

(DRAFT VERSION)

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

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1. INTRODUCTION

During last decade, Spain has experienced an important grown in its volume of female immigrant population. Those recent female flows are product of the labour demand within the Spanish segmented labour market. For example, immigrant employed women increased from 226,639 to 1,530,926 or, in relative terms, from 4.4% to 18% of total employed women in Spain from 1999 to 2008. In this context, the extraordinary upward labour and social mobility for young native women have generated a new labour demand to fill up those gaps that these women are not going to hold anymore. This demand is directed to fill new vacancies in domestic and other personal services, because of the increase of the female participation in the labour market. In fact, there is an increase of 64% of women employed in cleaning and domestic services from 1999 to 2008, and 81% of this increased was of immigrant women. Effectively, the massive arrival of these immigrant women is mainly an answer to the externalisation of domestic tasks, which were historically assumed by native women as a part of the reproductive tasks that were assigned to them in a gendered division of roles. As a consequence, a great share of foreign women in Spain is inserted in the labour market through domestic services and their social image is strictly derived from this position in the labour market.

The hypothesis is that immigrant women, even the most skilled, accept to work as domestic assistants as an initial phase of a most ambitious *social strategy* directed to an upward labour mobility. This could explain why in some cases immigration process damages, at a first place, their previous labour status hold in the country of origin. Effectively, labour insertion of immigrant women is a dynamic process and labour mobility is possible. However, this paper takes into account other structural and segmentation dynamics in the labour market in order to explain the socioeconomic achievement process or labour mobility of immigrant women, which help to justify why occupational movements are often limited within those positions of the secondary segment. Moreover, immigrant women are not a homogeneous collective and, even if they insert themselves mostly in the domestic services, their chances for advancement in the receiving labour market depend on different factors: their origin, their family context, their skills and educational level, their previous labour experience in the country of origin, or the length of the stay in the country.

This paper aims to investigate the labour mobility trends of immigrant women in Spain in order to define the labour trajectories of these women in the segmented Spanish labour market. First of all, the investigation will focus in the study of labour mobility than the immigration process involves for these women: their labour trajectories, from the previous job in the country of origin, to the first job they get in Spain. The aim is to analyse if the migration event allows them to advance in their labour positions or, otherwise, if immigration do not implies any chance of improvement or even represent a high risk of a downward movement in their labour position, especially for those that insert themselves as domestic assistants. Secondly, for those who had been employed at least once since their arrival to Spain, this paper aims to study the labour mobility of immigrant women since their arrival into Spain, from the first labour position they filled after migration to the current job in the moment of data collection. Analysis aims to calculate if probabilities of improvement in the occupational position in the Spanish labour market increase in parallel to the length of stay in the host country, as a consequence of the adaptation process to the new labour market and society or if, otherwise, immigrant women remain in the most precarious labour position, those related with domestic services in private households.

This investigation will use a recent and valuable Spanish dataset, the National Immigrant Survey (2007) carried out by the National Statistics Institute (INE) during 2006-2007. The importance of this survey resides in the fact that is exclusively directed to immigrant population, in order to be representative of a set of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of this population and of their migration process and their subsequent establishment in Spain. The inclusion of the socio-demographic and family characteristics, as well as the information relating the employment trajectory, both in the country of origin and in Spain, makes this dataset a very suitable for the objective of study in this paper.

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

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

In order to explain the labour mobility of immigrant women in Spain we should start with a brief panoramic of the main theoretical perspectives regarding the labour mobility and justifying in which we frame our analysis. Firstly, the *functionalism* and *neoclassical* traditions focus in the importance of the human capital as a central determinant of the differences of individuals in their attainment in the labour market (Becker, 1962 and 1964). As Sorensen (1977) explained, in human capital theory, changes in attainment are assumed to be brought about exclusively through changes in a person's productivity, i.e., skills and experience. Within this perspective, industrial societies are meritocratic and individuals with the equivalent abilities and skills have the same opportunities of labour prospects. They understand that there not exist in society and labour market any structure or segmentation constricting the social and labour mobility and that the labour market is considered as continuous. As Kalleberg and

Sorensen (1979) pointed out, within this tradition, the structure of labour markets is not viewed as fundamental to an explanation of the distribution of rewards to individuals over the course of their working lives, neither in the status attainment approach to the analysis of careers.

With the economic and social breakdown occurred in the industrial societies during the 70s, new approaches in the study of social mobility emerged, stressing in the structural or segmented nature of these societies (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Thurow, 1975). The dual labour market, within this second sociological tradition, relates the career mobility and the existing segments in the labour force, predicting little intersegment mobility, in special when the direction is a upward mobility, from the secondary to the primary segment's occupations or, in other words, this theoretical approach views the labour mobility as a restricted mobility inside the segment where workers are situated (Piore 1971, 1975, 1979a and 1979b). Sorensen (1977), in the same line, suggested the formulation of a model for the attainment process, where change is brought about by utilizing opportunities for change of position in a predetermined structure of inequality.

Piore (1979a) add to the existing segmentation of occupation, the segmentation of the labour force by the migrant or national origin of workers. The national or ethnic origin is then one central characteristic that divides the labour force and thus constitutes a key explanatory element of the differences existing in the mobility chances within the labour market regardless other factors, as the human capital or the previous labour experience. In words of the author:

“Nationality is, in other words, like union membership, but a national group is a much more powerful, cohesive unit than a union. Hence, national restrictions are used to reserve good jobs for natives and to exclude foreigners even when the foreigners are, in fact, more skilled and more productive.” (Piore, 1979a: 28).

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

Previously to focus on the labour trajectories of female immigrant women, we should start contextualizing the causes of their arrival to Spain. The existence of a labour complementarity between national born and immigrant labour force within a

segmented labour market is precisely the theoretical approach that guides this analysis. This research assumes that this approach applies to the functioning of the Spanish labour market, where exists a division between the primary segment or capital intensive and the secondary segment or labour intensive.

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

After taking into consideration the dual market theoretical approach one may consider that immigrant women with jobs in the Spanish labour market are likely to belong to the secondary segment. Contrarily, Spanish-born women are mostly in the primary segment. Nonetheless, there is a general process of labour complementarity between them. In this investigation, we define complementarity as the general process in which Spanish-born women, according with their level of education and skills, occupy those more qualified labour positions of the primary segment of labour market, whereas immigrant women are in those least qualified jobs, regardless of their educational levels, skills or previous labour experience. Although this process is not new and has already been experienced and studied in other countries (Dickens and Lang, 1988; Enchautegui, 1998), the situation in Spain is especially relevant due to the increasing participation of Spanish women in the labour market and of the massive female immigration that this social process is promoting over the past few years.

