from any one hometown are almost always a numerical minority in the environments they enter, whether within the workplace or outside it, their connections invariably extend to others who are socially proximate in the new environment, but emanate from home society communities that are distant from one another. A growing base also provides the basis for activities and institutions that link immigrant ego-centric networks that would otherwise be disconnected. Thus, distinct from help derived from direct connections, CM SC is considered a network externality in the receiving country that "increase[s] the value or reduce the cost of the behavior to potential adopters" (Garip and Asad 2016, 1172). CM SC is appropriately receiving-country-based because we examine migrants' labor market incorporation. In contrast, prior work has largely focused on the place of origin, with empirical applications emphasizing the relationship between the prevalence of migration at the place of origin and individual-level migration decisions (Massey, Goldring, and Durand 1994). To our knowledge, this is the first paper to highlight the effects of CM SC in the place of destination, attending to its impact on job acquisition and subsequent occupational mobility.

Using nationally-representative data from Spain, this study shows how these conceptual refinements to SC illuminate our understanding of its stratifying role on migrants' labor market incorporation. Distinguishing between the presence of IM SC and its activation, as well as between IM SC and CM SC, we quantify these effects at three stages of labor market activity: the job search process (which we recognize as potentially beginning before settlement), occupational position in the first job, and longer-term occupational mobility. Our findings show how migrants' initial social connections at settlement influence their economic integration over time, and contribute to the continuity of labor market stratification.

BACKGROUND

EVALUATING MIGRANT SC

As outsiders unlikely to gain support from natives who see them as unwelcome strangers, and frequently ineligible for bureaucratic forms of assistance, new migrants make use of the one resource at hand – one another. Consequently, migrants "poor in financial resources" may nonetheless be "wealthy in social capital" as described in the classic work *Return to Aztlan* (Massey et al. 1990). Studies analyzing individual- and community-level ties have primarily examined how their presence may shape the propensity to immigrate (Garip and Asad 2016; Liu 2013). Less examined are the effects of available IM SC and activated IM SC on labor market outcomes in their country of destination, how such effects may differ by activation channel, and the long-term implications of each form of SC for migrants' economic settlement. We describe the mechanisms by which SC yields advantages and disadvantages in labor market incorporation below.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of IM SC

Even without direct assistance, migrants' actions can be affected by the presence of veteran migrants. The cognitive recognition of a social safety net can induce or discourage behaviors related to successful adaptation in the new country. Psychologically, the familiarity of friends and family will ease the discomforts of moving to a foreign place. More specifically, knowing help is available during settlement can alleviate some of the pressures to take any

opportunity. On one hand, this permits migrants to be more selective during the job search process, extending the time of unemployment but increasing economic prosperity in the longer-run through higher wages (Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). On the other hand, migrants with this safety net may feel less obliged to find a remunerative position. The existence of available IM SC also confers other benefits that will indirectly help new migrants' labor market incorporation. Friends and family can provide advice about the practicalities associated with settlement, such as transportation, how and where to find affordable housing, and bureaucratic challenges (Marrow 2009; Wessendorf 2018).

In contrast, by directly providing help and support to prospective or newly arrived migrants, veteran migrants concurrently trigger the network mechanism referred to as "social facilitation" (Garip 2016) and which we refer to as activated IM SC, acting in ways that change the behavior of others. Established migrants may provide two different forms of direct work-related assistance which entail differing levels of support: information and influence (Bian 1997; Granovetter 1983). Prior migrants possess job-relevant knowledge from their own work experience and the connections developed through years of exposure to supervisors in their workplace (Lin, Vaughn, and Ensel 1981). Veteran sources are also asked to exercise influence, or activate IM SC, when newcomers seek to utilize their direct intervention. Personal connections can provide direct job referrals (Aguilera and Massey 2003; Lancee 2010). In referring and promoting migrants for jobs, incumbent workers – the sources – also signal to hiring managers that their contact is suitable and competent for the job, increasing the novice migrant's likelihood of securing employment (Dustmann, Glitz, and Schoenberg 2015; Hagan, Hernández-León, and Demonsant 2015; Waldinger and Lichter 2003).

However, help from strong ties also operate to the detriment of the migrant. Due to homophily, the tendency for individuals to form groups with others like themselves, individual migrants are more likely to adopt practices similar to the members in their own group (DiMaggio and Garip 2011). Numerous studies have confirmed this phenomenon of the "strength of weak

ties" and the relative disadvantage of strong, or "bonding" relationships. More privileged

individuals will reap the benefits derived from their own resources as well as those stemming

from the well-off members of their network. For example, sponsored jobs secured through a

formal channel may come with higher compensation, as employers must demonstrate that the

positions cannot be filled by native-borns (Carlsson, Eriksson, and Rooth 2018; Fellini and

Guetto 2019; Mahuteau and Junankar 2008). In contrast, the less privileged will be limited to the

resources of their materially constrained network, exacerbating the problems for the

disadvantaged (Granovetter 1977; Pedulla and Pager 2019). When immigrants are directed to

jobs by close social ties, whether they be veterans or fledging migrants, they are often in

positions poorly matched to their skills and previous work experience (Ottaviano and Peri 2006),

resulting in wage penalties and limited occupational mobility (Bentolila, Michelacci, and Suarez

2010; Carlsson, Eriksson, and Rooth 2018; Loury 2006; Méndez Errico 2013).

Therefore, while IM SC is available, migrants may not utilize these close ties because

the opportunities are seen to be undesirable compared to opportunities available through weak

ties, or if finding a better job entails quitting, upsetting a source's expectation for stability

(Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). From the veteran migrant's perspective, they may not want

to "mobilize resources on their behalf" (Pedulla and Pager 2019), as activation entails risks. For

example, in referring newcomers to their employers, sources engage in two-way

communication, providing valuable information to the recipients looking for work, but also

implicitly or explicitly signaling that their contact is appropriate and competent for the job.

Potential sources may be risk averse, inhibited from mobilizing their resources, as by

recommending someone, immigrants run the risk that their referral will not work out, damaging

their reputation. Indeed, studies of job referrals show that contacts do not recommend an

individual when there is uncertainty around the candidate's job competence and concern for

their own standing (Marin 2012; Smith 2005). Accordingly, while most prior research treated the

availability of close ties as synonymous to activating those ties (Pedulla and Pager (2019) a rare exception), our study investigates this assumption.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of CM SC
Prior work has focused on the role community ties in the place of origin in contributing to migration streams (Asad and Garip 2019; Garip and Asad 2016). Once Massey, Goldring, and Durand (1994) introduced the migration prevalence ratio, empirical applications have used this measure to proxy "the extent of a community's involvement in the migratory process," allowing for "direct comparison among communities with different histories and levels of migration," and its impact on individual-level migration decisions (Massey, Goldring, and Durand 1994, 1495). The literature on migration and SC coming out of the Mexican Migration Project as well as Garip's work on Thailand and Mexico (Garip 2014; Garip, Eskici, and Snyder 2015) also focuses on migration propensities, and thus appropriately concentrate on sending-community traits.

However, in this study, the ability of migrants to successfully integrate into the labor market will hinge on CM SC in the *destination country*. That is, resources for migrants developed over time by a stock of coethnics can help newcomers' occupational prospects. Increases in the size and vintage of an aggregate community migration network can positively affect the employment probabilities of new migrants (Munshi 2003). Similarly, as immigrant population densities expand, they generate network externalities such as immigrant businesses catering to the needs of a co-ethnic clientele, enhancing opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs as well as the foreign workers whom they hire (Garip and Asad 2016). While the information and resources in these ethnic enclaves is one example of CM SC, CM SC may also be derived in other ways, such as membership in geographically dispersed organizations like hometown associations (Orozco and Rouse 2007). Regardless of the source, CM SC permit migrants to gain efficiencies in the job searching process, with lower mismatches (Bernardi et al 2010; Mahuteau and Junankar 2008). These efficiencies reflect enhanced problem-solving capacity at the point of destination, yielding job-relevant SC and doing so in ways that are

independent of the presence of close family or friends. Thus, the longer-lived a migration flow, the greater the likelihood that new arrivals will benefit from CM SC which extend beyond the newcomers' core, personal network in place prior to their arrival. As a network externality, CM SC is not differentiated between availability and activation, as these resources do not rely on one-on-one interactions (Garip and Asad 2016).

THE DURABLE EFFECTS OF INITIAL SC

Migrants possessing greater human capital are more likely to improve their economic standing over time because "starting points" have long-lasting effects on their economic trajectories (Kreisberg 2019). Relatedly, the social circumstances at the time of settlement will contribute to this "path dependence" because first jobs are often secured through personal ties (Fuller 2015). Migrants who secure better jobs at the outset are rewarded with greater financial compensation, as well as richer networks that may generate resources (Dannefer 1987), fueling further occupational advantages. Granovetter (1995) posits that early SC contributes to this path-dependence because individuals reap the most benefits from people they have known longer, as these early contacts may extend the migrants' network over time to more distant contacts. The maintenance of ties over time also potentially reinforces trust, further strengthening the relationship for future support.

