

LUND UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EXPLORING CONNECTIONS WITHIN DOCUMENTED-NON-EUROPEAN
IMMIGRANTS' SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INFLUENCE OF THE CONNECTIONS IN
LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION, LUND-SWEDEN

AUTHOR: DOERTE CUDJOE-TEYE

MASTER'S THESIS WELFARE POLICIES AND MANAGEMENT 30 CREDITS

AUTUMN SEMESTER 2020

SUPERVISOR: CHARALAMBOS DEMETRIOU

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: DOERTE CUDJOE-TEYE

TITLE: EXPLORING CONNECTIONS WITHIN DOCUMENTED-NON-EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS' SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INFLUENCE OF THE CONNECTIONS IN LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION, LUND-SWEDEN

MASTER'S THESIS WPMM42, 30 CREDITS

SUPERVISOR: CHARALAMBOS DEMETRIOU

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, AUTUMN SEMESTER 2020

This thesis explores the labour integration of documented-non-European immigrants into the Swedish labour market through their immigrants' networks. Most documented-non-European immigrants face labour integration challenges due to the lack of specific labour skills. In Sweden's case, most jobs on the labor market are highly-skilled jobs that require that the immigrant acquires or possesses some level of Swedish labour skills such as the Swedish language and work experience. Through these networks, immigrants can enhance these labour skills to facilitate the job search process. However, immigrants' networks are not static but embedded with connections with different resources to address labor integration needs. Consequently, this research investigates the types of connections within immigrants' networks, their usefulness, the obstacles they may feature, and how different documented-non-European immigrants affiliate and use these connections to solve labor integration needs. Social capital theory and concepts such as bonding, bridging, and linking social capital are discussed to examine these connections' relevance in labour integration. These concepts served as analytical themes for the field data analysis. Based on a qualitative research approach, I interviewed ten purposely selected documented-non-European immigrants to investigate their experiences and perceptions regarding their networks of connections and the influence of these connections in the labour integration process. Interviewees mentioned that strong and weak ties, the Swedish Public Employment Service, and technology-mediated channels were connections used to address labour integration needs. However, affiliations to and prioritizing these networks of connections in solving labour integration needs from study findings were based on the immigrant's status, such as being highly-educated or less- educated. Though these networks of connections, according to the interviewees, accrued some benefits in addressing labour integration needs, they also encountered some limitations.

Keywords: Documented-Non-European Immigrants, Labour Market Integration, Immigrants' Social Networks, Social Capital, Networks of Connections

POPULAR SCIENCE SUMMARY

Documented-non-European immigrants are perceived on the European labour market as different from the native European population. They are regarded as lacking the necessary labour skills. Most jobs on the Swedish labour market are highly-skilled jobs, which requires the documented-non-European immigrant to possess some considerable level of labour skills and the Swedish language. Scholars have identified the immigrant's immediate networks as alleviating some of these imperfections. Immigrants' networks are not static structures but embedded with connections with differing resources. Consequently, this study aims to use social capital theory to investigate the usefulness of some of these connections in the labor integration of documented-non-European immigrant job seekers on the Swedish labour market. Through semi-structured interviews, ten purposely selected documented-non-European immigrants who relied on their networks of connections to access the Swedish labour market were interviewed. The results showed that immigrants prioritized and relied on their strong-tie and weak-tie connections, the Swedish Public Employment Service, and technology-mediated connections depending on their educational background. The highly-educated relied extensively on the Swedish Public Employment Service and technology-mediated connections for labour-related issues and strong-tie and weak-tie connections for social support. The less-educated relied immensely on strong-tie connections for labor integration issues and social support, who later linked them to weak-tie connections and the Swedish Public Employment Service. Technology-mediated connections mimicked strong and weak ties characteristics. This study suggests that the Swedish Public Employment Service and technology-mediated connections are equally relevant connections within immigrants' networks. This study argues that strong-tie connections were exploitative and information sharing concerning labour opportunities were vague. The study findings contradict the general assertions that weak-tie connections are instrumental in labour integration. This study's immigrants, both less-educated and highly-educated, relied on weak-tie connections for social support just as their strong-tie connections. The Swedish Public Employment Service, however, from the study results had structural inadequacies. This study explored the benefits and risks of immigrants relying on the mentioned networks of connections for labour integration. Consequently, scholars of migration studies should investigate and develop theories capable of predicting and explaining balance within networks of connections in labour integration, and migration literature should look at how different immigrants use the various networks of connections in solving labour-related issues.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 THESIS OUTLINE | 6 |
| 2. LITERATURE REVIEW | 8 |
| 2.1 DEFINING CONNECTIONS WITHIN IMMIGRANTS' NETWORKS | 8 |
| 2.1.1 STRONG AND WEAK TIE CONNECTIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL | 9 |
| 2.1.2 CONNECTIONS WITHIN STATE INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL | 13 |
| 2.1.3 TECHNOLOG- MEDIATED CONNECTIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL | 17 |
| 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK | 20 |
| 3.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY | 20 |
| 4. METHODOLOGY | 26 |
| 4.1. SOURCES OF DATA | 26 |
| 4.2 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE | 26 |
| 4.3 POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER | 27 |
| 4.4 DATA COLLECTION | 27 |
| 4.5 INTERVIEWEES BACKGROUND | 28 |
| 4.6 DATA CODING AND ANAYLISIS | 30 |
| 4.7 VALIDITY AND RELAIABILITY | 31 |
| 4.8 LIMITATIONS | 31 |
| 4.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY | 32 |
| 5. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION | 33 |
| 5.1 DEFINING IMMIGRANTS' NETWORKS OF CONNECTIONS | 33 |
| 5.2 CONNECTIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL | 36 |
| 5.2.1 BONDING/BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LABOUR INTEGRATION | 37 |
| 5.2.2 LINKING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LABOUR INETGRATION | 42 |
| 5.2.3 BONDING/BRIDGING/LINKING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LABOUR INETGRATION | 45 |
| 5.3 DISCUSSION | 47 |
| 6. CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH | 52 |
| REFERENCES | 54 |
| APPENDIX 1- INTERVIEW GUIDE | 60-62 |

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Documented-non-European immigrants are immigrants who satisfy all the legal requirements to enter, stay, and, if applicable, hold employment in the destination country. In the case of long-term residence, integration of documented-non-European immigrants into the host society is generally desirable. It is essential to extend them the same 'social, economic and legal rights' as those enjoyed by citizens per national legislation (UNFPA, 2004, p. 85). Current labour migration reforms in Sweden have given way for employers to recruit qualified non-European immigrants into the Swedish labour market (Bevelander & Irastorza, 2014, p. 1). However, immigrants of non-European origin are perceived in destination societies' labor market as different from the native population and other European immigrants. Sweden's labour market is saturated with a 'highly-skilled workforce' and a few 'low skilled' jobs that immigrants can work. Either way, most of these jobs require that the immigrant possesses a considerable proficiency in the Swedish language and other labour market-related skills. However, the argument is that most immigrants, especially those who have not been in the country for long, are unlikely to possess these skills (Bevelander & Irastorza, 2014, p.3). In this light, migration scholars have widely acknowledged the importance of immigrants' networks for reducing all kinds of 'social,' 'economic' and 'emotional' costs for immigrants. Immigrants' networks provide insightful information about the host society, for instance, labour opportunities, and assist the immigrant on how to maneuver his or her way to a successful labour integration within the host community. Immigrants' social networks can alleviate such labor market segregation and increase labour integration among unemployed immigrants (Attstrom, 2007, p. 1). In this study context, labor market integration is 'holding a stable job - usually a permanent, full-time job with pay and position providing a close fit to the individual's type and level of skill endowments' (Schmitt, 2012, p. 257). Immigrants' social networks are all the contacts through which an individual might receive information about the host society and assistance of any kind. (Thomas, 2011, p. 53).

Boyd (1989) argues that some literature on immigrants' networks have described these as static in their existence and roles and neglect to examine the variation in resources that immigrants draw from their networks. He further adds that recent research on immigrants' integration should instead dispute the simplistic representation of social networks by taking a critical look into the variations in connections and differing resources within the immigrant's networks (p.

654-655). According to Behtoui (2008, p. 4), connections within networks come in different forms: informal and formal channels. Behtoui (2008) 'informal channels' are immigrants' networks of close friends, families, and acquaintances, while 'formal channels' are a nationwide public employment service system that serves as intermediaries between job seekers and prospective employers. He further adds that the internet facilitates the free flow of information and strengthens communication within the immigrant's networks of connections. With the rise of the internet, immigrants are likely to access diverse sources of information and assistance from people who supply information online but may lack any previous connection with the immigrant (p. 412). Granovetter (1973) elaborates between 'strong-tie' and 'weak tie' connections within immigrants' social networks. Strong ties consist of close friends and family and weak ties made of acquaintances. These connections support individuals with basic needs, provide vast sources of information about employment opportunities, link them to the broader and other parts of the host society to facilitate labor and general integration. The dynamics within these connections symbolize their unique features and individual assistance to immigrants to ensure successful labour integration (Woolcock, 2003, p.72; Claridge, 2018). Consequently, this study investigates the types of connections within documented non-European immigrants' social networks by asking four interrelated questions. Against this backdrop, the first question is: What types of connections exist within the social networks of documented-non-European immigrants?

The usefulness of the immigrants' networks of connections is conversely dependent on the 'social capital' embedded within. Social capital is how benefiting from a group's or 'collective' resources lie in the 'structure of relationships' or one's relationship with others within their social networks (Portes, 1998, p. 7). In this case, individuals within the immigrant's network are the 'actual resources' as, without them, there are no 'collective' resources to use to one's advantage. They provide a continuous flow of social and economic information, share resources, bridge the association and communication gap between immigrants and the host society, and position them in specific places and occupations (Portes, 1998; Bourdieu, 1983, p.191). Claridge (2018) discusses that based on bonding, bridging, and linking social capital; immigrants' connections can help them address their labor integration needs. Theime (2006) describes bonding social capital as ties to individuals who share similar characteristics with the immigrant regarding 'demographic characteristics' such as race, nationality.' Bridging social capital describes relations with individuals who do not share common 'demographic

characteristics' with the immigrant but possess resources that can help with labour integration (p. 3). Linking social capital describes ties with individuals, groups, or corporate actors represented in public agencies (Claridge, 2018. P. 4). Consequently, the second research question is: How do these connections facilitate labour market integration of documented-non-European immigrants?

Although the migrant network approach has been critical in immigrants' labour integration, it has not gone without criticism. Increasingly scholars point at the adverse effects the reliance on migrant networks of connections could feature (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p1338). Portes (1998) suggests that the networks of connections¹ social capital creates boundaries, and the level of social control generated is healthy but can restrict the immigrant's personal freedom (p.15). The overreliance and close relationship within immigrants' networks can lead to over-obligation, which prevents more 'opportunistic interactions' resulting from in-group loyalty—conversely causing neglect to other beneficial behaviour and resources retrievable from other connections (Alder & Seok-Woo, 2002, p.30-31). In light of this, the third research question is: What obstacles to labour integration may these networks of connections of documented-non-European immigrants feature?

Lastly, research suggests a difference in the types of connections used by different 'occupational classes'² and that immigrants may mobilize social capital from various sources. The composition of migration has become diverse, consisting of multiple immigrants such as family reunification immigrants, students, and labour immigrants, and mostly, the motive for using and prioritizing a connection type in addressing labour market needs depends on the immigrant's status (Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2018, p. 929). Besides, Wessendorf (2017) stresses the different connections used by 'highly' and 'less' educated³ documented-non-European immigrants. 'Highly-skilled' or highly-educated immigrants such as professionals and students might socialize with 'co-ethnics'/co-nationals⁴ for essential social support.

¹Networks of connections is the same as the connections within the immigrants' network

² Occupational classes in this case refers to different documented-non-European immigrants in terms of the kind of work they do or the level of education

³ Highly-educated immigrants are those with good academic education as compared to the less-educated

⁴ Immigrants from the same country or immigrants from the same country who share a common ethnic identity

Nevertheless, with issues regarding labour integration, they rely on 'weak ties' such as natives/European immigrants and other immigrants' networks of connections, including educational-based networks and professional immigrant networks for employment. Due to their high 'cultural capital,' the highly-skilled compared to the less-skilled immigrant will navigate the local system by contacting responsible authorities and institutions to access information regarding the labour market. The highly-educated are also mostly keen on forming social relations beyond 'co-ethnics' (p. 10). Van Meeteren & Pereira (2018) add that the highly-educated or highly-skilled are likely to rely less on connections within their immigrants' networks of connections than the less-skilled or less-educated immigrant. With this knowledge, it will be interesting to investigate whether immigrants of this study also used specific networks of connections based on their differing immigrant backgrounds, such as level of education, occupational status, or their position on the labour market. This insight leads to the fourth and final question: How do documented-non-European immigrants define connections within their immigrants' social networks?

Against this background, Hagan (1998) argues that documented-non-European immigrants who lack well-established connections in the host community face difficulties in labour integration. Compared to having well-established connections who provide emotional support and share information about job opportunities leading to labour market 'niches' (p. 55). Therefore, I attempt to increase understanding of immigrants' network dynamics by identifying how different connections within immigrants' networks help address the labor integration needs of ten documented-non-European immigrants in Lund, Sweden. This research centers on immigrants' experiences and perceptions, and so its purpose is to contribute to existing knowledge on the subject. However, due to this study's local nature, which focuses on one city in the country and the small sample size, and the individual nature of each person's experience, it is impossible to generalize these findings.

Based on this study's results, I find that immigrants used different connections within their immigrants' networks to address their labour needs based on their position: either highly-educated or less-educated. The highly-educated preferred to rely on connections such as the Swedish Public Employment Service and technology-mediated/internet connections for labour-related issues while relying on their weak-tie and strong-tie connections for social support, which partially facilitated labour integration. On the other hand, the less-educated

relied extensively on their strong-tie connections for labor-related issues, which later connected them to the Swedish Public Employment Service and other weak-tie connections.

Based on bonding social capital, strong-tie connections facilitated labour integration by connecting immigrants, especially the less-skilled, to jobs within the immigrant's network. Through this, the less-educated immigrants acquired some labor skills. They also participated in other labour integration training programs to develop professional labour skills to use to their competitive advantage in the mainstream labour market. Strong ties also connected immigrants to broader sections of the host society possessed with vast resources. Strong-tie connections provided social support such as solving accommodation issues and transmitting beliefs and traditions from the immigrants' country of origin.

