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Job-Search Methods Among Non-Western Immigrants in the Netherlands

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This article studies the role of human and social capital in the use of job-search methods of immigrants in the Netherlands. Making use of large-scale data designed to study the four largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands, we show that strong differences exist across national-origin groups. Furthermore, we find that when immigrants have more close contacts with Dutch, they make more frequent use of formal instead of informal methods. Finally, we see that immigrants who are higher educated and who are more proficient in the host-country language use formal methods more often than less-skilled immigrants.

KEYWORDS *Job search methods, immigrants, human capital, social capital*

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the path-breaking study of Granovetter (1995[1974]), researchers have been interested in the origins and consequences of how people find jobs. Do people use formal job-search methods, such as employment agencies and advertisements? Or do people search and find jobs informally, via family members, friends, and/or acquaintances (Granovetter, 1995[1974]; Marsden & Gorman, 2001)?

Although there is quite some literature on job-search methods in the general population (e.g., Granovetter, 1995 [1974]; Franzen & Hangartner, 2006; Holzer, 1986; Weber & Mahringer, 2007), the literature on how immigrants search for and find jobs is developing but considerably smaller (Aguilera &

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Massey, 2003; Mouw, 2002; Drever & Hoffmeister, 2008; Frijters, Shields, & Price, 2005; Behtoui, 2008; Green, Tigges, & Diaz, 1999; van Tubergen, 2011; Livingston, 2006). A key finding of these studies is that the way immigrants find jobs (either formally or informally) has important consequences for their labor market incorporation (e.g., Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Mouw, 2002; Behtoui, 2008). Another insight is that job search methods differ strikingly by national origin group. For example, a study conducted in Germany reported that 50% of the immigrants use personal networks to find a job, whereas only around 32% of the natives do so (Drever & Hoffmeister, 2008).

This study aims to make three contributions to the growing literature on job-search methods of immigrants. First, quite some studies only look at the consequences of job-search methods (e.g., for immigrants economic performance), but only a few studies look, as we do, at the determinants of the job-search methods (Behtoui, 2008; Aguilera & Massey, 2003). It seems important to know why some immigrants find jobs via family and friends whereas others obtain their job via formal channels.

Second, very little is known about job search methods of immigrants in the Netherlands and how search methods differ across immigrant groups. Previous studies have been done in the United States (Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Green, Tigges, & Diaz, 1999; Livingston, 2006; Mouw, 2002), United Kingdom (Frijters, Shields, & Price, 2005), Sweden (Behtoui, 2008), Austria (Weber & Mahringer, 2007), and Germany (Drever & Hoffmeister, 2008). Recently, Van Tubergen (2011) studied the job-search methods of refugees in the Netherlands, and our study contributes to that study by considering the four largest non-Western immigrants groups in the Netherlands. We study immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, as well as those from the Dutch Antilles and Suriname. We compare their job search methods to that of the Dutch majority population.

Third, we study the job-search methods of two groups: those who are unemployed and currently seeking a job and those who already have found a job via a certain method. Previous research mostly studied either one of the two. By studying both groups at the same time, however, we can see whether differences in job search during unemployment corresponds to differences in finding a job via a specific method.

In short, we aim to answer the following two research questions: (a) To what extent do job-search methods differ across national origin groups? (b) What determines individual differences in the use of job-search methods of immigrants?

NON-WESTERN IMMIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Before elaborating on the determinants of job-search methods we briefly sketch the context of our study and the immigrant groups that are

considered: Turks, Moroccans, Dutch Antilleans, and Surinamese. Turkish and Moroccan immigrants started migrating to the Netherlands from the 1960s onwards, initially as guest workers to fill labor shortages occurring in the Netherlands at that time. Turks and Moroccans are characterized by their Islamic culture, lower levels of education, lower levels of Dutch language skills, and high unemployment rates. Dutch Antilleans and Surinamese immigrants, on the other hand, come from former Dutch colonies. They speak the Dutch language well and are considered to be culturally more similar to the Dutch than the Turks and Moroccans (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000).

The Turks are considered a quite homogenous group in terms of religion and language while Moroccans display more diversity regarding their cultural background. Culturally, one can distinguish between a minority Berber population and the majority of the Moroccan population who speak different languages.