Finally, it is necessary to point that we understand the labour position of immigrant women as a part of a more general social strategy (Oso, 2003). The acceptance from these women to work in those unskilled and highly female positions, concretely in the domestic services, should be interpreted as a first stage of a wider migration strategy, in order to improve their labour and social position as a long-term objective. In this sense, Parella (2002 and 2003) pointed that the labour insertion of immigrant women in Spain should not be analysed from a static perspective.

The objective in this paper is the approximation to the labour mobility of immigrant women in order to define the labour trajectories of these women in the segmented Spanish labour market. Few but very interesting researches have been done on labour mobility of immigrant women in Spain. Mostly, these investigations have followed a qualitative perspective, and their conclusions represent a valuable starting point in order to develop our quantitative investigation. Parella (2002), for example, argues that although these women have access to a reduced amount of jobs, their labour careers are differentiated by their national origin, the family characteristics, and the

length of the settlement or their educational level. 'Colectivo Ioe' (2003), on their own investigation, stressed the importance of domestic services as the authentic entry portal in the Spanish labour market for immigrant women despite their skills or previous labour experience. However, these authors also identified some typical labour trajectories that could be considered as upward mobility: from domestic services to the touristic sector, for example. This upward mobility is slow and very limited within the boundaries of the secondary segment of labour market (especially in cleaning companies or in hotels and restaurants), and differs depending on the national origin. For example, whereas the labour mobility of Moroccan or Latin American women is more evident, those Filipino women in domestic services or Chinese women in restaurants are intrinsically immobile. Oso (2003), also pointed out the importance of the length of the settlement in Spain in order to explain the labour position of immigrant women. In a first stage of the migratory process these women accept to work as domestic assistants as the easiest way to earn and save money, especially when they arrive to Spain alone, without any other member of the family. Therefore, the importance of the family characteristics in the labour attainment of these women is also a central point in her analysis, as female immigration is interpreted as a part of a most general economic and social household strategy. All these investigations agree in the recognition that when immigrant women understand their residence in Spain as permanent, their ambition is clearly directed to other labour positions: those occupied by Spanish-born women.

In this study, in order to analyze the labour mobility of immigrant women we focus in the "career line" or "job trajectory" of these women that the immigrant process entails. In other words, following Spilerman (1977), we analysed the work history, as a sequence of jobs, stressing the linkages which exist among jobs rather than the employment situation of these group of workers in an unique moment of time. Then, we try to define the properties of these job sequences: their entry portals, the direction of labour mobility (downwards, lateral or upwards), or the availability of transfer options to alternative career lines. As Spilerman argues the notion of a career line is intimately associated with the view that labour market is patterned, that determinable job sequence exist, common to the experiences of many workers, which can be understood in terms of institutional features of this market.

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

In this paper the analysis compares the occupational trajectories of the different groups of immigrant women, grouped by area of origin, taking into account other individual, family and migratory characteristics. The hypothesis is that immigrant women, even the most skilled, accept to work as domestic assistants as an initial phase of a most ambitious *social strategy* directed to an upward labour mobility. This could explain why in some cases immigration process damages, at a first place, their previous labour status in the country of origin. Effectively, labour insertion of immigrant women is a dynamic process and labour mobility is possible. However, thi s paper takes into account other structural and segmentation dynamics in the labour market in order to

explain the socioeconomic achievement process or labour mobility of immigrant women, which help to justify why occupational movements are often limited within those positions of the secondary segment.

Two mobility processes are considered in this investigation: that in the moment of migration, and that during their settlement in Spain. Then, this investigation has two main objectives. The first purpose is to examine labour mobility that the same migratory process involves, contrasting their last occupation before the migration and the first occupation once in Spain. This analysis allows to identify the typical entry portal of immigrant women in the Spanish labour market and to determine the direction of the occupational mobility (downward, lateral or upward). The aim is to discover if the migration experience brings about the opportunity for improving their occupational attainment or if, otherwise, migration does not mean any chance of labour upward mobility or, even, increases their risk of falling within the occupational scale, which is the most common experience of those immigrant women that firstly insert in the labour market as domestic assistants in private households. Our hypothesis is then, that domestic services are the main labour entry portal of immigrant women. However, the observed differences in the probabilities of entry in those occupations and thus, of experiencing, in most of the cases, a downward labour mobility, are explained by their national origin, age, educational level and family characteristics. Then, if woman is the pioneer of the family migration process her chances to descend in the occupational scale are higher, as domestic work is viewed as a saving strategy during the first stage of the migratory process. Moreover, having children in the moment of migration rises the probability of domestic work caused by major economical pressure and lower election power. Then, this first labour insertion as domestic assistants entails a downward labour mobility from country of origin that is even more evident in those more skilled women.

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

3. DATA AND METHODS

The National Immigrant Survey 2007 (ENI-2007)

This investigation will use a recent and highly valuable Spanish dataset, the National Immigrant Survey 2007 (ENI-2007). The importance of this survey resides in the fact that is exclusively directed to immigrant population, in order to be representative of a set of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of this population and of their migration process and their subsequent establishment in Spain.

The inclusion of the socio-demographic and family characteristics, as well as the information relating the employment trajectory, both in the country of origin and in Spain, makes this dataset a very suitable for the objective of study of this paper. This survey has as the main aim of facilitating the analysis of the migratory process, from the moment when the migratory decision was made to the arrival and the posterior settlement in Spain. Reher et al. (2008) pointed out the importance of this new dataset as it overtakes other sources of information in two important aspects. Firstly, it was designed to obtain a complete and integrated panoramic of the migratory experience. Secondly, this is the only data source in Spain including retrospective information regarding a variety of aspects of the life and experiences of immigrants.

For the aims of this research, the ENI-2007 it is a very valuable data set as it includes not only the most important socio-demographic characteristics of individuals in the sample but also the occupational characteristics in three crucial moments in the migratory experience of these women: previously to the migration, the last occupation in the country of origin; the first occupation after arriving to Spain and, finally, the occupation in the moment of data collection. This information allows the analysis of occupational mobility from the country of origin to the first occupation in Spain, for those who were working before migrate to Spain and worked in at least one occasion after they arrival to Spain. Thus data also allows to analyse the labour mobility during the settlement in Spain, for those that at least had more than one job after their arrival and were working in the moment of data collection or the immobility, for those who never changed their job after their insertion in the Spanish labour market.

However, this data has two important deficiencies in relation with the purposes of this paper. On the one hand, this data source only includes immigrant population and this means that it is not possible to compare the labour mobility patterns of foreign born women with that for native women. On the other hand, although the ENI-2007 contains an approximation to the labour trajectory of immigrant women, from last occupation in the country of origin to the one in the moment of data collection, is not exhaustive regarding the occupations they hold during their migratory experience. This deficit of information in the description of the occupational career of these women since the arrival to Spain, together with the lack of any information about the date of starting and ending in every job made impossible to carry out any longitudinal analysis based in semi-parametric Cox models, which was our first analytical objective.

