Immigrants´ Job Expectations:
A Study of What Predicts Immigrants´ Job Expectations After Completing Language Training Programmes

Monica Reichenberg ,
monica.reichenberg@ped.gu.se

Girma Berhanu,
Department of Education and Special Education,
University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Abstract

The overall aim was to identify predictors of adult immigrant students' job expectations after they have finished the language training program. We studied both socio-demographic predictors (sex, family status, socio-economic status, and level of education) and experience predictors (age at arrival, teacher, and language exposure). To get a more in-depth understanding of immigrants' job expectations, we also studied the following predictors: having had a job in the home country and in the host country. Using survey data collected from 187 adult immigrants participating in the Swedish-language-training program (SFI), we conducted ordinary least squares (OLS) and logistic regressions. We found that the majority of immigrant students have high job expectations

and that age at arrival and level of education predicted job expectations. In addition, we found that student sex predicts having had a job in the home country but did not affect job expectations in the host country. The study has implications on how we organise inclusive education for adults in Swedish education and hence build an inclusive society throughout one's life course.

Introduction

In recent years, untold numbers of refugees from conflict-affected countries have sought asylum in Europe. Two of the most generous countries in proportion to their population size are Germany and Sweden. Consequently, most refugees tend to seek asylum in these countries. During their journey to Germany/Sweden, the refugees endured many hardships. They were in great danger, and many of them had to use all their savings to pay smugglers. Consequently, they were under significant emotional and financial strains such as loss of home, savings, family members, and friends left behind, as well as the loss of employment security (Adamuti-Trache & Sweet, 2005; Chatty, 2009; International Labour Organization, 2013; UN report, 2015).

Thus, finding employment is one of the first tasks facing newcomers. Securing a job is not that easy. Unemployment is twice as high among immigrants compared to natives (Camarota, 2015). Although adult immigrants bring human capital (education, experience) with them the problem is that, as Chiswick and Miller (2009) note, human capital is not always transferable between countries. When immigrants for example arrive to the host country they may find that their human capital- language skills, education and work experience- is not automatically relevant to the host country´s labour market. Many foreign languages have little value in the host country.

That seems to be the case for skills acquired on the job or through formal schooling and training in the home country also (Adamuti- Trache, 2016; Burns & Roberts, 2010; Donlevy, Meierkord, & Rajania, 2016; Statistics Sweden, 2016).

When immigrants came to Germany and Sweden during the '50s and '60s, they could start working directly in the industry. Today, direct transition to work in the industry is less likely. Most available jobs require some sort of communication in the host language (Adamuti-Trache, 2011). Moreover, most employers tend to require that the employee learn the host language to be eligible for employment.

Currently, the adult education system therefore plays a critical role in bridging and building up the host human capital; education and work exposure (cf. Sweetland, 1996). Language learning, education and work exposure represent a key component to smooth the integration process in the host country as such skills are necessary for effective functioning in the community and the workforce.

Most scholars of immigrants´ education and training focus on children. Although much is known about the policies and their consequences for inclusion of immigrant children into education, we agree with Nicaise (2012) that far less is known about the education and training of immigrant adult. At the same time, we believe that inclusive education needs to address adult immigrant as well as young immigrants, since inclusive education needs to address the entry life course during which a person enters into education. From a policy perspective, inclusive education needs to promote inclusion into society by fostering job expectations to smooth the transition from training to work. From a research perspective we want to know to what extent adult immigrants differ in their job expectations.

The overall aim

Currently, our knowledge about newly arrived (less than or equal to three years of residence) immigrants' expectations of getting a job after they have participated in the language-training programmes has not been sufficiently studied (Elstad, Christopherson, & Turmo, 2013). There is much research on the second-generation immigrants' expectations after they have finished their education (Feliciano, 2006; Li, 2001; Minello & Barban, 2012; Somech & Ron, 2007). Moreover, much research on adult immigrants concerns employment status and entrepreneurship (Basu, 2004; Lerner & Hendeles, 1998). However, these topics are seldom synthesised into a coherent research question. Consequently, we know little to nothing about how adult education fosters newly arrived immigrants' average job expectations. Job expectations may have profound consequences for immigrants' job-seeking behaviour and family life. Findings from our study will provide new insights about the average job expectations of newly arrived immigrants between 20 and 67 years old who have arrived in Sweden within the last three years. Consequently, the overall aim is to identify predictors of adult immigrants' job expectations after they have finished the language-training programme.

More specifically, the research questions guiding the study are:

1.   To what extent do socio-demographic predictors (sex, socio-economic status, and level of education) impact adult immigrants' job expectations?

Research question one attempts to capture our theoretical concern to see; to what extent the human capital variable level of education does impact the mean adult immigrants' job expectations after adjusting for other socio-demographic predictors.

2.   To what extent do experience predictors (age at arrival, the teacher, and language exposure) impact adult immigrants' job expectations?

Research question two attempts also to capture our theoretical concern to see; to what extent the human capital variable age of arrival does impact the mean adult immigrants' job expectations after adjusting for other experience predictors. Age of arrival indicates exposure to the host labour market as explained later in the theoretical framework.

