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Getting a Job:
Resources and Individual's Chances on the Warsaw Labour Market

Abstract: Individuals engaged in the labour market use a range of resources embedded in personal networks to improve their chances of getting a new job. Family, friends and acquaintances give access to various resources such as information, knowledge, trust, recommendation, money, etc. that may affect individual's position on the labour market. Based on data collected with the Resource Generator tool among 9063 residents of Warsaw, we checked how embedded and mobilizable resources of family members, friends, acquaintances (social resources), as well as private resources owned by respondents (personal resources) affect individual's perceived position on the Warsaw labour market. It was confirmed that chances of getting a job depend on the amount of embedded and mobilizable resources present in personal networks. However, relationship between embeddedness and usability of resources rely on the type of relation (family, friends, acquaintances) maintained by individual. We found that mobilizable resources are perceived as an asset on the labour market, while resources embedded in acquaintances network, that could be just accessed but not used, are considered a threat. At the same time, personal resources of respondents improve perceived chances of getting a new job in Warsaw. The observed dependencies between social and personal, embedded and mobilizable resources prompt a discussion on the shape and role of social capital in the urban labour market.

Keywords: resources, social capital, labour market, Resource Generator.

Social Capital and the Labour Market

Empirical studies focused on the impact of social capital on the labour market have a long tradition in social science (Granovetter 1974; Lin, Vaughn & Ensel 1981; Montgomery 1991; Gerber & Mayorowa 2010). Job seekers use a range of resources embedded in social networks (family, friends, acquaintances) to improve their positions on the labour market. Information, knowledge, trust, skills, recommendations, affiliations, money, support and many other material or non-material resources build up the capital embedded and mobilized in various labour market contexts. It is rather accepted by scholars that people with higher amount of resources have a greater possibility to achieve higher occupational status (Graf & Flap 1988; Lin 2001). Consequently, people with lower social capital, defined as the amount of resources, have lesser chances to improve their position on the labour market. Thus, resources embed-

ded in personal networks can be treated as one of many factors influencing individuals' position on the labour market.

The use of resources belonging to others depends on extensity and diversity of social connections maintained by participants of the labour market (Lin 2001: 21). Intuitively, people with larger and more varied social networks have higher amount of embedded resources and greater possibilities to mobilize them. In such perspective, the labour market outcomes are co-determined by structural properties of social networks. For Coleman such property is social closure (Coleman 1988). He argued that closed networks effectively maintain trust, norms and sanctions needed when resources of social capital are mobilized (Ibidem). Unfortunately, close relations can be maintained rather in small social entities with homogeneous resources, while individuals searching for a job need to mobilize resources from loosely connected friends and acquaintances, often composing large networks.

Such more compelling view on network's structural properties have been offered by Burt (2000). Burt developed the concept of "structural holes" related to unique network locations that create competitive advantages for individuals. As he argued "There is an impressive diversity of empirical evidence showing that social capital is more a function of brokerage across structural holes than closure within a network" (2000: 345). Positions linking unconnected nodes and subgroups provide better access to diverse resources distributed in large, loosely connected networks. Individuals occupying structural holes are more likely to mobilize unique resources produced by subgroups characterized by their own specificity and dynamics. Resources, such as information, knowledge or trust are unique goods often sought by participants of the labour market in their personal networks.

Yet, relatively little is known about the relationship between embedded, mobilizable and personal resources that can be used by participants of the labour market. Therefore, further in the essay the following research questions are pursued: Does the amount of present and/or mobilizable resources in personal network affect the perceived difficulty of finding a new job? How the gap between embedded and mobilizable resources affect the chances of getting a new job? Whose resources, namely family, friends, acquaintances or respondents have higher effect on perceived likelihood of finding a new job? Does the place of origin of an individual matter when he/she searches for a new job? Our research conducted in urban area is primarily aimed to give answers for these questions.

