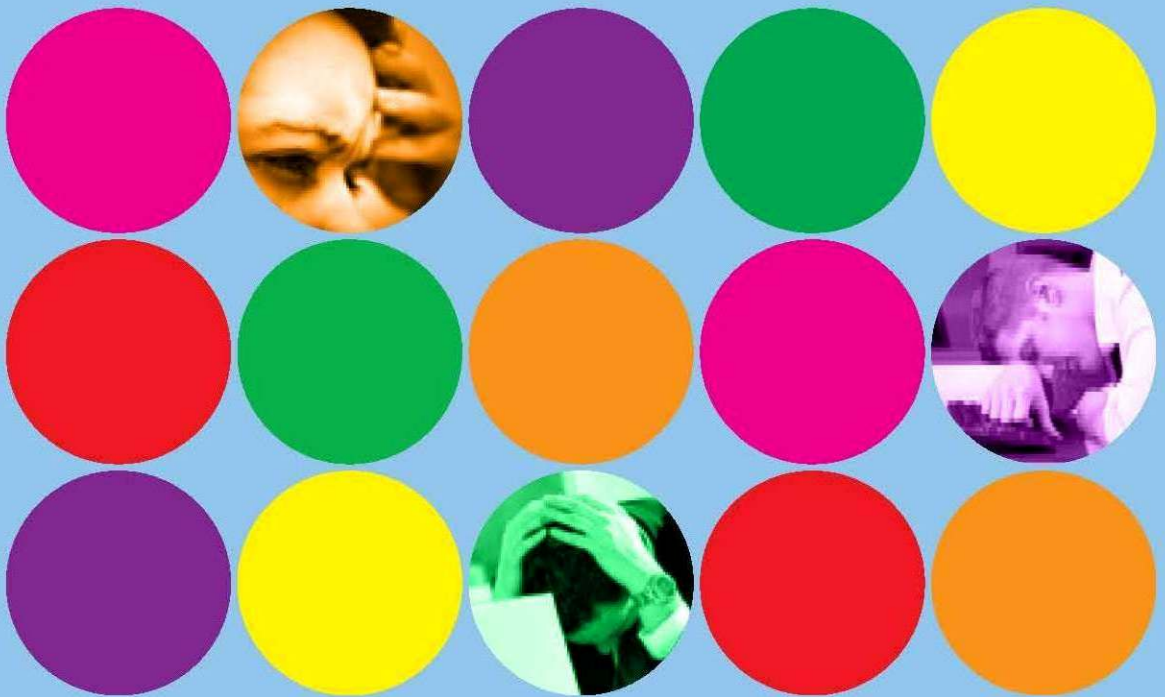




Handbook of Managerial Behavior and Occupational Health



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Introduction

Migration in Europe: the social, demographic and political context

Migration is considered as a movement responding to the societal pressures to move from one country to another because of social, economic and political problems and opportunities (Bierbrauer & Pedersen, 1996). More than 191 million persons, documented or undocumented immigrants, currently reside in a country other than where they were born, about 3% of the world's population (IOM, 2003). In Europe, mass migration is not new. During the twentieth century Europe has experienced three major periods of movements: during the First and Second World Wars and the last decades. Modern mass immigration differs from past migration in part because it is characterized by new movements, especially from Eastern and Central European countries. Moreover, some countries in Europe, such as Spain, Italy or Portugal, which have traditionally been exporters of immigrants, have shifted to becoming importers. With regard to the characteristics of the migrants, it is no longer the poorest who emigrate, as the migration process involves a material cost. Migration of elites and skilled personnel is increasing, as is the participation of women as independent actors in the migration process (Castles & Miller, 1998). Another new feature of the migration is that immigrants are not simply looking for an immediate job, but for situations which give them a higher quality of life, together with better future possibilities for themselves and their children.

In the literature, migration has been divided into involuntary and voluntary migration (Berry, 2006). Voluntary migrants are immigrants and sojourners. They are distinguished by the fact that the stay of immigrants is longer and more permanent compared to that of sojourners (who include students, diplomatic personnel and international executives), whose stay in the country of destination is quite temporary and whose return is already planned ahead of the migration. Refugees and asylum seekers, often called 'forced migrants', are involuntary migrants, and their life has often been stressful before the migration. Another distinction is made between first- and second-generation immigrants (Berry et al., 2006). First-generation immigrants are persons who have moved from one society to another and settled in the new society while second-generation immigrants are persons born in the new society. The presence of undocumented immigrants is a well-established fact in most European countries, although the European Union (EU) members have been practicing a policy of closing borders with the development of processes of regularization of immigrants.

