FOREIGNERS AND WORKPLACE STRESS

ALI SOYLU

Cameron University, Lawton, Oklahoma

ABSTRACT

This article describes a model that specifies the causes and consequences of stress specific to the situation of foreign workers. The model proposes that the effect of foreign employee status on perceived stress is fully mediated by residential insecurity, job insecurity, local social networks, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination. These conditions were selected because they are known causes of workplace stress and especially relevant to the situation of foreign employees. In addition to these mediating effects, I suggest that foreign status is a moderator that intensifies the effects of job insecurity, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination on stress, as well as moderating the effect of stress on job satisfaction, depression, and health. I also propose collectivist values may intensify the effects on foreign workers of stress from residential insecurity, job insecurity, local social networks, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination.

The competitive global economy is putting increasing pressure on employees throughout the world through greater work demands, heightened organizational change and restructuring, and reduced job security [1, p. 239]. Evidence indicates that more workers are experiencing high levels of workplace stress [2]. International bodies such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) have recognized the harmful effects of stress [3]. Workplace stress leads to psychological distress, withdrawal behaviors such as absence and turnover, health problems, workplace accidents, and reduced individual and organizational performance [4-8]. The annual cost of stress to U.S.

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industry in terms of reduced productivity, absenteeism, and workers compensation payments was estimated to be \$150 billion in 1991 [9], but that figure grew to \$300 billion in 2004 [10]. About 550 million working days annually are said to be lost due to stress-related absenteeism in the United States alone [11].

Foreign workers are defined as those who have no permanent residential status in the host country and are not sponsored by a firm from their home nation [12, 13, and 14]. These workers seem especially likely to experience stress, given the uncertainty of their status and their unfamiliarity with the local culture and practices. This article considers only documented or "legal" foreign workers. They are becoming increasingly important to the U.S. Economy, both because of their large number and because they tend to be professionals and technicians possessing high-level skills needed by American companies. In 2004, foreign-born workers of all types made up 14.5 percent of the workforce [15].

Despite the volume of research on workplace stress, almost none covers stress among foreign employees in the United States. This article examines their situation in the workplace and develops propositions regarding causes and consequences of the stress they may experience.

STRESS: AN INDIVIDUAL-SITUATIONAL TRANSACTION

The term stress is complex and has many different meanings [16, 17]. It is related conceptually and operationally to constructs such as job strain, tension, exhaustion, and burn-out [18, 19]. Recent scholars have converged around the "transactional" [1] view of stress—a psychological process generated by interaction between the individual and the situation [cf. 16, 20]. Stress arises when demands exceed available resources and the person feels unable to rectify the imbalance [21]. This process is influenced by the nature and extent of demands, characteristics of the person, available social support, and constraints upon the coping process [22]. Cooper et al. [1] suggested reserving the term *stress* for the overall process, including stressors and outcomes, while using the term *strain* for the person's response to stressors.

Sometimes the term stress is equated with any level of pressure or demands, from little to very much. In this view, moderate stress, or "challenge," tends to be conducive to optimal activation, performance, and personal development. It is only excessive stress (or distress) that increases the risk of physical and emotional problems and reduced performance. It is common in the research literature to use the term stress only for excessive or deleterious pressure, and I will adopt this meaning in this article, reserving the word challenge for intermediate levels of demands. I thus define stress as a system of forces located neither in the person nor

in the environment, but in the relationship between the two that tends to strain or deform the person temporarily or permanently.

FOREIGN WORKER STATUS AND INSECURITY

Foreign worker status can be defined operationally as holding the U.S. H-1B visa. This visa is reserved for foreigners possessing needed skills and at least a bachelor's degree or equivalent. The initial period is for three years, which may be extended for an additional two years, and subsequently for one more, thus a maximum of six. Anyone wishing to stay longer than that may apply for permanent residency (the "Green Card"). Or they must go outside the United States for one full year and then reapply for another temporary visa. Since applying for the H1B visa is generally quicker than applying for a Green Card, it is usually used to bring in foreign professionals for long-term assignments in the United States.

