



Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

**LABOUR TRAJECTORIES OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN
IN SPAIN: TOWARDS A SOCIAL UPWARD MOBILITY?**

Elena VIDAL-COSO
Pau MIRET

353

*PAPERS
DE
DEMOGRAFIA*

2009



Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

**LABOUR TRAJECTORIES OF IMMIGRANT
WOMEN IN SPAIN: TOWARDS A SOCIAL
UPWARD MOBILITY?**

Elena VIDAL-COSO
Pau MIRET

353

Comunicació presentada a la
XXVI IUSSP International Population Conference.
Marrakech (Marroc), del 27 de setembre al 2 d'octubre de 2009.

Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

2009

Resum.- *Les trajectòries laborals de les dones immigrades a Espanya: cap a una mobilitat social ascendent?*

A través d'informació retrospectiva de les dades de l'Enquesta Nacional d'Immigrants (2007), l'article estudia les trajectòries laborals de les dones immigrades a Espanya. S'analitza, en primer lloc, la mobilitat laboral, des de l'ocupació al país d'origen al primer treball a Espanya i, a continuació, l'atenció es fixa en la mobilitat laboral un cop a Espanya, des del moment de l'arribada fins al de l'entrevista. L'objectiu és investigar si la migració els comporta una millora en les posicions laborals o si, per contra, els suposa una davallada en la categoria ocupacional a l'arribada, amb un posterior estancament de la seva posició laboral un cop a Espanya. La hipòtesis és que les dones immigrades, fins i tot aquelles amb un major nivell educatiu, accepten el treball domèstic en una fase inicial d'una *estratègia social* a llarg termini, encaminada a una mobilitat laboral ascendent. Els resultats mostren que després d'un descens ocupacional en el primer treball a Espanya, els moviments ocupacionals són possibles, però aquests són molt limitats a les posicions pròpies del segment secundari.

Paraules clau.- Mobilitat ocupacional, dones immigrades, treball domèstic, segment secundari, Espanya.

Resumen.- *Las trayectorias laborales de las mujeres inmigradas en España: ¿hacia una movilidad social ascendente?*

A través de información retrospectiva de los datos de la Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes (2007), se estudia las trayectorias laborales de las mujeres inmigradas en España. Se analiza, en primer lugar, la movilidad laboral, desde la ocupación en el país de origen al primer trabajo en España y, a continuación, la atención se fija en la movilidad laboral en España, desde el momento de la llegada, hasta el de la entrevista. El objetivo es investigar si la migración les conlleva una mejora en las posiciones laborales o si, por el contrario, les supone un descenso en la categoría ocupacional al llegar, con un posterior estancamiento de su posición laboral una vez en España. La hipótesis es que las mujeres inmigradas, incluso aquellas con mayor nivel educativo, aceptan el trabajo doméstico en una fase inicial de una *estrategia social* a largo plazo, encaminada a una movilidad laboral ascendente. Los resultados muestran que después de un descenso ocupacional en el primer trabajo en España, los movimientos ocupacionales son posibles, pero éstos son muy limitados a las posiciones propias del segmento secundario.

Palabras clave.- Movilidad ocupacional, mujeres inmigradas, trabajo doméstico, segmento secundario, España.

Abstract.- *Labour Trajectories of Immigrant Women in Spain: Towards a Social Upward Mobility?*

Using retrospective data from the Spanish National Immigrant Survey (2007) microdata, this paper investigates the labour trajectories of immigrant women in Spain. It will primarily focus on the labour mobility from occupation in the country of origin, to the first job in Spain and, secondly, the labour mobility since entrance into Spain. The aim is to analyse if the migration allows them to improve in their labour positions or if it creates a downward movement with a subsequent stagnation in their labour position. The hypothesis is that immigrant women, even the most skilled, accept domestic work as an initial phase of a long-term *social strategy* directed toward upward labour mobility. Results show that after a downward movement after their arrival to Spain, occupational movements are possible but are often limited within positions of the secondary segment.

Keywords.- Occupational mobility, immigrant women, domestic work, secondary segment, Spain.

INDEX

1.- Introduction	1
2.- Theoretical Perspectives and Research Hypotheses	3
3.- Data and Methods.....	8
4.- Results	12
5.- Conclusion and Discussion	25
References	29

TABLE INDEX

1.- Total relative distribution matrix of the previous occupation in country of origin and first occupation in Spain. Immigrant Women arrived from 1990 to 2007, ages 16-64 upon arrival	13
2.- Likelihood of labour mobility: downward, lateral and upward: Coefficients of the Logistic regression models	16
3.- Total relative distribution matrix of the first occupation in Spain and the Current occupation in the moment of the interview. Immigrant Women arrived from 1990 to 2007, aged at arrived 16-64	21
4.- Likelihood of leaving the cleaning and domestic occupations: Coefficients of The Logistic regression models	23

**LABOUR TRAJECTORIES OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN SPAIN:
TOWARDS A SOCIAL UPWARD MOBILITY?¹**

Elena VIDAL-COSO
elena.vidalcoso@upf.edu

Pau MIRET
pmiret@ced.uab.es

1.- Introduction

During last decade, Spain has experienced an important growth in the volume of its female immigrant population. From 1999 to 2008, the number of employed immigrant women increased from 226,639 to 1,530,926. In relative terms, that is an increase from 4.4% to 18% of all employed women in Spain. We believe that this recent influx of females is the product of the extraordinary upward labour and social mobility of young native women. This mobility has generated a new labour demand to fill the lower-level positions, left vacant by the native population. These new vacancies are predominantly in domestic and other personal services and are due to the increase of the native female participation in the labour market. In fact, there was an increase of 64% in women employed in cleaning and domestic services from 1999 to 2008; 81% of this increase can be attributed to immigrant women. Effectively, the massive arrival of immigrant women is largely in response to the externalisation of domestic tasks. As a consequence, a great share of foreign women in Spain has been inserted in the labour market through domestic services and their social image is strictly derived from this position in the labour market.

The hypothesis is that immigrant women, even the most skilled, accept domestic work as an initial phase of an ambitious and long-term *social strategy* directed toward upward labour mobility. This could explain why in some cases immigration process initially

¹ The study is part of a research project funded by the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (Ministry of Education and Science), “Juventud, género e inmigración ante la inserción en el mercado laboral en España ¿Substitución o complementariedad? ¿Efecto edad o efecto cohorte?” (Ref. SEJ2007-67569).

lessens their labour status as compared to that in the country of origin. Although this research assumes labour insertion of immigrant women as a dynamic process, this paper also takes into account the existence of other structural and segmentation dynamics in the labour market in an effort to explore the socioeconomic achievement process or labour mobility of immigrant women. This partially explains why occupational movements are often limited within those positions of the secondary segment. Moreover, immigrant women are not a homogeneous collective and, even if they do insert themselves mostly in the domestic services, their chances for advancement in the receiving labour market depend on a variety of factors including: their national origin, their family context, skills and educational level, previous labour experience in the country of origin, and the length of the stay in the country.

This paper aims to investigate the labour mobility trends of immigrant women in Spain in order to define the labour trajectories of these women in the segmented Spanish labour market. The investigation will primarily focus on the study of labour mobility that is part of this population's migration process: from the previous job in the country of origin, to the first job they get in Spain. The aim is to analyse if the migration event allows them to advance in their labour positions, providing possibility of improvement, or if it creates a high risk of a downward movement in their labour position, especially for those that insert themselves as domestic assistants. Secondly, for those who had been employed at least once since their arrival to Spain, this paper aims to study the labour mobility since entrance into Spain, from the first labour position filled after migration to their labour position at the time of data collection. Our analysis then aims to calculate probabilities of improvement in occupational position in the Spanish labour market corresponding to the length of stay in the host country and as a consequence of the adaptation process to the new labour market and society, or conversely, stagnation of immigrant women in the most precarious labour positions, i.e. those related with domestic services in private households.

This investigation will use a recent and valuable Spanish dataset, the National Immigrant Survey (2007) carried out by the National Statistics Institute (INE) during 2006-2007. The importance of this survey rests in the fact that is exclusively directed to immigrant population so as to be representative of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of this population, their migration process and their subsequent establishment in Spain. The inclusion of the socio-demographic and family characteristics, as well as the information

relating the employment trajectory, in the country of origin and in Spain, makes this dataset very suitable for the objective of study in this paper.

This paper will use descriptive (mobility matrixes) and logistic regression as methods of analysis. First of all, we will analyse the most common labour positions that immigrant women fill just after their arrival to Spain. Analysis will link this labour insertion with their previous occupation in their country of origin. Secondly, we aim to describe the inflows and outflows between occupations in order to understand the most common trajectories of immigrant women in the Spanish labour market. Finally, using logistic regression analysis we will introduce the importance of the time spent in the country as well as other socio-demographic, educational and family characteristics in the labour trajectories of immigrants.

2.- Theoretical Perspectives and Research Hypotheses

In order to explain the labour mobility of immigrant women in Spain we should start with a brief panoramic of the main theoretical perspectives regarding the labour mobility from which we frame our analysis. Firstly, the *functionalism* and *neoclassical* traditions focus in the importance of the human capital as a central determinant of the differences of individuals in their attainment in the labour market (Becker, 1962 and 1964). As Sorensen (1977) explained, in human capital theory, changes in attainment are assumed to be created exclusively through changes in a person's productivity, i.e., skills and experience. Within this perspective, industrial societies are meritocratic and individuals with the equivalent abilities and skills have the same opportunities of labour prospects. This perspective maintains that, within society and the labour market, there does not exist any structure or segmentation that constricts social and labour mobility, instead the labour market is considered to be continuous. As Kalleberg and Sorensen (1979) pointed out, within this tradition, the structure of labour markets is not viewed as fundamental to an explanation of the distribution of rewards to individuals over the course of their working lives, nor in the status attainment approach to the analysis of careers.