Migration in Greece: the main immigrant groups

In many ways, immigration to Greece has much in common with the other southern EU member states such as Portugal, Spain and Italy. First, the East–West dimension dominates. Second, most of the immigrants are clandestine, at least initially. Third, the new forms of mobility are also evident: transit, temporary, seasonal and cross-border migration. Finally, geographic proximity and cultural or historical links with countries of origin and migrant populations (in terms of religion, ethnicity, etc.) can also be identified (King et al., 2000). According to the 2001 census, immigrants constitute 7% of the total Greek populations, though other sources estimate that this percentage reaches 10% (Zavos, 2006). Major population inflows towards Greece include Albanian immigrants, who constitute 57% of the total foreigners in the country, immigrants from other former socialist countries of Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Romania, Georgia), ethnic Greeks from the Black Sea region (Pontics) who were entitled to Greek passports, ethnic Greek Albanian citizens (Vorioepiotes) and a smaller number of returning Greek migrants from Northern Europe, the US, Canada and Australia (Cavounidis, 2004; Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2005). Greece has always had a relatively small inflow of asylum seekers, compared to other EU states, such as the UK and Germany.

The role of migration in Greece has been discussed during recent years from the point of the policy of regulation of undocumented migrants (Sitaropoulos, 2003; Cavounidis, 2002), the consequences of migration on different sectors of society and economy (Labrianidis & Lyberaki, 2001; Rovolis & Tragaki, 2005) or the study of acculturation of immigrants with a specific emphasis on the transformation of social and ethnic identity (Georgas & Papastilianou, 1996). Little attention has been given to integration of immigrants into the labor market and the career behavior of individuals with culturally different backgrounds. There are several reasons why studies of career development of immigrant groups are still in the early stages. First and foremost, the vast majority of immigrants in Greece perform manual work, whatever their educational and technical qualifications. The overwhelming majority of employed Albanians, Bulgarians and Romanians are classified in craft and related work, as plant and machine operators and in elementary occupations which include unskilled occupations in agriculture, industry and services (Cavounidis, 2004). Second, current models of career development and counseling do not take into consideration the effect of the transitional experience of immigrants who are settling in a new country (Sue et al., 1996). Third, theories of career development are usually based on Eurocentric worldviews that may differ from those of the immigrant groups. For instance, they usually assume an individualistic perspective regarding behavior and choices, whereas members of immigrant groups may prefer a collectivist orientation to choices and decisions (Aycan, 2000; Triandis & Trafimov, 2003). Fourth, many assessment instruments used in career counseling may not cover the salient aspects of behavior of immigrants due to lack of similarity of the meaning of test scores across culture groups (Gainor, 2000; Van de Vijver, 2000).

An examination of the career behavior and development of immigrant groups in Greece reveals both areas of immigration as a transition experience and areas of divergence between groups. The purpose of this chapter is to present a range of issues relevant to career development of immigrants. It begins with concepts and issues within the field of acculturation together with a presentation of basic needs and health problems of immigrants. This is followed by the unemployment of immigrants as a risk factor for

adaptation to the new situation. The subsequent section includes theories about career development and counseling of diverse cultural groups, followed by a section that reviews research findings on career development of immigrant groups in Greece and presents a comparative study about some psychological aspects of work-related behavior and the experiences of unemployed Pontic remigrants and native Greeks in comparison with employed coethnics. The final section is concerned with a model of career development (career behavior and counseling), drawing upon both theory and empirical findings to address issues that may arise in plural societies as a result of immigration.

Immigration, needs and health problems of immigrants

Immigration has been regarded by social scientists and mental health professionals as one of the most stressful processes of loss and change. The first phase starts when a person leaves the familiar environment, family and friends, community ties and job, customs and language in the hope of finding new opportunities. The second phase is the initial period after arriving in a new country. The difficulties related to culture contact are characterized as culture shock (Ward et al., 2001), which includes emotional reactions such as confusion, anxiety, disorientation, and bewilderment in response to difficulties and restrictions connected to being an immigrant. After this, there is acculturation that involves the ongoing process of changes over time in beliefs, emotions, attitudes, values, and behavior and identification patterns of one person in first-hand contact with another from another culture (Liebkind, 2001). Acculturation may proceed along diverging options: assimilation and integration, separation and marginalization (Berry, 2003). The integration option is chosen where the individual seeks to participate as an integral part of a larger society. The second option, assimilation, is chosen if the individual does not wish to maintain his or her identity. Separation is the preferred strategy where the individual wants to hold on to his or her original culture, but avoids interaction with the larger society. Marginalization results from little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance or intergroup relations (Liebkind, 2001; Berry, 2003).

Adaptation refers to long-term ways in which people rearrange their lives and settle down to a more or less satisfactory existence (Berry, 2006). Successful psychological adaptation involves one's psychological and physical well-being (Schmitz, 1992) and is predicted by personality variables, life-change events and social support (Berry, 2006), while sociocultural adaptation is the ability of an individual to manage daily life in the new cultural context and is associated with cultural knowledge, degree of contact and positive intergroup attitudes (Ward et al., 2001). Economic adaptation is conceptualized as the sense of accomplishment and full participation in the economic life in a new country (Aycan & Berry, 1996). The extent to which one's original professional identity can be resumed upon immigration affects the adaptation process. Immigrants who maintain their professional identity, especially when other aspects of themselves are challenged, ensure an inner continuity in change and feel vocationally efficacious (Akhtar, 1999). But it is widely recognized that migratory experience is associated with a number of difficulties within the host country. Ability to find work, questions of pay, seasonal availability, safety, and the unpleasantness of the job play an important role in adaptation. Whether or not the immigrant is documented or undocumented affects the opportunity to participate in a new culture as well as the general quality of life (Suárez-Orozco, 2000).