3.   What predicts having a job in the home country and in the host country?

Research question three attempts to capture our theoretical concern to see; to what extent the human capital variable level of education does impact the probability of adult immigrants' holding a job in the home country. Thus the question validates the relevance of home human capital after adjusting for constraints on the individual's time such as having a family and children.

The layout of the paper is as follows. In the next section, we discuss the background of the study. Then, we discuss our conceptual framework and anchor our concepts within the current research. Then, we discuss our survey data and the methods for measuring our concepts (scaling and factor analysis). Finally, we present the results using descriptive statistics, t tests, and ordinary-least-squares (OLS) regression. We follow up the OLS-regression on job expectations with a logit model on work in the home and in the host country. We conclude with a discussion on the plausible explanations for our findings and discuss how our findings can be positioned within the current research on adult immigrants' integration and language learning.

Background: Adult education policies for immigrants

In the current study, we are interested in the Swedish case. Sweden is interesting because the country together with Germany have had one of the most generous migration policies (Bundy, 2016; van Selm, 2016). Consequently, a diverse group of refugees have sought asylum in Sweden and Germany within a very short period of time as we have witnessed recently. The refugees

coming to Sweden/Germany are quite diverse groups, consisting of people with a range of education levels. Many of them are illiterate, while others are highly educated.

In Sweden, newly arrived immigrants (18–67 years of age) are offered extensive language-training programmes (SFI). The programme is state-funded, but it is the responsibility of the different municipalities to provide SFI. The programme ensures that adult Swedish immigrants have the right to free basic-language tuition up to a level corresponding to B1 as described in the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe 2001). SFI is a labour-market instrument, and it is stated that SFI should focus on work-related communication skills, periods of practical work experience, and courses targeting rapid employment (Sandwall, 2013). Sweden is not the only country to offer language-training courses. There are courses in, e.g., Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, and Canada but they differ from the Swedish language-training programme.

The 'Integrationskurse' in Germany consists of language instruction and civic instruction. The Residence Act sets out various rules with regard to attendance at and paying for integration courses (Joppke, 2007). In the Netherlands, there is The Newcomer Integration Law (WIN) which obliges most non-EU citizens to participate in a 12-month integration course, which consists of Dutch-language instruction, civic education, and preparation for the labour market. This course is mandatory. The migrants are requested to pay for the integration courses in full. In order to access the courses, immigrants must have gained a residence permit. "The Dutch state thus does not care whether the courses are actually attended; only the result counts" (Joppke, 2007, p. 7).

In Canada and Australia, language-training courses are voluntarily. According to Joppke (2007), this can be explained by the fact that the new arrivals coming to these countries are predominantly highly skilled, resourceful, and language competent.

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

The early definition of human capital included schooling, on-the job training (Schulz, 1962, Becker, 1964). However, some researchers have argued for an expansion of the early concept of human capital to include language capital and other types of knowledge, such as computer skills and literacy and numeracy skills (Chiswick & Miller, 1995, Miller & Mulvey, 1997, Chiswick, Lee & Miller, 2003) .

Adult immigrants coming to Sweden differ in terms of human capital but also in terms of socio-demographic characteristics, such as, sex, socio-economic, and ethnic background. However, one thing they have in common is that they cannot speak Swedish. Swedish is a Germanic language that is not widely spoken in other parts of the world. Furthermore, there is a linguistic distance between many immigrants' mother tongues and Swedish. Thus, language barriers stop adult immigrants from working in Sweden or pursue secondary or tertiary education—college and university—directly after arrival to Sweden.

Human capital theory is based on the assumption that (a) more years of education and (b) labour market exposure leads to employment in line with the early definition (Chiswick & Miller, 2009). Since foreign human capital is often discounted in the host country many immigrants decide to continue formal education to avoid downgrading of their previous socio-economic status (Adamuti-Trache & Sweet, 2005, 2010; Adamuti Trache, 2011, Chiswick & Miller, 2009). Obtaining educational credentials that signal the possession of work-relevant knowledge seems to be a good strategy with which to enhance employment expectations (Adamuti-Trache, Anisef, Sweet & Walters, 2013).

We use the following key variables: *level of education* (human capital), *age at arrival* (human capital), *language exposure*, *sex and family status*, and *the teacher.*

Education and job expectations

Human capital theory predicts, as mentioned above, that the more time you invest in education the greater the expectations of getting a job is. The human capital theory assumes that people on average invest more time on education and less time for leisure if the potential benefits are greater than the potential costs. In this case, finding a job in the host country becomes a futile exercise and investing in education pays off in the long run.

Most research on adult immigrants' expectations after education has been conducted in Canada, Australia, England, and the United States (Adamuti-Trache, 2011; Adamuti-Trache & Sweet, 2005; Basu, 2004; McKenzie, Gibson, & Stillman, 2013; Shakya, Guruge, Hynie, Akbari, Malik, Htoo, & Alley, 2012). Moreover, this research has mostly focussed on expectations about getting employment after education. In this , Adamuti-Trache and her colleagues have conducted interesting studies about getting a job after validating credentials.