Of equal importance, the mechanisms by which the first job is obtained will also affect migrants' labor market incorporation. As a result of the significant investment required by sponsors to justify a more expensive international rather than domestic hire, migrants recruited through formal channels will possess greater skills or other traits that make attractive in the labor market. Job searching methods such as applying directly for an advertised position or contacting an employer are also considered formal channels (Carlsson, Eriksson, and Rooth 2018). In these cases, compared to work obtained through informal channels, the education and skills needed for employment are likely higher because of greater competition with other

9

applicants. Thus, being hired through formal channels is positively associated with migrants'

economic prospects such as occupational mobility (Carlsson, Eriksson, and Rooth 2018).

Furthermore, although a significant body of research has focused on the processes and

experiences entailed in finding employment upon settlement, individuals also migrate in

anticipation of starting employment secured in advance. Prearranged employment is common

among both high and low-skilled migrants who are sponsored by employers. It also occurs

among migrants with connections to individuals with hiring authority in the receiving country. In

particular, self-employed migrants as well as immigrants informally involved in the ongoing

recruitment of temporary workers have access to "transnational labor" in the form of friends and

friends in the country of origin (Miera 2008; Sporton 2013). Clearly, immigrants who have

secured jobs in advance are at an advantage. By extension, the benefits are likely compounded

for migrants who have secured employment prior to migration *and* through formal channels.

THE SPANISH LABOR MARKET

Economic prosperity, permissive immigration policies, and labor shortages made Spain

one of the top immigrant-receiving countries in Europe beginning in the late 1980s. The most

rapid growth in immigration occurred between 1998 to 2008, when the immigrant share of the

population more than tripled to 14 percent (Arango 2013). Besides informal avenues, migrants

may enter the Spanish labor market through two formal channels (Hooper 2019). The General

Regime system allows an employer to sponsor a specific individual after documenting that role

cannot be filled by a native. Alternatively, through the Collective Management System (CMS),

commonly utilized by seasonal sectors like the agricultural industry, employers can sponsor a

group of migrants from a non-EU country with a bilateral agreement with Spain. Under the CMS,

rather than the employer, a government committee screens and selects candidates.

These forms of recruitment along with policies to provide legal status to undocumented

migrants (*arraigo*) contributed to the influx of low- and medium-skilled immigrants in fixed-term

jobs and the informal labor market (Hooper 2019). Consequently, immigrants encountered a

highly segmented labor market upon arrival in Spain (Fellini and Guetto 2019). While native

workers often occupy jobs in the regulated primary sector, immigrants are frequently ushered

into irregular, low-skilled, and low-wage employment in the secondary sector. Although an

abundance of research shows migrants' occupational mobility following a U-shape from the

country of origin to the host country, recent studies show that immigrants in Spain experience a

significant downgrade in occupational prestige upon arrival, and a very modest increase later

(Fellini and Guetto 2019; Fernandez-Macias et al. 2015; Simón, Ramos, and Sanromá 2014).

HYPOTHESES

We hypothesize the relationships between the IM SC and CM SC variables across three

broad stages of labor market incorporation: the job search, quality of the first job in Spain, and

occupational mobility. The direction of these relationships are denoted as positive (+), negative

(-) or unknown (+/-) in Figure 1.

[FIGURE 1]

Job Search

For prospective or recent migrants, resources are likely greater when close ties are

already in the country of immigration, when arrival occurs in the context of a mature migration,

or when a connection with problem-solving capacity can be activated. For a variety of reasons,

the activation of IM SC is facilitated but not fully determined by the presence of IM SC, as

measured by presence in Spain *prior* to migration. Job-finding SC may be possessed by return

migrants or by emigrant friends and family in a broader diaspora, who may have previously lived

in Spain or whose experience is the source of migration-relevant information or resources.

However, since co-present migrants are likely to have more up-to-date information and also

possess the capacity of in-person intervention, the interaction between the availability of IM SC

and its activation may be crucial in affecting the initial job search. We hypothesize: migrants will

be more likely to secure their first job prior to migrating, and upon arrival, secure their first job

more quickly when CM SC is more developed (H_1), and IM SC is jointly available and activated

(H_2).

Quality of the First Job

Jobs acquired through the direct influence of close ties (activated IM SC), will likely channel newcomers into occupations where the density of migrants is already high and, therefore, of lower quality (Carlsson, Eriksson, and Rooth 2018). By contrast, CM SC, reflecting the maturation of a migrant stream and the widening of migrants' contacts, should yield access to higher quality jobs. Thus, we hypothesize the occupational prestige of the first job in Spain will be higher when CM SC is more developed (H_3). Because we account for the activation of IM SC as a separate measure, the relationship between available IM SC and occupational prestige of the first job is unknown (H_4). Occupational prestige will be lower when IM SC is activated (H_5).

Occupational Mobility

We examine whether immigrants are able to improve their economic standing over time. Occupational mobility is uncommon because of the relatively rigid dual labor market (Hooper 2019), suggesting limitations in the utility of any SC. Relatedly, if activated IM SC negatively affects the quality of the first job, we expect it to also negatively affect occupational mobility from the country of origin to the first job and, by extension, yield a similar impact on longer-term occupational mobility beyond the first job. Likewise, migrants who obtained their first job through close contacts may either feel pressure to remain in these jobs due to norms of network stability or be otherwise unable to move jobs. However, collective resources at the time of settlement may permit migrants to focus on maximizing their earnings, conferring longer-lasting benefits (Dannefer 1987). Therefore, the likelihood of occupational mobility will be greater when CM SC is more developed (H_6), but unknown when IM SC is available (H_7). Occupational mobility will be lower when IM SC is activated (H_8).

DATA & METHODS

DATA

The Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes (ENI) is a nationally representative survey

conducted by the Population and Society Study Group of the Universidad Complutense de

Madrid and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs between 2007 and 2008. The ENI sampled

adult immigrants who had lived in Spain for over a year, and intended to remain in Spain for

longer than a year (N=15,465). The ENI is ideally suited for this study given its detailed

measures of migrants' social networks and employment trajectories in their country of

destination (Spain) that, to our knowledge, are not available from other data sources.[i] It includes

data on the migrant's state or province of birth in the country of origin, allowing us to identify, at

a finer-grained level, sub-national populations whose concentration in Spain serves as an

indicator of CM SC. In addition to measures relating to the presence of close ties, the ENI asked

about efforts to activate those contacts upon arrival for employment.

ANALYTIC SAMPLES

This study focuses on migrants who are the most likely to be labor migrants as a result

of the immigration boom: those who arrived in Spain between the ages of 16 and 55, from 1990

to 2007 (N=10,333). Among these eligible respondents who have non-missing data on our

dependent variables (N=7,127), we create two analytic samples depending on the outcome of

interest. Our first analytic sample (I) consists of eligible respondents with any work history in

Spain, who may or may not be working at the time of the survey (N=6,817). We use Sample I to

examine their job search and the quality of the first job. To examine occupational mobility from

the country of origin (COO) to the first job in Spain, occupational mobility from the first job to a

later job, and the overall occupational mobility from the country of origin to a later job in Spain,

we use Sample II, which consists of eligible respondents with work experience in the country of

origin and who reported working at the time of the survey in position that was a later (not first)

job in Spain (N=3,396). We assessed whether our findings for short-term occupational mobility

from the country of origin to the first job were affected by using all eligible respondents who

worked in Spain, not just those who are working in later jobs, and found our substantive results

unchanged. Therefore, we use the same sample (Sample II) across all the occupational mobility models for comparability.

MEASURES

Dependent Variables

We examine several dependent variables that reflect progressive stages of labor market incorporation. There are two measures of job search: *whether a job was secured before migration* (0/1), and for the subset who obtained the first job after migration, the speed of securing the first job by *whether the migrant was able to find a job within two weeks* (0/1). Two weeks is used as threshold to reflect a migrant obtaining a job within a relatively quick timeframe for two reasons. First, this demarcation is the earliest window captured in the response categories for the survey question. Second, substantively, the utility of IM SC and CM SC, if any, would be the most relevant for this narrow timeframe. The roles of IM SC and CM SC would be difficult to study with longer time spans, as their importance would likely be diluted as other contributing factors (seasonality, occupation type, etc.) grow.