Because of status loss, immigrants may not initially enjoy the same economic success as

natives for the following reasons (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Hayfron, 2006). First, migrating individuals are less likely to find employment at the level for which their education and training has prepared them because different countries have different educational systems and labor-market operation, and employers in the host country may have less information about the educational qualifications and work experience most immigrants bring with them to the host country. Non-recognition of the individual observable characteristics such as educational qualifications and years of work have as a consequence devaluation of different unobservable characteristics such as innate ability, motivation, values, beliefs and interests, since employers believe that there is a positive correlation between observed and unobserved characteristics. Second, language difficulties, depending on the linguistic distance between immigrants' native language and the host country's language, may lead to acculturation difficulties and an exclusion of immigrants from higher-paying jobs in the labor market (Berman et al., 2003). Third, the quantity and quality of occupational opportunities available to immigrant groups are limited due to barriers that are the result of discrimination and oppression against members of immigrant groups.

Discrimination as inappropriate treatment to individuals due to their membership is inextricably linked to notions of justice and equality (Mummendey & Otten, 2003). According to sociological perspectives, immigrants experience occupational discrimination that is perpetuated by the structure of the economic system. There are two main reasons for the discrimination process of immigrant people. The delays in the regulation process of immigrants, which has been criticized either for operating too slowly to respond to the expansion of immigrant population or for the restrictiveness it has placed on employers who sought to legally recruit migrants from abroad (Cavounidis, 2002; Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2005). Second, entrance into the core economic system that consists of large firms that have control over a large amount of resources, especially for high salary and prestigious positions, is restrictive for members of immigrant groups. Institutions often set up formal and informal rules in terms of educational background, values, beliefs and cultural characteristics that lead to creating a reality of certain typically occupations of immigrants. Structural discrimination is at least partly responsible for the under-representation of immigrant groups in professional and managerial occupations, which are usually positions that carry higher prestige and wages. A comparison of 25 OECD member countries indicated that Greece exhibits the most extreme concentration of migrants in manual occupations. Specifically, the percentages of immigrants working in non-manual jobs in Greece are 10% compared to 40% of the total labor force (Cavounidis, 2002; Rovolis, & Tragaki, 2005). Most of the jobs are non-skilled, manual, and well below the immigrants' level of education and qualifications. According to Kasimis and Kassimi (2004) nearly half of all migrants have secondary education (including technical-skill schools), one-third have either completed or had some primary school education and approximately one-tenth have higher education.

The social experiences of discrimination can cause some immigrants to restrict the range of occupations they consider. Actual or perceived discrimination may discourage them from choosing some occupations or can create a sense of hopelessness about their occupational future. Furthermore, discrimination has been associated with social skill deficits and less willingness to adopt host culture identity (Ward et al., 2001) that have negative consequences in the formation of vocational self-concept, a construct that has a significant influence on the psychological and social functioning of immigrants (Swanson

& Fouad, 1999). When people – and groups – are consistently denied employment opportunities, and when they are also provided with inferior training opportunities, perceive law enforcement as providing little protection, and face discrimination in other aspects of community life, the combination adds up to a powerful recipe for exclusion – the antithesis of inclusion, which is the fundamental notion of integration to the host country.

Adversity experienced in employment results in ‘acculturative stress’, a term coined to describe a stress reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experience of acculturation (Berry, 2006). Acculturative stress is usually manifested in the form of depression because of the multiple cultural losses and anxiety due to uncertainties. Work-related problems and low economic status were found to be associated with depressive symptoms and stress in various immigrant groups (Aycan & Berry, 1996). Several studies have evidenced association between discrimination against immigrants and poor health status (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002; Wiking et al., 2004). Increasingly, the contextual discrimination, particularly in relation to residential segregation, is detrimental to health status (Williams & Collins, 2001) and increases the risk of morbidity (Acevedo-Garcia, 2001) and mortality (Fang et al., 1998). Mental health professionals in Europe refer to ‘chronic and multiple stress syndrome’ in immigrants who experience difficult conditions (Achotegui, 2002; Bhui et al., 2003). Immigrants affected by this syndrome present depressive symptomatology with atypical characteristics, where depressive symptoms are mixed with anxiety, somatoform and dissociative symptoms. The symptoms develop progressively as the immigrants encounter the obstacles that take place during the migration process, such a distance from their home environment: difficulties in finding a job and obtaining documents, and discrimination in the receiving context.

