Comparative Population Studies – Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft
Vol. 38, 1 (2013): 199-226 (Date of release: 29.05.2013)

New City = New Friends?

The Restructuring of Social Resources after Relocation

Natascha Nisic, Sören Petermann

Abstract: Despite the significance of spatially proximate social contacts, there is little evidence about the effects of residential mobility on the social capital available to an individual. Based on theoretical considerations of the accumulation process of social capital after relocation, we derive hypotheses about the consequences of residential mobility on social capital. Firstly, we expect a partial devaluation of social capital in the origin region after the move and compensatory investments in social capital at the new location. Secondly, we assume that social capital increases with the length of residence and distinguish accumulation and consolidation phases. Multivariate analysis based on survey data yields the expected consequences of mobility. Movers and native residents possess an equal amount of social capital; however, the composition of social capital differs between the two groups. Additionally, we decompose the length of residence into several time intervals to provide evidence for both the constituting and consolidating phases in the creation of social capital.

Keywords: Social capital · Residential mobility · Length of residence

1 Introduction

In this article, we analyse the impact of residential moves on the social capital of individuals. The background is the long-standing and controversial debate in sociology about the consequences of residential mobility on social integration. Especially contributions within urban sociology and the classical "community studies" (*Kasarda/Janowitz* 1974; *Sampson* 1988, 1991; *Wirth* 1938) have emphasized a negative correlation. Social disintegration at the collective level (characterised, for example, by a lack of solidarity, anomy, little social engagement, low interpersonal trust and high crime rates) is viewed as a consequence of heightened geographical mobility and population turnover (e.g., *Wirth* 1938; *Kasarda/Janowitz* 1974; *Sampson* 1988, 1991; *Wellman* 1996; *Wellman et al.* 1997; *Lai/Siu* 2006; *Putnam* 2002; cf.

DOI: 10.4232/10.CPoS-2013-08en
URL: www.comparativepopulationstudies.de
URN: urn:nbn:de:bib-cpos-2013-08en4

on anomy and disintegration *Durkheim* 1893, 1897). These findings are contrasted by more recent studies that indicate positive effects of geographical mobility on social integration. From this perspective, spatial mobility helps to replace socially predetermined social ties with voluntary relationships based on choice. These relationships enable the establishment of supportive networks that are more oriented toward actual needs, thereby opening new life chances and scopes of action and contributing to collective social and economic welfare (*Amato* 1993; *Höllinger/Haller* 1990; *Lai/Siu* 2006).

Underlying this debate over the collective social consequences of increased population movements is the association between residential mobility and availability of social capital at the individual level, which is the focus of the current article.[1] It is relatively beyond dispute that residential mobility is accompanied by a restructuring of individual relationships. This results from the significance of spatial proximity for access to social resources through personal ties. Along with the altered geographical distance between the members of a relationship, e.g., following a residential move, the appeal of the relationship and the transaction costs of the resource exchange change. Congruent with this rationale, empirical studies find that personal ties are often transformed after a move (e.g., *Belot/Ermisch* 2006; *Levy/Wadycki* 1973; *Lubbers et al.* 2010). Although theoretical arguments and empirical findings consistently suggest the significance of geographical proximity of personal contacts for access to social resources, the long-term transformation processes of social capital induced by residential mobility have only rarely been systematically investigated (cf. *David et al.* 2008; *Fischer* 1982; *Mok/Wellman* 2007). In the present contribution, we emphasize three aspects that have not been sufficiently considered in studies on residential mobility and social capital.

The first aspect relies on the notion that, analytically, social capital can be divided into structural and instrumental components. Although studies have analysed migration-related changes in individual relationships and social networks (structural component) (e.g., *Lubbers et al.* 2010), changes to the potentially available social resources (instrumental component) from these individual relationships have not yet received much attention. This presents a severe shortcoming because in the case of geographical mobility, social networks and access to resources from these relationships might fall apart (*Kaufmann* 2002: 22; *Larsen et al.* 2006; *Kan* 2007). Although modern transportation and communication allow the maintenance of these social relationships even across large distances, the actual support from these contacts may be limited due to the geographical distance. For example, in an emergency or coping with everyday demands, geographical proximity may be essential for gaining support. Hence, for the study of the consequences of geographical mobility,

[1] In mobility research, social networks mainly play a role as determinants of migration decisions (*Boyd* 1989; *Bührer* 1996; *Haug* 2007; *Haug/Pointner* 2007; *Huinink/Kley* 2008; *Kalter* 2003; *Kley* 2009; *Palloni et al.* 2001). In addition to other factors, local capital (*DaVanzo* 1980) and the social contacts at the places of origin and destination are identified as particularly significant for the mobility decision (*Kalter* 1997: 164-166). Moreover, it is shown that the effects of social contacts have specific impacts in different phases of life (*Kley* 2009).

the focus shifts from personal networks to the practical everyday consequences of altered social embeddedness.

Secondly, most studies focus on a relatively short period of time, covering only a few years after the residential move. However, we consider the long-term effects on social capital and develop a phase model of the restructuring of social resources after a move. Thirdly, the low total number of studies on the effects of residential mobility on social capital is mainly a consequence of the survey effort and the poor data on social resources from personal networks, especially with respect to their geographical and temporal dynamics (*Belot*/*Ermisch* 2006). The present study hopes to contribute to closing this gap by applying a new indicator of social capital. The so-called resource generator was developed in the Netherlands (*Flap et al.* 2003) and has not yet been employed in a German-speaking context.

The current article focuses on the mobility-related accumulation and destruction processes of social capital and the agency of the actors. For this purpose, in Section 2, we develop a process model of social capital formation following relocation and derive hypotheses about the restructuring processes among migrants and natives. This includes both a comparison of the social capital of migrants and natives and a dynamic perspective on the process of building and rebuilding social resources among migrants. Further effects on social capital are briefly discussed in Section 3. Section 4 provides a description of the data used, whereby the measurement of social capital based on the new indicator is explained in greater detail. The hypotheses-testing analyses are presented in Section 5. We discuss the multivariate results on selectivity of migrants and the differences in social capital between natives and migrants. We also take into account the social capital available by network type and over time. The final section presents the conclusions and a discussion of the results.

2 Effects of residential mobility on social capital

2.1 Social resources as social capital

The social capital of individual actors consists of a structural component of personal ties and social networks, which is relatively constant and independent of exchangeable resources, and of an instrumental component of social resources, which is exchanged between the actors in social networks. Personal relationships can be understood as a permanent manifestation of a series of social exchange interactions between relationship partners. Social resources are only available to an individual on the basis of his network of individual connections and yield present or future returns (*Bourdieu* 1983: 191; *Coleman* 1990: 302; *Flap* 1999: 7; *Lin* 2001: 29). Thus, our perspective shifts from individual relationships to potentially available resources and hence to the instrumental value of social capital that has been neglected in previous research. Such resources refer to a number of material and symbolic goods, benefits and traits, such as information, support, assistance, influence and social recognition (cf. *Lin* 2001: 43).

The significance of social capital especially lies in the enabling and encouragement of individuals to act. For a definition of social capital, we refer to *Lin* (2001: 43): "We define social resources, or social capital, as those resources accessible through social connections. Social capital contains resources (e.g., wealth, power, and reputation, as well as social networks) of other individual actors to whom an individual actor can gain access through direct and indirect social ties. They are resources embedded in the ties of one's network." Through social capital, resources are available that enhance the actors' scope of action and contribute to the achievement of individual objectives. There is substantial evidence in the literature of the significance of social capital for the socio-economic success of individual actors, e.g., for job search and labour market position (*Granovetter* 1995; *Lin* 2001; for an overview cf. *Ioannides/Loury* 2004), educational success of young people (*Furstenberg/Hughes* 1995), and social recognition, personal satisfaction and health (*Borgonovi* 2010). Social capital is essential for coping with everyday life and providing security (*Wellman/Wortley* 1990).

Because social capital is linked to beneficial economic and social returns, rational actors have incentives to invest in social capital (*Kan* 2007; *Lin* 2001). Investments in social capital result in an accumulation of a capital stock (*Glaeser et al*. 2002). In addition, constant re-investments are necessary to maintain social capital or balance out the loss in value: "Like human capital and physical capital, social capital depreciates if it is not renewed. Social relationships die out if not maintained; expectations and obligations wither over time; and norms depend on regular communication (*Coleman* 1990: 321)." The accumulation and the maintenance of social capital are viewed as the results of personal capacity and purposeful agency (*Cook/Weigel* 1983; *Freeman/Ruan* 1997; *Höllinger/Haller* 1990; *Wellman/Wortley* 1990). At the same time, investments in social capital generate costs in terms of time, energy and money. Consequently, investments in personal relationships are particularly worthwhile if the tie is sufficiently stable and trustable, if transaction costs are low and if they are likely to render potential future benefits.

