



Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

# Measuring social capital in ethnic enclaves

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# Enclave ... without “ethnic”

- **Spatial segregation** of a given specialized **economic activity** is a recurrent form in social life. The synergies driven by this segregation are typically **scale, circulation** of manpower, capital, knowledge, and **serendipity** ...
- “Industrial clusters”, “industrial districts”, “commercial axes” ... are other denominations ...
- **Emergence** of unintended socio-economic complex.

# People, places, and networks

	Spatial segregation high	Spatial segregation low
People Homogeneous	Communities Neighborhoods <b>Enclaves</b> Ghettos Condominiums Colonies	-
People Diverse	<b>Cluster</b>	<b>Cosmopolitanism</b>

# What about “ethnic” enclaves?

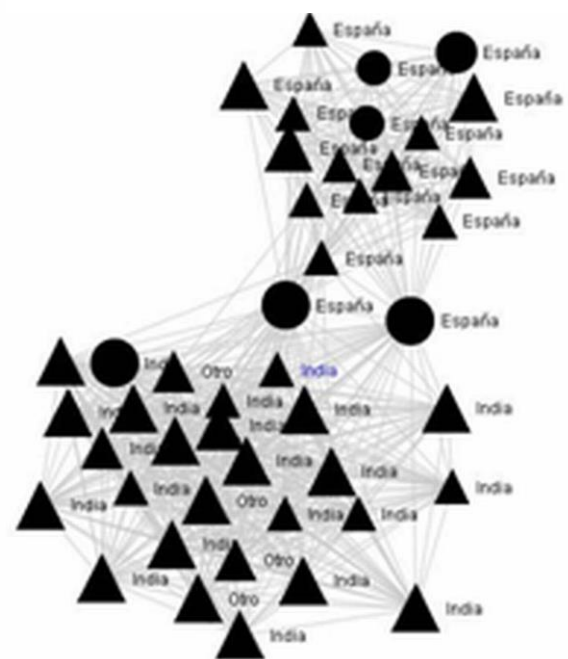
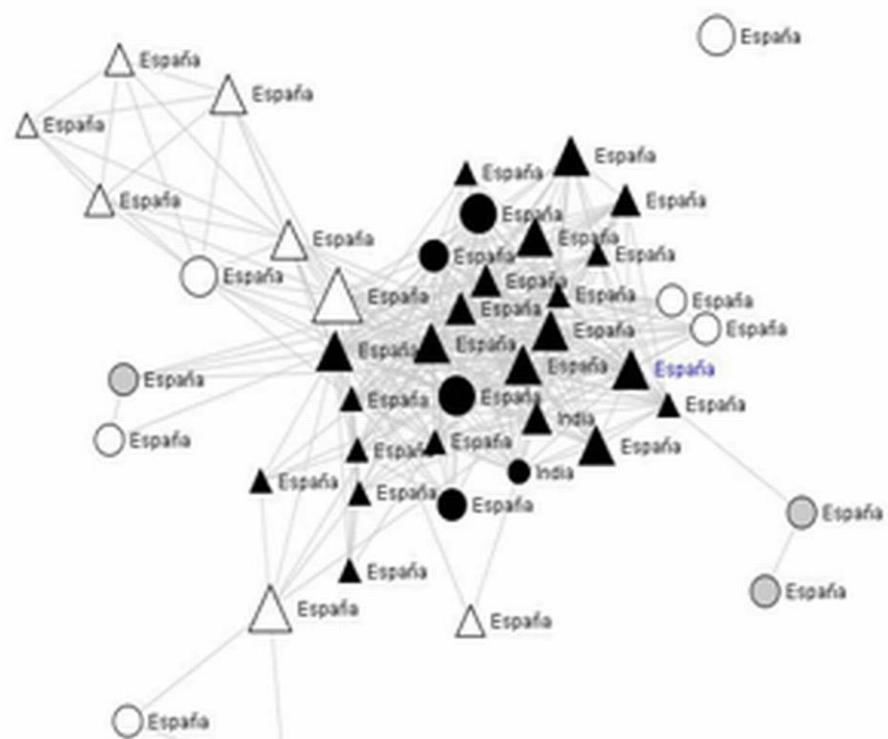
- Portes and Manning (1986): an alternative way of adaptation/assimilation to the host society, often positive for migrants.
  - Co-ethnicity, spatial segregation, entrepreneurial class.
- Debate about the internal inequality of ethnic enclaves (Sanders and Nee, 1987, Fong and Ooka, 2002, Logan et al. 2003).
- Evidences are contradictory (Xie & Gough 2011).

# The ethnic enclave cycle (Werbner 2001)

- Business opportunity → development of a economic niche → workforce provided by migratory chain/co-ethnics → know-how pass to employees → new competence on the same niche → enclave synergies... → saturation.