Foreign workers with H1B visas have the right to remain in the United States only as long as they have a job in the United States. Furthermore, neither they nor the company can be sure if they will be allowed to remain beyond the initial three-year period. As a result, they will have a temporary and most likely marginal status within their organization. Their unfamiliarity with American culture and workplaces will require constant vigilance and expenditure of time and energy. This may be stimulating and challenging up to a point, but coupled with work demands, it is likely to become excessive and thus stressful. Therefore, I propose the following:

Proposition 1: Foreign workers will experience more stress than U.S. citizens.

FOREIGN WORKERS AND STRESS

A Mediated Relationship

It is most likely that foreign workers experience stress because of identifiable features of their situation as temporary residents and workers. Previous research has identified a large number of conditions that cause stress, and five of them seem to apply to foreign workers: residential insecurity, job insecurity, local social networks, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination. The interactive concept of stress holds that perceived stress results from an imbalance: too many demands and too little ability to deal with them. Foreign status increases three demands on the employee—residential insecurity, job insecurity, and discrimination—and reduces one resource needed to deal with these demands—namely, local social networks. Foreign status also leads to role ambiguity, which makes it unclear how to respond to job demands. Foreign workers will experience more stress overall

because they are more likely to experience each of these conditions. Thus the following proposition is suggested:

Proposition 2: The effect of foreign worker status on workplace stress is mediated by residential insecurity, job insecurity, local social networks, work role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination.

Residential Insecurity

The effect of residential uncertainty on employees has not been researched, but it seems likely to be a source of stress. Insecurity constantly threatens the ability to remain in one's position and requires constant vigilance. Foreign workers will be hyper attuned to the possibility of a poor performance evaluation that might lead to relocation or dismissal. Maintaining residency requires keeping abreast of paperwork and avoiding infractions that could threaten one's visa status. Thus, I suggest:

Proposition 2a: Foreign employees will experience more residential insecurity than do U.S. citizens, and this insecurity will increase their levels of stress.

Job Insecurity

Job security has been defined in a narrow sense as whether an employee will lose his/her job and have to exit the organization [23]. It has also been seen in a broader sense to include any unexpected and undesired changes, including restructuring, demotion, job change within one's company, or transfer to another department. Thus Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt defined job insecurity as "a perceived powerlessness to maintain desired continuity in a threatened job situation" [24, p. 438]. Given their uncertain job tenure and probable unfamiliarity with company politics, foreign employees are likely to experience insecurity in the broad sense. They may face job restructuring done without their input, or they may be reassigned to positions or units that other employees seek to avoid. They will tend not be as well plugged into informal communication networks and thus less likely to hear in advance about possible changes and threats. Indeed, it seems likely that a cloud of uncertainty will hang over their position in their company.

Employees attempt to deal with employment uncertainty by working harder or gaining the favor of their managers. Or they may become resigned and thus internalize the insecurity. Either response requires time and energy, and if kept up long enough, can lead to fatigue and psychological distress. Research finds that perceived job insecurity is associated with stress at work [25-27]. Mak and Mueller find that job insecurity is related to four indicators of "strain"—vocational, psychological, interpersonal, and physical [28]. Job insecurity leads to job dissatisfaction and poor work performance [29]. It has also been found related to

indicators of stress such as depression, anxiety, hostility, and feelings of distress [30, 31]. Thus, I propose:

Proposition 2b: Foreign employees will experience more job insecurity than do U.S. citizens, and this insecurity will increase their levels of stress.

Separation from Social and Family Networks

Another reason that foreign workers will experience greater stress is separation from familiar interpersonal contacts with families (nuclear and extended), friends, and communities. Married employees will be able to bring their spouse and children. Some may have relatives or co-nationals in the community to which they are relocated who can provide support [32, 33]. But in general it can be expected that family and social networks of foreign employees will be less-extensive and well-established than those of permanent residents and citizens.

Social networks are an important resource in dealing with demanding situations. Particularly important are networks made up of "strong" ties, which Granovetter [34] characterized as ones with high frequency, emotional intensity, intimacy and reciprocity [cf. 35]. Close social networks can be a source of emotional support, useful information, referrals and recommendations, financial support, and a variety of services, such as child care, transportation, the loan of household implements, etc. A considerable body of research has found that extensive social networks help reduce stress [35-40]. Social support has been found to reduce four different types of strain [28]. Manning et al. [19] reported that social support reduced medical costs caused by stress. Being deprived of social contacts can be an important source of stress. Separation from family and friends was a significant stressor to long-haul truck drivers, causing them to experience a large number of injuries and illnesses [41]. This literature suggests the following:

Proposition 2c:Foreign employees will have less-extensive and less-established family and social networks than citizens have, and this condition will increase their levels of stress.

