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The intersection of class origin and immigration background in structuring social capital: the role of transnational ties

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ABSTRACT

The study investigates inequalities in access to social capital based on social class origin and immigration background and examines the role of transnational ties in explaining these differences. Social capital is measured with a position generator methodology that separates between national and transnational contacts in a sample of young adults in Sweden with three parental backgrounds: at least one parent born in Iran or Yugoslavia, or two Sweden-born parents. The results show that having socioeconomically advantaged parents is associated with higher levels of social capital. Children of immigrants are found to have a greater access to social capital compared to individuals with native background, and the study shows that this is related to transnational contacts, parents' education and social class in their country of origin. Children of immigrants tend to have more contacts abroad, while there is little difference in the amount of contacts living in Sweden across the three groups. It is concluded that knowledge about immigration group resources help us predict its member's social capital, but that the analysis also needs to consider how social class trajectories and migration jointly structure national and transnational contacts.

Keywords: Immigration background; position generator; social capital; social class; transnationalism

Introduction

The social capital that individuals access and mobilize through their social networks is related to labour market opportunities, such as the likelihood of getting a job and the wage and prestige of that job (Behtoui 2007; Lin 1999; Sprengers, Tazelaar and Flap 1988). At the same time, class origin affects

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labour market attainment, even when controlling for education (Erikson and Jonsson 1998), and it is known that children of immigrants are disadvantaged in the labour market (Heath, Rothon and Kilpi 2008). The effect of social capital on life chances directs our interest to intergenerational effects on social capital as a possible pathway for how families transmit advantages to their children. Thus, understanding social capital inequality may help us to better understand how social class origin and immigration background affects life chances.

Previous research have found effects of class origin and immigration background on social capital among young people (e.g. Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2015), but although the literature on transnationalism suggests that immigrants tend to maintain ties to people in their country of origin (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007), few studies have paid attention to the role of transnational ties in explaining differences in access to social capital. Previous research on transnational ties, on the other hand, has either relied on qualitative data, or used methods that ask the respondent about already realized support rather than estimating access to resources (e.g. Herz 2015; Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara 2008; Waldinger 2008). Although measuring transactions contributes to an understanding of the forms of support that social capital can result in, it is a biased estimate of access to social capital, since people are likely to differ in their need for help (Van der Gaag, Snijders and Flap 2008). Thus, few previous studies have examined the extent to which access to social capital involves transnational ties, or to what extent transnational ties contributes to social capital inequalities depending on class origin and migration background.

Furthermore, it is problematic to study the role of family background in shaping an individual's social capital in the full adult population, since such an analysis runs the risk of confusing social capital effects with other intergenerational effects. Parents can have an effect on their children's socioeconomic outcomes through other pathways, such as educational attainment, which makes it difficult to separate between direct effects of family background and indirect effects through the individual's socioeconomic outcome (Verhaeghe, Li and Van de Putte 2013).

This study examines the effect of parents' class and migration trajectories on their children's social capital when they are 22 or 23 years old. The key contribution is to integrate a transnational perspective with a social class perspective on understanding differences in access to social capital. We aim to (1) examine how class origin and immigration background is intertwined in the structuring of access to social capital: (2) to assess the role of transnational networks in explaining such differences; and (3) to analyse how access to social capital through transnational networks is affected by parental education and social class attained in the country of origin.

For this purpose, we use a Swedish survey with respondents who are 22 or 23 years of age, which means that they have just entered the labour market or are in higher education. We measure social capital using the position generator

instrument, asking respondents about their contacts with people across a number of occupations spanning the socioeconomic structure. The underlying idea is that contact with people in these occupations gives access to resources (Lin, Fu and Hsung 2001).

The survey has over-sampled children of immigrants from former Yugoslavia and Iran in order to analyse social capital among young adults in two of the largest immigration groups in Sweden. Both groups have had a substantial presence in Sweden for several decades, permitting us to address questions pertaining to inter-generational inequality. The two groups also represent immigrants with different reasons for emigration. Broadly speaking, the Yugoslavian immigrants are divided into one cohort of low-educated labour migrants who arrived in Sweden mainly in the 1960s and 1970s, and a cohort of war refugees who arrived in the early to mid 1990s (Jonsson 2007). The group of immigrants from Iran are primarily political refugees. A large part of this group came to Sweden after the revolution in Iran and often belonged to the Iranian elite, culturally or politically (Hosseini-Kaladjahi 1997: 34). In this paper, we argue that parental class in the country of origin affects their children's social capital, mainly through a higher access to social capital through transnational ties.

Social capital and its transnational effects

Social capital has been defined in several ways, and in this paper we draw on the network-resources approach, defining social capital as resources embedded in a social network that can be used in intentional action (Li 2015; Lin 2001). Social capital can be valuable in several ways: social contacts may provide valuable *information, influence* important decisions, act as *referees* or *social credentials*, and provide *social support* that helps to maintain good health and uphold motivation (Lin 2001). Furthermore, social capital may also facilitate *transfers of valuable resources* such as lending money on favourable terms. Previous studies have demonstrated that access to social capital is related to higher wages, higher status jobs, lower unemployment, shorter time to re-employment, easier access to the housing market, and better health (Behtoui 2007; Hällsten, Edling and Rydgren 2017; Röper, Völker and Flap 2009; Song and Lin 2009; Sprengers, Tazelaar and Flap 1988; Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2015; Völker and Flap 1999).

Lin, Fu and Hsung (2001) suggest that an individual's position in the socioeconomic structure is fundamental for determining the resources that she can provide to others through contacts of various kinds, implying that different socioeconomic positions provide different amounts and types of resources. We equate position in the socioeconomic structure with the social class of contacts occupation, and postulate that different social classes provide different amounts

and types of resources. As a result of higher income, formal education and authority at the workplace, individuals in higher social classes are more likely to provide informational and material resources, while people in lower class positions are more likely to provide manual skills and information about entry-level job opportunities (Lin and Erickson 2008; Verhaeghe and Li 2015; Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2015).