Unemployment as a risk factor for the mental health of immigrants

Despite their aspirations for financial security, immigrants encounter more barriers to economic success than natives. They are often unemployed or underemployed, especially if they migrate from non-traditional or cultural distant locations (Ward et al., 2001). Across Western Europe, immigrants have far higher rates of unemployment and economic inactivity than the native-born populations (Phalet & Kopic, 2006). In Britain, Asian and Muslim communities have been vulnerable to unemployment or low-paid work (Modood et al., 1997; Wilson, 2003).

Although economists view unemployment or inadequate employment as an economic problem and attribute psychological effects to financial disadvantage, a comprehensive view of the literature underlies the correlation between employment status and mental health (Winefield, 2002). Mental health refers to the embodiment of social, emotional and spiritual well-being that provides individuals with the vitality necessary for active living, to achieve goals, and to interact with others in ways that are respectful and just (VicHealth, 1999). It is well documented that unemployment, or job loss results in significant deterioration in psychological and physical well-being for the majority, including increased rates of depressive symptomatology, and re-entry leads to significant improvement in mental health (Murphy & Athanasou, 1999; Catalano et al., 2000; Dooley et al., 2000). Furthermore, researchers also argue that satisfaction with employment is the key ingredient differentiating employment and unemployment experiences. Being satisfactorily employed enhances psychological growth and self-esteem, but being unsatisfactorily employed is psychologically as bad as being unemployed (Winefield, 2002).

Although employment problems are considered to generate similar mental health outcomes for any individual in society, Aycan and Berry (1996) suggest that unemployment of immigrants results not only in the typical incidence of psychological problems but also in adaptation difficulties. They reported that adapted immigrants were those who experienced satisfaction with their employment condition. The authors state that having work provided not only an income, but also status and identity, which enabled the individual to establish relationships with others in society. The importance of employment issues among other stress factors in the settlement process has been highlighted by Sharareh et al. (2004), who suggest that immigrants in Sweden may also occupy an inferior position in the labor market, which leads to poor health. The influence on health is more marked for immigrant women than for immigrant men. Similar results were reported by Lev-Wiesel and Kaufman (2004) who found that duration of unemployment among immigrants was also positively correlated with anxiety. Australian immigrants are found to have poorer mental health six months after arrival in Australia compared with assessments at 18 and 42 months. Furthermore, unemployment, and especially a long duration of unemployment, is found to be associated with poor mental health (Kennedy & Ted McDonald, 2006). Collected data on Canada indicated that living in areas of high unemployment is associated with poor physical and mental health of immigrants in comparison to non-immigrants. Among first-generation immigrants, community unemployment was associated with psychological distress. Among second-generation immigrants, the probability of obesity and poor self-rated health increased significantly for those living in areas with high unemployment, but these associations were statistically significant only for men. Findings among first-generation immigrants are interpreted with respect to the effects of possible discrimination in areas with low job availability. Among second-generation men, poor physical health and obesity may be the result of poor health habits stemming from perceived lack of life opportunities (Zunzunegui et al., 2006). Studies from Australia and New Zealand indicated that immigrant mental illness is related to social aspects such as difficulties at home and at work and loss of status (Sang & Ward, 2006).

The role of career development and counseling from a multicultural perspective

Career development is a term that came into general use in the 1960s and was broadened in definition through the 1970s. During the 1980s, theorists expanded and extended career development from an occupational to a life perspective in which occupation (and work) has place and meaning. They defined 'life career development' as self-development over the life span through the integration of the roles, settings, and events of a person's life (Gysbers & Moore, 1975). The concept of *life career development* includes recognition of life-span aspects (career tasks in each of a series of life stages: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, decline) and life-space aspects (multiple contexts of individuals' lives) of career development, and the view of work as embedded within other life roles (Swanson et al., 2000). As such, career development involves one's whole life, not just occupation. It concerns the whole person, needs and wants, capacities and potentials, excitements and anxieties. More than that, it concerns him/her in the ever-changing contexts of his/her life.

The contemporary use of the term 'career development' describes both the total constellation of factors that combine to shape individual career behavior over the life span and the interventions or practices that are used to enhance a person's career

development or to enable that person to make more effective career decisions. Thus, inherent in the current usage of the term are two sets of theories, or conceptual categories, one which explains the development of career behavior across the life span and the other which describes how career behavior is changed by particular interventions (Erwin, 2001).

Although there is growing consensus in vocational psychology for career counseling to be culture centered, relatively little is known empirically about how, exactly, culture influences vocational processes (Fouad, 2001). Early work regarding issues of career behavior of minority groups focused on between-group differences (e.g., career behavior of African American and Caucasian students). The next stage of research focused on within-group differences and investigated variables such as identity attitudes or perceptions of opportunities among immigrant groups (Swanson et al., 2000). The review of the literature (Walsh, 2001) shows that identity attitudes significantly predict career choices, career-related self-efficacy, and the ability to use bicultural strategies for managing two cultural contexts. Although biculturalism can be a positive coping mechanism, it may also contribute to stress, for example, when an individual is the only member of his/her cultural group in a non-traditional occupation (Carter & Constantine, 2000; Walsh, 2001). Other researchers have integrated the issues of diversity and the career behavior of minority groups into the mainstream vocational and counseling psychology (Gysbers et al., 1999; Swanson et al., 2000). Models of career counseling have also been criticized for not including the critical variables of migration, poverty and discrimination (Leung, 1995). Such external issues have a disproportional effect on the process of career development and on the content of career choices, because they limit the options that individuals may consider and restrict their opportunities for success. On the other hand, the strong relationship between socioeconomic status and educational and occupational levels lead to a continuous cycle of poorly educated minority individuals.