Sample description and explanatory variables

The sample size of the ENI-2007 is 15,465 immigrants that were drawn from the total immigrant population aged 16 or older who have resided in Spain during at least one complete year or having the intension or living in Spain during this period of time. The survey has not the aim to estimate the total number of immigrant population living in Spain but to be representative of the socio-demographic characteristics as well as of the living conditions and of the socio-economic situation of this population, complementing in this sense other most regular statistical data sources (Census, Municipal Register, Labour Force Survey). Of the total immigrant population interviewed, we selected for our analysis those women arrived to Spain in 1990 or later. In selecting only those immigrant women most recently arrived we aimed to focus our analysis in those women who immigrated during the recent period of economic expansion in order to interpret their labour insertion and mobility as a consequence of the current segmentation of the Spanish Labour Market and of the socio-demographic complementarity with native women. Therefore, from 8,501 immigrant women

interviewed in the survey, we selected 6,296 for the analysis. Moreover, only 3,826 of these women were employed in the previous moment of initiating their migration to Spain and in some moment since their arrival. They are the women we included in the analysis of labour mobility occurred in the same moment of migrating. Finally, at the moment of data collection only 3,568 women were employed and, consequently, the analysis of labour mobility during the stay in Spain is reduced to this number of women.

Birthplace will be the central explanatory variable in the analysis, and immigrant women are grouped by area of origin. As Cortina et al. (2008) pointed out; the election of country of birth instead of citizenship is due to the fact that the place of birth is by definition invariable whereas citizenship can be modified, especially after some years legally residing in Spain. Immigrants are grouped by area of origin in order to obtain sufficient size to guarantee that results are statistically significant. Thus the resulting groups are the following: EU-25¹, Rest of Europe, Africa, Asia and North America and Oceania. However, only few women from Asia and from North America and Oceania were interviewed, and this means that in some of the analysis, results for these two groups are not significant.

We tried to explain the occupational mobility of immigrant women in Spain by their socio-demographic variables as area of birthplace, age at arrival, household structure, educational level, as well as by some other variables relating the migration experience, like the duration of settlement since migration or the existence of previous social network through which these women found their first job after their migration. We analyse the labour mobility of all immigrant women who arrived to Spain aged 16 and over. However, when we constructed our multivariable models we considered only those women aged 20 and older in order to focus in those women who mostly had finished their education when they migrated. Age at arrival, was then recoded into different age groups depending on the analysis, as we tried to obtain the best statistical results. The educational attainment information is relating to the moment of the data collection and thus is the only non-retrospective information included in the analysis. Therefore, this educational level can be different of that in the moment of migration, especially for those women arrived at a very young age. On the contrary, for those women arrived with 25 years or over, their educational level in the moment of data collection is believed highly coincident to that in the moment of migrating. The educational level variable has been recoded into three main groups: Primary or lower education, Secondary education and University degree. The family characteristics considered in the analysis are referred to two different moments, at the moment of migration and at the moment of data collection, depending on the analysis. We considered two familiar variables, having children and couple's characteristics. In order to construct the resulting variables, our preliminary analysis demonstrates that in the mobility pattern of immigrant women was more determinant if she had or not children than the number of children. Moreover, when we investigated the way in which the existence or not of a partner explained the labour attainment of these women, results bring to consider not only the existence of the partner but also if this partner was already living in Spain when they arrived. Thus, we recoded the variable in three categories: those women without a partner, those with partner who arrived once their partner was already living in Spain and those women with a partner who wasn't living in Spain prior to their arrival. Finally, our analysis includes two more variables

¹ In this paper, Bulgarian and Romanian women are considered as non-communitarian women as the incorporation of their countries to the European Union does not occur until 2007. Moreover, the volume and the labour characteristics of the immigration from these countries made necessary differentiate these women from other communitarian immigrant.

considering the migratory experience: duration in years of settlement in Spain since immigration, and one variable that provide information about the role of family members and friends in seeking labour opportunities for those just immigrated women. This last variable is constructed grouping those women who found their first job in Spain informally, thanks to this social network and those women who found their first occupation through formal methods.

Methods of analysis: The Labour Mobility Matrix and Logistic regression

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

N = Total immigrant women.

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

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

In this matrix, cells in the diagonal represent those immigrant women who do not change their occupational category from time of origin (t_0) to time of destination (t_1), whilst those women who experience mobility in their occupational category are in the rest of cells. Occupational categories follow a hieratical order, from the most stable, well paid and prestigious labour positions in the top of the scale to those low-paid, with poorer working conditions, little chances of advancement and unstable, in the bottom. Therefore, cells above the diagonal represent those women who experience an upward occupational mobility and in cells under the diagonal are the percentages of women descending within the occupational scale between t_0 and t_1 . Through this basic matrix we considered two resulting matrixes which represent two different proportional distributions (Cachón, 1989):

Firstly, we constructed a matrix with the proportions of immigrant women who where in the category i in the time of origin (t_0) and in the category j in the time of destination (t_1). This matrix is named the *total relative distribution matrix*:

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

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

Secondly, we constructed the *row or origin relative distribution matrix* that contains the proportion of immigrant women in every destination category in relation to the category of origin:

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

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

Concretely, in the analysis we construct these bivariant matrixes using the occupational category hold by immigrant women in two different moments, one considered as origin and the other as destination. Using these matrixes the analysis aims to describe the relation existing between the occupational category in one and other moment. Thus, we focus our attention in the proportions of women in every cell and in the adjusted standardized residuals. If the residual has a high value (over 1.96 o lower

than -1.96) they are statistical significant, indicating the dependency between the category of origin and of destination.

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

$$\log (y) = \alpha + \beta x_1 + \beta x_2 + \dots + \beta x_i$$

where α is the constant and β_i are the regression coefficients of the explanatory variables x_i . Beta coefficients (β_i) show the relative importance of the independent variables in the determination of the outcome variable. In the case of multivariable models like those constructed in this paper, the estimated probability of $Y=1$ is interpreted as the adjusted likelihood to the whole effect of all covariants in the model. We apply multivariable logistic regression in order to analyse, in a first place, the association of our explanatory variables in the direction of labour mobility between the occupation women hold previously to the migration and their first occupation once in Spain (downward, lateral and upward). Secondly, we also used logistic regression to analyse the determination of these independent variables in the likelihood of abandoning the domestic work towards other occupations.