The quality of the first job is a continuous measure, constructed as the *occupational prestige of the first job,* which is based on the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) developed by Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996). Short-term occupational mobility is operationalized as a continuous variable for the difference *in the occupational prestige from the last job in the country of origin to the first job in Spain ($ISEI_{1st} - ISEI_{COO}$).* The longer-term measure of occupational mobility is operationalized as a continuous variable for the difference *in the occupational prestige from the first job in Spain to a later job in Spain ($ISEI_{Later} - ISEI_{1st}$).* Overall occupational mobility is a continuous variable for the difference *in the occupational prestige from the last job in the country of origin to a later job in Spain ($ISEI_{Later} - ISEI_{COO}$).* The data permit differentiation between first versus subsequent employment. However, one limitation of these data is that we are unable to identify the precise timing of the subsequent job relative to their arrival. We return to this point in the Discussion & Conclusion section.

Independent Variables

We base our operationalization of *CM SC* on the persistence of a geographically defined migratory stream to Spain. We capture CM SC by keying a respondent's arrival at a particular stage in a community-specific flow. CM SC is constructed by examining the respondent's year of arrival relative to other ENI respondents from the same province in the country of origin, in quartiles.[ii]

Available IM SC (0/1) is the presence of personal ties to family and/or friends already present in Spain at the time of the respondent's arrival. It is constructed using questions about whether the respondent had anyone to turn to upon arrival in Spain, who those people were (if any), and the presence of specific nuclear family members (parents, spouse/partner, children, siblings) already living in Spain at the time of the migrant's departure.

Activated IM SC (0/1) indicates if a migrant secured the first job through close ties*.*

Controls

The multivariate analyses control for demographic, human capital, and migration-related traits. We control for *sex* (1=male) and *age* at the time of the interview (16-29 years old, 30-45 years old, or 46 and older). Older respondents are expected to have more positive employment outcomes. There are three human capital controls. *High education* (0/1) indicates whether the migrant had at least two years of secondary education at the time of the interview. *Spanish language proficiency* (0/1) is coded as one if their mother tongue was Spanish or they reported speaking Spanish "very well" at the time of the interview.[iii] *Work experience in the country of origin* (0/1) is used in the models for job search and the quality of the first job. Respondents with greater human capital will be more successful in the labor market. There are three migration-related variables: *whether the respondent migrated for employment* (0/1), *years since migration* operationalized as a continuous variable, and a five-category *region of origin* measure (EU15 countries, other European countries, African countries, Latin American countries, and a residual category for remaining countries that cannot be classified into one of the prior categories). We

expect migrants from EU15 countries, with fewer legal, cultural, and geographic barriers than their non-Schengen area[iv] counterparts to have better work outcomes.

For the occupational mobility outcomes, it is important to include the ISEI score in the country of origin as a control in order to account for ceiling effects since not all migrants are starting at the same level of occupational prestige. For change between the first and later job in Spain, we also control for the magnitude of the occupational degradation from the country of origin to the first job, which will likely affect the size of the recovery in occupational prestige in a subsequent job.

ANALYSIS

Logistic regression models are used to predict whether the migrant secured their first job in Spain prior to migration and whether the migrant was able to find a job within two weeks. Ordinary least squares regression is used for the model of the occupational prestige of the first job in Spain, and the models of occupational mobility. We examine the main effects of our key SC measures, controlling for all demographic, human capital, and migration-related covariates. We also test whether the interaction of available IM SC and activated IM SC is statistically significant for each of our outcomes, net of controls. Because there are documented differences in migrants who find jobs prior to and after settlement, we stratify models of the quality of the first job and occupational mobility by the timing of securing the first job (before or after migration). For interpretative purposes, we show predicted probabilities or values for statistically significant measures of SC from our models, holding other variables at their means.

Endogeneity is a common challenge when studying the relationship between social networks and migration (Kalter and Kogan 2014). We sought to minimize this issue in two ways. First, we control for multiple human capital and migration-related traits, including pre-migration work experience, that are often neglected but associated with labor market activity. Additionally, despite the criteria of possessing any work history in Spain to construct the analytic samples, this does not restrict the samples to labor migrants. Rather, our samples consist of respondents

who migrated for employment, as well migrants motivated to move for reasons unrelated to work.

RESULTS

Table 1 contains the descriptive statistics for Sample I (the full profile for Sample II, similar to Sample I, is in the Appendix). It reveals great diversity in migrants' labor market experiences and initial SC. Over 58 percent of migrants were male, and most migrants found employment after migrating. About 72 percent reported migrating for employment reasons. A majority of migrants obtained unskilled or semi-skilled positions as indicated by the average ISEI score of the first job, despite the fact that about 86 percent possessed work experience and more than half had Spanish fluency. Migrants were able to slightly improve positions in Spain compared to their first job, with an average increase of four ISEI points at a later job, but still held jobs with markedly lower in prestige compared to the last job in the country of origin. The largest proportion of migrants originate from Latin America (43 percent) and non-EU15 countries (24 percent).

Migrants' SC varied in sources and function. About 79 percent of migrants had available IM SC. About 25 percent arrived to ethnic communities with mature migration streams, in quartile four (Q4). With respect to activated IM SC, 69 percent of migrants secured their first job through close ties.

[TABLE_1]

EARLY STAGES OF LABOR MARKET ACTIVITY

Table 2 captures the importance of initial SC but in differing ways depending on the outcome of interest. CM SC (Wald tests $p<0.001$ in Models M1a and M1b) is a statistically significant predictor of securing a job before migration. Partially confirming H_1, the associated upper panel of Figure 2 depicts how the predicted probability of securing a job prior to migration is 0.10 in Q1 when migrants arrived to nascent ethnic communities but successively increases

to 0.13 in Q2, 0.18 in Q3, and 0.25 in Q4. In contrast, contrary to H_1, the results of a Wald test identified that CM SC does not affect the speed of finding a job after arrival.

The results in Table 2 show the two measures of IM SC do not independently predict whether a migrant secured a job prior to migration (model M1a in Table 2). However, the interaction of the two SC measures explains the likelihood of pre-arranged employment, as shown in model M1b, confirming H_2. The corresponding predicted probabilities in Figure 2 illustrate the importance of jointly considering both IM SC availability and its activation. Migrants who have available IM SC and activate these close ties have a greater chance of pre-arranged employment compared to those who have IM SC available but do not activate them (predicted probability of 0.18 versus 0.13). Moreover, even among those who do not have IM SC, those who still report finding their first job through family or friends (predicted probability of 0.13) are significantly less likely to secure a job prior to migration than those who did not use close ties (predicted probability of 0.25). The activated help reported by respondents with no available IM SC but activated IM SC (column B in Figure 2) refer to co-present ties: either a family member who arrived after the respondent or a newly acquainted friend in Spain[v]. This suggests that among migrants who have no close connections before migrating, those who found their first position through formal channels were more likely to have pre-arranged employment. The opposite relationship is found when examining migrants with available IM SC (columns C and D in Figure 2). Thus, the relationship between activated IM SC and the likelihood of pre-arranged employment differs depending on whether the migrant had close ties before migration or not.

Among respondents whose job search began after migration, migrants with available IM SC and activated IM SC (predicted probability of 0.35) are more likely to secure a job within two weeks compared to those who have IM SC but do not activate it (predicted probability of 0.31). Thus, among migrants with connections in Spain, using close ties shortens the time it takes for migrants to find the first job. Among migrants with no close connections in Spain prior to arrival, there is no statistically significant difference in the speed of finding the first job whether one

uses formal channels (0.38) or co-present ties in Spain (0.33). Although it is difficult to assess whether finding a job within two weeks is a positive or negative outcome, it illustrates the importance of both the availability and activation of IM SC in the job search process. For both job search outcomes, migrants without any IM SC at all and who do not activate IM SC are the most likely to secure a job early.

Our findings also show the important relationships between several human capital traits and the job search outcomes. While the likelihood of a highly-educated migrant securing a job before migration is about 1.5 times higher than their low education counterpart, education has no association with the time it takes to secure a job very quickly, as shown in models M1b and M2b, respectively. Similarly, having work experience in the country of origin also increases the odds of securing a job before migration, but not the probability of securing a job within two weeks. Only Spanish language proficiency increases the chances of quickly securing a job by over 32 percent among migrants who seek employment after arrival.

[TABLE_2]

[FIGURE_2]

Turning to the quality of the first job, the interaction of IM SC availability and activation plays no role for this outcome (not shown). Therefore, only the models for the main effects of the two IM SC measures are shown in Table 3. Confirming H_3, more mature migration streams are associated with higher quality jobs, though the strength of the CM SC relationship depends on the sample (Wald test for CM SC is $p<0.001$ for jobs secured after migration, but $p<0.10$ for those found before). While available IM SC has no impact, its activation matters, as anticipated by H_5, yielding jobs of diminished quality regardless of whether the job is found before (lowering the prestige by over seven points) or after migration (lowering the prestige by over four points). The non-statistically significant but small, negative coefficients for available IM SC indicate that after controlling for the activation of IM SC, the presence of close ties may provide a sufficient safety net insofar that the migrant is able to accept a lower quality job.