2.2 Comparison of social capital of natives and immigrants

A residential move is a significant life event that severely affects an individual's social capital. To analyse the effects of residential mobility on the social capital of individuals, we must focus on the basic mechanism of (re-)investment decisions and their dependence on the geographical distance between the relationship members. Thereby, the geographical distance between the relationship partners has considerable effects both on the investment costs and on the expected returns. In general, geographical proximity reduces the costs associated with maintaining face-to-face contacts. In addition, specific resources and support are often not locally transferable and bound to the physical presence of the relationship partners; this is especially true for the exchange of services (e.g., babysitting, mutual leisure activities). Actors can therefore expect greater profits from personal relationships that are local. Investments in social capital are thus less likely to occur if transaction costs increase with growing geographical distance (cf. *Glaeser et al.* 2002).

Because residential mobility alters the distance-related transaction costs of existing personal ties, we can assume that in the aftermath of relocation, a restructuring process is initiated. As the distance-related transaction costs increase, which is true for most personal relationships following relocation, the actor has various options for decreasing the investment costs of existing relationships. For instance, the actors might change the contact mode by replacing personal face-to-face interaction with modern communication technology (e.g., telephone, Internet-based transmission of texts, speech and images) (*Mok et al.* 2010). Moreover, the investment costs decrease if the overall contact frequency is reduced. Finally, personal relationships can be entirely broken off if further investments are no longer profitable. However, this makes room for investments in new personal ties at comparatively low transaction costs at the new location. Distance-related transaction costs might decrease after relocation, for example, if personal relationships already exist at the new place of residence (*Bühler* 1996; *Kalter* 1997, 2003). Such contacts can be expected to intensify after the residential move due to the low transaction costs.

However, at this point, it is important to mention that distance-related transaction costs are only one of several components underlying the investment decisions of social capital. These components include shared social contexts, which play a major role in investments in social capital (*Feld* 1981). For example, it is argued that modernisation processes foster the further division of work, private life, kinship and leisure. This generates multiplex social networks, which are not locally confined but are functionally diversified, geographically scattered and dynamic from the outset (*Larner* 1990; *Wellman et al.* 1997). This is supported by evidence that suggests that local contacts in general only comprise a small share of active relationships. Empirically, there is no evidence for the dominance of the local neighbourhood or for an unlimited spatial dispersion of personal relationships (*Petermann* 2002: 153-154). Residential mobility thus does not cause a transformation of the entire social network but only alters singular contacts (*Larner* 1990; *Wellman et al.* 1997; *Magdol* 2000; *Lubbers et al.* 2010).

The transaction cost argument of the decision to invest in social capital provides a plausible explanation for the assumption that residential mobility leads to a restructuring of certain parts of the network of personal ties. The mobility-induced restructuring process aims to maintain the general support potential embedded in social ties after relocation and adapt it to the new situation. The decline of social capital caused by disinvestments in specific personal relationships is compensated for by building new social capital driven by the need to secure social resources. Although the decline is mobility-induced, the build-up process is resource-oriented, i.e., investments are not directed at re-establishing similar personal relationships but at maintaining similar resource levels. Moreover, relocation may serve to overcome geographical restrictions in the access to social resources and enable actors to establish heterogeneous social networks that provide social capital at a similar level (*Lai/Siu* 2006; *Wellman/Wortley* 1990). If the restructuring process initiated by altered distance-related transaction costs is oriented toward resource access, then relocation should not lead to incisive changes to the available social capital. Evidence for this is limited to only a few studies, which discover few differences in

the availability of support between mobile and immobile individuals (*Cook/Weigel* 1983; *Höllinger/Haller* 1990). Therefore, we hypothesize that *migrants do not differ from natives with regard to the amount of available social capital (mobility hypothesis H1).*

The restructuring of social capital after a change of residence also depends on the type of relationship. We differentiate between the following three types of social relations: family/kinship, friendship and acquaintanceship. Family and kin relations are characterised by close normative and genealogical ties, whereas friendships and acquaintances are contacts based on personal choice, whereby friends present stronger ties than rather loose acquaintances.

By social definition, family and kin relations are uncallable and are therefore relatively stable (*Wellman et al.* 1997; *Wellman/Wortley* 1990; *Mok/Wellman* 2007). After a change of residence, these relationships may lose their high contact frequency but their strength, trustworthiness and normative force can counterbalance the larger geographical distance. If family members and relatives live far away, contact is often maintained using modern means of transportation and communication (*Craven/Wellman* 1973; *Fischer* 1982; *Larsen et al.* 2006; *Offner* 2000; *Wellman* 1979; *Wellman/Leighton* 1979; *Wellman/Wortley* 1990). Even if family and kin ties are at a lower risk of decline, the social capital mobilised through these relationships are limited to resources that are less dependent on face-to-face contact and constant geographical presence, such as emotional support in crises or financial assistance (*Höllinger/Haller* 1990; *Korte* 1980; *Wellman/Wortley* 1990). Mobility-related investment decisions in social capital through family and kin relations aim to maintain these relationships, whereby increased distance-related transaction costs are offset against a reduced resource potential.

Due to higher expectations of reciprocity, i.e., a greater frequency of response behaviour, in non-kin relationships, we expect a greater effect of distance-related transaction costs on relations with friends and acquaintances. In other words, the existing self-selected social ties are at a greater risk of dissolution than family and kin relationships. However, the disinvestments in existing friendships and acquaintances release resources that make investments in new personal relationships with lower distance-related transaction costs possible. Additionally, through a change of residence, people can release themselves from potentially constricting familial and kin ties and replace these with self-selected friendships and acquaintanceships (*Amato* 1993; *Höllinger/Haller* 1990; *Lai/Siu* 2006). This aspect is repeatedly emphasized in the context of individualisation theory (*Beck* 1986), as it enables the establishment of heterogeneous social networks that can provide even more social capital (*Lai/Siu* 2006; *Wellman/Wortley* 1990): "(...) modern life allows people to build more personally rewarding relations than are attainable in the local community and to create social worlds almost entirely free from artificial limits of place, to create 'community without propinquity' and this kind of community is ultimately the most fulfilling" (*Fischer* 1982: 158). Investments in new self-selected, non-kin relationships are resource-oriented. Therefore, after a change of residence, even more social resources might be available via friends and acquaintances.

The restructuring process especially refers to weak social ties with acquaintances, which greatly depend on geographical proximity such as neighbourhood contacts or relationships with colleagues (*Wellman* 1996). Such ties are based on the high interaction frequency caused by their geographical proximity; they are associated with the exchange of smaller services at a low degree of intimacy (*Wellman* 1992, 1996; *Wellman et al.* 1997). Although such acquaintanceships react quite sensitively to changes in distance-related transaction costs, these "weak ties" can be quickly broken down and built up (*Wellman* 1979). These assumptions lead to our *mobility hypothesis (H2): compared with natives, immigrants have less social capital from their family and kin and more social capital from their friends and acquaintances.*

2.3 The Restructuring of social capital after a change of residence over time

The restructuring of social capital after a residential move does not only refer to similarities and differences between natives and migrants but also to the dynamic process that is triggered by residential mobility. The restructuring of the migrants' social capital is a process that takes place over time through repeated interactions and investments in relationships. It can be assumed that the development of social capital following relocation is a long-term process that is basically never accomplished. The positive association between length of residence and social capital is a well-known phenomenon. Longer durations of residence in the community lead to stronger neighbourly interaction, close-knit networks of local social ties and the accumulation of local capital (*DaVanzo* 1980; *Lai/Siu* 2006; *Logan/Spitze* 1994; *Sampson* 1988). Persons with longer durations of residence engage in local social activities to a greater degree and have stronger community ties (*Sampson* 1988). The underlying social mechanism is also related to the investment efforts for creating social capital. However, in this case, it is not a deliberate mobilisation of social capital (*Lin* 2001), but an incidental by-product of everyday interactions (*Coleman* 1988, 1990: 317; *Portes* 1998). The key determinant here is the time spent at the place of residence, during which relationships arise and can evolve (*Sampson* 1988). Loose contacts and encounters become more stable and acquaintances become more solidified with longer residence tenure. With an increasing length of residence, transaction costs, shared social contexts and resource orientation form aligned social conditions, which ease the building of social capital. From this rationale, our *length of residence hypothesis (H3) can be derived: The total social capital increases for migrants with an increasing length of residence in the new location.*

Due to active restructuring, this continuous long-term process exhibits two consecutive, but discontinuous dynamic phases for immigrants during the initial years after a move. First, residential mobility triggers an intensive phase of investment during the first several years followed by a consolidation phase lasting also for many years.

The intensive investment phase is characterised by the accumulation of even more social capital than the migrant had at the time of the move. Although there

is a dearth of empirical studies that focus on access to social resources, the findings presented by *Belot* and *Ermisch* (2006) indicate that local friendships are more intensively re-established after relocation such that the number of friendships at the place of residence considerably rises over 5 to 6 years after a move and the contact frequency increases. During the investment phase, migrants attempt to overcompensate for the upcoming or already suffered loss of existing social capital through a variety of investment activities. There are a number of reasons for these excessive investments. Firstly, in the first years following residential mobility, there is an increased need for resources to settle in the new location (*Larner* 1990). The medium-term need for increased resources leads to additional investments, as the decisions to invest in social capital are resource-oriented. Secondly, personal relationships must prove themselves over time, i.e., migrants must be confident that resources from the newly formed personal ties will be available when needed. Because migrants can only learn to assess the trustworthiness and helpfulness of the relationship partner during the course of the relation, it is rational for migrants to first invest in a number of contacts and then later select the reliable relationships from this contact pool.