No one theoretical framework has been developed to explain the career behavior of immigrant groups. Rather, various models have developed to help counselors conceptualize ways for appropriate career counseling among such groups. The integrative-sequential conceptual framework for career counseling (Leong & Hartung, 2000) involves identifying culturally relevant ways to assist individuals to make career decisions, adjust to those decisions, and manage work relative to other life roles. Augmenting the longstanding emphasis on person variables (e.g., interests, aptitudes, personality traits), with a focus on cultural context variables, such as social roles and values, should give incremental validity to career development theory and counseling practice. Hartung et al. (2002) studied the relationship between the individualist-collectivist (I-C) values and the occupational choices, career planning behaviors, work values, and family background of 269 college students of African, Asian, Hispanic, and European American descent. They found some significant though moderate relationships between I-C values and the values students sought in work, the career choices they made, and the ways they planned to achieve career goals. Community college students from four cultural groups (white, black, Hispanic, Asian) displayed significant differences on a number of career values (Teng et al., 2001). For example, having a good starting income was more important to black people, while job security, performance, and use of prior experience were more important to black and Hispanic people in comparison to whites and Asians.

Leung's context model (1995) focuses on career intervention by exploring the effect of

two variables on the career behavior of minority groups: racial discrimination and social class. Working with multicultural middle school students, Jackson and Nutini (2001) identified contextual barriers and resources affecting career-related learning of minority students: (i) external barriers (unsafe environment, low income, negative social support, discrimination); (ii) internal barriers (negative self-efficacy, negative academic performance, perception of equal opportunity); (iii) external resources (role models, social and cultural support); and (iv) internal resources (bicultural competence, coping efficacy).

Fouad and Bingham (1995) and Fouad and Byars-Winston (2005) used the culturally appropriate career counseling model (CACCM), by incorporating culture as a critical factor in every aspect of the counseling process. The CACCM includes the following steps: counselor's establishment of a culturally appropriate relationship with the person, identification of career issues, assessment of the impact of cultural factors on identified career issues, appropriate process and goal setting, and developing specific career counseling strategies to address the client's career concerns.

Examination of career development of immigrant groups in Greece: a comparative study

Albanian immigrants

Following the political changes in 1990, it is estimated that one million Albanians left the country, with Greece and other countries as their destination. According to the National Statistics Service of Greece, more than half of all foreigners registered in the 2001 Greek census are Albanian citizens (Kasimis & Kassimi, 2001). The majority of these stated that they came to Greece to find employment, while the others came for family reunion.

Albanian immigrants experience anxiety, frustration and emotional states of anger due to acculturation issues, although the majority of them choose integration as the prime acculturation strategy (Dalla et al., 2004; Dalla & Georgiadhrou, 2005). The integration as a modification of one's construal of ethnic identity by adding to it aspects of a new culture allow many Albanian immigrants to see migration as a positive experience because it allows them to think that the host country may offer more opportunities than their home country. The past is associated with economic, social and educational difficulties such as poverty, and insecurity in everyday life. The study 'Personality and mental health among Albanian immigrants in Greece in comparison to their coethnics in Albania and native Greeks' (Dragoti et al., 2006) indicated that Albanian immigrants, although living in a new country, demonstrated fewer psychological problems in comparison with their coethnics. At the same time, the lack of psychological problems is associated with high levels of openness to the new challenges and low negative affect (low neuroticism) (Dragoti et al., 2006).

The findings in relation to the educational and career development of Albanian immigrants can be linked to a variety of structural factors, including the prolonged undocumented status of many migrants, racism, and other acculturative factors such as lack of knowledge of the Greek language, ignorance of the labor market networks, the risk of employing immigrants due to the ignorance of employers regarding the personal and other characteristics of immigrants and the restrictions imposed on the labor market by the regulation of many professions (Lianos, 2004). About a third of Albanians work in the construction sector and a fifth in agriculture. The fact that so many Albanian immigrants are employed in heavy manual labor reduces their chances of improving their professional qualifications and familiarizing themselves with modern skills and technologies,

and leads to occupational segmentation due to the lack of opportunities for incremental upward mobility through well-paid, blue-collar positions. Employment in poorly paid sectors is a way of survival – it is not a means of integration in the new country.