4. RESULTS

The occupational mobility that the migratory process entails

Table 1 show the *total relative distribution matrix* of the last occupation hold by immigrant women in their country of origin, previously to their migration, and of the first occupation they got after their arrival to Spain. If we compare the percentages in the row's marginal (origin) with the percentages in the column's marginal (destination), we identify that the percentage of women that were employed in technical and professional occupations in their country of origin was three times higher (27.4%) than the percentage of immigrant women in those occupations in their first job in Spain (9%). Likewise, the percentage of women employed in managerial occupations before the immigration, 4.9%, was much higher than the same percentage once in Spain (1.5%). Finally, it is equally significant the fall in the percentage of women employed in other skilled occupations after the immigration. On the contrary, in the first occupation in Spain, there is an increase of women employed in services occupations (concretely in hotels and restaurants, personal services and sales and customer services), in elementary occupations and in domestic and cleaning occupations. Therefore, from this table it is possible to affirm that a downward occupational mobility has been experienced by immigrant women in their migration to Spain. The most common downward labour mobility is that experienced for these women who inserted firstly in Spain through cleaning and domestic occupations. This occupational category represents the 42.2% of total employed immigrant women in the first occupation after their arrival, whereas only represents the 5.4% of employed women previously of the migration.

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

those women in cleaning and domestic occupations (7.12). Thus, although an intense tendency to the downward labour mobility is observed in the marginals' percentages, the analysis of the residuals indicates that there is a strong dependence between the occupation of origin and destination.

Table 2 shows the *row or origin relative distribution matrix*, where is possible to observe the occupational destinations in the first job in Spain of immigrant women in relation to their occupation in the country of origin. The most remarkable aspect of these results is that, independently of their occupation of origin, most of immigrant women enter the Spanish labour market as domestic assistants. For example, for the 41.6% of those previously employed in managerial occupations and for the 35.9% of those employed in technical and professional occupations, their first job in Spain is in cleaning and domestic services. Moreover, services occupations is the second category receiving more employees from the rest of the occupations, with the 24.4% of total immigrant women in their first job in Spain. Consequently, from this two tables it is evident that, although the existence of a dependence between the occupation of origin and that of destination (residuals of the cells in the diagonal), an intense downward occupational movement is also observed. Coinciding with the results of Anguiano (2001), the first labour insertion of immigrant women in the Spanish labour market is mainly in labour positions within the secondary segment, independently of the previous labour experience. Concretely, in hotels and restaurants, in personal services and sales and costumer services, in elementary occupations and in cleaning and domestic services. These occupations stand for the 82.5% employed immigrant women in their first job after their immigration to Spain, whereas only represent the 46.1% of the same women working in their countries of origin.

In table 3 are the multivariable models created for analysing the influence of some explanatory variables in the direction of the labour mobility (downward, lateral and upward) that the migratory process entails. In order to construct these models three dummy variables were created from the occupational scale used in the previous matrixes: downward mobility, lateral mobility and upward mobility. Downward mobility occurs when the occupation of the first job in Spain is inferior to the occupation of the last job in the country of origin. Then, the outcome variable is equal to 1. On the opposite situation, when the occupation is equal or superior to that in the country of origin and the downward mobility does not occur, the value of the dependent variable is 0. In the same way, there is lateral mobility when the occupation of the first job in Spain is the same that the previous occupation to the migration. Finally, upward mobility occurs when the first job held in Spain represent a best labour position regarding the occupational scale.

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

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

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

Table 2. Origin relative destination distribution matrix: First Occupational destinations in Spain regarding the previous occupation in the country of origin. Immigrant Women arrived from 1990 to 2007, aged at arrived 16-64

		1st OCCUPATION IN SPAIN							TOTAL PREVIOUS OCCUPATION IN ORIGIN
		Managerial Occupations	Technical and Professional Occupations	Skilled Occupations	Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	Services Occupations	Elementary Occupations	Cleaning and Domestic Occupations	
PREVIOUS OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	Managerial Occupations	11.7%	8.4%	3.5%	6.1%	19.6%	9.1%	41.6%	100%
	Freq.	19	17	5	10	40	21	77	189
	Technical, Professional and Intellectual	1.3%	22.0%	2.0%	6.1%	22.6%	10.1%	35.9%	100%
	Freq.	15	231	20	71	214	104	373	1028
	Skilled Occupations	--	1.4%	10.5%	--	18.6%	22.3%	46.5%	100%
	Freq.	--	5	34	--	61	81	168	352
	Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	1.9%	7.4%	1.4%	9.3%	26.7%	15.5%	37.8%	100%
	Freq.	8	31	7	46	131	77	175	475
	Services Occupations	0.7%	4.4%	2.1%	3.0%	31.0%	17.6%	41.3%	100%
	Freq.	8	45	32	32	336	191	477	1121
Elementary Occupations	--	1.3%	2.4%	--	19.9%	29.4%	45.3%	100%	
Freq.	--	10	11	--	85	129	202	442	
Cleaning and Domestic Occupations	--	--	--	--	15.8%	12.7%	68.1%	100%	
Freq.	--	--	--	--	35	32	143	219	
TOTAL 1st OCCUPATION IN SPAIN		1.5%	9.0%	2.8%	4.3%	24.4%	16.3%	41.8%	100%
Freq.		53	342	112	167	902	635	1615	3,826

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

In the analysis are included all women who immigrated to Spain from 1990 to 2007, aged at arrival 20-64. The strategy of construction of the three models was the inclusion of different set of variables in every step. The aim of this strategy was to discover the effect on the whole of different group of complementary characteristics, instead of obtaining the isolated effect of these variables. Concretely, four set of variables were considered regarding the characteristics of women in the moment of migration: the area of birthplace, the socio-demographic factors, family characteristics at the moment of migration, and the role of family and friends in seeking the first occupation in the Spanish Labour market. The multivariable models showed in table 3 are those obtained once all four set of variables are included. The results are referred to the whole immigrant women, as none reference categories in the explanatory variable were chosen. Thus, the odd ratio coefficients obtained with the regression models should be interpreted as the change in the likelihood of immigrant women on the whole of experiencing a downward, lateral or upward mobility. An odd ratio higher than 1 indicates a higher probability of those women with the characteristic indicated in the category of the explanatory variable, in relation to the overall likelihood of immigrant women. Odds ratios lower than 1 point to lower probabilities in relation to the average probability. Finally, values equal to 1 imply the general pattern. In fact, although we constructed three different models, they are analysing three exhaustive and complementary options of labour mobility. Consequently, the results of every model are related to those obtained in the others and, therefore, our interpretation will jointly consider the three mobility options.