Many immigrants who have newly arrived in Canada are highly educated. Credential recognition of their "home human capital" is a significant problem in the settlement of these immigrants, and although they can speak English they feel obliged to attend college or university to enhance their existing qualifications (Adamuti-Trache & Sweet, 2005; Adamuti-Trache, Sweet, Anisef & Walters, 2013; Shakya, Guruge, Hynie, Akbari, Malik, Htoo, & Alley, 2012). The problem of recognition of home human capital is not unique to Canada . Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2003) have demonstrated that highly educated immigrants in Australia are particularly disadvantaged when the host country employers are not prepared to reward education with suitable employment. Low-educated immigrants are at even greater disadvantage since they lack the necessary human capital from their home country. The lack of home and host country human capital has led to that many low-educated immigrants in the United Kingdom becoming

entrepreneurs (Basu, 2004; Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2003). Thus, becoming self-employed is a strategy to avoid discrimination and live a fulfilled life (Hjerm & Peterson, 2007).

Age and expectations

Human capital theory predicts, as mentioned above, that host labour market exposure and work experience matter for employment. Many immigrants are thus at a disadvantage because they arrive in the host country at a later stage of life and have not had the same exposure to the host labour market where age and age at arrival are typically "squared" and used as proxies for immigrants' work experience and/or host labour market exposure. For example, a senior engineer from Iran may have a vast home country experience. But if the senior engineer only has resided in the host country for six months, his host labour market exposure to the host country will be rather low. Meaning that the senior engineer lacks host human capital with respect to experience and language. Consequently, work experience has been defined in previous studies as the difference between immigrants' age and age at arrival. For example Adamtu-Trache (2011) found that those in age groups of 25–29 years and 30–34 years are willing to make a long-term commitment regarding education while those between 35–39 are more likely to make a short commitment.

However, in the present study we are more concerned with age of arrival due to the short duration of residence in the host country of the participations (see method sections).

Sex and job expectations

Another key predictor for job expectations is sex. McKenzie and colleagues (2013) found a difference between male and female immigrants' expectations. Male immigrants tend to

underestimate the employment likelihood and the income they can earn abroad, while female immigrants have reasonably accurate expectations. Male immigrants have expectations that adult education will help them to feel that it is possible to be a family provider also in the host country (cf. Chatty, 2009).

Teachers and expectations

Moreover, yet another factor of importance is the teacher. Teachers in higher adult education can play a role in immigrants' lives (Costa, 2010; Norton , 1997; Sandwall, 2013; Zachrisson, 2014). Norton (1997) reported adult language learners who attended evening courses to improve their language skills but ended up being disengaged because the teachers' methods did not match their needs. The teacher factor has remained fairly unexplored in prior research. Although scholars have addressed the engagement among adult language teachers, these studies used the reports of the teachers and not the adult students. Thus, teachers may be highly engaged, but we do not know whether that matters for the immigrant student. Thus, our study makes an important contribution.

Method

In this section, we will present how the participants were sampled. Thereafter, we will discuss the variables used in the study, which were derived from the survey. Finally, we will discuss the strategies used for the data analysis.

Sample

Our study builds on a survey of 187 adult students. All students were participating in a language-training programme at a facility called Swedish for Immigrants (SFI).

In our study, most of the participants were refugees from Syria, followed by Somali land, and Iran/Iraq, and 52 % were male and 48% female. Unfortunately, we were unable to acquire reliable measures of country of origin at the individual level. The mean length of the participants' stay in Sweden was 2 years (Table 1). They were quite young when arriving to Sweden, around 18 years old, whereas the oldest arrived at an age of 63 years. The mean age of arrival was 33 years. Although being from the same country, our participants were a diverse group. On the one end of the spectrum, the participants were highly educated (up to 20 years of education) with diplomas from universities and had had well-paid jobs in their home country (20%), while on the other end of the spectrum there were illiterate students who in some cases never had attended a school. While most of the men in the illiterate group had been shepherds or had a small shop, most of the women had been busy with traditional house work and hence isolated in the home (cf. Chatty, 2009). By participating in adult education, immigrants had a chance to break their isolation in the home and learn the host language. Moreover, almost 30% had been unemployed in the home country (Table 1). Furthermore, many of the participants who had attended school had only been there for a few years. The mean of years of education was eight (Table 1), with a dispersion of standard deviations rounded to six years.

The high amount of illiterates posed a methodological challenge. Our solution was that the participants´ teacher and one of the researchers had a thorough oral description of every survey item . Moreover, every item was translated by interpreters who were fluent in the participants´ native language. The interpreters were part of the staff at the language training centre. Thus the participants had the possibility to ask for clarity if they did not understand a question. Although our sample size may be small, we consider the sample as drawn from a "hard-to-reach population" because gaining responses about expectations from refugees at this stage of their stay in the host country may be difficult.

Measurement

Dependent Variable

Job expectation was part of our first and second research questions. Thus, our main dependent variable was *job expectations*. Job expectations were measured on a 1-to-7 scale with the wording: "I believe that I will get a job after finishing the language training programme." In addition, we had two other dependent variables to measure our third research question: first, whether the participant had had a job in the host country (= 1) or not (= 0); second, whether the participant had had a job in the home country (= 1) or not (= 0).