Dutch is the official language on the Dutch Antilles and Suriname and also in terms of administration and schooling Dutch Antilles and Suriname resemble the Netherlands. Though, just like the Moroccans, the Surinamese and Dutch Antilleans are very diverse in terms of their cultural background. Due to colonization and slavery, the Surinamese population is a wide mix of Creoles, Maroons, Javanese, and Chinese. Also, religious differences exist between Protestant and Catholic Surinamese (Moncreiffe, 2004). Dutch Antilleans, though mainly Catholic, come from multiple islands, speaking multiple languages, and also have different ethnic backgrounds.

THEORY

What determines the job search methods of immigrants? Searching for a job costs time and is done with the expectations of returns or, in other words, benefits such as getting a job or acquiring a good income and/or high occupational prestige. Job search methods themselves differ in those costs and benefits (Holzer, 1987; Weber & Mahringer, 2007). Although job seekers make use of multiple job search methods (Ports, 1993), individuals will prefer those methods with the lowest costs and the highest expected benefits (Holzer, 1987; Weber & Mahringer, 2007). Making use of formal job search methods, such as going to an employment agency or reacting to advertisements, costs more time than just asking a friend about a job or for job-related information (Montgomery, 1992). On the other hand, some research suggests that advertisements generally result in higher benefits in terms of income and occupational status than informal job search methods (Holzer, 1987; Weber & Mahringer, 2007).

Human capital and social capital are two resources a job seeker can possess to a higher or lower degree, which influence the costs and benefits of job-search methods and thereby the choice of job search methods (Holzer,

1987; Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Livingston, 2006). In what follows, we will elaborate on how human and social capital influence the likelihood of choosing one job-search method rather than another. Whereas previous studies primarily differentiate between formal and informal job-search methods, we will further distinguish between the two formal methods (advertisements and employment agencies) since we consider them to be different in their nature as well as in their purpose for the job search. Employment agencies, for example, generally offer low-prestige jobs, whereas advertisements rather target job seekers looking for jobs with higher educational requirements and higher salaries (Holzer, 1987; Weber & Mahringer, 2007).

Human Capital

Human capital theory has been used to explain differences in the effects of different job search methods (i.a. Holzer, 1987; Mouw, 2002; Livingston, 2006) and can also be applied to the job search itself. The theory suggests that job seekers with low-level human capital (i.e., education, language skills) more often use informal job search methods than job seekers with high-level human capital (Holzer, 1987; Mouw, 2002; Livingston, 2006). What is particularly relevant for immigrants is that formal job search methods, such as advertisements and employment agencies, require certain levels of human capital such as good language skills (Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Livingston, 2006; van Tubergen, 2011). Therefore, with limited Dutch language skills and work experience in the Dutch labor market immigrants make use of their social network in order to obtain relevant information about the Dutch labor market (Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Livingston, 2006) which otherwise would not be available to them. Previous research has shown indeed that job seekers with lower levels of human capital rather make use of informal job search methods than of advertisements and employment agencies (Elliott, 1999; Marsden & Gorman, 2001; Behtoui, 2008). Behtoui (2008), indeed, found for Sweden that immigrants and natives with a university degree are less likely to use informal methods than advertisements and employment agencies than people with a compulsory education. We expect the same relation for immigrants only. This leads to our first hypothesis:

H1: The higher immigrants' human capital the less likely they are to make use of informal job search methods and the more likely they are to make use of formal search methods when looking for a job.

We further differentiate between the two formal search methods: advertisements and employment agencies. We expect to see that the effect of human capital is more pronounced for advertisements than for employment agencies. A major reason is that, more than for employment agencies, human

capital is required to make use of advertisements. Dutch language skills and education are needed to orientate on the labor market, to search for the right newspaper or Internet page, and to write an application letter (van Tubergen, 2011). Furthermore, advertisements are more likely to offer high-status jobs than employment agencies, thereby demanding higher levels of education (Holzer, 1987; Weber & Mahringer, 2007). Thus, higher levels of human capital increase the chances of the job seeker to find a job via advertisements matching his or her skills. Finding a job via employment agencies that matches the skills of the job seeker is more likely for individuals with lower levels of human capital than for job seekers with higher levels of human capital. We therefore formulate our second hypothesis:

H2: The higher immigrants' human capital the more likely they are to make use of advertisements rather than of employment agencies.

