

Berlin Social Science Center

# Young people's job search strategies in the German apprenticeship market: Who relies on referrals by strong ties and why? Matthias Flohr & Paula Protsch

# 1. Research Question

#### Background on referral-based job search at labor market entry

• most empirical studies indicate that the access to better network resources and referrals by strong ties are beneficial for labor market entry (e.g. Hällsten et al. 2017, Kramarz/Nordström Skans 2014, Roth 2018, Verhaeghe et al. 2015)

#### **Previous research**

- social networks as important resource contributing to labor market success (Bourdieu 1977; Lin 2001)
- in youth labor markets strong ties and their network resources are decisive (Granovetter 1995; Kramarz/Nordström Skans 2014, Roth 2014a)
- the uneven use of informal search methods across school leavers is discussed but not comprehensively analyzed in the school-to-work literature (Hoenig 2019; O'Regan/Quigley 1993; Roth 2014b)



Why do young people select into the use of referrals by strong ties?

# 4. Analytical Strategy

Multilevel mixed-effects linear regressions (LPM)
Individuals (level 1) are nested in employment agency districts (level 2)

$$Y_{ij} = \gamma_{00} + U_{0j} + (y_{10} + U_{1j}) X_{ij} + R_{ij}$$

with  $\beta_{oj}=\gamma_{00}+U_{oj}$  as random intercept and  $\beta_{1j}=y_{10}+U_{1j}$  as random slope for each agency district j

We model the likelihood to use referrals by strong ties as a function of

- the regional unemployment rate (H1)
- the expected level of education (H2)
- individual and regional covariates
- cluster mean of expected level of education
- fixed effects for the occupation young people initially applied for

We additionally scrutinize if the relationships in H1 and H2 also occur when we restrict our sample to apprenticeship seekers who found a training position

Non-college-bound students cannot select themselves into different regions

# 2. Theoretical Background

## The use of referrals by strong ties should depend on different factors:

- strong ties' access to relevant network resources (Marsden/Gorman 2001; Lin 2001)
- employers referral-based recruitment behavior (Marsden/Gorman 2001, Topa 2011)
- the opportunity structure of young people (Roth 2014b, Holtmann et al. 2017)

We aim at a better understanding of the circumstances in which referrals by strong ties are important

#### Main idea

Referrals by strong ties are especially relevant for compensating poor opportunities due to:

- 1) poor labor market conditions
- 2) a low level of education

**H1:** Students are more likely to rely on referrals by strong ties if they are embedded in contexts with poorer regional labor market conditions.

**H2**: Students who expect to attain no or a lower secondary school-leaving certificate are more likely to use referrals by strong ties than students expecting an intermediate one.