Interviewees of this study identified the Swedish Public Employment Service as a connection within their immigrants' networks. Based on the study findings, the Swedish Public Employment Service helped some interviewees find jobs matching their educational background. Moreover, those who participated in labour training programs such as the Introduction Programme enhanced their labor skills, such as speaking the Swedish language and attaining practical experiences. Technology-mediated connections, however, were not ideal-type connections⁵ but rather embedded within the other connections. Technology-mediated connections mimicked bonding, bridging social capital. Technology-mediated connections facilitated communication among friends and connected immigrants to other online resources that were not present within their strong tie and weak tie connections and the Swedish Public Employment Service. On an individual level, it served as a medium for searching for jobs on the internet. However, the study revealed that these connections, despite the positive influence on labour integration, had some negatives implications.

Strong ties could not link some immigrants of this study to decent jobs. For the less-educated, jobs obtained through ethnic enclaves did not pay much, and working conditions were poor. For the highly-educated, strong ties could not find jobs matching their qualification as they mentioned that most of their strong-tie connections were working less paid jobs. On the other

⁵ Ideal type connection implies that technology mediated connection is not a pure type connection as it is embedded within the different connections as facilitating communication and the job search process.

hand, weak-tie connections could not facilitate some interviewees' labour integration process, as they were difficult to reach. Interviewees mentioned that they usually had difficulties socializing with natives due to the difference in understanding the host country's social competence. Corporate actors within the Swedish Public Employment Service from study results were intimidating. They provided individuals with financial resources, and so they expected that the immigrant performed to their expectations. Technology-mediated connections to participants were intrusive as some family members and friends used this medium to make unnecessary financial demands. In terms of addressing labour needs, technology-mediated connections facilitated the labour integration process by exposing job seekers to other sources of information not present within their strong ties, weak ties, and the Swedish Public Employment Service.

This study has contributed to knowledge in immigrants' social networks and labour integration literature. It has gone past the debate regarding the relevance of traditional connections (strong ties) as the sole meaningful connection within the immigrant's network that facilitates labour to explore other connections. Diverse connections eventually expose the immigrant to vast resources within their networks that they can use to compete for a job in the mainstream labour market. This study has also revealed that immigrants use and prioritize connections within their networks based on their immigrants' statuses. As in this case, the highly-educated preferred to rely on professional knowledge and guidance, which is the Swedish Public Employment Service, for labour-related issues while relying on their weak and strong ties for essential social support. This argument also juxtaposes the idea that weak-tie connections are instrumental in labour integration. In this study, they performed equal roles as strong-tie connections for both the highly-educated and less-educated. On the other hand, the less-educated prioritized their strong ties in the job search process, which equally served as social support sources.

1.2 THESIS OUTLINE

As the thesis unfolds, chapter 2 focuses on previous studies relevant to the subject under investigation. It begins with discussions on the different kinds of connections within immigrants' networks in general and narrowed down to the ones relevant to this study, followed

by discussions on their roles in facilitating or hindering the labour integration of documented-non-European immigrants and immigrants in general.

Chapter 3 explores social capital theory to understand or extract theories and concepts for analyzing the relevance of immigrants' networks of connections in labour integration. Examined are the different definitions and concepts of social capital theory and their significance to the study context. And also, further discussions on how the theories and concepts complement the analysis of empirical data.

Chapter 4 describes the methodological approach and challenges encountered during the data collection. With qualitative research being the central research methodology, discussions centered on the data collection process, the sampling technique, method of analysis, researcher's position, validity, and reliability.

Chapter 5 presents the findings and puts them in perspective using the theoretical framework and previous publications to answer the research questions and explain how they fit or contrast with previous results. The analysis focused on defining connections from the interviewees' point of view, followed by discussions on how networks of connections mobilize resources to facilitate or hinder labour integration and further discussions that answer the research questions.

Chapter 6 presents the most relevant insights that the study reveals and possible areas for further research. The findings of the thesis are summarized and concluded with discussions on additional research proposals.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discusses previous literature on immigrants' networks of connections and their role in immigrants' labour integration. The literature review begins with an overview of networks of connections, highlighting the different types within immigrants' networks. This is followed by discussions on the specific kinds relevant to this study and how they address the labour integration needs of documented-non-European immigrants and immigrants based on specific social capital such as bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Some shortcomings are discussed. Despite the importance of immigrants' networks of connections in labour integration, these connections can foster some adverse effects (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). As discussed in this study's background, an immigrant's status affects the kind of connections he or she uses. Hence, in the subsequent sections, discussions will also highlight how different occupational or skilled documented-non-European immigrants use and prioritize connections in addressing labour integration needs. Within this study's context, networks of connections will focus on strong-tie and weak-tie connections, the Swedish Public Employment Service, and technology-mediated connections. These were the ones used by interviewees of this study in addressing their labour market needs. The literature review is presented under the following sub-topics based on the research objectives, which illuminates this study's purpose.

- Defining connections within immigrants social networks
- Strong-tie and weak-tie connections and social capital
- Connections within state institutions and social capital
- Technology-mediated connections and social capital.

2.1 DEFINING CONNECTIONS WITHIN IMMIGRANTS SOCIAL NETWORKS

Englund (2003) highlights that labour integration of documented-non-European immigrant job seekers links to the kind of social network they rely on during the job search process (p.11). According to Boyd (1989, p. 651), immigrants' social networks play crucial roles during 'settlement' and 'integration' in the host country. Consequently, documented-non-European immigrants should better understand host-country dynamics and, with the assistance of their immigrants' social networks, navigate the local systems to address the adverse consequences of any perceived injustices for a smooth labour integration (Portes, 1989). Social networks are all contacts through which an individual might receive information about the host society and assistance or support. These contacts could be family, close friends, and acquaintances within

the host community (Thomas, 2011, p. 53). In terms of labour market integration, Behtoui (2008) relatively suggests that immigrants can access the labour market through connections such as their family, close friends and acquaintances, state institutions within the host community, and the internet (Behtoui, 2008, p.412). Similarly, Granovetter (1983) suggests that within immigrants' networks are strong and weak ties. 'Strong ties' are those connections the individual is familiar with, and 'weak ties' are those they have not previously met.

For this study, I would adopt Granovetter's (1983) strong-tie and weak-tie connections to categorize the connections of close friends, family, and acquaintances. Whiles, adopting and expanding on Behtoui's state institution and internet/technology-mediated connections as the other forms of connections within immigrants' networks in the subsequent sections. These categorizations are relevant as this study revealed that strong-tie connections consisting of family and close friends, weak ties of acquaintances, the Swedish Public Employment Service, and technology-mediated channels were the connections within documented-non-European immigrants' networks. These connections possess social capital (resources) to help immigrants address labor market needs. Bonding, bridging, and linking social capital serve as the basis for discussing how connections (strong-ties and weak-ties, the Swedish employment service, and technology-mediated networks) within immigrants' networks use resources in addressing labour market needs. This section discusses previous related literature on the connections within immigrants' social networks and how they make resources available in addressing labour integration needs.

2.1.1 STRONG-TIE AND WEAK-TIE CONNECTIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Portes' (1998) concept of social capital within immigrants' networks draws attention to the significant role played by family/friends (strong ties) and acquaintances (weak ties) in helping individuals access resources for a successful labour integration. Social capital is a resource embedded within relationships among people upon which individuals can repossess to facilitate social and personal benefits (p. 202). In light of this, Boyd (1989) posits that immigrants' networks embedded with 'ethnic enclave economies' serve as support systems. 'Ethnic enclave economies' are small enterprises owned by members of ethnic-based connections. According to Portes (1998), 'ethnic enclave economies' are dense with ethnic firms whose labour force or employees are mostly fellow co-ethnics (p. 13). The supply of labour force for these enclaves

is drawn mainly from the same ethnic-based association using kin, friendship, and ethnic ties. These enclaves assist with economic adjustments, as they seek to provide assistance that exposes the immigrant job seeker to the training and acquisition of new labour skills. Moreover, immigrants' networks of ethnic associations enhance labour integration by imparting host country-specific labour skills such as learning the Swedish language. (Boyd, 1989). Boyd's disposition is relevant as one of the central themes of this study is investigating the role of strong-tie connections in facilitating labour integration. Although ethnic enclaves may not immediately link the immigrant to the mainstream labour market, they equip the immigrant with some labor skills to use to their competitive advantage during their search for jobs on the mainstream labour market proper.

Ethnic enclave economies are characterized by employment opportunities such as working as a chef or waiter in a restaurant, working in a retail shop as a shop attendant or a salesperson, and working in professional firms such as accounting and legal firms. Usually, support within ethnic enclaves emanates from a 'reciprocal relationship.' Employing fellow immigrants may accrue benefits for the business owners. In turn, they may feel obligated to train them, give them supervisory positions and assistance should immigrants decide to start up their businesses (Boyd, 1989, p. 654). Besides the 'reciprocal relationship' that serves as a foundation for helping others, some connections, based on the principle of 'bounded solidarity,' also help individuals without necessarily expecting any good deed in return.

Marten et al. (2019) conducted a study on ethnic networks and refugees' economic integration in Switzerland. They find that a high proportion share nationality, ethnicity, or language (p. 16281). Similarly, Daunfeldt et al. (2019) highlight in their study that firm, which employed non-Western immigrants had at least one non-Western immigrant manager. Who hired more than four times as many unemployed non-western immigrants than firms without any non-western immigrant manager (p. 770). The findings of Marten et al. and Daunfeldt et al. contribute to understanding the importance of ethnic associations, which can also be referred to as strong-tie connections as linking fellow immigrant jobseekers to sources of employment opportunities. Wessendorf (2017) further argues that ethnicity or common identity might not always encourage network affiliations. Sometimes the immigrant's status (i.e., educated or

uneducated) and the motivation, either instrumental⁶ or consummatory,⁷ might play a role in the affiliation process. Discussing 'statuses' and 'motivations' is relevant to this study. It will help analyze how documented-non-European immigrants affiliate and prioritize individual connections within their immigrants' networks in addressing labour integration needs. For instance, highly-skilled/educated immigrants may prefer to connect with 'smart-cohort'⁸ fellows until they encounter other useful networks due to the specific benefit they might want to accrue (Wessendorf, 2017, p. 7). Due to their high 'cultural capital,' highly-educated immigrants do not limit themselves to what they are familiar with and already know. In other words, highly-skilled compared to less-skilled immigrants will instead navigate the local system to obtain information about the settlement process, contact the responsible authorities and institutions and keen on forming social relations beyond co-ethnics.

Portes (1998) posits that 'consummatory' and 'instrumental' motivations may also play a role in the affiliation process to networks of connections. 'Highly-skilled' or highly-educated immigrants such as professionals and students might socialize with 'co-ethnics'/'co-nationals' without the intention of potentially seeking labour integration resources but to socialize and familiarize with one's immediate environment. In this case, the motivation is considered 'consummatory' as the purpose is not to retrieve economic benefits but to familiarize with one's immediate environment. On the other hand, with 'instrumental motivation,' individuals purposely lookout for connections to assist with labor integration resources. For instance, with issues regarding labour integration, immigrants tend to rely on 'weak-tie' connections noted to be instrumental in labour integration (Wessendorf, 2017, p. 10).

Immigrants networks of family and friends connections, which Granovetter terms as 'strong-ties,' transmit knowledge and information useful during the settlement and labour integration process. Larson & Lewis (2017) argue that 'ethnicity's importance within immigrants' networks of connections is attributed to how it allows people to share information' (p. 350). Wessendorf's (2017) study on immigrants and social relations concludes that associating with fellow

⁶ Instrumental motivation-individuals are rational human beings who provide resources with the expectation of a return benefit (Portes, 1998, p.8). In the case of labour integration, individuals are concerned with the kind of connections they affiliate to get the best of labour integration resources.

⁷ Consummatory motivation- individuals share knowledge and resources without expecting anything in return (Portes, 1998, p. 8)

⁸ Smart-cohort means a group of people who share a common demographic characteristics

immigrants from the country of origin with similar faith connects immigrants pan-ethically. She highlights that being a part of the pan-ethical network reinforces the opportunity to continue practicing one's faith with like-minded immigrants, share customs and values from their country of origin. Specific linguistic practices encourage typical identity construction and group cohesion among immigrants (p.7). A study by Andersson & Hammarstedt (2015) on ethnic enclaves among immigrants in Sweden reveals living among one's group encourages community and social support, exposes one to the availability of ethnic goods, services and foods, places of worship, and other community organizations (p.36). Larson & Lewis' and Andersson & Hammarstedt's findings are not linked directly to labour market integration. Their studies implicitly highlight that immigrants' networks of strong ties such as ethnic enclaves, family, and close friends are generally useful in offering social support. Through such support, immigrant job seekers can connect to other social groups who might play instrumental roles in labour integration, which is a crucial area to this study. To Portes (1998), immigrants within similar immigrants' associations must develop social relationships between people with shared interests or goals but contrasting social identities (weak ties). As Claridge (2018) terms it, bridging social capital provides the immigrant with information and exposes them to other groups or individuals not previously known. It allows for the exchange of information and consensus among groups representing diverse interests. Overlapping associations may provide resources and opportunities from one group to members in another group (Claridge, 2018).

Granovetter (1983) suggests that 'strong ties' are usually quick to disseminate information regarding jobs based on bonding social capital. Whereas 'weak ties' (acquaintances) can access information about labour integration that may not be readily available to the general public-making 'weak ties' more instrumental in labour integration than 'strong ties' in this case. Sociological studies on social capital embedded within immigrants' networks mostly emphasize the positive outcomes due to the conception that anything sociable produces 'good things' (Portes, 1998, p.15). For Portes (1998), the approaches used to enhance and facilitate successful integration can generate less desirable outcomes. Equally, discussing the shortcomings of immigrants' networks of strong-tie and weak-tie connections will keep the analysis of my study 'within the bounds of serious sociological analysis, rather than moralizing statements.' The same strong and weak ties within immigrants' networks that enhance individuals' development could equally disadvantage others (p.15).

Waldinger (1995) argues that 'weak ties' may not be helpful in all circumstances. Immigrant job seekers who barely understand the labour system most likely will rely on 'strong ties,' whereas well-established immigrants will depend on 'weak ties' to find jobs (p. 558). Waldinger further posits that it is 'rational' for humans to easily connect with people they can identify with or have had past relationships with. Besides, even if they choose to rely on 'weak ties,' it will partly be under the recommendation or guidance of 'strong-tie' connections (p. 558-559). Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993) warn against the 'constraints and freedom' that emanate from the overreliance on one's connections, especially those based on 'strong ties,' for assistance. A network built and sustained by 'solidarity and trust' can expose members to specific opportunities and benefits but can limit their contact with the outside world (p. 1340). For instance, Lee (2015) investigates the effect of ethnic enclaves on the access of social capital among Mexican immigrants. Based on the results, ethnic enclaves present immigrants with useful co-ethnic contacts, but the adverse effect is that it constrains them from expanding their connections to other connections that can eventually limit their job prospects (p. 87).