Social Capital

Since Granovetter's publication *Getting a Job: a Study of Contacts and Careers* (1995[1974]), the job-search process is inevitably connected to the theory of social capital. The amount of social capital depends on the size of the network, the resources provided by the social contacts within the social network, and their willingness to help (de Graaf & Flap, 1988).

Social networks create social capital in terms of information, influence, trust, and collective norms of reciprocity (de Graaf & Flap, 1988; Granovetter, 1995[1974]), yielding benefits to the job-seeking individual. Social capital reduces job-search costs since information is transmitted more quickly within networks than through nonnetwork job seeking methods (Granovetter, 1995[1974]; Marsden & Gorman, 2001; Mouw, 2003). For example, Montgomery (1992) showed empirically that social networks reduce the job-search period compared to formal job search methods, an indication that social networks can potentially decrease the costs of job seeking.

Social capital also enhances the benefits of the job search since the information is considered trustful and more detailed than information attained through formal job search methods (Granovetter, 1995[1974]; Franzen & Hangartner, 2008). This increases the chance that a job found via informal channels matches the skills and expectations of both the job seeker and the future employer than if found via formal channels such as advertisements and employment agencies. Franzen and Hangartner (2006) showed that jobs found via personal networks are more likely to match the job seekers skills than jobs found via formal channels. In addition, Behtoui (2008) found for Sweden that job seekers who used informal methods to find a job tend to have a wage, which is 5% higher than those who found their job via formal job search methods.

With regard to relevant social networks the importance of voluntary membership in associations for the job-search process has been emphasized (McPherson et al., 2001; Beggs & Hurlbert, 1997; Wilson & Musick, 2003; Ruiter & de Graaf, 2009). Wilson and Musick (2003) argue that among other factors voluntary associations are beneficial for the job seeker because they extend his social network, providing him with relevant job-related information. This idea is based on the work of Granovetter (1995[1974]). He distinguishes between weak and strong ties. The latter are related to personal relationships between people who share important personal matters with each other. On the other hand, weak ties refer to social ties interconnecting otherwise unconnected groups. They increase the chance of attaining useful information that is not already possessed by the job seeker. Voluntary associations sustain many weak ties and are therefore expected to provide its members with useful information and even socioeconomic benefits (Ruiter & de Graaf, 2009). Members of such associations usually interact at a regular basis already connected by certain common interests. Hence, members of such organizations might be more willing to share important information with each other and might also be more able to estimate which information is most useful for the job seeker. McPherson et al. (2001) argued that personal ties within voluntary organizations lead to transmission of information and influence. If members of voluntary associations are indeed more likely to obtain information concerning good job opportunities than nonmembers we expect the following:

H3: Immigrants who are member of voluntary associations are more likely to search via informal job search methods than nonmembers.

Another source of social capital for immigrants can be bridging ties to the native Dutch population. Like other kinds of bridging ties, these connections are assumed to be advantageous by providing nonredundant information about labor market opportunities. An additional advantage of bridging ties to native Dutch, however, is that natives have access to more and better information about employment and have been longer exposed to the host country labor market than immigrants (Behtoui, 2008; Kanas, van der Lippe, & van Tubergen, 2009; Lancee, 2012). Therefore, natives are better informed than immigrants about specific job openings, about where to find a job, and about how to present themselves to the employer (Mouw, 2002). Lancee (2012) showed that particularly ties to natives positively affect immigrants' labor market outcomes in terms of employment and income. For employed immigrants the effect of bridging ties on income is even stronger than the effect of language proficiency. Additionally, contacts to natives are one way of circumventing discrimination (Mouw, 2002). Thereby, connections to native Dutch might provide an important source of social capital for immigrants. We therefore hypothesize:

H4: The more bridging ties to natives immigrant job seekers have the more likely they are to make use of informal job search methods.

DATA, MEASUREMENTS, AND METHODS

Data

We use data from the 1991, 1994, and 1998 waves of the Dutch survey, “*Sociaal-economische Positie en Voorzieningengebruik van Allochtonen en Autochtonen*” (SPVA), which was first conducted in 1988 and repeated in 1991, 1994, 1998, and 2002. We use the most recent waves in order to obtain a sufficiently large number of cases. However, the survey conducted in 2002 could not be included since it does not contain information about the Dutch reference group.