With the economic and social breakdown of the industrial societies during the 70s, new approaches in the study of social mobility emerged, stressing in the structural or segmented nature of these societies (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Thurow, 1975; Sorensen, 1977).

Within this second sociological tradition, the dual labour market support a relationship between career mobility and the existing segments in the labour force, predicting little intersegment mobility, particularly in the direction of upward mobility, from the secondary to the primary segment's occupations. In other words, this theoretical approach views labour mobility as mobility that is restricted to the confines of the segment where each worker is positioned (Piore 1971, 1975, 1979a and 1979b).

Piore (1979a) adds to the existing theories of segmentation of the labour market, a theory that relates to the segmentation of the labour force by the migrant or national origin of workers. The national or ethnic origin is a central characteristic that divides the labour force and thus constitutes a key explanatory element of the differences in the possible mobility within the labour market regardless other factors such as human capital or previous labour experience.

In this sense, Kalleberg and Sorensen (1979) argued that a complete explanation of job rewards should include the reasons that certain groups are relatively disadvantaged. These authors stressed race and sex differences in social and occupational attainment as important elements explaining the segmentation of labour force. Thus, discrimination exists when workers of equal productivity or human capital do not receive equal job rewards. The segmented labour tradition argues that ethnic minorities and women are disproportionately entering the labour market beginning with less prestigious jobs and, once within secondary labour segment, they have greater obstacles to upward mobility. Other researchers stressed either human capital or the social structures in order to explain the labour achievement of immigrants. Borjas (1994), on the one hand, analyses the labour mobility of immigrant cohorts in the EUA and stresses the importance of the human capital in order to explain their chances of confluence with native's labour positions. On the contrary, in the Swedish context, other authors (Ekberg 1994 and 1996; Rooth and Ekberg, 2006) pointed at the loss of labour status of immigrant workers comparing with that held in their country of origin. Although these authors recognize that immigrant population improves their labour attainment during their stay in Sweden, they argue that immigrants never recover their previous status, especially more skilled immigrants.

Prior to focusing on the labour trajectories of female immigrant women, we begin with contextualizing the causes of their arrival to Spain. The existence of a labour complementarity between national born and immigrant labour force within a segmented labour market is precisely the theoretical approach that guides this analysis. This research

assumes that this approach applies to the functioning of the Spanish labour market, where there exists a division between the primary segment, or capital intensive segment, and the secondary segment, or labour intensive segment.

We begin by recognizing that the recent female immigration in Spain has different causes and consequences than the arrival of immigrant women in Western Europe after the Second World War. During that period, female immigration was largely the result of the family reunification process. However, in contemporary Spain, as in others countries of Southern Europe, female international migration is a response to a specific female labour demand caused by the internationalisation of domestic work (Reyneri, 1996 and 2004; King and Zontini, 2000 and Solé, 2003). The existence of this labour demand explains, in part, the high labour participation rates of immigrant women in destination labour markets. The origins of this labour demand are related to a weak Welfare State in Spain, as well as to the spectacular transformation of women's role in Spain during the last decades of 20th Century. Therefore, far from the common image of immigrant women as an inactive and dependent subject, in this investigation immigrant women are understood as a very diverse population regarding their socio-demographic characteristics and migratory project. However, the common feature is that, at least during the first stage post-arrival, their labour insertion in Spain is according to their immigrant origin and the specificities of the Spanish labour market. Their individual characteristics, such as educational level or previous labour experience are less influential in their labour insertion in Spain.

Limited previous research has been done on labour mobility of immigrant women in Spain. Prior investigations have generally adopted a qualitative perspective, and their conclusions represent a valuable starting point for the development of our quantitative investigation. Parella (2002 and 2003) argues that although immigrant women have access to a reduced amount of jobs, their labour insertion should not be analysed from a static perspective and that labour careers are differentiated by their national origin, family characteristics, length of settlement and educational level. 'Colectivo Ioe' (2003), in their investigation, stressed the importance of domestic services as the authentic entry portal into the Spanish labour market for immigrant women despite their skills or previous labour experience. However, these authors also identified some typical labour trajectories that could be considered upward mobility: from domestic services to the touristic sector, for example. This upward mobility is slow and very limited within the boundaries of the secondary segment of labour market (especially in cleaning companies or in hotels and restaurants), and differs

**LABOUR TRAJECTORIES OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN SPAIN:
TOWARDS A SOCIAL UPWARD MOBILITY?¹**

Elena VIDAL-COSO
elena.vidalcoso@upf.edu

Pau MIRET
pmiret@ced.uab.es

1.- Introduction

During last decade, Spain has experienced an important growth in the volume of its female immigrant population. From 1999 to 2008, the number of employed immigrant women increased from 226,639 to 1,530,926. In relative terms, that is an increase from 4.4% to 18% of all employed women in Spain. We believe that this recent influx of females is the product of the extraordinary upward labour and social mobility of young native women. This mobility has generated a new labour demand to fill the lower-level positions, left vacant by the native population. These new vacancies are predominantly in domestic and other personal services and are due to the increase of the native female participation in the labour market. In fact, there was an increase of 64% in women employed in cleaning and domestic services from 1999 to 2008; 81% of this increase can be attributed to immigrant women. Effectively, the massive arrival of immigrant women is largely in response to the externalisation of domestic tasks. As a consequence, a great share of foreign women in Spain has been inserted in the labour market through domestic services and their social image is strictly derived from this position in the labour market.

The hypothesis is that immigrant women, even the most skilled, accept domestic work as an initial phase of an ambitious and long-term *social strategy* directed toward upward labour mobility. This could explain why in some cases immigration process initially

¹ The study is part of a research project funded by the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (Ministry of Education and Science), “Juventud, género e inmigración ante la inserción en el mercado laboral en España ¿Substitución o complementariedad? ¿Efecto edad o efecto cohorte?” (Ref. SEJ2007-67569).

lessens their labour status as compared to that in the country of origin. Although this research assumes labour insertion of immigrant women as a dynamic process, this paper also takes into account the existence of other structural and segmentation dynamics in the labour market in an effort to explore the socioeconomic achievement process or labour mobility of immigrant women. This partially explains why occupational movements are often limited within those positions of the secondary segment. Moreover, immigrant women are not a homogeneous collective and, even if they do insert themselves mostly in the domestic services, their chances for advancement in the receiving labour market depend on a variety of factors including: their national origin, their family context, skills and educational level, previous labour experience in the country of origin, and the length of the stay in the country.

This paper aims to investigate the labour mobility trends of immigrant women in Spain in order to define the labour trajectories of these women in the segmented Spanish labour market. The investigation will primarily focus on the study of labour mobility that is part of this population's migration process: from the previous job in the country of origin, to the first job they get in Spain. The aim is to analyse if the migration event allows them to advance in their labour positions, providing possibility of improvement, or if it creates a high risk of a downward movement in their labour position, especially for those that insert themselves as domestic assistants. Secondly, for those who had been employed at least once since their arrival to Spain, this paper aims to study the labour mobility since entrance into Spain, from the first labour position filled after migration to their labour position at the time of data collection. Our analysis then aims to calculate probabilities of improvement in occupational position in the Spanish labour market corresponding to the length of stay in the host country and as a consequence of the adaptation process to the new labour market and society, or conversely, stagnation of immigrant women in the most precarious labour positions, i.e. those related with domestic services in private households.

This investigation will use a recent and valuable Spanish dataset, the National Immigrant Survey (2007) carried out by the National Statistics Institute (INE) during 2006-2007. The importance of this survey rests in the fact that is exclusively directed to immigrant population so as to be representative of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of this population, their migration process and their subsequent establishment in Spain. The inclusion of the socio-demographic and family characteristics, as well as the information

relating the employment trajectory, in the country of origin and in Spain, makes this dataset very suitable for the objective of study in this paper.

This paper will use descriptive (mobility matrixes) and logistic regression as methods of analysis. First of all, we will analyse the most common labour positions that immigrant women fill just after their arrival to Spain. Analysis will link this labour insertion with their previous occupation in their country of origin. Secondly, we aim to describe the inflows and outflows between occupations in order to understand the most common trajectories of immigrant women in the Spanish labour market. Finally, using logistic regression analysis we will introduce the importance of the time spent in the country as well as other socio-demographic, educational and family characteristics in the labour trajectories of immigrants.

2.- Theoretical Perspectives and Research Hypotheses

In order to explain the labour mobility of immigrant women in Spain we should start with a brief panoramic of the main theoretical perspectives regarding the labour mobility from which we frame our analysis. Firstly, the *functionalism* and *neoclassical* traditions focus in the importance of the human capital as a central determinant of the differences of individuals in their attainment in the labour market (Becker, 1962 and 1964). As Sorensen (1977) explained, in human capital theory, changes in attainment are assumed to be created exclusively through changes in a person's productivity, i.e., skills and experience. Within this perspective, industrial societies are meritocratic and individuals with the equivalent abilities and skills have the same opportunities of labour prospects. This perspective maintains that, within society and the labour market, there does not exist any structure or segmentation that constricts social and labour mobility, instead the labour market is considered to be continuous. As Kalleberg and Sorensen (1979) pointed out, within this tradition, the structure of labour markets is not viewed as fundamental to an explanation of the distribution of rewards to individuals over the course of their working lives, nor in the status attainment approach to the analysis of careers.