Urban Social Capital

Social capital of urban communities has specific features recognized and discussed in contemporary social science (Wacquant 1998, 2008; Paranagamage et al. 2009; Lewandowski & Streich 2012). In urban environment social capital may serve as: a source of: well-being through prevention of isolation (Morrow 2004), belonging in migrant communities (Devadason 2011), innovation (Patton & Kenney 2003), crime prevention and social control (Saegert et al. 2002), information on employment (Bian 1997). There are many reasons making urban social capital worth further investigation.

First, urban areas attract diverse individuals and groups more effectively than rural areas. Diversity of resources seems to be beneficial for individuals engaged in the labour market. Second, despite of the high population size and high density, cities inhabitants often feel lonely or isolated (Riesman at al. 2001). Loneliness or perceived isolation may negatively affect the individual chances on the labour market.

As residents of cities are becoming more globalized and technologically supported in their individual and collective actions, forms and uses of social capital in urban areas evolve (Hampton & Wellman 2003). Therefore, investigation of the relationship between social capital and chances of those engaged in the labour market seems to be both valid and promising. Such research becomes particularly attractive when social capital is analysed as availability and use of resources embedded in personal networks (Lin 2001).

Resources and the Theory of Social Capital

In most of the social capital definitions there is an explicit or implicit reference to resources e.g. information, knowledge, skills, trust, relationship, social norms affecting individual or group decisions (Bourdieu 1983; Graaf & Flap 1988; Lin 1999; Burt 2000; Putnam 2000). Hanifan, famous for the first known use of the concept of social capital, defined it as "substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit" (1916: 130). Bourdieu emphasizes the role of resources in social capital: "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group" (1983: 249). The resource based definition of social capital has been proposed by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998: 243). For them social capital is "the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit."

Important contribution to a contemporary state of research and understanding of social capital and its resources has been brought by Lin (1981, 1986, 1999, 2001). He proposed useful distinction of personal and social resources (Lin 2001: 21). "Personal resources are resources possessed by an individual and may include ownership of material as well as symbolic goods (…) Social resources are resources accessed through an individual's social connections" (Ibidem). For Lin social capital is both a) the product of development and stimulation of resources and b) never-ending process of investment in resources embedded in social networks (1999: 29). He defines social capital as "resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions" (Lin 1999: 35). This definition contains three ingredients: resources embedded in social networks; resources accessible for individuals; mobilization of resources in purposive actions (Ibidem). Lin's proposal appeared with some modifications in many subsequent definitions of social capital (Wellman & Frank 2001; Flap & Völker 2001; Gaag & Snijders 2005). Three-dimensional approach has

been a theoretical reference point for the conceptualization process carried out in this study. It is assumed that social networks of family members, friends and acquaintances provide access to resources. However, not all resources embedded in personal networks can be mobilized by individuals. For example, the individual having a relative who is a legal adviser may assume that when the inheritance case is disputed, the relative's help will be available. But what if the relative is a very busy person who does not care about family ties and is not interested in any kind of family support? In this case, the individual has valuable resources of knowledge and skills embedded in their personal network, but these resources cannot be mobilized when they are needed.

For the purpose of this study, social capital is understood as resources embedded in social networks. It means that individuals possess in their personal networks tangible resources, such as material goods, information, knowledge etc. provided by family members, friends and acquaintances (social resources). Some of these resources are only present or embedded in personal networks while others can be also mobilized in purposive actions. Moreover, the quantity and quality[1] of social capital is enriched by personal resources such as skills, knowledge or social relations possessed by individuals (Lin 2001: 21). It is assumed that individuals engaged in the labour market use both individual and social resources to optimize their chances of finding a new or better job. Hypotheses for "embeddedness" and "mobilization" of resources will be tested further—such an operationalization is consistent with the definition given by Lin for whom social capital is the "resources embedded in social networks accessed and used by actor for actions" (Lin 2001: 25). It has also been investigated whether personal resources have an impact on chances on the labour market.

