

FACING THE GLASS WALL: THE EFFECTS OF PERCEIVED CHARACTERISTICS
OF CAREER BOUNDARIES ON IMMIGRANT PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY
SALIENCE AND CAREER OUTCOMES

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Immigrant Professional Identity Salience and Career Outcomes

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Abstract

The present study examines the effects of characteristics of perceived career boundaries (permeability, stability, legitimacy) on immigrant professionals' subjective career outcomes in a longitudinal design. Based on social identity theory framework, I propose a model that examines how immigrant professionals' perceptions of career boundaries influence two important areas for establishing a satisfying career and successful social integration in Canada: (1) perceptions of career-based success (career satisfaction and career anxiety) and (2) subjective well-being (life satisfaction and regret for immigrating to Canada). I further propose that perceptions of career boundaries act on subjective career outcomes through the quality of employment individuals obtained and the salience of immigrant professional identity. Perceived characteristics were assessed (N = 227) at Time 1, and measures of subjective career outcomes, employment quality, and immigrant professional identity salience were obtained (N = 101) at Time 2, six months later. In addition to the survey study, 12 immigrant professionals were

interviewed for an in-depth understanding of the career experiences of immigrant professionals and immigrant professional identity salience. The longitudinal design of the study provides support for the temporal dimension of perceived characteristics; immigrant professionals' initial perceptions about the career boundaries still predicted their beliefs about career-based success and subjective well-being six months later. Also, the findings provided some support for the mediating effects of employment quality and immigrant professional identity salience on the relationship between perceived characteristics and subjective career outcomes. This study sheds light on the relationship between the perceptions formed by immigrant professionals of the obstacles that they face in integrating into their new labour market, the employment decisions they take, and the impact this has on their sense of career and life well-being. It also reveals the way in which subjects invoke the intersectional identity of "immigrant professional" as a result of their experiences, and of the effect that this has on them. The findings can inform the practice of the various parties assisting the integration of immigrant professionals into the workforce, an ever-growing and not well-understood group of workers that populate many of today's workplaces.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

With the introduction of the boundaryless career concept (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996) the focus of much of the scholarly community on career has shifted from that which is dependent on the organization to that which is dependent upon the individual to “move across the boundaries of separate employers” (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996, p. 4). Over the last decade, however, scholars have pointed out that this emphasis on boundarylessness underestimates the existence of boundaries that shape individuals’ career trajectories, such as labour markets, organizational practices, social networks, socio-cultural dependencies, as well as individuals’ perceptions of their own capabilities (Baruch, 2003; Briscoe & Hall, 2006; Feldman & Ng, 2007; Gunz, Evans, & Jalland, 2002; Gunz, Peiperl, & Tzabbar, 2007; King, Burke, & Pemberton, 2005; Lawrence & Tolbert, 2007; Malach-Pines & Schwartz, 2008).

Gunz et al. (2007) argued that careers are “patterns of movement across a social landscape formed by the complex network of economic society” (p. 472), and that career boundaries are “the lines on that social landscape that mark discontinuities in the patterns, points at which there are constraints on these movements” (p. 472). Therefore, despite notions that careers are becoming increasingly “boundaryless,” individuals still must cross boundaries and make transitions over the course of their working life, including changes in employment status (e.g., unemployment, underemployment, retirement, and reemployment), job content (Nicholson & West, 1989), industry, geographical location, and intensity of employment (i.e. full- or-part-time) (Rodrigues & Guest, 2010).

This dissertation is motivated by the study of one important type of boundary – the glass wall. Glass walls separate groups of roles that are similar but between which there is little movement. This separation is due to the presence of institutional factors, such as organizational practices and socio-cultural context (Gunz et al., 2002). The metaphor of a ‘glass wall’ has been used to describe the occupational segregation attributed to employment barriers that restrict lateral movements of women and ethnic minorities between departments or organizations (Miller, Kerr, & Reid, 1999; Morrison, White, & Velsor, 1987, 1992; Stacey, 1998). The research on the glass walls that women and minorities face looks mainly at the conditions in which the glass walls exist (e.g., organizational culture, traditional forms of labour, recruitment procedures, intra-firm boundaries, and gender stereotyping), and how the glass walls affect the career trajectories of individuals (Catalyst, 1994; Powell, 1999; Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998).