Therefore, in the first years after a move, actors more strongly and actively invest in building new contacts, until saturation is achieved or until resource constraints (often a lack of time) limit additional investments. The ensuing years consist of a consolidation phase, during which proven contacts are selected and the investments in self-selected ties and, consequently, social resources begin to decrease again (*Belot*/*Ermisch* 2006; *Larner* 1990). Further investments into the relationship are made only if the investments and inputs yield returns at some point, i.e., if social resources become available through these contacts. Thus, the selection of proven relationships during the consolidation phase is driven by resource-oriented investment decisions in social capital. Hence, although an increase in total social capital is expected with a longer duration of residence (cf. H3), it should be possible to identify different phases due to the chronology of the restructuring of social capital following a move. This leads us to the *length of residence hypothesis (H4): With increasing length of residence at the new place, an increase in migrants' total social capital during an initial investment phase should be observed followed by a decrease during a consolidation phase.*

3 Other effects on social capital

Although the current study focuses on the effects of residential mobility, an individual's social capital is also influenced by other factors. One significant determinant that must be considered with respect to length of residence is age. Similar to length of residence, age is a temporal component of social capital. However, age has a negative effect on social capital and, thus, stands in contrast to the length of residence. Empirical studies of social capital research show negative or curvilinear (reverse U-shaped) age effects (*Wöhler*/*Hinz* 2007). Specifically, at a higher age, social relationships shrink to inner-familial relationships. Investments in social capital

decrease with age because the time interval for anticipated returns is shorter (*Glaeser et al.* 2002).

Education yields a stable positive effect because those who are highly educated have more opportunities to make social contacts and engage in social relationships due to their qualifications and occupations (*Bourdieu* 1983; *Lin* 2001; *Völker et al.* 2007; *Magdol* 2000). We can also expect a positive effect of income because it is a necessary prerequisite for investments in social capital (*Andreß et al.* 1995). Employment and student status also play a significant role, as the place of work or education offer opportunities for social encounters. Therefore, employed individuals and students should have more social capital at their disposal (*Diewald* 2007). With regard to students, we assume that interaction patterns resemble those of juveniles because of the extension of adolescence during college studies. Moreover, institutions of higher education offer many opportunities for making and maintaining contacts with comparatively little effort (*Bidart/Lavenu* 2005).

With respect to gender, findings indicate that women tend to have more social ties with neighbours and relatives, whereas men have more work-based relationships. However, these differences have no effect on social capital. Controlling for socio-economic characteristics, there are no or only sporadic gender differences in the access to social capital (*Lai* 2008; *van der Gaag/Snijders* 2005). Furthermore, we can expect that social capital increases with household size (*Erickson* 2004). In large households, emotionally supportive social capital is available at negligible investment costs. However, in households with children, we can assume the opposite effect. Although children increase social capital through contacts (for instance, with other families at the kindergarten and school), the time spent raising and caring for children decreases the possibility for social contacts. However, the number of children present in a household is irrelevant to our analysis.

4 Data and operationalisation

To test the hypotheses, we use data from a survey conducted in 2005 in a large Eastern German city (Halle Citizen Survey; cf. *Petermann/Täfler* 2006). A total of 3,471 persons (59 percent response rate) participated in the postal survey. The respondents were aged between 17 and 75 years, and all had their principal residence in Halle. The advantage of this survey is that it contains not only indicators of the access to social resources but also information about the respondents' residential mobility and length of residence in the city.

We construct the dependent variable *social capital* using the information on the access to a variety of resources (cf. *Haug* 1997; *Franzen/Pointner* 2007 for an overview of measuring social capital). The survey is one of the first in a German-speaking context to use the Resource Generator developed by Dutch researchers (*Flap et al.* 2003; *van der Gaag/Snijders* 2005). This generator measures hypothetical resource transfers. The disadvantage of measuring hypothetically accessible resources is that they can fail in the case of actual need, i.e., if no helper can be found. We measure persons' expectations that they will receive social resources in a given situation.

Alternatively, one could measure actual resource transfers rather than hypothetically accessible resources. The problem here is that they might be confounded with the need for social resources. Persons with higher need for social support report more supportive behaviour than do others. This does not suggest, however, that the others possess less social capital. Moreover, the aim of the present study is to identify the total support potential for a large spectrum of social resources. However, using actually mobilised resource transfers as an indicator would lead to an extremely complex measuring instrument.

The resource generator was constructed in such a way that it measures the potential access to the resources available through an individual's direct informal social ties. One can potentially request a resource from a number of persons in a network; however, in terms of the actual accessibility of social capital, it is only important whether at least one person of the individual's social environment provides support, information, assistance, etc. (*Flap et al.* 2003; *Snijders* 1999). The reason for this is that the marginal utility of additional resource-mobilising network persons is quickly reached in most situations (*Snijders* 1999: 34). For our definition of social capital, the number of individuals who provide the respective resource is not important; rather, the focus is on whether the resource is accessible through at least one individual. Therefore, the survey questions did not cover how many persons allow access to a resource, but merely whether the resources can be accessed. Yet, this also means that the accessible resources via individuals cannot be localised. Thus, assumptions about the geographical proximity or distance of the requested accessible resources are rather speculative. Nonetheless, as outlined above, the assumption that resources that are related to high transaction costs correlate with geographical proximity seems plausible. The resource generator includes 17 items. The individual nominations are of less interest than the total amount of potentially accessible social capital, as the potential mobilisation of resources of the individual's social environment is of main interest.

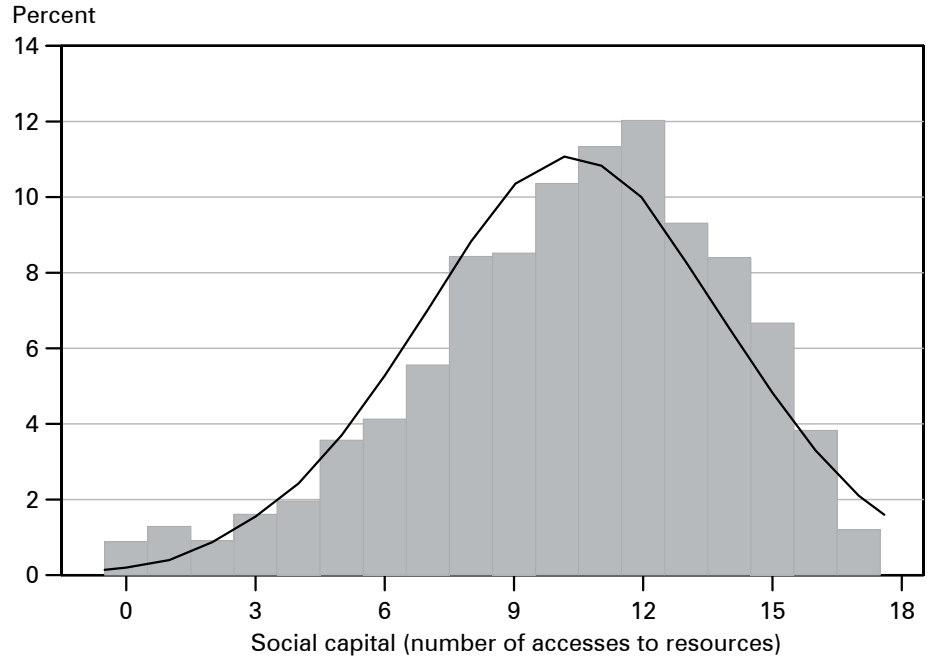
The choice of resource items follows different goals of action, such as the pursuit of material wealth (e.g., borrowing a large sum of money) or social recognition (e.g., discussing personal concerns), and different situations, such as everyday activities (e.g., providing advice and information) or special emergency situations (e.g., offering accommodation when one's own residence is temporarily uninhabitable). Resources are not only understood as material goods or possessive attributes but also as actions such as the exchange of favours by friends (e.g., mending household devices) or the provision of information (e.g., medical or legal advice). Another distinction refers to the specific use of the resource. Some resources can only be used in specific situations (e.g., shopping during an illness), whereas other resources can be used in various situations (e.g., the cultural capital of the contact indicated by his/her university degree or joint theatre and museum visits).

This spectrum of resources is summarised in an index of these 17 items. The more items an individual cites, the greater his or her amount of social capital, i.e., the more support he/she can expect when necessary. Yet, the *number of accessible resources* summarises the social capital only if we assume that all resources are comparable on a scale of values and that the evaluation of all resources is the

same. Even if these assumptions are unrealistic, they should be maintained.[2] In the absence of an assessment of the resources, each item of the sum score is weighted equally. In fact, the index does not measure the amount of social capital, but the variety of or variation in accessible resources. Empirically, the social capital index varies between 0 and 17 accessible resources among the 3,416 respondents (Fig. 1). The mean value is 10.3 accessible resources.