Table 3 also illustrates that having more education aids in securing a higher prestige first job, irrespective of the timing of securing the first job. Similar to the job search results, Spanish language proficiency also helps migrants who find jobs after settlement to secure better positions. Unlike the job search process, however, country-of-origin work experience does not influence the quality of the first job.

[TABLE_3]

PERSISTENT SC EFFECTS

The descriptive analyses in Table 2 support provide further evidence that migrants in Spain experience downward mobility upon arrival with little recovery over the long run. We subsequently examined the interactive models for occupational mobility but did not find any statistically significant relationships. Therefore, Table 4 presents the main effects models of the change in ISEI scores at three junctures: country of origin to the first job in Spain, the first job to a later job in Spain, and for completeness, from the country of origin to a later job. Overall, these models explain 28 to 59 percent of the variability in changes to the ISEI scores.

The results again reinforce the importance of stratifying the analyses by the timing of securing the first job. For migrants who secured their job prior to migration, Table 4 shows that neither CM SC nor available IM SC have a statistically significant relationship to the change in occupational prestige for any of the mobility outcomes (contradicting H_6). Rather, confirming H_8, only activated IM SC explains the change in ISEI scores at each juncture. Figure 3 visualizes these relationships. As shown in the lower left-hand panel, among migrants who secured their jobs prior to migration, those who had activated their close ties to secure their first job had a decrease of 11.8 ISEI points from the country of origin to their first job, but among those who did not use close ties, the decrease was only a 8.1 point drop (black bars). Furthermore, when we examine occupational mobility within the destination country (gray bars), migrants who activated IM SC had a smaller sized recovery of 2.2 ISEI points compared to the 5.4 point recovery among those who did not. Overall, among migrants who found a job prior to migration, the net

reduction in occupational prestige from the country of origin to a later job in Spain is larger for those who activated their IM SC (white bars).

Among migrants who found their first job after migration, Figure 3's lower righthand panel shows a similar relationship between activated IM SC and occupational mobility, although the degradation in occupational prestige to the first job in Spain is markedly larger (-10.6 and -13.6) than among those who had secured a job before migration (-8.1 and -11.8). Consistent with the previous results, migrants with activated IM SC experienced a larger drop in the quality of the first job, and smaller improvements in subsequent jobs held in Spain.

Among respondents who found their first job after migration, CM SC fosters occupational mobility among these same migrants, partially confirming H_6 (Wald tests $p<0.001$ for CM SC in models M4, M5, and M6 of Table 4). As shown in the upper righthand panel of Figure 3, the declines in occupational prestige from the country of origin to the first job (black bars) and the country of origin to a later job (white bars) progressively shrink as CM SC builds. Additionally, CM SC increasingly affect mobility from the first to later job in Spain (gray bars) over the first three quartiles but then reaches a saturation point, as the predicted recovery of the ISEI score decreases from 5.1 in Q3 to 4.6 in Q4.

[TABLE_4]

[FIGURE_3]

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

SC plays a fundamental role in migration, both by stimulating emigration and facilitating entry into the new environment. This paper adds to this literature in several ways. First, we systematically distinguish between two forms of migration-relevant SC, individual and community, and empirically demonstrate their separate impact. IM SC and CM SC yield disparate effects, with impacts further varying across the stages of labor market incorporation.

Second, while past work on CM SC has focused on those ties in migrants' place of origin and their effects on out-migration propensities, this is the first paper to empirically examine the

21

impact of these ties on outcomes occurring in the place of destination. CM SC yields generally positive associations, facilitating job search for those securing employment before migration and filtering migrants into first jobs of higher quality (and doing so with larger associations among those who searched for jobs after migration). For those who acquired jobs after arrival in Spain, CM SC contributes to occupational mobility, whether measured in contrast to pre-migration employment or as a comparison between the initial job and the later job. Moreover, the clearest benefits of CM SC are accrued by those migrants who arrive when a stream is at its most mature stage, Q4. These findings point to a strong link between immigrant labor market incorporation and ethnic networks that possess both a critical mass of nonredundant opportunities and information as well as a diversity of actors and institutions. The channel from network maturation to labor market incorporation is especially relevant for migrants without pre-arranged employment.

Third, rather than assume that the possession of connections linking newcomers to established migrants entails their usage, we isolate the impact of the activation of IM SC from the mere presence of close-tie sources of help, showing that the presence of migration-related social ties and the activation of these ties are conceptually and empirically distinct. Available IM SC has virtually no impact on any of the outcomes. Rather, individual-level ties matter when they are activated. Migrants who possessed pre-migration IM SC *and* activated IM SC were more successful in finding jobs either before or shortly after arrival. That channel, however, did not connect to any other outcome, perhaps because the inside information it may have conveyed only made a difference to prospective or new migrants with no or little knowledge about the situation on the ground. While migrants could activate help from friends or relatives regardless of whether they possessed IM SC before arriving in Spain, doing so routed them to jobs of lower quality. Furthermore, among migrants who had worked before moving to Spain, those who activated their contacts to obtain their first job moved into positions that compared poorly with pre-migration employment, regardless of whether the job had been obtained before

or after arrival. Similarly, activated IM SC had a negative, albeit somewhat less powerful relationship to occupational mobility among those who subsequently moved on from their first job.

Prior scholarship, such as the more widely studied example of Mexico to US migration, has assumed that the job search process occurs after arrival, emphasizing host country capital with little connection to the large body of work on pre-migration SC (Batista and Costa 2016; Goel and Lang 2019). Our addition of the Spanish case involves a significant segment of immigrants who formally secure jobs prior to departure. Consequently, we expand the window of the job search to include employment secured even before settlement in the destination country. By doing so, we connect the disparate literature on the roles of SC in the migration process and in immigration incorporation.

As noted above, the roles of SC on labor market outcomes vary depending on whether employment was pre-arranged or not. As opposed to migrants hired after arriving, those who successfully find a job before departing home appear to obtain a first position better matched to their work experience prior to emigration. Though not deterministic, the benefits of improved matching at the outset likely cascade to more successful distal outcomes in the labor market. Placements that are at once better and more closely related to pre-migration jobs may allow migrants to become more successful in demonstrating their skills while also gaining contacts to insiders positioned higher in the job hierarchy. In the longer-run, the avenue through which the first job was secured plays an important role in occupational mobility, with migrants who secured their first jobs through close ties at a disadvantage.

While our study reveals the role of different forms of SC through multiple stages that comprise labor market integration, there are some limitations. As the ENI only collected data on social ties at the outset, our information on migrants' ties is limited to those existing at the time of arrival. Realistically, however, migrants almost surely developed new individual and institutional connections in subsequent years. Hence, we would expect post-migration forms of

23

SC – including ties to native-born Spaniards – to increase. Future data collection efforts to capture the dynamism of SC over time would further explicate the contributions of available IM SC, activated IM SC, as well as CM SC to migrants' adaption and economic well-being.

We sought to be comprehensive by evaluating a range of labor market measures but were not able to examine wages due to both missingness and when available, earnings reported in ranges. As other studies have shown, wages play an important role for immigrants, increasing the likelihood of migration and their economic integration (Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra 2007; Garip and Asad 2016). Additionally, although we control for years since arrival, we cannot differentiate among later jobs. More precise and extensive occupational histories with their associated start and end dates would have permitted us to compare how the roles of IM SC and CM SC differ over time among subsequent jobs by their placements in the chronological sequence of employment.

In conclusion, this study sheds new light on the roles of heterogeneous forms of SC, found in egocentric social ties as well as community social circles present in the country of immigration, in contributing to unequal economic outcomes among immigrants. Initial entry into the labor market through exercising strong ties impedes immigrants' success in both the short- and longer-term. However, cohorts searching for a job after settlement benefit from community-based resources in the country of destination. These findings provide strong evidence of the enduring roles of early-settlement IM SC and CM SC when seeking to understand the processes that lead to immigrants' labor market stratification.

ENDNOTES

[i] The Mexican Migrant Project contains information on kin members' migratory experience but not location at the time of a migrant's departure.

[ii] We evaluated the adequacy of the CM SC measure for respondents originating from provinces with few migrants. Provinces were classified as having either less or more than 50 migrants in the ENI. Google Maps Application Programming Interface provided the coordinates of each province's geographical midpoint. If less than 50 respondents were from this province, it was grouped with a province in the same country that was geographically closest to it, using the Euclidean distance between geocoded points, forming a new province group. Province groupings placed into quartiles representing a respondent's year of arrival in Spain relative to others from the same province group yielded results consistent with our current measure.