Geographic distance and migration have an impact on social ties. The transnational perspective recognizes that migrants and their children tend to maintain social ties to people in other countries, most often to their countries of origin, at the same time as they are socially integrating into their new home countries (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Waldinger 2008). Transnational ties are often long distance ties and while transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, maintaining transnational ties is increasingly facilitated by technological advances in transport and communication (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999).

Extraction of social resources through social ties might depend on the geographic distance they bridge and a few papers have attempted to assess the extent to which transnational ties can be mobilized as social capital. One important type of activity is transfer of money, usually from the migrant back home, and economic remittances has become increasingly important for receiving families as well as for the national economies of some countries (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Semyonov and Gorodzeisky 2008; Waldinger 2008). Transfer of monetary resources can be classified as instrumental support, and Herz (2015) shows that for German migrants in the UK, instrumental support from transnational ties is present, but the main function of transnational ties is to provide emotional support.

Osman (2012) bases his study on qualitative interviews with children of immigrants with Somali background in Sweden. He shows that they have transnational links to upper-service-class relatives with Somali background who immigrated to UK or Canada. Osman (2012) argues that these alters influence the respondents' occupational and educational ambitions and that they have a positive effect on the willingness to migrate to third countries, usually geographically closer to the contact in question. The positive and important influence of social capital on migration decisions has been shown in a number of studies (Garip 2008; Kalter 2010; Palloni et al. 2001).

To the extent that transnational ties lead to migration, transnational social capital can be turned into local social capital. Research shows that immigrants often help each other with language, accommodation and access to jobs (de Miguel Luken and Tranmer 2010; Gill and Bialski 2011; Ryan et al. 2008). This is especially the case for accommodation, whereas contact with natives is relatively more important for gaining access to jobs and material help (de Miguel Luken and Tranmer 2010).

Intergenerational effects on social capital: mechanisms based on group membership and family background

According to Lin (2000), inequality in social capital is the combined result of the clustering of members of a particular group in socioeconomic positions of relative (dis)advantage, and the general tendency of individuals to associate with others who are similar to themselves in terms of sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 2001). Such social segregation in networks can be caused by preferences or attitudes (Heider 1946; Lin 2001), or by contact opportunities (Blau 1977). In addition, systematic differences in the size of people's social networks, across sociodemographic and socioeconomic groups, may partly explain inequalities in social capital. Previous research suggests that people in higher social positions tend to have more contacts (e.g. Savage et al. 2013; van Tubergen et al. 2016). One possible reason for this tendency is the status or prestige mechanism, that is, that people often have a preference for interacting with persons with higher prestige and more resources than they themselves possess (Laumann 1966).

The tendency towards socioeconomic and socio-demographic homogeneity in social networks implies that social capital also is influenced by immigration group belonging, but that this effect depends on the socioeconomic positions group members occupy. Whether immigrant groups are rich or poor on resources, on average, will be crucial for the social capital acquisition of its group members.

As discussed previously, immigrants and their children tend to maintain ties to people from their country of origin (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Osman 2012; Waldinger 2008), which suggests that children of immigrants are likely to have more social contacts living in other countries. Social class origin is likely to have an effect also on transnational contacts and it is important to consider the social class position in the country of origin, which is likely to more strongly influence contacts made in that country.

Previous research on inequality in access to social capital based on class origin and immigration background

Previous research on the adult population in the US and UK has found a positive association between parental occupational prestige and levels of social capital (Lin 1999), which also holds when taking the respondents' own social class into account (Li, Savage and Warde 2008). More recent studies have focused on access to social capital among young people. Behtoui (2013) uses a sample of students from vocational tracks and university students in Sweden; Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht and Van de Putte (2015) use a sample of young adults from vocational and technical tracks in upper secondary school in Belgium; and Lannoo, Verhaeghe, Vandeputte and Devos (2012) use a sample

of university students also from Belgium. All three studies have found that respondents with highly educated parents or parents in advantaged class positions have higher levels of social capital. While most previous research has not focused on working-class contacts (or low-prestige contacts), there is some evidence that children of highly educated parents have less access to working-class contacts (Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2015).

Another aspect of social capital inequality is differences depending on ethnicity and immigration. Several studies have found that immigrants or ethnic minorities have access to less social capital (Behtoui 2007; Chua, Mathews and Loh 2016; Li, Savage and Warde 2008; Lin 2000; Moren Cross and Lin 2008; Völker, Pinkster and Flap 2008). But a number of European studies, mostly on young people, do not find disadvantages for ethnic minorities. Behtoui (2013) found that while his young immigrant respondents in Sweden have significantly less social capital than their non-immigrant peers, he did not find lower levels of social capital for those having immigrant *parents*, when controlling for socioeconomic background. Lannoo et al. (2012) did not find any effect of immigration background on social capital, and Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht and Van de Putte (2015) found that members of ethnic minorities have less access to social capital, but when controlling for socioeconomic factors, this negative association turned positive. Similarly, van Tubergen and Volker's (2015) study of the adult population in the Netherlands found that people with a Moroccan or Turkish background have lower access to social capital, but that differences decrease or disappear when socioeconomic factors are taken into account.

It should be noted that none of the studies discussed above have considered the place of residence of contacts (i.e., transnational ties), nor have they considered social class trajectories, which we do in the analysis below.

The immigration groups: Iran and former Yugoslavia

The Yugoslavian and Iranian immigration groups are internally heterogeneous in terms of socioeconomic factors, reasons for migration, and ethnic identification. This section will describe the socioeconomic composition of these groups in Sweden.

Large-scale migration from Yugoslavia to Sweden started in the 1950 postwar period when there was a high demand for labour in the booming Swedish manufacturing industry. In the 1990s there was a clear shift in reasons for emigration, with the arrival of large numbers of refugees following the outbreak of the Yugoslavian wars. Yugoslavian immigrants in Sweden often have working-class positions and are in this respect similar to other non-EU migrants, while their employment rates are higher than most other immigrant groups and close to that of natives (Jonsson 2007).