Individuals engaged in the labour market have access to various resources through connections with family members, friends and acquaintances. The quality and quantity of resources is strictly related to their position on the labour market. In other words, we expect people with higher social capital to have better access to material and non-material resources embedded in social networks. It is much easier for them to get information about jobs; to get recommended by others; have better access to knowledge, etc. Therefore we hypothesize that, *ceteris paribus*:

H1: People with greater amount of embedded and mobilizable resources, i.e. social capital, will perceive their chances of finding a new job as higher than people with lower social capital.

Through a much cited book *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers* (1974) Granovetter demonstrated that certain types of relations, namely structurally weak ties, seem more effective as sources of relevant information about potential jobs.[2] Lin confirmed the importance of weak ties with a further emphasize on density of network (1999: 34). Weak ties expand the range of resources but they are less effective in mobilization of resources. Based on the "strength of the weak ties" hypothesis,

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[1] Sometimes personal resources may affect negatively the quality of social capital possessed by an individual.

[2] He defines the strength of a tie as "a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie" (Granovetter 1979: 1361)

Montgomery proposed the economic model of relationship between social networks and labour market outcomes e.g. income or profits (1991). Krackhardt criticised one-dimensional models based on the idea of the weak ties (1992). He argued that strong ties "are more likely to be useful to the individual when that individual is in an insecure position," what appears to be convergent with the labour market analysis (Krackhardt 1992: 218). As it was mentioned above, Burt's proposal goes beyond the weak-strong ties models and focus on node's location in the network (Burt 2000). It often happens that the strength of a tie is not as important as the structural position of an actor. Brokers have a great access to diverse resources embedded in a network because of their unique structural positions. Thus, the strength of the ties seems to be secondary or parallel issue when "structural holes" are analysed.

However, at this stage the weak ties hypothesis will be tested, as structural holes cannot be identified with our data. Weak ties correspond to connections with others that are not strongly socially embedded. In other words, it serves as a source of potentially new information. Structurally weak ties usually correspond to ties between ego and its acquaintances or friends, who themselves do not have relations with other social contacts of ego. This led to the question whether the strength of the tie matters in the labour market context? Consequently, it should be expected that greater number of social contacts among those "more distant" is more important for labour market position. Resources embedded in personal networks of family members are often taken for granted (CBOS 2005). Thus their impact on individual's position on the labour market is treated here as a control variable. Still, in many post-communist countries people are more cautious when they're using weak ties because of low level of social trust (Bian 1997; Gerber & Mayorowa 2010; CBOS 2012). Nevertheless, in the labour market context people take more instrumental, goal-oriented actions, so they are less constrained to use weak ties. Therefore, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H2: Resources of acquaintances (weak ties) have a high effect on perceived likelihood of finding a new job.

It should be noted that above mentioned role of social capital constitutes only a part of a broader mechanisms through which people are matched with new or better jobs. The most important among those is individual human capital: education, individual skills and abilities, and so on. As a consequence, the effects of social capital need to be evaluated along with human capital-related explanations. In the analyses below education and personal resources of respondent are used as control variables. It is important to realize that effects of human capital variables on perceived likelihood of finding a job are not well identified direct causal effects. They capture the way in which the labour market responds to people with particular level of formal education. The fact that people with, say, higher education perceive their labour market chances lower than people with lower education does not mean that the formal education is irrelevant factor in a job search. It may rather be the effect of differential job availability in different segments of the labour market. As relevant data are not accessible, hypotheses regarding these variables has not been formulated. Neverthe-

less, personal resources should have positive impact, as they also encompass other skills (entrepreneurship, ingenuity, self-agency etc.). Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H3: Personal resources have a positive effect on the individual perception of labour market chances.