It is important to explore the effects that glass walls have on careers for two main reasons. First, glass walls help us to understand the constraints in the context that careers are formed – a point largely neglected by the boundaryless career concept. Although glass walls can become permeable over time, through shifting social environments, the collective effort of individuals, and the actions of policy makers (Gunz et al., 2002) individuals must still navigate these seemingly structural impediments on their way to career mobility. Second, though research has explored occupational segregation and employment outcomes for certain groups (e.g., women and ethnic minorities), the perceptions of the glass walls and how these perceptions influence their career experiences requires further explanation. Individuals may *perceive* the presence of glass walls as representations of the invisible barriers that inhibit their transition to roles for which they deem themselves qualified but cannot reach due to

institutional factors. Beliefs about their socio-structural context play a role in determining individuals' responses to the social context (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Lalonde & Silverman, 1994; Turner & Brown, 1978). For example, much research has demonstrated that individuals' reactions to the status hierarchies they must navigate are shaped by their perceptions of the plausibility of changing status, as opposed to the actual degree of difficulty of – or potential for – mobility (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Wenzel, 2000). Perceived glass walls may affect career decisions and attitudes to the extent to which some believe they determine their career.

This dissertation study explores the effects that perceived glass walls have on immigrant professionals' careers in Canada. Immigrant professionals are an example of a group of people facing career boundaries while trying to reestablish their careers. Although immigrant professionals are selected and admitted to Canada based on human capital criteria, and have full access to the labour market, they often encounter challenges that restrict their access to positions reflective of their qualifications. This, in turn, limits their ability to capitalize on the opportunities available in the Canadian labour market (e.g., Alboim, Finnie, & Meng, 2005; Baker & Benjamin, 1994; Li, 2001; Reitz, 2001; Schellenberg & Hou, 2005). Thus, immigrant professionals may perceive an obstacle when attempting to transition to work that is closely related to their former career. They are, therefore, prone to believing that they face a certain “glass wall” that limits the continuity of their career pattern and prevents them from competing with the native workforce (Gunz et al., 2002). While there are common factors that have been suggested to constrain immigrants' access to labour markets in their intended occupation, such as the requirement for Canadian experience, devaluation of credentials, and employers' prejudices (e.g., Alboim et al., 2005; Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004; Frenette & Morissette, 2003;

Galarneau & Morissette, 2008; Picot & Sweetman, 2005; Reitz, 2005), we know little about how perceptions of these constraints (i.e., perceived glass walls) affect immigrant professionals' subjective career experiences.

The first objective of this dissertation is to examine how perceived glass walls affect individuals' subjective career outcomes (i.e., career satisfaction, career anxiety, life satisfaction, and regret). In order to meet this objective, this dissertation will use social identity theory framework (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) to examine immigrant professionals' perceptions of the glass walls. Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) is useful for this study as it helps shed light on individuals' perceptions of social structures (e.g., intergroup boundaries) and the effects of these perceptions on individuals' attitudes and behaviors regarding intergroup mobility (i.e., crossing group boundaries).

To immigrant professionals, glass walls represent social structures that inhibit their ability to access employment congruent with their skills and qualifications, and therefore their ability to realize a successful career transition. In order to understand the perceived glass walls, we need to understand how individuals perceive the qualities of these social structures with regards to their career mobility (whether or not the social structures allow for complete career transition). This dissertation borrows concepts from social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) to examine the perceived characteristics of the career boundaries, namely perceived permeability, stability, and legitimacy of glass walls. Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) examines the characteristics of group boundaries based on their permeability (whether or not individuals can move between groups), stability (whether or not the status of the group is likely to change), and legitimacy (whether or not the status differences between groups are fair and just). Perceptions of career boundaries reflect

career owners' beliefs about the degree of difficulty of a given work role transition (perceived permeability), the beliefs that current career challenges are likely to improve in the future (perceived stability), and the fairness of employment procedures in the labour market (perceived legitimacy).