Most of the immigrants from Iran in the pre-1990 cohort are political refugees who arrived in the 1980s in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq wars. This group is positively selected in terms of social class and education and relatively often occupies service-class positions in Sweden. The peak of immigration from Iran was in 1988 and continued at quite high levels into the 1990s (Hosseini-Kaladjahi 1997; Jonsson 2007).

Thus, there are three distinct groups represented in the sampled population: The children of labour migrant families from Yugoslavia who were recruited to working-class positions; children of refugees from Yugoslavia, of which the selection on socioeconomic resources is less clear; and the children of refugees from Iran, who were positively selected on education.

Access to social capital: expectations

First, theory and previous research suggest that individuals originating in the upper service class will have access to more social capital. For children of immigrants, we expect that parents' social class in the country of origin has similar effects on their transnational social capital. Second, since natives occupy more favourable socioeconomic positions (Jonsson 2007), we expect respondents with native background to access more social capital. However, we expect children of immigrants to access more contacts abroad, which may make up for their expected lack of contacts within Sweden. Third, since the Iranian group is highly educated and often have service-class positions, we expect that children of immigrants from Iran access more upper-service-class contacts compared to children of immigrants from Yugoslavia, even when controlling for parents' social class. The Yugoslavian group is expected to have more working-class-contacts than the other groups as these occupations are common within this group and as employment rates are high (Jonsson 2007).

Data and methodology

We use data from the survey *Social Capital and Labor Market Integration*. A sample of individuals with and without immigrant background, born in 1990 and living in Sweden was drawn from the total population in July 2009. The sample has three strata: all individuals with at least one parent born in Iran; a random sample of 50 per cent of all individuals with at least one parent born in former Yugoslavia; and a simple random sample of 2,500 individuals with two Swedish-born parents. By specifically selecting only two immigrant groups the risk of ending up with too small numbers of respondents from specific countries of origin is avoided. The sample was surveyed two times, in 2009 and 2013. Because the first wave does not contain information on transnational ties, we only analyse the second wave, where telephone interviews were conducted by

Statistics Sweden between January and March in 2013. The gross survey sample consists of 5,836 individuals. A total of 2,244 interviews were conducted in Wave 2, leaving the response rate at 39.7 per cent.[1] The survey data is matched with data from administrative registers containing information about demographic characteristics as well as residential area.

The analysis of non-response shows that immigration background, parents' education, not living in a large city municipality and own education were positively related to the response rate. Bias in observed factors can be attained to by including these variables in the model (Winship and Radbill 1994). There might still be bias due to unobserved factors such as social integration or language skills differing across groups, but we are confident that the main results of this study are not the result of a low response rate or bias.

Measuring social capital

Social capital is dependent on three factors: the presence of alters, the resources of these alters, and how available these resources are to the individual (Van der Gaag, Snijders and Flap 2008).We are interested in how much social capital the respondents *have access to*, that is, the potential value of contacts. The so-called 'position generator' measures access to positions with the assumption that most important resources are concentrated in particular parts of the social structure and is therefore an appropriate instrument. Respondents are asked whether they know someone in a number of salient social positions, usually occupations (Lin and Dumin 1986; Van der Gaag, Snijders and Flap 2008).[2] Lin and Erickson (2008) argue that the position generator generally performs well, with high cross-sectional reliability and high response rates, although one known source of measurement error is that respondents sometimes mention people who no longer inhabit the position in question (Van der Gaag, Appelhof and Webber 2012).

The current position generator has 40 positions, 39 occupations plus university student (Table I). We construct three measures based on how many contacts a respondent has with people in these positions. 'Total extensity' measures the total number of contacts the respondent has access to. The study also uses two measures based on the *social class* of the position. Social classes are defined according to the Swedish SEI scheme, which closely resembles the EGP scheme (Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero 1979; SCB 1982). Based on this scheme we measure 'Upper-service-class extensity' by counting the number of contacts in the nine upper-service-class positions the respondent has access to. We also measure 'Working-class extensity' by counting the number of contacts among the 19 working-class positions. Class-based measures of social capital assumes qualitative difference in the type of resources that different class positions provide access to (Verhaeghe and Li 2015). Separating between different types of contacts is useful since previous research has shown that not all positions are

Table I: *Classification of occupations in the Position Generator*

	Upper service class	Lower service class	Working class	Share of respondents with access to the position (%)
Professional actor		X		9
Headmaster	X			17
Financial manager	X			20
Accountant	X			23
Reporter		X		24
Lawyer	X			24
Estate agent		X		25
Researcher	X			26
Professional musician				28
Dentist	X			29
Caretaker/janitor/attendant			X	30
Mailman			X	31
Police officer		X		31
Taxi driver			X	34
Bank clerk		X		35
Receptionist			X	39
Recreation leader		X		39
Cleaner			X	41
Computer programmer	X			42
Doctor	X			42
Child care assistant			X	45
Security guard			X	45
Telemarketer			X	48
Truck driver			X	49
Engineer	X			53
Mechanic			X	54
Computer technician		X		54
Cook			X	55
Factory worker			X	59
Nurse		X		60
Construction worker			X	61
Teacher		X		61
Warehouseman			X	62
Hairdresser			X	62
Self-employed with staff				64
Disabled's assistant			X	65
Waiter/waitress			X	66
Assistant nurse			X	69
Cashier staff person			X	73
University student				92
Total				

Note: The table shows access to positions and which social class the positions belong to.

beneficial for all types of outcomes, but might have negative or no effects depending on the context and outcome in question (Hällsten, Edling and Rydgren 2015; Verhaeghe and Li 2015). Note that the position generator has a bias towards occupationally diverse networks in estimating access to resources