Nowadays many people work from home or move from place to place to get a new or better job. As a consequence, their social relations are changing, which in turn may stimulate or block the dynamics of social capital. Do individuals frequently changing jobs have higher or lower chances to access and mobilize resources embedded in personal networks? For Coleman, people embedded in one social structure for a long time should have better chances to mobilize resources as their relations are more closed (Coleman 1988). Consequently, individuals frequently changing jobs have more ephemeral relations and lesser chances to access and mobilize resources needed on the labour market. In other words, the place of origin of employees can be treated as a factor affecting the individual perception of the labour market chances. The following hypothesis is about relationship between the place of origin and the individual's labour position has been tested:

H4: Respondents raised in Warsaw perceive their chances of getting a new job higher than respondents raised outside of Warsaw.

In the following sections we specifically focus on relation between embedded resources and its mobilization through networks of family members, friends and acquaintances.

Data and Methods

The measures of social capital at the group level has been heavily criticised in the subject literature (Lin 1999: 31–35; Wellman, Quan Haase, Witte & Hampton 2001: 436–438). Social capital has been measured at the individual level in this study to avoid methodological mistakes and misunderstandings. Based on the results and findings from other research projects, it is assumed that people active on the labour market intensively search for information and opportunities in their personal networks through direct and/or intermediary relationships (Granovetter 1974; Lin, Vaughn & Ensel 1981; Montgomery 1991). The measuring tool has been based on the Resource Generator proposed by Gaag and Snijders (Van der Gaag & Snijders 2005) as a subsequent method for the Name Generator and the Position Generator (Lin & Dumin 1986) used in many previous research of social capital.

Details on how to construct the Resource Generator measuring tool has been presented in the subject literature (Snijders 1999; Van der Gaag & Snijders 2005; Styła 2009). Therefore, we will focus on resources affecting the individual's position on the labour market and the questionnaire items that are related to these resources. Based on similar research (Lin, Vaughn & Ensel 1981; Marsden & Hurlbert 1988;

Yakubovich 2005), we chose the following resources considered by individual to be useful when searching for a new or better job: knowledge, information, skills, acquaintanceship, financial resources. The survey questionnaire has been divided into two consistent parts designed to measure embedded resources and mobilizable resources. In the first part, the question "Do you know anyone who…" has been equipped with fifteen items directly or indirectly related to resources that could affect the job search process. This question informs about resources that can be accessed e.g. that are embedded in personal networks of the individual. Second part of the questionnaire has been based on a question "Do you know anyone who can…" That question, equipped with eleven items, informs about social capital that can be mobilized, e.g. used in purposive actions. According to the Resource Generator method, personal relations has been divided into three circles: family, friends and acquaintances (see: Annex).

Data and Sample

Data has been collected in Warsaw, the capital of Poland. Warsaw is a city that experiences almost constant influx of people from other cities and countryside. Relatively high salaries, internal elasticity and diversity make the Warsaw labour market attractive for employees from the rest of Poland, and more recently for immigrants from other countries (SYOW 2013: 386). For the last two decades Warsaw had positive balance of internal migration with number of migrants ranging from a few to several thousand each year (Ibidem: 144). Thus, the labour market in Warsaw is supplied with many individuals coming from outside the city having distant relationships with family, friends and acquaintances.

The Quality of Life of Warsaw's Residents Survey has been conducted in 2012 on a stratified random sample of 9,063 residents of Warsaw. At least 500 respondents have been surveyed in each of eighteen city districts. The Resource Generator method has been a part of the Quality of Life of Warsaw's Residents Survey. The research was conducted through paper assisted personal interviews (PAPI).

Perceived Difficulty of Finding a Job

Dependent variable is the perceived difficulty of finding a job similar to the one currently held. Respondents evaluated the difficulty using a 5-point scale from "Very difficult" (1) to "Very easy" (5). "Hard to say" answers has been recoded into to the midpoint of the scale "Neither difficult or easy."

Independent variables used in the analysis are presented below. The type of current job situation is the starting point, as it also served as the basis for selecting a sample for the analyses below.

Job Situation and Sample Selection

Subjective assessments of difficulty of finding a similar job have a clear interpretation only in the case of respondents who are currently employed. In particular, the question is difficult to interpret in the case of:

1. Self-employed: would the question be interpreted as whether or not it would be difficult to re-establish the business or in some other way?
2. Farmers, for the same reason as above.