With the economic and social breakdown of the industrial societies during the 70s, new approaches in the study of social mobility emerged, stressing in the structural or segmented nature of these societies (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Thurow, 1975; Sorensen, 1977).

Within this second sociological tradition, the dual labour market support a relationship between career mobility and the existing segments in the labour force, predicting little intersegment mobility, particularly in the direction of upward mobility, from the secondary to the primary segment's occupations. In other words, this theoretical approach views labour mobility as mobility that is restricted to the confines of the segment where each worker is positioned (Piore 1971, 1975, 1979a and 1979b).

Piore (1979a) adds to the existing theories of segmentation of the labour market, a theory that relates to the segmentation of the labour force by the migrant or national origin of workers. The national or ethnic origin is a central characteristic that divides the labour force and thus constitutes a key explanatory element of the differences in the possible mobility within the labour market regardless other factors such as human capital or previous labour experience.

In this sense, Kalleberg and Sorensen (1979) argued that a complete explanation of job rewards should include the reasons that certain groups are relatively disadvantaged. These authors stressed race and sex differences in social and occupational attainment as important elements explaining the segmentation of labour force. Thus, discrimination exists when workers of equal productivity or human capital do not receive equal job rewards. The segmented labour tradition argues that ethnic minorities and women are disproportionately entering the labour market beginning with less prestigious jobs and, once within secondary labour segment, they have greater obstacles to upward mobility. Other researchers stressed either human capital or the social structures in order to explain the labour achievement of immigrants. Borjas (1994), on the one hand, analyses the labour mobility of immigrant cohorts in the EUA and stresses the importance of the human capital in order to explain their chances of confluence with native's labour positions. On the contrary, in the Swedish context, other authors (Ekberg 1994 and 1996; Rooth and Ekberg, 2006) pointed at the loss of labour status of immigrant workers comparing with that held in their country of origin. Although these authors recognize that immigrant population improves their labour attainment during their stay in Sweden, they argue that immigrants never recover their previous status, especially more skilled immigrants.

Prior to focusing on the labour trajectories of female immigrant women, we begin with contextualizing the causes of their arrival to Spain. The existence of a labour complementarity between national born and immigrant labour force within a segmented labour market is precisely the theoretical approach that guides this analysis. This research

assumes that this approach applies to the functioning of the Spanish labour market, where there exists a division between the primary segment, or capital intensive segment, and the secondary segment, or labour intensive segment.

We begin by recognizing that the recent female immigration in Spain has different causes and consequences than the arrival of immigrant women in Western Europe after the Second World War. During that period, female immigration was largely the result of the family reunification process. However, in contemporary Spain, as in others countries of Southern Europe, female international migration is a response to a specific female labour demand caused by the internationalisation of domestic work (Reyneri, 1996 and 2004; King and Zontini, 2000 and Solé, 2003). The existence of this labour demand explains, in part, the high labour participation rates of immigrant women in destination labour markets. The origins of this labour demand are related to a weak Welfare State in Spain, as well as to the spectacular transformation of women's role in Spain during the last decades of 20th Century. Therefore, far from the common image of immigrant women as an inactive and dependent subject, in this investigation immigrant women are understood as a very diverse population regarding their socio-demographic characteristics and migratory project. However, the common feature is that, at least during the first stage post-arrival, their labour insertion in Spain is according to their immigrant origin and the specificities of the Spanish labour market. Their individual characteristics, such as educational level or previous labour experience are less influential in their labour insertion in Spain.

Limited previous research has been done on labour mobility of immigrant women in Spain. Prior investigations have generally adopted a qualitative perspective, and their conclusions represent a valuable starting point for the development of our quantitative investigation. Parella (2002 and 2003) argues that although immigrant women have access to a reduced amount of jobs, their labour insertion should not be analysed from a static perspective and that labour careers are differentiated by their national origin, family characteristics, length of settlement and educational level. 'Colectivo Ioe' (2003), in their investigation, stressed the importance of domestic services as the authentic entry portal into the Spanish labour market for immigrant women despite their skills or previous labour experience. However, these authors also identified some typical labour trajectories that could be considered upward mobility: from domestic services to the touristic sector, for example. This upward mobility is slow and very limited within the boundaries of the secondary segment of labour market (especially in cleaning companies or in hotels and restaurants), and differs

depending on the national origin. Whereas the labour mobility of Moroccan or Latin American women is more evident, Filipino women in domestic services and Chinese women in restaurants are intrinsically immobile. Oso (2003) also pointed out the importance of the length of the settlement in Spain as an explanation for the labour position of immigrant women. In a first stage of the migratory process these women accept to work as domestic assistants as the easiest way to earn and save money, especially when they arrive to Spain alone, i.e. without any other member of the family. Therefore, the importance of the family characteristics in the labour attainment is also a central point in her analysis, as female immigration is interpreted as a part of a general economic and social household strategy. To sum up, all of the previous investigations recognize that when immigrant women believe their residence in Spain to be permanent, their ambition is clearly directed to other labour positions: those occupied by Spanish-born women. In this study, in order to analyze the labour mobility of immigrant women we focus on the “career line” or “job trajectory” that the immigrant process entails. In other words, following Spilerman (1977), we analyse the work history, as a sequence of jobs, stressing the linkages, which exist among jobs rather than the employment situation of workers in a particular moment in time. Then, we define the properties of job sequences: their entry portals, the direction of labour mobility (downwards, lateral or upwards), and the availability of transfer options to alternative career lines. As Spilerman argues, the notion of a career line is intimately associated with the view that labour market is patterned, that determinable job sequences exist, creating common experiences for many workers, which can be understood in terms of institutional features of this market.

To assess the direction of labour mobility we recognize the structure of labour market as an unequal structure, ordered by differentiated labour positions. These positions will be acknowledged as occupations, and these occupations may be characterized by the economic, social and status rewards they provide intrinsically (Glass, 1954; Lipset and Zetterberg, 1959; Blau and Duncan, 1964; Reissman, 1974; Hope, 1972; Goldthorpe and Hope, 1972 and 1974; Sorensen, 1997; Parkin, 1978; Goldthorpe, 1980; Carabaña and Gómez-Bueno, 1996; Carabaña, 1999). Labour mobility, therefore, is determined by the opportunities for change in relative position in a predetermined structure of inequality.

The main objective of this paper is the approximation to the labour mobility of immigrant women in order to define the labour trajectories of these women in the segmented Spanish labour market. The hypothesis maintains that immigrant women, even the most skilled,

accept to work as domestic assistants as an initial phase of a most ambitious *social strategy* directed to an upward labour mobility. This could explain why, in some cases, the immigration process initially damages previous labour status when compared to that held in the country of origin. Effectively, labour insertion of immigrant women is a dynamic process and labour mobility is possible. However, this paper takes into account other structural and segmentation dynamics in the labour market in order to explain the socioeconomic achievement process or labour mobility of immigrant women, which partially justify why occupational movements are often limited within positions of the secondary segment.

Two mobility processes are considered in this investigation: that in the moment of migration, and that during their settlement in Spain. Then, this investigation has two main objectives. The first is to examine labour mobility that the same migratory process involves, contrasting their last occupation before the migration and the first occupation once in Spain. This analysis allows us to identify the typical entry portal of immigrant women in the Spanish labour market and to determine the direction of the occupational mobility (downward, lateral or upward). The aim is to discover if the migration experience brings about the opportunity for improving their occupational attainment or if, migration does not mean any change in labour mobility or, conversely, an increase in the risk of a decreased position on the occupational scale, as is the most common experience of immigrant women upon first insertion in the labour market as domestic assistants in private households. Our hypothesis is that domestic services are the main portal of entry in the labour market for immigrant women, in part due to the informality of labour demand and the role of family and friends in helping to find a job in those activities. However, the observed differences in the probabilities of entry in those occupations and thus, of experiencing, as in most cases, a downward labour mobility, are explained by their national origin, age, educational level and family characteristics. Therefore, if the woman is the pioneer of the family migration process her chances to descend in the occupational scale are higher, as domestic work is viewed as a saving strategy during the initial stage of the migratory process. Moreover, having children in the moment of migration raises the probability of domestic work due to economical pressure and lower selection power. Therefore, this first labour insertion as domestic assistants creates a downward labour mobility from the position held in the country of origin that is even more evident in more skilled women.

For the second objective, the analysis focuses on women who have had at least one job since their arrival to Spain. Then, labour mobility is analysed by contrasting the first occupation in Spain with that they hold in the moment of data collection, controlling for the length of their stay in Spain. The main aim is to identify the most common occupations in their first insertion in the Spanish labour market, as well as the most common occupations where they go to after leaving previous positions. We tried to set sights on the chances of improvement in the occupational attainment of immigrant women in contrast to the length of their settlement in Spain- concretely, their chances of abandoning the domestic services. Our hypothesis is that jobs in domestic services are not an irreversible labour position and that upward labour mobility is positively correlated to the length of the stay in the country, especially for younger and more skilled immigrant women. However, this mobility is highly restricted to labour positions in the secondary segment of the Spanish labour market, from domestic assistants to jobs in hotels and restaurants, for example.

3.- Data and Methods

The National Immigrant Survey 2007 (ENI-2007)

This investigation will use a current and valuable Spanish dataset, the National Immigrant Survey 2007 (ENI-2007). The importance of this survey resides in the fact that is exclusively directed to the immigrant population, in order to be representative of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of this population and their migration process, from the moment when the migratory decision was made to arrival and their subsequent establishment in Spain. Reher et al. (2008) pointed out the importance of this new dataset as it replaces other sources of information in two important aspects. First, it was designed to obtain a complete and integrated panoramic of the migratory experience. Secondly, this is the only data source in Spain including retrospective information regarding a variety of aspects of the life and experiences of immigrants.