Role Ambiguity

Foreign workers are more likely to experience role ambiguity for several reasons. First, they are less familiar with the host country culture and workplace practices. Thus, they are less able to understand the informal or cultural rules that guide the workplace. Many of these rules are tacit and therefore not formulated. Foreign workers will be less able to pick up these tacit cues. They may have less competence with the national language and are therefore more likely to misunderstand policies and directives. Thus, they will tend to experience greater role ambiguity than do their host country counterparts. A good deal of research has

found role ambiguity to be a cause of workplace stress [42-45]. The following proposition is offered:

Proposition 2d:Foreign employees will experience more work role ambiguity than do citizens, and this ambiguity will increase their levels of stress.

Perceived Discrimination

Despite several decades of legislation outlawing discrimination on the basis of race, gender, religion, and national origins, contemporary research continues to document that it exists, including in the workplace [46]. Discrimination can seriously harm those who experience it [47]. It makes the workplace seem an unfriendly and even hostile place. People subject to discrimination are torn between "fight or flight" responses: either being assertive and demanding one's rights, or avoiding the situation altogether. A study of African-Americans' responses to discrimination found that the fight response, or "confrontation," was used less often because it was felt to be too costly in time and energy [48]. More frequently used was flight, that is, an "avoidance strategy." Either response is fraught with costs and risks for the foreign employee. Avoidance strategies lead to reduced self-esteem, unhappiness, and depression, while use of active strategies can increase stress or instigate retaliation [48]. Given their status as newcomers and outsiders, foreign employees are less likely to have the political resources to fight back effectively. The option of quitting and going to another company is slim. Thus, neither fight nor flight fully resolves the problem, and both are likely to bring further consequences that drain energy and generate stress. It is no wonder that a good deal of research has found that perceived discrimination generates distress [49-54].

There seems to be no published research on workplace discrimination against foreign workers. But they are likely to experience it. Many foreign workers come from non-European countries and have racial or religious characteristics that fit one or more "protected" classes. They may experience discrimination aimed at their marginal status in the organization. Therefore:

Proposition 2e: Foreign employees will perceive more discrimination against them than U.S. citizens, and this perception will increase their levels of stress.

FOREIGN WORKER STATUS AS A MODERATOR

Interactive or moderator relationships have been examined in the stress literature [1, p. 117]. For instance, strong self-esteem or extensive social support may reduce the harmful consequences of an objectively stressful situation. I suggest that foreign worker status is such a moderator. My reasoning stems from the

transactional view of stress. According to this conception, stress results from an imbalance between situational demands and available resources. As outsiders and newcomers both to American culture and to their companies, foreign employees will, in general, have less knowledge of how to respond to demands and less access to resources needed. Therefore, the same stressful situations will cause greater stress for them than for permanent residents or U.S. citizens.

Threats to job security can sometimes be dealt with by making oneself appear crucial to the organization. This involves knowing what higher-level managers see as important and understanding how to present oneself to these managers. Foreigners are less likely to have this kind of knowledge. Job security may also be enhanced by "politicking" and becoming part of the in-group. Doing this requires knowledge of the informal structure and good access to communication and friendship networks in the company. As newcomers, foreign employees will tend not to have this access. Or it may involve a bargaining process where the managers are made to feel that the person is owed continued employment. Foreigners will probably not be aware of what is required in these kinds of unofficial dealings.

Dealing with role ambiguity requires the same kinds of resources. Role ambiguity increases stress because it makes unclear what the job requires and therefore what is needed to for adequate performance. This can decrease intrinsic job satisfaction because workers are never sure whether they have achieved excellence. And it creates uncertainty about what is required to obtain an excellent performance assessment from one's supervisor. This is especially disturbing to foreign employees because poor evaluations can affect their job tenure and thus residency status. A home-country national has the knowledge and confidence to respond to initial role ambiguity by seeking guidance from the supervisor. Nationals may have developed collegial networks that can be used to seek advice. Their greater experience in the company and in U.S. workplaces may give them better knowledge of written sources that can clarify job requirements.