The constant coefficients indicate the overall likelihood of all immigrant women included in the analysis, without controlling by any of the independent variables. These constants point out to a clear higher probability of these women of experiencing a downward labour mobility (1.48) than to move laterally (0.38) or to gain in their labour position (0.11). The following step is then, to describe how the socio-demographic and family characteristics of these women affect in their options of labour mobility. Firstly, it should be noted that, contrary to our preliminary hypothesis, the existence or not of a partner in the moment of migration is not a significant factor explaining the direction (down, lateral or up) of labour mobility and neither is significant if their partner was or not already in Spain when they arrived. Age at arrival is neither a characteristic that seems to affect in a very significant way the probability of downward, lateral or upward labour mobility. However, those women arrived at age 20-34 present a odd ratio equal to 1.32 in the upward mobility model, what means that the probability of improving in their labour attainment after their migration is higher for young women. This is a logical result if we think that the labour experience is gained in parallel with the life course and, thus, the propensity of being better situated in the labour market increases in parallel to the age. Inversely, the coefficient of 0.84 for this age group indicates a lower odd ratio of descending in the occupational category comparing to those older women.

The coefficients for every area of birthplace point that non EU-25 European Women (Rest of Europe), are the immigrant workers with higher probability of experiencing a downward labour mobility from their last occupation in origin to the first in Spain. Concretely their relative odd is two times higher than that for the immigrant women as a whole (2.01). Following, in order of the value of their odd ratios, are those women from Latin America (1.50), Africa (1.22), Asia (1.15), North America and Oceania (0.63) and, finally, those from EU-25, who present the lowest probability of descending in the occupational scale after their immigration to Spain. When we analyse the characteristics associated to maintain the occupational category in Spain, results are highly complementary to these we just described. Then, women from EU-25 (2.15) and

from North America and Oceania (1.33) present the highest probabilities of keeping their occupational attainment. And, contrarily, women from the Other Europe (0.53), from Latin America (0.80) are those with lower relative odds of moving laterally. Results for African and Asian women are not statistically different from the general pattern. Finally, when the analysis focuses in the upward labour mobility, coefficients point that women from North America and Oceania and from EU-25 are those presenting the highest odds of improving their labour position after their migration to Spain (1.72 and 1.77 respectively). However, given the few cases in the sample, results for North America and Oceania are not statistically significant. Very opposite is the result for African women, who present a relative odd of 0.5, which means that these women present the 50% less of probability of improving their labour attainment in their first job in Spain than the rest of immigrant women, although controlling by the rest of covariants in the model. Finally, Latin American (0.66) and Rest of European (0.70) women also present more difficulties to experience an upward mobility in their first occupation in Spain comparing to the last they hold in the country of origin. Result for Asian women is, again, not statistically significant.

Table 3. Likelihood of labour mobility: downward, lateral and upward: Coefficients of the Logistic regression models

IMMIGRANT WOMEN ARRIVED FROM 1990 TO 2007. AGE AT ARRIVAL 20-64									
	VARIABLE	VARIABLE CATEGORIES	Freq.	DOWNWARD MOBILITY		LATERAL MOBILITY		UPWARD MOBILITY	
				Exp (B).	Sig.	Exp (B).	Sig.	Exp (B).	Sig.
ORIGIN	AREA OF	EU-25	463	0.38 ***		2.15 ***		1.72 ***	
	BIRTHPLACE	REST OF EUROPE	790	2.01 ***		0.53 ***		0.70 **	
		AFRICA	159	1.22 **		1.11 ns.		0.50 *	
		LATIN AMERICA	2,128	1.50 ***		0.80 *		0.66 ***	
		NORTH AMERICA AND OCEANIA	18	0.63 **		1.33 *		1.77 ns.	
		ASIA	52	1.15 ns.		0.74 ns.		1.39 ns.	
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	AGE AT ARRIVAL	20-34	2,464	0.84 *		1.11 ns.		1.30 *	
		35-44	762	1.05 ns.		0.96 ns.		0.97 ns.	
		45-54	320	1.05 ns.		1.09 ns.		0.67 ns.	
		55-64	64	1.09 ns.		0.86 ns.		1.17 ns.	
	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	Primary or lower	688	0.73 ***		1.36 ***		1.16 ***	
	Secondary	1,987	1.21 ***		0.76 ***		1.15 ns.		
	University	935	1.14 **		0.97 ns.		0.75 ***		
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS	COUPLE'S	No partner	1,878	0.90 ns.		1.17 ns.		0.94 ns.	
		CHARACTERISTICS	Partner already in Spain	343	1.08 ns.		0.85 ns.		1.12 ns.
		Partner living elsewhere	1,389	1.03 ns.		1.00 ns.		0.95 ns.	
	CHILDREN	NO CHILDREN	1,556	0.84 ***		1.17 ***		1.11 ns.	
CHILDREN		2,054	1.20 ***		0.85 ***		0.90 ns.		
ROLE OF SOCIAL NETWORK IN SEEKING THE FIRST	METHOD OF SEEKING THE FIRST	FORMAL METHODS	1,225	0.80 ***		1.16 ***		1.27 ***	
		FAMILY AND FRIENDS	2,385	1.25 ***		0.86 ***		0.79 ***	
	Constant			1.48 **		0.38 ***		0.11 ***	
	-2 Log likelihood			4,310		3,826		2,178	
	Chi-Square			315 ***		191 ***		84 ***	

Statistic Significance= "ns" non significant; " * " error < 0,10; " ** " error < 0,05; " *** " error < 0,01.

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

Following with the results we can observe that level of education affects in a complementary manner in the three mobility options. As we expected, the lower likelihood odds of experiencing a downward labour mobility is that of those women with primary or lower education (0.73). Our interpretation is that their previous labour attainment, before their migration, was strongly limited as poor-skilled workers. Then, they probably are those less worth affected when they insert in the secondary segment of the Spanish labour market. In the opposite position are those women with secondary educational level, who are the most damaged in the lost of their occupational attainment after the migration, with a relative odd of 1.21. Finally, women with a university degree are in a middle position, with a relative odd of 1.14. Then, the most skilled women had not only higher probabilities of being in better labour positions in their country of origin but also more options to achieve a more prestigious insertion the Spanish labour market. In a complementary way, those less educated women present higher relative odd of moving laterally in the occupational scale after their migration (1.36). This indicates the sort of jobs to which these poor-skilled women have access to in both, country of origin and country of destination. Women with secondary educational level present a relative odd of 0.76 of lateral labour mobility whereas women with an university degree, with a odd of 0.97 are the closest to the average pattern. Finally, when the direction of the mobility is upward, the most skilled women are those with lower likelihood of improving their labour attainment after their immigration, as they present a relative odd of 0.75. The interpretation is that they probably were mostly situated in the top occupational positions in their country of origin and, consequently, their options of moving upward are limited after their migration. In the opposite situation are those women with primary or lower educational degree (1.16), those with higher probabilities of improving their occupational attainment after their migration.