Social identity theory suggests that perceptions of group boundaries in turn affect the strategies individuals employ when attempting to transition between groups or change social structures (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Immigrant professionals' perceptions about the accessibility of quality employment, the plausibility of professional improvement in the future, and the fairness of employment practices can influence their evaluations of career success and life satisfaction. Most immigrant professionals arrive expecting to obtain similar or better jobs in Canada (Basran & Zong, 1998; Statistics Canada, 2005) than those which they held in their country of origin. The challenges they face in obtaining such employment, however, may strongly influence their perceptions of success with regards to re-establishing their careers in Canada and their life satisfaction (Grant, 2007; Grant, McMullen, & Noles, 2001; Grant & Nadin, 2007). It is important to examine subjective career outcomes of immigrant professionals, as it has implications for their integration into Canadian society. Career success of immigrant professionals includes not only the procurement of employment, but also life satisfaction and personal evaluation of professional standing. Without career satisfaction and subjective well-being, immigrant professionals are much less likely to become productive, contributing members of Canadian society. Without which, Canada's future prospects – economically *and* socially – become bleak indeed (Chen, 2008). This personal-professional integration speaks to the influence that the vocational adjustment experience has on the overall social adjustment experience of immigrant professionals in Canada.

The second objective of this dissertation is to examine the factors that explain the relationship between perceived characteristics of glass walls and immigrant professionals' subjective career outcomes. Two explanations are proposed and tested for how perceptions of glass walls affect immigrant professionals' subjective career outcomes: employment quality and immigrant professional identity salience.

First, I propose that perceptions of career boundaries act on subjective career experiences through the quality of employment individuals obtain. Individuals are active agents in interpreting their environment and acting upon it (Bandura, 1989, 1997). Career actors' perceptions of career boundaries may influence the range of potential solutions to the problems that they face while moving between different work experiences (Gunz et al., 2007). Perceived glass walls represent the perception that invisible barriers exist in the social context that prevent a certain group of people from making a transition (Gunz et al., 2002). Hence, perceived glass walls may result in immigrant professionals believing that barriers to their desired career path will hinder their access these positions and handicap their ability to re-establish their career in their new social context. As a result, if immigrant professionals believe that it is unlikely to attain their desired position, this perception may affect the jobs they consider aiming for, and hence, their employment quality. The quality of employment can include job characteristics such as income levels and individuals' perceptions of match between their qualifications and the requirements of the job; ultimately affecting their evaluations of career success and well-being. Thus, the way in which individuals navigate their careers (employment quality), as a result of the perceived glass walls, may in turn affect their perceptions of career success.

Secondly, I propose that perceptions of career boundaries act on subjective career outcomes through the salience of immigrant professional identity. While making career

transitions, individuals tend to reassess their identity (Ashforth, 2001; Hall, Zhu, & Yan, 2002; Ibarra, 2003). This is especially true for immigrant professionals as they find themselves in a new environment with unfamiliar social structures. It comes as no surprise, then, that the immigration process results in changes to individuals' established social context; a psychosocial environment that provides a structure upon which individuals come to understand their existence. Resulting from this change, individuals are, to a certain extent, forced to redefine themselves within the context of a new psychosocial environment (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). In their new social context, the perception of glass walls that inhibit their transition to employment in their professional field, or at least employment that matches their education and experience, can make their disadvantaged status salient with regards to their career advancement. As a result, the 'professional' identity that once existed can give way to a newly evolving 'immigrant professional' identity. Furthermore, making career transitions this sense of social disadvantage and constricted professional mobility may result in the identity of "immigrant professional" becoming increasingly salient.

The salience of the immigrant professional identity, I propose, has important implications for career-related outcomes. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) proposes that individuals' interpretations of existing social structures are crucial determinants of how they view themselves as members of a social category in a given social context, as well as their attitudes and their subsequent behaviour. The salience of this identity, therefore, can have consequences for immigrant professionals' perceptions of their career-based success and subjective well-being.