The SPVA is a large-scale, cross-sectional household survey and provides a wide range of information on the socioeconomic and sociocultural position of the four largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands: Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Dutch Antilleans (Martens & Tesser, 1998). Information about both, first and second generation, is available, however, only around 16% of the immigrant respondents belong to the second generation. A smaller sample consisting of native Dutch is also included.

The sample frame consists of 11 to 13 urban “municipalities” (the precise number depending on the survey year). People in these urban areas are used as the sampling frame, since most non-Western immigrants live in cities, or nearby cities, which reduces survey costs. Data were collected by means of personal interviews. The interviews with respondents of the four immigrant groups were held by interviewers who were fluent in the respective minority language. Translated questionnaires were used, if necessary. The overall nonresponse rate was about 53.5% for the Dutch and 44% for the immigrants groups, ranging from 24% for the Turks in 1991 to 51% of the Moroccans in 1998. There were no signs of systematic nonresponse with respect to age, gender, and education.

We will conduct two separate analyses: for the unemployed job seekers actively looking for a job ($N = 1,617$) and for those who are currently employed and who found their job through a specific method ($N = 4,915$). Since some variables of interest contained missing values, we imputed data by chain equation. We imputed missing observations separately for the unemployed and the employed, distinguishing between immigrants and Dutch. To do so, we first created four separate datasets for the unemployed immigrants and Dutch as well as for the employed immigrants and Dutch imputing missing observations in 50 datasets for each of the four subgroups. We also made use of auxiliary variables for the imputation following the generic rules by Van Buuren, Boshuizen, and Knook (1999).

The SPVA is beside the SIM 2006 (Sociale Integratie Minderheden) the only large-scale data set in the Netherlands of such size that contains information about the four major immigrant groups (i.e., Turks, Moroccans, Dutch Antilleans, and Surinamese). Additionally, it contains information about the job search conducted by the unemployed as well as information about how a job was acquired by those who already do have a job. Thereby, the SPVA allows us not only to investigate the determinants of the job search methods used by the unemployed immigrants and Dutch, but also to compare them with the effects of human and social capital characteristics on their effectiveness in providing the respondent with a job.

The SPVA also has limitations for our study. First, only the head of the household was interviewed which might result in bias with regard to gender, since especially among the immigrant groups men are usually the head of the household. Second, it is a cross-section data set and therefore caution is warranted when inferring causality from our findings.

Dependent Variables

We analyze two dependent variables. Regarding unemployed respondents who search for jobs we study the methods they use to find a job. Unemployed respondents actively looking for a job could indicate whether they do or do not make use of employment agencies, family and friends (and/or acquaintances), advertisements, direct applications, school, or of other methods. Hence, multiple methods to search are possible. Employed respondents were asked through which job-search method they had found their current job. This can only be one method, out of several possible nominal outcomes. Considering our hypotheses, we differentiate between informal job search methods (i.e., help of family, friends and/or acquaintances), advertisements, and employment agencies. A last category, other, sums up direct application, school, and other methods.

Independent Variables

Human capital is measured by level of education, place of education, work experience, and language skills. For level of education, respondents were asked about the highest level of completed education. Out of the eight categories we constructed a five-level categorical variable (1 = *no education*, 2 = *primary education*, 3 = *lower secondary*, 4 = *higher secondary*, and 5 = *tertiary*), with primary education as our reference group. Those who are still enrolled in school are treated as if they would complete their present education successfully.

Immigrants could indicate whether they had acquired their education in their country of origin only, in their country of origin and in the Netherlands, or in the Netherlands only. We created one dummy variable indicating that the immigrant followed the education partly or fully in the Netherlands (1) vis-à-vis only in the country of origin (0).

There is no direct measure of total work experience in the survey. Instead, we use work experience on the Dutch labor market, in years. Dutch language proficiency is based on the rating by the interviewer, who had to assess the respondent's language proficiency on a 3-point scale (1 = *no problems speaking Dutch*, 2 = *sometimes problems speaking Dutch*, and 3 = *often/always problems speaking Dutch*). We include dummy variables in the analyses.