For the purpose of this research, the ENI-2007 it is a very suitable data set as it includes not only the most important socio-demographic characteristics of individuals in the sample but also the occupational characteristics in three crucial moments in the migratory

experience: the last occupation in the country of origin prior to migration; first occupation after arriving to Spain and finally, the occupation in the moment of data collection. This information allows the analysis of occupational mobility from the country of origin to the first occupation in Spain, for those who were working before migrating to Spain and that worked in at least one occasion after they arrival to Spain. The data also allows for analysis of labour mobility during settlement in Spain, for those that have had more than one job after their arrival and were working in the moment of data collection as well as immobility, for those who never changed jobs after initial insertion in the Spanish labour market.

However, this data has two important deficiencies. The data source only includes the immigrant population and therefore it is impossible to compare the labour mobility patterns of foreign-born women with that of native women. Additionally, although the ENI-2007 contains an approximation of the labour trajectory of immigrant women, is not exhaustive with regard to the occupations held during the migratory experience. This deficit in the description of occupational trajectory since the arrival to Spain, combined with the lack of information regarding dates of initiating and terminating each job makes it impossible to complete longitudinal analysis using semi-parametric Cox models, as was our first analytical objective.

Sample description and explanatory variables

The sample size of the ENI-2007 is 15,465 immigrants. The survey defines immigrants as those persons born abroad, aged 16 years old and over, and residing in family dwellings for at least one year or those with the intention of residing in Spain for at least on year, independently of their Spanish or foreign nationality. This does not include persons under 16 years of age, foreign nationals who where born in Spain or Spaniards born abroad that were not yet two years of age upon their arrival in Spain. The survey does not attempt to estimate the total number of immigrant population living in Spain but to be representative of the socio-demographic characteristics, the living conditions and the socio-economic situation of this population, as a complement to other standard statistical data sources (Census, Municipal Register of Inhabitants, Labour Force Survey).

Of the total immigrant population interviewed, we chose to analyze those women that arrived in Spain in 1990 or later. In selecting only those immigrant women most recently arrived we intended to focus our analysis on those women who immigrated during the

recent period of economic expansion so that we could interpret their labour insertion and mobility as a consequence of the current segmentation of the Spanish Labour Market as well as the socio-demographic complementarity with native women. From the 8,501 immigrant women interviewed in the survey, we selected 6,296 for our analysis. Of these women, only 3,826 were employed just prior to initiating their migration to Spain as well as at some point since their arrival. These women are included in the first analysis regarding labour mobility occurring in the time of migrating. Finally, at the time of data collection only 3,568 women were employed, therefore the second analysis, that of labour mobility during the stay in Spain, is reduced to this number.

Birthplace will be the central explanatory variable in the analysis; women will be grouped by area of origin. As Cortina et al. (2008) pointed out; country of birth is used as opposed to citizenship because place of birth is by definition invariable whereas citizenship can be modified. Immigrants are grouped by region of origin in order to obtain sufficient sample size and ensure statistically significant results. The resulting groups are as follows: EU-25², Rest of Europe, Africa, Asia and North America and Oceania. Very few women from Asia, North America and Oceania were interviewed; therefore findings for these two groups were not always statistically significant.

We tried to define the occupational mobility of immigrant women in Spain by socio-demographic variables such as birthplace region, age on arrival, household structure and educational level. Additionally, other variables relating to their migration experience were included, such as duration of settlement since migration or the existence of previous social network contributing to finding the first job after their migration. The covariants used in our analysis represent information relating to the period or event of interest. Only educational attainment information is exclusively relating to the time of the data collection and thus is the only non-retrospective information included the analysis. Therefore, this educational level may be different than the education at the time of migration, especially for those women arrived at a very young age. On the contrary, for those women arrived at 25 years of age or more, their educational level in the moment of data collection is believed to coincide fairly precisely with that at the time of migrating.

² In this paper, Bulgarian and Romanian women are considered as non communitarian women as the incorporation of their countries to the European Union did not occurs until 2007. Moreover, the volume and labour characteristics of immigration from these countries made necessary differentiation of these women from other communitarian EU immigrants.

We analyzed the labour mobility of all immigrant women living in Spain that were aged 16 and over upon their arrival to Spain. However, when we constructed our multivariable models we considered only those women aged 20 and older in order to focus on women that had largely finished their education before their migration.

Methods of analysis: The Labour Mobility Matrix and Logistic regression

The methodology of analysis is quantitative, following the demographic and sociologic perspectives. Results will refer to the Spanish territory as a whole. The first method used in our analysis is the labour mobility matrix, $N = (n_{ij})$, where:

N = Total immigrant women.

n_i = Total immigrant women in the category of origin given (i), time of origin (t_0):
Row marginal.

n_j = Total immigrant women in the category of destination given (j), time of destination (t_1): Column marginal.

In this matrix, cells in the diagonal represent immigrant women who do not change their occupational category from time of origin (t_0) to time of destination (t_1), whilst those women who experience mobility in their occupational category are in the rest of cells. Occupational categories follow a hieratical order, from the most stable, well paid and prestigious labour positions in the top of the scale to positions that are low-paid, with poorer working conditions, little chances of advancement and unstable, in the bottom. Therefore, cells above the diagonal represent those women who experience a downward occupational mobility and cells under the diagonal contain the percentages of women ascending within the occupational scale between t_0 and t_1 . This matrix is named the *total relative distribution matrix* (Cachón, 1989):

$$P_{ij} = n_{ij} / N$$

$$\sum P_{ij} \times 100 = 100\%$$

Through this basic matrix we considered the proportions of immigrant women who were in the category i in the time of origin (t_0) and in the category j in the time of destination (t_1)

and also the adjusted standardized residuals. If the residual has a high value (over 1.96 or lower than -1.96) it is statistically significant, indicating the dependency between the category of origin and of destination.

The second method of analysis of labour mobility is the construction of multivariable models using logistic regression:

$$\log(y) = \alpha + \beta_1x_1 + \beta_2x_2 + \dots + \beta_nx_n$$

Where α is the constant and β_i are the regression coefficients of the explanatory variables x_i . Beta coefficients (β_i) show the relative importance of the independent variables in the determination of the outcome variable. In the case of multivariable models like those constructed in this paper, the estimated probability of $Y=1$ is interpreted as the adjusted likelihood to the whole effect of all covariants in the model. We apply multivariate logistic regression in two different analyses. Firstly we use it in order to complete and initial analysis of the association of our explanatory variables in the direction of labour mobility between the occupation women hold prior to migration and their first occupation once in Spain (downward, lateral and upward). Secondly, we also used logistic regression to analyse the determination of these independent variables in the likelihood of abandoning the domestic work for other occupations. In both analyses, as we had not found any interactional effect between our explanatory variables, we only considered their net effects.

4.- Results

The occupational mobility that the migratory process entails

Table 1 shows the *total relative distribution matrix* of the last occupation held by immigrant women in their country of origin, and of their initial occupation upon arrival to Spain. If we compare the percentages in the row's margin (origin) with the percentages in the column's margin (destination), we identify that the percentage of women that were employed in technical and professional occupations in their country of origin was three times higher (27.4%) than the percentage of immigrant women in those occupations in their first job in Spain (9%).

Table 1. Total relative distribution matrix of the previous occupation in country of origin and first occupation in Spain. Immigrant Women arrived from 1990 to 2007, ages 16-64 upon arrival

PREVIOUS OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	1st OCCUPATION IN SPAIN										TOTAL PREVIOUS OCCUPATION IN ORIGIN	
	Managerial		Technical and Professional		Skilled Administrative and Secretarial		Services		Elementary			Cleaning and Domestic Occupations
	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	
Managerial Occupations	0.6%	0.4%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%	1.0%	0.4%	2.0%	1.0%	0.4%	2.0%	4.9%
Frequencies (n)	19	17	17	5	10	40	21	77	40	21	77	189
Adjusted estandarized residuals	10.46	0.03	0.03	-0.24	0.64	-0.80	-2.08	-0.42	-0.80	-2.08	-0.42	
Technical and Professional Occupations	0.4%	6.0%	6.0%	0.5%	1.7%	6.2%	2.8%	9.8%	6.2%	2.8%	9.8%	27.4%
Frequencies (n)	15	231	231	20	71	214	104	373	214	104	373	1028
Adjusted estandarized residuals	0.24	17.78	17.78	-2.18	4.66	-2.44	-6.53	-4.50	-2.44	-6.53	-4.50	
Skilled Occupations	--	0.1%	0.1%	1.0%	--	1.7%	2.0%	4.3%	1.7%	2.0%	4.3%	9.2%
Frequencies (n)	--	5	5	34	--	61	81	168	61	81	168	352
Adjusted estandarized residuals	--	-5.19	-5.19	7.86	--	-2.90	3.39	2.20	-2.90	3.39	2.20	
Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	0.2%	0.9%	0.9%	0.2%	1.2%	3.3%	1.9%	4.7%	3.3%	1.9%	4.7%	12.4%
Frequencies (n)	8	31	31	7	46	131	77	175	131	77	175	475
Adjusted estandarized residuals	0.60	-1.97	-1.97	-2.01	6.06	2.20	-0.24	-2.53	2.20	-0.24	-2.53	
Services Occupations	0.2%	1.3%	1.3%	0.6%	0.9%	9.2%	5.2%	12.2%	9.2%	5.2%	12.2%	29.5%
Frequencies (n)	8	45	45	32	32	336	191	477	336	191	477	1121
Adjusted estandarized residuals	-2.29	-6.87	-6.87	-0.17	-2.94	6.00	0.47	0.27	6.00	0.47	0.27	
Elementary Occupations	--	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	--	2.2%	3.3%	5.1%	2.2%	3.3%	5.1%	11.2%
Frequencies (n)	--	10	10	11	--	85	129	202	85	129	202	442
Adjusted estandarized residuals	--	-5.23	-5.23	-0.58	--	-2.29	7.56	1.58	-2.29	7.56	1.58	
Cleaning and Domestic Occupations	--	--	--	--	--	0.8%	0.7%	3.7%	0.8%	0.7%	3.7%	5.4%
Frequencies (n)	--	--	--	--	--	35	32	143	35	32	143	219
Adjusted estandarized residuals	--	--	--	--	--	-2.73	-0.81	7.12	-2.73	-0.81	7.12	
TOTAL 1st OCCUPATION IN SPAIN	1.5%	9.0%	9.0%	2.8%	4.3%	24.4%	16.3%	41.8%	24.4%	16.3%	41.8%	100%
Frequencies (n)	53	342	342	112	167	902	635	1615	902	635	1615	3,826