Following with the explanatory variables in the models, results reinforced our initial hypothesis. Those women who had children in the moment of immigration have a higher odd (1.20) of descending in the occupational scale after migration comparing with those without children (0.80). We explain the major damage in the labour attainment of those immigrant women with children because they have lower chances of being selective in their labour insertion as that their economic requirements are more urgent and unavoidable and their saving needs push most of these women of employ themselves as domestic assistant, given the high demand of this sort of workers. The effects of having children are the opposite when the mobility is laterally: women with children have more difficulties to maintain their occupational category, with a relative odd of 0.85, comparing to those women without children, who present a coefficient equal to 1.17. Finally, the presence of children in the moment of migration is not statistically significant in order to explain the upward occupational mobility.

Last variable in the model is the role of family members and friends in seeking labour opportunities for those just migrated women. Results show that those women who found their first job in Spain using their social network present greater likelihood of a downward mobility (1.25) than those women who found their first occupation through other formal methods (0.80). The interpretation is that using this informal networks in the reception context, is easy for immigrant women to access to those more informal jobs, which mostly are situated in the bottom positions of the occupational scale, in especial those jobs in cleaning and domestic services in private households. Therefore, the role of social networks in seeking labour opportunities for female immigration in Spain is highly linked to domestic services. Thus, when the direction of the labour mobility is lateral or upward, the effect of the social network is the opposite and,

therefore, those women who found their first job once in Spain using formal methods are more likely of maintain or improve their occupational attainment.

To sum up, these models pointed out that Rest of European and Latin American women are those with higher risk to damage their occupational achievement after their migration, in their first labour insertion in the Spanish labour market, whereas women from EU-25 and North America and Oceania, are the immigrant collectives more likely to maintain or to improve their occupational attainment. Moreover, although African women are not those most affected by downward mobility, they compose the immigrant collective with more difficulties to go upward in the occupational scale, even when the effects of other socio-demographic and family characteristics have been annulated. Results also show that age at arrival and the couple's characteristics do not have significant effects in the direction of the labour mobility of immigrant women. Furthermore, models demonstrated that the presence of children at the moment of migration increase the risk of damage in their occupational attainment, as they can be less selective in their job election in destination. The determination of educational level in the direction of labour mobility brings to the conclusion that migration to Spain is more or less favourable for women with the lowest or the highest educational levels, whereas the occupational attainment of women with secondary education is specially damaged after their migration. Finally, the use of social networks as a resource of seeking employment is only linked to a downward mobility. This result brings to conclude that this is a valid option in the labour insertion in the most informal and unskilled position, probably in cleaning and domestic services. Effectively, we observed in table 1 and table 2 that a huge percentage of immigrant women (41.8%) inserts in the Spanish Labour market in cleaning and domestic occupations. Therefore, we interpreted that the high propensity of experiencing a downward occupational mobility in the first job in Spain is highly linked to the fact that these occupation represent the most common portal entry to the Spanish Labour market, due to the increase labour demand and the informality of labour relations.

The labour mobility in parallel to the settlement in Spain

Table 4 show the *total relative distribution matrix* of the first occupation hold by immigrant women after their arrival to Spain and the current occupation in the moment of data collection. The high positive values of the adjusted standardized residuals in the diagonal tells us that immigrant women have a high probability of maintaining in the same occupational category during their stay in the Spanish Labour Market. Effectively, the most common immobile situation affect to those women that entered in Spain as a cleaning and domestic assistants and remain in the same labour category at the moment of data collection, in 2007, representing 27,4% of the total immigrant women who were employed at the moment of interview. Services occupations (in hotels and restaurants, personal services and sales and costumer services) is the second occupational position that more immigrant women retains (14.2%), followed for those women that maintain in elementary occupations (11.3%) and for those women in technical and professional occupations (7%). Row's and column's marginal percentages stressed the strong relation between the first occupational category after their arrival and that in the moment of the interview. Therefore, our first conclusion from this matrix is that there is a general labour immobility of immigrant women during their settlement in the Spanish Labour Market. However, it is also possible to identify a weak labour upward mobility between the first and the current occupation. This is especially the instance of those women who, after working in cleaning and domestic occupations, changed their jobs and directed to

other labour positions. Effectively, if we look at the marginal's percentages we can see that the percentage that mostly decreased (-12.3%) is that regarding immigrant women working in cleaning and domestic occupations. Effectively, whereas 30.9% of employed women in the moment of data collection were in this labour position, the percentage of women working in these occupations in their first job after their arrival was much higher, the 43.8%. In fact, this is the most obvious mobility from the first to the current job, whereas the percentages of women in the rest of labour positions maintained or even increased. Thus, the second conclusion is that some kind of upward occupational mobility occurred, although this is a weak mobility: from cleaning and domestic occupations to the rest of occupations. Moreover, the most obvious gain is that experienced by services occupations (from the 22.2% of total immigrant women in their first occupation to the 26% of those employed women in the moment of interview).

The labour trajectories of immigrant women during their settlement in Spain are expressed in a different perspective in table 5. This table shows the *row or origin relative distribution matrix*, where percentages express the occupational destinations where those women directed regarding their first occupation in the country. It should be stressed that the services occupations (in hotels and restaurants, personal services and sales and customer services) is the one receiving most inflows from the rest of occupational categories: the 17.2% of women who were in cleaning and domestic occupations and the 16.9% in elementary occupations moved towards services occupations. Thus, these women experienced some kind of upward labour mobility. However, it is also significant the 15.7% of immigrant women who firstly insert in Spain in skilled occupations and afterwards, during their settlement in Spain, experienced a downward occupational mobility and, at the moment of data collection, were also employed in those services. The second occupational category that most inflows received from the rest of the labour positions is in elementary occupations. The 17.4% of women previously working in skilled occupations, the 10.1% in services occupations and the 12.9% in cleaning and domestic services moved towards these elementary occupations. Moreover, only 43.6% of women entering, after their arrival, in skilled occupations maintain this labour position. The rest, the 56.4% of them experienced a downward labour mobility, towards services, elementary and domestic occupations.

In conclusion, the weak labour mobility experienced by immigrant women during their settlement in Spain is clearly restricted to those labour positions of the secondary segment of the labour market: in hotels and restaurants, personal services and sales and customer services, elementary and cleaning and domestic occupations. In fact, women whose first job was as domestic assistant are highly mobile: the 37.5% of them run away from these jobs and directed themselves to other labour positions, experiencing an upward mobility. However, as we have just described, this mobility is very restricted to other positions within the secondary labour market.

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

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

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

Table 4. Origin relative destination distribution matrix: Current Occupational destinations in the moment of interview regarding the first occupation in Spain. Immigrant Women arrived from 1990 to 2007, aged at arrived 16-64.

