The role of (in)adequate employment for immigrant well-being and adaptation in Finland

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About the research project

- Conducted under the Occupational Restructuring Challenges Competencies (Polkuja työhön) research project funded by the Strategic Research Council of the Academy of Finland.

- The loss of low- and semi-skilled jobs caused by technological progress and automation complicates the employment of persons working in these kind of jobs.

- The sub-project at the City of Helsinki explores the significance of employment to immigrant well-being and overall acculturation to the new society using both quantitative and qualitative methods.

- The qualitative study presented investigates the connection between the labor market position of immigrants and their well-being and livelihood.
(In)adequate employment and well-being

- Previous studies have shown unemployment to have a negative and employment a positive impact on well-being (e.g. Dooley, Fielding & Levi 1996).

- In this study, immigrant employment is examined as a continuum where employment that satisfies the employee in terms of the content and amount of work is at one end, and unemployment is at the other:

  - **Unemployment**: Decreased well-being
  - **Inadequate employment**: Well-being?
  - **Employment**: Increased well-being

- There has been much less research – particularly among immigrants – on how the various forms of inadequate employment affect people’s well-being and their ability to cope financially (Dooley 2003).
Theoretical approach

• Formed by combining immigrant acculturation and adaptation theories (Berry 1997; Ward 2001; Ward & Kennedy 1993) and Jahoda’s (1981; 1982) deprivation theory of unemployment.

• The conceptual framework by Bourdieu: economic, social and cultural capital.

• Jahoda distinguishes between the manifest (i.e. salary and other financial benefits) and latent benefits of employment. Especially the latent benefits of employment are central for well-being:
  - Employment activates and creates a time structure to a day
  - provides an opportunity to create meaningful social networks
  - helps to maintain a positive identity and status in the community
  - at work employees can sense they are working for a shared goal.

Well-being
Revised model applied in this study:

**MANIFEST BENEFITS:**
- Economic capital
  - Earned income

**LATENT BENEFITS:**
- Activity and time structure
- Social capital
  - Social contacts
  - Collective purpose
  - Professional identity/status

**HOST-COUNTRY CULTURAL CAPITAL**
- Cultural values and norms
- Language proficiency
- Work culture/practices

**PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING AND ADAPTATION**
- Psychological well-being vs. distress
- Health vs. physical complaints
- Perceived belongingness vs. social isolation

**IMMIGRATION CONTEXT**

**EMPLOYMENT**
Data and methodology

• The participants (N = 41, of whom 18 women) represent different immigrant groups
  1. Western countries
  2. the area of the former Soviet Union
  3. Eastern Europe
  4. Refugees / asylum seekers who had lived in Finland for a longer period of time
  5. Educated, English speaking asylum seekers who arrived in Finland in 2015.

• The interviewees were divided into three groups reflecting their labor market status:
  1. Employed (n = 13) were in an employment relationship that was satisfactory with respect to both the amount and the content of work.
  2. Unemployed (n = 17) were registered as unemployed jobseekers.
  3. Inadequately employed (n = 9) had not found full-time or otherwise satisfactory paid employment, but instead worked in work assignments where they were overqualified and/or did not have enough work hours.
     ➢ Also those participating in different kind of active labor market policies, e.g. work trainings.
Collective purpose creates meaning to life

• Having paid work and paying taxes allowed the participants to feel like they contribute to society as competent members of it.

• Especially the unemployed emphasized the need to be of use: taking money without giving anything in return and dependency on social welfare created by unemployment was perceived as a source of anxiety and distress.

• Also inadequate employment, volunteering and other leisure activities can bring a sense of meaningfulness to one’s life.
“I feel more confident because I’m not this kind of person who wants to live on the government [social benefits] forever. I felt so shy when someone asked me, and I said, I study Finnish language and I do nothing. But now if anyone asks me, hey I work in this place with those amazing people and this amazing place, and I feel like, I have the rights to do anything because I’m now almost part of this society, I pay taxes, I’m part of this system, I feel like strong.”