Data source: National Immigrant Survey 2007 (ENI-2007)

Likewise, the percentage of women employed in managerial occupations before immigration, 4.9%, was much higher than the same percentage once in Spain (1.5%). The fall in the percentage of women employed in other skilled occupations after immigration is also significant. On the contrary, with regard to the first occupation in Spain, there is an increase of women employed in service positions (specifically in hotels and restaurants, personal services as well as sales and customer services). There is a similar increase in elementary occupations and, a greater rise in domestic and cleaning occupations. Effectively, the most common downward labour mobility is that of women who initially enter the Spanish labour market in cleaning and domestic positions. This occupational category represents the 42.2% of total employed immigrant women in their first occupation after arrival, whereas the same occupational category was only representative of 5.4% of employed women prior to migration. It is remarkable from these results that, independently of their occupation of origin, most immigrant women enter the Spanish labour market as domestic assistants. For example, for 40% of those previously employed in managerial occupations (77 of 189) and 36.2% of those employed in technical and professional occupations (373 of 1028), their first job in Spain is in cleaning and domestic services. Moreover, service occupations is the second greatest category receiving employees from the rest of the occupations, corresponding to 24.4% of all first held employment of immigrant women in Spain.

However, the adjusted standardized residuals tell us that there exists a strong relationship between the last occupation in the country of origin and the first occupation in Spain. The residuals are especially high in the diagonal cells, which represent women that maintain their occupational category during the migratory process. Effectively, the highest values of these residuals are in those cells representing women that maintain employment in technical and professional occupations (17.78) or those women that hold cleaning and domestic occupations (7.12).

Consequently, from this table it is evident that although exists a dependence between the occupation of origin and that of destination (residuals of the cells in the diagonal), an intense downward occupational movement is also observed. Coinciding with the results of Anguiano (2001), the first labour insertion of immigrant women in the Spanish labour market is mainly in labour positions within the secondary segment, independent of the previous labour experience. Concretely, in hotels and restaurants, personal services, sales and customer services, in elementary occupations and in cleaning and domestic services.

These positions are held by 82.5% of employed immigrant women in their first job after immigration to Spain, whereas only represent the 46.1% of working women in their country of origin.

In table 2 depicts the multivariable models created to analyze the influence of explanatory variables on the direction of the labour mobility (downward, lateral and upward). In order to construct these models three dummy variables were created from the occupational scale used in the previous matrix: downward mobility, lateral mobility and upward mobility. Downward mobility occurs when the occupation of the first job in Spain is inferior to the occupation of the last job in the country of origin. In these cases, the outcome variable is equal to 1. However, when the occupation is equal or superior to that in the country of origin and downward mobility does not occur, the value of the dependent variable is 0.

There is lateral mobility when the first job in Spain is equal to the previous occupation prior to migration. Finally, upward mobility occurs when the first job held in Spain represents a better labour position on the occupational scale.

In the analysis, all women who immigrated to Spain from 1990 to 2007, aged 20-64 upon arrival are included. Our strategy for the construction of the three models was to include a different set of variables in each step. The aim of this strategy was to discover the overall effect of different groups of complementary characteristics, instead of obtaining the isolated effect of each of these variables. Specifically, four sets of variables were considered regarding the characteristics of women in the moment of migration: area of birthplace, socio-demographic factors, family characteristics at the time of migration, and the role of family and friends in seeking initial employment in the Spanish Labour market. The multivariable models showed in table 2 are those obtained once all four set of variables are included. The results refer to the whole immigrant women, as reference categories in the explanatory variables were not chosen. Thus, the odds ratio coefficients obtained with the regression models should be interpreted as the change in the likelihood of immigrant women on the whole of experiencing a downward, lateral or upward mobility. In fact, although we constructed three different models, they analyse three exhaustive and complementary options of labour mobility. Consequently, the results of every model are related to those obtained in the others and, therefore, our interpretation will concurrently consider the three mobility options as a whole.

Table 2. Likelihood of labour mobility: downward, lateral and upward: Coefficients of the Logistic regression models

Immigrant women arrived from 1990 to 2007. Age on arrival 20-64				
Variables	Freq.	Downward Mobility	Lateral mobility	Upward mobility
		Exp (β).	Exp (β).	Exp (β).
Area of Birthplace				
EU-25	463	0.38 ***	2.15 ***	1.72 ***
Rest of Europe	790	2.01 ***	0.53 ***	0.70 **
Africa	159	1.22 **	1.11 ns.	0.50 *
Latin America	2,128	1.50 ***	0.80 *	0.66 ***
North America and Oceania	18	0.63 **	1.33 *	1.77 ns.
Asia	52	1.15 ns.	0.74 ns.	1.39 ns.
Socio-demographic characteristics				
Age on arrival				
20-34	2,464	0.84 *	1.11 ns.	1.30 *
35-44	762	1.05 ns.	0.96 ns.	0.97 ns.
45-54	320	1.05 ns.	1.09 ns.	0.67 ns.
55-64	64	1.09 ns.	0.86 ns.	1.17 ns.
Educational Level				
Primary or lower	688	0.73 ***	1.36 ***	1.16 ***
Secondary	1,987	1.21 ***	0.76 ***	1.15 ns.
Universitary	935	1.14 **	0.97 ns.	0.75 ***
Family characteristics				
Partnership on arrival				
No partner	1,878	0.90 ns.	1.17 ns.	0.94 ns.
Partner already in Spain	343	1.08 ns.	0.85 ns.	1.12 ns.
Partner living elsewhere	1,389	1.03 ns.	1.00 ns.	0.95 ns.
Children on migration				
No children	1,556	0.84 ***	1.17 ***	1.11 ns.
Children	2,054	1.20 ***	0.85 ***	0.90 ns.
Role of social network				
Method of seeking the first job				
Formal methods	1,225	0.80 ***	1.16 ***	1.27 ***
Family and friends	2,385	1.25 ***	0.86 ***	0.79 ***
Constant		1.48 **	0.38 ***	0.11 ***
-2 log likelihood		4,310	3,826	2,178
Chi-Square		315 ***	191 ***	84 ***

Statistic Significance= "ns" non significant; " * " error < 0.10; " ** " error < 0.05; " *** " error < 0.01.

Data source : National Immigrant Survey 2007 (ENI-2007)

The constant coefficients indicate the overall likelihood of all immigrant women included in the analysis, without controlling for any of the independent variables. These constants point to a higher probability of experiencing a downward labour mobility (1.48) than to move laterally (0.38) or to gain in their labour position (0.11). The following step is then, to describe how the socio-demographic and family characteristics of these women affect

their options of labour mobility. First, it should be noted that, contrary to our preliminary hypothesis, having a partner in the moment of migration is not a significant factor in the explanation of the direction (down, lateral or up) of labour mobility. Nor was the presence or absence of a partner already in Spain upon arrival found to be significant. Age on arrival is a characteristic that does not seem to have a very significant effect on the probability of downward, lateral or upward labour mobility. However, those women that arrived in Spain at ages 20-34 present an odds ratio equal to 1.30 in the upward mobility model, indicating that the probability of improving labour attainment after migration is higher for young women. This is a logical result when we consider that the labour experience is gained in parallel with the life course, thus the propensity to be better situated in the labour market may also increase conjointly with increase in age. Inversely, the coefficient of 0.84 for this age group indicates a lower odds ratio regarding descent in occupational category when compared to older women.

The coefficients for birthplace indicate that non EU-25 European Women (Rest of Europe), are the immigrant workers with the highest probability of experiencing downward labour mobility with regard to last occupation in country of origin to the first occupation in Spain. Their relative odds are two times higher than that of the immigrant women as a whole (2.01). Following them are women from Latin America (1.50), Africa (1.22), Asia (1.15), North America and Oceania (0.63). Finally, we find those from EU-25, as the group that represents the lowest probability (0,38) of descending in the occupational scale after immigration to Spain. When we analyse the characteristics associated with maintenance of occupational category in Spain, results are highly complementary to these we just described. Women from EU-25 (2.15) and from North America and Oceania (1.33) represent the highest probabilities of keeping their occupational attainment. Contrarily, women from Other Europe (0.53) and Latin America (0.80) are those with the lowest relative odds of moving laterally. Results for African and Asian women are not statistically different from the general pattern. Finally, when the analysis focuses on upward labour mobility, coefficients indicate that women from North America and Oceania and from EU-25 present the highest odds of improving their labour position after their migration to Spain (1.72 and 1.77 respectively). However, given the few cases in the sample, results for North America and Oceania are not statistically significant. The result for African women is the opposite, as they present a relative odd of 0.5, which means that these women have 50% less probability of improving their labour attainment in their first job in Spain when

compared to the rest of immigrant women, even after controlling for the rest of the covariants in the model. Finally, Latin American (0.66) and Rest of European (0.70) women also have more difficulty in experiencing upward mobility in their first occupation in Spain compared to the last position held in their country of origin. Results for Asian women are not statistically significant.