Table II: *Descriptive statistics for the dependent variables*

		Mean	Min	Max	SD	Skewness
Total extensity	All	17.86	0	39	7.11	0.08
	In Sweden	15.82	0	38	6.61	0.16
	In Sweden and abroad	1.34	0	24	2.70	3.33
	Abroad	0.70	0	17	1.50	3.75
Upper-service-class extensity	All	2.75	0	9	2.08	0.57
	In Sweden	2.30	0	9	1.83	0.70
	In Sweden and abroad	0.22	0	6	0.68	4.04
	Abroad	0.23	0	5	0.60	3.16
Working-class extensity	All	9.90	0	19	4.14	−0.13
	In Sweden	9.09	0	19	4.00	0.00
	In Sweden and abroad	0.54	0	11	1.37	3.56
	Abroad	0.27	0	9	0.72	4.16

because it does not distinguish between respondents who mention only one or several contact(s) in each occupation. However, this bias has to be traded off against the theoretically motivated idea that, compared to a homogenous network, a diverse network provides access to more kinds of resources (Lin and Erickson 2008).

To indicate transnational social capital, the survey has questions about where the contact is located: 'in Sweden', 'in another country', or 'both in Sweden and in another country'. The latter alternative can be interpreted either as one single person living in two countries (circular migration), or as several people living in different countries.[3]

Table II shows descriptive statistics for the three measures of social capital, which define the dependent variable in the following analyses. On average, respondents have access to almost 18 positions of which almost 10 are working-class contacts and 3 are upper-service-class. Table II shows that the measures of contacts abroad are skewed while variables measuring contacts in Sweden are more normally distributed. There is also overall more skewness in the measure of upper-service-class-extensity.

Measuring family background

The sample is based on parents' country of birth. We split each immigrant strata into two cohorts based on whether the respondent was born in Sweden or aboard, which means that we identify families arriving before and after 1990. For respondents with parents that have emigrated from Yugoslavia, this captures migration cohorts that differ in their motivations for migration, labour migrants or refugees. For respondents with parents from Iran there is no such theoretically motivated difference between the cohorts. However, it is still meaningful to introduce this measure of immigration background since previous research shows a gap in labour market outcomes as well as social capital

between first (born abroad) and second (born in Sweden) generation immigrants (Behtoui 2013; Jonsson 2007).[4]

We define socioeconomic background as a multidimensional concept and measure both parents' occupational class and parents' education. Social class is measured by asking respondents about their parents' main occupations or economic activity. Occupational information is coded according to the Swedish SEI scheme which is based on educational requirements, type of work and industrial sector (SCB 1982). In addition, parents without connection to the labour market are grouped into a separate class. The scheme is collapsed into six classes, and family class is coded using a dominance principle that takes the highest position within the family, under the assumption that the higher position has a dominant effect on important variables such as attitudes, behaviour and consumption patterns (Erikson 1984). Using parents' occupations to measure social class background is complicated in the case of children of immigrants since their parents are more likely to have experienced (often downward) social mobility as a result of migration (see Table III; cf. Gans 2009). In order to take country of origin into account, we use two different indicators of social class origin for children of immigrants. Our first indicator considers only parents' occupation in Sweden, whereas the second indicator considers parents' occupation in the country of origin. Our main measure is a combination of these two, taking the parent's dominant position in Sweden or country of origin. For example, a parent who used to work as a medical doctor in the country of origin but who works as a taxi driver in Sweden will be categorized as a medical doctor. This approach implies a double dominance procedure (Erikson 1984); first dominance within the family and then dominance between countries.[5] In a second step, we include both class in country of origin and class in Sweden in the same model to estimate their separate effects. Due to reliability issues, we collapse the class measure in this analysis to a four-class model distinguishing between: not in the labour market, working-class, self-employed, and all non-manual occupations.

Information about the parents' education is based on two survey items that ask the respondent whether any parent attended university in Sweden and whether either parent attended university in any other country. In both cases we define highly educated parents as respondents with at least one parent who has attended university. We code three dummy variables indicating if parents only had education in the country of origin, only have education abroad or have education both in Sweden and abroad. This is not a measure of parents' educational qualifications, but it is sensitive to their educational ambitions and social life at the university, which are relevant for social capital.

Our measures contain measurement error if respondents are misinformed about their parents' education or occupation. However, Engzell and Jonsson (2015) show that children are quite good at stating their parents' occupation while estimation of parents' education are unbiased but somewhat less reliable.

Table III: *Descriptive statistics for independent variables*

	Sweden	Yugoslavia pre-1990	Yugoslavia post-1989	Iran pre-1990	Iran post-1989	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Parental class in Sweden						
Working class	30.1	43.3	60.7	24.2	44.9	37.4
Routine non-manual	11.3	10.0	8.1	7.2	2.9	9.4
Self-employed	7.7	7.1	2.8	14.6	6.5	7.7
Lower service class	28.2	24.6	14.3	26.5	15.9	24.1
Upper service class	21.6	12.1	6.7	24.8	7.3	17.3
No labour market position	0.8	2.1	6.0	1.4	18.8	3.2
Missing	0.3	0.8	1.6	1.4	3.6	1.0
Parental class in country of origin						
Working class	na	14.2	35.9	14.6	29.0	na
Routine non-manual	na	4.6	7.6	6.3	9.4	na
Self-employed	na	0.8	7.1	3.0	10.9	na
Lower service class	na	10.0	14.9	16.8	9.4	na
Upper service class	na	3.3	13.8	8.8	8.7	na
No labour market position	na	36.3	9.9	27.8	13.0	na
Missing	na	30.8	10.8	22.6	19.6	na
Parental class combined						
Working class	30.1	34.6	41.8	16.3	30.4	30.6
Routine non-manual	11.3	12.5	8.7	7.4	8.7	10.2
Self-employed	7.7	7.9	8.5	14.3	13.0	9.3
Lower service class	28.2	28.3	18.6	29.5	14.5	25.7
Upper service class	21.6	14.2	15.9	30.3	13.8	20.6
No labour market position	0.8	2.1	5.8	1.4	18.1	3.1
Missing	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.8	1.5	0.5
Parents' university education						
No higher education among parents	46.2	45.0	42.1	17.9	52.2	41.0
Higher education only in Sweden	48.3	28.3	3.2	29.5	9.4	32.0
Higher education only abroad	0.7	17.5	42.3	16.8	25.4	14.7
Higher education both in Sweden and abroad	4.6	9.2	12.0	35.3	13.0	12.0
Missing	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.3
Gender						
Man	51.6	52.5	53.6	51.2	47.8	51.8
Woman	48.4	47.5	46.4	48.8	52.2	48.2
Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Migration						
Average age of respondent at immigration	na	na	5.7	na	10.1	na
Missing %	*na*	*na*	*0*	*na*	*2.6*	*na*
N	1,068	240	435	363	138	2,244