We employ two indicators of spatial mobility as central independent variables in the analyses. To test the mobility hypotheses (H1 and H2), the dichotomous variable *migrants* is provided. We categorise the groups of migrants and natives according to the question of whether the respondent has lived in the current place of residence since birth. The definition of the native group was then adjusted to also include persons who moved to the current place of residence during their childhood and youth

Fig. 1: Distribution of social capital



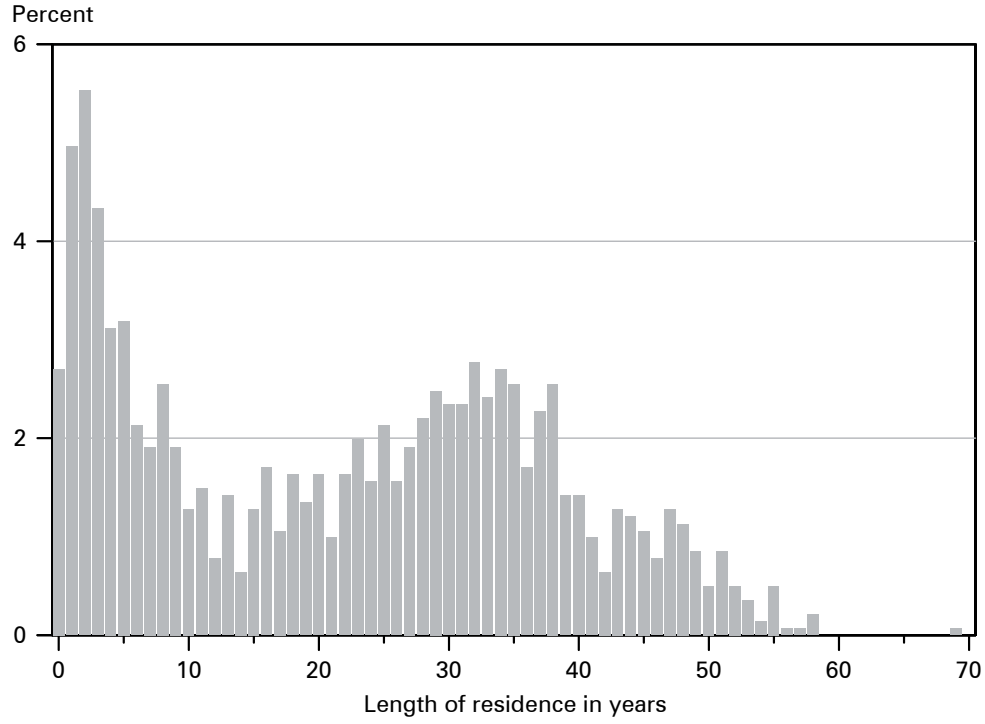
Source: own calculations

[2] A reliability analysis of the 17 items results in a satisfactorily high Cronbach's alpha of 0.81. This value only minimally deviates between 0.79 and 0.80 if any item is removed from the scale. A principal component analysis produced three factors with an eigenvalue greater than 1. These dimensions of social capital can be interpreted first as material social support (e.g. care during illness), second as immaterial or informative social support (e.g. PC advice) and third as social leverage (e.g. media contacts) (on the social capital dimensions of social support and social leverage cf. *Kleinhans et al.* 2007).

until the age of 14 years. The reason for this extension is that the main processes of social integration outside of the parental home begins at the end of the school phase (*Bronfenbrenner* 1981). Therefore, natives are individuals who have lived at the current place of residence from birth or from the age of 14 at the latest without interruption until the time of the survey. Migrants are those who moved to the current place of residence after their 14th birthday and have since lived there without interruption until the time of the survey. The group of natives comprised 59 percent of the respondents. Among them, 48 percent were born in the location and 11 percent moved to the location in their childhood and youth. Therefore, the group of migrants covers 41 percent.[3]

The length of residence hypotheses (H3 and H4) are tested using the metric variable *length of residence*. The length of residence of immigrants is, on average, 22 years. As Figure 2 depicts, the distribution of residence tenure among migrants and natives is bimodal. One of the peaks ranges from 0 to 4 years and should mainly refer to the student migrants. At the same time, the age distribution of migrants re-

Fig. 2: Distribution of the length of residence



Source: own calculations

[3] The dataset contains no information about the place where the migrants previously resided.

Tab. 1: Univariate statistics

Variables	Mean value	Standard deviation	Min	Max	n
Social capital					
Number of accessible resources	10.346	3.574	0	17	3,416
Natives	10.331	3.430	0	17	1,981
Migrants	10.407	3.759	0	17	1,408
Mobility					
Migrants (1=yes)	0.415	0.493	0	1	3,440
Length of residence in years[a]	21.927	15.603	0	69	1,410
Control variables					
Education in years[a]	14.150	2.712	8	21	3,444
Natives	13.758	2.483	8	21	2,002
Migrants	14.746	2.898	8	21	1,413
Household income in thousand euros[a]	1.738	0.918	0.200	3.500	3,249
Natives	1.740	0.919	0.200	3.500	1,869
Migrants	1.743	0.918	0.200	3.500	1,355
Living space per person in m^{2a}	36.776	17.993	4	343	3,315
Natives	36.552	18.418	4	343	1,928
Migrants	37.139	17.422	6.667	156	1,365
Student (1=yes)	0.102	0.303	0	1	3,405
Natives	0.093	0.291	0	1	1,980
Migrants	0.116	0.320	0	1	1,398
Full time employed (1=yes)	0.349	0.477	0	1	3,405
Natives	0.355	0.479	0	1	1,980
Migrants	0.346	0.476	0	1	1,398
Not yet employed (1=yes)	0.140	0.347	0	1	3,405
Natives	0.143	0.350	0	1	1,980
Migrants	0.134	0.341	0	1	1,398
Employed (1=yes)	0.439	0.496	0	1	3,405
Natives	0.444	0.497	0	1	1,980
Migrants	0.436	0.496	0	1	1,398
Not employed (1=yes)	0.176	0.381	0	1	3,405
Natives	0.190	0.393	0	1	1,980
Migrants	0.154	0.361	0	1	1,398
No longer employed (1=yes)	0.245	0.430	0	1	3,405
Natives	0.222	0.416	0	1	1,980
Migrants	0.276	0.447	0	1	1,398
Age in years[a]	45.630	16.539	17	76	3,428
Natives	43.628	16.632	17	76	1,992
Migrants	48.448	15.933	17	75	1,407
Gender (1=female)	0.544	0.498	0	1	3,440
Natives	0.535	0.499	0	1	1,997
Migrants	0.558	0.497	0	1	1,414
Household size[a]	2.373	1.052	1	9	3,410
Natives	2.429	1.082	1	9	1,983
Migrants	2.296	1.002	1	7	1,403
Children in household (1=yes)	0.235	0.424	0	1	3,463
Natives	0.267	0.442	0	1	2,009
Migrants	0.193	0.394	0	1	1,423

[a] These variables were centred in the analyses.

Source: own calculations

mained similar over the past 20 years, suggesting that predominantly 20- to 30-year-olds move to the city.

In addition to the independent variables measuring mobility, the following variables are taken into account to control for statistical effects: education in years,[4] net household income,[5] living space per person, employment status, age, gender, household size and the presence of children in the household (Table 1).

5 Results

5.1 Migrant selectivity

The migrant and native populations significantly differ in important social structural characteristics, as bivariate tests demonstrate (results not shown here). The residential movers have higher educational levels or longer qualification periods; their employment status differs from that of the native population, showing a slightly higher percentage of students, a lower percentage of unemployed and a higher percentage of retirees. It is surprising that migrants are distinctly older than the natives; the difference is almost 5 years. Especially the percentage of 17- to 30-year-olds is smaller among the migrants than among the natives. The household composition also differs. On average, migrants live in smaller households. The percentage of households with underage children is 7 percentage points lower than that of the natives. The migrants seem to be a selective group, whose characteristics reveal more favourable dispositions for building and maintaining social capital. This is in line with findings in mobility research that show that the characteristics of mobile persons systematically differ from those of settled persons (*Antel* 1980; *DaVanzo/Hosek* 1981). To ensure that existing differences in the characteristics of migrants and natives are not confounded with effects of residential mobility, the selectivity of the migrants was especially taken into account in the tests of the mobility hypotheses by including appropriate control variables.

5.2 Comparing the social capital of natives and migrants

The bivariate correlation between moving and social capital as a test of the mobility hypothesis (H1) confirms our assumptions (Table 2). Natives and migrants have an almost equal amount of social capital. This is also a consequence of the selectivity of the migrants. Controlling for age reveals that the younger migrants possess the most social capital. They also have far more social capital than natives of the same

---

4 Education in years was measured using the highest school diploma and professional qualification; the different diplomas from the educational systems in West and East Germany were taken into consideration.

5 The net household income was measured using 24 income categories. A metric income variable was calculated from the mean values of the categories. The mean value cited is the result of these variables.