In accordance with the results we can observe that level of education affects the three mobility options in a complementary manner. As expected, the lower odds of experiencing a downward labour mobility are held by women with primary or less than primary education (0.73). Our interpretation is that their previous labour attainment, prior to migration, was strongly limited as lesser-skilled workers. Therefore, they probably are not greatly affected when they enter into the secondary segment of the Spanish labour market. Contrarily, women with secondary education are the most suffer the greatest loss in occupational attainment after migration, with a relative odds of 1.21. Finally, women with a university degree are in an intermediate position, with a relative odds of 1.14. This last result might indicate that the most skilled women not only have higher probabilities of being in better labour positions in their country of origin, but also may have more opportunities to achieve a relatively prestigious entrance into the Spanish labour market. In the same vein, less educated women represent higher relative odds of moving laterally in the occupational scale after migration (1.36). This indicates the sort of jobs that are accessible to lesser-skilled women in both country of origin and country of destination. Women with secondary educational level have a relative odds ratio of 0.76 of lateral labour mobility whereas women with a university degree demonstrate an odds ratio of 0.97 and are the closest to the average pattern. Finally, when the direction of the mobility is upward, the most skilled women are those with lowest likelihood of improving their labour attainment after immigration, as they have a relative odds ratio of 0.75. This likely indicates that they are situated in the top occupational positions in their country of origin and their options of moving upward are limited after migration. In the opposite situation are those women with primary or lower educational degree (1.16); they demonstrate a higher probability of improving their occupational attainment after migration.

Continuing with the explanatory variables of the models, our findings reinforced the initial hypothesis. Women with children in the moment of immigration have a higher odd (1.20) of descending in the occupational scale after migration compared to those without children (0.80). We explain the major decline in labour attainment of immigrant women with

children as the result of decreased ability to be selective about labour insertion as their economic requirements are more urgent. The immediate need pushes these women towards employment as domestic assistants, given the high demand for this kind of labour. The effects of having children are the opposite when mobility is lateral: women with children find it more difficult to maintain their occupational category, with a relative odd of 0.85, compared to women without children, that have a coefficient equal to 1.17. Finally, the presence of children in the moment of migration is not statistically significant with regard to upward occupational mobility.

Last variable in the model is the role of family members and friends in seeking labour opportunities for recently migrated women. Results show that women who found their first job in Spain via a social network present greater likelihood of a downward mobility (1.25) than those women who found initial employment through formal methods (0.80). The interpretation is that the informal network assists in the attainment of informal jobs, which are largely situated in the bottom positions of the occupational scale, especially in jobs that entail cleaning or domestic services in private households. Therefore, the role of social networks in seeking labour opportunities for female immigration in Spain is highly linked to domestic services. Therefore, with regard to lateral or upward labour mobility, women who found their first job once in Spain using formal methods are more likely of maintain or improve their occupational attainment.

In summary these models indicate that Rest of European and Latin American women have the greatest risk of decline their occupational achievement after migration, upon initial insertion into the Spanish labour market, whereas women from EU-25 and North America and Oceania more likely to maintain or to improve their occupational attainment. Moreover, although African women are not the most affected by downward mobility, they compose the immigrant collective with more barriers to upward mobility, even when the effects of other socio-demographic, educational and family characteristics have been annulated. Results also show that age on arrival and partnership does not have significant effects on the direction of labour mobility of immigrant women. Furthermore, models demonstrated that the presence of children at the moment of migration increases the risk of decline in occupational attainment, as women must be less selective in their initial job selection in Spain. With regard to the role of educational level and its effects on the direction of labour mobility it can be concluded that migration to Spain is essentially favourable for women with the lowest or the highest educational levels, whereas the

occupational attainment of women with secondary education is specially damaged after their migration. Finally, the use of social networks as a resource for seeking employment is only linked to downward mobility. This result brings us to conclude that this is a valid option for the initial labour insertion in the most informal and unskilled positions, such as cleaning and domestic services. Effectively, we observed in table 1 that a large percentage of immigrant women (41.8%) enter in the Spanish Labour market in cleaning and domestic occupations.

The labour mobility in parallel to the settlement in Spain

Table 3 show the *total relative distribution matrix* of the first occupation held by immigrant women after their arrival to Spain and their current occupation in the moment of data collection. The positive values of the adjusted standardized residuals in the diagonal demonstrates that immigrant women have a high probability of maintaining the same occupational category during their time in the Spanish Labour Market. Effectively, the most common immobile situation is that of women that entered in Spain as a cleaning and domestic assistants and remained in the same labour category at the moment of data collection, in 2007. This represents 27,4% of the total immigrant women who were employed at the moment of interview. Service occupations (in hotels and restaurants, personal services and sales and customer services) constitute the second most common immobile occupation held by immigrant women (14.2%), followed by women who remain in elementary (unskilled) occupations (11.3%) and women in technical and professional occupations (7%). Furthermore, the marginal percentages in the rows and columns also demonstrate the strong relationship between the first occupational category post- arrival and occupational category at the time of data collection. Therefore, our primary conclusion from this matrix is that there is a general labour immobility of immigrant women during their settlement in the Spanish Labour Market. However, it is also possible to identify a weak trend toward upward mobility between the first and the current occupation. This is especially the case of women that left cleaning and domestic occupations for other labour positions. Effectively, if we look at the percentages found in the margins, the percentage that most greatly decreased (-12.3 percent points) is that of immigrant women working in cleaning and domestic occupations. Although 30.9% of employed women at the time of data collection were in this labour position, the percentage of women working in these occupations, as their initial job after arrival was much higher at 43.8%.

Table 3. Total relative distribution matrix of the first occupation in Spain and the current occupation in the moment of the interview. Immigrant Women arrived from 1990 to 2007, aged at arrived 16-64

	CURRENT OCCUPATION (2007)										TOTAL 1st OCCUPATION IN SPAIN				
	Managerial		Technical and Professional		Skilled		Administrative and Secretarial		Services			Elementary		Cleaning and Domestic	
	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations		Occupations	Occupations	Occupations	Occupations
Managerial Occupations	1.3%	0.1%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%
Frequencies (n)	45	6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	55
Adjusted estandaizaed residuals	36.55	-0.08	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-5.01	-5.01	
Technical and Professional Occupations	0.3%	7.0%	--	--	--	--	0.3%	0.6%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	8.7%
Frequencies (n)	9	263	--	--	--	--	17	22	5	5	5	6	6	6	324
Adjusted estandaizaed residuals	0.10	41.80	--	--	--	-1.00	-7.92	-8.71	-11.90	-11.90	-11.90	-11.90	-11.90	-11.90	
Skilled Occupations	--	--	1.0%	--	--	--	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	2.3%
Frequencies (n)	--	--	43	--	--	--	14	16	13	13	13	13	13	13	90
Adjusted estandaizaed residuals	--	--	22.83	--	--	--	-2.08	-0.53	-3.44	-3.44	-3.44	-3.44	-3.44	-3.44	
Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	0.1%	0.0%	--	--	--	3.2%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	4.2%
Frequencies (n)	7	26	--	--	--	107	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	155
Adjusted estandaizaed residuals	1.44	2.23	--	--	--	32.13	-5.06	-5.06	-5.06	-5.06	-5.06	-5.06	-5.06	-5.06	
Services Occupations	0.7%	1.8%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	1.2%	14.2%	14.2%	2.2%	2.2%	2.2%	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%	22.2%
Frequencies (n)	20	59	21	21	21	43	470	470	81	81	81	59	59	59	753
Adjusted estandaizaed residuals	-0.07	-3.33	-1.33	-1.33	-1.33	-1.06	26.76	-7.13	-7.13	-7.13	-7.13	-15.47	-15.47	-15.47	
Elementary Occupations	0.2%	0.3%	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%	0.4%	2.9%	2.9%	11.3%	11.3%	11.3%	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%	17.1%
Frequencies (n)	6	16	30	30	30	16	96	96	397	397	397	49	49	49	610
Adjusted estandaizaed residuals	-2.86	-7.40	1.94	1.94	1.94	-4.31	-5.77	-5.77	30.59	30.59	30.59	-13.47	-13.47	-13.47	
Cleaning and Domestic Occupations	0.2%	1.0%	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%	1.4%	7.5%	7.5%	5.7%	5.7%	5.7%	27.4%	27.4%	27.4%	43.8%
Frequencies (n)	8	30	32	32	32	48	274	274	211	211	211	978	978	978	1,581
Adjusted estandaizaed residuals	-7.19	-15.76	-4.48	-4.48	-4.48	-7.58	-9.37	-9.37	-8.84	-8.84	-8.84	35.56	35.56	35.56	
TOTAL CURRENT OCCUPATION	2.7%	10.8%	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%	6.6%	26.0%	26.0%	19.9%	19.9%	19.9%	30.9%	30.9%	30.9%	100%
Frequencies (n)	96	401	128	128	128	234	890	890	713	713	713	1,106	1,106	1,106	3,568

Data source : National Immigrant Survey 2007 (ENI-2007)

In fact, this is the most marked mobility trend from the first to the current job. Contrarily, the percentages relating to women in all other labour positions were sustained or increased. Thus, the second conclusion is that some upward occupational mobility did occur, although it is weakly demonstrated and specific to mobility from cleaning and domestic occupations to other occupations. Moreover, the most obvious increase is experienced by services occupations (from the 22.2% of all immigrant women in their first occupation to 26% of those employed in the moment of interview).

