

Putting social capital in (a family) perspective: The roles of migrant networks in the labour market participation of Senegalese women in Europe

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Abstract

Previous research has found that the economic returns to social capital are lower for migrant women than for men. It has also shown that the family context of migration influences women's participation in the labour market at destination. However, such studies have not considered the potential interactions between social capital and the family context of migration. Using longitudinal quantitative data recently collected by the "Migration between Africa and Europe" (MAFE) survey, this paper finds that the influence of migrant networks is different depending on whether women migrate in relation to their spouse or not. Sharing childcare responsibilities seems to be the most important function of social networks for women migrating with young children. For those migrating independently, female networks are the only useful social resource in securing access to the labour market. However, confirming previous qualitative findings, these networks lead to lower quality jobs upon arrival and limit upward mobility.

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1. Introduction

Women make up an increasing part of migration flows. Yet, while a substantial amount of research investigated the economic integration of male migrants, women's labour market performance has been less studied. In most quantitative studies, gender only appears as a control variable. This is partly due to the still prevailing assumption that women are mostly family migrants, whose migration is not motivated by work reasons but who passively follow their spouses abroad. However, recent research has emphasized the great heterogeneity in women's migrations motives and employment patterns at destination (Cerrutti and Massey 2001). Besides human capital and legal status at entry, the sequencing of the migration and family formation events has been shown to explain a large part of this heterogeneity (Gonzalez-Ferrer 2011). However, the lack of longitudinal data has so far prevented further investigation into the mechanisms underlying these findings.

Furthermore, among the recent scholarship on migrant women's economic integration at destination, few studies considered the role played by social ties in economic outcomes. Research not restricted to immigrant women indicates that the impact of migrant social capital on employment may be less beneficial for women than for men (Drenea 1998; Hagan 1998; Huffman and Torres 2002; Livingston 2006). Our understanding of the influence of social ties is however limited by the fact that most of these studies do not distinguish between the various types of female migration. We might expect social ties to play differently in the economic outcomes of women who join their partner at destination and women who come alone. Qualitative research has shown that migrant men from contexts where independent female migration is still negatively perceived may refuse to share their resources with women of whose migration they do not approve (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). Finally, whereas the primary pathway of social networks' influence in men's employment is job information and referrals, an equally important function of networks in women's labour market participation may be the sharing of childcare responsibilities. To my knowledge, no quantitative study has effectively distinguished between these two venues of network influence when investigating migrant women's labour market performance.

This paper examines the factors influencing Senegalese women's labour market outcomes in three European countries (France, Italy and Spain), focusing in particular on the roles of migrant networks and their interactions with the family context of migration. It extends previous research by using longitudinal data that allows for a

diachronic analysis of women's labour market, migration and family formation trajectories. The rest of this paper is organized as follows: in the next section, previous literature on the determinants of immigrant women's labour market outcomes is reviewed. This is followed by a statement of the research questions and the hypotheses that guide the analysis. After a brief discussion of the data and the variables used in section 3, section 4 introduces the results with respect to women's likelihood of employment and occupational status. The last section summarizes and discusses the findings, as well as the limitations of this analysis.

2. Theory and hypotheses

2.1 Type of migration and employment at destination

The share of female international migration has been steadily increasing and women currently represent almost half of all international migrants (FNUAP 2006, p.1; Zlotnik 1995). Yet, research on the economic assimilation of women at destination has been lagging. This reflects both data limitations, since national data on migration flows and occupation of migrants is not always broken down by gender, as well as theoretical preoccupations, governed by the dichotomy between male labour migration and female family migration (Zlotnik 1995; Catarino and Morokvasic 2005).

While women's migration is not a new phenomenon, women have long been absent from research on migration (Morokvasic 2008; Boyd and Grieco 2003). They've emerged in the literature towards the end of the 1970s and have subsequently been conceptualized under two typologies. First, as family reunification flows intensified², women's presence started being acknowledged but was reduced to the stereotype of the woman who passively follows her spouse, on whom she is economically dependent. This image was to some extent shaped by the migration policies of many receiving countries which assigned women a "dependent" or "family migrant" status that, in some cases, did not entail the right to work. Second, an increase in female migration flows of an economic nature has shifted the focus away from the "trailing wives" to single women working in the domestic and care sectors, the emblematic figure being the Filipino nannies or nurses (Tacoli 1999; King and Zontini 2000).

² And even became the main channel of entry in the traditional Western European destinations (Gonzalez-Ferrer 2008).

However, researchers have emphasized the fact that the entry channel should not be mistaken for the actual reason of migration and the subsequent integration in the host society: “a woman may enter as a family migrant, but that doesn’t mean that her role in the immigration context is limited to that of a wife or mother. She may enter the labour market - formal or informal - and play an active economic role” (Oso Casas 2004: p. 175). Economists studying immigrants’ assimilation in the US labour market have argued that family migration may actually lead to an increased labour force participation of immigrant wives. According to the family investment hypothesis (Long 1980), women are more likely to work and work longer hours in their first years abroad in order to support their husbands’ investments in receiving country-specific human capital. The evidence in support of this has however been mixed and the hypothesis has only been tested in the American context.

Recent work on the labour performance of immigrants in Europe has revealed a more complex picture in terms of the interactions between the type of (family-linked) migration and employment patterns at destination. Gonzalez-Ferrer (2011) shows that the sequencing of one’s migration, marriage and spouse’s migration is an important factor in explaining migrant women’s, though not men’s, labour market participation in Spain. First, her results do not support the hypothesis that women migrating when single are more likely to enter the labour market than those who reunite with their spouses. However, a reason potentially accounting for this finding is that when analysing the likelihood to work, the author includes students in the reference category of the dependent variable. To the extent that an important share of women migrating while single are pursuing further education abroad (and thus not immediately entering the labour market), excluding students might change the results significantly.

Another interesting finding, which remains unexplained in her paper, is that “imported spouses” – individuals who married someone who was already a migrant - are less likely to work at destination than “reunited partners”, for whom the union precedes the migration of both spouses. It has been argued elsewhere in the literature that men bringing one’s spouse from the origin country may espouse more “traditional” cultural values and gender norms³ (Lievens 1999). This form of marriage practice has sometimes even been associated with forced marriages and,

³ The opposite seems however to apply to women bringing their partner from the origin countries, as Autant (1995) has shown about young Turks in France.

consequently, seen as a threat for the overall integration process at destination (Kraler et al. 2011). Others, however, have suggested that women coming from strongly patriarchal societies may prefer marrying a migrant as a means of emancipation and escaping the social control of their future in-laws families (Kofman 2004).

An important limitation of previous studies examining the influence of the type of migration on labour market outcomes at destination is that they often rely on the legal class of admission for distinguishing various forms of migration. This leads to confounding the effects of migration policies and those of migrants' own motivations for migration. As researchers have argued, in countries that separate the right to work from the right to reside, women may face difficulty in entering paid work if they are initially classified as dependents or family migrants (Boyd 1995, 1997; Kofman et. al. 2000; Lim 1995). These restrictions are usually only temporary, for one or two years (SOPEMI 2000). In the case of Spain, Gonzalez Ferrer (2011) has found that the having a residence permit upon entry decreases the likelihood to work after taking into account the reasons and the type of migration undertaken. Besides the legal obstacles to taking up work at destination associated to the family migrant status, another explanation may account for this finding. In order to sponsor the migration of one's partner at destination, the established migrant needs to prove sufficient material and legal resources⁴. We may expect that women coming through this channel will have fewer reasons to take up paid employment at destination, as they join a partner with a good economic situation. Therefore, the legal status at migration may simply be a proxy for the economic wellbeing of the partner.