[iii] This is measured at interview time. However, results would be largely unchanged regardless of when language proficiency was measured. Using U.S. data, Stevens (1999) showed foreign language proficiency for adult immigrants, net of controls, steadily decreases with age, with small reductions from age 15 to 30, until it flattens entirely. Thus, for migrants aged 30+ (2/3 of our sample whose average age at arrival was about 33 years old), increasing language proficiency is extremely unlikely. For the remaining 1/3 of our sample under 30, half are from Spanish-speaking counties. This yields about 83% of our sample whose language proficiency would not have changed.

[iv] As new members states joined the Schengen area in December 2007, at the time of the survey, 15 countries were considered part of the Schengen area as determined by the European Commission.

[v] We ascertain this through supplementary analysis (not shown). To summarize, we examined the characteristics of the respondents in the "no available IM SC and activated IM SC" category and find their profiles to be distinct from the other three groups created in jointly considering available IM SC and activated IM SC. Compared to the other groups, the "no available IM SC and activated IM SC" respondents possess the lowest levels of human capital. Furthermore, they are the least likely to have secured a job prior to migration. These attributes suggest that these respondents are low-skilled migrants who found employment through connections secured after arrival. Additionally, we find evidence that the "no available IM SC and activated IM SC" group did indeed accumulate IM social ties after arrival. Using the timing of arrival among the respondents' household members at the time of the interview as a proxy for connections formed after migration, "no available IM SC and activated IM SC" respondents are more likely to be living with at least one non-family member who arrived in the same year or later than the respondent's arrival year than any other group except "no available IM SC and no activated IM SC" respondents. "No available IM SC and activated IM SC" migrants are also the most likely to be living with at least one sibling who arrived at the same time or after the respondent.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Sung S. Park is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Office of Population Research at Princeton University. Her recent work has been published in *Population and Development Review*; the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies;* and *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*. Her current project examines how work conditions affect racial minorities' well-being and contribute to population-level health disparities.

*　　*　　*

Tianjian Lai is a PhD candidate in Sociology at UCLA. She has recently published her work titled, "Legal Exclusion, Civic Exclusion: How Legal Status Stratifies Latino Immigrants' Civic Engagement" in *International Migration Review* (2021). Her research has received support from the John Randolph Haynes Foundation, the National Science Foundation, the Russell Sage Foundation, Sciences Po Laboratory for Interdisciplinary Evaluation of Public Policies, and the UCLA Center for the Study of International Migration.

*　　*　　*

Roger D. Waldinger is Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Director of the UCLA Center for the Study of International Migration. His recent publications include: "Accelerating the Passage to Citizenship: Marriage and Naturalization in France" (with Haley McAvay) in *Frontiers in Sociology* (2021); "After the transnational turn: Looking across borders to see the hard face of the nation-state" in *International Migration* (2021); and "Social Politics: The importance of the family for naturalization decisions of the 1.5 generation" (with Thomas Soehl and Renee Luthra) in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2020).

REFERENCES

Aguilera, Michael B., and Douglas S. Massey. 2003. "Social Capital and the Wages of Mexican Migrants: New Hypotheses and Tests." *Social Forces* 82(2):671–701.

Amuedo-Dorantes, Catalina, and Kusum Mundra. 2007. "Social Networks and Their Impact on the Earnings of Mexican Migrants." *Demography* 44(4):849–863.

Arango, Joaquin. 2013. *Exceptional in Europe? Spain's Experience with Immigration and Integration*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Asad, Asad L., and Filiz Garip. 2019. "Mexico-US Migration in Time: From Economic to Social Mechanisms." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 684(1):60-84.

Batista, Cátia, and Ana Isabel Costa. 2016. "Assessing the Role of Social Networks on Migrant Labor Market Outcomes." *Nova Africa Center for Business and Economic Development Working Paper Series*.

Bentolila, Samuel, Claudio Michelacci, and Javier Suarez. 2010. "Social Contacts and Occupational Choice." *Economica* 77(305):20–45.

Bernardi, Fabrizio, and Juan-Ignacio Martínez-Pastor. 2010. "Falling at the bottom: Unskilled jobs at entry in the labor market in Spain over time and in a comparative perspective." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 51(4)):289-307.

Bian, Yanjie. 1997. "Bringing Strong Ties Back in: Indirect Ties, Network Bridges, and Job Searches in China." *American Sociological Review* 62(3):366–385.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241–58 in *Handbook of Theory and Research in the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson. New York: Greenwood Press.

Carlsson, Magnus, Stefan Eriksson, and Dan-Olof Rooth. 2018. "Job search methods and wages: are natives and immigrants different?." *The Manchester School* 86(2):219-247.

Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:S95–S120.

Dannefer, Dale. 1987. "Aging as Intracohort Differentiation: Accentuation, the Matthew Effect, and the Life Course." *Sociological Forum* 2(2):211–236.

DiMaggio, Paul, and Filiz Garip. 2011. "How Network Externalities Can Exacerbate Intergroup Inequality." *American Journal of Sociology* 116(6):1887–1933.

Dustmann, Christian, Albrecht Glitz, and Uta Schoenberg. 2015. "Referral-Based Job Search Networks." *The Review of Economic Studies* 83(2):514–46.

Fellini, Ivana, and Raffaele Guetto. 2019. "A 'U-Shaped' Pattern of Immigrants' Occupational Careers? A Comparative Analysis of Italy, Spain, and France." *International Migration Review* 53(1):26–58.

Fernández-Macías, Enrique, Rafael Grande, Alberto del Rey Poveda, and José-Ignacio Antón. 2015. "Employment and Occupational Mobility Among Recently Arrived Immigrants: The Spanish Case 1997–2007." *Population Research and Policy Review* 34(2):243–277.

Fuller, Sylvia. 2015. "Do Pathways Matter? Linking Early Immigrant Employment Sequences and Later Economic Outcomes: Evidence from Canada." *International Migration Review* 49(2):355–405.

Garip, Filiz. 2008. "Social Capital and Migration: How Do Similar Resources Lead to Divergent Outcomes?" *Demography* 45(3):591–617.

-----. 2014. "The impact of migration and remittances on wealth accumulation and distribution in rural Thailand." *Demography* 51(2):673-698.

-----. 2016. *On the Move: Changing Mechanisms of Mexico-US Migration*. Princeton University Press.

Garip, Filiz, and Asad L. Asad. 2016. "Network Effects in Mexico–Us Migration: Disentangling the Underlying Social Mechanisms." *American Behavioral Scientist* 60(10):1168–1193.

Garip, Filiz, Burak Eskici, and Ben Snyder. 2015. "Network effects in migrant remittances: Evidence from household, sibling, and village ties in Nang Rong, Thailand." *American Behavioral Scientist* 59(9):1066-1082.

Goel, Deepti, and Kevin Lang. 2019. "Social Ties and the Job Search of Recent Immigrants." *ILR Review* 72(2):355–81.

Granovetter, Mark. 1977. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *Social Networks* 347–67.

-----. 1983. "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited." *Sociological Theory* 11:201–233.

-----. 1995. *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hagan, Jacqueline, Rubén Hernández-León, and Jean-Luc Demonsant. 2015. *Skills of the Unskilled: Work and Mobility Among Mexican Migrants*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hooper, Kate. 2019. *Spain's Labour Migration Policies in the Aftermath of Economic Crisis*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Kalter, Frank, and Irena Kogan. 2014. "Migrant networks and labor market integration of immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Germany." *Social Forces* 92(4):1435-1456.

Kreisberg, A. Nicole. 2019. "Starting Points: Divergent Trajectories of Labor Market Integration among US Lawful Permanent Residents." *Social Forces* 98(2):849–884.

Lancee, Bram. 2010. "The Economic Returns of Immigrants' Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: The Case of the Netherlands." *International Migration Review* 44(1):202–226.

Lin, Nan, John Vaughn, and Walter Ensel. 1981. "Social Resources and Occupational Status Attainment." *Social Forces* 59(4):1163–1181.

Liu, Mao-Mei. 2013. "Migrant Networks and International Migration: Testing Weak Ties." *Demography* 50(4):1243–1277.

Loury, Linda Dachter. 2006. "Some Contacts Are More Equal than Others: Informal Networks, Job Tenure, and Wages." *Journal of Labor Economics* 24(2):299–318.

MacDonald, John S., and Leatrice D. MacDonald. 1964. "Chain migration ethnic neighborhood formation and social networks." *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 42(1):82–97.