# Two hypothesis for testing ...

- **Internal inequality** (owners should enjoy high levels of social capital than employees).
- **Mixed-embeddedness theory.** Owners (entrepreneurs) should have more nationals among their acquaintances and having closest relationships with them than employees.



# Two cases

- Indians in Lloret de Mar.
- Pakistani in El Raval, Barcelona city.
- In both cases: non previous contact before Olympic Games (1992); both are minorities groups (Pakistanis, 1,17%, Indians, 0,5%) compared with other migrants as Moroccans, Romanians, Ecuadorians...
- Spain: in 1992 immigrants accounted for the 1,5% of global population; in 2011, 14%.
  - Construction sector.
  - 6 extraordinary regulatory processes, with 2 million migrants regularized.





# Touristic destination

- “Lumpen-tourism” /”Sun, sea, sand” tourism / “all-included” tourism” /drunkenness tourism.
- During 2011: 10 million tourists, 8.000 million dollars revenue.



# Souvenir





# Pakistani shops in The Raval, BCN





# Methodology

- Participant observation.
- Personal networks.
- Position generator (Lin 2001). 18 positions.
  - Lloret de Mar 50 shops (34 owned by Indians, 14 shop owners, 20 employees).
  - El Raval, 50 shops (8 owners, 42 employees).

#	Occupation	PRESCA	Class	Group
1	Public Administration representative	266.23	10	1
2	Electronics and Telecommunications Engineer	239.88	10	2
3	University professor and higher education	208.93	10	2
4	Pharmacist	180.47	9	2
5	Writer, journalist or similar	160.05	8	2
6	High School professor	152.38	8	2
7	Travel Agent	132.14	7	3
8	Merchant with fewer than ten employees	123.54	7	1
9	Real estate agent	112.20	6	3
10	Taxi driver or drivers of cars or vans	102.33	5	8
11	Hairdresser, barber or beauty specialist	92.48	5	5
12	Waiter, waitress	89.12	4	5
13	Painter, Paintshop or paperhanger	85.11	3	7
14	Cashier or teller blockbuster	79.77	3	4
15	Personal care workers	67.61	2	5
16	Fisherman (employed by others)	66.07	2	6
17	Personal office cleaning, hotel cleaning	57.54	1	9
18	Street vendors	46.77	1	9



# Social capital scores

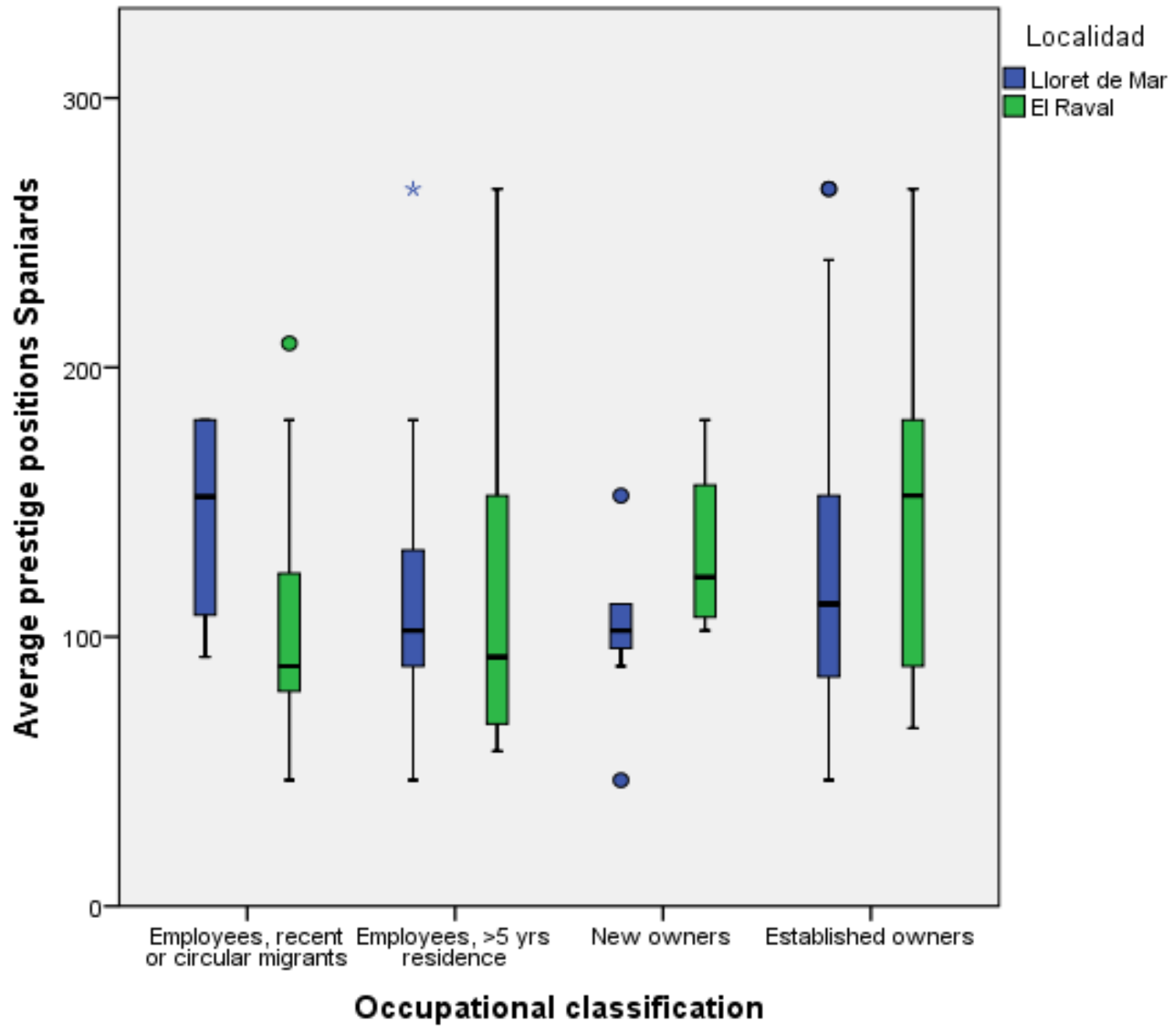
Locality	Position	Total prestige accessed	Number of positions accessed	Mean prestige accessed	Max. prestige accessed	Range of prestige accessed
Lloret de Mar	Employee	576,3	5,4	106,3	170,4	101,7
	Owner	744,6	6,5	108,1	173,1	109,2
	Total	645,6	5,8	107,1	171,5	104,8
El Raval	Employee	838,1	7,2	114,3	183,4	116,0
	Owner	1199,8	9,9	120,3	203,6	136,6
	Total	895,9	7,6	115,2	186,7	119,3