Finally, as a third objective, this dissertation looks at the factors influencing the strength of the relationship between the characteristics of perceived glass walls and subjective career

outcomes, and the salience of social identity. Drawing on role identity theory (Stryker, 1980; Stryker & Serpe, 1982) and attribution theory (Weiner, 1972), career salience and attributions for immigrant professional unemployment are examined as moderators. Specifically, I propose that for immigrant professionals with high career salience the constraining effect of perceived glass walls on their careers has an effect on subjective career outcomes more noticeably than for those with low career salience. Also, for immigrant professionals who attribute their disadvantaged status more to external factors, the effects of perceived glass walls on the salience of immigrant professional identity may be stronger than those with high internal attributions.

This dissertation is presented in five chapters. This chapter (Chapter 1) provided a brief overview and background to this dissertation and its objectives. Chapter 2 provides a theoretical overview of the existing literature and research, followed by proposed hypotheses regarding the relationship between the characteristics of perceived glass walls and immigrant professionals' career outcomes. Chapter 3 explains the methods that have been used for conducting the research and for analysis of the data used in this study. Chapter 4 presents the qualitative and quantitative results of the study. Chapter 5 summarizes the research findings and provides a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of the study, its limitations, and possible areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

The purpose of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework and provide the theoretical background for each of the hypotheses presented. First, the literature on career boundaries is reviewed with an emphasis on the perceived glass walls and characteristics using social identity theory framework (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Also, the career barriers that affect immigrant professionals' career transition in the Canadian labour market are reviewed. Second, the effects of perceived glass walls on the subjective career outcomes of immigrant professionals, and the moderating effect of career salience on this relationship are explored. Third, the mediating effects of employment quality and the salience of the immigrant professional identity on the relationship between characteristics of the perceived glass walls and subjective career outcomes are discussed. Also examined is the moderating effect of attributions for unemployment on the relationship between the characteristics of perceived glass walls and immigrant professional identity salience.

Career Boundaries and Perceived Glass Walls

The introduction of protean and boundaryless career concepts in the career literature emphasized the increase in permeability of organizational boundaries as the world of work became a place of constant change, where careers shifted from a single to multiple employers, from external rewards to internal rewards, and from a stable organization to one of constant flux (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; DeFillippi & Arthur; 1996, Peiperl & Arthur, 2000). Consequently, careers became the individual's responsibility, requiring adaptability of skills, knowledge and abilities in order to keep up with the shifts within the workplace. The literature

on boundaryless careers, however, has been criticized for underestimating the way in which restrictions in the social context influence career behaviour and individuals' opportunities (Pringle & Mallon, 2003; Rodriguez & Guest, 2010). Rather, it has been argued that careers cannot be separated from the context in which constraints are formed (Dany, 2003; Ng, Sorensen, Eby, & Feldman, 2007; Pang, 2003). Through this lens, careers can be seen as a series of professional boundary crossings (Inkson, 2006; Gunz et al., 2007; Rodrigues & Guest, 2010).

Gunz et al (2007), in their theoretical chapter, argued that the beginning of a career boundary is a set of perceptions about a given work role transition that is constructed by the two broad classes of actors: "the career owner (ego), and everyone else who affects the career of the career owner (alter)" (p. 478). For example, the constraints on the movement between work roles are determined by an employer's perception of the experience and skills needed for a given role. Employers then may be reluctant to hire individuals that they perceive to not possess the appropriate credentials for a given role. These perceptions of qualifications and experiences create a demand-side boundary from the perspective of the organizations and constrain the choices made by the organizations in regards to allowing certain individuals' access to given jobs. Moreover, career-owners' perceptions of their abilities and skills required to seek a given role affect their perception of the ease associated with given work role transitions.

Objective boundaries then emerge when a consensus develops in society about these perceptions and the qualifications of an ideal worker become socially defined and institutionalized at a broader level (Gunz et al., 2007). This creates a macro-level pattern in the movement of certain individuals between and across boundaries, characterized by the

“imperfections in the market, observable by the relative lack of movement that takes place between certain groups of roles” (Gunz, Evans, & Jalland, 2000, p.20).