Mahuteau, Stéphane, and Pramod Junankar. 2008. "Do Migrants Get Good Jobs in Australia? The Role of Ethnic Networks in Job Search." *Economic Record* 84:S115–S130.

Marin, Alexandra. 2012. "Don't Mention It: Why People Don't Share Job Information, When They Do, and Why It Matters." *Social Networks* 34(2):181–92.

Marrow, Helen B. 2009. "Immigrant Bureaucratic Incorporation: The Dual Roles of Professional Missions and Government Policies." *American Sociological Review* 74(5):756–776.

Massey, Douglas S., Rafael Alarcón, Jorge Durand, and Humberto González. 1990. *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. 1993. "Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal." *Population and Development review* 19(3):431-466.

Massey, Douglas S., and Maria Aysa-Lastra. 2011. "Social Capital and International Migration from Latin America." *International Journal of Population Research*.

Massey, Douglas S., Luin Goldring, and Jorge Durand. 1994. "Continuities in transnational migration: An analysis of nineteen Mexican communities." *American Journal of Sociology* 99(6):1492–1533.

Mendez-Errico, Luciana. 2013. "The Impacts of Social Networks on Immigrants' Employment Prospects: The Spanish Case 1997-2007." *Universitat Autonoma of Barcelona Working Paper*.

Miera, Frauke. 2008. "Transnational Strategies of Polish Migrant Entrepreneurs in Trade and Small Business in Berlin." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(5):753–770.
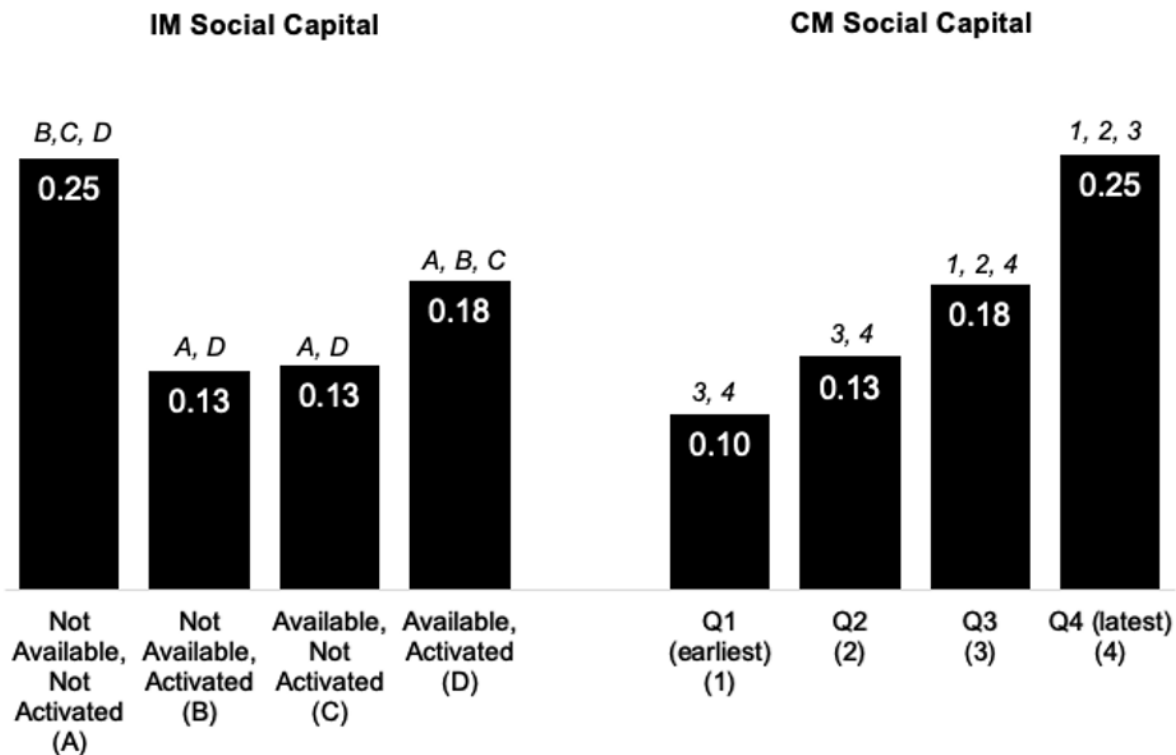
Munshi, Kaivan. 2003. "Networks in the Modern Economy: Mexican Migrants in the Us Labor Market." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118(2):549–99.

Orozco, Manuel, and Rebecca Rouse. 2007. "Migrant hometown associations and opportunities for development." *Washington: Migration Policy Institute*.

Ottaviano, Gianmarco, and Giovanni Peri. 2006. "The Economic Value of Cultural Diversity: Evidence from U.S. Cities." *Journal of Economic Geography* 6(1):9–44.

Pedulla, David S., and Pager, Devah. 2019. "Race and Networks in the Job Search Process." *American Sociological Review* 84(6) 983–1012.

Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24(1):1–24.

Portes, Alejandro, and Leif Jensen. 1989. "The enclave and the entrants: Patterns of ethnic enterprise in Miami before and after Mariel." *American Sociological Review* 54(6):929-949.

Portes, Alejandro, and Robert Manning. 2012. "The immigrant enclave: Theory and empirical examples." Pp. 216 – 227 in *The Inequality Reader: Contemporary and Foundational Readings in Race, Class, and Gender*, edited by D.B. Grusky and S. Szelenyi. New York: Routledge.

Sanders, Jimy, Victor Nee, and Scott Sernau. 2002. "Asian Immigrants' Reliance on Social Ties in a Multiethnic Labor Market." *Social Forces* 81(1):281–314.

Simón, Hipólito, Raul Ramos, and Esteban Sanromá. 2014. "Immigrant Occupational Mobility: Longitudinal Evidence from Spain." *European Journal of Population* 30(2):223–255.

Smith, Sandra Susan. 2005. "Don't Put My Name on It': Social Capital Activation and Job-Finding Assistance Among the Black Urban Poor." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(1):1–57.

Sporton, Deborah. 2013. "'They Control My Life': The Role of Local Recruitment Agencies in East European Migration to the UK." *Population, Space and Place* 19(5):443–458.

Stevens, Gillian. 1999. "Age at immigration and second language proficiency among foreign-born adults." *Language in Society* 28(4):555-578.

Waldinger, Roger, and Michael I. Lichter. 2003. *How the Other Half Works: Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Wessendorf, Susanne. 2018. "Pathways of Settlement Among Pioneer Migrants in Super-Diverse London." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(2):270–286.

FIGURES

Figure 1. Stages of Labor Market Incorporation, Corresponding Outcomes of Interest, and Hypothesized Relationships to Social Capital Measures

Notes: COO: Country of origin. CM: Community migration. IM: Individual migration. SC: social capital.
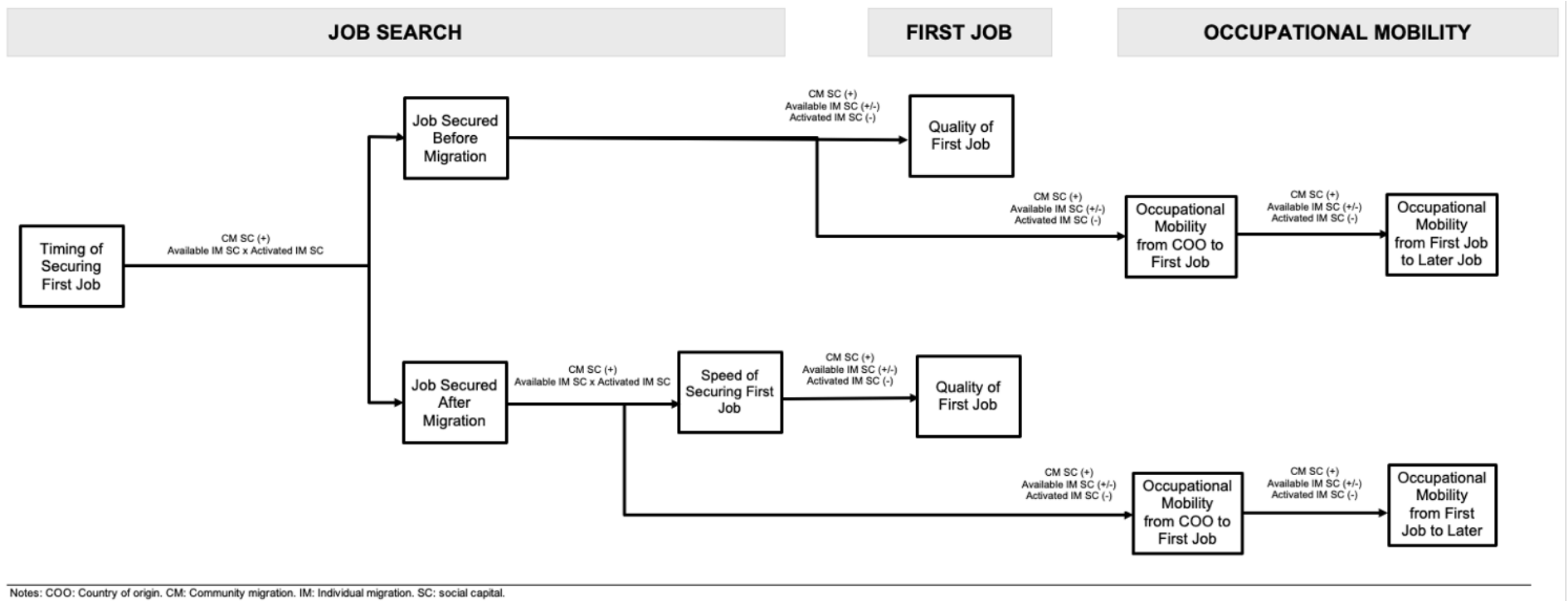
Figure 2. Predicted Probabilities of Job Search Models by Social Capital Measures