Immigrant women leaving cleaning and domestic occupations

The percentages of the last matrix have given us an idea about the general occupational immobility experienced by immigrant women within the Spanish Labour Market. However, these tables also show that cleaning and domestic occupations present one of the highest outflows to other labour positions. Furthermore, descriptive results also demonstrate that domestic assistants largely leave these positions in favour of service and other elementary occupations. Descriptive results also show that, despite the importance of this movement, 61.9% of immigrant women working as domestic assistant remain in the same occupation category as that of their first job after migration. Therefore, evaluation of the influence of the socio-demographic and family characteristics on the probability of domestic workers leaving the domestic services in favour of other labour positions is relevant. With this aim we constructed a multivariable model through a logistic regression (table 4). The model includes women arrived in Spain from 1990 to 2007, aged 20-64 on arrival, working at the time of data collection and whose first job in Spain was in cleaning and domestic occupations. The outcome variable in the model is: *still working in cleaning and domestic occupations or working in any other occupation, at the time of data collection*. This is a dummy variable with value equal to 0 for those who claim to be still working as domestic assistants and a value equal to 1 otherwise.

In the first model we included the area of birthplace, age on arrival, educational level and family characteristics (partner and children) relating to the time of data collection. In the second step, we also control our results by the duration in years of settlement in Spain since immigration, which is considered a key factor in order to explain the probability of leaving the domestic services and experience an upward labour mobility. We chose as a collective of reference those Latin American women, aged at their arrival 20-34, with

university education, with neither children nor partner, and who have been residing in Spain during more than 5 years.

Table 4. Likelihood of leaving the cleaning and domestic occupations: Coefficients of the Logistic regression models

Domestic assistant women arrived from 1990 to 2007. Age on arrival 20-64			
Variables	Freq.	Model 1 Exp (β).	Model 2 Exp (β).
Area of Birthplace			
Latin America	1,019	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
EU-25	44	0.72 ns.	0.55 *
Rest of Europe	363	0.46 ***	0.63 **
Africa	47	1.57 ns.	1.12 ns.
Asia	16	1.48 ns.	1.23 ns.
Socio-demographic characteristics			
Age on arrival			
20-34	913	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
35-44	376	0.69 ***	0.61 ***
45-64	200	0.36 ***	0.34 ***
Educational Level			
Primary or lower	355	0.21 ***	0.21 ***
Secondary	867	0.57 ***	0.52 ***
Universitary	267	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
Family characteristics			
Partnership (currently)			
No partner	800	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
Partner living a part	159	0.56 ***	0.74 **
Cohabiting wiht partner	530	1.18 ns.	1.10 ns.
Children (currently)			
No children	344	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
Children	1,145	1.15 *	0.94 ns.
Years from migration			
Less tahn 1 year	113		0.03 ***
1 year	136		0.12 ***
2 years	179		0.29 ***
3 years	166		0.40 ***
4 years	195		0.44 ***
5 years	238		0.63 ***
More than 5 years	462		1 Ref.
Constant		1.51 **	3.82 ***
-2 log likelihood		1,836	1,648
Chi-Square		137 ***	325 ***

Statistic Significance= "ns" non significant; " * " error < 0.10; " ** " error < 0.05; " *** " error < 0.01.

Data source : National Immigrant Survey 2007 (ENI-2007)

Results show small, but significant differences between the diverse regions of birthplace. Specifically, for EU-25 and African women the likelihood of leaving domestic occupations is not statistically different from that of Latin American women, the collective of

reference. Moreover, the coefficient for Asian women (1.48) is non-significant, due to the small subsample of women included in the model. On the contrary, Rest of European women present the lowest probability of leaving domestic services (0.46). Once we controlled birthplace coefficients for years of the settlement in Spain, the findings were essentially the same. However, we observed that there is an increase in the chance of Rest of European women of abandoning the domestic services. Thus, part of the explanation for their lower likelihood of dropping out of domestic services is the recent arrival of the new collective of immigrant women. However, the differences between Latin American and Rest of European women are still fairly obvious. Furthermore, once controlling for years from their arrival, the results for EU-25 became significant, with an odd of abandoning the domestic services of 0.55 to 1 of the Latin American women. Our interpretation is that this result reflects the presence of Portuguese women working in domestic services that arrived to Spain long time ago.

The influence of the age upon arrival on the propensity for leaving the domestic services is clear: the probability decreases as age increases. Relative to women that arrived at ages 20-34, that as the reference group has a coefficient of 1, women that arrived at ages 35-44 present an odd ratio of 0.61, and women arrived at 45-64 have an odd ratio of 0.34. Results by educational level are also as expected: the higher the level of education, the higher the probability of leaving cleaning and domestic occupations. These results indicate that although the most skilled women may enter the workforce as domestic assistants as their first job in Spain, they present better chances of upward mobility towards other labour positions during their settlement in the country.

With regard to family characteristics, results show that having or not having children at the time of interview is not a significant explanatory characteristic of our outcome variable. On the contrary, women who have a partner but do not live with him at the time of data collection present lower odds of abandoning domestic services as compared to women without a partner or women that cohabit with a partner. This result confirms our preliminary hypothesis: women that serve as the pioneer of the household migration, leaving their partner in the country of origin, are likely to accept to work as domestic assistant viewing it as the best strategy to save money and to legalize their residence in Spain, in order to facilitate the future family reunification.

Finally, the last covariant in the model is time in years of the settlement in Spain since immigration. Results are clear: the probability of leaving the cleaning and domestic

occupations for other occupations is directly related to the length of the time in Spain. Then, those domestic assistants living in Spain for less than one year have a relative odd ratio of 0.03 comparing to the odd ratio of those women living in Spain for one year (0.12) or living in Spain for four years (0.44). Furthermore, the relationship between duration of the settlement and the outcome variable is easily noted observing the value of the constant before and after including this variable. In the first model, the value of the constant was 1.51. After controlling by the length of the stay, the value increases to 3.82. This indicates that the duration of the residence in the Spain largely explains the upward labour mobility of immigrant women from their first occupation in cleaning and domestic services to their movement to other occupations. This result reinforces our general hypothesis that immigrant women initially accept, a partial loss of their labour prestige as a part most ambitious *social strategy*. However, as we observed in the mobility matrix, this strategy is materialized through a slow and restricted upward occupational mobility, mostly within the secondary segment of the Spanish economy.

5.- Conclusion and Discussion

This paper contextualized the acceleration of the arrival of foreign-born women into the segmented Spanish labour market where immigrant women hold more unskilled and gendered jobs that native women try to avoid. From this perspective, the labour segmentation is manifested as a need to fill the bottom positions in the occupational structure. The new labour demand arose from emergence of new activities linked with domestic reproduction in a context of growing female participation in the labour market. Female immigration in Spain and its subsequent labour insertion are, therefore, interpreted as the consequences of the insufficient supply of native women for unskilled jobs, within the complex process of socio-demographic and labour complementarity.

From this theoretical perspective, the hypothesis was that labour mobility of immigrant women is restricted to those occupations of the secondary segment in Spanish labour market. Thus we predicted that the most common labour trajectory is that experienced by women initially entering the Spanish labour market as domestic assistants and later leaving these positions in favour of work in hotels, restaurants, personal services or other unskilled occupations. This paper analysed the occupational mobility in two different periods. First, the analysis has focused on the mobility between the last occupation in the country of origin and the first in Spain. Second, mobility is observed between the first position held in

Spain and that held at the time of data collection. The main conclusions are as follows: initial insertion into the Spanish labour market involves a clear drop in their occupational category. Results show that the most common first occupations in Spain are in the secondary segment, particularly as domestic workers. The multivariate regression analysis has also highlighted how Latin American and non-EU women are more likely to experience a downward occupational mobility after their migration, in their initial labour entrance into the Spanish labour market. Moreover, African women represent the immigrant collective with the greatest difficulty in improvement of labour attainment after immigration to Spain. Our findings also indicate that although age and couple characteristics are not significant with regard to direction of labour mobility, having children at the moment of migration increases the likelihood of decline in occupational attainment, as does having a secondary education. The results have also demonstrated a significant link between the role of family members and friends in seeking employment opportunities and an increase in the likelihood of experiencing a downward movement. Thus, we surmise that utilization of a social network is especially useful for insertion into domestic service positions. This is an expected result given the labour flexibility in this occupation.

Finally, after examining the labour mobility since arrival (i.e. during their residence in Spain) the analysis indicates that mobility is very limited and restricted to those labour positions in the secondary segment of the labour market. Generally, a clear ascendant trajectory exists from domestic assistants to work in other personal services or in hotels and restaurants as well as in other unskilled or elementary jobs. Furthermore, the key element in this occupational trajectory is the length of residence in Spain, with a greater chance of leaving the domestic work with extended residence. This result is in conjunction with the hypothesis that the acceptance of the worst labour positions is part of a wider migratory strategy for both mid and long-term. However, analyses have also made evident the difficulty to reach strong conclusions about integration of immigrant women in the Spanish labour market especially within a context of a notable recent increase female immigrant influx.