Gunz et al. (2007) pointed to the subjective nature of the career boundaries when stating that career boundaries “are as real as the actors experiencing and managing them make them” (p. 475). Put differently, boundaries are mostly subjective in nature, and, as such, what one individual perceives as a boundary may not be perceived as a boundary by another. Recently, Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2011) suggested that “...they [boundaries] have to be established during the process of empirical research and based on individual perceptions” (p.26). As a response to the calls for examining career boundaries from a subjective perspective (e.g., perceptions), I adopt the metaphor of “glass walls” to define the perceptions of a particular career boundary by a group of people and how such perceptions affect their subjective career outcomes.

Gunz et al. (2002) created a model to help us understand the different types of career boundaries based on two factors: (1) technical differences between the work roles and, (2) institutional factors that constrain the movement between boundaries. Technical factors reflect different skills and qualifications that are required for each job role. Institutional factors are a product of the social context, such as labour market conditions, external jurisdictions, socio-cultural factors, or organizational staffing policies. Gunz et al. (2002) argued that different types of career boundaries emerge, depending on the extent to which these factors play a role in the movement of individuals between work roles.

For example, a frontier is a career boundary that emerges when the technical difference between two roles is high (e.g., doctors and nurses), and therefore the movement between roles

is highly impermeable. Chalk lines separate jobs that do not differ greatly in terms of technicality, and the movements between such jobs are not constrained by institutional factors. Individuals may move freely across the chalk lines, but often there exists restrictions limiting these movements, such as contractual obligations. An open border, on the other hand, allows employees to move between roles despite technical differences. This is a rare form of a career boundary that is mostly seen at the senior levels of the organizations, such as executives moving into dissimilar roles to gain broader experience of a company's operations (Gunz et al. 2002).

Gunz et al. (2002) defined glass walls as a type of boundary that separates roles that are similar but between which there is little movement because of institutional factors. For example, the occupational divide resulting in constrained professional movements (within and between departments and organizations) of women and visible minorities is often described as a 'glass wall' (Kelly & Newman, 2001; Kerr, Miller, & Reid, 2002; Klie, 2007; Miller et al., 1999). These glass walls have been depicted as "intangible barriers" and have been found to hinder a large percentage of women from advancing into specific professions or high-status positions within an organization at equitable pay (Catalyst, 1994; Powell, 1999; Ragins et al., 1998). Similarly, immigrant professionals face barriers that hinder their access to employment that aligns with their education and experience (Alboim et al. 2005; Baker & Benjamin, 1994; Li, 2001; Reitz, 2001). In order to provide a better understanding of the social contexts that surround immigrant professionals' careers in Canada, and the glass walls perceived by immigrant professionals, I will first review the common barriers that limit immigrant professionals' access to quality employment.

Career barriers in Canadian context. Since the since late 1970s, Canada's immigration legislation has favoured immigrants with high levels of educational attainment and employable skill sets (Basavarajappa, Beaujot, & Samuel, 1993). As a result Canada's recent wave of immigrants are more educated (e.g., university, post-secondary graduates) than ever, and bring with them professional work experience from their previous country (Galarneau & Morissette, 2008). The current process of admitting skilled immigrants to Canada involves screening for individuals with high human capital who are able to adapt to the changing needs of the labour market (Li, 2003; Pendakur, 2000). This policy transition also saw a shift in the demographic profile of Canada's new immigrants. Recent immigrants to Canada are increasingly from non-English speaking, non-European parts of the world, including Asia, the Far East, and Africa (Statistics Canada, 2003; 2005). Researchers suggested that these changing demographics lower new immigrants' chances of finding employment that matches their education and skills, increase the earning gap between the native workforce and immigrant professionals, and keeps immigrant professionals out of the work force (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005; Ferrer, Green & Riddell, 2006; Ferrer & Riddell, 2003; Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Li, 2000; Schaafsma & Sweetman, 2001; Sweetman 2004). Studies that focus on the effects of official language proficiency suggested that immigrants' knowledge of English influenced their ability to obtain employment matching the skill level or skill type of their intended occupation (Galarneau & Morissette, 2008; Grondin, 2007).