2.2 Social capital, family context of migration and labour market outcomes

As discussed in the previous papers, the influence of co-ethnic networks in immigrants' economic incorporation at destination has been extensively studied. However, most research exploring this relationship has been gender blind. The studies that did take gender into consideration have generally shown women to be disadvantaged in their access and economic returns to social ties. Revisited research on Miami's Cuban enclave (Portes and Jensen 1989) shows that women receive few of the benefits experienced by male co-ethnics. Similarly, research on New York City's Chinese enclave (Zhou and Logan 1989) finds negative human capital returns

⁴ A certain level of income, longer-term residence permit (or nationality) and a certain length of residence are required to qualify for the right to bring family members at destination. The conditions of eligibility differ according to the destination country and have been increasingly tightened since the end of the 1990s across most of Western Europe (OECD 2011; ONU 2009).

for female workers only and suggests that the positive outcomes of enclave economies for men may be enjoyed at the cost of women's opportunities. Gilbertson's (1995) research on Dominican and Colombian workers in Latino firms in New York City also concludes that the success of small business owners and male workers is won at a cost to immigrant women. More recent quantitative research similarly finds migrant women to be channelled into low-paying and informal sector jobs via their social ties, while male migrants used their social ties to obtain higher-paying, more stable employment (Livingston 2006; Sanders et al. 2002).

How can the negative impact of networks on women's economic outcomes be explained? Livingston (2006) distinguishes two aspects affecting the likelihood that a person will use and benefit from their social networks in the job search process: the *demand* for assistance and the *supply* of resources available through those networks. In most migration flows, women start migrating later than men and have thus less knowledge and fewer host-country skills and experience. There is therefore not much reason to expect that their demand for assistance is lower. Indeed, Livingston (2006) finds that the overall *usage* of family and friendship networks in the job search process is similar for Mexican men and women in the US.

The supply of resources available through social networks depends, in its turn, on the *size* of these networks, the *relevance* of the information available and the *willingness* of the network members to share it. In migration flows initiated and still dominated by men, women, who migrate once networks have already developed, may encounter larger co-ethnic networks at destination but most of these ties will consist of other men. Given the gender-segregated nature of the destination labour markets where migrants are incorporated, the job information that other male migrants can pass on to recently arrived women migrants may be less *relevant* (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Curran et al. 2005). Furthermore, studies suggest co-ethnic (male) networks may not be so *willing* to share their information. Immigrant networks have been shown to reinforce the maintenance of traditional gender roles and the gender division of labour from the country of origin (Diop 1987, Grasmuck and Pessar 1991). Whereas they encourage labour force participation for male migrants, male network members in the family and community may refuse to assist women in negotiating the destination labour market, "either because of their personal beliefs about appropriate gender roles or because challenging tradition by helping women in the job market may elicit collective sanctions within the immigrant community" (Livingston 2003, p: 13). Qualitative research on migrant women in France also documents various forms of gender discrimination within ethnic enclaves (Rouleau-Berger 2011). This echoes Portes'

(1998) comments about the ways in which social capital may constrain individual freedom: tight community networks create demands for conformity and sanction those who deviate from traditionally upheld norms.

Thus, women migrants seeking employment may be limited to relying on less-established female networks whose members have only minimal experience in the destination labour market. Indeed, qualitative findings point to the important role of prior female migrants in offering jobs to newcomers. However, given the high concentration of women in the domestic sector, these networks have generally been found to reinforce the occupational segregation by gender. Qualitative research by Repak (1995), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) and Hagan (1998) on Central American, Mexican and Mayan women in the US, converged in finding that female migrants were channelled into domestic jobs or other highly-feminized sectors via their social ties. Quantitative studies also suggest this, although the hypothesis was not tested directly, since measures of co-ethnic social ties are generally not disaggregated by gender. Livingston (2006) found that women using network-based search methods have a higher likelihood to find a job in the informal sector than in the formal one. Using the work-module data of the General Social Survey in the United States, Drentea (1998) found that when women used informal job-search methods, they entered women-dominated jobs; similar findings are reported by Leicht and Marx (1997) and Straits (1998) with respect to the general population. In an analysis not focused on migrant populations, Huffman and Torres (2002) find that women receive lower quality tips about job openings than men, especially if their social networks consist of a larger number of females.

Furthermore, research found that women's networks are less diverse and are composed of close family members to a larger extent than men's (Marsden 1987; Moore 1990), as well as less likely to include influential people (Campbell 1988). These differences are probably more accentuated with respect to immigrants, at least in the early phases of their migration settlement. Having close kin abroad was shown to be more influential in women's migration chances (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Garip 2008; Toma and Vause 2011), which means that women are probably having more immediate family members at destination than men. However, to the extent that weak ties give access to less redundant information and are more instrumental in triggering upward mobility, women may be further disadvantaged in their job search.

Finally, whichever the gender differences in networks among migrants upon arrival, these tend to be exacerbated with time, as women do not have the same opportunities to reinforce and expand their networks as men do. Based on an in-depth study of the Maya community in Houston, Hagan (1998) shows that the social context of the private-household domestic work they engage in at destination isolates Maya women and prevents them from developing ties to the majority population. Even their initial ties to the co-ethnic community slowly deteriorate as a consequence of working long and unpredictable hours and of the residential isolation that their jobs impose. This has negative consequences on their future legalization and employment prospects. In contrast, men managed to reinforce their pre-established ties while also gradually forging new relations and weak ties with non-ethnic neighbours and co-workers.

In sum, previous research suggests that a reliance on networks with low levels of resources limits the kinds of jobs that women can access and their avenues for social mobility, which in turn prevents them from developing ties to better-situated individuals.

While rich, this literature leaves several areas under-researched. First, quantitative research on this subject has focused on the influence of networks on the type and quality of the jobs women have, and much less on access to the labour market in general. Furthermore, while scholarship agrees on the heterogeneity of migrant women's experiences depending on their family context of migration, with few exceptions the above mentioned studies did not investigate whether women coming through different channels make a different use of networks. Qualitative findings suggest that men are particularly unwilling to share their social resources with women whose migration they do not approve of. For example, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) found that women who challenged gender norms by undertaking solo migration have encountered obstacles in their attempts to tap the migration-specific social capital of male family and community members. Foucher (2005) documents more extreme cases where Senegalese migrant men, organized in village associations, actively sought⁵ to stop the internal migration of single women by controlling exit routes and by forcibly repatriating those who had made it to the city. Thus, women migrating independently may be even more dependent on female networks than those

⁵ The actions of these male associations, according to their members interviewed by Foucher (2005), were oriented to the protection of women from prostitution and other forms of exploitation in the families where they usually worked as domestic helps. Examples were made of women who refused to remain in the village by shaving their heads in a public space. Yet, despite their brutal nature, efforts to control female migration from this region mostly failed.

undertaking a more accepted form of migration, such as family reunification. In a similar way, independent migrants whose family opposes their migration may rely more on weaker ties to friends or extended family members.

Last, the above-mentioned studies are all considering one particular pathway of network influence in women's labour market access: the provision of job information and referrals. However, there is another, quite intuitive role for social ties, which has received surprisingly little consideration in the literature: the sharing of childcare responsibilities. The presence of young children in the household has been shown to inhibit migrant women's participation in the labour market (Condon 2000). Women remain principally or solely responsible for childcare and other domestic responsibilities, particularly so in the African context. In this case, a different aspect of social networks, the provision of social support, may enhance a woman's ability to work for pay by providing dependable and free childcare or by sharing household chores. Some evidence of this function of networks has been found by Stoloff et al. (1999) in research on the access to employment of women in the Los Angeles area, not restricted to immigrants. They find that single mothers with children are more likely to work if they have an extended kin network. Distinguishing this mechanism of network influence is important as it may confound conclusions about the role of networks in providing job information and referrals.