We argue that while country of origin measures might have a somewhat lower reliability, we have no reason to suspect that they are more biased than other answers about parents' occupation or education and they do provide insights about circumstances in the country of origin that other available measures cannot get at.

In addition to these focus variables, our models also include gender and geographic residency, which have been shown to be related to social capital (Erickson 2004; Lannoo et al. 2012). We classify the registered municipality of residence into ten discrete categories that capture structural conditions such as population size, labour market opportunities and industrial structure (SKL 2011). We include these ten groups in the regression as dummy variables.

Analytical strategy

We estimate the effect of socioeconomic background and immigration group on access to social capital. Because we are interested in the total relation between family background and social capital, the analysis does not include individual characteristics that could be mediators between background variables and access to social capital. We do, however, include a control for municipality of residence in Sweden to condition on local labour market effects. The main model includes immigration cohort, social class origin, parents' education, gender and municipality. For part of the sample ($n = 894$) we have information about parents' class in the country of origin and for this sample we conduct a more detailed analysis where we separate the effect of class origin in Sweden and abroad on contacts living in Sweden, abroad, and both in Sweden and abroad.

Since we measure social capital as the number of contacts that the respondent can access (i.e., count data), it is reasonable to use a regression in the Poisson family. Several of the variables we analyse have low mean values in relation to their standard deviations, which imply a problem with over-dispersion in normal Poisson regression. To overcome this problem, negative binominal regression is preferred (Coxe, West and Aiken 2009). In Tables V and VI we will present the average marginal effects, that is, the average number of events with which a one unit difference in the focus variable is associated (calculated over all observations and then averaged).

Results

From the descriptive statistics in Table III we see that the data largely confirms findings about the socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants from Yugoslavia and Iran from previous studies. Parents from Yugoslavia tend to more often have working-class occupations compared to the other groups, and parents from Iran often have high education and upper-service-class positions. For both immigrant groups, the cohort that has been in Sweden for a longer period of time has a higher employment rate and is more often found in privileged class positions (Jonsson 2007; Rooth and Ekberg 2006). There are interesting differences between the immigration cohorts regarding the relative importance of country of origin resources. Table III displays that the Yugoslavian post-1989 cohort has a high share of parents with higher education abroad, a low share of

Table IV: *Mean values in social capital depending on the place of residence of contacts*

Immigration background	All Mean	Sweden Mean	Sweden %	Sweden and abroad[a] Mean	Sweden and abroad[a] %	Abroad Mean	Abroad %
Swedish	16.90	15.92	94.2	0.75	4.4	0.22	1.4
Yugoslavian pre-1990	18.01	15.95	88.6	1.27	7.1	0.78	4.9
Yugoslavian post-1989	18.91	15.17	80.2	2.28	12.1	1.46	9.6
Iranian pre-1990	19.28	16.35	84.8	1.89	9.8	1.05	6.4
Iranian post-1989	18.19	15.37	84.5	1.69	9.3	1.14	7.4
Total	17.86	15.82	88.6	1.34	7.5	0.70	4.4

Note: The table shows total number of accessed contacts depending on the their place of residence.

[a]Refers to positions in which the respondent knows someone both in Sweden and abroad.

parents with Swedish education, and a lower proportion in the upper-service class in Sweden compared to the positions they had in country of origin, which is evidence of downwards class mobility. The pattern is different for parents from the pre-1990 Iranian cohort, the proportion in the upper-service-class is higher in Sweden than in the country of origin, which suggests some upward mobility in this group. Parents in the post-1989 Iranian cohort quite often have service-class occupations, but many of them have no connection to the labour market at all, suggesting that this group has a polarized socioeconomic composition (c.f. Hosseini-Kaladjahi 2012).

Table IV displays national and transnational access to social capital by immigrant background. Respondents with parents in the Yugoslavian post-1989 cohort is the group with the highest share of transnational contacts, close to 10 per cent of their occupational contacts live abroad, and an additional 12 per cent are in the position in which they know someone both in Sweden and abroad. The pre-1990 Yugoslavian cohort, on the other hand, differs markedly in being the immigration group with the lowest share of contacts living abroad. Fewer than 5 per cent of their contacts live abroad and an additional 7 per cent live both in Sweden and abroad. Most parents in this group have lived in Sweden for a relatively long time and connections to the country of origin might have become weaker.