Job Secured Before Migration

IM Social Capital

B,C, D			*A, B, C*
0.25	*A, D*	*A, D*	0.18
	0.13	0.13	

Not Available, Not Activated (A) | Not Available, Activated (B) | Available, Not Activated (C) | Available, Activated (D)

CM Social Capital

		1, 2, 4	*1, 2, 3*
	3, 4	0.18	0.25
3, 4	0.13		
0.10			

Q1 (earliest) (1) | Q2 (2) | Q3 (3) | Q4 (latest) (4)

First Job Secured Within 15 Days of Arrival

IM Social Capital

C			*C*
0.38		*A, D*	0.35
	0.33	0.31	

Not Available, Not Activated (A) | Not Available, Activated (B) | Available, Not Activated (C) | Available, Activated (D)
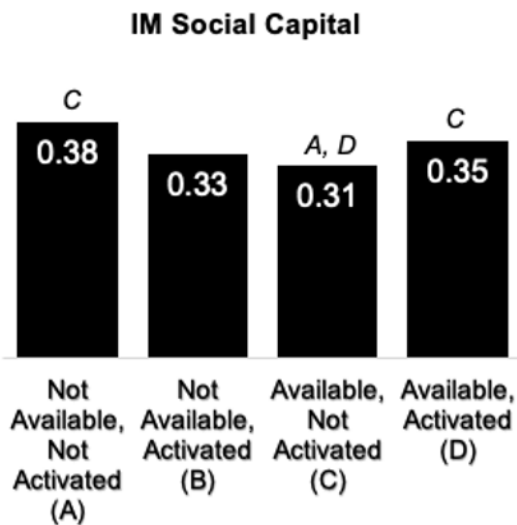
Notes: CM: Community migration. IM: Individual migration. SC: social capital. Based on models M1b and M2b in Table 2. Italicized uppercase letters or numerals indicate statistical significance compared to specifed category (p<0.05, two tailed test).

Figure 3. Predicted Differences in ISEI Scores Between Jobs, Stratified by Timing of Securing First Job

JOB SECURED BEFORE MIGRATION JOB SECURED AFTER MIGRATION

CM SOCIAL CAPITAL

ACTIVATED IM SOCIAL CAPITAL

■ COO → First Job   ■ First Job → Later Job   □ COO → Later Job
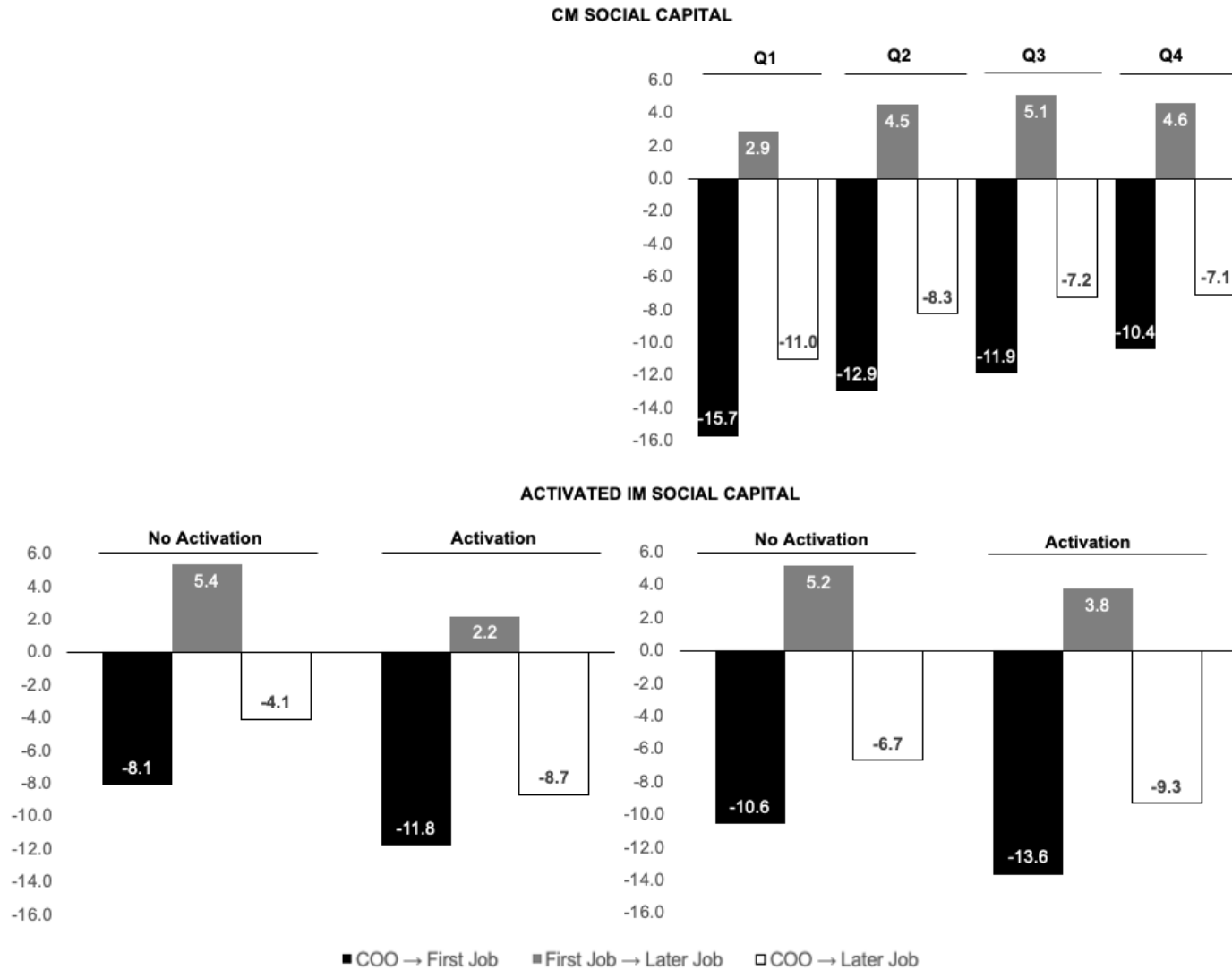
Notes: IM: Community migration. IM: Individual migration. Based on models in Table 4. SC: social capital.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Analytic Sample I (N=6,817)

	% or Mean	SE
Dependent Variables		
Job Secured Before Migration to Spain	19.2	
Secured First Job in Spain Within Two Weeks of Arrival [1]	34.2	
ISEI Score for First Job in Spain	29.3	0.22
Difference in ISEI Score from COO → First Job in Spain [2]	-12.4	0.36
Difference in ISEI Score from First → Later Job in Spain [2]	4.0	0.27
Difference in ISEI Score from COO → Later Job in Spain [2]	-8.3	0.36
Social Capital Variables		
Community Migration Social Capital (IM SC)		
Q1 (earliest)	19.8	
Q2	28.2	
Q3	27.5	
Q4 (latest)	24.5	
Available Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	79.0	
Activated Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	68.8	
Controls		
Demographic Traits		
Male	58.4	
Age		
16-29	32.0	
30-45	54.3	
46+	13.8	
Human Capital Traits		
High Education	62.2	
Spanish Language Proficiency	61.8	
Work Experience in COO	85.8	
Migration Traits		
Migrated for Employment	71.9	
Years Since Migration	5.9	0.06
Region of Origin		
EU15	9.7	
Other European	24.0	
Africa	13.8	
Latin America	43.2	
Other	9.2	

Notes: COO: Country of origin. Weighted using individual weights. Descriptive statistics for samples II and III in Appendix. [1] For sample restricted to respondents who found their first job after migration. [2] For sample restricted to respondents who have work experience in country of origin, and are currently working in a later (not first) job in Spain.