2.3 Senegalese women in Europe

This paper investigates the roles of migrant networks in the economic integration of different types of female migrants and focuses on Senegalese women in France, Italy and Spain. Several aspects of the context of Senegalese international migration and the economic integration of Senegalese migrants at destination are worth briefly summarizing here. First, the international migration of women is still numerically low and socially frowned-upon in the Senegalese context. No clear trends towards a feminization of migration flows nor an increase in "autonomous" forms of female migration can be observed in Senegal (Vause and Toma 2011), as was noted for other regions of origin such as Latin America or Asia. The migration of women outside of the family reunification channel – which is termed here independent migration - is often stigmatized and associated with prostitution (Coulibaly-Tandian 2007; Bâ and Bredeloup 1997).

The limited participation of women in international migration flows can be related to the rigid patriarchal norms that govern social and economic life in Senegal. The male breadwinner model is still very strong, and women are not supposed to challenge their

husbands' role by engaging in economic activities. If they do, the revenues they obtain are generally used for their own personal purposes and do not contribute to the material survival of the household, which relies mainly on men. As nationally representative surveys showed (DHS 2006), Senegalese women have a much lower participation in the labour market than their male counterparts (38% compared with 66% for men in 2006) as well as lower literacy rates. Gender inequalities are reflected in the country's human development ranking: Senegal ranks 140 of 157 countries in the Gender-related development Index (UNDP 2009).

Women's migration towards Europe has been initially directed to France, through flows of family reunification migrants and international students. More recently, Senegalese women started migrating to Italy and Spain, where their presence remains nonetheless limited: in 2008, they represent between 15-20% of the stock of legal Senegalese migrants, whereas their share is about 40-45 % in France.

The economic integration of Sub-Saharan African women in Europe has been little researched so far; they have mostly been depicted through the stereotype of the family migrant and, in the case of Senegalese migrants, associated to practices of polygamy (Baizan et al. 2011). This paper aims to extend the literature by focusing on a particular aspect: the role of pre-migration ties in migrant women's economic integration. At the same time, we seek to place the analysis within the family context of women's migration as well as within the larger context of gender relations prevalent in the Senegalese culture. In this respect, qualitative findings pointing to the social meaning of work for migrant women, beyond the economic aspects, should not be ignored. For women, finding work, any kind of work, can be understood as a means of achieving autonomy and a higher social standing within the couple as well as within the host-society (Chaib 2008; Roulleau-Berger 2010).

2.4 Research questions and hypotheses

Based on the review of the literature and the specificities of the Senegalese context, this paper aims to answer the following three main questions, which can be further divided into six hypotheses.

First, most previous work has relied on indirect measures, such as the class of admission, for assessing the influence of the type of migration on women's economic integration at destination. Using detailed longitudinal information on migrants'

migration and family formation trajectories, this paper investigates **to what extent and how does the type of migration⁶ influence women's labour market outcomes.**

It is expected that the type of migration according to the sequencing of family formation and both partners' migration trajectories will be a strong predictor of labour market participation. A grading in employment probabilities with independent migrants the most likely to work, followed by joint couple migrants, reunited partners and, lastly, imported partners, is expected (H1).

Second, migrant social capital has been argued to shape women's economic integration, albeit in a less beneficial way than for men. This paper further investigates **the extent to which pre-migration ties have short and longer-term effects on Senegalese women's labour market outcomes.** Two hypotheses from the previous literature are tested. Access to migrant networks is expected to increase women's labour market participation (H2a). Female networks would lead to lower quality occupations (H2b)

Third, previous literature has not considered potential *interactions* between women's type of migration and the influence of social networks in their labour market trajectories. Yet, as discussed in section 2.2 it is likely that women migrating independently mobilize migrant networks in different ways and to a varying degree than those reuniting with a partner at destination. The paper examines **whether migrant networks have different influences according to the family context of migration.** More specifically, three hypotheses are tested. Migrant networks are expected to play an indirect role in women's access to the labour market by providing childcare and other forms of domestic help. Thus, their influence should be especially important for women who have young children at destination (H3a). Female networks should be more important for independent migrants than for partner-related migrants (H3b). Similarly, friendship and extended family networks are expected to play a larger role in the economic integration of independent migrants than of partner-related migrants (H3c).

3. Data and Measures

3.1 The MAFE data

The data for this study come from the "Migration between Africa and Europe" (MAFE) project, a recent survey on sub-Saharan international migration conducted in

⁶ The definition and construction of this variable will be detailed in section 3.2

2008⁷. The transnational survey collected identical data in origin and destination countries in order to offer a more accurate picture of the migration experience. For the Senegalese component of the survey, 603 Senegalese migrants were interviewed in France, Italy and Spain (about 200 in each country) and 1,067 non-migrants and return migrants were interviewed in the region of Dakar, the capital city of Senegal. While the survey is not nationally representative, it offers a good coverage of the Senegalese population and migration. The three European destinations surveyed account for 45% of international Senegalese migrants at the time of the last available census in Senegal (2002). Conversely, the region of Dakar comprises a quarter of the national population and is the region of origin of a third of international migrants in 2002⁸.

In Senegal, individuals were selected using a three-stage probabilistic sampling design, oversampling households with migration experience and, within households, return migrants (197 individuals). While the origin country samples are representative of the population living in the capital at the time of the survey, the migrant sample is not random, except for the Spanish sample where a sampling frame was available⁹. A mix of various sampling strategies was used in France and Italy: intercept points, snowballing, and contacts obtained through associations (for a more detailed discussion on the survey methods see Beauchemin and Gonzalez-Ferrer 2011).

Through a biographic questionnaire, retrospective information was collected on various aspects of the respondent's life, including their education, occupation, family formation, residential and migration histories. The information was generally collected on a yearly basis, from birth and up to the time of the survey.

For the present analysis, a subsample of the population has been analysed. This consists exclusively of women, who have migrated at least once to France, Italy or Spain, after the age of 17 and before 65, for a period of over a year¹⁰. The lower age boundary has been chosen to exclude child migration; women arriving at an age older

⁷ This paper uses only the Senegalese part of the survey, conducted in 2008. The data collection was extended to Ghana and DR Congo as well as several other European countries and lasted until 2010. For further information see the project website: www.mafeproject.com

⁸ According to the ESAM-II survey, conducted by the National Statistics Agency (ANSD)

⁹ The *Padron* municipal registers offered a national sampling frame from which documented and undocumented migrants could be randomly sampled.

¹⁰ Migrants may have subsequently returned to Senegal or migrated to another country of the survey, in which case they may be captured in the survey. This is the case of 11% of the women in the subsample used in this analysis. We are however missing from this study women who re-migrated to a country other than France, Italy or Spain.

than 65 may not seek to enter the labour market and have therefore been excluded from the analysis. The total sample is of 280 women and the unit of analysis is their first European migration spell. Only women's first migration spell is analysed, since migrant networks may play differently in subsequent migrations.

3.2 Measures

The paper investigates two labour market outcomes.

Access to the labour market. The first dependent variable is a dichotomous measure informing whether the respondent is working or not. The reference category "not working" includes the unemployed as well as the homemakers¹¹, but excludes students. The paper studies the labour market access at two points in time: the first year of women's migration and at the time of the survey¹². Given the binary nature of the dependent variable, logistic regression methods are used.