Social capital is indicated by voluntary membership, close ties to Dutch and national origin. Voluntary membership was measured by the question whether the respondents are a member of any kind of association, whether they visit an association sometimes, or whether they have no affiliation with an association whatsoever. We created a dummy with 1 indicating frequent visits or a firm membership of any kind of association and 0 having no affiliation whatsoever.

For bridging social capital, we used the relative frequency of visits by Dutch neighbors/friends. Respondents were asked to indicate if they get visited often, sometimes, or never by Dutch neighbors/friends. We created two dummy variables with getting never visits from Dutch neighbors/friends as the reference category.

We distinguish between Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Dutch Antilleans, and Dutch. Groups are defined according to standard definitions in the Netherlands (i.e., based on the country of birth of the respondent and parents). Thus, Turkish immigrants are those who were born in Turkey and/or whose father and/or mother were born in Turkey. In case of mixed-immigrant Dutch parents, the respondent is treated as an immigrant. We removed those cases where parents are from two different immigrant origins (a very small group).

As control variables we used age, marital status, gender, whether the immigrant belongs to the first or second generation, and the year in which the surveys have been conducted. Age was measured in years. For marital status, we grouped those couples who are formally married and those who are cohabiting together and they are contrasted to those who are not married, single, or divorced.

We also controlled for whether the immigrant belongs to the first or second generation. First-generation immigrants are defined as those who have been born outside the Netherlands. Second-generation immigrants have been born in the Netherlands with at least one parent born in Turkey, Morocco, Surinam, or the Dutch Antilleans, respectively, or those born abroad and migrated to the Netherlands before the age of 6. We also added dummy variables for survey year.

RESULTS

The first table shows how many of the unemployed (first figure within each national origin group) and employed (second figure) search/found their job via informal job search methods, advertisements, employment agencies, direct application, school and other. There are strong differences across national origin groups. Among the unemployed, Turkish migrants clearly search more often via their social networks than do Dutch and the other three immigrant groups. Also, for Turkish migrants their social network is the most effective method in terms of finding a job. Whereas Dutch, Surinamese, and Dutch Antilleans highly use advertisements for the job search this method is most successful for the Dutch population. For immigrants, employment agencies are the most successful search method (except for Turkish migrants). It also appears that using a certain method does not imply its leading to a job. The example of advertisements illustrates this finding.

In order to test our hypotheses we estimate for the unemployed population, who can list multiple search methods, three binary logistic regressions to examine whether respondents search via informal job search (1/0), via advertisements (1/0), and via employment agencies (1/0). The results are presented in Table 2. Since the job-search method most often used is not necessarily the method that leads to a job, we also looked at the employed immigrant population who already had found a job. This way we are able to see which factors determine the success of a particular job search method compared to factors that affect the active job search itself. Regarding the employed population, who can only list one job-search method through which they have found their current job out of several possible outcomes, we conducted a multinomial logistic regression (Table 3). Note that in both multivariate regression models, the Dutch majority population is omitted, as information on key variables for the Dutch majority group is either missing in the survey or irrelevant (e.g., language skills, immigrant generation).

We first hypothesized that higher levels of human capital decrease the likelihood of making use of informal job search methods and increase the odds of searching for a job via formal channels (H1). We find quite some support for this hypothesis. Although education and work experience in the Netherlands are not significantly associated with the use of informal job search methods, language skills are (Table 2). Immigrants who don't have any problems speaking Dutch are less likely to make use of informal job search methods than immigrants who often have problems with the Dutch language. Furthermore, when looking at the employed population (Table 3), our results suggest that higher educated immigrants indeed have less often found their job via informal than via formal (i.e., advertisements, employment agencies) job search methods. Particularly advertisements are more likely to lead to successful employment compared to informal job-search methods and the effect becomes stronger the higher the educational level. Also, education followed at least partly in the Netherlands decreases the odds of getting a job

TABLE 1 Use of Job-Search Methods and the Success of Job-Search Methods in Finding Employment, in Percentages, by National Origin