Portes (1998) mentions that immigrants' networks of 'strong ties' may share useful information and give the needed and necessary support but may not always connect immigrant job seekers to jobs matching their skills. Immigrants' networks of 'ethnic enclaves' also tend to abuse and exploit fellow employee immigrants by paying them low wages, exposing them to poor working conditions, and offering menial jobs with competition for limited resources. Connections within networks who possess 'knowledge about employment opportunities may use the information for economic gains instead of sharing it freely' (Maher & Cawley, 2015, p. 2339). Wessendorf (2017), in her research on immigrants and social relations, highlights that some immigrants, however, choose to distance themselves from such networks due to the reproduction of 'social control.' That is, those immigrants whose migration motive is to get away from 'tight-knit' communities in the host society and explore new ways of life tend to shun away from identifiable connections (p.9).

2.1.2 CONNECTIONS WITHIN STATE INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

On the other hand, state institutions as connections within immigrants' networks offer professional assistance to immigrant job seekers. According to Behtoui (2008), state institutions are 'formal methods' of searching for jobs on the labour market, where job seekers rely on professional knowledge and guidance to connect with potential employers (p.412).

Against this backdrop, I focus on the corporate actors within the Swedish Public Employment Service. Among all other state institutions, the Swedish Public Employment Service was used by my interviewees due to its core operations, which is professionally assisting individuals in finding jobs on the labour market. Consequently, this section of my study explores existing literature on social capital based on the Swedish Public Employment Service's operations and programs directed at documented-non-European immigrant jobseekers and immigrants in general. This exploration and the interviewees' perceptions and experiences regarding the Swedish Public Employment Service will serve as a basis for analyzing data related to the Employment Service's effectiveness in facilitating labour integration.

In the previous sections, I discussed how immigrants' networks of 'strong and weak tie' connections (Granovetter, 1973) based on bonding and bridging social capital (Portes, 1998) facilitate labour integration. However, it is necessary to recognize the 'vertical dimension' of social capital. Vertical dimension is referred to as 'linkages' or 'linking social capital.' It is the capacity of 'formal institutions' beyond the immigrant's connections of strong and weak ties balancing resources, ideas, and information that benefits the immigrant or any other individual who approaches the Swedish Public Employment Service for professional guidance regarding labour integration (Torezani et al. 2008, p.137; Woolcock 2001, p.72). 'Linking social capital' embedded within the operations of Swedish Public Employment Service matches individual job seekers to vacant jobs on the labour market regardless of one's nationality or education. For instance, less-skilled/educated job seekers may not know where to search for firms, and employers may not know where to source for prospective employees. This informational imperfection can inhibit the timely matching of the less-educated job seeker to vacant jobs, resulting in a 'less-than-optimal' job search for some group of people. Consequently, the Employment Service publicly disseminates information concerning job vacancies to be filled to facilitate rapid matches between supply and demand. With this approach, immigrants and other job seekers, with the Swedish Public Employment Service's help, are likely to find jobs, leading to private and social gains (Försäkringskassan).

The Employment Service also enhances human capital development. Individuals can acquire specific labour knowledge and skills by participating in introduction and settlement programs such as the Introduction Programme for immigrants to ensure that immigrant jobseekers obtain an education to enhance the host country's specific labour skills. The Introduction Program

helps immigrants learn Swedish, become economically active, and earn a living as quickly as possible (OECD, 2014, p. 20). Azoba & Munezero (2016) paper on professionals' view on social integration of individuals with immigrant background highlights that the Swedish language is vital for gaining employment and establishing social contacts during the job search process. Attaining host-country-specific education will increase Swedish speaking skills and eventually strengthen networks of weak ties, which are usually instrumental in the labour integration process (p. 28).

Further studies by Borenkova (2011) on immigrants' perception regarding their integration into the Swedish labour market reveal that employment is a small part of successful labour integration. The primary prerequisite for integration into the Swedish labour market is country-specific skills such as Swedish education and Swedish work experience. These are the labour skills identified as necessary by Swedish employers (p.19). Similarly, Malmberg-Heimonen & Julkunen (2006) elaborates on the importance of possessing host country-specific education and skills to enable immigrants to compete for jobs. To the authors, educational qualification and language skills are a form of human capital, positively influencing immigrants' income and labor market possibilities. The above-discussed studies are interesting to my research as the thesis also investigates how the Swedish Public Employment Service facilitates labour integration.

To Green (1966), in the quest to achieve an equitable distribution of the burden of unemployment as specific groups, for instance, immigrants, are disadvantaged on the labour the Swedish Public Employment Service offers (re)training programs by referring job seekers to the appropriate course of action. Labour market programs such as the Introduction Programme can overcome liquidity constraints facing the unemployed who cannot afford to search for jobs or purchase/or borrow to invest in activities such as job training that may help their future job prospects. (Green, 1966, p. 66). Weisbrock (2017) argues that though the goal is to make everyone employable, a 'lock-in effect' can be generated. Immigrants who constantly engage in integration measures become passive subjects of the state. Their endeavors are 'publicly' managed and controlled by the Employment Service, preventing them from actively partaking in daily life activities within the host society. Instead, they extensively rely on social services and the welfare system for sustenance (p. 14). In a similar light, Peri (2014) argues that although the Public Employment Services seeks to achieve equity for all no matter one's

background, resources are channeled in a way that benefits native job seekers than immigrant job seekers. That is, much more attention is given to the unemployed native who approaches the Employment Service than immigrant job seekers. Torezani et al. (2013), in an aspect of their findings on the 'effectiveness and efficiency of Public Employment Services', blame this on the bureaucratic nature of most Employment Services (p.40). Moreover, Vockova & Prokesova (2018) emphasize that inadequate preparedness of employment offices to deal with foreign nationals (inadequate training of government agency employees in dealing with foreign nationals and limited understanding of integration and intercultural empathy) are contributing factors to what might seem like the Employment Service bias towards native jobseekers (p. 263).

Manoudi et al. (2014) refer to this as 'structural complexities' within the Public Employment Service. Manoudi et al. (2014) describe the Swedish Public Employment Service as an executive agency with a centralized decision-making body. Hence, there is a complex chain of command, which can sometimes create goal ambiguities. In the specific case of Sweden, a study by OECD (2014) confirms that the involvement of multiple stakeholders establishes a couple of challenges:

'Vertical co-operation between the central-level Public Employment Service and municipalities in settlement of migrants. While responsibility for the settlement of migrants on the introduction plan is placed with the PES, limited willingness to receive migrants on the part of some municipalities often delays this task. However, evidence suggests that early labour market access is crucial for long-term integration outcomes' (OECD, 2014, P. 20).

'Horizontal co-ordination between the local PES and municipalities in the organization of introduction activities. Given the large number of actors involved in the coordinating introduction activities, it is essential to combine interventions effectively to ensure the introduction period is used efficiently. Co-ordination is crucial in the location and scheduling of these activities and their sequencing' (OECD, 2014, P. 20).

The Swedish Public Employment Service's primary function is balancing labor supply and demand by providing labor market information and collecting data on job vacancies and potential job seekers. In the pursuit of doing this, clients' expectations may not align with the

Swedish Public Employment Service operatives. Still, in all, they serve as a link to the broader host society and to some extent, help job seekers to build contacts.

2.1.3 TECHNOLOGY-MEDIATED CONNECTIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Discussing technology-mediated connections is relevant. It appeared to be another connection used by my interviewees to connect to friends and families and served as a medium for virtually searching for jobs on the labour market. Immigrants' networks are commonly identified in migration literature as 'strong ties' and 'weak ties' based on kinship, friendship, or shared identity and acquaintances in host communities. Prior studies suggest that recent immigrants use technology-mediated connections (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012, p.5). In recent times, many immigrants, especially the highly-educated, are disassociating themselves from the 'traditional and tightly bounded communities' to using technology-mediated connections such as 'social media to develop networks in the adaptation process' (Hsiao & Dillahunt, 2018, p 70; (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012, p.5).

Haythornthwaite (2011) argues that this is not entirely the case as technology-mediated connections are 'characterized by the same kind of interactions' (socializing and providing emotional support) found within the 'traditional and tightly bounded communities' (p. 134). He further posits that instead of isolating technology-mediated connections as ideal connections, they should be considered connections type embedded within the immigrants' networks, which possesses the 'tie of strength characteristics.' In other words, technology-mediated connections lay the ground for connectivity between formerly connected and unconnected individuals (p. 135-137). In terms of its 'strong-tie' or bonding features, it allows for interaction and reconnection between friends, families, and people whose contacts were lost during the migration period. It encourages emotional relationships between spouses, children, and parents via internet calls and emails. It facilitates communication of joy, care, concerns, and news exchange, creating a sense of involvement in each other's life. The 'weak tie' characteristics of the technology-mediated connections link people who have not previously met in real life in online networks. People interact not by physically shared location but shared interests or common goals (Hiller & Franz, 2004, p. 73).

Hsiao & Dillahunt (2018) further argue that within strong-tie and weak-tie connections, there is usually the competition for resources and 'free-riding.' People refuse to reciprocate when it is their turn to support others within the group. Secondly, physical and cultural barriers can prevent immigrants from accessing mainstream resources more significantly in quantity. Hence, understanding how immigrants use technology-mediated connections to access resources such as relevant information regarding employment opportunities and creating social contacts leads to 'benign' interactions within immigrants' networks, thus supporting individuals in smoothing and easing integration problems (p. 69-70).

To understand how immigrants use technology-mediated connections to access resources, Dekker and Engbersen (2012), on a related subject, find that through digital platforms such as social media, immigrants can make new friends and reconnect with old friends. Who, according to Hsiao & Dillahunt (2018), help resolve 'settlement and financial needs' and facilitate active resource exchange without physical contact. Hsiao & Dillahunt (2018) further discuss that technology-mediated connections strengthen 'weak ties' and re-active dormant 'strong ties,' which provide institutional information sources and low-key 'streetwise knowledge' concerning labour and general integration (p.16). Despite the social capital embedded in technology-mediated connections, some authors argue that information shared virtually might not always be genuine. There are lower levels of trust among users and resources accessed online. The dissemination of false information and deception is most likely to occur, as information providers will generally not have only 'altruistic motives' but 'instrumental motives' (Hsiao & Dillahunt, 2018; Haythornthwaite, 2011; Dekker & Engbersen, 2012).

The previous studies have highlighted the kinds of connections within immigrants' networks that facilitate labour integration. However, the assertions by Granovetter (1983) are relevant to my research. Based on bonding and bridging social capital, strong-tie and weak-tie connections help address labor market needs. Portes & Sensenbrenner's (1993) counter arguments regarding the shortcomings of strong-tie and weak-tie connections are relatable to this study as an aspect is to investigate the negatives associated with immigrants relying on these ties for assistance. They point out that strong-tie connections may expose immigrants to valuable opportunities within their circle and limit their contact with the outside world. Besides, Lee (2015) argues that strong-tie bonds could constrain immigrants from expanding to connections that could eventually widen their job prospects.

Behtoui (2008) points out that state institutions such as the Swedish Public Employment Service is another vital connection, which provides immigrants with vast resources not present within the strong-tie and weak-tie connections. Due to the 'patron-client' relationship, corporate actors within the Swedish Public Employment Service can enforce and ensure that immigrants use resources such as enrolling in training programs to develop their labour skills and enhance their place in the mainstream labour market. Vockova & Prokesova's (2018) and the OECD (2014) study findings are, however, important to this thesis. They highlight that structural complexity and the employment officials' unpreparedness may interrupt the employment service's performance, thereby negatively affecting immigrants' labour integration. Lastly, Hsiao & Dillahunt's (2018) classification of technology-mediated channels as connections within the immigrants' networks is relatable to this study. The study findings revealed that there was convergence in its usage by my interviewees. Despite the social capital embedded within technology-mediated connections, authors have argued that there are lower trust levels among users. Information shared is usually not entirely based on altruistic motives but instrumental motives (Dekker & Engbersen, 2011), an aspect relevant to my study because it is one area of interest. Moreover, Wessendorf's (2017) argument concerning how highly and less-educated immigrants affiliate to specific connections within their immigrants' networks appears relevant for the study's analysis as findings show that the interviewees' educational background influenced their affiliation to connections within their immigrants' networks.

3.0 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Now that I have discussed and identified the types of connections within immigrants' networks, I attempt to explore social capital theory to discuss how these connections make resources available in facilitating or hindering immigrants' labour integration in this chapter. Social Capital theory will serve as a perfect framework for the study analysis. I seek to investigate how 'mechanisms' such as connections within particular 'social structure' – immigrants' social networks affect the 'economic action' – labour integration of immigrant job seekers (Weber, 2014, p.15). The concept of social capital has various characteristics. However, central to this study is bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. It sets the foundation for analyzing the relevance of strong-tie and weak-tie connections and the Swedish Public Employment Service in addressing labour integration needs. These social capital concepts will equally serve as the basis for analyzing technology-mediated connections because it is not a pure-type connection but somewhat mimics the functions of strong-tie and weak-tie connections. 'Instrumental' and 'consummatory' motivations, which are also sources of social capital, are discussed. They serve as a foundation for analyzing the motive for assisting others within groups and how immigrants with different backgrounds or statuses prioritize using connections in addressing labour integration needs. First, I give different definitions of social capital relevant to this study. This is followed by discussions on the sources of social capital that influence the affiliation to a connection type and how networks of connections mobilize resources based on the specific social capital in addressing immigrants' labour integration needs.

3.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

The concept of social capital has several but related definitions and aspects. Some of these definitions are discussed in the subsequent sections to demonstrate the variety of thought on the subject: Audretsch et al. (2011) define social capital as benefits available to individuals, which emanates from influence and solidarity within social structures (p.155). Lin (1999) posits that social capital is captured in the embeddedness of resources within social networks and is the investment in social relations with expected returns (p. 33-35). Portes (1998) defines social capital as the sum of resources virtual or actual that accrue to the individual by possessing a durable network of the more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition' (p. 5). These definitions interpret as suggesting that social capital is embedded within immigrants' networks of connections. Social capital embedded within the immigrant networks of connections allows individuals to access specific opportunities, information, and

material support or resources. Social capital within immigrants' social networks emanates from 'reciprocity transactions' such as favours, information sharing, approval, and other valued items given and received (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p.1324). Individuals tend to accumulate 'chits' based on appropriable deeds to others in pursuit of selfish interests. In this case, the motive for assistance is purely instrumental. As rational and strategically thinking individuals, humans provide resources with the expectation of a return benefit or favour from persons they supported in the past (Portes, 1998, p. 8).