As a consequence, we focus in our analysis on people who are *employed* on any type of contract (permanent or fix-term) or have a casual job, also on any type of contract. In Poland "casual job" usually means a job with irregular working hours and no job security items on contracts.

In particular, we include in our analysis the following groups of respondents:

a. Employed on either permanent or fix-term contracts
b. Students who have a job
c. Persons with a casual job regulated by a contract

For the sake of analysis below we introduce the following two categories:

A person has a " primary job" if he/she satisfies (a) or (b).

A person has a " secondary job" if he/she satisfies (c).

These two categories are not mutually exclusive. In our sample there are respondents who have those two types of jobs simultaneously. Frequencies of different job type combinations are reported in the following table [Tab. 1].

Table 1

Frequencies of Job Type Combinations

		Secondary job	
		No	Yes
Primary job	No	2488	188
	Yes	5104	401

Consequently, our analysis is based on respondents who have a primary job or a secondary job (or both).
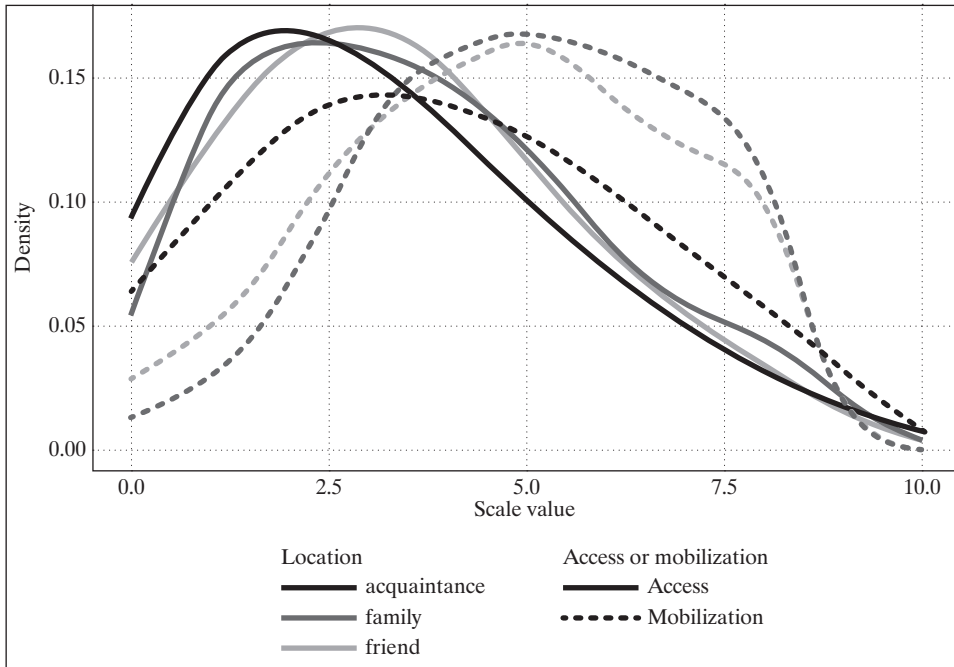
Social Capital Variables

Our main independent variables are social capital scales constructed from items of the Resource Generator (Annex). The scales were constructed using Mokken scale analysis (Mokken 1997). We have created two scales:

a. Scale of the availability of resources in respondent's personal network.
b. Scale of the possible mobilization of resources capturing the extent to which the respondent can call upon his peers for help with various issues.

Details on how to build scales with automated selection algorithm has been given by Ark (2007). Additionally, within each of these two scales we have identified three sub-scales for different social circles of the alters. These sub-scales refer to: family members, friends, and acquaintances. Distributions of scales and sub-scales are presented in Graph 1.