		CURRENT OCCUPATION							TOTAL 1st OCCUPATION IN SPAIN
		Managerial Occupations	Technical and Professional Occupations	Skilled Occupations	Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	Services Occupations	Elementary Occupations	Cleaning and Domestic Occupations	
1st OCCUPATION IN SPAIN	Managerial Occupations	83.7%	8.1%	--	--	--	--	--	100.0%
	Freq.	45	6	--	--	--	--	--	55
	Technical, Professional and Intellectual	3.5%	80.6%	0.8%	3.6%	7.2%	1.8%	2.5%	100.0%
	Freq.	9	263	--	17	22	5	6	324
	Skilled Occupations	--	--	43.6%	--	15.7%	17.4%	17.6%	100.0%
	Freq.	--	--	43	--	14	16	13	90
	Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	2.9%	13.2%	0.0%	74.9%	7.3%	--	--	100.0%
	Freq.	7	26		107	12	--	--	155
	Services Occupations	3.0%	8.2%	2.3%	5.3%	63.9%	10.1%	7.3%	100.0%
Freq.	20	59	21	43	470	81	59	753	
Elementary Occupations	1.0%	2.0%	4.3%	2.5%	16.9%	66.0%	7.4%	100.0%	
Freq.	6	16	30	16	96	397	49	610	
Cleaning and Domestic Occupations	0.3%	2.2%	1.6%	3.3%	17.2%	12.9%	62.5%	100.0%	
Freq.	8	30	32	48	274	211	978	1,581	
TOTAL CURRENT OCCUPATION		2.7%	10.8%	3.0%	6.6%	26.0%	19.9%	30.9%	100%
Freq.		96	401	128	234	890	713	1,106	3,568

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

Immigrant women running away from cleaning and domestic occupations

The percentages of the last two matrixes have given us an idea about the general occupational immobility experienced by immigrant women within the Spanish Labour Market. However, these tables also showed that the cleaning and domestic occupations present one of the highest outflows to the rest of labour positions. Furthermore, descriptive results also stressed that these domestic assistants mostly direct towards services and other elementary occupations. However, descriptive results also showed that, although the importance of this movement, the 61.9% of immigrant women working as domestic assistant remain in the same occupation category from their first job after their migration. Therefore, it was considered of interest to analyse the influence of the socio-demographic and family characteristics in the probabilities of those domestic workers of leaving the domestic services to direct to other labour positions. With this aim we constructed a multivariable model through a logistic regression (table 6). Concretely, the model includes those women arrived to Spain from 1990 to 2007, aged 20-64 at arrival, who were working at the moment of data collection and whose first job in Spain were in cleaning and domestic occupations. The outcome variable in the model is: *still working in cleaning and domestic occupations or to work in any other occupation, in the moment of data collection*. This is a dummy variable with value equal to 0 for those who declare still working as domestic assistant and value equal to 1 otherwise.

In the first model we included the area of birthplace, the age at arrival, the educational level and the family characteristics (partner and children) regarding the moment of the data collection. In a second step, with the aim to control our results by the duration in years of settlement in Spain since immigration, which is considered a key factor in order to explain the probability of leaving the domestic services and experience an upward labour mobility. We chose as a collective of reference those Latin American women, aged at their arrival 20-34, with university education, with neither children nor partner, and who have been residing in Spain during more than 5 years.

Results show small significant differences between the diverse regions of birthplace. Concretely, the likelihood to leaving the domestic occupations of EU-25 and African women is not statistically different from that of Latin American women, the collective of reference. Moreover, the coefficient for Asian women (1.48) is non-significant, due to the small subsample of these women included in the model. On the contrary, Rest of European women present the lowest probability of abandoning the domestic services (0.46). Once, we controlled the coefficients of area of birthplace by the duration in years of the settlement in Spain, these maintain more or least the same. However, we observed that there is an increase in the chance of Rest of European women of abandoning the domestic services. Thus, part of the explanation of their lower likelihood to abandon their job as domestic assistants is in the recent arrival of this collective of immigrant women. However, the differences between Latin American and Rest of European women are still being highly obvious. Furthermore, once controlling by years from their arrival, results for EU-25 are now significant, with an odds of abandoning the domestic services of 0.55 to 1 of the Latin American women. Our interpretation is that this result reflects the presence of Portuguese women working in domestic services and arrived long time ago to Spain.

Table 6. Likelihood of leaving the cleaning and domestic occupations: Coefficients of the Logistic regression models

IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC ASSISTANTS WOMEN ARRIVED FROM 1990 TO 2007. AGE AT ARRIVAL 20-64				
			MODEL 1	MODEL 2
VARIABLE	VARIABLE CATEGORIES	Freq.	Exp (β). Sig.	Exp (β). Sig.
AREA OF BIRTHPLACE	LATIN AMERICA	1,019	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
	EU-25	44	0.72 ns.	0.55 *
	REST OF EUROPE	363	0.46 ***	0.63 **
	AFRICA	47	1.57 ns.	1.12 ns.
	ASIA	16	1.48 ns.	1.23 ns.
AGE AT ARRIVAL	20-34	913	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
	35-44	376	0.69 ***	0.61 ***
	45-64	200	0.36 ***	0.34 ***
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	Primary or lower	355	0.21 ***	0.21 ***
	Secondary	867	0.57 ***	0.52 ***
	University	267	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
COUPLE'S	No partner	800	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
CHARACTERISTICS	Partner living a part	159	0.56 ***	0.74 **
	Cohabiting with partner	530	1.18 ns.	1.10 ns.
FILLS	No children	344	1 Ref.	1 Ref.
	Children	1,145	1.15 *	0.94 ns.
YEARS FROM IMMIGRATION	Less than 1 year	113		0.03 ***
	1 year	136		0.12 ***
	2 years	179		0.29 ***
	3 years	166		0.40 ***
	4 years	195		0.44 ***
	5 years	238		0.63 ***
	More than 5 years	462		1 Ref.
Constant			1.51 **	3.82 ***
-2 Log likelihood			1,836	1,648
Chi-Square			137 ***	325 ***

Statistic Significance= "ns" non significant; " * " error < 0,10; " ** " error < 0,05; " *** " error < 0,01.

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

The influence of the age of arrival in the propensity of leaving the domestic services is clear: the probability decreases in parallel to the age at arrival. Then, relative to those women who arrived at age 20-34, the reference group, with a coefficient equal to 1, women arrived at 35-44 present an odd ratio of 0.61, and women arrived at 45-64 have an odd ratio of 0.34. Results by educational level are also the expected: higher is the educational level, higher is the probability of leaving the cleaning and domestic occupations. This result indicates that although the most skilled women insert as domestic assistant in their first job in Spain, they present better chances of an upward mobility towards other labour positions during their settlement in the country.