Although individual factors may help to explain the difficulties that immigrant professionals experience in gaining suitable employment, this approach overlooks the policies and evaluation procedures that contribute to the workplace disadvantages for immigrant professionals (Basran & Zong, 1998), and do not adequately explain why immigrant skills are

devalued (Dietz, Esses, Joshi, & Bennett-AbuAyyash, 2009). Other researchers pointed to *systemic discrimination and employers' subtle prejudices* as reasons to explain the devaluation of credential and requirement for local work experience (Boyd, 2000; Boyd & Schellenberg, 2007; Boyd & Thomas, 2001, 2002; Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, & Vaslow, 2000; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Iredale, 1997; Wayland, 2006). Discrimination and prejudices have also been cited as reasons for the control of entry into the professions responsible for the systematic exclusion of immigrants in the Canadian labour force such as law and medicine (Basran & Zong, 1998).

Beck, Reitz, and Weiner (2002) argued that systemic discrimination can include “informal selection based on unnecessary qualifications (the requirement for Canadian experience, for example), informal recruitment systems (through "word of mouth" or networking where the networks do not extend into minority groups), and selection committees consisting only of long-term employees (few of whom happen to be members of minority groups)” (p. 376). Other researchers have suggested that employers are less likely to view applicants as qualified during job interviews when they speak with accents, regardless of how they perform in the interview (Henry & Ginzberg, 1985; Purkiss, Perrewé, Gillespie, Mayes & Ferris, 2006; Scassa, 1994).

Also, Esses, Dietz, Bennett-AbuAyyash, and Joshi (2007) argued that evaluators' biases play an important role in the *devaluation of foreign credentials*; and that the lack of established standards for evaluation of foreign skills can facilitate this by allowing evaluators' to rely on subjective hiring decisions. The employers may simply lack the knowledge of information about the credentials of immigrant professionals, and may find it difficult to judge the value of immigrants' foreign education and qualifications. Immigrant professionals' foreign

qualifications and work experience tend to be considered less worthy than the qualifications and experience of the native-born and are discounted by decision makers (Alboim et al., 2005; Boyd & Schellenberg, 2007; Boyd & Thomas, 2001; Galabuzzi, 2005; Kustec, Thompson, & Xue, 2007; Reitz, 2001).

Another challenge faced by immigrant professionals is the *requirement for Canadian experience*. Some researchers have argued that the requirement of Canadian work experience can act as a subtle prejudice that influences the decision to overlook immigrants (Bauder, 2003; Esses, Dietz, & Bhardwaj, 2006; Ralston, 1998). These authors suggested that employers view immigrants as lacking transferable skills that would benefit the Canadian work environment. Additionally, immigrants may be perceived as having an insufficient understanding of culture and norms of the Canadian workplace (Reitz, 2007). Furthermore, immigrants are perceived as overqualified when they apply for professional jobs lower than their education and experience (Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003), resulting in a doubly disadvantaged situation for immigrant professionals.

It is often difficult to separate institutional barriers and individual factors in explaining the labour market outcomes of immigrant professionals. As discussed previously, the boundary formation process is one of negotiation between relevant actors (e.g., career owners and employers) (Gunz et al., 2007). For employers, a lack of fluency in an official language could be considered as the primary barrier to recruiting immigrant professionals (i.e. an individual barrier). Immigrant professionals, on the other hand, may see the systemic discrimination they face as the main obstacle to employment. As such, it is important to note that individual and institutional barriers interact with one another in influencing the occupational disadvantage of immigrant professionals. However, the way in which immigrant professionals perceive these

challenges to accessing quality employment can have consequences for their career attitudes, integration in their new social context, and employment experiences. Indeed, according to Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, lack of job experience in Canada, difficulty in transferring foreign credentials, and non-recognition of foreign work experience were cited as the most serious problems faced in finding employment by skilled immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2005).