Independent Variables

Education = number of years of education. Here, we took the natural log to transform the measure of level of education. There, the natural log has a base of "e" which is a constant number ($\approx$2.72). For example, log of 5 years of education is $\approx$1.6.1 because e $^{1.61}$ = 5. In the regression analysis, we subtracted the mean from the variable (i.e., centring). Subtracting the mean from continuous predictors makes the interpretation more meaningful as other values are at the expected value (the mean) rather than "zero," as zero is not a realistic value.

Our study also included a number of variables of the experiences in the host country. *Age at arrival* = we subtracted the length of stay in Sweden from the age of the participant since combining the measures was more meaningful given prior research showing that chronological age masks the age at arrival. In the regression analysis, we subtracted the mean from the variable (i.e., centring).

Control variables

The demographic variables of the study included the following: *sex* = whether

the participant was male (= 1) or female (= 0), *family status* = whether the participant had a family (= 1) or not (= 0), *number of children*. We treated this as a categorical variable: "No children," "One child," "Two to three children," "Three to four children," and "Five or more children." *Socio-economic status* = we coded the participants' occupations in the home country using the European Socio-economic Classification (ESeC) schema. The use of the ESeC as the schema is comparable across countries. The schema takes into account both (a) the specific skills needed for the job and (b) the degree of autonomy of the employee. As our sample was small, we used the three-class schema. The first class was "salariat status." Examples of salariat in our sample include lawyers, teachers, social workers, and civil and professional engineers. Common to these occupations is high autonomy, high skills, and non-routine jobs. The second class was "intermediate status." Examples of intermediate in our sample include clerks, self-employed hairdresser, barbers, bakers, and farmers. Common to these occupations is high autonomy. The third class was "working class status." Examples of working class in our sample include miners, truck drivers, janitors, and construction workers. Common to these occupations is low autonomy, low skills, and routine jobs. In addition, we added unemployment status as a precarious class (predominantly students, housewives).

Teacher factor = through this measure, we approximated the effect of the learning environment at the language training programme. The measure consisted of three questions: "teacher is nice," "the teacher has humor," and "the teacher is engaged." All items ranged from 1 to 7. The items were converted into z-scores by subtracting the mean and dividing by one standard deviation , and we computed the mean of z-scores. We prefer z-scores because one change in the standard deviation indicates a substantial change on the scale. Moreover, z-scores imply centring, as discussed above. *Language exposure* = to measure the host language exposure and information gained from social networks such as friends, associations, and neighbours, we

combined four questions: "To what extent can you speak Swedish with your neighbours?", "To

what extent can you speak Swedish with your friends?", "To what extent can you speak Swedish

in associations?", and "To what extent can you speak Swedish with your child's teacher?" All

items ranged from 1 to 7. The mean and the standard deviations of the variables are presented in

Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Predictors and Outcomes

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Outcomes				
Job Expectations	5,808	1,692	1	7
Work home	0,731	0,445	0	1
Yes	73%			
No	27%			
Work host				
Yes	12%			
No	88%			
Predictors				
Sex				
Male	52%			
Female	48%			
Socioeconomic status				
Salariat	20%			
Intermediate	12%			
Working class	41%			
Unemployed	27%			
Years of Education	8,140	5,640	0	22
Teacher factor			0	22
Teacher humor	5,995	1,532	1	7
Teacher nice	6,462	1,163	1	7
Teacher engaged	6,328	1,268	1	7
Exposure factor				
Friends	3,599	2,549	1	7
Neighbors	3,839	2,427	1	7
Associations	3,691	2,240	1	7
Kids teacher	3.983	2.601	1	7
Age	34,720	9,265	20	65
Length of stay	2,102	1,780	0,3	11

Age at Arrival	32,619	9,311	17,6	63,4

To validate the teacher factor and language exposure factor, we used factor analysis following the Keiser criterion of extracting factors with an Eigen value above 1.0. Table 2 shows the factor loadings of the rotated matrix. We used an orthogonal rotation as we have no reason to believe that the factors would be oblique. Oblique factors are a common assumption with psychological factors (e.g., self-esteem), but ours are not psychological.

Table 2. Rotated Factor Solution

	Language Exposure Factor	Teacher Factor
Teacher humorous		0.774
Teacher nice		0.798
Teacher engaged		0.699
Exposure with friends	0.694	
Exposure with neighbours	0.912	
Exposure within associations	0.610	
Exposure with children´s teacher	0.660	

Note. Rotated factor solution using varimax and maximum likelihood. Blanks represent an absolute loading of <.3.

Limitations of the study

There are a number of limitations for the study. First, the study analyses a small and non-random sample. Thus, making generalisations to the population becomes difficult. However, we still contend that the sample captures the diversity of the immigrant population in language training in Sweden because all the major groups are represented in the sample. Thus, there is some representativeness. Secondly, the study has a cross-sectional design, i.e., only one measurement point in time. Expectations may be subject to change over time, and our study design does not allow us to model such effects. However, by modelling the age of arrival, we get a proximal

measure of time. Still, panel data would be desirable to make causal claims (cf Adamuti- Trache, 2012).

Thirdly, it was not possible to break down the data into subgroups based on nationality since (a) the refugees from Syria were so dominating and (b) in some cases we did not get correct data since the refugees reported two countries where they came from.