Occupational status. A second type of economic outcome of interest is the type of jobs occupied by the migrants, measured here using the International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status ISEI (Ganzeboom & Treiman 1996; Ganzeboom, 2010). Using a continuous dependent variable allows an unlimited distinction within occupational groups and is better suited for small sample sizes. Given the continuous nature of the dependent variable, Ordinary Least Squares regression methods are used. The paper analyses both the first¹³ and the last occupational status at destination. With respect to the latter, a categorical variable distinguishes three outcomes: no mobility (the migrant had only one job at destination), a move into a semi-skilled or skilled job, and a move into a low skilled job. Multinomial logistic regression is used to estimate this outcome.

The independent variables of interest refer to the presence of *migrant networks at destination*. The questionnaire includes a whole module on the international migrations of the interviewee's relatives (including his/her current and past partners), friends and acquaintances. The migration trajectory (year and destination of each move) of each member of the respondent's network, as well as their gender,

¹¹ The advantage of an analysis contrasting those with employment and those without is that the complicated boundary of being inactive and being unemployed is avoided. Many women who would take up a job if offered to them may still declare themselves "homemakers" in the meantime. The reference category for women is still mostly composed of homemakers, as only 3% declare themselves unemployed

¹² Last year of the migration spell for those who re-migrated to Senegal or elsewhere

¹³ The first job may have been obtained later on during the migration spell for those who don't start working immediately upon arrival.

relationship to ego and year of acquaintance (if spouse or friend), are recorded. Based on this information, several variables were constructed, measuring the presence and composition of respondents' migrant network at destination. The measures capture only ties located in the *same country* where the respondent migrates and who have been in the respective country *for at least a year* when she arrives. By focusing on ties formed *prior* to migration, this analysis avoids the common problem of reverse causality, which affects most previous studies on this topic. Two aspects of the composition of pre-established migrant network are taken into account: the type of relationships (close family ties vs. extended kin and friends) and the gender of the tie. A limit¹⁴ of this measure that should be reminded here is that it only partly captures respondents' co-ethnic networks at destination, since migrants establish new ties over their migration period. However, since one often meets co-ethnic members through previous connections, this variable might be capturing some of the effect of the rest of the network as well. Furthermore, there is no possibility of knowing whether the respondent lives in the same city or community at destination as his pre-migration ties.

Type of migration. As discussed above, the family-context of migration is expected to strongly influence women's labour market outcomes at destination. Unlike other datasets offering only indirect proxies such as the admission category or reasons for migration, the MAFE data allow the construction of direct measures to approach this aspect. The data offers information on both the family formation and migration trajectories of the respondents as well as the migration trajectories of their spouses, where relevant. Following Gonzalez-Ferrer (2011), we construct a typology distinguishing between 1) women migrating while single, 2) those leaving their partners behind, 3) those migrating jointly as a couple, 4) those reuniting with their partners and whose union precedes the partner's migration (reunited partners) and, finally, 5) those who also migrate to join their partner but whose union started after the partner's first migration (marriage migrants or imported partners¹⁵). Since the

¹⁴ However, unobserved heterogeneity can be a problem, as other variables may affect both the composition of friendship networks and labour market outcomes. People with more ambition, a more likeable personality and more ability, may be both more likely to have many friends and to get a job more easily. We try to minimize this bias by including additional control variables. For example, it was found that more educated people have more ties to former or current migrants. Including educational attainment in the models partly accounts for the effect of social ties.

¹⁵ The term "imported partner" is often used to describe this form of migration, but has negative connotations. Given that the migration may come only years after the union is formed, the term marriage migrant is not completely accurate either. Both terms will be used here, referring to the same form of migration.

second group has similar outcomes to the first, and given the low sample size in that category, in most analyses the first two categories are merged into one: women migrating *independently of their partner*. Also, in some of the analyses, the last three categories are regrouped, for similar reasons, in the category of *partner-related* (or family) migrations. To construct the typology, all unions are taken into account, even the non-legalized ones, which is important in order to be able to distinguish between the imported and the reunited types¹⁶. However, 95% of the partner-related migrants are married upon arrival.

Some descriptive statistics on these two main independent variables are presented below. Figure 1 shows that the largest share of women in the sample (around 55%) have migrated in relation to their partner, with most of them coming as “imported” partners (35%). The high frequency of marriage migration may be related to the strong gender imbalance within the Senegalese community in Europe, especially in Italy and Spain. Single women represent 40% of the migrants, a significant part among them coming for study purposes. Women in couple who migrate without their partners are a small minority (7%).

In

Table 1, the distributions of the migrant network variables are presented, broken down by type of migration. Women coming independently of a partner are compared to those whose partner is present at destination. Overall, their access to pre-migration ties is highly comparable. Almost half of migrants have other ties already present at destination when they arrive, and although the share is slightly higher among independent migrants, differences are not significant. Compared to men, women declare slightly smaller networks at destination¹⁷. Independent migrants appear more likely to have extended kin or friends at destination and female networks than partner-related migrants, though not significantly so¹⁸. Among both types of migrants, a larger share reports knowing more established migrants than recent migrants (40% compared to 20 % on average), though independent migrants are more likely than partner-associated ones to be related to migrants recently arrived at destination.

¹⁶ Qualitative evidence has reported cases where unions are formed but where the man migrates in order to gather the resources necessary to formalize the marriage (Mondain 2011). This is a very different case than that of marriage migration; not taking into account informal unions prevents us from distinguishing them.

¹⁷ A mean of 1.4 for women compared to 1.7 for men, difference significant at $p < 0.05$

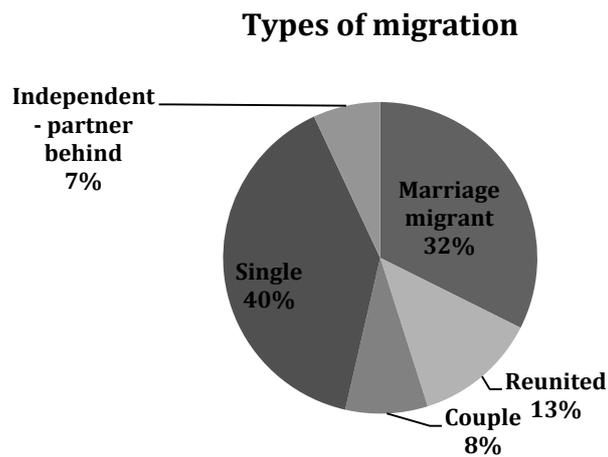
¹⁸ The difference becomes however significant when considering the composition of networks only for those who have at least one pre-migration tie at destination.

Independent and partner-related migrants are also different with respect to other characteristics. Women migrating independently of a spouse are more educated and more likely to speak the language of the reception country than partner-related migrants, though both types of migrants are positively selected with respect to education when compared to non-migrants. Furthermore, as expected, autonomous migrants are more likely to arrive at destination without legal documents or with only a short-term visa¹⁹, whereas partner related migrants are probably benefitting from family reunification policies and enter more often with a residence permit.

Other controls include age, the educational level at arrival (no formal qualification, primary level, secondary level or above); the presence of young children (under 7 years old) at destination, possession of a residence permit, the ability to speak the host country's language, labour force experience in Senegal, the period of arrival and the country of destination. Descriptive statistics of the independent variables by country of destination are presented in Table 6 in Appendix.