Average marginal effects from negative binominal regression models of total extensity (model 1–4), upper-service-class-extensity (5–8) and working-class-extensity (9–12) are presented in Table V. We start by analysing the effects of socioeconomic background, showing that parents' class and education have positive effects on the total extensity. Respondents with self-employed parents access 1.721 more contacts compared to respondents with working-class background (model 2), and children of parents with higher education both in Sweden and abroad access 2.408 more contacts compared to respondents whose parents have no experience of university education (model 2). The most

Table V: *Access to social capital in Sweden and abroad by socioeconomic and immigration background*

	Extensity				Upper-service-class extensity				Working-class extensity			
	All contacts (1)	All contacts (2)	Contacts in Sweden[a] (3)	Contacts abroad (4)	All contacts (5)	All contacts (6)	Contacts in Sweden[a] (7)	Contacts abroad (8)	All contacts (9)	All contacts (10)	Contacts in Sweden[a] (11)	Contacts abroad (12)
Parents immigration cohort (Ref: Sweden)												
Yugoslavian, pre-1990	1.158*	0.864	0.313	0.894***	0.174	0.034	−0.142	0.314***	0.745*	0.695*	0.491	0.280***
	(0.550)	(0.554)	(0.544)	(0.115)	(0.154)	(0.153)	(0.146)	(0.052)	(0.316)	(0.319)	(0.317)	(0.056)
Yugoslavian, post-1989	2.341***	1.664**	0.460	1.397***	0.827***	0.529***	0.160	0.457***	0.962***	0.835**	0.366	0.493***
	(0.474)	(0.514)	(0.506)	(0.127)	(0.131)	(0.140)	(0.135)	(0.053)	(0.271)	(0.296)	(0.295)	(0.060)
Iranian, pre-1990	1.780***	1.027*	0.323	1.012***	1.013***	0.660***	0.401**	0.392***	0.190	0.129	−0.079	0.274***
	(0.487)	(0.512)	(0.503)	(0.111)	(0.126)	(0.129)	(0.123)	(0.050)	(0.285)	(0.301)	(0.299)	(0.052)
Iranian, post-1989	1.556*	1.138	0.337	1.118***	0.864***	0.668***	0.411*	0.385***	0.211	0.142	−0.139	0.375***
	(0.748)	(0.752)	(0.741)	(0.144)	(0.199)	(0.197)	(0.190)	(0.061)	(0.433)	(0.438)	(0.436)	(0.071)
Parental social class (Ref: Working-class)												
Routine non-manual	0.657	0.458	0.427	0.076	0.471**	0.361*	0.323*	0.043	0.080	0.060	0.032	0.051
	(0.579)	(0.578)	(0.568)	(0.111)	(0.164)	(0.161)	(0.154)	(0.047)	(0.331)	(0.332)	(0.329)	(0.056)
Self-employed	2.016***	1.721**	1.522*	0.253*	0.885***	0.727***	0.619***	0.102*	0.286	0.252	0.220	0.073
	(0.607)	(0.608)	(0.597)	(0.111)	(0.165)	(0.163)	(0.156)	(0.045)	(0.349)	(0.351)	(0.349)	(0.057)
Lower service class	0.916*	0.370	0.238	0.179*	0.727***	0.433***	0.390**	0.040	−0.437^	−0.485^	−0.538*	0.075^
	(0.447)	(0.461)	(0.452)	(0.087)	(0.125)	(0.127)	(0.121)	(0.038)	(0.257)	(0.266)	(0.264)	(0.044)
Upper service class	1.780***	0.929^	0.814	0.175^	1.367***	0.926***	0.866***	0.059	−0.514^	−0.573^	−0.641*	0.091^
	(0.481)	(0.516)	(0.507)	(0.097)	(0.131)	(0.137)	(0.130)	(0.040)	(0.279)	(0.300)	(0.298)	(0.048)
Not in the labour market	−1.262	−1.137	−1.517	0.220	−0.137	−0.078	−0.138	0.028	−0.523	−0.506	−0.725	0.114
	(1.007)	(1.002)	(0.992)	(0.159)	(0.288)	(0.283)	(0.277)	(0.067)	(0.576)	(0.576)	(0.577)	(0.076)
Parents' education (Ref: No university education)												
Higher education only in Sweden	0.039	0.899*	0.802^	0.233**	0.228*	0.724***	0.709***	−0.011	−0.281	−0.211	−0.290	0.140**
	(0.390)	(0.433)	(0.425)	(0.089)	(0.105)	(0.120)	(0.114)	(0.041)	(0.226)	(0.251)	(0.248)	(0.045)

Table V: *Continued*

	Extensity				Upper-service-class extensity				Working-class extensity			
	All contacts (1)	All contacts (2)	Contacts in Sweden[a] (3)	Contacts abroad (4)	All contacts (5)	All contacts (6)	Contacts in Sweden[a] (7)	Contacts abroad (8)	All contacts (9)	All contacts (10)	Contacts in Sweden[a] (11)	Contacts abroad (12)
Higher education only abroad		1.814***	1.593**	0.196*		0.851***	0.716***	0.100**		0.339	0.306	0.040
		(0.548)	(0.541)	(0.089)		(0.145)	(0.141)	(0.036)		(0.317)	(0.316)	(0.045)
Higher education both in Sweden and abroad		2.408***	2.288***	0.138		1.207***	1.092***	0.105*		0.096	0.117	−0.010
		(0.596)	(0.587)	(0.105)		(0.152)	(0.146)	(0.041)		(0.349)	(0.347)	(0.055)
Gender												
Woman	−0.706*	−0.755*	−0.970**	0.207***	−0.070	−0.098	−0.138^	0.043^	−0.744***	−0.745***	−0.830***	0.078**
	(0.319)	(0.318)	(0.313)	(0.060)	(0.086)	(0.085)	(0.081)	(0.025)	(0.185)	(0.185)	(0.184)	(0.030)
Control for place of residence	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean value	17.86	17.86	17.15	0.7	2.75	2.75	2.52	0.23	9.9	9.9	9.63	0.27
Observations	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161	2,161

Note: Average marginal effects from negative binominal regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, ^ $p < 0.10$.

[a]Positions in which the respondent only knows someone in Sweden are added togheter with positions in which the respondent knows someone in Sweden as well as abroad.

important effects of socioeconomic background in relative terms are found in models of access to upper-service-class-extensity, having upper-service class origin is associated with +0.926 extra contacts and of having parents with higher education in several countries with +1.207 (model 6). The effect of socioeconomic background on access to working-class contacts is not so important, but an upper-service-class background gives a negative effect on working-class-extensity (–0.573). This effect is considerably weaker in relation to the mean value compared to the effect on upper-service-class-extensity given that the mean value in working-class-contacts is 9.9 while the mean value in upper-service class contacts is 3.03. These results are largely in line with previous research (e.g. Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2015).