(a 30–40-year-old woman, asylum seeker 2015, Bachelor’s degree)

“— sometimes when I work like volunteer, I’m really happy, because I use all my time to help people or to make anything, even without any money but I work I do something.”

(an under 30-year-old woman, asylum seeker 2015, Bachelor’s degree)
Professional identity as an important part of self-image

• The inability to earn a livelihood by working was connected to the interviewees’ perception of themselves and their status in the community:

➢ Importantly, an unemployed immigrant may have previously held a respected job in her/his home country, along with a status perceived as highly meaningful.

➢ Such a conflict between the past and the present situation can diminish one’s self-esteem, make it more difficult to maintain a positive identity and also reduce well-being to a significant extent.
“— So if you are in a strange, unknown place and you don’t have a job, and you don’t know the language, you are more weak also to sustain these possible attacks [difficulties] somehow. But if you have a job, then also your kind of mental health is stronger to face the possible challenges.”

(a 30–40-year-old man, Western countries, Master’s degree)

“I lost my social status [because] I didn’t have work, of course, work is really important. And I even didn’t know who I am because I am much more than only wife or whatever I was. And then my anorexia just came back and it was really, really tough.”

(a 30–40-year-old woman, the area of the former Soviet Union, Master’s degree)
Work place provides a functional atmosphere for creating social contacts

• Many participants considered a work place as the most natural and relaxed setting for social encounters with natives.
  ➢ The social contacts established through employment help an immigrant to accumulate bridging social capital, which is a significant resource in coping in the labour market.

• An unemployed immigrant may have limited opportunities to establish relationships with natives. However, such bridging social capital is important especially when trying to find employment at the professional level jobs (e.g. Ahmad 2015).

• The situation was brighter for those who are inadequately employed: entry-level jobs and practical work training arrangements, for example, can give an immigrant the opportunity to expand her/his social networks towards the natives.
“[in a practical work training] you will be in touch with the people and you will know more about the culture and you could adapt more language and you could adjust many things. It's very useful and I think it's really great chance to be in touch with people, since maybe getting jobs is not so easy as getting internship, so it helped a lot.”

(a 30–40-year-old man, asylum seeker 2015, Bachelor’s degree)
Activity and time structure are needed to keep up the daily routines

• The way employment activates a person and sets a rhythm in daily life had a significant impact on participants’ psychological and physical well-being.

• Some of those who had been actively involved in working life in their previous country of residence indicated that the feeling of idleness and lack of rhythm in life was a heavy burden for them.

• Inadequate employment, too, can active and create a time structure to a day, thus enhancing well-being.
“I think it’s really important just to have something stable that you can actually go and do every day, even if it was delivering newspapers for me, it enabled me to get out, to do something. It made me incredibly fit as well [laughter], which is a nice side bonus. –– overall I would say that it’s really important you have to have something to go to every single day and it gives you good focus.”

(an under 30-year-old man, Western countries, Master’s degree)
Conclusions

• The revised model based on Jahoda’s theory proved to be an effective instrument in this study with respect to outlining the benefits of employment.
  ➢ Employment is important for immigrants’ well-being and the whole acculturation process.
  ➢ For immigrants – especially in the early stages of immigration – employment is important in acquiring cultural capital of the new country.

• Not only adequate employment, but also inadequate employment, such as part-time work and practical work trainings, may increase immigrant well-being and facilitate their further employment.

• Even though short-term periods of employment can substantially promote the subsequent employment of immigrants, part-time work, practical work trainings and pay subsidies proved to be problematic, at least in some cases, with regard to the economic adaptation.
Practical implications

• Practical work trainings and other forms of inadequate employment can promote immigrants’ future employment and adaptation, and therefore they have to be available for as many as possible.

• Bureaucracy related to accepting short-time work assignments has to be simplified in order to prevent employees from getting stuck in a bureaucracy trap.

• Also unemployed immigrants need opportunities to interact with Finns in order to learn the language and culture and adapt to Finnish society!
Thank you!

The research report is available online: www.polkujatyohon.fi/julkaisut

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