¹⁹ 60% of migrations compared to 25% for partner-related migrants

Figure 1 Type of migration with respect to the migration trajectory of the partner



Weighted percentages; N=280

Table 1 Access to and types of pre-migration ties by mode of migration

	Independent migrant	Partner-related migrant	Total	Sign. diff. between types
Pre-migration ties at destination				
Has pre-established ties	48%	42%	45%	n.s.
Range	0-3	0-4	0-4	
Mean	1.47	1.33	1.40	n.s.
SD	0.70	0.64	0.67	
Type of networks				
Relationship to ego				
Has close family members	22%	26%	24%	n.s.
Has extended kin/ friends	32%	23%	27%	n.s.
Gender				
Has men	29%	29%	29%	n.s.
Has women	25%	20%	22%	n.s.
Experience abroad				
Has recent migrants (< 5 years)	26%	15%	20%	*
Has long- term migrants (5 or more)	40%	38%	39%	n.s.
Number of cases (un-weighted)	134	146	280	

*p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01; n.s. not significant. Weighted data.

4. Findings

4.1 The economic outcomes of migrant women upon arrival: descriptive outlook

Table 2 presents the evolution of women's economic situation over the migration spell with regards to the two main outcomes studied in this paper: access to the labour market and occupational status. Independent and partner-related migrants are compared²⁰. The most substantial difference between the two types of migrants is with respect to labour force participation upon arrival: whereas 82% of independent migrants (65% if students are considered as well) work in the first year, only 30% (28% including students) do so among partner-related migrants. There is a further gradient with respect to the likelihood to work upon arrival within the partner-related category, as marriage migrants seem the least likely to work (24%), followed by reunited spouses (36%) and couple migrants (43%). However, a substantial share of partner-related migrants gradually enter the labour market: 61% of them work at the time of the survey.

Table 2 Migrant women's access to the labour market and occupational status by type of migration (weighted)

	Independent		Partner-rel.		Total		Sign diff. by type migrant
	First Year	Last year	First year	Last year	First year	Last year	
Access to labour market							
Activity status (column %)							
Jobless	15%	9%	64%	38%	43%	25%	*** (1 st yr)
Student	20%	10%	8%	2%	13%	6%	** (current)
Working	65%	80%	28%	60%	44%	69%	
% with job (excl students)	82%	89%	30%	61%	51%	73%	n.s.(current)
Occupational status							
Type job	First job	Last job	First job	Last job	First job	Last job	
ISEI	31.9	33.9	26.0	27.7	28.8	30.6	n.s. (1 st yr)
SD	13.6	13.8	12.9	13.2	13.5	13.8	** (current)
Ever changed job (%)	45%		31%		37%		*
Type job sector (mean ISEI; column %)							
Employee/manual unskilled (22)	20%	19%	45%	45%	34%	33%	** (1 st yr)

²⁰ Results of chi-squared and t-tests that evaluate whether the difference between independent and partner-related migrants is significant are reported in the last column.

Domestic unskilled (23)	34%	27%	23%	21%	28%	24%	(current)
Shop assistant, peddler (30)	16%	19%	9%	11%	12%	14%	
Semi/skilled (45)	30%	34%	23%	23%	26%	29%	
	No network		Has network				
	First	Last	First	Last			
					ns (first);		
% Working	49%	66%	54%	82%	** (current)		
Mean ISEI	28.5	29.1	30.5	30.8	n.s. (both)		
N (un-weighted)	134		146		280		

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant; Weighted data.

With respect to occupational status, the average ISEI of the first job is quite low, especially for women who migrate in relation to their partner (26 compared to 32 for independent migrants). Furthermore, the progression is quite limited between the first and the current year of their migration spell, while the differences between types of migrants persist. To give a more concrete idea about the type of jobs held by the women upon arrival, the initial classification present in the data set was regrouped according to the sector of employment and skill level of the job. In parenthesis is the mean ISEI for each category. The domestic sector is the most common venue for entry into the labour market for independent women, attracting a third of this category in our sample. While it is also a frequent first type of employment for partner-related migrants, a larger share of these migrants finds an unskilled manual job in a factory, in the catering industry or else takes up low-skilled agricultural work (the employee/manual unskilled category). Fewer women engage in commercial activities, and when they do they are more likely to be shop-assistants than street-peddlers, though the latter case can also be found among independent migrants. Slightly less than a third of independent and less than a quarter of partner-related migrants occupy a semi- or skilled job (a large part of them as administrative clerks or in the care sector).

Lastly, Table 2 examines whether there is an association, at this first descriptive level, between access to pre-migration networks at destination and women's economic outcomes. In terms of likelihood to work, women who report having networks at arrival seem slightly more likely to work than those who do not, though the difference is significant only with respect to the current year. There appears to be no association between migrant social capital and occupational status, neither for women's first nor their current job.

4.2 Likelihood of employment: short and longer term effects

Whereas descriptive analyses can give an initial idea of the existing relationships between type of migration, migrant social capital and access to the labour market, multivariate analyses are needed in order to better disentangle the influence of each of the factors as well as their potential interactions. Table 3 presents the results of a series of logistic regressions modelling the probability to work upon arrival and at the time of the survey. The first model M1 introduces only the network dummy: access to pre-migration tie does not appear to significantly influence women's labour force participation upon arrival. M2 builds on the first by adding the influence of the type of migration. Results seem to support the first hypothesis: a gradient in employment probabilities is revealed, with imported partners the least likely to work, followed by the reunited and those coming jointly as a couple (the difference between the latter two is not significant), while women migrating independently of their partner are the most likely to be employed upon arrival. Furthermore, the large increase in the Pseudo-R² between the two models suggests²¹ that the mode of migration explains to a much larger extent women's access to the labour market than pre-migration ties at destination.

Controlling for variations in the socio-demographic characteristics of the individuals (M3 – the “full” model) does not account for the differences between the various forms of migration. Women migrating independently of their partners are still significantly and substantially more likely to work upon arrival which is to be expected given they have to provide for themselves and that work is probably their primary motivation for migration. The difference between marriage migrants and reunited spouses is partly explained by the lower age at migration and the lesser labour force experience of the former. However, marriage migrants still appear less likely to work upon arrival than the rest. It may be that these women and their partners are different on other, unobservable, aspects, such as attitudes towards gender norms. As other studies argued, migrant men who turn to the origin country to find a spouse may have a more traditional view of gender roles, a view which is perhaps no longer shared by migrant women at destination, considered as being too “emancipated” (Lievens 1999; Celikaksoy et al. 2003).

The questionnaire also includes a question regarding the participation of the migrant and his or her social entourage in the decision to migrate, allowing multiple answers.

²¹ This is further confirmed by other statistical tests comparing the two models (fitstat command, comparison of BIC')

The variable was recoded in two categories to distinguish those who reported to have taken part in the decision from those whose migration was entirely decided by others²². Whereas almost all (90%) of the independent migrants participated in the migration decision (or decided alone), less of the reunited and joint couple migrants did so (around 60%), but this percentage was significantly lower among imported partners (44%) where, in most cases, the husband unilaterally decided his wife's migration. These differences seem to support the idea that couples formed through marriage migration are more patriarchal and have a more asymmetrical power balance. Furthermore, as in other contexts where migration is considered the only venue for success, Senegalese migrants enjoy a prestigious status in their origin communities and are highly sought-after sons-in-law (Mondain and Diagne 2010). This may further diminish the bargaining and decision-making power of the women they choose to marry. Notwithstanding these differences, it should not be ignored that many of the "imported" partners do play an active role in the migration decision and work at destination upon arrival.