Graph 1

Embedded and Mobilizable Resources Scales Distribution

Personal Resources

The Resource Generator questions have been also used to reconstruct personal resources of the respondents. Based on the items defined in the Resource Generator respondents were asked whether or not they possess the resources required on the labour market. Diagnosis of personal resources helps to find out if there is any dependency between perceived individual "wealth" and resources of family, friends and acquaintances. For more details see Annex to this paper.

Remaining Control Variables

We use the following additional control variables:
Gender
Age
Education on three levels "primary," "secondary," and "high"
Whether or not the respondent was raised in Warsaw.
Descriptive statistics of the variables are presented in Table 2.
The hypotheses will be tested using OLS regression models fitted with R (R Core Team, 2015). We now turn to the results.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of the Variables

Variable	mean	SD
Difficulty of finding a job	2.4513678	0.9561495
Age (10s of years)	4.1403495	1.2141034
Age squared	18.6162614	10.7201256
Female	0.5292553	0.4991908
Raised in Warsaw	0.7363222	0.4406685
Embedded resources (family)	3.6823708	2.1035751
Embedded resources (friends)	3.7123860	2.0605757
Embedded resources (acquaintances)	3.4789134	2.2122618
Embedded resources (total)	10.8736702	5.1509790
Mobilizable resources (family)	5.1808511	1.9591026
Mobilizable resources (friends)	5.0457827	2.0740595
Mobilizable resources (acquaintances)	4.2923632	2.3991358
Mobilizable resources (total)	14.5189970	5.1898427

Results

In this section we summarise the results postponing the detailed interpretation and discussion for Summary and Discussion.

Respondents on average assess the difficulty of finding a job similar to the one currently held as neutral e.g. neither difficult or easy [2.45 in 5-point scale] (Table 2). Average age of respondents participated in the research was 41 years. Nearly 53% were women and almost 74% were raised in Warsaw (Table 2).

We test our hypotheses by fitting three OLS regression models with perceived difficulty of finding a job as the dependent variable. The results are presented in Table 3. Model 1 contains only the control variables. In Model 2 we add variables measuring social resources (both embedded and mobilizable) and personal resources to test our hypothesis 1. In Model 3 we replace the variables representing embedded and mobilizable social resources with their subscales capturing the amount of social resources embedded or mobilizable in different social circles (family, friends, or acquaintances). Do note that the compound scales of social resources are sums of the respective social circles subscales. As a consequences, the fitted regression models are nested in each other, i.e., Model 1 is nested in Model 2, and Model 2 is nested in Model 3.

We test hypothesis 1 showing that people with higher social capital perceive their chances of finding a new job as higher than people with lower social capital in Model 2. The effects of embedded and mobilizable resources are positive. However, the embedded resources are not a significant factor influencing perceived chances of getting a new job [p > 0.05]. Only mobilizable resources have significant impact on the labour market position [p < 0.05].

In order to test whether weak ties have higher effect on perceived likelihood of finding a new job (hypothesis 2), we examine the effects of embedded and mobilizable resources separating whether they are located in the family, among friends or among

Table 3

Results of Regression Models, Dependent Variable: Perceived Chances of Finding a Job Similar to Current (N = 5264)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Effect	SE	p	Effect	SE	p	Effect	SE	P
(Intercept)	3.453	0.203	0.000	3.175	0.205	0.000	3.150	0.205	0.000
Type of work (secondary)	0.298	0.082	0.000	0.315	0.081	0.000	0.318	0.081	0.000
Type of work (primary and secondary)	0.166	0.051	0.001	0.178	0.051	0.000	0.186	0.051	0.000
Gender (female)	−0.020	0.026	0.444	−0.017	0.026	0.508	−0.018	0.026	0.497
Age	−0.041	0.008	0.000	−0.042	0.007	0.000	−0.040	0.007	0.000
Age-squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Education (secondary)	−0.093	0.146	0.524	−0.137	0.145	0.346	−0.131	0.145	0.364
Education (high)	−0.022	0.147	0.881	−0.123	0.146	0.400	−0.120	0.146	0.412
Born in Warsaw	0.084	0.030	0.005	0.096	0.030	0.001	0.084	0.030	0.005
Embedded resources				0.005	0.003	0.091			
Embedded resources (family)							0.025	0.008	0.002
Embedded resources (friends)							0.016	0.009	0.065
Embedded resources (acquaintances)							−0.023	0.008	0.002
Mobilizable resources				0.011	0.003	0.000			
Mobilizable resources (family)							0.014	0.009	0.111
Mobilizable resources (friends)							−0.001	0.009	0.891
Mobilizable resources (acquaintances)							0.022	0.007	0.002
Personal resources				0.050	0.010	0.000	0.046	0.010	0.000
F-test (comparing to previous model)	—			F = 31.1264 df1 = 5252 df2 = 3 p < 0.001			F = 5.2735 df1 = 5248 df2 = 4 p = 0.0003		
R squared	0.024			0.041			0.045		