National origin	Informal job search	Advertisements	Employment agencies	School	Direct application	Other	Total	N
Dutch	37.33/19.23	76.82/30.50	67.55/14.17	7.28/4.32	36.42/15.25	14.12/16.53	239.52/100.00	150/1449
Turks	52.41/44.86	36.69/ 3.86	85.36/23.47	2.10/2.93	39.62/16.37	3.93/ 8.49	220.10/100.00	477/1258
Moroccans	41.88/31.32	38.81/ 5.77	87.47/29.81	4.31/4.08	40.04/19.25	2.85/ 9.76	215.36/100.00	468/1101
Surinamese	25.00/13.34	72.97/13.76	80.47/35.85	1.90/2.80	36.60/21.02	6.25/13.22	223.19/100.00	376/1637
Dutch Antilleans	26.35/11.52	60.33/14.90	85.00/35.20	6.10/6.03	32.33/15.86	8.25/16.49	218.36/100.00	296/ 919

Note. For each national origin group, the first figure refers to the unemployed population actively searching for a job, whereas the second figure pertains to the employed population who already found a job. Note that as people can search in multiple ways, the total for the unemployed population can exceed 100.

TABLE 2 Results of Logistic Regression of Job-Search Methods Mentioned Among Unemployed Immigrants Who are Actively Searching for a Job, Odds Ratio (*p* Value in Parentheses)

	Informal job search		Advertisements		Employment agencies	
Education (ref. primary education)						
No education	1.43*	(.015)	.89	(.257)	.88	(.290)
Lower secondary	1.04	(.397)	1.39*	(.017)	1.01	(.470)
Higher secondary	1.04	(.394)	1.49*	(.012)	.88	(.295)
Tertiary	.97	(.460)	2.82***	(.000)	.59*	(.034)
Education in the NL	.98	(.469)	1.30*	(.032)	.96	(.423)
Work experience in NL	1.00	(.450)	.99	(.364)	.96*	(.023)
Problems speaking Dutch (ref. often problems)						
Sometimes	.82	(.097)	1.58**	(.002)	1.38	(.066)
Never	.66**	(.006)	2.29***	(.000)	.98	(.465)
Voluntary member	1.16	(.131)	.95	(.345)	1.24	(.111)
Visits from Dutch neighbors/friends (ref. no visits)						
Sometimes	1.13	(.159)	1.34**	(.009)	.96	(.418)
Often	1.04	(.413)	1.29	(.064)	.93	(.372)
National origin (ref. Turks)						
Moroccans	.62***	(.000)	1.08	(.306)	1.25	(.141)
Surinamese	.38***	(.000)	3.24***	(.000)	1.06	(.409)
Dutch Antilleans	.39***	(.000)	1.75**	(.003)	1.41	(.094)
Age in years	.99	(.081)	.99	(.244)	.99	(.450)
Married	1.21	(.091)	1.32*	(.030)	1.23	(.131)
Male	1.01	(.480)	1.02	(.456)	1.40*	(.036)
First generation	.95	(.421)	.95	(.428)	2.25***	(.560)
Survey 1994 (ref. 1991)	2.29***	(.000)	2.02***	(.000)	1.25	(.211)
Survey 1998	.88	(.194)	.88	(.191)	1.48*	(.017)
Nagelkerke R^2	.09		.13		.05	
N	1,617		1,617		1,617	

Note. All values are two-tailed. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

via informal methods. Immigrants with work experience in the Netherlands are more likely to have found their job via advertisements than via informal job search methods but are less likely to have found their job via employment agencies than via informal job search methods. Finally, good Dutch language skills decrease the odds of finding a job via informal channels.

Secondly, we hypothesized that higher levels of human capital increase the chances of making use of advertisements as compared to using employment agencies (H2). We find clear confirmations for this hypothesis. When looking at immigrants who are searching for a job, we see that those who are higher educated and those who had followed at least part of their education in the Netherlands are more likely to search via advertisements (Table 2). By contrast, educational level and education obtained in the Netherlands are not associated with searching via an employment agency. Likewise, we see that whereas language skills are positively associated with searching via

TABLE 3 Multinomial Regression Among Those Immigrants Who Have Already Found a Job, Odds Ratio (*p* Value in Parentheses)