Contrary, 'consummatory motivation' capitalizes on the internalized socio-cultural norms that naturally induce individuals to share knowledge and influence without expecting anything in return. When people find themselves in similar situations, they try to support each other without expecting any return benefits (Portes, 1998, p. 8). Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993) posit that 'bounded solidarity' does not necessarily emanate from the 'introjection of established values' but is based on people's situational reactions, especially when they have experienced similar predicaments. (p. 1324). 'Bounded solidarity' as a source of social capital is when wealthy members within a group assist needy ones based on their 'altruistic disposition' (p. 8). 'Value introjection,' as Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) term it, also speaks in this same light. However, in this case, individuals tend to replicate others' behaviours because of the positive effects. As a social capital source, members tend to emulate others' good behaviours, which becomes a form of resource as members within a group deem it appropriate and are willing to assist and support members (p. 1323).

Social capital includes the connectedness of people with trust as the core element. Social capital induces trust and norms that can eventually improve coordinated actions within immigrants' networks of connections (Orlowski & Wicker 2015, p.26-27). Trust becomes a backbone because returning a favour or 'obligation' becomes enforceable due to the community's power. Both givers and receivers deem 'enforceable trust' appropriate as it facilitates access to resources. The principles, then, in shaping the provision and exchange of resources within immigrants' networks are 'reciprocity,' 'trust,' and 'obligations' (Portes, 1998, p.9).

According to Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993), social capital within social networks does not solely revolve around money and material goods but 'social intangibles' such as an individual's relation with others within the group, which further connects individuals to physical resources (p.1324). For instance, highly-skilled/educated immigrants may choose to relate or rely on a connection they can identify, and less-educated immigrant job seekers will do the same. As it is rational for people, first to create relationships with people they can quickly identify with in terms of skills and shared interest. Sustaining this relationship will further expose the individual to the needed resources to satisfy labour integration needs (Waldinger 1995, p.558-559). This part is interesting to my study because my data revealed similar findings. This theorization will lay the foundation for analyzing why some immigrants choose to use or prioritize a connection type to satisfy their labor integration needs.

Granovetter (1983) suggests that when settling in a host country, the most important social connections are those within the networks of co-nationals or strong ties (p. 202). Typical to strong ties are bonding social capital. Bonding social capital describes the relationship among individuals characterized by high levels of similarity in attitudes and resources. Connections between people are strong close ties such as family and close friends with similar backgrounds and interests who 'provide material and emotional support' (Claridge, 2018, p. 2). Bonding social capital within strong ties also connects people of different cultural backgrounds who may, in turn, provide access to information, expose individuals to local news and views, and other individuals not previously known. Notwithstanding, homogenous communities should cherish the bond among their co-ethnics/nationals (strong ties) as building bridges to connect to the out-group (weak ties) is affected by the level of in-group cohesion, openness, and trust (Granovetter, 1983 p.202).

Bridging social capital, on the other hand, is typical within weak-tie connections. It describes the connection that links people across 'cleavages such as race, class, and religion that typically divides people' (Claridge, 2018, p. 3). Bridging social capital is particularly important for information diffusion (Granovetter, 1983, p.202). Bridging social capital provides access to host country resources such as the ability to cooperate with other people than those within one's co-ethnic or co-national context. Facilitate the acquisition and transmission of 'social, emotional and cultural norms and values to make and conserve positive social outcomes' (Hillar & Kuranchie, 2018, p.36).

When an individual has bonding social capital and bridging social capital, there is a perceived 'multiplier effect' on social capital quality and quantity. The argument is that social capital sources will generally be higher for people with more significant amounts of the different forms of social capital and minimal for individuals with lesser social capital, eventually inhibiting personal growth and social mobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p.21). However, in terms of their effect, bonding social capital is more likely to have adverse outcomes or no impact on economic development or employment due to its 'tightly structured' and 'homophile' nature but is an essential social support source. Whereas, bridging social capital allows different groups to share and exchange information, build consensus between groups representing diverse interests, and are instrumental in employment (Claridge, 2018, p. 3).

Notwithstanding, bonding and bridging social capital connect individuals to institutions of power. Linking social capital as an extension of bonding and bridging social capital is the relationship between an individual and corporate actors represented in public agencies (Claridge, 2018, p. 4). This conceptualization is appropriate as another aspect of my paper investigates the Swedish Public Employment Service as a connection within immigrants' networks. According to Claridge (2018), linking social capital within public agencies involves a classic 'patron-client' relationship where individuals build trust with corporate actors within institutions to solve labor integration problems. Consequently, linking social capital is considered central to the disadvantaged's wellbeing. It entails a 'patron-client' relationship based on the principle of reciprocity where 'patrons' with their services and resources expect that 'clients' will use the resources to better their lives (Claridge, 2018, p. 4). Linking social capital can also generate some adverse effects, such as corporate actors becoming 'nepotistic and serving as a mechanism for insider- trading and political favouritism.' However, the responsible authorities' control and accountability are crucial to ensuring that institutions effectively perform (Claridge, 2018 p. 5).

Strong-tie and weak-tie connections within social networks allow immigrants to connect with people who have the means to assist with advice, further connections, and information sharing. It brings a favourable environment by fostering shared social norms, a sense of belonging, and information circulation. Social capital is realizable through relationships of mutual trust and obligation within closed social networks. Social capital embedded in social networks is useful

in elucidating resources and how they are available based on norms governing expectations of obligation and support. (Ryan et al. 2015, p. 9).

To conclude, I have so far discussed several social capital concepts. However, central to my analysis are bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and linking social capital within the immigrants' networks of connections. 'Bonding social capital' describes the connections within networks of connections characterized by high levels of similarity in attitudes, identity, available information, and resources. This form of social capital exists between close friends and families. On the other hand, bridging social capital is the connection between previously unknown people. Eventually, it becomes a source of resources for resolving immigrant labour integration needs and linking social capital connects immigrants to individuals, groups, and corporate actors within public agencies (Claridge, 2018). The discussions on bonding social capital will lay the grounds for analyzing families and friends' roles within immigrants' networks. Bridging social capital will focus on the role of immigrants' networks of weak ties and linking social capital to the part of the Swedish Public Employment Service in facilitating immigrants' labour market integration.

Embedded within the other immigrants' networks of connections discussed is technology-mediated connections, and it possesses the 'tie of strength characteristics.' The embeddedness is reflected in how immigrant jobseekers virtually access resources from people they know (bonding social capital) and individuals not previously known (bridging social capital). On the other hand, linking social capital will focus on how technology-mediated connections facilitate communication within the Swedish Public Employment Service (Haythornwaite, 2011). Hence, bonding, bridging, and linking social capital are concepts to analyze the usefulness of technology-mediated connections in immigrants' labour integration. As per the discussion, technology-mediated connection possesses the 'tie of strength' characteristics. Another interesting point for the analysis is investigating whether there is convergence among immigrants' networks of connections in solving labor integration needs. The higher the different forms of social capital, the greater the resources (Bourdieu, 1986). Sources of social capital specifically, 'instrumental and consummatory motivations,' are considered less central concepts in this study. However, these concepts lay the ground for analyzing the reasons networks of connections provide assistance and why or how different documented-non-

European immigrants use specific connections to solve labor market needs (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993).

4.0. METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research is to explore connections within immigrants' social networks and their facilitation in labour integration among documented-non-European immigrant jobseekers living in Lund, Sweden. Based on the narrative of 10 respondents, I interpret data findings with focus on the types of connections within immigrants' networks and how these connections function in facilitating labour integration. This research represents the perspectives and experiences of immigrants. Considering the research questions, I deemed it appropriate to use the qualitative research method because it is relevant in investigating the meaning people attach to experienced events (Merriam, 1998, p.4). The qualitative methods used are further discussed in the subsequent sections, including the data sources, the sampling technique, data collection, and analysis method.

4.1 SOURCES OF DATA

My data collection methods were in two forms, primary and secondary sources of data. I collected preliminary data through semi-structured interviews with the respondents. Discussions centered around individual experiences and perceptions regarding the connections within their immigrants' networks, such as strong-tie and weak-tie connections, state institutions, specifically the Swedish Public Employment Service, and technology-mediated connections and their relevance to their search for jobs. Secondary sources such as credible journals and books regarding immigrants' social networks and labour integration were reviewed. I reviewed articles from the Swedish Public Employment Service's website on the organization's immigrant labour integration roles, as interviewing officials was unachievable.

4.2 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

For this study, purposive sampling was the most convenient. It helped with the 'identification' and 'selection' of participants who were knowledgeable about the phenomenon under investigation (Palinkas et al., 2016, p.2). The reason for using this sampling technique was that I wanted to access a particular set of people. That is documented-non-European immigrants either fully integrated into the labour market or actively searching for jobs on the labour market with the assistance of their networks of connections. I selected ten documented-non-European immigrants living in Lund with diverse ethnic backgrounds and different immigrant statuses. Lund is a heterogeneous municipality and accommodates natives or ethnic Swedes and people

with diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Being a resident at Lund for about two years, I have witnessed some of the challenges immigrants face in their quest to find jobs that match their qualifications. Hence, the reason for the choice of the study area. The different backgrounds allowed exploring and capturing diverse opinions on how other documented-non-European immigrants utilized their networks of connections and how they fared on the labour market. I interviewed African, Asian, and Middle Eastern documented-non-European immigrants. I found my respondents through immigration organizations, churches, and other immigrant networks. Each interview lasted between 1 hour to 1.5 hours, scheduled and organized in people's homes and cafes.

4.3 POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER

The researcher is the primary instrument of research. What he or she brings to the investigation from his or her background and identity should be treated as personal biases (Maxwell, 2006, p. 224). Since qualitative research involves interpretation of findings, researcher bias, beliefs and assumptions can affect the data analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 1998 p. 46-47). Hence, social researchers should neutralize their preferences by transcribing and interpreting data as they are. As the author of this study with an immigrant background, I acknowledged that my position as an immigrant could lead to bias in interpreting the research findings. To minimize this effect, I did a verbatim transcription and ensured that I included notable quotes from the interviewees to augment the study's conclusions (Maxwell, 2006, p. 244).

4.4 DATA COLLECTION

I collected data through semi-structured face-to-face interviews using open-ended questionnaires. I briefed participants on the entire process by explaining the study's essence and how their contribution is of immense importance to the study. I enlightened my interviewees on some ethical principles such as confidentiality and anonymity. I briefed them the information provided is confidential and that their identities were not going to be revealed (Gill et al. 2008, p.291). I did this by changing their names and any other features, ensuring trust to influence responses positively. As mentioned, being an immigrant and researching an immigrant-related topic, I might have unknowingly attached some sentiments and personal values, which could have affected the interview process's outcome. Minimizing this effect on the interviews and data transcription is an impossible goal. It is essential to understand the impact and how to most productively and ethically use this influence to answer the research

questions (Maxwell, 2005, p. 243). However, in dealing with this validity threat, the semi-structured interview guide consisted of open-ended questions as the more open-ended the questions, the more accurate the responses. This gives the interviewee the freedom to express and give detailed opinions regarding the phenomenon. Secondly, the interview guide was divided into three sections to prevent respondents from thinking that a specific area of inquiry was significant to the study and that they might treat it accordingly. Conversely, to avoid excessive and highly detailed concentration on any of the sections, relevant but rapid shifts were made from section-to-section to convince them of unimportance (Salazar, 1990, p.571).

4.5. INTERVIEWEES BACKGROUND

To provide context for data analysis, I present the background data of the interviewees in this section. This presentation keeps their anonymity. Therefore, any background information not relevant to this study is omitted. Five interviewees were fully integrated into the labor market from the study's data, and five were actively searching for jobs while participating in some training programs. Further categorization reveals that seven were highly-educated and three were less-educated. Their educational background defined the kind of connections used to help them find jobs in the labor market.

Joo has been in Sweden for three years. He is a Nigerian and came to Sweden as a student to further his education. He has now completed his education and is actively searching for a job that matches his qualification. He is currently engaged in a labour integration training program organized by the Swedish Public Employment Service.

Aba is a highly-educated immigrant from East Africa. She traveled to Sweden to pursue Ph.D. studies. She has been in Sweden for close to 6 years. She has completed her Ph.D. studies and is actively looking for a job that matches her education. She can speak basic Swedish, but she believes that her Swedish level will not fetch her the expected job. She participates in a labour training program to enhance her Swedish speaking skills and acquire practical experience while she awaits decent employment.

Elle is from North Korea and arrived in Sweden as an economic immigrant with less education but acquired some practical experience in Sweden and is actively employed. He is looking

forward to gaining more education for better opportunities in the labour market. He is married to a native and mentions that she has been helpful with the integration process.

Bor is from China and has been in Sweden for about six months. He is a family reunification immigrant with less education. With his family's help in Sweden, he participates in a labour integration program to acquire host country labour skills to compete for the mainstream labour market integration.

Cee is from Korea. She is also a family reunification immigrant with higher education and work experience from her country of origin. She, however, acquired education and labour market skills when she arrived in Sweden. She is currently working and is satisfied with the work she does.

Awal is a student from a country in West Africa. He has been residing in Sweden for close to three years. He has completed his master's education and is currently working as a banker in one of Sweden's financial institutions. He mentions that he got the job through his efforts and the Swedish Public Employment Service's guidance.

Bran is from Asia and arrived in Sweden as a family reunification immigrant with less education. He acquired some education and participated in a labour training program to develop some labour market skills. He is fully employed in a low-skilled job and is determined to further his education to compete for a high-skilled job on the labour market.

Arba is a student from Asia who has completed her master's education. She has been in Sweden for approximately three years. After completing her university education, she got a job, which did not complement her qualification. However, she is currently employed in a field that matches her capability after engaging in a labour training program to learn the Swedish language to complement her Master's degree qualification.

Luga is from the Middle East and a graduate of Malmo University. He is engaged in a labour integration training program and is hopeful he will find a job that matches his university education acquired in Sweden.

Mami is from Japan. She migrated to join her family and has been living in Sweden for close to four years. She is working full-time in a company established by her family before she arrived in Sweden.