Notes:
1. Type of work: having a "primary job" is a reference category.
2. Education: "primary education" is the reference category.

acquaintances (Model 3, Table 3). Based on previous research, we assume that weak ties are maintained with acquaintances, while strong with relatives and friends (Granovetter 1974; Lin & Dumin 1986). The results confirm the impact of mobilizable resources embedded in acquaintances network (weak ties) [p < 0.05] (Model 3 of Table 3). At the same time, the results reveal the negative effect of resources embedded in acquaintances network [p < 0.05]. The effect is different for strong ties with family members where accessible resources have a positive effect [p < 0.05] on perceived likelihood of finding a new job.

Let us turn to our hypothesis 3 regarding the effect of personal resources. Models 2 and 3 show a positive and significant effect of personal resources [p < 0.05]. Simultaneously, the effect of formal education [p > 0.05] on the individual perceptions is not significant.

Finally, to test hypothesis 4 we investigate the effect of the place of origin on individuals perception of chances of getting a new job. All three regression models show that respondents raised in Warsaw perceive their chances of getting a new job higher than those raised outside of Warsaw [p < 0.05]. The effect persists with and without controlling for other variables in our models.

Summary and Discussion

As it was initially predicted, the amount of social capital built by embedded and mobilizable resources has an impact on perceived chances on the labour market. Such findings are consistent with results of many previous research on social capital and occupational status (Lin et al. 1981; Graaf & Flap 1988; McDonald et al. 2009). However, the identified impact of resources is much more complex and goes beyond the explanations that can be found in the subject literature. In general, it seems that respondents distinguish between resources they can only access and resources they can mobilize on the labour market. As long as resources cannot be mobilized, they are not considered by respondents as a factor improving their chances of getting a new job. This may suggest that it is not enough to have access to resources that are embedded in personal networks of family members, friends or acquaintances. Those resources need to be usable to influence individuals' position on the labour market. Thus, the influence cannot be simply referred to the presence of resources in personal networks. It could be said that resources matter if an individual is able to mobilize them on the labour market.

Such dependency is more noticeable when resources of acquaintances are considered. Results of our analyses suggest a mixed role of these resources. Resources possessed by acquaintances have positive effect if they are mobilizable and negative effect when individuals cannot use them. This could be partly explained by the nature of the relationship with acquaintances. Such relations are not as frequent, emotionally intensive, durable as relations with friends and family members, therefore they are based on uncertainty and lower level of trust. Another explanation can be referred to social comparisons: large amount of resources of acquaintances that cannot be mobilized may be seen as a hindrance. Comparisons with such people lead to lower perceived chances of finding a new job. However, the whole mechanism seems to be much more complicated and needs further research.

The relations with the family may seem as an exception to the general rule that only resources that can be mobilized are considered as a factor improving chances of getting a new job. Mobilizable family resources are insignificant (Model 3) while resources owned by family members increase perceived chances of finding a job. This result can be explained by the difference between strong and weak ties. The difference

between access and ability to mobilize resources can be high when weak ties are examined. On the other hand, strong ties, especially those with family members, give better chance to mobilize resources that are owned by others. This is facilitated by greater trust and greater social control in such relationships. Therefore, in the case of family relationships only the amount of resources owned by relatives matters. Its mobilizability has no further significance.