Tab. 2: Mean values of the social capital of migrants and natives according to age cohorts

	All	17-30 years	31-45 years	46-60 years	> 60 years
Total social capital					
Migrants	10.407	12.610***	11.674**	9.935	8.549
Natives	10.331	11.628	10.990	9.808	8.541
Kin					
Migrants	7.058*	8.669	7.566	6.778	5.993
Natives	7.349	8.403	7.818	6.892	6.023
Friendships					
Migrants	4.920	7.803***	6.740***	4.120	2.542
Natives	4.853	6.949	5.653	3.830	2.388
Acquaintances					
Migrants	3.214*	3.814	3.908*	3.253**	2.230+
Natives	2.950	3.656	3.333	2.706	1.906

Two-sided t-tests: *** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$, + $p \leq 0.1$

Source: own calculations

age. However, with increasing age, social capital decreases and the values of the natives and migrants greatly approximate. Because the younger cohorts among the migrants are relatively small, the mean differences in social capital between natives (10.3) and migrants (10.4) are only minimal. Due to the selectivity of the migrants, a reliable test of the mobility hypothesis can only be conducted by controlling for further characteristics that capture differences in the social composition of the groups.

To test the mobility hypothesis (H1), an OLS regression model was estimated. In addition to the mobility variable *migrants,* this model contains a number of control variables that capture general life opportunities and are, thus, relevant for the analysis of mobility and social capital (Table 3, Model 1).

In accordance with the assumption of the mobility hypothesis (H1), migrants and natives do not differ in their total social capital, even when a number of variables are controlled. Although the mobility effect appears to be insignificant, we do not interpret this result as proof of the irrelevance of residential mobility for the accumulation of social capital. As described in the theoretical section, this result may also reflect the balance of opposed effects of disinvestments in existing social capital and of investments in new social capital after the move. In the following two sections, we present further analyses that support our argumentation regarding the restructuring process of social capital after a change of residence.

The control variables education, household income, living space per person, age and gender reveal strong and highly significant effects and largely contribute to the explained variance. Student status and household size are somewhat less influential. It is notable that the effects of socio-economic status and of age confirm exist-

Tab. 3: Regressions of social capital (number of accessible resources)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	9.044***	5.068***	2.920***	2.831***
	(0.749)	(0.782)	(0.824)	(0.721)
Mobility				
Migrants	0.101	-0.228+	0.151	0.170
	(0.112)	(0.116)	(0.123)	(0.107)
Control variables				
Education	0.313***	0.186***	0.353***	0.200***
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.022)
Household income	0.659***	0.899***	0.368***	0.178*
	(0.079)	(0.082)	(0.086)	(0.076)
Living space per person	0.023***	0.008*	0.023***	0.016***
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Not yet employed	0.494	0.339	-0.107	0.772*
	(0.373)	(0.389)	(0.410)	(0.359)
Student	0.885**	0.582+	1.216***	0.127
	(0.332)	(0.346)	(0.365)	(0.319)
Full time employed	0.293	0.160	0.105	0.444*
	(0.204)	(0.213)	(0.224)	(0.197)
Not employed	-0.291	-0.051	-0.499*	-0.032
	(0.226)	(0.236)	(0.248)	(0.217)
No longer employed	-0.169	0.129	-0.428	-0.131
	(0.281)	(0.293)	(0.309)	(0.271)
Age	-0.109***	-0.123***	-0.182***	-0.034
	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.028)
Age^2	0.000	0.001*	0.001*	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Gender (1=female)	0.452***	0.687***	0.301*	-0.269**
	(0.108)	(0.113)	(0.119)	(0.104)
Household size	0.159*	0.165*	-0.018	0.129+
	(0.079)	(0.083)	(0.087)	(0.076)
Children in household	-0.054	-0.028	-0.023	0.027
	(0.165)	(0.173)	(0.182)	(0.159)
R^2	0.308	0.206	0.345	0.127
adjusted R^2	0.305	0.203	0.342	0.123
n	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024

Non-standardised coefficients with standard errors in brackets.

*** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$, + $p \leq 0.1$

Model 1: Total social capital (An OLS regression that excludes the two extreme values [0 and 17] results in only minimal changes in the effects of the mobility and control variables. A LOGIT regression with denominators [cf. *Rabe-Hesketh/Skrondal* 2005: 182] shows almost the same correlations)

Model 2: Social capital from kin

Model 3. Social capital from friendships

Model 4: Social capital from acquaintances

Source: own calculations

ing empirical findings. For instance, higher levels of education, a higher household income and higher living spaces per person contribute to more social capital. In addition, younger people exhibit a greater amount of social capital than do older people. In contrast to earlier findings in research on social capital, a pronounced gender effect emerges, whereby men possess less social capital than women. In accordance with other empirical studies, inhabitants of larger households and students have better access to social resources. Beyond the student effect, however, the employment status has no significant effect on social capital. Migrants' better access to social capital can be explained by their generally better disposition for building social capital. Although the model controls for a number of variables that are also highly correlated with mobility, we can assume that even beyond the controlled characteristics, mobile people are a positively selected group with regard to their disposition for the accumulation of social capital.

5.3 Comparing social capital with respect to relationship type

The access to social resources can be differentiated according to family, friendships and acquaintanceships. First, it becomes apparent that access to social resources through these three relationship types is graded (Table 2). For instance, on average, more than seven accessible resources are enabled through kin, approximately five through friendships and three through acquaintances. However, there are some striking differences between natives and migrants. Migrants anticipate significantly less social resources from kin relations. This, however, only applies to the middle age groups between 30 and 60 years. Throughout all age groups, only moderate losses of accessible resources from kin relations are recorded after a change of residence.

A different story emerges for accessible resources from friendships and acquaintances. These chosen relationships offer more social resources for migrants than for natives. Migrants receive more accessible resources through both friendships and acquaintances than do natives across all age groups. The differences between natives and migrants are of practical relevance. For the younger age groups, differences between the native and migrant group emerges mostly among friendship ties. By contrast, for the middle and older age groups, the differences lie in the acquaintanceships. The results point in the expected direction, i.e. accessible resources from kin relations are mostly maintained due to normative ties and only moderately lose significance compared to the group of natives. Yet, this moderate loss can be compensated through accessible resources from voluntary relationships with friends and acquaintances. These findings do not support the assumptions about an extensive restructuring of personal relationship networks. Rather, at least with regard to accessible resources, they emphasize the stability of kin contacts and simultaneous investments in new friendships and acquaintances.

For a multivariate test of mobility hypothesis H2, we calculated three further regressions for the social capital from family, friendship and acquaintanceship contacts (Table 3, models 2 to 4). Controlling for a number of social-structural variables, there are no relevant differences between migrants and natives. Although migrants

have significantly less social capital from family and kin relations than do natives, they obtain more social capital from friendships and acquaintances; however, this difference is not significant. Compared to the social capital of natives, migrants have 4.5 percent less social capital from kin relations, 5.2 percent more social capital from friendships and 6.0 percent more social capital from acquaintances. Nonetheless, as these differences are not significant when controlling for confounding variables, the mobility hypothesis H2 is not confirmed.

5.4 Immigrant social capital over time

To test the length of residence hypotheses H3 and H4, we only used the data of the migrants. This restriction is both necessary and sensible because the restructuring process only applies to migrants and because for natives, the length of residence corresponds to their age. Controlling for confounding variables, there is a positive, but relatively weak length of residence effect (Table 4). This result is in line with the length of residence hypothesis H3. In addition to the positive net effect of residence tenure, we identify a negative and much stronger net age effect. For the migrants, the age equals the age when moving plus the length of residence; therefore, this also results in a negative effect of the age at the time of a move on social capital. This means that persons who are older and those who were older at the time of relocation have less social capital. The temporal relocation effect on social capital may also be interpreted as a cohort effect. However, the migration cohorts do not differ in social capital.

Nonetheless, a greater social capital of one additional resource access only occurs after 44 years of residence. This relatively long period of time indicates that the length of residence effect is comparatively weak. This might be because the length of residence effect is not constant, but comprises an investment and a consolidation phase in the first years after the change of residence (length of residence hypothesis 4). To prove such temporal dynamics, longitudinal data are needed. However, panel studies are hardly available and accessible longitudinal surveys such as the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP) do not contain the necessary time-varying variables on social capital and social networks that are required for our research question.[6] The advantage of the dataset used here is that it not only recorded the change of residence and accessible resources but also the respondents' length of residence. Moreover, under certain conditions that we will discuss in greater detail below, it is also possible to picture the temporal development of social capital based on a cross-section when comparing social capital at different lengths of residence.

To test the non-linear effect of the residence tenure on social capital, a spline regression was calculated (Table 4 and Fig. 3). Splines are arbitrarily specified, linear intervals of a metric variable. The length of residence was divided into four time

6 Although the SOEP contains a (quite restricted) network indicator for waves 2006 and 2011, this is not sufficient for conducting panel analyses of the research topic presented here.