Table 3 Likelihood of employment upon arrival, women (18-55), logistic regression (odds ratios)

Variable	FIRST YEAR				LAST YEAR	
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Times since arrival	-	-	-	-	1.05	1.04
Has pre-migration ties	1.21	1.11	1.1	0.78	1.76	1.45
Marriage migrant		0.47*	0.72*	0.4	0.81	0.82
Reunited		ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Couple		1.36	1.56		0.88	
Independent		8.12***	10.10***	6.76***	3.81**	4.04***
Married t-1					1.31	1.36
Age			1.23	1.19	1.73*	1.45
Age squared			1	1	0.99*	0.99
Education level (<i>ref: no degree</i>)			ref	ref	ref	ref
Primary			0.83	0.82	0.85	0.84
Secondary or more			0.97	0.96	1.26	1.26
Speaks language			2.03	2.35	1.29	1.11
No permanent documents			0.91	0.84	1.51	1.78
No permanent doc t-1			-	-	0.39*	0.33**

²² Given the high correlation with the type of migration this variable could not be introduced in the same time in the model; a different model was estimated excluding the type of migration it was found that having actively participated in the decision to migrate is positively affecting the likelihood to work upon arrival

After 2000 (ref: before 2000)	0.83	0.62	2.69**	2.58*
Italy or Spain (ref: France)	2.4	2.77	0.34*	0.37*
Has worked in Senegal	2.35*	2.29*	2.69**	2.50**
Has children < 6 years	0.68	0.13***	0.77	0.54
Has children x Has ties		13.93**		0.89
Log likelihood	-171.7	-136.2	-124.5	-121.4
Pseudo R2	0.01	0.21	0.28	0.3
N	254	250	248	248

*p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Those who study upon arrival are excluded from the analysis. In all models, time varying variables are measured at the time of arrival (education, age, legal documents, year, children, and pre-migration ties). In the analysis of employment at the time of the survey, marital and legal status are measured the prior year

In terms of human capital, the most important competence is being able to speak the language of the destination country, which confirms the findings of previous studies (Dayan et al. 1996). Language ability also mediates the effect of education²³, which is no longer significant when including the language variable. This resonates with qualitative findings, such as Roulleau-Berger's (2010) study on the economic integration of migrant women in France, which shows that their educational qualifications are unable to protect migrant women from unemployment. Legal status has no significant influence on employment likelihood. Having worked in Senegal before migration is on the other hand an important predictor of taking up work at destination. This could be because of the accumulated work experience *per se*, although this might not be recognized in the European labour market. It is more likely, though, to reflect more modern views on gender roles of the woman and perhaps her partner.

Having children younger than six at destination decreases the probability to work, but not significantly so. This is a bit puzzling as one would have expected a larger effect. Introducing the variable in a continuous form or distinguishing women with two or more young children does not alter the finding. It could be that another factor is at play, attenuating the negative effect of children. Social ties at destination can be one such factor, as discussed in section 2.2: women may benefit from the help of family or friends who take care of their children while they work.

In order to estimate the extent to which networks serve this role, an interaction term between access to pre-migration ties and having young children at destination was introduced in M4. If social ties link migrants to jobs, they should have an influence

²³ In a model excluding language skills, having secondary level education or more significantly increases the chances of taking up employment at destination (OR = 1.8*)

for both women with and without young children; if they (also) serve a role in taking care of women's young children while they work, they should have a larger influence for the former. The interaction term is positive and significant confirming that networks have a larger positive effect for women with children (OR= 14 x 0.13 = 1.8). For those without, networks do not seem to have a bearing on their employment likelihood upon arrival. Also, having young children but no social ties at arrival has a much larger and significant negative effect than previously on the likelihood to work.

The lack of an effect of co-ethnic ties besides providing childcare may hide differential influences of the various types of ties – according to their gender or relationship to ego – in the different forms of migration. This paper hypothesized another possible interaction between the family context of migration and the role of networks. It is expected that women migrating on their own, and not under the auspices of family reunification, rely more on female networks than on male ones, as men may be unwilling to share their resources with them and facilitate their entry into the labour force. On the other hand, women whose partner is at destination may benefit from the resources available through their partners' mostly male networks. Results seem to confirm this hypothesis. M7 in Table 4 introduces an interaction term between the type of migration and access to male or female ties, while controlling for all the other variables in M3 (from Table 3). Being related to a female migrant at destination significantly increases independent women's chances to work upon arrival (coefficient: OR=2.57*²⁴) whereas male networks have no effect.

Table 4 Likelihood of employment upon arrival: interaction effects (Odds Ratios)

Variable	FIRST YEAR		LAST YEAR	
	M7	M8	M9	M10
Type of migration (ref: independent)	ref	ref		
Has partner at destination	0.14***	0.08***	0.29***	0.24***
Has male pre-migration ties (ref: no men)	0.84		1.59	
Has women at destination	2.57*		2*	
Men x Has partner	1.68		1.4	
Women x Has partner	0.14*		0.19	
Has close fam. at destination		1.96		0.88
Has friends/ext. fam. at destination		0.56		3.72 ⁺
Close fam. x Has partner		0.64		3.08
Friends/ext. fam. x Has partner		1.78		0.27

²⁴ Following the introduction of the interaction term, the main effect only applies to the reference category, which is independent migrants

Log Likelihood	-131.35	-121.9	-120.1	-121.8
Pseudo R2	0.26	0.29	0.14	0.13
N	254	248	227	227

⁺ p<0.15; *p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 Controls include all variables presented in Table 2, M3. Imported, reunited and joint couple migration forms have been grouped in “partner-related” migration.

The interaction term between female networks and having one’s partner at destination is negative, suggesting that female networks have a lower effect for partner-related migrants. On the other hand male networks (excluding the partner) have a somewhat larger positive impact, though the interaction term is not significant. The findings hold when excluding women with young children at destination, suggesting that the mechanism through which female networks influence independent migrants’ access to the labour market is by providing information on employment opportunities. Finally, M8 in Table 4 investigates whether independent women also rely more on weaker ties than on close family members in securing access to the labour market. This hypothesis is not supported with respect to the likelihood to work upon arrival, as the distinction in terms of proximity of the tie does not appear to matter (none of the terms is significant).

Previous qualitative literature has argued that the longer-term effects of migrant networks may be different than the shorter term ones. This paper further investigates the extent to which pre-migration ties and the type of migration are still affecting women’s employment status at the time of the survey (Models 5 and 6 in Table 3 and Models 9 and 10 in Table 4). Among the time-varying variables, some are measured at arrival (such as networks, type of (family) migration, education, language ability), others are lagged one year in relation to the year of the survey (married, having young children, legal status). In addition, the time spent at destination since arrival²⁵ is controlled for. Those who studied upon arrival are excluded from this analysis to insure a longitudinal comparison for the same sample.

First, the family context of arrival is less influential in women’s employment later on in the migration trajectory: women coming in relation to their partner partly catch up with independent migrants, as the advantage of the latter is much lower (OR=3.81*). An interaction²⁶ between time since arrival and partner-related migration was found to be positive and significant, suggesting that the benefits of the duration of settlement

²⁵ Introducing this variable under other forms (squared term, logarithm) produces no significant results; the linear term was therefore included to save degrees of freedom

²⁶ Model not shown but available upon request (OR=1.10, p=0.02)

are especially felt by partner-related migrants. A look at descriptive statistics confirms this finding: whereas 30% of partner-related migrants worked upon arrival, this percentage had doubled by the end of their migration period. Controlling for the marital status, measured the previous year, has no influence on the likelihood to work and does not alter the influence of the type of migration. This suggests that independent migrants having formed a union while abroad do not leave the labour market. While in Senegal women often stop working after marriage (Adjamagbo et al. 2006), an exposure to different gender norms at destination may explain this finding. On the other hand, women who have undertaken an independent migration are, in any case, more likely to deviate from traditional gender roles.

Having kin or friends at destination upon arrival is positively but not significantly associated with the probability to work. However, the pre-established migrant networks found at arrival seem to no longer play a large role in the access to employment for women with young children (interaction term Has children x Has ties in M6 is not significant and close to 1). This is not really surprising: as their experience in the host country lengthens, women may increasingly access various social services such as kindergartens and therefore be less dependent on co-ethnic networks. Thus, the childcare role of networks seems most important in the early settlement period.