Effectively, we believe that the recent and largest inflow of immigrant women has reduced the observed effect of the length of residence in Spain as a signal to indicate the improvement of their labour positions. Since the inflow of immigrant women is too recent in Spain, one may interpret the observed weak labour mobility as a consequence of the

effect of the recent arrival of foreign-born workers. If such statement were true, one would expect an improvement in their labour position and a confluence with the native's occupations according to their educational attainment. In this case, one would interpret this initial complementarity in terms of that experienced in the labour market by the young population, who head towards adult positions as they gain in labour experience. The opposite is true of immigrant women that maintain the same labour positions despite of their educational attainment and independently of the length of their settlement in Spain. In such a case, one would expect an ethnic segmentation of the labour force in Spain. However, from this analysis we cannot conclude which scenario is more realistic. It is then necessary to wait until more immigrant women have down definitively settled in the Spanish labour force and in Spanish society in order to gain perspective on what the future may hold for immigrant women in Spain.

To conclude, the investigation has sought to sustain the theory that immigrant women follow a long-term strategy in order to achieve an improvement in their social and economical situation, primarily as a result of their migratory experience. This strategy explains the acceptance, from these women, to employ themselves in the less valued and gendered positions, thus experiencing a decline in their labour mobility. However, within this long-term strategy it is not possible to assess whether social mobility is solely determined by occupational position in the labour market. It should be considered that other elements, not included in the analysis, are important in understanding these strategies including economic compensation from the job they hold in Spain compared to their salary before migrating; improved labour and social security conditions, or the greater and more affordable access to professional training courses to name a few examples.

Finally, this paper should end pointing out the importance of the changing socio-economic context in Spain: from an extraordinary context of economic expansion to a deep economic recession. The major vulnerability of immigrant workers during periods of economic contraction are well analysed, as in the 2002 study of OCDE that addresses the employment of immigrants. As Cachón (2009) argued, the increased vulnerability of immigrant workers is due to their concentration in unstable and cyclical activities that depend on the greater economic environment. Therefore, it is not unusual that immigrant workers present higher unemployment rates than native workers during less favourable economic situations. Nonetheless, taking into consideration the consequences of this new economic context surrounding the social and labour conditions of female immigrants,

theirs is a very different scenario than that of their male counterparts. Effectively, although these women share with male immigrants the same vulnerability within the Spanish labour market, the activities in which they are employed, mainly in domestic services, are less affected by the economic crisis than male occupations. It is likely that despite the new economic environment, most native families will continue to face the same challenges in balancing work and family and, therefore, the hiring of immigrant women will continue to be the only solution. Therefore, demand for immigrant women and their labour incorporation will depend more heavily on the amount of assistance services provided from the Welfare State programs than on the new employment crisis. It is nonetheless unclear whether the current situation encompassing a general rise in unemployment rates will give rise to a more pronounced competition dynamic between less skilled native and immigrant women. This confluence would occur in a new labour context, with a scarcity of labour opportunities due to the contraction of the economy.

Therefore, the scientific attention should point to the consequences of the economic crisis over the immigrants' prospects of social mobility. Will these new unfavourable circumstances augment the frustration of their improvement prospects? Will the crisis create ethnic segmentation in the labour market affecting not only immigrant women but also their children? Of course, research must also be directed to the evolution of gender relations in society in light of the emergence of these new circumstances, not only within native's household, but also within immigrant households. A gender perspective is therefore essential to understand the development of society.

References:

- ANGUIANO, M. E. (2001). "Inmigración laboral extracomunitaria en España: explorando perfiles y trayectorias laborales". *Migraciones*, 10 (December), 111-134.
- BECKER, G. S (1964). "Human capital: a theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education". *National Bureau of Economic Research*, General Series, 80.
- BECKER, G. S. (1962). "Investment in human capital: a theoretical analysis". *Journal of Political Economy*, 70, 9-49.
- BLAU, P.; DUNCAN, O.D. (1967). *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: The Free Press.
- BORJAS, G. (1994). "The Economics of Immigration". *Journal of Economic Literature*, 32 (4), 1667-1717.
- CACHÓN, L. (1989). *¿Movilidad social o trayectorias de clase? Elementos para una crítica de la sociología de la movilidad social*, Vol. 100. Madrid: Siglo XXI, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS), Monografías.
- CACHÓN, L. (2009). *La "España inmigrante": marco discriminatorio, mercado de trabajo y políticas de integración*, Vol. 66. Rubí (Barcelona): Anthropos, Migraciones Proyecto Editorial, Autores, Textos y Temas. Ciencias Sociales.
- CARABAÑA, J. (1999). *Dos estudios sobre movilidad intergeneracional*. Madrid: Fundación Argentaria, Visor Dis.
- CARABAÑA, J.; GÓMEZ BUENO, C. (1996). *Escalas de prestigio profesional*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS).
- COLECTIVO IOÉ. (2003). "Mujeres inmigradas y trabajo". CHECA, F. (Ed.) *Mujeres en el camino. El fenómeno de la migración femenina en España*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 15-54.
- CORTINA, C., ESTEVE, A.; DOMINGO, A. (2008). "Marriage Patterns of the Foreign-Born Population in a New Country of Immigration: The Case of Spain". *International Migration Review*, 42 (4), 877-902.
- DICKENS, W.T.; LANG, K. (1988). "The Reemergence of Segmented Labor Market Theory". *The American Economic Review*, 78 (2), 129-134.
- DORINGER, P.B; PIORE, M. (1971). "Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Adjustment". New York: D.C. Heath and Company.
- EKBERG, J. (1994). "Economic progress among immigrants in Sweden". *Scandinavian Journal of Social Welfare*, 3, 148-157.
- EKBERG, J. (1996). "Labour market career among young Finnish immigrants in Sweden". *International Migration Quarterly Review*, 34, 371-384.
- ENCHAUTGUI, M.E. (1998). "Low-skilled Immigrants and the Changing American Labor Market". *Population and Development Review*, 24 (4), 811-824.
- GLASS, D.V. (1954). *Social Mobility in Britain*. Londres: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- GOLDTHORPE, J. H. (1980). *Social mobility and class structure in modern Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- GOLDTHORPE, J. H.; HOPE, K. (1972). "Occupational Grading and Occupational Prestige". *Social Science Information*, XI (5), 17-74.
- GOLDTHORPE, J. H.; HOPE, K. (1974). *The Social Grading of Occupations. A New Approach and Scale*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- HOPE, K. (1972). *The Analysis of Social Mobility. Methods and approaches*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- KALLEBERG, A. L.; SORENSEN, A.B. (1979). "The sociology of labor markets". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 5, 351-379.
- KING, R.; ZONTINI, E. (2000). "The Role of Gender in the South European Immigration Model". *Papers, Revista de Sociología*, 60 ("Inmigración femenina en el sur de Europa"). 35-52.
- LIPSET, S.M.; ZETTERGERG, H.L. (1959). "Social Mobility in Industrial Societies". BENDIX, R.; LIPSET, S.M. (Eds.). *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 11-75.
- OCDE (2002). "El empleo de los extranjeros. Perspectivas y cuestiones en los países de la OCDE". Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales (Ed.) *Perspectivas del empleo, 2001*. Madrid, 333-405.
- OSO, L. (2003). "Las jefas de hogar en un contexto migratorio. Modelos y rupturas". CHECA, F. (Ed.) *Mujeres en el camino. El fenómeno de la migración femenina en España*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 85-104.
- PARELLA, S. (2002). *La internacionalización de la reproducción. La inserción laboral de la mujer inmigrante en los servicios de proximidad*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Departament de Sociologia, Facultat de Ciències Polítiques i Sociologia, Bellaterra, Tesi Doctoral (mimeo).
- PARELLA, S. (2003). *Mujer, Inmigrante y trabajadora: la triple discriminación*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- PARKIN, F. (1978). *Orden político y desigualdades de clase. Estratificación de las sociedades capitalistas y comunistas*. Madrid: Debate.
- PIORE, M. (1971). "The Dual Labor Market: Theory and Implications". GORDON, D. M. (Ed.) *Political Economy: An Urban Perspective*. Massachusetts: Heath and Company, Lexington Books, pp. 90-94.
- PIORE, M. (1975). "Notes for a Theory of Labor Market Stratification". EDWARDS, R. *et al.* (Eds.) *Labor Market Segmentation*. Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, Lexington Books, 125-150.
- PIORE, M. (1979a). *Birds of passage: migrant labour and industrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PIORE, M. (1979b). "Los trabajadores extranjeros". PIORE, M. (Ed.) *Paro e inflación. Perspectivas institucionales y estructurales*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 273-289.
- REHER, D. *et al.* (2008). *Informe Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes (ENI-2007)*. Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), Documentos de Trabajo, 2/08.

- REISSMAN, L. (1974). "Estratificación social". SMELSER, S.M. (Ed.) *Sociología*. Madrid: Euramérica, 269-350.
- REYNERI, E. (1996). *Sociologia del mercato del lavoro*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- REYNERI, E. (2004). "Immigrants in a Segmented and Often Undeclared Labour Market". *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 9 (1), 71-93.
- ROOTH, D. O.; EKBERG, J. (2006). "Occupational Mobility for Immigrants in Sweden". *International Migration*, 44 (2), 57-77.
- SORENSEN (1977). "The Structure of inequality and the Process of Attainment". *The American Sociological Review*, 42 (6) (December), 965-978.
- SPILERMAN, S. (1977). "Careers, Labor Market Structure and Socioeconomic Achievement". *American Sociological Review*, 83 (3) (November), 551-592.
- SOLÉ, C. (2003). "Inmigración, mercado de trabajo y género". *Documento de Trabajo, Serie Sociología*, S2003/01.
- THUROW, L.C. (1975). *Generating inequality: mechanisms of distribution in the U.S. economy*. New York: Basic Books.