	Advertisements/ Informal job search		Employment agencies/Informal job search		Other/ Informal job search	
Education (ref. primary education)						
No education	1.06	(.402)	.85	(.118)	1.07	(.292)
Lower secondary	1.84***	(.000)	1.35**	(.007)	1.22	(.051)
Higher secondary	2.60***	(.000)	1.45**	(.002)	1.88***	(.000)
Tertiary	3.89***	(.000)	1.01	(.483)	2.56***	(.000)
Education in the NL	1.54**	(.003)	1.35**	(.003)	1.64***	(.000)
Work experience in NL	1.02*	(.032)	.95***	(.000)	1.01	(.430)
Problems speaking Dutch (ref. often problems)						
Sometimes	1.78**	(.023)	1.41**	(.003)	1.26*	(.034)
Never	3.20***	(.000)	1.52***	(.001)	1.67***	(.000)
Voluntary member	1.08	(.288)	.84*	(.032)	.95	(.303)
Visits from Dutch neighbors/friends (no visits)						
Sometimes	1.51**	(.004)	1.27**	(.005)	1.31**	(.002)
Often	1.42*	(.025)	1.04	(.370)	1.09	(.222)
National origin (ref. Turks)						
Moroccans	1.97***	(.001)	1.84***	(.000)	1.59***	(.000)
Surinamese	5.30***	(.000)	3.69***	(.000)	2.23***	(.000)
Dutch Antilleans	6.04***	(.000)	4.23***	(.000)	2.93***	(.000)
Age in years	1.01	(.115)	1.01	(.073)	1.03***	(.000)
Married	1.01	(.469)	1.09	(.191)	1.12	(.145)
Male	.76*	(.047)	.74**	(.008)	.79*	(.034)
First generation	1.67	(.012)	1.76***	(.000)	1.07	(.314)
Survey 1994 (ref.1991)	.83	(.117)	.99	(.468)	1.12	(.183)
Survey 1998	.13***	(.000)	1.32**	(.003)	1.35**	(.002)
Nagelkerke <i>R</i> ²	.11		.11		.11	
N	4,915		4,915		4,915	

Note. All values are two-tailed. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

advertisements, it is not significantly related to searching via employment agencies. Moreover, when considering those who are employed (Table 3), we see that human capital is more strongly positively associated with having found a job via advertisements rather than via an employment agency. The higher the educational level the higher the likelihood of immigrants to find a job via advertisements. For employment agencies, however, we see that only lower and higher secondary education significantly increase the odds of finding employment via employment agencies whereas no significant difference exists between immigrants who attained tertiary education and immigrants who only finished primary education. Also, work experience is negatively associated with finding a job via employment agencies.

We also hypothesized about the relationship between immigrants' social capital and use of informal job search methods. We expected that membership in voluntary association has a positive effect on the use of informal

job search methods (H3). For unemployed immigrants, we don't find confirmation for this hypothesis. Membership in a voluntary organization is not statistically associated with searching more often via informal channels, nor is membership associated with having found a job more often informally. However, among employed immigrants voluntary membership is negatively associated with having found a job via advertisements rather than via informal job search methods.

Lastly, we hypothesized that contacts to Dutch are positively related to the use of informal job search methods (H4). Interestingly, we find some evidence in other directions. Compared to those who are never visited by Dutch neighbors and friends, those who have at least some contacts with Dutch more often use advertisements to search, and among the employed population, we find that the group with more bridging ties to Dutch also have found their job more often via advertisements and employment agencies rather than via informal channels.

Finally, ethnic differences are presented by our results. Among the unemployed immigrant population Moroccans, Surinamese and Dutch Antilleans are much less likely to make use of informal job search methods than Turks. No ethnic differences are observable for the use of employment agencies; however, Surinamese and Dutch Antilleans are more likely to make use of advertisements than Turks.

Among the employed immigrant population Turks are much more likely to have found a job via informal job search methods than Moroccans Surinamese and Dutch Antilleans.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study tried to contribute to the growing literature on job search methods of immigrants by considering the case of non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands, by looking at group differences and by theorizing about the role of human capital and social capital in the job search process. We thereby not only looked at the unemployed immigrant population which was at the time of the survey actively looking for a job but also at the employed immigrant population who already succeeded in finding a job.