Results

The effects of education

Our first research question was, "To what extent do socio-demographic predictors (sex, socio-economic status, level of education, family status) impact adult immigrants´ job expectations?" To answer this question, we started by describing the distribution of the immigrants' job expectations. We then continued *t* tests for differences in means between immigrants depending on family status and sex. Finally, we conducted an OLS regression using all the socio-demographic predictors. As can be seen in Figure 1, the immigrants' job expectations are highly skewed, as the mode is 7 on a 1 to 7 scale. This suggests that most immigrants hold high expectations for finding a job. However, there is a great dispersion within the lower quantile suggesting some of the immigrants are rather frustrated.
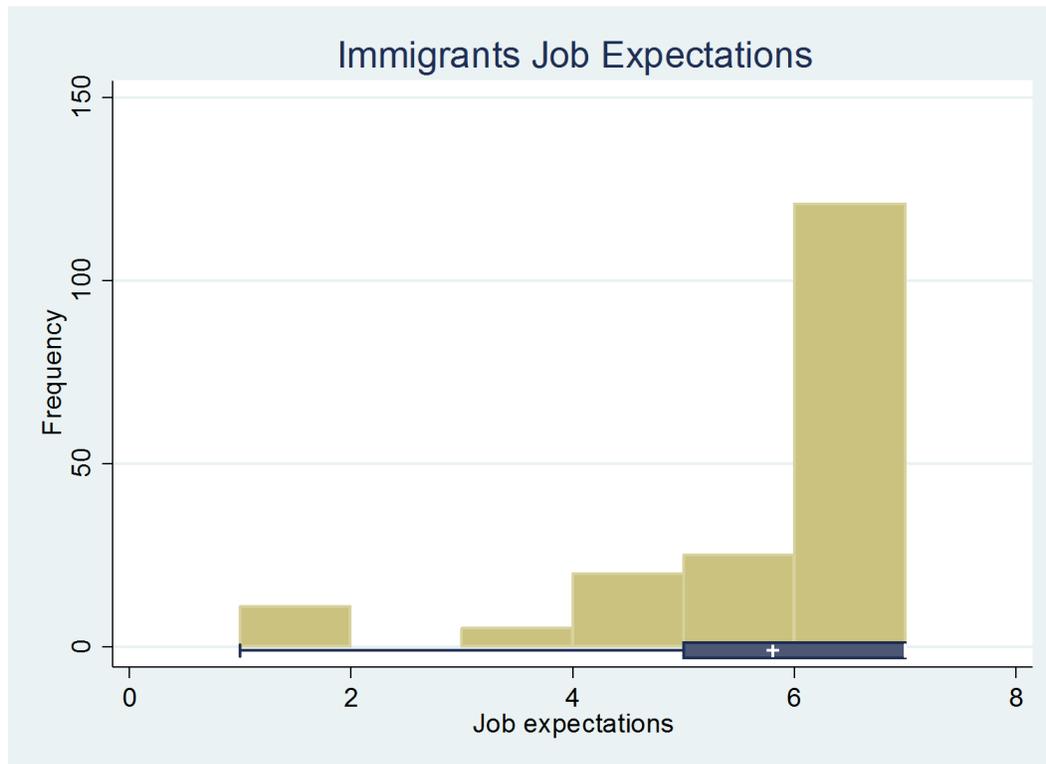
Figure 1. Histogram with boxplot and mean (+) for Job Expectations.

In the second step of our analysis, we conducted two *t* tests to investigate whether there was a difference in means depending on either family status or sex of the student. As the distribution was highly skewed, we bootstrapped the test using 1,000 replications. We did expect an effect, although we did not have a prior hypothesis about the direction of the effect; $H_{0:}$ $\square_0= \square_1$. Thus, we set up a two-tailed test for both family and sex. Contrary to our expectations, we found no statistically significant difference in the mean of job expectations ($t = .764$) depending on sex. Moreover, the magnitude of the difference was small ($d = .11$). Continuing with family status, we again were surprised to find no statistically significant difference ($t = -.982$) and a small effect ($d = -.16$).

In the third step of our analysis, we conducted a series of OLS regression on job expectations.

Again we used bootstrapping to adjust the standard errors for skewness (non-normality) and non-constant error variance. We also checked that the Variance Inflation Index was below 2 to make sure that education and socio-economic status were contributing to collinearity.

The results are shown in Table 3. In the first model, we added the socio-demographic predictors. Again, contrary to our expectations, sex did not have an effect significantly different from zero. As such, our data suggest that neither men nor women have stronger job expectations. Moreover, having a family does neither significantly increase nor decrease the students' job expectations. We also found that social class did not have a statistically significant effect on job expectations. However, we do note that the size of the coefficient is greater for those who in their home countries had intermediate ("middle class") jobs and were unemployed compared to those that had working class jobs in their home country. As such, those who had working class jobs seem to be as optimistic as those with salariat jobs in their home countries. The answer to the working-class optimism concerning job expectations can be found in the effect of level of education. As can be seen in Table 3, the log of level of education has a statistically significant effect below 5%, suggesting that the higher education the students have the lower their job expectations become. As we described above, we used the natural log of education, meaning that we interpret the predicator in terms of percentage change. Thus, we interpret the coefficient of 0.499 by looking at the expected mean difference for an increase in education by multiplying by mean difference log of job expectations. If we use the laws of logs, we get $\log(Job_1)-\log(Job_2)=\log(Job_1)/\log(Job_2)$. For example, a one percent increase in education would be expected to decrease the job expectations by $-0.499*\log(1.01) = .01$ points. By comparison, a 10% increase in education would be expected to decrease one's job expectations by $-0.499*\log(1.1) = .55$.