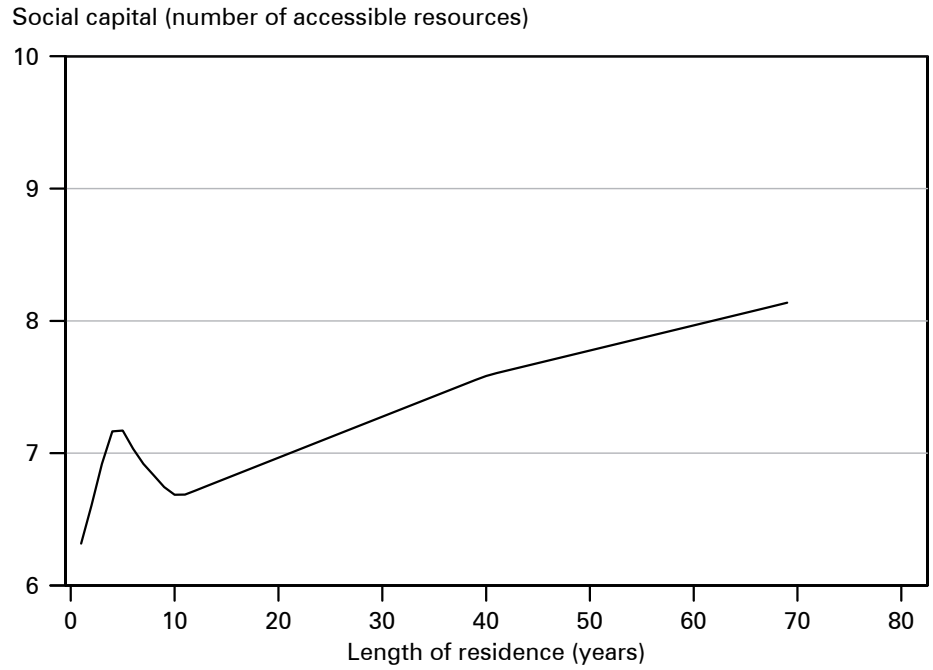
Tab. 4: Regressions of the social capital of immigrants

Variables	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	7.312***	6.028***
	(1.266)	(1.589)
Mobility		
Length of residence	0.023*	
	(0.010)	
Length of residence 0-4 years		0.289*
		(0.130)
Length of residence 5-10 years		-0.088
		(0.072)
Length of residence 11-40 years		0.031*
		(0.015)
Length of residence over 40 years		0.019
		(0.040)
Control variables		
Education	0.277***	0.275***
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Household income	0.836***	0.839***
	(0.133)	(0.133)
Living space per person	0.031***	0.031***
	(0.006)	(0.006)
Not yet employed	1.427+	1.497*
	(0.738)	(0.741)
Student	0.343	0.226
	(0.682)	(0.683)
Full time employed	0.432	0.445
	(0.324)	(0.324)
Not employed	0.181	0.198
	(0.372)	(0.372)
No longer employed	-0.014	-0.006
	(0.433)	(0.434)
Age	-0.208***	-0.206***
	(0.050)	(0.059)
Age²	0.001*	0.001+
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Gender (1=female)	0.503**	0.489**
	(0.176)	(0.176)
Household size	0.308*	0.302*
	(0.127)	(0.127)
Children in household	0.080	0.131
	(0.282)	(0.288)
R^2	0.344	0.346
adjusted R^2	0.337	0.337
n	1,243	1,243

Non-standardised coefficients with standard errors in brackets.
*** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$, + $p \leq 0.1$

Source: own calculations

Fig. 3: Social capital of migrants according to length of residence intervals



Source: Predicted values from Model 2 in Table 4 for a full-time employed man with childless household otherwise average values

intervals of varying lengths. This division into intervals enables different slopes of the regression lines. Social capital mainly increases during the first four years of residence. After this, a phase of consolidation begins, which lasts until year ten after relocation. Finally, from the eleventh year forward, the social capital slightly increases again, yet at a far slower growth rate than during the first phase. After 40 years, even this minor growth weakens again, making it practically irrelevant.

However, it is important to note that modelling temporal dynamics based on a cross-sectional observation of lengths of residence may lead to false conclusions if the different length-of-residence groups represent different subsamples of the population with specific characteristics that also influence the social capital. Thus, the selectivity problem discussed above can also be expanded to the association between length of residence and social capital accumulation. For instance, one can assume that students are socially more active and have many social contacts, but are also overrepresented within the group with shorter lengths of residence because they typically only relocate to take up their studies. In this case, the rise in social capital would be an artifact produced through the different compositions of the groups within the length-of-residence intervals. In this study, however, we counter this problem by including numerous control variables that reproduce the relevant group characteristics. In addition, we conducted separate regressions for

different subgroups with the length-of-residence intervals specified in Table 4, e.g., for students, individuals not yet employed, full-time employed and young people. The results were consistent throughout and confirmed the pattern found in Table 4. There is no evidence that the distribution is mainly caused by a certain group of the population.

A phase of increased accumulation of social capital is followed by a period of decrease and consolidation, which confirms the length of residence hypothesis H4. This finding also confirms the study by *Belot* and *Ermisch* (2006), who report a similar trajectory of build-up and reduction of social capital as a result of residential mobility. It is also congruent with results of other studies that find enhanced social activity directly following the relocation (cf. *Larner* 1990). This is associated with an increased need for resources caused by the requirement to adapt to the new situation and re-establish a functioning social network after relocation (*Larner* 1990; *Wellman et. al.* 1997). In particular, the consolidation phase between the fourth and the tenth year after a residential move results in an only moderate positive linear effect. In addition, the other length-of-residence intervals appear not to be uniformly strong. Figure 3 illustrates this correlation based on the predications derived from the regression model (Table 4).

In particular, a phase of greater investments in social capital arises immediately following the relocation, during which we assume that social capital is built up in the new place of residence. This trajectory also illustrates that the correlation is age-independent only for shorter lengths of residence. From ten years on, controlling for age, residential tenure again renders positive effects. The moderate growth following ten years of residence is, by contrast, an effect of becoming rooted in and familiar with the new place of residence.

6 Summary and outlook

An individual's social capital is the result of personal relationships, the embeddedness into a network and the resources that can be attained through these ties. Social capital is thus part of a person's social integration. Incisive life events, such as residential mobility, extensively and permanently restructure social capital. Our theoretical argument is based on the notion that after relocation in particular, existing voluntarily chosen relationships fade or break off entirely due to altered distance-related transaction costs, and new personal relationships with lower transaction costs are established to cover the potential resource requirement. This should also become visible in relationship-specific accesses to resources, as migrants have rather less access to resources via kin relations and tend to have more resources through acquaintances and friendships. Nonetheless, this restructuring process requires time. Social capital is built only with increasing length of residence at the new place, and phases of a discontinuous process can be identified.

This study not only provides insights into the effects of residential mobility on the social capital of individuals but also sheds light on the dynamics of the restructuring of social capital and associated strategic capacities of individuals. Even after

controlling for numerous socio-economic and socio-demographic variables that take into account that migrants are a positively selected group, we observe that they do not have more accessible resources than natives. This initially surprising result can be explained by oppositional, balancing effects of disinvestment in existing social capital and investment in new social capital. The investments are enhanced by the fact that mobile persons are a positively selected group with regard to dispositions for building social capital. This finding corresponds with results of other studies on the restructuring hypothesis, which also did not find any effects of residential mobility on the structure of personal networks (*Larner* 1990; *Lubbers et al.* 2010; *Magdol* 2000; *Wellman et al.* 1997) or the accessibility of support (*Cook/Weigel* 1983; *Höllinger/Haller* 1990). We can refute a theoretically assumed and frequently expressed negative association between residential mobility and social integration for individual social capital. At the same time, we must acknowledge that the restructuring of social capital from kin relations to friendships and acquaintances does not prove as strong as expected. This contradicts a number of studies that demonstrated that restructuring processes take place (*Amato* 1993; *Höllinger/Haller* 1990; *Lai/Siu* 2006; *Lubbers et al.* 2010). However, this does not prove that the restructuring is necessarily wrong, as the relationship types examined are possibly not appropriate for measuring the restructuring of social capital. These results also have implications for the assessment of geographical population movements at the community level. We can conclude that large migration flows do not inherently generate negative effects on social integration. On the one hand, we cannot find any deprivation with regard to the level of social capital after the relocation at the individual level; on the other hand, migrants also seem to activate local contacts (e.g., acquaintances, neighbours) in the new location. This implies that observable social phenomena such as low participation in community and political activities, high crime rates or low general trust (cf. *Kasarda/Janowitz* 1974; *Putnam* 2002; *Sampson* 1988) are not necessarily and not directly the consequence of large numbers of assumedly socially isolated migrants.

In addition to this overall insight into the impact of residential mobility on social capital, in further analyses, we trace the temporal change in social capital. The modelled restructuring and the temporal dynamics of social capital triggered by a residential move is reflected empirically in the data. The models yield a weak positive effect of the length of residence on social capital; capital roughly grows per ten years of residence by one-fourth of an additional resource. This growth, however, is not linear. Social capital greatly increases in the first four years, but it begins to consolidate between the fourth and tenth year. This is followed by another phase of growth, whereas the annual growth rate only reaches one-tenth of the growth rate in the first four years. The non-linear trajectory of social capital accumulation implicitly refers to the interaction between regional opportunities and active efforts of social actors and is a starting point for further analyses based on suitable data.