Confirming previous findings concerning migrants in Spain (Gonzalez-Ferrer 2011), legal status at entry and current legal status have opposite influences, though only current status was found to be significant. Whereas entering the country without permanent documents may reflect a higher financial need and a stronger preference to work, as discussed in section 2.1, in the long run the lack of residence rights may limit migrants' job opportunities, access to employment services and may expose them to exploitation and discrimination. The other covariates play in a similar way as in the likelihood of employment upon arrival, with the exception of the host country. As was found for men, whereas migrants in Italy or Spain were more likely than those going to France to work upon arrival, they are less likely to be employed in later periods. This may be related to differences in the structure of the labour market: in France, a more protected labour market makes access more difficult but may guarantee higher job stability afterwards.

It was also found (Table 4, Models 7 and 8) that female networks are the only forms of co-ethnic social capital investigated here which are influential in independent migrants' access to the labour market upon arrival. These ties affect much less the

employment outcomes of partner-related migrants. It may be expected that independent and partner-related migrants converge in their use of networks as the time they spend at destination increases. This does not seem to be the case, however: the same patterns of influence can still be observed at the time of the survey as female networks are positively associated with independent women's likelihood to work (OR=2.01*, Model 10). Furthermore, weaker ties – in the form of friends, acquaintances or extended kin – also have a positive influence on independent women's employment probability at the time of the survey; however, this effect is not significant at a conventional threshold²⁷. While it would appear that partner-related migrants do not benefit from female networks and weaker ties in the same way as independent migrants in view of the negative coefficients of the interaction terms, the lack of significance does not allow a definite conclusion in this respect.

4.3 Occupational status of the first job at destination

As discussed in section 2.2, research has shown that the use of social ties in the job search actually hinders migrant women's labour market performance (Livingston 2006; Smith 2000). It is argued that women are channelled via their female networks into low-quality, often private domestic work with little opportunity for advancement (Hagan 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). However, quantitative studies have not directly tested this hypothesis, as they had no disaggregated data on individuals' social ties.

Table 5 presents the coefficients from an OLS regression model for the influence of networks, the type of migration and other controls on the occupational status of the first job obtained at destination, as measured by the ISEI. As the first job might not have been obtained in the first year, the model controls for the time elapsed since arrival up to when the woman first entered the labour market at destination. This is only slightly positively, though not significantly, influencing the ISEI of the first job.

The type of migration is not only affecting Senegalese women's labour force participation, but also the types of jobs they obtain. Marriage migrants and reunited spouses enter lower status jobs than women migrating independently. Women who migrate as a couple appear to have similar outcomes as independent migrants, but the low number of cases of joint couple migration is probably responsible for the lack of significance of the coefficient. These findings could lend some support to the family

²⁷ It may be that higher sample sizes would confirm the positive influence of these types of ties.

investment hypothesis, according to which migrant married women take on low paid and "dead-end" jobs in order to support their partners' investments in host-country human capital (Long 1980). Sociological research adopting the migrant women's perspective (Roulleau-Berger 2011) argue that what is seen as a sacrifice can actually be perceived by women as an increase in autonomy within the couple and the host society, and an emancipation from traditional gender roles. Partner-related migration remains negatively and significantly related to occupational status in the other models, with the exception of joint couple mobility.

Table 5 Occupational status (ISEI) of first job, OLS regression, Women (18-60)

Variable	M1	M2	M3
Time since arrival (years)	0.32	0.28	0.31
Type of migration			
Imported	0.88	1.21	0.71
Reunited	ref	ref	ref
Joint couple	5.57	5.83	5.26
Independent	4.67*	3.83*	3.37*
Has pre-migration ties (<i>ref: no ties</i>)	-1.74		
Married t-1	1.33		
Has children < 6 yrs t-1	1.7		
Age (years)	0.15	0.18	0.15
Educational level (<i>ref: no degree</i>)	ref	ref	ref
Primary	3.74	3.98	3.83
Secondary or more	5.87**	6.15**	5.70**
Speaks language	8.45***	8.29***	8.64***
No permanent documents	2.58	1.44	1.53
In Italy / Spain (<i>ref: France</i>)	4.43**	4.52**	4.73**
Arrived after 2000 (<i>ref: before 2000</i>)	0.06	0.61	0.34
Has male pre-migration ties (<i>ref: no men</i>)		-1.38	
Has women at destination (<i>ref: no women</i>)		-3.26*	
Has close kin destination			-1.07
Has friends/extended kin destination			-0.94
R-squared	0.11	0.13	0.11
Adjusted R-squared	0.05	0.07	0.05
N	201	205	205

*p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Those who studied upon arrival were excluded from this analysis. All covariates are measured at the moment of arrival, except marital status and having young children which are lagged one year relative to the year when the woman entered her first job at destination.

Confirming previous studies, having social ties at destinations seems to lead to lower-quality jobs. Access to pre-migration ties decreases the ISEI of the first job, but the coefficient is not significant (M1). However, when distinguishing these ties according to their gender, it becomes apparent that it is the female networks that are responsible

for this negative effect, whereas the male ones have no significant influence. Close family members or more extended kin and friends seem to affect the status of the job in similar ways, as there is no difference between the coefficients (M2). Additional analyses²⁸ were run disaggregating each type of tie according to gender, but female strong and weak ties seem to have a similar (negative) influence. Also, whereas an interaction term between the gender of the tie and the form of migration seemed to suggest that female networks have a higher negative influence for independent migrants, the coefficients were not significant.

The other factor most strongly associated with the ISEI of the first job is human capital, in the form of education and host-country language ability. Being able to speak the language of the destination country increases the ISEI score by around 8 points, while having attained a secondary level degree or more increases it with 6 points on average. Marital status and family situation do not influence occupational status, nor does age or legal status. Migrants in Italy or Spain appear to find jobs of a higher occupational status.

To maintain a similar sample as in the previous analyses in this paper, the models presented in Table 5 exclude women who initially came for studies and later took on a job (N=30). Including them²⁹ affects two sets of coefficients: first, all human capital variables have a stronger positive effect and the fact of having studied abroad is among the most important predictors of occupational status, which is increased by an average of 7 ISEI points, after taking into account the level of education and language abilities. Second, the effect of networks is less important. Possibly, these more educated women have access to different kinds of social capital, not measured here: through their studies they may have built friendships with similarly educated individuals and with natives, who can act as bridges to better quality jobs. Also, their pre-established migrant connections may similarly be more educated and occupy better professional positions, which will compensate, in the model, the negative effect of networks for the rest of migrants.

Overall, access to pre-established migrant networks, and especially female networks, seems to lead women to lower quality jobs upon arrival. But does it also affect their later employment prospects? Is there any evidence of an entrapment in lower quality jobs? Given that few women have changed their job during the time they spent at

²⁸ Models not shown, but available upon request

²⁹ Results available upon request

destination, only a highly exploratory analysis can be conducted. This investigates whether networks affect women's subsequent job mobility by distinguishing three types of occupational transition: no job change, a move into a semi-skilled or skilled job and a move into an unskilled job. Table 7 in Appendix presents the results of the multinomial regression, taking the first case (no job change) as a reference. The model controls for the time spent at destination, which, as expected, increases the likelihood of any type of job mobility, but especially of moves into skilled jobs. As expected under the ethnic entrapment hypothesis, having access to pre-migration ties is significantly increasing the likelihood to move into unskilled jobs while it does not affect moves into more skilled employment. However, distinguishing according to the gender of the ties, M2 shows both female networks and male networks to lead to subsequent moves into unskilled work.