We first present descriptives that show that Turkish and Moroccan migrants use informal job-search methods most often whereas Dutch and immigrants from Surinam and the Dutch Antillean rather search via advertisements. We also see that for Turks their reliance on social networks pays off in terms of finding a job via this method. Migrants from Surinam and the Dutch Antilleans, on the other hand, rather find a job via employment agencies and not via advertisements, which they also use to a similar extent as the Dutch population. Those results indicate that there are ethnic group differences in terms of searching for a job but also in terms of finding a job

via a certain method. With regards to the migration history of immigrants in the Netherlands it is not surprising that immigrants from Surinam and the Dutch Antilleans are more similar to the native population in their searching behavior than migrants from Turkey and Morocco. Immigrants from Surinam and the Dutch Antilleans usually speak the Dutch language very well and are more familiar with the Dutch labor market system than Turkish and Moroccan migrants. However, the success rate of advertisements shows that behaving like a Dutch does not necessarily mean being successful as a Dutch. Therefore, in our further analyses we looked at factors we believe are responsible for differences in searching behavior and for differences in the success rate of certain methods. Two main conclusions can be drawn from this study.

First, the more skilled immigrants are, the more often they use formal methods rather than informal methods to search for jobs. When immigrants are higher educated, have received education in the Netherlands, and when they speak the Dutch language well, they are more likely to search via formal channels than via friends, family, and acquaintances. Higher levels of human capital also increase the chance of finding a job via advertisements. This is line with the idea that for low-skilled immigrants with limited language abilities the barriers to using formal job search methods, which require more skills, are too high. This is particularly true for advertisements, for which one needs to have good Dutch language skills and education to orientate on the labor market, to search for the right newspaper or Internet page, and to write an application letter. In addition, high-prestige jobs are more often offered via advertisements than via employment agencies (Holzer, 1987; Weber & Mahringer, 2007). Our results concerning the employed population strengthen our interpretation. Particularly higher educated immigrants with good Dutch language skills find a job via advertisements. Hence, it is only rational for higher skilled immigrants to search via advertisements when wishing to increase their chances of finding a suitable job. Our findings on the role of human capital are in line with the more general literature on job-search methods (Elliott, 1999; Marsden & Gorman, 2001) as well as with prior research on immigrants (Behtoui, 2008; Van Tubergen, 2011).

Second, we only find partly support for the presumed role of membership of voluntary organizations and contact with Dutch. Drawing on social capital theory, we hypothesized that members of voluntary associations and those who get frequent visits from their Dutch neighbors and friends make more often use of informal job search methods. We found no support for the assumption about contacts to Dutch, neither for the unemployed nor employed immigrant population. One reason could be that the measures of social capital are indirect, and do not sufficiently enough capture the knowledge and resources embedded in people's network. Although having contacts with Dutch could lead to new and important information it is also possible that such bridging ties connect them to low-educated or even unem-

ployed Dutch. In such cases contacts to Dutch would be not more valuable than contacts to the own ethnic group. Immigrants who are voluntary members of associations are not more likely to search via informal methods than via formal ones but are more likely to have found a job via informal rather than formal methods. This shows that membership may not influence the choice of a certain job search method but the likelihood of its success. In clubs and associations members interact at a regular basis. Hence, individuals have a good chance to get to know each other on a personal level. This way immigrants are not only able to present their professional skills, but also their personal qualities. Other members might be better able to judge which job market related information might be most valuable to their immigrant co-members. For further research we suggest to also look at the resources of social networks (by using the position or resource generator) and not only at membership of voluntary associations and bridging ties. Some social ties can be very useful for emotional support but are nothing worth when it comes to job related information exchange. Also, immigrants looking for a job in the financial sector require other ties than immigrants wishing to work in the food industry. Interestingly enough, those who have frequent contacts to Dutch find less often a job via their social network than via advertisements or employment agencies. Possibly, this could indicate that immigrants who have more frequent contact with Dutch assimilate to the mainstream, Dutch, way of searching for jobs—namely via formal methods (in particular advertisements) rather than informal methods.

Also, more research is needed to investigate ethnic differences in the use of job search methods. Although we looked at ethnic group differences we did not so extensively. The fact that Turks search much more informally and are also much more likely to have found a job via informal job search methods than Moroccans, Surinamese and Dutch Antilleans is an interesting finding asking for further elaboration. One possible explanation could be higher group solidarity or less ethnic heterogeneity among the Turkish community than among the other ethnic communities. This assumption, however, should be tested.

Lastly, this study had to rely on cross-sectional data and endogeneity issues cannot be ruled out (Montgomery, 1992). Further research is encouraged to use panel data.

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