At the same time, it seems that personal resources have positive impact on the individual perception of the labour market chances. Such findings can be referred to as a cultural shift from collectivism to individualism initiated in early 90's by political and economic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe (Ost 1993). Analysis of cultural values based on Hofstede's model indicated that Poland has one of the most individualistic cultures in Europe (Murdoch 2009). Thus, the effect of personal resources may be part of wider cultural phenomenon observed in Poland and the widespread belief that one should count on oneself. Still, more research is needed to understand the impact of personal resources on individual perception of the labour market.

Simultaneously, we do not find a positive effect of formal education on the individual perception of the labour market chances. As we have argued above, such a result does not necessarily mean that the level of formal education has no impact on the individual's position on the labour market. It may have an impact on the type of work the respondent can get, but not on the perceived chances of finding a job. The result may suggest though, that individual skills and abilities are more important than formal education.

Finally, our results suggest that despite the globalized character of the Warsaw labour market, respondents raised in the city perceived their chances of getting a new job higher than those raised outside of Warsaw. A possible explanation for such a result is that respondents raised outside of Warsaw have lesser chances to mobilize certain resources (e.g. money, child-minding) through strong ties than those raised in Warsaw. Such reasoning would be in line with the arguments related to Coleman's concept of social capital as network closure (Coleman 1988). Nevertheless, this hypothesis requires further research in order to identify factors contributing to the labour market advantage of Warsaw raised respondents.

Findings illustrate the role of resources within the social environment of capital city. However, the results from one city cannot be automatically generalized to the wider population of citizens. It is reasonable to conduct such a research more extensively both at national and international level. It is believed that replication of research may bring valuable and comparable results, as well as will improve the Resource Generator instrument designed to examine social capital at individual level.

Future research should, therefore, include other social contexts where resources can be accessed and mobilized by individuals taking purposive actions (Lin 2001: 31–33). The multi-contextual approach will undoubtedly enrich the theory of social capital and improve the instruments designed to search social capital at the individual level. Another possible direction of investigation is a longitudinal research. Longitudinal studies give an opportunity to assess changes taking place over time. In case of Warsaw

residents, it would be valuable to track the dynamics of social relations through which certain resources can be mobilized at the labour market. Results of longitudinal research should be of particular interest for local government bodies shaping the labour market policy. Finally, researchers interested in the labour market problems should consider the expanded version of the Resources Generator instrument. The research was a part of broader survey, the so called "The Quality of Life of Warsaw's Residents Survey," so it was impossible to include all the items initially chosen for that research.

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Annex

The Resource Generator Questionnaire				
1. Access to resources Does anyone in your Family, Friends or Acquaintances…? And yourself?	Family	Friends	Acquaintances	Respondent (personal resources)
a. is familiar with the law				
b. earns more than 8,000 per month				
c. regularly spends holidays abroad				
d. uses the Internet regularly				
e. knows Warsaw well				
f. is acting on behalf of a political party				
g. has a high position in a large company				
h. can play a musical instrument				
i. can fix a car, bike, etc.				
j. knows a lot about finance (eg taxes, loans)				
k. has his own company				
l. is able to repair household appliances				
m. can speak and write in a foreign language				
n. knows personally someone appearing in the media				
o. works in the media				

2. Mobilization of resources If you were in need, whether you have someone you can ask for help in the following matters?	Family	Friends	Acquaintances
a. help to do your shopping			
b. give you a legal advice			
c. assist in completing the tax form			
d. find summer job for a family member			
e. advice on the conflict at work			
f. borrow a few thousand Zlotych			
g. discuss which political party to vote			
h. help children learn			
i. take care of the house while you are away			
j. find solution to the problem with computer			
k. recommend a good movie or book			

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