Research data also show that Albanian immigrant children tend to fare worse in academic performance than their native counterparts (Motti-Stefandi et al., 2008), although they and their parents bring with them high aspirations with regard to school success (Dalla, 2002). They tend to have lower educational and occupational expectations due to perceptions of lack of opportunity, although youth of immigrants do not differ from the majority in their career development interests or aspirations (Suárez-Orozco, 2000). According to Nikolaou (2000) increasingly high percentages of immigrant students are entering schools at the secondary level, and yet the majority of programs designed to help Greek-language learners tend to be concentrated at the elementary school level. Some children are particularly at risk of dropping out. Some of these students arrive with interrupted schooling that has not prepared them well for the new setting. Others may have received an adequate or even superior education, but often find that they encounter resistance to finding a job that reflects their educational level (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2001).

Regarding the structure of attitudes of the host country toward Albanian immigrants, there are four factors that give rise to prejudice: negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, realistic threats and symbolic threats (Stephan & Renfro, 2003). The literature indicates that a set of negative attributes is ascribed to Albanian immigrants: a low status and inferior group; ‘casual workers’; ‘marginalized, unemployed, homeless’; often ‘illiterate with no skills’; of low potential and ability; and ‘doomed to work in heavy and badly paid jobs’. Realistic threats are related to group conflict and competition for scarce resources or threats to physical well-being of an ingroup member. As a result, Albanians may be regarded as illegitimate competitors who are depriving native people of material resources, jobs, wages, social benefits and services (Constantinidou, 2001). Some interesting findings indicated that Albanian immigrants cope actively with prejudice. They display a relatively positive view toward their own group and pursue hetero stereotyping and prejudice to a lesser extent than the Greeks toward Albanians (Dalla & Georgiadhrou, 2005). Albanians attribute to themselves virtues such as friendly, helpful, social, peaceful, honest, enthusiastic and negative emotional traits to a lesser extent such as inactive, undisciplined and lazy. Immigrants reject any personal responsibility for their status and attribute responsibility to the political system and complex bureaucratic procedures (Lyberaki & Maroukis, 2004).

Pontic Greeks

Pontic Greeks are descendants of the ancient Hellenic communities of the southern shores of the Black Sea, who were scattered by Stalin to different areas of the Soviet Union. These ethnic Greeks have retained the Greek culture, language, religion, and customs, but have never lived in Greece (Georgas & Papastylianou, 1996). More than half of them (about 80,000) came from Georgia, 31,000 from Kazakhstan, 23,000 from Russia and about 9,000 from Armenia (Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2005). People coming to Greece from these countries are considered ethnic migrants, they are given special status and are treated as non-immigrants, even though in most cases, they face the same difficulties integrating in Greek society as other migrants. The main factors contributing to the migration of Pontic Greeks were a personal desire for return to their ancestral

hometown, the presence of relatives already residing in Greece, the expectation of a better life and working conditions, the desire to raise their children where the existing language and religion would reinforce their ethnic identity, the civil war and persecution of minorities in the former Soviet Union and the neglect by the post-Soviet state with its lack of support for Pontic Greeks.

Regarding acculturation issues, Pontic Greeks can be described in terms of inclination toward integration (Georgas & Papastylianou, 1996). Most of them prefer to downplay the difference between them and the host society. Pontic Greeks maintain national and international connections. More than 300 different associations of Pontic Greeks exist in Greece. The local associations are organized in a larger body, 'Nostos', which since 1995 has brought together the Southern Greece Federation of Pontic Associations and the Pontic Associations of a number of major Greek cities and of neighborhoods across Athens. Nostos has participated in EU-funded programmes and has developed education, training, leisure and other activities aimed at Pontic Greeks' and their children's integration into Greek society and the labor market (Gropas & Triandafillidou, 2005).

Pontic Greeks have a higher educational level than the native-born population. Specifically, over 27% of Pontic Greeks have a higher educational degree compared with only 7% of the native populations. Two-thirds of Pontic Greeks have completed secondary education, compared with only one-third of the native population (Kassimati, 1992). Yet, most of them work as construction workers, cleaners, market vendors, farm workers or craftspeople, jobs that bear little relevance to their previous experience and education. Part-time employment, unemployment and underemployment are the defining characteristics of the Pontic immigrant's work and occupation in Greece (Kassimati, 2001). The difficulty of integrating into Greek society and economy, which partly reproduces experiences of exclusion and 'Otherness', places Pontic Greeks somewhere between the ethnic Greeks and the ethnic minorities.

A comparative study of work behavior and experience of unemployed Pontic and native Greeks compared to employed coethnics

We conducted a study whose purpose was to examine some psychological aspects of work-related behavior and experience of unemployed Pontic remigrants and native Greeks in comparison with employed coethnics. The work-related behavior and experience was examined in relation to personality attributes such as personality traits and personal values, and occupational variables such as vocational interests and work values. Participants included people aged from 18 to 64 years, 121 Pontic remigrants and 294 Greeks who provided comparative data. The total sample included 104 males and 311 females. More than two-thirds of the sample (84.3%) were unemployed, 88 Pontic Greeks (73.3%) and 259 (88.4%) native Greeks. The employed sample comprised 66 people, 32 remigrants and 34 natives.