4.6 DATA CODING AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Using semi-structured interviews as primary data collection, I needed to transcribe, code, and interpret my data findings for comprehensible data analysis. Before the interviews, I researched the topic—results of previous research guided in the formulation of the interview questions. I found that connections within the immigrants' networks were their strong and weak ties, state institutions, and technology-mediated connections from prior readings. Based on this knowledge, I structured the interview questions under three sub-sections. The first sub-section focused on strong-tie and weak tie, the second on the role of the Swedish Public Employment Service as a connection within the immigrant's network, and the final section on technology-mediated connections in the labour integration process.

In qualitative data analysis, data categorization plays a significant role by guiding the researcher in grouping patterns or similar words into meaningful units because they share some 'characteristics.' The first cycle of coding categorized the data into meaningful information for the analysis (Saldana, 2013, p.9). The first cycle coding was primarily made up of 'descriptive coding,' as there was a large amount of information gathered through the interviews. Based on the 'descriptive coding,' I could deduce relevant 'primary topics' from the interview excerpts (Saldana, 2013, p. 4). These topics were further grouped under themes I adopted during the research process. For instance, from prior readings, I found that bonding, bridging, and linking social capital described how immigrants' networks of connections help immigrants address labor integration needs. Bonding social capital describes the relationship among individuals characterized by high levels of similarity in attitudes and resources. That is the immigrant's strong-tie connections. Bridging social capital describes the cooperation with other people different from immigrants who have resources the individual could use to their advantage in

labour integration. Linking social capital involves connections with corporate actors represented in public agencies. These three concepts (bonding, bridging, and linking social capital) served as the central themes' in the data categorization process. Based on the transcribed interview excerpts, I identified the different/similar roles of immigrants' connections and categorized them appropriately under each of the three concepts, which also served as a basis for data analysis.

4.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Maxwell (1992) talks about 'descriptive' and 'interpretive' validity. 'Descriptive validity' has to do with factual data accuracy. Transcription of field data must reflect experiences and perceptions (p.285). I ensured this through detailed verbatim transcriptions of primary data. Notwithstanding, descriptive validity does not warrant the inclusion of every bit of information gathered on the field. That is, verbatim interview transcripts may omit certain informant speech features (p. 289). However, during the face-to-face interviews, I noted the connections between what was being said and body gestures. I reported the facts as they were seen and heard. 'Interpretive validity' is when the researcher precisely understands the thought and intentions. 'This requires the conscious processes, hidden thoughts, intentions, beliefs and values of the participants' (Hayashi et al. 2019, p.100). I demonstrated this in the data representation section. After presenting verbatim transcription of my interviewees' experiences and perceptions, I expanded on the primary data to make meanings relevant to the topic under study. According to Hayashi et al. (2019), 'reliability assesses the consistency of results over time' (p. 90). However, in qualitative research, interactions are complicated and complex; hence no one method fits all, or no particular research methodology can produce the same results twice (Kerlinger, 1964). However, with well-formulated research questions and a constructive interview guide (kindly refer to appendix 1), it is assured that when my methodology is replicated to investigate the same phenomena, the results would not be far-fetched.

4.8 LIMITATIONS

It would have been insightful to interview an official(s) from the Lund Public Employment Service to inquire about their views and thoughts on their operations regarding immigrants' integration into the Swedish labor market and their roles. Interviewing the officials was unachievable since most of the officials I contacted were not forthcoming. The best they could do was redirect me to their website, where they had all the necessary information about the

answers I was seeking. It affected my data collection, as I could not get first-hand data relating to some part of the phenomena. However, the secondary sources (documents) I downloaded from the organization's website served an equal purpose. Notwithstanding, the research participants did their best in disclosing relevant personal experiences during the interview processes. Moreover, the number of participants was small; hence, the result will only apply to the study participants and not generalized to other immigrants.

4.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter focused on the methodological procedures used in data gathering, interpretation, and analysis. Ten documented-non-European immigrants were purposely selected and interviewed to share their experiences and perceptions regarding how their immigrants' networks of connections facilitated labour integration. Topics were later generated and grouped under themes, which emerged from exploring existing literature on related issues. My position as a researcher with an immigrant background was considered during the data collection and interpretation stage. To neutralize or minimize researcher bias, I ensured a verbatim interpretation and supported my analysis with actual quotes from the interview excerpts. The study participants were few; hence, study results will not be generalized to other immigrant groups but only to the immigrants who participated in this study.

5.0 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following analyses are done according to thematic analyses. It will cover two main topics; defining connections within immigrants' social networks and their roles in facilitating labour integration based on bonding, bridging and linking social capital. The analyses will start by looking at how interviewees defined connections within their immigrants' networks. Secondly, I will look at how these connections based on bonding, bridging and linking social capital influenced the access to resources in addressing immigrants' labour integration needs. As discussed in the analysis method, these topics emerged throughout the interviews, and with knowledge extracted from the theoretical and literature review sections, I developed themes for these topics.

This chapter presents the empirical findings on data collected through semi-structured interviews. This study is to identify and explore connections within immigrants' social networks and how they assist with labour market integration of some ten selected documented-non-European immigrant job seekers in the Lund Municipality, Sweden. The data reveal three connections within the immigrant's social networks in the labour market integration process. These connections are strong and weak tie connections, the Swedish Public Employment Service and technology-mediated connections including the internet, mobile phones, and other virtual platforms to access online information regarding jobs and (re)connecting with families and friends and even strangers. First, I discuss how interviewees define connections within their immigrants' networks. Later in this section, I discuss the relevance of these connections based on the connections' social capital, backing the discussion with relevant quotes highlighting the study's aim.

5.1 DEFINING CONNECTIONS WITHIN DOCUMENTED NON-EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS' SOCIAL NETWORKS

It is essential to mention that immigrants who participated in the study differ in background and hold different perceptions and experiences regarding labour integration. However, their common denominator, which is the most crucial element, is that they are all documented-non-European immigrants and currently or in the past have had to rely on their immigrants' networks of connections in searching for employment opportunities on the Swedish labour market. In terms of the level of labour integration, five were actively searching for jobs and

participating in some labour training programs. The remaining five, fully integrated into the labour market. They were all affiliated to either one or all of the abovementioned connections within their immigrants' networks. Analyzing empirical data, I find that these immigrants further fell into two categories: the high and the less-educated. Their educational background mostly influenced the decision to affiliate to connections within their immigrants' networks to enhance labor market integration. The highly-educated mostly constituted professionals and students, and the less-educated mainly were work-driven and family reunification immigrants.

When asked the type of connections used in labour integration, the highly-educated immigrants relied on strong ties for essential social support and relied extensively on technology-mediated connections and the Swedish Public Employment Service for job-related matters. The Swedish Public Employment Service helped with the professional acquisition and enhancement of specific labour skills, equally serving as job search channels for the highly-educated. Wessendorf (2017) discusses that if the immigrant is highly-skilled/educated; the possibility of relying on their networks of strong ties is minimal, as they would prefer to tap into professional knowledge for assistance. Based on the findings, the starting point of labour integration for the highly-educated immigrants within my study was their efforts through technology-mediated connections, the Swedish Public Employment Service, and partly their strong-tie and weak-tie connections made through online platforms and their visit to the Employment Service. Due to their high 'cultural capital,' the highly-educated prefer to navigate the local system independently, use the internet, and contact institutions of power (Wessendorf 2017, p. 10). The below is an excerpt from one of the highly-educated immigrants interviewed;

Arriving as a student, I had already made some research on the internet on which organizations were useful in finding jobs on the labour market. Because I assumed after two years of master's education, the next thing would be to find a job. Through the internet, I got to know about the employment service and several university networks that could facilitate the job search. I also had in mind to make few friends, like people from my home country and other immigrants. However, the attention was on associating myself with institutions of higher offices, which have the rightful information and procedures to finding jobs right after school.

The second classification were the less-educated immigrants (poor educational background) whose migration motive was either work-driven or to reunify with their families. They primarily relied on strong ties for information regarding jobs and general integration. For the

less-educated immigrants, they might have heard about the Swedish Public Employment Service but consulted strong-tie connections within the host country to find out about this organization's credibility. For the less-educated immigrant jobseeker, the first contact regarding labour integration was their strong ties, who later connected them to weak ties and the Swedish Public Employment Service. Waldinger (1995) posits that it is rational for humans to easily connect with people they can identify with in terms of ethnicity or nationality within the host country (p.558-559). Some interviewees mentioned they were discouraged by their strong ties as they were informed that the Swedish Public Employment Service could not find them jobs. Instead, strong ties based on their referrals to business owners within their circle, such as ethnic enclaves, could help with employment and other integration-related issues. The less-educated lack the needed cultural capital to navigate the local system on their own. Hence, they instead preferred to rely on strong ties due to the belief and rationality that strong ties will better understand their situation. Consequently, in this case, the less-educated interviewees were relatively comfortable and content with their strong-tie connections.

From the above discussions, it appears that there were trade-offs between the connections. Despite their differing educational statuses, study participants concurrently used different connections in addressing labor market needs at some point. This, Granovetter (1973) asserts to be necessary because the more the connections, the higher the resources one can use to their advantage. For instance, though some interviewees relied extensively on their strong ties networks, they were connected with different social groups (weak ties) while concurrently depending on the Employment Service and the internet services.

Both highly and less-educated immigrants relied on their strong ties for the necessary social support. In both cases, strong-tie connections played an instrumental role in social support. According to the study findings, social support included accommodation, transmitting country of origin cultural values, etc. These findings support Claridge's (2018) assertions concerning the usefulness of immigrants' networks of strong-tie connections in providing social support compared to connecting immigrants to direct sources of employment. Besides, both the high and less-educated used technology-mediated connections, which constituted the internet's use. Hsiao & Dillahunt (2018) posit that technology-mediated connections possess strong ties/bonding social capital and weak tie/bridging social capital characteristics. In terms of their strong-tie features, my interviewees confirmed they could connect and communicate with

family back home. In contrast, the weak-tie element facilitated contacts between individuals without shared identity with the immigrant but shared interests who possess useful resources regarding labour integration within the host country.

Despite the priorities given to the different connections in addressing labour integration needs, both the ‘highly’ and ‘less’ educated immigrants had issues finding jobs on the labour market. What accounted for these difficulties were the lack of host-country-specific labour skills such as Swedish and educational qualifications. The most mentioned labour skills were the Swedish language and attaining a Swedish education/qualification/work experience. For the highly-educated who migrated to further their education in Sweden, a Swedish educational qualification was not a problem but Swedish as most pursued their lessons in English. For the less-educated, both a Swedish qualification/education and the Swedish language were credentials they lacked. According to Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993), transactions within social networks do not solely revolve around money and material goods, but social intangibles such as an individual’s relation or connections with others within their networks (p. 1324). Consequently, in the subsequent sections, I discuss how connections within immigrants’ social networks helped address some of these limitations. Now that I have discussed the types of connections within immigrants’ networks, I will discuss how these connections based on their bonding, bridging, and linking social capital facilitated or inhibited the labour integration.

5.2 CONNECTIONS/INTERCONNECTIONS WITHIN IMMIGRANTS’ NETWORKS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Based on the previous discussions and findings of this study, technology-mediated connections possess the ‘strength of ties’ characteristics as posited by Granovetter (1983). Consequently, in this section, I will centrally focus on the bonding, bridging, and linking social capital in exploring the relevance of strong-tie and weak-tie connections and the Swedish Public Employment Service in immigrants’ labour integration. However, I slightly refer to technology-mediated connections in explaining how individuals connect, communicate, or share relevant information within the immigrants’ networks of connections at a point in these discussions.

5.2.1 BONDING AND BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND IMMIGRANTS' LABOUR INTEGRATION

Bonding social capital describes strong close ties such as family and close friends with similar backgrounds and interests who provide material, social and emotional support (Claridge, 2018, p.2). For my interviewees, strong-tie connections offered help when they were in dire need of such. Immigrants' networks of strong ties provided immigrants with social support in the form of accommodation. Though this does not support direct employment, it is a means to ensure that the immigrant is well situated in terms of housing within the host country. According to Wilmark et al. (2019), decent accommodation is crucial as the lack of it may have some adverse effects on immigrants' socio-economic outcomes in long-term integration (p.120).

'After school, I had not gotten any job, and I had to move out of my apartment. With little resources, I decided to seek help from a close friend to stay with her for some time until I find an apartment. Initially, he did not like the idea, as he had a small place, but later gave in. I stayed with him for a couple of months until I found work and moved out.'

Moreover, immigrants' networks of strong ties transmit and sustain the country of origin's cultures such as customs, values, strengthen religious faith, language, and access to ethnic goods and services that may be scarce within the Swedish context (Wessendorf, 2017). Interpreting this means strong ties positively strengthens ethnic identity among immigrants of the same race within the host country but can have some adverse effects on labour integration. In terms of language, speaking a language different from what is spoken and understood by most people in the host country could hinder labour integration (Bisin et al., 2011, p.86).

I did not mind eating Swedish dishes, but sometimes, I do feel like eating foods I am familiar with. At first, it was difficult locating stores where I could purchase some of my local stuff. Then a friend took me to someplace in Malmo, a Chinese shop. The things I saw amazed me, from clothes to food and everything Chinese. It was a bit expensive but worth buying.

For most of the interviewees, they lacked host country-specific labour skills. Host country employers usually require host country education and the ability to speak and understand Swedish as conversing with the language positively affects workplace productivity. Through the opportunity to work for ethnic enclave economies, immigrants can acquire some labour skills and training while enhancing their Swedish speaking skills, which gives them a

competitive advantage in the mainstream labour market. Ethnic enclaves directly served as a source of employment for some of the immigrants. According to some interviewees, most of their strong-tie connections operated businesses and offered them some form of work while preparing for mainstream labour integration. This finding relates to Boyd's (1989) assertions that ethnic enclaves assist with immigrants' economic adjustments.

I did not know the Swedish language at all until I found myself within an immigrant association. We communicate in our language but at the same time try to learn Swedish from those who are fluent in the Swedish language. I think they really helped because, as at that time, I was looking for a job, and the position required that I could speak a bit of Swedish. Although I did not get the job, but I had the chance to partake in the interview process because of the little Swedish I could speak.