# 5. Data

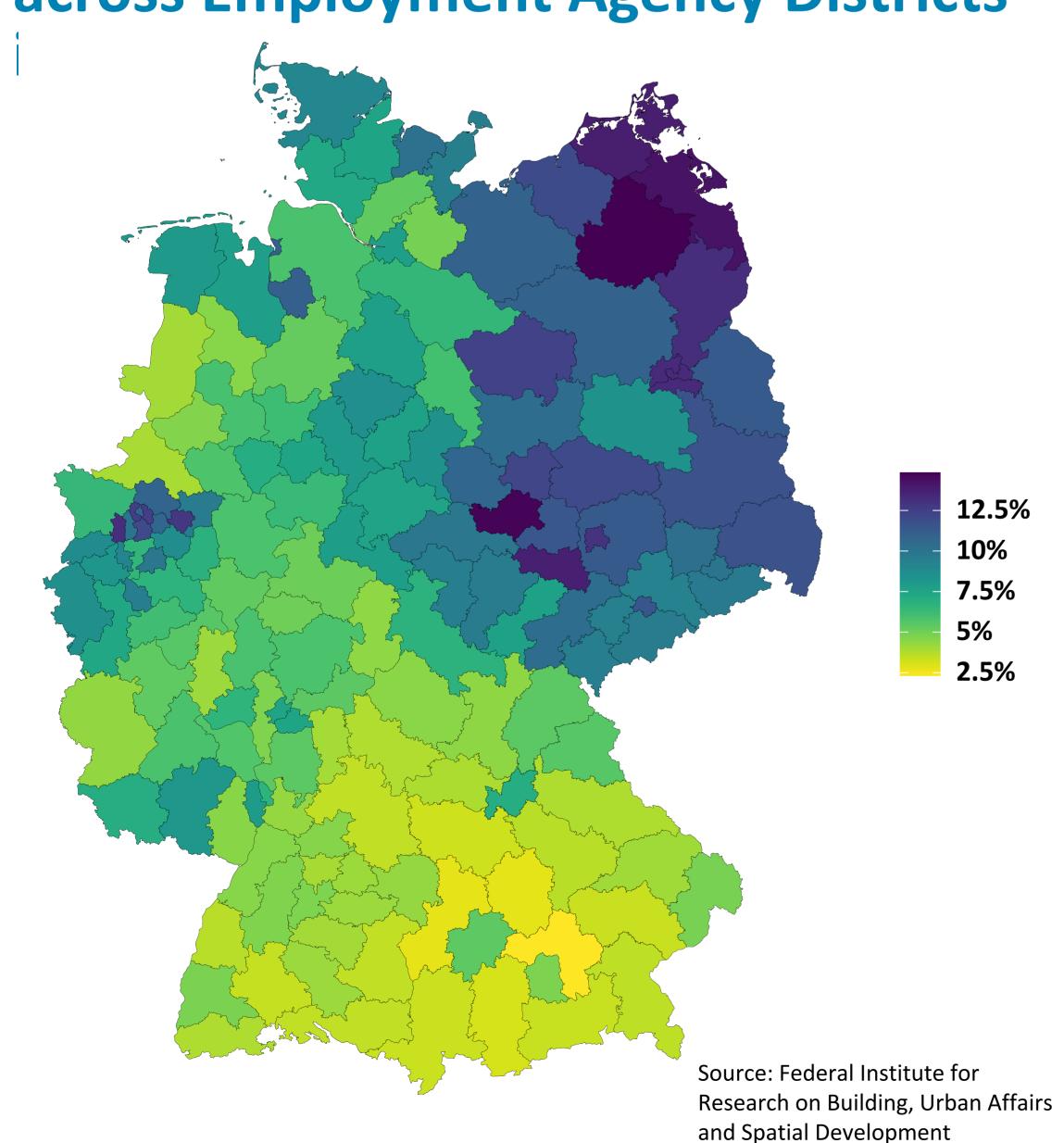
Multiply imputed data with MICE to deal with item nonresponse bias Individual data

- data source: National Educational Panel Study, Starting Cohort 4
- sample: 3820 school leavers at the end of 9th or 10th grade
- dependent variable is the use of referrals by strong ties:
   "Did your parents personally advocated that you get your current/a apprenticeship position"; binary coded (1= yes; 0 = no)
- covariates: sociodemographic characteristics, average grade of Math and German, noncognitive characteristics, parental network resources, parental qualification, parental labor market attachment, ISEI of parents highest job, two-parent family indicator

## Regional data

• covariates: type of federal state (city/non-city state), regional German divide (east/west)

# 3. Regional Unemployment Rate across Employment Agency Districts



# 6. Results

Table 1 Who used referrals by strong ties during apprenticeship search?