Table 3. OLS-regression on Job Expectations Using Bootstrap

Dependent variable: Job expectations	Model1 b/se	Model2 b/se
Demographic Variables		
Sex $_f$		
Male	-0.071	
	(0.322)	
Socioeconomic Status $_w$		
Salariat	-0.004	
	(0.354)	
Intermediate	-0.278	
	(0.536)	
Unemployed	-0.260	
	(0.380)	
Family		
Yes	0.001	
	(0.322)	
Log of years of education $_c$	-0.499**	-0.334
	(0.162)	(0.172)
Experience variables		
Age at arrival $_c$		0.329**
		(0.116)
Age at arrival^2		-0.005**
		(0.002)
Exposure Factor $_z$		0.270
		(0.180)
Teacher Factor $_z$		0.240
		(0.188)
Constant	5.884***	1.166
	(0.424)	(1.874)
R-sqr	0.04	0.16

$_c$ = Centered at the mean

$_z$ = Z-scores

$_f$ = Compared to *female*

$_w$ = Compared to *working class*

The effects of experience

To answer the second research question "To what extent does age at arrival, the teacher, and language exposure impact adult immigrants' job expectations?" we formulated a second model. In the second model, we entered experience variables, e.g. variables that had to do with what happens in the host country. We dropped all non-significant socio-demographic variables. However, in model 2, the effect of education is no longer statistically significant from zero. To our surprise, there was also no effect of the degree of exposure to the language. Thus, having social networks in which one can speak the host language did not support one's job expectations. Furthermore, our indicator of the learning environment, the teacher factor, did not significantly affect the students' job expectations. The finding suggests that teachers do not foster students' job expectations. Instead, we find that what matters is the age at arrival. As can be seen, age at arrival has a curvilinear effect. Consequently, the reason immigrants have high job expectations has to do with the fact that they arrived at an early age. When immigrants are young, they have hopes and dreams about the host country as they have "their whole life in front of them." However, when immigrants arrive at later ages they may tend to be more aware of the low demand for their services in the labour market. Immigrants arriving at later ages may fear double discrimination, as minorities and as elders. Thus, the effect of arrival cancels out the effect of education because educated young persons may have job expectations, whereas elderly highly educated persons may fear that their credentials are outdated. Interestingly, taking the absolute value of the derivative ,we note that the turning point comes at age 35. Thus, the turning point comes when the students are already in their "midlife," as can be seen in Figure 2.
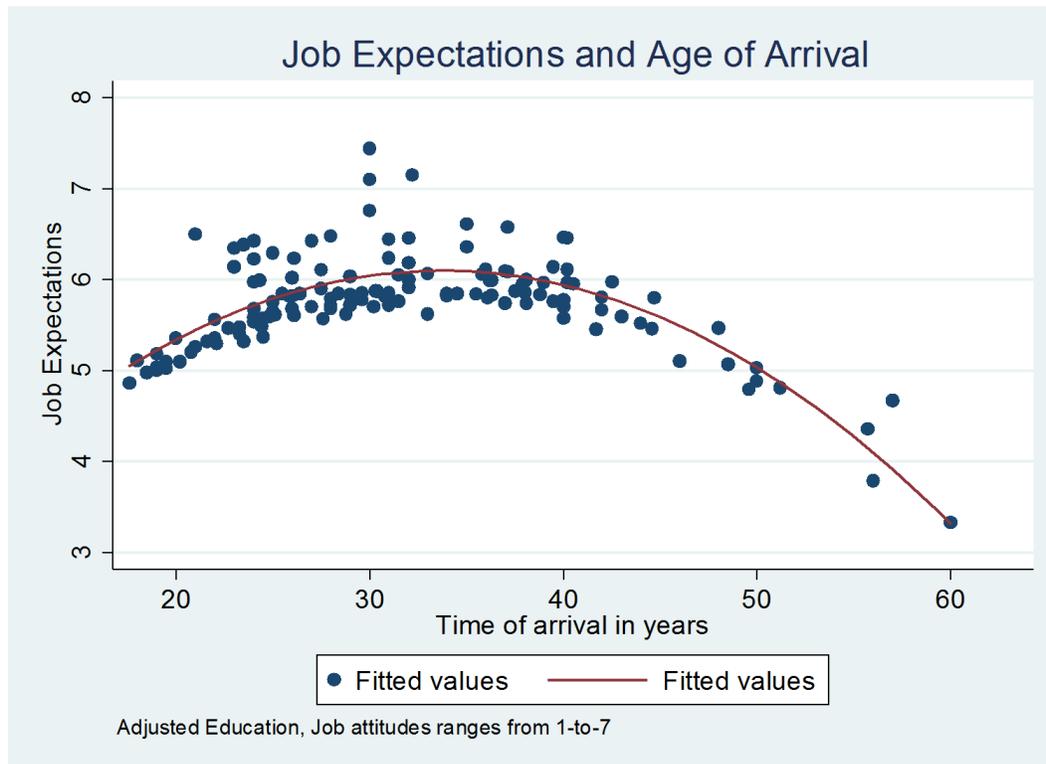
Figure 2.   Predicted job expectations and age at arrival, adjusted for teacher factor, exposure and level of education.