Immigrants' networks of strong ties tend to develop relationships between individuals with shared interests, goals but contrasting social identities (Portes 1998). According to my interviewees, immigrants' networks of strong ties linking them to broader social connections (weak ties) expose them to different avenues to tap resources to assist with labor integration. While speaking Swedish even makes socialization a lot easier than when one cannot communicate. Claridge (2018) describes this as bridging social capital, which links people across 'cleavages such as race, class, and religion that typically divide people (p.3). Bridging relationships between people of different cultural backgrounds provide access to information and other groups of individuals not previously known. According to my interviewees, bridging social capital encourages exchanging information and easy access to labour opportunities (Granovetter, 1983). Based on the interviewees' perceptions and experiences, cooperating with other people (weak ties) than those within their co-ethnic contexts facilitates social and cultural adaptation. External cooperation decreases the occurrence of 'discrimination' between immigrants and the host community and beneficial to immigrants because they tend to benefit from 'high-quality social networks of natives' and other immigrants' groups (Bisin et al. 2011, p.64). From the findings, immigrants' networks of strong ties connected immigrants to different social groups who were not previously known by the immigrant. Weak-tie connections transmit host country cultural values and serve as bridges in connecting immigrants to the host society's more comprehensive parts.

I got the opportunity to mingle with some natives after church service. Then I got to learn about a few of the customs and traditions of the native Swede, such as the celebration of Halloween

and its significance to the Swedish culture, Lucia Swedish tradition, and a few more. My interest in the conversation and my understanding to the topics in the discussion caused the woman to like me. Then she later invited me to her place for Fika. I got to meet a few of her friends, and we took it from there. Through this, I got to make contact with some natives and a few immigrants who were willing to help me integrate properly. Like, socially, economically into the Swedish system.

I have discussed how immigrants' networks of weak and strong ties facilitate labour integration through social support, transmit host and country of origin values and customs, and connecting immigrants to more comprehensive parts of the host community. However, these approaches to enhance and facilitate labour integration can generate less desirable outcomes (Portes, 1998, p. 15). Interviewees confirmed that strong-tie connections could not fetch them the desired jobs despite their basic understanding of the Swedish language.

Through a friend, I got a job. Despite my qualification, I ended up with a menial job even with the Swedish language. In fact, the friend who helped me find the work was not doing any better work, so it was expected I would end up with the same works. Belonging to a personal network for me was helpful at first. Along the line, I noticed they themselves had no clue as to how the system works. They all rely on unprofessional people for information. They pretend to know everything, but getting closing to them; you find out they just make empty promises. So you see, most of them, despite their level of education, get stuck in menial jobs because they are not ready to explore and make any changes.

Most of these established immigrants are stuck in less well-paid jobs, so connecting immigrants to higher paid jobs or different employment sources are doable but unlikely to happen. Personal ties who offer help may be incapable or possess limited resources especially strong-tie connections, as they represent just an aspect of the immigrant's network and do not have resources in larger quantities hence may not significantly impact mainstream labour integration. Relating this to Lee's (2015) findings on the shortcomings within immigrants' networks, he finds that ethnic enclaves constrain immigrants from widening their job prospects (p. 87). Secondly, the motives for assistance were mostly instrumental. Those interviewees who received help from their networks of connections, especially strong ties, were informed that should the helper find themselves in similar situations, they will offer equal service. These

findings support Portes & Sensenbrenner's (1993) assertion on instrumental motivation. Interpreting this, people are guided on some principles within networks. In this case, the relationship exhibited is purely reciprocal and based on trust. Helpers perceive that by helping others, they will be equally catered for in their times of need. Some interviewees found this a bit complicated, because they might not possess the necessary resources to return the favour, making strong ties exploitative or manipulative. Lastly, some interviewees expressed that some people within their strong-tie connections were greedy with sharing information about jobs. They instead reserve and share information with people they are the closest to as the more significant the closeness, the greater the intensity of assistance. (Shih, 2002, p.15).

There is too much favouritism among personal networks. Among the network group, people have favourites and those they like. And this limits information sharing to just a few people within the group. By the time you hear about it, it might be too late to react.

When asked whether their weak-tie connections failed to assist with labour integration needs, none of the interviewees was explicit. However, one mentioned that her weak-tie connections (acquaintances) were hard to reach. It appeared she was the one always putting effort to sustain the relationship, making her feel petty. Consequently, at a point, she discontinued the 'friendship' as she thought she was intrusive. Perceived discrimination among third-world citizens is lowest in the Scandinavian region host country. The lack of cooperation, in this case, interprets as societal characteristics such as intolerance and discriminatory attitudes provide a background for limited immigrants' interaction with others in the host country, which may have adverse effects on immigrants' ability to integrate and create relationships outside their immigrants' group (OECD, 2015, p. 301; OECD, 2020, p.139).

Notwithstanding, another interpretation based on the study findings is that immigrants' networks of weak-tie connections were not extensively used by the high and less-educated labour integration process. It was between the internet, the Swedish Public Employment Service, and minute strong-tie connections for the highly-educated and extensive use of immigrant networks of strong ties, the internet, and the Swedish Public Employment Service for the less-educated and minute weak-tie connections. Tying these findings to Pendakur & Pendakur (2005) cited in (Bisin et al., 2011) study on immigrants' ethnic identity and reliance on informal networks to obtain jobs, they find that immigrants with substantial identity to the

host country easily connect with informal connections positively facilitating employment opportunities compared to those with non-European backgrounds. Though their study is about ethnic identity, relevant to my research is the aspect that highlights why non-European immigrants are less likely to rely on their weak-tie connections for jobs (p. 64). In other words, European ethnic immigrants easily connect with weak-tie connections within host European countries compared to non-European immigrants due to the former's (European immigrant) familiarity in social competence that positively facilitates general integration, employment opportunities, and employment itself.

I have discussed how immigrants' networks of strong-tie and weak-tie connections make resources available based on their bonding and bridging capital. I find that strong-tie connections transfer and equip immigrants with labour skills and training, such as speaking basic Swedish and offering them employment within ethnic economies. This might be useful in mainstream labour integration, connect immigrants to more comprehensive parts of the society such as weak ties and the Swedish Public Employment Service, and sustain a country of origin and host country norms and values. The latter (host country norms and values) mainly acquired through the weak-tie counterparts. However, immigrants' networks of strong ties did not connect immigrant jobseekers to the desired jobs, and strong-tie connections were greedy with sharing information about jobs. Individuals with resources preferred to assist their closest connections than any other person even if 'closest' connections were not qualified to possess such resources. My study finds that there were detachments and minimal link between weak-tie connections and immigrants' of this study and weak-tie connections could not connect them to labor opportunities. The minimal link was interpreted, as societal characteristics such as host country intolerance, perceived discrimination, and identity difference were reasons for the detachment. Aside from the strong-tie and weak-tie connections, the Swedish Public Employment Service, as the institution of power, played a role in facilitating or slowing employment. Based on linking social capital, I present an account of their performance according to my interviewee's experiences and perceptions and within the perspective of the discussed theoretical concepts and previous findings.

5.2.2 LINKING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND IMMIGRANTS' LABOUR INTEGRATION

This section discusses the Swedish Public Employment Service's role in immigrant job seekers' labor integration based on the empirical findings and the theoretical concepts and previously discussed literature. Specifically, I will focus on linking social capital in describing how immigrants access relevant resources within the Swedish Public Employment Service to address labour integration needs. From previous discussions, bonding and bridging social capital within strong and weak ties connect individuals to institutions. According to Claridge (2018), social capital within public agencies, as in this case, the Swedish Public Employment Service is regarded as 'linking social capital.' Linking social capital is connections of formal institutions beyond immigrants' networks of strong and weak ties, balancing resources that benefit immigrant job seekers (Torezani et al., 2008, p. 137). Almost all my interviewees have encountered the Swedish Employment Service during their job search either through their own search/initiative such as using technology-mediated or through strong ties. The Swedish Public Employment Service, according to Green (1966), mainly connects job seekers to available jobs on the labour market regardless of one's nationality to inhibit imperfections of information dissemination and matching vacancies to jobseekers to balance demand and supply of labour. From the study findings, the Public Service was only able to connect just a few of my interviewees to employment.

After school, I then decided to search for a job, which of course, fits my qualification. With the help of my husband, who relocated to Sweden before me, I contacted the arbetsförmedlingen and registered with them. It was a long wait, but I finally found work.

Although not a strong case to conclude that the Employment service is effective in labour integration of immigrants, they were concerned about the immigrants' wellbeing both at and outside the workplace. Acting as mediators between the employer and the employee, they ensured that employed immigrants receive the same treatment as their Swedish colleagues at their places of work. In terms of general wellbeing, they also connect immigrant jobseekers to other social services such as housing, healthcare facilities; communicate information concerning contribution to pension schemes should they find decent and well-paying jobs.

When I visited the public employment service, although the main motive was to find a job, they also further redirected me to the tax office to get registered once I found a job and started with a contribution to my retirement, my taxes, and some benefits, also, about healthcare and where I could register and have access to a free or substituted healthcare scheme. They also informed

me about the benefits my spouse and kids would get should I decide to start a family of my own. The pes also referred me to where I could register and become a citizen, but this was dependent on the fact that if I am married to a native, or have stayed and worked in the country for a couple of years, like 4-6years, then I could apply for the citizenship status.

The agency also tries to achieve an equitable distribution of employment burden by offering training programs depending on the immigrant's position in the labor market (Green, 1966, p. 66). Interviewees who visited the Employment Service learnt that partaking in the Swedish language course will give them some competitive advantage in the labour market. One of the interviewees who took this recommendation seriously and followed suit mentioned the language course was useful. As she enhanced her Swedish speaking skills, which boosted her confidence in searching for jobs on the labour market and she was hopeful will find decent employment. Tying this to a previous study by Azoba & Munezero (2016), from the employment officials' point of view, understanding and speaking the Swedish is vital for gaining decent employment and establishing useful social contacts that may be instrumental in the job search process.

At the beginning of the introduction program, I was in doubt, as I did not believe it was going fetch me the needed benefits. I could not understand or speak any Swedish at all and did not know where to search for jobs on my own, even with the internet. Series of lessons and practices of the language brought me to a place where I could quite speak some basic Swedish and how I could easily search for decent jobs on the internet.

As mentioned earlier, though the Employment Service's primary aim is to connect individuals to jobs, they are equally concerned about the immigrant jobseeker's general well-being. Based on the study findings, in the process of connecting immigrant job seekers to vacant jobs on the labor market, they were equally concerned about the immigrant's long-term plan and aspirations. They empower individuals to acquire more skills and qualifications. Should all go south, the individual could start personal businesses like those within ethnic enclave economies and, in turn, serve as a source of employment for other immigrants.

In fact, finding work through the Employment Service was a difficult task for me because I did not have the time for the language school. In the end, I still could not speak even basic Swedish. Then my employment officer recommended that I could start my own company, something like

owning a shop and selling products from my home country as there are a couple of immigrants here from my home country who would patronize my products. Moreover, they can help me secure a loan from the bank and start such a business.

Due to the classic ‘patron-client’ relationship based on the principle of reciprocity, employment officials, with their support and resources, expect that clients, in this case, the immigrant job seeker, will use these resources to improve their lives (Claridge, 2018, p.4). Based on the study findings, those who took part in any of the Employment Service's training programs benefited from some stipend dependent on whether they took the training program seriously and were present at every lesson. Though the ‘patron-client’ relationship appears to encourage job seekers to improve their situation, some found it a bit intimidating. They mentioned their endeavors being publicly managed and controlled by an institution of power that at any time could cut assistance should the individual deviate from purpose (Weisbrock, 2017, p. 14). An interviewee mentioned that;

There is some level of intimidation too. For instance, when you get there because they provide you financial assistance when you get, and you have still not been able to find anything, they treat you as a child. At that instant, they forcefully try to get you to apply for jobs right away in their office. Which I think is a bit disrespectful. Perhaps, the person is going through some emotional stuff, and they need time to heal. The constant pressure was just too much. Go on the computer and start applying and searching for jobs. I will help you to get a little money for today, but the next time I expect you to come with a good answer concerning your job search.

Vockova & Prokesova’s (2018) assertion relate to this as they argue that due to limited understanding of integration and lack of intercultural empathy, Employment Offices' are unable to effectively deal with the challenges of foreign nationals when they approach them. Concerning inadequate preparedness, the study findings revealed that the caseload per employment officials is disproportionate (more clients to patron ratio), poor communication and interpersonal skills due to language barrier as employment officials were not fluent in a language globally spoken.

a) I am talking from experience. The one handling my case says she has 350 people. How can that work? I pitied her because to be handling 350 grown-ups, the sort of frustration they would be going through and the kind of pressure. Well, some of them have left without the system

knowing or without informing here. I think even if one-third of us is still around and patronizing here services, then it's too much. I can agree they do not have enough resources, either human capital or other resources.

b) Aarrrm language barrier, my handler could not speak good English. Communication was not smooth, so perhaps she might have missed certain information. Perhaps, there is an entity that does not demand Swedish that would like to hire me, but would she have the interest judging from the fact that she herself does not speak English.

(c) there was a language barrier as the employment officer I met said she did not understand English and I did not also understand the Swedish language and so she told me to come the next day and that I might meet an officer who understands English.

However, within the Employment Service are chains of command employees have to obey, which might conflict with service delivery. Manoudi et al. (2014) describe this as structural complexities. Tying this to study findings by OECD (2014) on Sweden's Public Employment Service and immigrants labour integration, the study concludes that poor vertical co-operation between the central Public Employment Service and municipalities accounts for delays in receiving immigrants on their introduction program. Considering the large number of actors involved in coordinating introduction programs for immigrant job seekers, there should be combined interventions to remedy the adverse effects (p. 20). As discussed earlier, technology-mediated connections make it possible to communicate in this technological era. In the next section, I discuss its usefulness in immigrants' labour integration. Since it is not a pure-type connection, I intend to explore its effectiveness based on its bonding, bridging, and linking social capital.

5.2.3 BONDING, BRIDGING AND LINKING SOCIAL CAPITAL WITHIN TECHNOLOGY-MEDIATED CONNECTIONS AND LABOUR INTEGRATION

Haythornthwaite (2011) argues that technology-mediated connections are connections embedded within strong-tie and weak-tie connections and the Swedish Public Employment Service (p. 134). This assertion relates to my study as individuals or immigrants used the internet and electronic gadgets such as phones and computers to create connections, sustain

existing relationships, and access resources and information about job opportunities. Bonding social capital embedded within technology-mediated connections describes the reconnection and interaction between friends, families, and people whose contacts were misplaced during the migration period (Hiller & Franz, 2004). Relating the study findings to Hiller & Franz's (2004, p. 4) assertions on sharing emotions such as joy and care sadness, interviewees equally mentioned that they connected to families and friends back home through the internet. Encouraging them to sustain the emotional connections, they used to have, augmenting a sense of involvement in each other's lives despite geographical differences.

We were about five on the scholarship scheme. When we got to Sweden, we lost contact. Through social media, we got in touch. We get to discuss the issue in the different cities that we are located in and how we could maybe visit each other. This gave me a sense of belongingness because I realize, aside from friends I made in the host country from the country of origin; I actually could get in touch with people I met in my home country before arriving in Sweden.