# A more nuanced typology...

Locality	Occupational classification	Total prestige accessed	Number of positions accessed	Mean prestige accessed	Max. prestige accessed	Range of prestige accessed	N
Lloret de Mar	Employees, recent or circular migrants	504,3	4,9	102,3	148,8	76,6	7
	Employees, > 5 years of residence	615,1	5,6	108,5	182,0	115,2	13
	New owners	412,7	4,3	97,1	122,6	51,1	4
	Established owners	877,3	7,4	112,6	193,3	132,5	10
El Raval	Employees, recent or circular migrants	821,5	7,0	114,1	178,9	111,7	23
	Employees, > 5 years of residence	858,1	7,3	114,5	189,0	121,2	19
	New owners	935,0	8,3	113,8	183,2	117,2	4
	Established owners	1464,5	11,5	126,9	224,0	156,0	4

# Mixed embeddedness?

Locality	Occupational classification	Average proportion of positions accessed through... <sup>a</sup>			Average closeness with alters who are... <sup>b</sup>			Average prestige scores of alters who are ... <sup>b</sup>		
		Spaniards	co-ethnics in Spain	trans-national contacts	Spaniards	co-ethnics	trans-national contacts	Spaniards	co-ethnics	trans-national contacts
Lloret de Mar	Employees, recent or circular migrants	12,4	75,7	11,9	2,8	3,2	4,0	144,2	98,6	110,0
	Employees, > 5 years of residence	26,3	68,8	4,9	2,0	3,0	4,2	114,0	106,0	133,7
	New owners	37,2	62,8	0,0	2,1	3,0	-	102,5	93,4	-
	Established owners	40,5	55,6	3,9	2,6	3,2	4,0	126,1	101,5	229,6
El Raval	Employees, recent or circular migrants	20,5	52,7	26,9	2,2	2,7	3,2	98,8	102,7	153,2
	Employees, > 5 years of residence	14,0	66,0	20,0	2,9	3,2	3,9	116,2	104,1	163,8
	New owners	12,5	78,1	9,4	2,0	3,1	2,0	131,8	107,3	151,3
	Established owners	30,6	52,1	17,4	3,4	3,8	4,7	148,7	94,3	154,3



# Weak support ...

- The ethnic enclaves that we are measuring are stagnation markets (Kloosterman 2010) at the bottom of the economic system, with low levels of overall social capital (i.e., with low access to the resources distributed all over the social structure):
  - the position generator does not capture neatly the differences between owners and employees observed during the ethnographic fieldwork...
  - But it reveals its capacity to effectively measure social capital taking into account the global social structure.
- Low levels of social capital at the individual level do not seem to be a problem for **coping with the economic crisis better** than other sectors.

Danke!