0.024\*\*\* 0.034\*\*\* 0.031\*\*\* **Regional unemployment rate** (z-std.) (0.008)(0.011)(0.012)Expected level of education (ref.: no/low ctf.) -0.054\*\* -0.063\*\*\* -0.061\*\* Intermediate school-leaving certificate (0.024)(0.022)(0.023)Cluster mean of expected level of education Sociodemographic characteristics Individual covariates Regional covariates Fixed effects for the applied occupation 0.557\*\*\* 0.446\*\*\* 0.713\*\*\* Constant (0.031)(0.044)(0.098)Random intercept (standard deviation) 0.054 0.065 0.055 Random slope (standard deviation) 0.096 0.097 0.107 Correlation: intercept/random slope 3820 3820 3820 Number of clusters 161 161

Standard errors in parantheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05; p\*<0.10

Table 2 Who of the successful apprenticeship seekers benefited from a strong tie's referral?

	M 4
Regional unemployment rate (z-std.)	0.036*** (0.016)
<b>Expected level of education</b> (ref.: no/low ctf.) Intermediate school-leaving certificate	-0.056* (0.033)
Cluster mean of expected level of education	$\checkmark$
Sociodemographic characteristics	$\checkmark$
Individual covariates	✓
Regional covariates	$\checkmark$
Fixed effects for the applied occupation	$\checkmark$
Constant	0.73*** (0.128)
Random intercept (standard deviation)	0.066
Random slope (standard deviation)	0.117
Correlation: intercept/random slope	-1
N	2110
Number of clusters	155

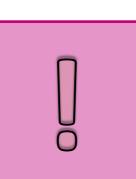
Standard errors in parantheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05; p\*<0.10

- Relying on referrals by strong ties is a very common search strategy in the German apprenticeship market
- When apprenticeship seekers face poor opportunities, they rely considerably more on referrals by strong ties to improve otherwise low apprenticeship market chances.
- Accordingly, if we only focus on the sub-group of successful apprenticeship seekers, apprenticeship seekers with lower opportunities benefited markedly more from referrals by strong ties

# 7. Conclusions



Young people strategically adapt their apprenticeship search methods to the given opportunity structure



Parental network resources are consequential for the labor market entry, especially in cases of otherwise poor opportunities. This finding has important implications for social inequality and social mobility

Abstract für den 40. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie

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Young people's job search strategies in the German apprenticeship market:

Who relies on referrals by strong ties and why?

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For young people, informal search methods based on the support of social contacts are shown

to be beneficial for finding the first job (e.g. Kramarz/Nordströms Skans 2014; Roth 2018).

However, at the stage of labor market entry, we know little on who actually relies on informal

search methods and under what conditions. In the analysis, we aim at a better understanding of

the circumstances in which first job seekers (or their parents) choose referrals by strong ties as

a particularly effective means to support school-to-work transitions. We investigate this

research gap for non-college-bound school leavers in Germany whose entry into the labor

market typically starts via apprenticeships. Against this backdrop, we ask the following research

question: Why do young people select into the use of referrals by strong ties?

A standard prediction of Lin's (2001) theory regarding labor market social capital is that

the use of social contacts depends on who has access to relevant network resources. Throughout

the analysis we look beyond this common argument and derive further reasons which

potentially explain the usage of referrals by strong ties as an important informal search strategy.

Several studies argue that young people frequently rely on informal search methods if they have

or anticipate difficulties during school-to-work transitions (e.g. Kramarz/Nordström Skans

2014; Holtmann et al. 2017). Alternatively, differences in the use of referrals by strong ties

might be trigged by employers' engagement in referral-based recruitment procedures. Since

employers' recruitment behavior determines the opportunities of referral use and is also linked

to the recruitment for specific types of jobs or occupations (Topa 2011), differences in job

seekers' referral use might predominantly depend on patterns of referral-based recruitment

behavior.

Our results are based on data from Starting Cohort 4 of the National Educational Panel

Study, which we supplement with regional labor market indicators. Applying hierarchical linear

models, we show that young people strategically adapt their apprenticeship search methods to

the given opportunity structure and use referrals by strong ties to improve otherwise low application chances. Thus, parental network resources are consequential for labor market entry, especially in case of otherwise poor opportunities.

#### References

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