For close friends and family within the host community, virtual connections fostered a feeling of belonging and a common identity among immigrants, allowing for ethnic, cultural, and national identity formation, also connecting immigrants to diverse groups. When asked how virtual connections enhanced belonging, one mentioned that this was no different from in-person meetings with fellow cohorts. Through online platforms, they can discuss topics of interest from cultural to national issues. All they needed was to apply them to their daily lives. Also, it provided them with up to date information on family affairs, happenings around the globe, and exchange of information about the hardship of life abroad and more realistic expectations of migration experience abroad, further informing the family in the country of origin decisions to migrate or abandon such plans.

When leaving my home country, I was scared I would barely hear from the family back at home. The internet made it so easy, and video calls are really helping a lot. Through the internet, I am able to send some money home.

Technology-mediated connections facilitated job search on an individual level. An interviewee mentioned that though assisted by the Swedish Public Employment Service to find work. He mostly had to do the job search by himself. The Employment Service only guides you on what

to do to find work, but most of the time; the individual jobseeker performs the more significant part of the job-finding process. People do not always interact by a common identity, but shared interest—technology-mediated connections link people in online networks who have not previously met in real life. Claridge (2018) terms this as bridging social capital. Bridging social capital embedded within technology-mediated network facilitates the formation of new networks rooted in virtual communities. Tying the study findings to Dekker & Engbersen (2012), immigrants through online platforms, such as social media, could connect and make new friends. These ‘outside’ connections pass on useful information. An interviewee mentioned that through the internet, he could contact some people in Sweden for information concerning his arrival in the host country. Though indirectly linked to labour integration, it was a foundation for preparing to integrate into Swedish society as when one is well established, it positively influences all other activities within the host country, such as labour market integration.

There is satisfaction when immigrants can connect and communicate with people from their country of origin and make new friends within the host country. However, there are lower levels of trust among online users, and deception are more likely to occur as providers of information may have purely ‘instrumental motives’ (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012). These connections make communication easier for geographically dislocated families and friends. However, one interviewee mentioned the family back home used this medium to ask for unnecessary financial favours even though they send remittances for their upkeep periodically. In terms of job search on the internet, none of my interviewees encountered problems.

A much as I would like to communicate with the family back at home, some are financially demanding, so I try as much as possible to limit the number of times I call. Mostly, I prefer the text as you can choose to reply immediately or wait until you have the time. You can also use the poor connection as a reason for not replying immediately. If this approach lingers on for a while, it will deter demanding relatives and friends from constantly requesting some of this support.

5.3 DISCUSSION

The analysis has covered a broad area of the experiences and perceptions of documented non-European immigrants in this study. The immigrant’s position as being highly or less-educated

influenced the choice of connection. Based on the empirical findings, immigrants in this study fell into two categories, the highly-educated and the less-educated. For the highly-educated, through their efforts, such as the use of internet/ technology-mediated connections, they discovered the Swedish Public Employment Service, and it was through this institution that they had the opportunity to connect with a few weak ties and strong ties. The Swedish Public Employment Service offered professional guidance and counseling concerning labour integration, so they preferred to contact them while relying on their weak and strong ties for social support. To them, weak ties performed the same functions as their strong ties: social support such as accommodation and connecting to the host society's broader parts. Moreover, the highly-educated were much interested in connecting directly to employment sources than relying on third parties such as their weak or strong ties to inquire about employment opportunities. They did this to prevent manipulation and exploitation from their strong and weak ties.

The less-educated who were actively searching for jobs relied on their immigrants' networks of strong ties. Who later introduced them to some weak-tie connections and the Swedish Public Employment Service to facilitate labour integration. For the fully-integrated-less-educated, they had already gotten to know about the Swedish Public Employment Service through their strong and weak ties. Therefore, they concurrently relied on their strong and weak ties and the Employment Service for labour integration opportunities. To the less-educated, connections with people exposed them further to sources of employment and social support. For instance, strong ties who operated businesses offered them jobs. Strong ties referred them to job opportunities and people who understood the local system well and had information not known to their strong-tie connections. They believed who you know facilitates employment opportunities. According to Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993, p. 1324), transactions within immigrants' networks do not revolve around money and material goods. Relating with others is essential as they are the people with the resources, and the only means to access these resources is by building strong relations with people.

Strong-tie connections offered social support to both high and less-educated, such as connecting immigrants to the host society's more comprehensive parts and transmitting country of origin customs and values within the host country. Strong ties helped with social support such as accommodation as decent accommodation is crucial as the lack of it may have some

adverse effects on socio-economic outcomes in the long term. Social support also included language and values transmission from the country of origin, access to ethnic goods within the host community, etc. Larson & Lewis (2017) assert ethnicity within immigrants' networks enhances the way people share information. However, Pendakur & Pendakur (2005), cited in (Bisin et al. 2011, p.64), discuss that strong ethnic identity within the host country could have some adverse effects on labour integration.

Moreover, immigrants with strong foreign ethnic identity within the host society will also have issues connecting with people outside their immigrant group who may have useful resources and information. Reflecting on Claridge's (2018) arguments, bonding social capital within immigrant networks is more likely to affect employment negatively. Due to their 'tightly structured' diffusion of information from outside, the immigrant group becomes narrow, limiting the number of resources (p.3).

Despite the differing immigrant backgrounds, immigrants within this study switched or concurrently used a network connection type depending on the need. However, the study report was not explicit about the exact moment they switched to another. As noted, the highly-educated though majorly relied on the internet and the Swedish Employment Service for labor-related issues, changed or equally relied on their strong ties for social support when it was necessary. While the less-educated relied extensively on their strong ties, they were also interested in how the Employment Service could help address their labor needs and the information they could access from their weak tie-connections. Bourdieu (1966) argues that relying on different networks of connections gives the immigrant opportunity to access vast resources from within the other immigrants' networks of connections.

Based on the empirical findings, strong ties serve as sources of employment for the less-educated. Some well-established immigrants operated their businesses, and their primary source of labour was co-ethnics. Ethnic enclaves are characterized by employment opportunities and by way of offering employment; immigrant employees acquire new skills useful for labour integration (Boyd, 1989). Based on their bonding social capital, they can connect immigrants to broader social groups and acquire the host country's language, making it easier to communicate with people outside one's immigrant group. As Granovetter (1983)

discusses, weak-tie connections can access information that may not be readily available to their strong-tie connections. Creating these connections encourages the exchange of information and access to labour opportunities. It also facilitates cultural adaptation, which decreases discrimination between the immigrants and the host community. Socializing with weak ties creates social and cultural transformation, which reduces bias between the immigrant and the host society.

Similarly, the Swedish Public Employment Service could connect a few immigrants to employment sources while they could not match others to their qualifications. However, some interviewees improved their Swedish speaking skills through the training programs organized by the Employment Service. Host country-specific labour skills are crucial for a successful labour integration, as most employers require that. Being able to speak the language, as noted, helps in establishing social contacts and strengthening weak-tie connections (Azoba & Munezero (2016, p. 28). Based on the study findings, they are concerned with the immigrant's wellbeing by ensuring that aside from immediate employment, the immigrant has long term plans and aspirations such as starting a business of their own and acquiring more education. Linking social capital, as discussed, involves a 'patron-client' relationship based on reciprocity. The Employment Service is considered the patron in this case and with their services and resources, expect that clients will do well in their lives (Claridge, 2018, p. 5). Some interviewees found the 'patron-client' relationship a bit intimidating as they mentioned that their issues were publicly managed and controlled by an institution of power who at any time may cut assistance should the individual deviate from purpose.

According to Portes (1998), as much as immigrants' networks of strong and weak ties serve as support systems to the immigrant in the host country, the approaches used could generate less desirable outcomes. Interestingly both high and less-educated immigrants actively looking for jobs or have once been active job seekers mentioned despite the priorities given to networks of connections the result of employment was not to expectations. The argument is that strong ties mostly were stuck in less paid jobs. Owners of businesses who employ immigrants can be exploitative and abusive, and instrumental in their motives. Even within strong-tie connections, there are tighter connections between some individuals to others. Hence, people look forward to sharing information with people closer to them and who they could later benefit from (Maher & Cawley, 2015; Shih, 2002).

Weak tie-connections within the immigrants' networks are supposed to connect immigrants to external resources. Weak ties, as noted, were difficult to reach despite the relationship they had with the immigrant. They were not useful in the job search process but were instrumental with social support. Though it was not clear in my data, what accounted for that a study by OECD (2015) on a related subject revealed that this is caused by societal features of intolerance and discriminatory attitude, especially when immigrants have a non-European background. Which negatively affects the immigrants' ability to create relationships outside their immigrant group. This aspect is partly reflected in my study. Highly and less-educated immigrants preferred to rely on the internet, the Swedish Public Employment Service, and their strong-tie connections for the needed help than their weak-tie connections.

There was a point of convergence for technology-mediated connections. I found that technology-mediated connections such as the use of the internet and electronic gadgets facilitated communication modes within the connections. Haythornthwaite (2011) argues that instead of isolating technology-mediated connections as a pure connection type, it is embedded within immigrants' networks of connections such as the Swedish Employment Service. Based on the study findings, immigrants could connect with their families back home, connect to people they had not previously met, and access information about labour opportunities online. Dekker & Engbersen (2012) argue that there are lower levels of trust as purported by some interviewees despite these positive influences. Due to easy communication, some family members back home use this medium to extort unnecessary finances. Immigrants also experienced a bit of privacy intrusion, especially when they did not want to be bothered.

6. 0 CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The purpose of this thesis explores immigrants' social networks and their influence in the labour integration of documented-non-European immigrants on the Swedish labour market. With specific interest and focus on identifying connections within documented-non-European immigrants and how connections use resources to help immigrants address labor integration needs. From the empirical findings and the discussion, immigrants defined or affiliated to connections within their networks based on their position as highly or less-educated. Connections within their networks consisted of families, close friends, acquaintances, and state institutions. That is strong and weak ties, the Swedish Employment Service and Technology mediated connection. Though there were trade-offs between these connections in addressing labour market needs, interviewees' educational background influenced connections to use. Due to their cultural capital, highly-educated immigrants preferred to navigate the local system for labor integration information. The highly-educated extensively relied on the internet and the Swedish Employment Public Service for labour-related issues, while they relied on strong and weak connections for social support.

On the other hand, the less-educated relied on their strong ties and the internet for labour integration issues and social support. Through the strong ties, they could connect to the broader part of the society, such Swedish Public Employment Service and some weak-tie connections. The less-educated believed that having to socialize with people facilitated the job search process. Consequently, future research should examine the different connections used by different types of immigrants in labour integration. That is how the use of connections within networks differs amongst various classes of immigrants.

In terms of how these connections facilitated labour integration, I find that based on bonding, linking, and bridging social capital, resources were made available for use. For immigrants' networks of strong ties, bonding social capital influenced how people related to each other and how strong ties utilized resources. Based on bonding social capital, strong ties were able to bridge the gap between the broader parts of the society with rich resources than the immigrant's immediate group. That is, connecting immigrants to their weak ties. However, in this study,

weak-tie connections performed the same roles as strong-tie connections. These findings contradict the argument about weak-tie connections being instrumental in the labour integration of immigrants. This study suggests that though immigrants rely on their weak ties, it is not for the specific purposes of labour integration but instead to seek social support, just as the kind of support immigrants extract from their strong-tie connections.

Due to their linking social capital, the Swedish Employment Service also connected immigrants to resources such as labour training programs within their institutions that the immigrant could use to upgrade himself or herself to facilitate labour integration. However, technology-mediated connections were connections embedded within the other connections. Hence possessed all three forms of social capital. In terms of its bonding capital, it facilitated communication between the immigrant and his immediate immigrant group. In terms of its bridging social capital, it facilitated communication between the immigrants and the weak-tie connections. In terms of its linking social capital, technology-mediated connections facilitated communication between immigrants and institutions of power. Consequently, further research should consider investigating and developing a conceptual boundary and the specific social capital for describing the relevance of technology-mediated connection when discussing immigrant social networks.

Though the immigrants' lived experiences and perceptions concerning the relevance of their networks of connections are similar to other studies on the immigrants' networks and labour integration, what sets this study apart is that it presents encompassing details on the different connections within immigrants' networks. And the fact that besides networks of strong ties, which is the most discussed in immigrants' social networks literature as facilitating employment, other connections like technology-mediated connections and state institutions like the Swedish Public Employment Service are equally meaningful connections within immigrants' labour integration. This study slightly contradicts previous study findings where the focus is usually on the strict conceptualization of sources of assistance (that is, the role of strong ties) within immigrants' networks, without looking at the various connections within and their differential roles in addressing immigrant job seekers' labor market needs.

In terms of the negatives associated with relying on these connections in addressing labour integration needs, strong-tie connections in some cases were exploitative, could not connect jobseekers to decent jobs, and information sharing about job opportunities were vague. Weak-tie connections were not instrumental in meeting the immigrant's labor market demands and difficult to socialize. The Swedish Public Employment Service also were faced featured some structural complexities in their effort to solving immigrant labour market issues. From the discussions, I conclude that despite the high social capital embedded within these connections, they equally produce some risks in addressing immigrants' labor market needs. In some cases, the risks may outweigh the benefits. Further research should look into developing theories capable of explaining and predicting the balance between risks and benefits generated in immigrants' labour integration through their immigrants' networks of connections.

Due to the small number of study participants, the study results cannot be generalized to other immigrants. This study instead adds to knowledge in immigrants' networks and labour integration literature that there are different connections within immigrants' networks that present immigrants with vast resources to choose from in addressing their labor integration needs. Secondly, affiliating and prioritizing a connection type from this study's findings depends on the immigrant's educational background as highly-educated or less-educated. In addition, social capital, which is considered a benefit by associating with immigrants' networks of connections, could produce negative results.