Although the current results demonstrate the significance of the geographical dimension of social capital, we cannot explicitly test this component because the data do not allow for any geographical differentiation of the social capital. We implicitly assume that the exchange of at least some important social resources, in particular

for dealing with challenges of everyday life (e.g., borrowing something), requires geographical proximity, which considerably decreases the transaction costs. Thus, this part of social capital requires restructuring after a change of residence. In the future, it will be necessary to separate local (i.e., geographically bound) social resources or resources associated with high transaction costs from geographically independent resources and to locate the accessible resources as such, i.e., measure the distances between providers and users of social resources to determine the transaction costs. One should also be aware that it is not the residential mobility per se, but the distance between the place of origin and destination region that mainly determines the transaction costs. Future analyses should take these distances into account.

Of note, the selectivity problem does not present a serious difficulty for the analysis and the derived (causal) conclusions as long as the group classifications can be reproduced by taking relevant variables into account. We attempted to achieve this by controlling for numerous variables. Nevertheless, if the selectivity of the groups is based on characteristics that cannot be observed in the data, conclusions cannot be made about the causal effect of residential mobility (*Belot/Ermisch* 2006). This also pertains to the assumption that anticipated regional mobility decreases local social capital investments a priori, and social capital investments that have already been made can deter regional mobility (*Skrobanek/Jobst* 2006; on the simultaneity problem see *David et al.* 2008; *Durlauf/Fafchamps* 2005; *Glaeser et al.* 2002). To statistically control for these forms of *unobserved* heterogeneity and endogeneity would, however, require the use of longitudinal data, which are not available. Although temporal effects of the length of residence are confirmed, they are based on cross-sectional data and, thus, on cross-sectional comparisons of different groups of people. Rather than comparing migrants and natives – two groups with different dispositions – or the migrant population differentiated according to different lengths of residence, panel data would be better suited to analyse the actual course of mobility-related restructuring of social capital for one individual. Future studies should consider the geographical dimension and the dynamics of the restructuring of social capital in greater detail to examine the underlying mechanisms. This, however, reveals the necessity of collecting appropriate data.

Finally, we discuss the operationalisation of social capital. The total index of accessible resources requires that all resources are equally comparable. It is obvious that this strong assumption is unrealistic. Rather than constructing a general index, one might consider an indicator that reflects different spheres of social capital. Within these spheres, resources must be homogeneous and comparable. The current data allow the identification of such distinct spheres, for instance, a sphere of specific material support, a sphere characterised by strong emotional ties, a sphere of access to resources presupposing prestige or higher education or a sphere that enables public contacts with the media or party politics. Detailed analyses of these individual spheres are possible but beyond the scope of the present article.

References

Amato, Paul R. 1993: Urban-Rural Differences in Helping Friends and Family Members. In: Social Psychology Quarterly 56: 249-262.

Andreß, Hans-Jürgen; Lipsmeier, Gero; Salentin, Kurt 1995: Soziale Isolation und mangelnde soziale Unterstützung im unteren Einkommensbereich? Vergleichende Analysen mit Umfragedaten. In: Zeitschrift für Soziologie 24,4: 300-315.

Antel, John J. 1980: Returns to Migration: Literature Review and Critique. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

Beck, Ulrich 1986: Risikogesellschaft. Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.

Belot, Michèle; Ermisch, John 2006: Friendship Ties and Geographic Mobility. Evidence from the BHPS. Department of Economics, University of Essex and ISER.

Bidart, Claire; Lavenu, Daniel 2005: Evolutions of Personal Networks and Life Events. In: Social Networks 27,4: 359-376 [doi:10.1016/j.socnet.2004.11.003].

Borgonovi, Francesca 2010: A life-cycle approach to the analysis of the relationship between social capital and health in Britain. In: Social Science & Medicine 71: 1927-1934 [doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.09.018].

Bourdieu, Pierre 1983: Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital. In: *Kreckel, Reinhard* (Eds.): Soziale Ungleichheiten. Göttingen: Schwartz: 183-198.

Boyd, Monica 1989: Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas. In: International Migration Review 23,2: 638-70.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie 1981: Die Ökologie der menschlichen Entwicklung: Natürliche und geplante Experimente. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Bührer, Susanne 1996: Soziales Kapital und Wanderungsentscheidungen: Zur Bedeutung von Bezugsgruppen im Prozeß der Entstehung von Wanderungserwägungen, Wanderungsabsichten und Wanderungen. Hamburg: Kovac.

Coleman, James S. 1988: Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. In: American Journal of Sociology 94 Supplement: 95-120.

Coleman, James S. 1995: Grundlagen der Sozialtheorie. Band 1: Handlungen und Handlungssysteme. München: Oldenbourg.

Cook, Alicia S.; Weigel, Daniel J. 1983: Relocation and Crisis: Perceived Sources of Support. In: Family Relations 32: 267-273.

Craven, Paul; Wellman, Barry 1973: The Network City. In: Sociological Inquiry 43: 57-88.

DaVanzo, Julie 1980: Repeat Migration, Information Costs, and Location-specific Capital. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

DaVanzo, Julie; Hosek, James R. 1981: Does Migration Increase Wage Rates? An Analysis of Alternative Techniques for Measuring Wage Gains to Migration. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

David, Quentin; Janiak, Alexandre; Wasmer, Etienne 2008: Local Social Capital and Geographical Mobility: A Theory. Bonn: IZA Discussion Paper No. 3668.

Diewald, Martin 2007: Arbeitsmarktungleichheiten und die Verfügbarkeit von Sozialkapital. Die Rolle von Gratifikationen und Belastungen. In: *Franzen, Axel; Freitag, Markus* (Eds.): Soziales Kapital. Grundlagen und Anwendungen. Sonderheft 47 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 183-210.

Durkheim, Emile 1893: De la division du travail social. Étude sur l'organisation des sociétés superieures. Paris: Félix Alcan.

Durkheim, Emile 1897: Le suicide. Études de sociologie. Paris: Félix Alcan.

Durlauf, Steven N.; Fafchamps, Marcel 2005: Social Capital. In: *Aghion, Philippe; Durlauf, Steven N.* (Eds.): Handbook of Economic Growth. Vol. 1. North-Holland: Elsevier Science: 1639-1699.

Erickson, Bonnie H. 2004: The Distribution of Gendered Social Capital in Canada. In: *Flap, Henk; Völker, Beate* (Eds.): Creation and Returns of Social Capital. London: Routledge: 27-50.

Feld, Scott L. 1981: The Focused Organization of Social Ties, American Journal of Sociology 86,5: 1015-1035.

Fischer, Claude S. 1982: To Dwell among Friends. Personal Networks in Town and City. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Flap, Henk 1999: Creation and Returns of Social Capital: A New Research Program. In: The Tocqueville Review 20,1: 5-26.

Flap, Henk; Snijders, Tom; Völker, Beate; van der Gaag, Martin 2003: Measurement Instruments for Social Capital of Individuals. [http://www.xs4all.nl/~gaag/work/SSND.pdf, 12.02.2011].

Franzen, Axel; Pointner, Sonja 2007: Sozialkapital: Konzeptualisierungen und Messungen. In: *Franzen, Axel; Freitag, Markus* (Eds.): Soziales Kapital. Grundlagen und Anwendungen. Sonderheft 47 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 66-90.

Freeman, Linton C.; Ruan, Danching 1997: An International Comparative Study of Interpersonal Behavior and Role Relationships. In: L'Année Sociologique 47: 89-115.

Furstenberg, Frank F.; Hughes, Mary E. 1995: Social Capital and Successful Development among at-risk Youth. In: Journal of Marriage and the Family 57: 580–592.

Glaeser, Edward L.; Laibson, David; Sacerdote, Bruce 2002: An Economic Approach to Social Capital. In: The Economic Journal 112: 437-458 [doi: 10.1111/1468-0297.00078].

Granovetter, Mark S. 1995 [1974]: Getting a Job. A Study of Contacts and Careers. 2nd Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Haug, Sonja 1997: Soziales Kapital: Ein kritischer Überblick über den aktuellen Forschungsstand. Mannheim: Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES).

Haug, Sonja 2007: Soziales Kapital als Ressource im Kontext von Migration und Integration. In: *Lüdecke, Jörg; Diewald, Martin* (Eds.): Soziale Netzwerke und soziale Ungleichheit. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 85-111.

Haug, Sonja; Pointner, Sonja 2007: Soziale Netzwerke, Migration und Integration. In: *Franzen, Axel; Freitag, Markus* (Eds.): Soziales Kapital. Grundlagen und Anwendungen. Sonderheft 47 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 367-396.

Höllinger, Franz; Haller, Max 1990: Kinship and Social Networks in Modern Societies: A Cross-Cultural Comparison among seven Nations. In: European Sociological Review 6: 103-124.

Huinink, Johannes; Kley, Stefanie 2008: Regionaler Kontext und Migrationsentscheidungen im Lebenslauf. In: *Kalter, Frank* (Eds.): Migration und Integration. Sonderheft 48 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 162-184.

Ioannides, Yannis M.; Loury, Linda D. 2004: Job Information Networks, Neighborhood Effects, and Inequality. In: Journal of Economic Literature 42: 1056-1093 [doi:10.1257/0022051043004595].

Kalter, Frank, 1997: Wohnortwechsel in Deutschland. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Kalter, Frank 2003: Stand und Perspektiven der Migrationssoziologie. In: *Orth, Barbara; Schwietring, Thomas; Weiß, Johannes* (Eds.): Soziologische Forschung. Stand und Perspektiven. Opladen: Leske + Budrich: 323-338.