The results in Table V, model 1 show that the immigrant groups have an advantage in the total extensity of contacts over those with two Swedish born parents, but when accounting for education in country of origin, in model 2, this difference decreases. Comparing models 1 and 2, we see that the effect on extensity is no longer statistically significant for respondents in the pre-1990 Yugoslavian labour migrant cohort and the post-1990 Iranian cohort, while significant positive differences remain for the two other groups.

In line with our expectations, respondents in the pre-1990 Yugoslavian cohort have higher working-class-extensity compared to those with Swedish background (model 10), while respondents with Iranian background have higher upper-service-class-extensity (model 6). Our interpretation is that class composition measured at the group level is reflected on group members' social capital as a result of in-group interaction tendencies. Theoretical expectations about the social capital of the post-1989 Yugoslavian cohort based on in-group peers in Sweden suggest a lower upper-service-class-extensity. Yet, model 6 shows that the post-1989 Yugoslavian cohort have higher upper-service-class extensity (+0.529) compared to the Swedish group.

However, results in model 7 show that when we only consider contacts living in Sweden, there is no significant difference in upper-service-class contacts between respondents with a Yugoslavian and a Swedish background. A similar pattern is found for total extensity; there are no significant differences between the groups when considering contacts living in Sweden only (model 3). An exception to this pattern is that respondents with an Iranian background have higher upper-service-class-extensity bound to contacts in Sweden (model 7). All immigrant groups, and especially the post-1989 Yugoslavian cohort, have access to significantly more contacts living abroad compared to the group with Swedish background (model 4, 8 and 12).

In Table VI, we analyse respondents for whom we have information on parents' class position both in Sweden and the country of origin. The analysis separates between access to contacts living abroad, in Sweden, and both in Sweden and abroad. We collapse the upper-service, lower-service and routine-non-manual into one class called non-manual. The results in Table VI show a

Table VI: *Access to contacts and parental class in Sweden and their country of origin*

	Extensity			Upper-service-class extensity			Working-class extensity		
	Only in Sweden (1)	Sweden and abroad[a] (2)	Abroad (3)	Only in Sweden (4)	Sweden and abroad[a] (5)	Abroad (6)	Only in Sweden (7)	Sweden and abroad[a] (8)	Abroad (9)
Parental social class in Sweden (Ref: Working-class)									
Self-employed	1.323	−0.225	−0.081	0.324	−0.134	0.023	0.536	−0.116	−0.105
	(0.933)	(0.490)	(0.257)	(0.230)	(0.129)	(0.103)	(0.552)	(0.261)	(0.127)
Non-manual	0.477	−0.085	−0.147	0.426**	0.057	−0.096	−0.127	−0.140	−0.019
	(0.600)	(0.303)	(0.165)	(0.150)	(0.076)	(0.069)	(0.356)	(0.155)	(0.075)
Not in the labour-market	−1.506	−0.600	0.057	−0.378	−0.126	−0.007	−0.501	−0.242	0.055
	(1.138)	(0.573)	(0.296)	(0.307)	(0.161)	(0.129)	(0.670)	(0.298)	(0.128)
Parental social class in country of origin (Ref: Working-class)									
Self-employed, abroad	−0.478	0.849	0.473^	−0.143	0.307*	0.178	−0.120	0.361	0.117
	(1.096)	(0.533)	(0.281)	(0.278)	(0.131)	(0.113)	(0.648)	(0.283)	(0.126)
Non-manual, abroad	−0.247	0.613^	0.130	0.043	0.247**	0.104	−0.233	0.195	0.034
	(0.618)	(0.315)	(0.169)	(0.155)	(0.085)	(0.070)	(0.368)	(0.163)	(0.076)
Not in the labour market, abroad	1.190^	−0.222	−0.477*	0.176	−0.045	−0.106	0.590	−0.053	−0.191*
	(0.688)	(0.343)	(0.196)	(0.171)	(0.096)	(0.085)	(0.407)	(0.180)	(0.093)
Parents' education (Ref: No university education)									
Higher education only in Sweden	−0.890	0.664	0.179	0.191	0.234*	−0.014	−1.005*	0.233	0.134
	(0.838)	(0.421)	(0.234)	(0.210)	(0.111)	(0.107)	(0.497)	(0.227)	(0.107)
Higher education only abroad	0.925	0.213	0.234	0.526**	0.131	0.160*	−0.046	0.020	0.022
	(0.627)	(0.314)	(0.171)	(0.161)	(0.087)	(0.073)	(0.370)	(0.162)	(0.076)
Higher education both in Sweden and abroad	0.575	0.923*	0.259	0.577**	0.245*	0.260**	−0.495	0.275	−0.034
	(0.784)	(0.398)	(0.219)	(0.193)	(0.101)	(0.091)	(0.467)	(0.207)	(0.100)
Gender									
Woman	−1.538**	0.128	0.414**	0.024	−0.025	0.079	−1.390***	0.056	0.139*
	(0.475)	(0.233)	(0.133)	(0.117)	(0.059)	(0.054)	(0.283)	(0.123)	(0.061)

Table VI: *Continued*

	Extensity			Upper-service-class extensity			Working-class extensity		
	Only in Sweden (1)	Sweden and abroad[a] (2)	Abroad (3)	Only in Sweden (4)	Sweden and abroad[a] (5)	Abroad (6)	Only in Sweden (7)	Sweden and abroad[a] (8)	Abroad (9)
Control for parents immigration cohort	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Control for place of residence	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean value	15.82	1.34	0.7	2.53	0.22	0.23	9.09	0.54	0.27
Observations	894	894	894	894	894	894	894	894	894

Note: Average marginal effects from negative binominal regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, ^ $p < 0.10$

This is a subset of the sample for which we have information about parents' occupation abroad.