REFERENCES

- Adler, P., Seok-Woo K., (2002). Social Capital: Prospects For A New Concept. *The Academy Of Management Review*, 27(1), 17-40. Retrieved December 8, 2020, From <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4134367>
- Andersson, L., Hammarstedt, M. (2015), Ethnic Enclaves, Networks And Self-Employment Among Middle Eastern Immigrants In Sweden. *International Migration*, 53: 27-40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2011.00714.x>
- Attström, K. (2007). Discrimination Against Native Swedes Of Immigrant Origin In Access To Employment A Research Study On Stockholm, Malmö, And Gothenburg, Utilizing The ILO Discrimination Practice Testing Approach.
- Audretsch, D. B., Aldridge, T. T., & Sanders, M. (2011). Social Capital Building And New Business Formation: A Case Study In Silicon Valley. *International Small Business Journal*, 29(2), 152–169. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0266242610391939>
- Azoba, C., & Munezero, A. (2016). Professionals’ View On Social Integration Of Young People With Immigrant Background In The Labour Market In Sweden (Dissertation). Retrieved From <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:hig:diva-23513>
- Behtoui, A. (2008) Informal Recruitment Methods And Disadvantages Of Immigrants In The Swedish Labour Market, *Journal Of Ethnic And Migration Studies*, 34:3, 411-430, DOI: [10.1080/13691830701880251](https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701880251)
- Bevelander, P., & Irastorza, N. (2014). Catching Up : The Labour Market Integration Of New Immigrants In Sweden. International Labour Organization. Retrieved From <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:mau:diva-13346>
- Bisin, A., Patacchini, E., Verdier, T., Zenou, Y., Ichino, A., & Wasmer, E. (2011). Ethnic Identity And Labour Market Outcomes Of Immigrants In Europe. *Economic Policy*, 26(65), 57-92. Retrieved December 7, 2020, From <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41262000>
- Bourdieu, P., (1986). The Forms of Capital. Pp. 241-258 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson. New York: Greenwood Press. https://home.iitk.ac.in/~amman/soc748/bourdieu_forms_of_capital.pdf
- Bourdieu, P. (1973). The Forms of Capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Borenkova, A. (2011) ‘Perception Of Immigrants Regarding Their Integration Into The Swedish Labor Market.’ Available At: <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsndl&AN=edsndl.oai.union.ndltd.org.UPSALLA1.oai.DiVA.org.miun-14051&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 6 December 2020).

Boyd, M. (1989). Family And Personal Networks In International Migration: Recent Developments And New Agendas. *International Migration Review*, 23(3), 638–670. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791838902300313>

Claridge, T. (2018). Functions Of Social Capital–Bonding, Bridging, Linking. *Social Capital Research*, 20, 1-7.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics Of Qualitative Research (3rd Ed.): Techniques And Procedures For Developing Grounded Theory*.

Daunfeldt, S.-O., Johansson, D., Westerberg, S., H., (2019). Which Firms Provide Jobs For Unemployed Non-Western Immigrants? The Service Industries

Dekker, R. & Engbersen, G. (2014), How Social Media Transform Migrant Networks And Facilitate Migration. *Global Networks*, 14: 401-418. <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12040>

Englund, C. (2002). Migrants, Minorities And Employment In Sweden -Exclusion, Discrimination And Anti-Discrimination.

Försäkringskassan, <https://www.forsakringskassan.se/privatpers/arbetssokande>

Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., Chadwick, B. (2008). Methods Of Data Collection In Qualitative Research: Interviews And Focus Groups. *British Dental Journal*. 204. 291-5. 10.1038/bdj.2008.192.

Granovetter, M. (1973). The Strength Of Weak Ties. *American Journal Of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380. Retrieved December 4, 2020, From <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2776392>

Granovetter, M. (1983). The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited. *Sociological Theory*, 1, 201-233. doi:10.2307/202051

Green, A. L. (1966). *Manpower And The Public Employment Service In Europe, A Study Of Programs And Operations*. [S.L.]: Distributed By ERIC Clearinghouse.

Hagan, J. (1998). Social Networks, Gender, and Immigrant Incorporation: Resources and Constraints. *American Sociological Review*, 63(1), 55-67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2657477>

Hayashi, P., Abib, G., & Hoppen, N. (2019). Validity In Qualitative Research: A Processual Approach. *The Qualitative Report*, 24, 98-112.

Haythornthwaite, C. (2005). Social Networks And Internet Connectivity Effects. *Information, Communication And Society*. 8. 125-147. 10.1080/13691180500146185.

Hsiao, J.-C, Y., Dillahunt R. T., (2018). Technology To Support Immigrant Access To Social Capital And Adaptation To A New Country. <i>Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact.</i> 2, CSCW, Article 70 (November 2018), 21 pages. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1145/3274339>

Hiller, H. H, Franz, T. M, (2004). New Ties, Old Ties and Lost Ties: The Use of the Internet in Diaspora. *New Media & Society - NEW MEDIA SOC.* 6. 731-752.
DOI: [10.1177/146144804044327](https://doi.org/10.1177/146144804044327)

Kerlinger, F. H. (1964), *Foundations Of Behavioural Research: Educational And Psychological Inquiry*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. Journal, 39:9-10, 762-778, DOI: 10.1080/02642069.2018.1534961: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02642069.2018.1534961>

Larson, J., Lewis, J.I., & Rodriguez, P. (2017). From Chatter To Action: How Social Networks Inform And Motivate In Rural Uganda. https://luskin.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Larson-Chatter_20170418.pdf

Lee, H. Y. (2015). *Network Disadvantages Of Immigrants: Social Capital As A Source Of Immigrant Disadvantages In The Labor Market*. Dissertation, Duke University. Retrieved From <https://hdl.handle.net/10161/10462>.

Lin, N. (2017). *Building A Network Theory Of Social Capital: Theory And Research*. 10.4324/9781315129457-1.

Maher, G. & Cawley, M. (2015) *Social Networks And Labour Market Access Among Brazilian Migrants In Ireland*, *Journal Of Ethnic And Migration Studies*, 41:14, 2336-2356, DOI: [10.1080/1369183X.2015.1061424](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1061424)

Malmberg-Heimonen, I., Julkunen I., (2006) *Out Of Unemployment? A Comparative Analysis Of The Risks And Opportunities Longer-Term Unemployed Immigrant Youth Face When Entering The Labour Market*, *Journal Of Youth Studies*, 9:5, 575-592, DOI: [10.1080/13676260601021054](https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260601021054)

Manoudi, A., Nevala-Hall, A., M., Scharle, A., Csillag, M., Metcalfe, H., Duchemin, C., Maillart, I., (2014). *Small Scale Study On PES Business Models*.

Martén, L., Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2019). *Ethnic Networks Can Foster The Economic Integration Of Refugees*. *Proceedings Of The National Academy Of Sciences Of The United States Of America (PNAS)* 116(33). Retrieved From <https://www.pnas.org/content/116/33/16280>

Maxwell, J., (1992). *Understanding And Validity In Qualitative Research*. Harvard Educational Review. 62. 279-300.

Maxwell, J. (2006). *Qualitative Research Design : An Interactive Approach / Joseph A. Maxwell*. (Second Edition.). Sage Publications.

Merriam, S.B. (1998) *Qualitative Research And Case Study Applications In Education*. Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco.

OECD (2014). *Finding The Way: A Discussion Of The Swedish Migrant Integration System* <https://www.oecd.org/migration/swedish-migrant-integration-system.pdf>

OECD (2015), "Third-Country Nationals' Integration In The European Union", In *Settling In 2018: Indicators Of Immigrant Integration*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264307216-12-en>.

OECD (2020), *How's Life? 2020: Measuring Well-being*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9870c393-en>.

Orlowski, J., Wicker, P., (2015). "The Monetary Value Of Social Capital," *Journal Of Behavioral And Experimental Economics (Formerly The Journal Of Socio-Economics)*, Elsevier, Vol. 57(C), Pages 26-36. 10.1016/j.socec.2015.04.007

Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful Sampling For Qualitative Data Collection And Analysis In Mixed Method Implementation Research. *Administration And Policy In Mental Health*, 42(5), 533–544. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y>

Peri, G. (2014). *Do Immigrant Workers Depress The Wages Of Native Workers?* IZA World Of Labor 2014

Portes, A. (1998). Social Capital: Its Origins And Applications In Modern Sociology. *Annual Review Of Sociology*, 24, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.1>

Portes, A., & Sensenbrenner, J. (1993). Embeddedness And Immigration: Notes On The Social Determinants Of Economic Action. *American Journal Of Sociology*, 98(6), 1320-1350. Retrieved December 5, 2020, From <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781823>

Ryan, L., Umut, E., D'Angelo, A., Eds. (2015). *Migrant Capital: Networks, Identities And Strategies. Migration, Diasporas And Citizenship*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan: <http://www.palgrave.com/page/detail/migrant-capital>

Saldaña, J. (2009). *The Coding Manual For Qualitative Researchers*. Sage Publications limited

Salazar, M. K. (1990). Interviewer Bias: How it Affects Survey Research. *AAOHN Journal*, 38(12), 567–572. <https://doi.org/10.1177/216507999003801203>

Schmitt, C., (2012). *Labour Market Integration and the Transition to Parenthood: A Comparison of Germany and the UK*, Discussion Papers of DIW Berlin 808, DIW Berlin, German Institute for Economic Research. <http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol26/12/>

Shih, J., (2002). "Ethnic Identity, Bounded Solidarity And The Formation Of Immigrant Networks Of Care." Berkeley Center For Working Families Working Paper No. 55, Berkeley,

CA: Center For Working Families, University Of California, Berkeley, 2002.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2345/4125>.

Thieme, S (2007). Social Networks And Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants In Delhi. Bern: NCCR North-South. <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-4034>

Thomas, D., (2011). Personal Networks And The Economic Adjustments Of Immigrants
<https://www.ureachtoronto.ca/personal-networks-and-the-economic-adjustment-of-immigrants/>

Torezani, S., Colic-Peisker, V., & Fozdar, F. (2008). Looking For A "Missing Link": Formal Employment Services And Social Networks In Refugees' Job Search. Journal Of Intercultural Studies, 29(2), 135-152. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860801938617>

UNFPA (2004). Program Of Action Of The International Conference On Population And Development

Vacková, J., & Prokešová, R. (2017). Selected Areas Of Immigrant Integration In The Czech Republic. KONTAKT, 19(4), E237–E247.
<https://doi.org/ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.1016/j.kontakt.2017.09.002>

Van Meeteren, M., Pereira, S. (2018). Beyond The 'Migrant Network'? Exploring Assistance Received In The Migration Of Brazilians To Portugal And The Netherlands. Int. Migration & Integration 19, 925–944. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-018-0578-9>

Waldinger, R., (1995) The Other Side Of Embedded Ness: A Case-Study Of The Interplay Of Economy And Ethnicity, Ethnic And Racial Studies, 18:3, 555-580, DOI: [10.1080/01419870.1995.9993879](https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1995.9993879)

Weber, D., (2014). Migrant Networks: A Literature Review. Albany: Integration of Immigrants Programme, Massey University, 2014

Wessendorf, S., (2019) Pioneer migrants and their social relations in super-diverse London, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 42:1, 17-34, DOI: [10.1080/01419870.2017.1406126](https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1406126)

Weisbrock, A. (2011) The Integration Of Immigrants In Sweden: A Model For The European Union? International Migration, 49: 48-66. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00662.x>

Woolcock, M. (2001). The Place Of Social Capital In Understanding Social And Economic Outcomes

APPENDIX 1- INTERVIEW GUIDE

My name is Doerte. A student from the Sociology Department at Lund University pursuing MSc Welfare Policies and Management. I am embarking on a project titled labor integration of documented-non-European immigrants in Lund/Sweden connections within their immigrant network. Hence, for this interview, which will be audio-recorded, I would be asking questions concerning your experiences and perceptions about your immigrant network and its role in your labour integration, and how the entire integration process has been for you in Lund/Sweden. Information and data gathered during this interview are confidential, and anonymity is assured. In the case where you are not comfortable with the audio recording, I would take notes instead. Please, do not hesitate to ask questions. Thank you

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

What was your motive for migration?

Your perception about Lund/Sweden during your first few days of arrival?

What was your education or professional background when you arrived?

Did your educational/ professional background/ migration motive influence where/ whom to rely on for information concerning general integration in Lund/Sweden? That is rely on family/ friends, the Employment Service or the internet.

How did you deal with the Swedish language barrier? Have you relied on the internet/ friends?

What encouraged you to learn the Swedish language?

QUESTIONS ON STRONG-TIE AND WEAK TIE-CONNECTIONS

Are you connected to any home-country association in Lund? Or have any friends in Lund?

How did you become a part of this association? /How did you make friends?

What was the relationship between you and other members within the association/friends?

What is the educational/professional background of people within this association/friends?

Could this association help you with employment?

How was/is information sharing concerning job openings communicated?

Any idea where they get this job information?

Were/are this information useful enough?

Did/do these job openings shared by association members/friends match your qualification?

In the association, do/did you sometimes feel some people were/are prioritized over you? If so, why?

Is/are your association/friends efficient when it comes to labour integration?

How about social integration? That is, connecting with other immigrants and natives.

How often do you participate in socializing events organized by this association?

Does participating in these events create a sense of belongingness within this association?

Do they help with labour skills development? Like being able to speak the Swedish language
OR acquiring work experience?

Does being part of this association make job search or employment easier?

Any challenges within this association?

QUESTIONS ON SWEDISH PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

How did you find out about the Employment Service?

How was your encounter with the public employment service? Friendly/strictly professional?

What was the initial requirement to benefit from the services of the public employment service?

Did you participate in the introduction program or any other related labour training program by the employment service?

What were some of the benefits from participating in the introduction program/related labour training program?

Could they help with your skills development? Like being able to speak the Swedish language?
Building self-confidence, acquiring work experience?

Could they connect you to a job matching your qualification?

Besides helping you with job search, what other role did/do they play in social and economic integration?

During your visits, did/do you ever feel others were being prioritized over you?

Do you think as an immigrant, you have the same position on the labor market as a native?

Kindly explain?

Regarding your experiences with the Employment Service, would you say they are efficient in facilitating employment?

Did you encounter any challenges with the public employment service during your job search?

How have you been able to/ how did you cope with the public employment service's shortcomings?

What will you recommend they do differently?

QUESTIONS ON TECHNOLOGY-MEDIATED CONNECTIONS

How often do you use the internet?

For what purposes do you use the internet? For job search? Getting in touch with family/friends? /finding jobs? / News purposes?

Does searching and applying for jobs on the internet fetch you the desired job?

How often do you communicate with family/friends back home?

What are some of the things you discuss when you call the family/friends back at home?

In general, what role does the internet play in your social and economic integration?

Do you encounter any challenges when using the internet? If any, how do you deal with these challenges?

GENERAL INTEGRATION QUESTIONS

Between the internet, the Swedish Public Employment Service, and home-country associations/friends/acquaintances, which one is your most relevant in searching for jobs? And why?

Among these three, which one has been the most efficient in searching for jobs?

Has there been a point where you decided to forgo home-country association/friends and employment service and do your search? Why did you make that decision?

Are you satisfied with your current stage of integration?