Americans who experience discrimination have access to formal avenues of redress within the company and within the legal and regulative systems. However, the question of whether U.S. employment discrimination laws apply to foreign employees is complex, since it involves multiple sources of authority—U.S. statutes, international treaties, and the laws of other countries. In addition, because of their more-vulnerable position, foreign employees will tend to be less willing to choose a confrontational response to discrimination for fear of harming their position in the company. Therefore, they will tend to choose avoidance and bottle up their feelings of anger and resentment. Another response to discrimination is to use informal means such as negotiation with those involved or alliances with others in the company, what Amirkhan calls the "seeking support" response [55]. But doing this successfully requires a good position within communication and exchange networks in the company, and foreign employees are less likely to have these. Thus, it seems that foreign employee status will

intensify the effects of job insecurity, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination in the workplace. I propose:

Proposition 3: The effects of job insecurity, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination on stress will be greater for foreign employees than for U.S. citizens.

STRESS OUTCOMES

Research has found that stress has a number of harmful effects on employees [30, 56, 57]. Three of the most often-mentioned are reduced job satisfaction, poor emotional states such as depression, and poor physical health. Stress reduces intrinsic job satisfaction because it associates the job with painful outcomes [57, 58]. It may also decrease job performance. Highly stressed workers have been found to be less productive, make lower-quality decisions, and be absent more often from work [59, 60]. Poor performance may reduce rewards obtained from the work and thus lead to decreased extrinsic satisfaction. Stress can hurt social satisfaction by making it difficult to communicate and interact with others.

Stress leads to poor emotional states and even to serious depression [37, 61-63]. Prolonged stress places great demands on the person and eventually leads to fatigue and a variety of physical symptoms, such as sleep disturbances, headaches, backaches, high blood pressure, immune system suppression, and heart disease [5, 30, 61, 64, 65]. Stress-related symptoms now account for about 60 percent of visits to primary care physicians [66]. Manning et al. found that stressful events and strain were related to higher medical expenditures [19].

These effects of stress are well-known. I suggest that they are stronger for foreign employees than for residents or citizens. Stress itself is difficult to deal with, but foreign workers are less likely to have the tools and resources to do so for the reasons mentioned above. Thus, the following proposition is suggested:

Proposition 4: The effects of stress on job satisfaction, depression, and physical health symptoms will be greater for foreign employees than for U.S. citizens.

CULTURE AND STRESS

As the world's economies become more global, it is important to understand how culture and nationality might affect the mechanism of job stress [67]. Foreign employees are likely to retain their cultural values while working in the host country. One cultural value that seems especially relevant to expatriate employees is individualism-collectivism. Collectivist cultures put great emphasis on inclusion in larger entities such as families, organizations, and communities. People owe allegiance to these groups, and they form their personal goals based on what is good for the group. It is also seen as normal and legitimate that people would draw on the group for support. Given this orientation, it is likely that foreign employees

from collectivist cultures are more likely to feel distress when separated from their familiar groups, and more bereft when encountering demands and problems, since their appropriate sources of support are not easily available.

In contrast, individualist cultures place less emphasis on the needs of the group and more on individual fulfillment. Cultural expectations are that people should develop their own goals and take the actions necessary to pursue those goals [68]. Socialization focuses on developing autonomy and initiative. Even a bit of rebellion is seen as healthy. Relationships are important but individuals are expected to construct their own social networks suited to their needs and life styles. Foreign workers from individualist cultures would seem more able to accommodate quickly to their new setting. They will experience stress, but their greater sense of independence will make it easier to find the resources needed in the new setting. They may miss family and friends, but they are more likely to think it is appropriate to develop new social networks. Thus, I conclude:

Proposition 5a: Foreign workers with collectivist values will experience more stress than those with individualist values.

Proposition 5b: The effects of residential insecurity, job insecurity, social networks, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination on stress will be greater for collectivist foreign employees than for individualist foreign employees.