Table 2. Logistic Regression Estimates of Job Search Models

	Job Secured Before Migration		First Job Secured Within 15 Days of Arrival [1]	
	M1a	M1b	M2a	M2b
	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	OR (SE)
Community Migration Social Capital (CM SC) (ref: Q1)				
Q2	1.436**	1.381*	0.862	0.852
	(0.201)	(0.194)	(0.093)	(0.092)
Q3	1.944***	1.902***	0.780+	0.775*
	(0.295)	(0.290)	(0.099)	(0.099)
Q4	3.026***	2.977***	0.768+	0.766+
	(0.532)	(0.525)	(0.119)	(0.119)
Available Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	0.826+	0.448***	0.925	0.732*
	(0.082)	(0.064)	(0.090)	(0.105)
Activated Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	1.035	0.435***	1.081	0.802
	(0.094)	(0.079)	(0.091)	(0.137)
Available IM SC x Activated IM SC		3.365***		1.489*
		(0.707)		(0.288)
Male	1.256**	1.240*	1.264**	1.258**
	(0.110)	(0.109)	(0.100)	(0.099)
Age (ref: 16-29)				
30-45	1.125	1.145	1.058	1.064
	(0.119)	(0.122)	(0.099)	(0.099)
46+	1.451*	1.446*	0.952	0.949
	(0.212)	(0.213)	(0.128)	(0.127)
Human Capital Traits				
High Education	1.502***	1.491***	1.022	1.021
	(0.143)	(0.142)	(0.085)	(0.085)
Spanish Language Proficiency	1.091	1.099	1.311*	1.322*
	(0.131)	(0.133)	(0.147)	(0.149)
Work Experience in COO	1.868***	1.869***	1.065	1.067
	(0.287)	(0.288)	(0.118)	(0.119)
Migration Traits				
Migrated for Employment	2.631***	2.582***	1.001	0.997
	(0.299)	(0.294)	(0.090)	(0.089)
Years Since Migration	1.017	1.018	1.006	1.006
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Region of Origin (ref: EU15)				
Other European	0.335***	0.328***	0.818	0.821
	(0.058)	(0.057)	(0.143)	(0.144)
Africa	0.305***	0.313***	0.576**	0.587**
	(0.056)	(0.058)	(0.102)	(0.104)
Latin America	0.416***	0.409***	0.892	0.893
	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.145)	(0.145)
Other	0.726+	0.721+	0.720+	0.723
	(0.126)	(0.127)	(0.142)	(0.143)
Constant	0.046***	0.069***	0.489*	0.573+
	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.141)	(0.171)
AIC	1,920,498	1,903,218	2,330,277	2,328,364
BIC	1,920,621	1,903,348	2,330,397	2,328,490
N	6,817	6,817	5,530	5,530

Notes: Exponentiated coefficients. Weighted using individual weights. †p < 0.1. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.
[1] For sample restricted to respondents who found their first job after migration.

Table 3. OLS Regression Estimates of Quality of First Job in Spain, Stratified by Timing of Securing First Job (N=6,817)

	ISEI Score of First Job in Spain	
	Before Migration	After Migration
	M1	M2
	B (SE)	B (SE)
Community Migration Social Capital (CM SC) (ref: Q1)		
Q2	2.431	2.832***
	(1.655)	(0.564)
Q3	2.952+	4.257***
	(1.722)	(0.650)
Q4	5.188**	5.758***
	(2.013)	(0.827)
Available Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	-0.514	-0.604
	(1.318)	(0.516)
Activated Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	-7.489***	-4.615***
	(1.338)	(0.471)
Male	6.173***	4.817***
	(1.060)	(0.412)
Age (ref: 16-29)		
30-45	1.851+	0.995*
	(1.114)	(0.437)
46+	3.331+	0.822
	(1.933)	(0.752)
Human Capital Traits		
High Education	9.613***	4.191***
	(0.960)	(0.387)
Spanish Language Proficiency	2.285	2.090***
	(1.401)	(0.576)
Work Experience in COO	2.114	-0.723
	(1.626)	(0.611)
Migration Traits		
Migrated for Employment	-3.682*	-4.829***
	(1.541)	(0.512)
Years Since Migration	0.314	0.496***
	(0.201)	(0.093)
Region of Origin (ref: EU15)		
Other European	-11.657***	-11.592***
	(1.932)	(1.118)
Africa	-15.548***	-15.716***
	(2.308)	(1.068)
Latin America	-11.174***	-10.262***
	(1.828)	(1.107)
Other	-8.959***	-7.177***
	(2.001)	(1.326)
Constant	32.310***	32.496***
	(3.935)	(1.748)
AIC	10,492	42,420
BIC	10,585	42,539
N	1,287	5,530

Notes: Weighted using individual weights. †p < 0.1. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

Table 4. OLS Regression Estimates of Difference in ISEI Scores Between Jobs, Stratified by Timing of Securing First Job

	Job Found Before Migration			Job Found After Migration		
	COO → First Job [1]	First Job → Later Job [1]	COO → Later Job [1]	COO → First Job [1]	First Job → Later Job [1]	COO → Later Job [1]
	M1 [2]	M2 [3]	M3 [2]	M4 [2]	M5 [3]	M6 [2]
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
Community Migration Social Capital (CM SC) (ref: Q1)						
Q2	1.062	0.346	0.753	2.779***	1.591*	2.727***
	(1.841)	(1.615)	(1.912)	(0.676)	(0.703)	(0.730)
Q3	2.804	2.316	3.391+	3.811***	2.194**	3.752***
	(2.047)	(1.805)	(2.045)	(0.810)	(0.812)	(0.865)
Q4	3.506	3.086	4.430+	5.295***	1.740	3.906***
	(2.730)	(2.212)	(2.471)	(1.067)	(1.077)	(1.145)
Available Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	2.055	-1.254	-0.466	-0.526	-0.200	-0.416
	(1.645)	(1.408)	(1.565)	(0.615)	(0.620)	(0.668)
Activated Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	-3.735*	-3.170*	-4.602**	-3.062***	-1.376*	-2.628***
	(1.667)	(1.542)	(1.641)	(0.580)	(0.560)	(0.612)
With Demographic Controls	x	x	x	x	x	x
With Human Capital Controls	x	x	x	x	x	x
With Migration Controls	x	x	x	x	x	x
R^2	0.453	0.366	0.455	0.586	0.282	0.541
N	598	598	598	2,798	2,798	2,798

Notes: COO: Country of Origin. Weighted using individual weights. †$p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$. ***$p < 0.001$. [1] For sample restricted to respondents who have work experience in country of origin, and are currently working in a later (not first) job in Spain. [2] Model also controls for ISEI score in COO. [3] Model also controls for ISEI score in first job in Spain and difference in ISEI score from COO to first job in Spain.

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics by Analytic Sample

	Sample I (N=6,817)		Sample II [2] (N=3,396)	
	% or Mean	SE	% or Mean	SE
Dependent Variables				
Job Secured Before Migration to Spain	19.2		17.9	
Secured First Job in Spain Within Two Weeks of Arrival [2]	34.2		35.2	
ISEI Score for First Job in Spain	29.3	0.22	27.7	0.28
Difference in ISEI Score from COO → First Job in Spain	-13.2	0.36	-12.4	0.36
Difference in ISEI Score from First → Later Job in Spain	-		4.0	0.27
Difference in ISEI Score from COO → Later Job in Spain	-		-8.3	0.36
Social Capital Variables				
Community Migration Social Capital (CM SC)				
Q1 (earliest)	19.8		24.5	
Q2	28.2		31.3	
Q3	27.5		27.6	
Q4 (latest)	24.5		16.7	
Available Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	79.0		80.0	
Activated Individual Migration Social Capital (IM SC)	68.8		69.8	
Controls				
Demographic Traits				
Male	58.4		58.1	
Age				
16-29	32.0		28.3	
30-45	54.3		58.6	
46+	13.8		13.1	
Human Capital Traits				
High Education	62.2		65.0	
Spanish Language Proficiency	61.8		66.4	
Work Experience in COO	85.8		100.0	
Migration Traits				
Migrated for Employment	71.9		74.0	
Years Since Migration	5.9	0.06	6.4	0.08
Region of Origin				
EU15	9.7		7.7	
Other European	24.0		23.7	
Africa	13.8		12.9	
Latin America	43.2		47.9	
Other	9.2		7.8	

Notes: COO: Country of Origin. Weighted using individual weights. [1] For sample restricted to respondents who have work experience in country of origin, and are currently working in a later (not first) job in Spain. [2] For sample restricted to respondents who found their first job after migration.