Personality traits Personality factors could function as psychological resources for psychosocial and economic adaptation of immigrants (Ward & Leong, 2004). This study examined whether personality traits function as moderator variables between immigration and employment. A short version of the Adjective Check List – Five Factors (ACL-ff; Williams et al., 1998) was used to measure personality traits. The instrument measures neuroticism (N), extraversion (E), openness (O), agreeableness (A), and

conscientiousness (C). Each scale has six items, and responses are scored on a 7-point rating scale, ranging from 'not at all' to 'very much'.

It was found that some personality factors correlate with both immigration and employments status. Both employed and unemployed immigrants presented a significantly high level of conscientiousness. Neuroticism, which encompasses facets of anxiety, hostility, and impulsiveness, is associated with a high level of unemployment for both natives and immigrants. It is a negative predictor of extrinsic success – for example, income and occupational status – and has been broadly linked to skills deficits (Judge et al., 1999). Furthermore, immigrant status makes economic adaptation for Pontic Greeks more anxiety raising because they experience many changes that take place as a result of culture contact and participation in a new society.

Personal values Values specify an individual's personal beliefs about how he or she 'should' or 'ought' to behave in their social environments (Schwartz, 1994). Change and societal insecurity would result in emphasis on conservation and self-enhancement values, whereas societal security would result in emphasis on openness-to-change and self-transcendence values (Schwartz & Sagie, 2000). The Schwartz Values Survey was used to determine value differences between immigrants and natives and their relation to employment status. The Schwartz survey identifies 10 universal values that are organized into a system of four types of higher-order values: openness to change (self-direction, stimulation), conservation (conformity, security, tradition), self-enhancement (achievement, hedonism, power), and self-transcendence (benevolence, universalism). Openness-to-change values relate to the importance of personal autonomy and independence, variety, excitement and challenge. Conservation values relate to the importance of self-control, safety and stability in societal and personal relationships, and respecting cultural traditions. Self-enhancement values relate to achieving personal success through demonstrated competence, attaining social status and prestige, and control over others. Self-transcendence values relate to protecting and enhancing the well-being of those with whom one has close contact, as well as the welfare of all people and the environment.

According to the results, Pontic remigrants attribute less importance to openness to change (stimulation and self-direction), to self-enhancement (hedonism) and to self-transcendence, including benevolence. The dissimilar values and orientations of immigrants and native Greeks could be attributed to different socioeconomic and cultural environments and to immigration changes that do not engender modernist survival values, such as the pursuit of personal power and success. Furthermore, employed native Greeks were found to be significantly more open to change and self-enhancement but less conservative than unemployed natives and immigrants. One implication of this study is a need for flexible managerial and human resource practices using work team formation, and career development to accommodate values differences and to facilitate workplace coordination and long-term organizational success (Kupperschmidt, 2000).

Vocational interests Vocational interests refer specifically to those activities, objects or processes associated with work activities. People obtain satisfaction by performing the particular kind of work activity that closely fits their personality preferences. Holland (1997) articulated a model of vocational interests which included six dimensions, or interest types. Realistic individuals enjoy working with mechanical devices and working

outdoors using machines, tools and objects. Investigative individuals enjoy scientific pursuits, working with abstract ideas, researching and analyzing. Artistic individuals value aesthetics and enjoy using their imagination and creativity. Social individuals value service to others and enjoy teaching, helping, and working with people. Enterprising people value status and enjoy directing, organizing, and leading. Conventional individuals prefer structured tasks, and enjoy practical pursuits and working with things, numbers or machines to meet precise standards.

The Vocational Interests Inventory for Adults also was used (Holland et al., 2001). Vocational interests were measured using 48 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disinterested, 5 = strongly interested).

Compared to natives, remigrants from the former Soviet Union seem to avoid high occupational goals and ambitions, and are focused much less on activities that relate to social, investigate, artistic, enterprising and conventional occupations. Immigrants have to deal with different kinds of adaptation problems because of their different cultural background, the different labor market and the language barrier. Consequently, factors such as job satisfaction and even finding a job that suits the person's preferences are of peripheral importance. Immigrants who have assigned less importance to job satisfaction and their vocational preferences are more likely to find employment. Fulfilling this need therefore becomes far more important than job satisfaction.

Work values A person's expectations from a job are determined by the personal goals (material enjoyment, prestige, social harmony) and the cultural values in which the person is socialized. Many of these values are related to work (Hui, 1990). Within the literature, several classifications of work values exist (Super, 1992). Based upon the categorization of values proposed by Super, we focused on six basic types of work values: (i) intellectual stimulation, which is associated with work that provides opportunity for independent thinking and learning how and why things work; (ii) creativity, which is associated with work that permits individuals to invent new things, design new products or develop new ideas; (iii) independence, which permits individuals to work their own way, doing what they want according to their level of achievement and direction; (iv) group orientation, which is associated with work that brings people into contact with fellow workers whom they like; (v) prestige, which is associated with work that gives people standing in the eyes of others and evokes respect; and (vi) security, which is associated with work that provides people with the certainty of having a job, even in hard times. Intellectual stimulation, creativity and independence reflect intrinsic rewards derived from pleasurable activities and goal accomplishment, while social orientation concerns extrinsic social concomitants of work and prestige and security extrinsic values in the form of rewards. The Work Value Inventory consisted of 38 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'not well at all' to 'very well'.