[a]Positions in which the respondent knows someone both in Sweden and abroad.

correspondence between parents' class position and the country in which the contact resides. Having parents in a non-manual position in Sweden is associated with upper-service-class-extensity in Sweden (+0.426, model 4). The results also shows that if parents had a non-manual position in the country of origin, the respondent has significantly higher upper-service-class-extensity for contacts living in Sweden and abroad (+0.247), and +0.104 higher extensity abroad only, although the latter coefficient is not significant. Thus, parents' class in Sweden does not explain access to transnational social capital, but there is an effect of parents' class position in the country of origin on transnational social capital. With regards to the effect of parental education, we find that having parents with higher education in two countries results in significantly higher upper-service-class-extensity in Sweden (+0.557 in model 4) and in Sweden and abroad (+0.245 in model 5). Having parents with a higher education from abroad also gives a positive effect on upper-service-class-extensity in Sweden compared to having parents without higher education (+0.526). This indicates that, while class effects are indeed related to the national context where the parent had the position, the effect of parental education is not bound to a specific context.

Discussion and conclusion

This study integrates a transnational perspective with a social class perspective to explain inequality in access to social capital among young adults. The results confirm the positive association between an advantaged class background and access to social capital. We showed that respondents with upper-service-class parents have more upper-service-class contacts but less working-class contacts. Moreover, the effects of class origin on social capital depend on whether we consider parents' class position in Sweden or in their country of origin. Children of immigrants with parents that had a non-manual position in their country of origin access more upper-service-class contacts through transnational networks, while a non-manual position in Sweden was related to more upper-service-class contacts residing in Sweden. We also showed that children of immigrants have access to more social capital than children of natives, which is contrary to most previous research on adult populations (e.g. Li, Savage and Warde 2008), but more in line with recent studies on young adults (Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2015).

Results showed that immigration group belonging affects the type of contacts respondents have access to. We found that children of immigrants from Yugoslavia had access to more working-class contacts, while respondents with a background in Iran had access to more upper-service-class contacts. In our interpretation, these findings are largely a result of the fact that immigrants access more contacts in class positions that are typical in their immigration

group. However, as this interpretation is based on the resources the groups possess in Sweden, it cannot explain the entire effect.

Importantly, we saw that children of immigrants in Sweden have higher access to social capital through transnational ties, and this partly explains why they have more social capital than their non-immigrant background peers. We may explain part of this difference by also taking the class positions of the parents in the country of origin into account. This factor was especially relevant for respondents in the Yugoslavian post-1989 cohort. Refugees from Yugoslavia most commonly have working-class-positions in Sweden, while they often had service-class positions in Yugoslavia, a sign of downward class mobility. This result suggests that the respondents' parents have family and professional networks of resourceful people in their country of origin, but have not established equally broad networks in Sweden. In other words, they have a relatively large share of their social resources in their country of origin, and it is these transnational ties that they can make available to their children.

Parents' education in their country of origin also contributed to the understanding of why children of immigrants have access to more social capital. Our analysis showed that parents' education in the country of origin has a substantial impact on social capital and that it explains part of the difference between children of immigrants and respondents with two native born parents. In contrast to class in the country of origin, the education effects were not specifically related to contacts abroad, suggesting that the effects have more to do with intergenerational influences on traits such as ambition (Heath, Rothon and Kilpi 2008). Thus, the differences between natives and children of immigrants, conditioned on socioeconomic factors, might depend on how social class and education is measured (c.f. Engzell and Jonsson 2015), and in particular if the country of origin is taken into account when measuring social class and education.

The analyses concern access to social capital among children of immigrants from two large immigrant groups and results for these young adults cannot automatically be generalized to the heterogeneous group of immigrants in Sweden. However, we argue that it still is possible to draw conclusions that guide further research on access to social capital among immigrants in general. First, research on the social capital of migrants needs to consider transnational ties as well as the experiences immigrants had in their country of origin, in particular attainment of socioeconomic resources. Second, further research needs to better understand spatial portability in relation to migration, and these studies should consider effects both on the access to and the use of social capital. Regarding access, Ryan et al. (2008) suggest that in-group ethnic contacts, including transnational ties, might in fact be limiting in the sense that they lock migrants into specific ethnic niches. This study did not find support for a trade-off between national and transnational social capital, but the extent to which the time and energy invested into transnational contacts might actually be

limiting access to more locally bounded social capital is a question worthy of further investigation. Distance and legal borders might also limit the usefulness of social capital embedded in long distance or transnational ties. Previous research indicates that transnational ties are useful, but that they are relatively more important for particular types of support, such as emotional or monetary (Herz 2015; Waldinger 2008).

In conclusion, transnational ties and socioeconomic resources in the country of origin help us understand how immigration group and social class origin is intertwined in structuring social capital. Children of immigrants tend to have more contacts abroad and this applies especially to those of relative recent arrival. An advantaged class origin is related to more social capital, but if their parents have experienced downward going class mobility children of immigrants have some of these contacts in other countries. A transnational network is probably related to the likelihood to migrate, get support from people abroad, and perhaps also to provide such help. Thus, the country of living is not a closed system in structuring access to social capital. To understand the effects of social capital in a globalized world, research needs to consider transnational networks and the extent to which possibilities created by social capital transcend borders and geographic distance.

(Date accepted: February 2017)

Notes

1. Excluding over-coverage. Note that it was possible to be interviewed in the second wave without having participated in the first.

2. The question that was posed to the respondents in this survey was: 'I will now read a list of occupations and ask you to state whether you have a close friend, acquaintance, family member, girlfriend/boyfriend, or relative in that occupation.'

3. The wording of the question was: Does this/those person(s) live in Sweden or in another country (or both?).

4. Note that the analysis does not take into account that these groups are heterogeneous regarding ethnic identification.

5. Respondents with an immigration background answered one question about their parents' main economic activity during their time in Sweden and one about their economic activity in their country of origin, while respondents with a Swedish background answered a question about their parents' economic activity 'when they grew up'.

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