Figure 1 specifies the causes and consequences of stress specific to the situation of foreign workers.

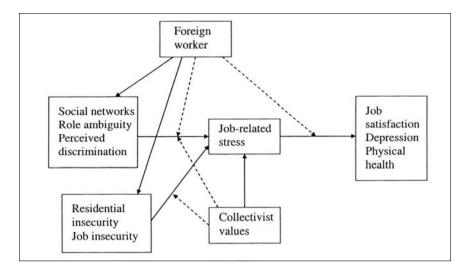


Figure 1. Foreign workers and job-related stress.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Documented foreign workers have become important to the U.S. economy both in terms of their increasing percentage of the labor force and because a great many are highly skilled professionals and technicians whose expertise is in short supply domestically. Yet these workers are likely to experience heightened workplace stress, due both to their temporary and marginal status and to the fact that many are members of groups that tend to experience discrimination in the United States. Research has shown that workplace stress is costly both to the employee and to the organization. Coupled with the fact that stress is on the rise throughout the economy, this presents the likelihood that foreign employees may experience high levels of stress that reduce their contributions to their organizations as well as make their sojourns in the United States less rewarding.

Despite the vast amount of research on workplace stress, there have been few studies on foreign workers. The purpose of this article is to develop a model that specifies the causes and consequences of stress specific to the situation of foreign workers. The model is shown in Figure 1. This model proposes that the effect of foreign employee status on perceived stress is mediated by five conditions: residential insecurity, job insecurity, local social networks, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination. These conditions were selected because they are known causes of workplace stress and strain, and because they are especially relevant to the situation of foreign employees.

In addition to these mediating effects, I suggest that foreign status is a moderator that intensifies the effects of job insecurity, role ambiguity and discrimination on stress. Likewise, foreign status will increase the effects of stress on job satisfaction, depression, and health. Finally, for foreign employees, collectivism will increase the effects of residential insecurity, job insecurity, local social networks, role ambiguity, and perceived discrimination on stress.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

This model has a number of implications for managing foreign employees. First of all, managers need to be attuned to the usual issues involved in intercultural communication to ensure that they understand their foreign employees' needs and that the employees understand their job requirements. Foreign employees often come from countries with communication styles that contrast with the typical American ones. Failure to realize this can add to work role ambiguity for these employees. Also, many come from Asian cultures, which have higher levels of collectivism and which discourage standing out or being too assertive. Managers need to make an extra effort to ensure that they have communicated fully with these employees. Managers should try to include them in the informal communication and helping networks of their units. A desirable practice would be to set up social occasions that bring together the foreign employees and their families with a

small number of selected American employees and their families. This can help develop social networks that may be used for emotional support as well as help with nonwork issues involved in living in the United States.

Companies cannot change visa laws, but they can attempt to be clear about the conditions for remaining employed for the full six years permitted by the H-1B visa. They might provide staff and legal support to deal with the inevitable problems that arise regarding residency status. While residency terms may be reasonably clear for the worker, they may not be transparent for their dependents and spouses; and in particular for romantic partners. Some employees may want to marry a fiancé who is currently abroad, and from experience we know that getting the appropriate visas can be difficult. Companies can also take measures to develop networks among co-nationals within the same company and within the surrounding community. It may even be reasonable to select a new employee partly on the basis of the presence of co-nationals in the area. Discrimination is a vexing problem for all organizations, but managers must be very alert to possible discrimination against their foreign employees, given that they are unlikely to voice complaints, but will rather internalize the problem and possibly suffer debilitating stress.

Human resource departments obviously have a key role to play in managing foreign employees. They can take the lead in developing the internal and external networks that are needed. They also play a key role in dealing with discrimination issues. Since foreign employees will typically not initiate complaints, the HR department must be proactive in opening up lines of communication to them, educating the workforce, and attempting to interpret the various laws that apply. It may be desirable to have a foreign-employee ombudsperson, who would be foreign born. It may also be helpful to assign each foreign employee a long-term employee and U.S. resident as a mentor, to be a "bridge" into company and community networks.

ENDNOTES

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Direct reprint requests to:

Ali Soylu School of Business Cameron University Lawton, OK 73505 e-mail: asoylu@cameron.edu