Kan, Kamhon 2007: Residential Mobility and Social Capital. In: Journal of Urban Economics 61: 436-457 [doi:10.1016/j.jue.2006.07.005].

Kasarda, John D.; Janowitz, Morris 1974: Community Attachment in Mass Society. In: American Sociological Review 39: 328-339.

Kaufmann, Vincent 2002: Re-thinking Mobility. Contemporary Sociology. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Kleinhans, Reinout; Priemus, Hugo; Engbersen, Godfried 2007: Understanding Social Capital in Recently Restructured Urban Neighbourhoods: Two Case Studies in Rotterdam. In: Urban Studies 44: 1069-1091 [doi: 10.1080/00420980701256047].

Kley, Stefanie, 2009: Migration im Lebensverlauf. Der Einfluss von Lebensbedingungen und Lebenslaufereignissen auf den Wohnortwechsel. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

Korte, Charles 1980: Urban-non Urban Differences in Social Behaviour and Social Psychological Models of Urban Impact. In: Journal of Social Issues 36,3: 29-51.

Lai, Gina 2008: Marriage, Gender, and Social Capital. In: *Lin, Nan; Erickson, Bonnie H.* (Eds.): Social Capital. An International Research Program. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 342-363.

Lai, Gina; Siu, Yat-Ming 2006: Residential Mobility and Social Capital in Urban Shanghai. In: Asian Journal of Social Science 34,4: 573-599 [doi: 10.1163/156853106778917853].

Larner, Mary 1990: Local residential mobility and its effects on social networks: a corss-cultural comparison. In: *Cochran, Moncrieff; Larner, Mary; Riley, David; Gunnarson, Lars; Henderson, Charles* (Eds.): Extending families: The Social Networks of Parents and their Children. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 205-229.

Larsen, Jonas; Urry, John; Axhausen, Kay 2006: Mobilities, Networks, Geographies. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Levy, Mildred B.; Wadycki, Walter J. 1973: The Influence of Family and Friends on Geographical Labor Mobility: An Intercensal Comparison. In: Review of Economics and Statistics 55: 198-203.

Lin, Nan 2001: Social Capital. A Theory of Social Structure and Action. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Logan, John R.; Spitze, Glenna D. 1994: Informal Support and the Use of Formal Services by Older Americans. In: Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences 49 (January): 25-34.

Lubbers, Miranda J.; Molina, Jose Luis; Lerner, Jürgen; Brandes, Ulrik; Avila, Javier; McCarty, Christopher 2010: Longitudinal Analysis of Personal Networks. The Case of Argentinean Migrants in Spain. In: Social Networks 32: 91-104 [doi:10.1016/j.socnet.2009.05.001].

Magdol, Lynn 2000: The People You Know: The Impact of Residential Mobility on Mothers' Social Network Ties. In: Journal of Social and Personal Relationships 17: 183 [doi: 10.1177/0265407500172002].

Mok, Diana; Wellman, Barry; Carrasco, Juan 2010: Does Distance Matter in the Age of the Internet? Urban Studies 47: 2747-2783 [doi: 10.1177/0042098010377363.]

Mok, Diana; Wellman, Barry 2007: Did Distance Matter before the Internet? Interpersonal Contact and Support in the 1970s. In: Social Networks 29,3: 430-461 [doi:10.1016/j.socnet.2007.01.009].

Offner, Jean-Marc 2000: Territorial Deregulation: Local Authorities at risk from Technical Networks. In: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 24,1: 165-181 [doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.00241].

Palloni, Alberto; Massey, Douglas; Ceballos, Miguel; Espinosa, Kristin; Spittel, Michael 2001: Social Capital and International Migration: A Test Using Information on Family Networks. In: American Journal of Sociology 106,5: 1262-1298 [doi: 0002-9602/2001/10605-0002$02.50].

Petermann, Sören 2002: Persönliche Netzwerke in Stadt und Land. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Petermann, Sören; Täfler, Susanne 2006: Bürgerumfrage Halle 2005. Der Hallesche Graureiher 2006-3. Forschungsberichte des Instituts für Soziologie. Halle: Martin-Luther-Universität. Halle-Wittenberg.

Portes, Alejandro 1998: Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. In: Annual Review of Sociology 24: 1-24.

Putnam, Robert D. 2002: Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Societies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rabe-Hesketh, Sophia; Skrondal, Anders 2005: Multilevel and Longitudinal Modeling Using Stata. College Station: Stata Press.

Sampson, Robert J. 1988: Local Friendship Ties and Community Attachment in Mass Society: A Multilevel Systemic Approach. In: American Sociological Review 53: 766-779.

Sampson, Robert J. 1991: Linking the Micro- and Macrolevel Dimensions of Community Social Organization. In: Social Forces 70: 43-64.

Skrobanek, Jan; Jobst, Solvejg 2006: „Begrenzung" durch kulturelles Kapital? Zu Bedingungen regionaler Mobilität im Kontext der Kapitaltheorie Pierre Bourdieus. In: Berliner Journal für Soziologie 16: 227-244 [doi: 10.1007/s11609-006-0018-0].

Snijders, Tom A.B. 1999: Prologue to the Measurement of Social Capital. In: The Tocqueville Review 20,1: 27-44.

van der Gaag, Martin; Snijders, Tom A.B. 2005: The Resource Generator: Social Capital Quantification with Concrete Items. In: Social Networks 27,1: 1-29 [doi: 10.1016/j.socnet.2004.10.001].

Völker, Beate; Pinkster, Fenne; Flap, Henk 2007: Inequality in Social Capital between Migrants and Natives in the Netherlands. In: *Kalter, Frank* (Eds.): Migration und Integration. Sonderheft 48 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 325-350.

Wellman, Barry 1979: The Community Question. In: American Journal of Sociology 84: 1201-1231.

Wellman, Barry 1992: Which Types of Ties and Networks give what Kinds of Social Support? In: *Lawler, Edward; Markovsky, Barry; Ridgeway, Cecilia; Walker, Henry* (Eds.): Advances in Group Processes. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press: 207-235.

Wellman, Barry 1996: Are Personal Communities Local? A Dumptarian Reconsideration. In: Social Networks 18: 347-354.

Wellman, Barry; Leighton, Barry 1979: Networks, Neighborhoods and Communities. In: Urban Affairs Quarterly 14: 363-390.

Wellman, Barry; Wong, Renita Yuk-lin; Tindall, David; Nazer, Nancy 1997: A Decade of Network Change: Turnover, Persistance and Stability in Personal Communities. In: Social Networks 19: 27-50.

Wellman, Barry; Wortley, Scott 1990: Different Strokes from Different Folks: Community Ties and Social Support. In: American Journal of Sociology 96: 558-588.

Wirth, Louis 1938: Urbanism as a Way of Life. In: American Journal of Sociology 44: 1-24.

Wöhler, Thomas; Hinz, Thomas 2007: Egozentrierte Diskussionsnetzwerke in den USA und Deutschland. In: *Franzen, Axel; Freitag, Markus* (Eds.): Soziales Kapital. Grundlagen und Anwendungen. Sonderheft 47 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 91-112.

Translated from the original text by the Federal Institute for Population Research, for information only. The reviewed and authors' authorised original article in German is available under the title "Neue Stadt = neue Freunde? Die Restrukturierung sozialer Ressourcen nach einem Wohnortwechsel", DOI 10.4232/10.CPoS-2013-08de or URN urn:nbn:de:bib-cpos-2013-08de0, at http://www.comparativepopulationstudies.de.

Date of submission: 05.08.2010 *Date of Acceptance: 10.09.2012*

Jun.-Prof. Dr. Natascha Nisic. Universitaet Hamburg, School of Business, Economics and Social Sciences. Hamburg, Germany. E-Mail: natascha.nisic@wiso.uni-hamburg.de
URL: http://www.wiso.uni-hamburg.de/professuren/soziologie-wirtschaftlichen-handelns/startseite/

Dr. Sören Petermann (✉). Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Department of Socio-Cultural Diversity. Göttingen, Germany.
E-Mail: petermann@mmg.mpg.de,
URL: http://www.mmg.mpg.de/de/abteilungen/soziokulturelle-vielfalt/wissenschaftliche-mitarbeiterinnen/pd-dr-soeren-petermann/

Authors appear in alphabetical order.

Comparative Population Studies – Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft

www.comparativepopulationstudies.de

ISSN: 1869-8980 (Print) – 1869-8999 (Internet)

Published by / Herausgegeben von
Prof. Dr. Norbert F. Schneider

Federal Institute for Population Research
D-65180 Wiesbaden / Germany

Managing Editor / Verantwortlicher Redakteur
Frank Swiaczny

Assistant Managing Editor / Stellvertretende Redakteurin
Katrin Schiefer

Language & Copy Editor (English) / Lektorat & Übersetzungen (englisch)
Amelie Franke

Copy Editor (German) / Lektorat (deutsch)
Dr. Evelyn Grünheid

Layout / Satz
Beatriz Feiler-Fuchs

E-mail: cpos@bib.bund.de