The effects of education, children and family status

To answer our third research question, we proceeded with building two completely new models. Thus, the fourth step of the analysis was to see who had had a job in the host country and who had had a job in the home country. For such a purpose, we estimated a logit model (i.e., "logistic regression") as the dependent variable has only two values (yes or no). Thus, we specified two models based on demographic variables only. The first model yield:

In Table 4, we present the coefficients of the log odds (i.e., log (P/1-P)). These coefficients can be interpreted as an increase or decrease. Thus, we do not report the exponentiated coefficients—odds ratios—in the table. We reason that exponentiated coefficients

can be deceptive in the interpretation as odds ratios have a relative interpretation. To aid our interpretation, we report odds ratios in and predicted probabilities in the running text.

In the model for work in host country, we find that those with one child have six times the odds of having a job compared to those with no children. The effect of one child is statistically significant at 5%. There the probability of having a job in the host country for those without children is 16% and 20% for those with one child. Consequently, we note the magnitude of the effect of having one child is rather low. Moreover, those with families have an 82% less chance of having a job compared to those who do not have families. The effect of family status is statistically significant at below 5%. The expected probability of those with families is 9% compared to 19% for those without families. Thus, not having a family predicts having a job, but in general it is not a strong predictor. But student sex, socio-economic status, and education did not have a significant effect different from zero. The lack of effect of education may be the most interesting. As the model suggests, there is a difficulty of transferring educational credentials from the home country to the host country.

In the second model, we merely drop socio-economic status in the home country. In the model of work in home country, we find the opposite pattern. Family status and number of children do not have significant effects different from zero. Instead, as Table 4 shows, both education and sex have a significant effect at below 5%. The effect is rather substantial for females, 56% as compared to 90% for males. Therefore, we note that the effect of student sex can be found with respect to the home country but not the host country. The finding confirms the fact that the immigrants were exposed to a work life depending on sex, with women having a greater probability of being a housewife. Moreover, education was significant for the chance of having a job in the home country at below 5%. One percentage increase in education is expected to increase the chance of having a job approximately twice as much. There, the expected average

was a marginal effect of 11% for an incremental increase in education. The results clearly explain

the potential lack of optimism among highly educated immigrants. Educational credentials are

strongly related to home country but not the host country.

Table 4. Logit Models for Work in Host Country and Work in Home Country (unstandardized coefficients)

	Dependent variable: Work in host country b/se	Dependent variable: Work in home country b/se
Demographic variables		
Sex $_f$	-0.642	1.629**
Male	(0.569)	(0.502)
Socioeconomic status $_w$		
Salariat	-0.670	
	(0.718)	
Intermediate	-0.073	
	(0.755)	
Unemployed	-1.988	
	(1.131)	
Family		
Yes	-1.764*	0.197
Children $_n$	(0.752)	(0.587)
One child	1.813*	1.013
	(0.913)	(0.805)
Two to three children	0.397	0.194
	(0.877)	(0.643)
Three to four children	1.240	0.890
	(1.045)	(0.908)
Five or more children	0.149	1.435
	(1.257)	(1.012)
Log of years of education $_c$	1.040	0.818*
	(0.650)	(0.320)
Constant	-0.815	0.145
	(0.615)	(0.515)
Pseudo-R	0.14	0.15
ll2	-48.85	-62.27
chi2	16.02	22.34
P	0.10	0.00

$_c$ = Centered at the mean

$_f$ = Compared to *female*

$_w$ = Compared to *working class*

$_n$ = Compared to *No children*

Discussion and Conclusions

The civil war in Syria has triggered a migration crisis in Europe. Many European states have in a very short time been facing an exponential increase in the number of refugees fleeing from the civil war. The current crisis has increased the pressure on Europe not only to provide food and shelter, but also to integrate the refugees into the host country. One key factor in immigrants' integration into the host country comes from getting a job. But to get a job one needs to learn the host language, which requires immigrants to undergo training and education. Our study has two contributions: no previous quantitative study has examined adult immigrants' expectations after finishing Swedish-language training programmes, and no previous study has used the reports of the adult students—only the reports of the teachers. Therefore, we knew little to nothing about the mean Swedish-language training programme participants' job expectations until now. We agree with Nicaise (2012) that we know much about inclusive education for immigrant children but we know remarkably little about inclusion of adult immigrants in education and training. At the same time we believe that inclusive education and training is important through a person's whole life course and not only during the early stages.