Regarding the family characteristics, results show that having or not having children at the moment of the interview is not a significant explanatory characteristic of our outcome variable. On the contrary, those women who have a partner but do not live with him in the moment of data collection present lower odds of abandoning the domestic services relative to those women without any partner or those women with

partner and cohabiting with him. This result confirms our preliminary hypothesis: those women who are the family pioneer of the household migration and, whereas their partner is still in the country of origin, accept to work as domestic assistant as this is viewed as the best strategy to save as much money as possible and to legalize their residence in Spain.

Finally, the last covariant in the model is the duration in years of the settlement in Spain from immigration. Results are clear: the probability of leaving the cleaning and domestic occupations and move towards other occupations is parallel to the length of the stay in Spain. Then, those domestic assistants living in Spain during less than one year have a relative odd ratio of 0.03 comparing to the odd ratio of those women living during 1 year (0.12) or living during 4 years (0.44). Furthermore, the explanatory power of the duration of the settlement from the immigration in the outcome variable is obvious simply observing the value of the constant before and after including this variable. In the first model, the value of the constant was 1.51. After controlling by the length of the stay, the value increases until 3.82. This means that is the duration of the residence in the country what mostly explains the upward labour mobility of immigrant women from their first occupation in cleaning and domestic services to other occupations. This result reinforces our general hypothesis that immigrant women accept, in a first stage, to lose part of their labour prestige as a part most ambitious *social strategy*. However, as we observed, this strategy is materialized through a slow and very restricted upward occupational mobility, mostly within the secondary segment of the Spanish economy.

5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

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

From this theoretical perspective, the hypothesis was that labour mobility of immigrant women is restricted to those occupations of the secondary segment in Spanish labour market. Thus the hypothesis predicted that the most common labour trajectory is that experienced by those women who first enter the Spanish labour market as domestic assistants and then leave this type of job to work in hotels or restaurants, personal services or other unskilled occupations. This paper analysed the occupational mobility in two different periods. First, the analysis has focused in the mobility between the last occupation in the country of origin and the first in Spain. Second, their mobility is observed between the first occupation in Spain and the time of data collection. The main conclusions are as follows: the first insertion in the Spanish labour market involves a clear drop in their occupational category. Results show how the most common first occupations in Spain are in the secondary segment, particularly as domestic workers. The multivariate regression analysis has also highlighted how Latin American and non-EU women are more likely of experiencing a downward occupational mobility after their migration, in their first labour insertion in the Spanish labour market. Moreover, African women are the immigrant collective presenting more

difficulties to improve their labour attainment after their immigration to Spain. Our findings also pointed that whereas the couple's or age's characteristics are not significant in explaining the direction of labour mobility, having children at the moment of migration increases the likelihood of damage in their occupational attainment, as well as having a secondary education. The results have also demonstrated a significant link between the role of family members and friends in seeking employment opportunities and an increase in the likelihood of experiencing a downward movement. Thus, we interpreted that to turn to the social network is specially useful in order to insert in domestic services. This is an expected result given the labour flexibility in this occupation.

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

Effectively, the recent and largest inflow of immigrant women has nonetheless reduced the observed effect of the length of residence in Spain as a signal to indicate the improvement of their labour positions. Since the inflow of immigrant women is too recent in Spain, one may interpret the observed weak labour mobility as a consequence of the effect of the recent arrival of foreign-born workers. If such statement is true, one would expect an improvement in their labour position and a confluence with the native's occupations according to their educational attainment. In this case, one would interpret this initial complementarity in terms of that experienced in the labour market by the young population, who direct to those adult's positions as they gain in labour experience. The contrary situation would be that in which immigrant women is maintaining in the same labour positions despite of their educational attainment and independently of the length of their settlement in Spain. In such a case, one would expect an ethnic segmentation of the labour force in Spain. However, from this analysis one cannot conclude which scenario is more realistic. It is then necessary to wait some years until these women are settling down definitely in the Spanish labour force and society in order to obtain a better picture about what the future holds for immigrant women in Spain.

The investigation has intended to maintain the initial idea that immigrant women follow a long-term strategy in order to achieve an improvement in their social and economical situation, primarily as a result of their migratory experience. This strategy explains the acceptance, from these women, to employ themselves in the less valued and gendered positions, thus experiencing a descent in their labour mobility. However, within this long-term strategy it is not possible to reach a conclusion on whether their social mobility is only determined by their occupational position in the labour market. It is considered that other elements are important in order to understand their strategy such as the economic compensation from the job they hold in Spain compared to their salary

before migrating; the better labour conditions, or the greater and cheaper access to professional training courses to name a few examples.

This paper should end pointing out the importance of the changing socio-economic context in Spain: from an extraordinary context of economic expansion to a deep economic recession. The major vulnerability of immigrant workers during periods of economic contraction are well analysed, for example in the study of OCDE (2002) about the employment of immigrants. As Cachón (2009) argued, this higher vulnerability of immigrant workers is due to their concentration in those more unstable and cyclical activities that mostly depending on the economical context. It is then not unusual that those workers present higher unemployment rates than native workers during those less favourable economic situations. However, although a big amount of the consequences of the crisis will be suffered by immigrants, unemployment rates also will rise within native labour force.

Nonetheless, if one takes into consideration the consequences of this new economical context over the social and labour conditions of female immigrants, it is expected a very different scenario than that of their male counterparts. Effectively, although these women share with male immigrants the same vulnerability within the Spanish labour market, the activities where they are employed, mainly in domestic services, are less affected by the economic crisis than male occupations. It is likely therefore that despite of the new context, most native families will maintain the same problems to conciliate work and family and, as a result, the hiring of immigrant women will continue to be the only solution. Therefore, demand for immigrant women and their labour incorporation will depend on the amount of assistant services provided from the Welfare State programs more than on the new employment crisis. It is less nonetheless unclear whether the current situation with a general rise in unemployment rates, competition dynamics for the same labour positions between those less skilled native and immigrant women will be more obvious. This confluence would occur in a new labour context, with a scarcity of labour opportunities due to the contraction of the economy.

Therefore, the scientific attention should point to the consequences of the economic crisis over the immigrants' prospects of social mobility. Will these new unfavourable circumstances frustrate even more their improvement prospects? Or perhaps, will this crisis create an ethnic segmentation in the labour market affecting not only immigrant women but also their children? Thus, the attention should not only direct to the ethnical differences in the labour market but also those existing in the transition from school to work. And, of course, research must also direct the attention to the evolution of gender relations in the society caused by the emergence of these new circumstances, not only within native's household, but also within immigrant ones. A gender perspective is therefore essential to understand the development of society.

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