It was found that in most scales, immigrants did not differ in their work values from native Greeks. However, statistical significant differences were found in the social orientation scale, where immigrants look for social values within their work situation less than natives and are more material rather than affective at work. Concerning employment, it was found that despite their ethnicity, unemployed people look for social values and intellectual stimulation within their work situation more than employed people. This finding is consistent with other studies that suggest that nearly all people seem to value

intrinsic work-related rewards such as achievement and independence, whereas others seek socialization and stimulation (Seligman, 1994). The multiple sources of job satisfaction help to address problems presented by unstimulating jobs and unemployment.

Model of career development for culturally different individuals

Career theory and practice have long emphasized ‘person’ variables such as an individual’s skills, abilities, and interests; understanding personality, values, and beliefs; and matching these variables with appropriate potential careers (Flores et al., 2003). But in the context of immigration, people experience changes and transition. These changes place the understanding of career development in a broader sociocultural context, and other factors such as acculturation, intergroup relations and the broader immigration policy of the settlement country (Figure 22.1). Immigration and acculturation are also important variables to assess in the career development of immigrants. Information about the way in which immigrants acculturate (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization) should inform about their self-identification, the language proficiency and the acculturative stress as these factors influence the ability of immigrants to integrate into the workforce (Stewart, 2003). Furthermore, they should determine the kind of information that immigrants have about the structure of the labor market in the new country and about the experiences they may encounter upon entering the workforce. Immigrants may also encounter systematic racism in career and employment practices, especially if natives feel insecure about the stability of their own job during economic slumps (Arthur, 2005).

In addition to the individual level, career development processes of immigrants take place at the institutional level. The general public institutions of the receiving society, such as the educational system and institutional arrangement in the labor market, might promote or hinder integration processes of immigrants (Penninx & Roosblad, 2000). A critical step in improving immigrant outcomes is to help adult immigrants improve their

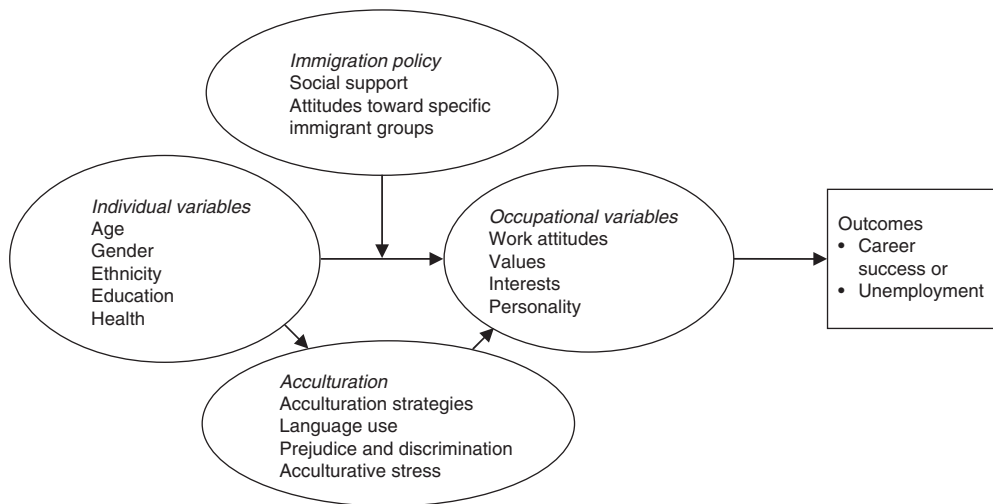


Figure 22.1 Model of career development for culturally different individuals

language skills, so that they can integrate more quickly and effectively into the labor market. Obtaining citizenship is a significant step in the integration process for newcomers because it signifies full participation in a new society. Perhaps the most frustrating barrier that immigrants may have to face is that their previous educational achievements and credentials may not be recognized (Arthur, 2005). Therefore, if immigrants want to re-enter their previous professions, they will have to re-take their training or upgrade their degrees. People working in the public services that deal with immigrants and within organizations for the support of immigrants should be trained on the direct issues concerning immigrants in order for them to have a better understanding of how they should approach this social group, how they can help them become integrated into the new society and how they can provide counseling for the labor market and other relevant areas.

According to the model of career development presented in Figure 22.1, career counseling of immigrants includes different modes and areas of intervention. The modes of intervention at the institutional level involve activities that seek to change and modify the environments of immigrants so that obstacles to their career and educational development can be reduced. In the context of the individual, career issues of immigrants can be understood in terms of the cultural background and acculturation issues. Descriptive information about variables such as vocational interests, work values, personality and aspirations is a starting-point for researchers and practitioners. But they also need to understand the range of variables that affect the career development of immigrant groups, such as acculturation, ethnic identity development and acculturative stress.

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