The type of migration is not significantly associated to any outcome, though women migrating independently, in couple or as marriage migrants appear to have higher chances of moving into skilled jobs compared to reunited spouses. As expected, human capital is positively related to moves into skilled work. Having a secondary level degree or more and speaking the host country's language upon arrival increases the likelihood of upward mobility. Age slightly decreases chances of moving into unskilled work.

5. Discussion and conclusions

This paper investigated how pre-migration ties intersect with the channel of migration in shaping Senegalese migrant women's labour market trajectories in Europe. It has shown that the various ways in which co-ethnic social ties influence women's economic integration become apparent only when taking into account the (family) context of migration, which most of the previous studies had not done. Several findings stand out.

First, migrant networks are less influential in women's labour market outcomes than their type of migration. Whether women migrate in relation to their partner or independently is the strongest determinant of the likelihood to work upon arrival and also affects the type of jobs women occupy. Furthermore, the different forms of partner-related migration, according to the sequencing of family formation and migration trajectories, are associated to differential rates of labour market entry. Women migrating with their husbands, followed by reunited partners, are more likely to work upon arrival than marriage migrants. A potential explanation for this

difference, which persists after taking into account observable differences in human and social capital, is that imported partners are in unions with a more asymmetrical power balance and where more patriarchal gender norms is enforced (Lievens 1999; Mondain and Diagne 2010).

Differences between the various types of female migration diminish in the long run, as more and more women migrating in relation to their partner eventually enter the labour market. However, partner-related migrants have a lower occupational status in their first job than independent ones, after controlling for human capital and other characteristics. A similar finding has been reported about Congolese migrants to Belgium (Vause 2012) and migrants from various origins to France (Rouilleau-Berger 2010). Possibly, the economic activities of women who follow their partners at destination are only meant to complement their husbands' income. They may be more likely to work on a part-time and temporary basis, aspects more characteristics of lower-level jobs.

Furthermore, women migrating in relation to their partners may be more inclined to accept any kind of job as a way to achieve emancipation and a higher social status within the couple and relative to their community of origin. While their engagement in the labour market may appear strikingly low in absolute terms, this should be placed in the context of origin. It is not the purpose of this work to evaluate the extent to which migration is empowering women, but compared to non-migrant women in the MAFE sample, those who come to Europe, whichever the channel, are more likely to work, even though not in their first years abroad.

Second, having social ties at destination facilitates access to the labour market but leads to lower quality jobs. Furthermore, migrant networks operate through different mechanisms according to the family context of migration. An important function of networks upon arrival is to provide assistance with childcare to women with young children at destination, making them much more likely to participate in work for pay. This function is only temporary, however: as their period of settlement lengthens, women seem to no longer rely on pre-established co-ethnic ties and probably turn to other sources (such as public social services) for help with childcare.

The findings further confirmed previous qualitative evidence of a higher reliance of women migrating alone on female networks and, to some extent, also on friendship ties and extended kin. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) notes that Mexican migrant men were reluctant to help solo migrant women access the labour market as they did not approve of their migration. In Senegal too, independent female migration continues to

be stigmatized and has little acceptance (Bâ and Bredeloup 1997). For independent migrants in the MAFE sample, ties to male migrants were not influential in any way, whereas ties to female migrants increased the likelihood to find a job. In addition, female networks were more influential for these women than for their counterparts migrating in relation to their partners. These results hold when excluding women with young children, suggesting that the mechanism of influence in this case is probably one of providing job information, contacts or referrals. This is confirmed by the fact that female networks also affect occupational status: having ties to female migrants established at destination leads to lower quality jobs, irrespective of migration type.

Huffman and Torres (2002), in a study not focused on immigrants, argue that women provide lower-quality job leads because they occupy lower status jobs (2002: p. 809). Similarly, the findings from the present paper are likely to reflect the existence of gendered ethnic niches: descriptive statistics show that more than half of the Senegalese women find unskilled jobs in the domestic or service sector. They further suggest that female networks are actively contributing to the reproduction of the observed gender-based segregation.

Finally, the influences of pre-established migrant networks and of having one's spouse at destination are largest upon arrival, though both factors continue to affect employment outcomes later on in the migration period. One limit of the dataset is that it does not contain information about the ties that migrants develop once at destination, either with co-ethnics or with natives. Thus, as the period of settlement lengthens, the networks that the migrant finds upon arrival in the host country measure less and less accurately her overall social network. Finding a lower influence of the network measures with the increase of time spent at destination is not necessarily evidence of a lower reliance by migrants on social ties in general.

Overall, findings served to put in perspective the role of migrant social capital for women's labour outcomes. First, compared to the large role played by migrant networks in women's migration likelihood, pre-migration ties play a relatively modest part in their economic integration at destination. Second, their influence is only understood in connection to the (family) context of their migration. Third, while female networks are somehow helpful in finding work, they also appear to trap women in gender-segregated niches of the labour market. As for men, bonding social capital is found to reproduce inequality, rather than offer means of overcoming it.

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7. Appendix

Table 6 Descriptive statistics of independent variables by destination country

	France	Italy	Spain	Total	Sign. diff. between cntrs
<i>Pre-migration ties</i>					
Has pre-established ties at dest.	51%	34%	33%	51%	**
Range	3	2	1	3	
Mean	1.43	1.49	1.10	1.43	
SD	0.70	0.68	0.31	0.70	Spain sign diff **
<i>Type of networks</i>					
<i>Relationship to ego</i>					
Has close family members	28%	22%	16%	28%	n.s.
Has extended kin / friends	33%	14%	17%	33%	**
<i>Gender</i>					
Has men	32%	24%	23%	32%	n.s.
Has women	28%	14%	11%	28%	***
<i>Controls</i>					
<i>Educational level</i>					
No diplo	23%	25%	34%	26%	n.s.
Primary	27%	28%	30%	28%	
Secondary or above	50%	47%	36%	46%	

<i>Period of arrival</i>					
Before 2000	66%	34%	39%	55%	
2000 or after	34%	66%	61%	45%	
<i>Type of migration</i>					
Marriage migrant	37%	19%	30%	32%	***
Reunited	7%	26%	21%	13%	
Couple migration	10%	4%	7%	8%	
Independent	47%	51%	42%	46%	
Has young children abroad	20%	9%	21%	18%	n.s.
No permanent documents	30%	62%	55%	41%	***
Mean duration spell	13.7	8.0	7.9	12.2	France **
N	103	78	103	284	

* p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 7 Type of occupational transition, multinomial regression, OR, Women (18-60)

<i>(ref: no change of job)</i>	SEMI-/ SKILLED JOB		UNSKILLED JOB	
	M1	M2	M1	M2
Time since arrival (years)	1.14***	1.18***	1.06**	1.10**
Imported migration	3.11	2.46	0.54	0.36
Couple migrant (ref reunification)	2.21	2.11	0.44	0.34
Independent	3.74	2.91	1.84	1.32
Has pre-migration ties	1.63		2.91***	
Primary level edu at arrival (ref: no degree)	2.18	1.84	0.94	0.77
Secondary edu or more arrive (ref: no degree)	6.09*	5.00*	0.93	0.77
Speaks language	3.04*	3.87*	1.01	0.99
Italy/Spain	2.88*	2.78*	0.89	0.69
No permanent documents	1.67	1.84	0.77	0.79
Age		0.95		0.95*
Has male pre-migration ties (ref: no men)		2.8		2.53**
Has male pre-migration ties (ref: no women)		1.1		2.57**

* p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01 Legal status and pre-migration ties are measured at the time of arrival. Those who studied upon arrival are excluded from the analysis.