We had three research questions. Our first research question was: "To what extent do socio-demographic predictors (sex, socio-economic status, and level of education) impact adult immigrants' job expectations?" In contrast to previous Swedish research (Sandwall, 2013; Zachrisson, 2014), the majority had job expectations despite the fact that parts of their human capital-, were not transferable. This is obvious in the case of language skills, where many foreign languages have little value in Sweden as well as certain home country job experience (cf Chiswick & Miller, 2009). Our findings are in line with previous international research that demonstrates that immigrants have expectations and ambitions for a better life and to be

integrated at the workplace in the host country (cf. Costa, 2010; McKenzie, Gibson, & Stillman, 2013).

We did not find a statistically significant difference depending on sex or family situation regarding job expectations. Nor did social class have any effect on job expectations. However, when we broke down the data and adjusted for education, we found that highly educated immigrants did not share these expectations. Instead, we found that having home country education actually decreased highly educated immigrants' job expectations. They were lawyers, teachers, social workers, and civil and professional engineers and it is difficult to get credential recognition for these occupations. Moreover, in these occupations, it is necessary to communicate, and the refugees' first language is linguistically distant from Swedish. Consequently, there are many obstacles to overcome (cf. Adamuti-Trache, Anisef, Sweet & Walters, 2013). Thus, they may feel frustrated, and this can explain their low expectations. This is in line with Valenta (2008) who found that Norwegian immigrants who had substantial human capital and who experienced downgrading were very frustrated.

Our second research question was: "To what extent do experience predictors (age at arrival impact adult, the teacher, and language exposure) impact adult immigrants' job expectations?" In response, we found that the teachers or language exposure did not foster job expectations. Instead, in agreement with prior research, we found that the age at arrival did matter statistically. Young immigrants have expectations of getting a job after finishing the language programme. In our study, age at arrival follows an inverted U-shaped curve (Figure 2). Interestingly enough, the turning point comes at age 35. This figure corresponds with the findings of Adamuti-Trache and Sweet (2005, 2010) and Adamuti-Trache (2011), who found a higher participation in educational programs before 35 but a drop after 35.

One explanation may be that learning a second language requires more effort and determination as one gets older. Thus arriving at a late stage of one's life, the immigrant student may struggle seriously with learning the vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation and comprehension. When realising how difficult it is to learn and pronounce Swedish—there is a linguistic distance to their first language—they get frustrated and their job expectations decrease (cf. Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Cummins, 1981). Another explanation may be that arriving at a late age makes it more difficult to get exposure to the host language, as making new friends becomes more difficult with age (cf. McKenzie, Gibson, & Stillman, 2013). Therefore future research is needed to explain why age of arrival has an inverse U-shaped effect on the mean job expectations.

We interpret the lack of a teacher effect as when adult immigrants come to the host country they have experienced so much that the quality of education may not really matter for them (Burns & Roberts, 2010). Moreover, they are disengaged because the teachers' methods did not match their needs and their opinion of how a teacher should provide knowledge. Many of them come from countries with old teaching traditions, while Sweden has progressive education (cf. Norton, 1997; Adamuti-Trache & Sweet, 2005; Costa, 2010). Therefore future research is needed to clairify the role of different pedagogical styles on the mean job expectations of adult immigrants.

The answer to our third research question—"What predicts having a job in the home country and in the host country?"—is that family status matters for having had a job in the host country. Those without families seemed to be in a better position to secure a job. One possible explanation may be that these immigrants were less constrained by family responsibilities, e.g., spending time with the family. This is likely to be the case when one has many children; however, having only one child did predict a greater chance of having a job (Chatty, 2009). Supposedly, having one child is less demanding in terms of time, and having one child also comes with the

responsibility of being a provider. Thus, family matters, as suggested by the chance of having had a job and not for the job expectations (cf. Mojab, 1999). Future research could clarify if time allocation is the main underlying variable explaining the effect of the family and children on the mean job expectations of adult immigrants.

Moreover, we find that sex and home country education did matter for having a job in the home country. As such, we see a clear structure in sex differences in the home country but not in the host country. Several of our female participants were "house wives" in the home country and not participating in the labour market (cf. Chatty, 2009). Such findings suggest that the language training programme fostered expectations among the female participants to look at the host country as a fresh start and an opportunity to get a job.

In summary, our study contributes to predicting the attitudes towards job expectations among adult immigrant students. The study shows that adult immigrants have expectations but that seems not to be due to the host education but rather to home education and age at arrival. Thus, the present study provides support for the human capital theory but not to the same extent as in previous studies (Adamuti-Trache & Sweet, 2005, 2010). Interestingly enough, while sex difference seems to have mattered in the home country, such differences do not seem to affect job expectations. As such, immigrant students may have expectations regardless of sex.

Implications for inclusive education of adult immigrants

The study has implications on how we organise inclusive education in the Swedish school system and hence build an inclusive society. Adult educators need to be focussed on how to maintain the hopes of students arriving before 35 years of age, but more importantly how to keep students arriving after 35 from becoming frustrated with the host society (cf. Burns & Roberts, 2010). The policy implication is that language-training programmes need to focus on promoting expectations

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among elderly students. Language-training and civics know-how are important but students also need to be supported to enhance and be 'equipped with' high expectations, i.e. hopes and dreams. If not, we worry that this may have an adverse effect on their future job-seeking behaviour.

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