Not surprisingly, the subjective career experiences of immigrant professionals are driven by a far more complex set of factors, including immigration regulations, individual differences (e.g. migrant personality), motivation to immigrate (e.g. push/pull factors), occupational constraints, etc. (Reitz, 2001; Syed, 2008). To the exclusion of such factors, this dissertation focuses on one piece of the puzzle: immigrant professionals' perceptions of glass walls, and the consequences of these perceptions on immigrant professionals' subjective career outcomes. Addressing this relationship is particularly relevant to the careers of immigrant professionals as the characteristics they attribute to perceived glass walls can be expected to play an important role in how they see their career and life integration in their new environment. Hence, borrowing from social identity theory, I propose that three distinct characteristics of perceived glass walls affect the subjective career outcomes of immigrant professionals: (1) perceived impermeability, (2) perceived stability, and (3) perceived illegitimacy.

Perceived Glass Walls

For the purposes of this dissertation perceived “glass walls” are defined as the *perception* of an invisible barrier that disallows a group of people who deem themselves

qualified to make a given work role transition, but are inhibited from doing so as a result of contextual constraints (e.g., social structures, beliefs and attitudes of ‘gate-keepers’). Referring to the subjective nature of the boundaries (Gunz et al., 2007), it is important to note that different actors can define the types of boundaries differently based on their perceptions. For example, immigrant professionals can perceive the career boundaries they face in the labour market as glass walls because their transition to suitable employment is inhibited, despite of their foreign training and qualifications. On the other hand, employers may see these boundaries as a frontier because they don't see immigrant professionals as qualified, and regard this lack of appropriate qualification and/or experience as an obstacle to hiring.

In sum, glass walls are perceived when immigrant professionals believe that they possess the technical skills required to perform jobs similar to those they held in their home country, but are unable to access such jobs due to institutional barriers (Gunz et al., 2002). When they find themselves in a new environment, the perceptions of glass walls can inform immigrant professionals about the status of their career and the various ways in which it can unfold.

Social Identity Framework and Characteristics of Perceived Glass Walls

One theoretical framework that deals with the effects of socio-structural factors on how individuals perceive themselves as a part of a social group, as well as their attitudes and behavior, is social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). The premise of social identity theory is that individuals’ beliefs about the nature of relationships between their in-group and relevant out-groups influence how they see themselves (self-categorization) and the specific behaviors they adopt (individual or collective actions) in efforts to enhance their self-concept

(Tajfel & Turner, 1982; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner & Giles, 1981). Perceived characteristics of the social structures that govern intergroup relationships determine whether or not group members choose individual mobility strategies to move into a higher status group, or collectively pursue action to enhance the status of their group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Although social identity theory's primary focus is the group dynamics and intergroup mobility as a result of these perceived characteristics, it provides a relevant and suitable groundwork to study the relationship between characteristics of perceived career boundaries (i.e., glass walls) and immigrant professionals career experiences in the host country.

Before discussing the areas in which this study benefits from the useful concepts offered by social identity theory, it is important to make clear that this dissertation uses these concepts to facilitate the understanding of the relationships between the study variables. It is not, however, the purpose of this study to test the main assumptions of the theory itself in relation to the ways in which individuals' perceptions and behaviors affect social relations between individuals and groups. Rather, this dissertation benefits from the guiding principles of social identity theory when attempting to unpack the relationship between immigrant professionals' perceptions of career boundaries and their career outcomes. This dissertation proposes three main areas in which social identity theory contributes to understanding of the relationships examined in this study.

First, the relevance of social identity theory derives from this dissertation's focus on career boundaries faced by immigrant professionals as a group. Social identity theory refers to the group boundaries as socio-structural characteristics of the social context that restrict individuals' access to other groups due to their defining group characteristics (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Perceptions of boundaries are related to individuals' beliefs about the obstacles in

their social context that restrict the betterment of their groups' status or individual improvement. As discussed earlier, perceived glass walls can be defined as perceptions of barriers that inhibit the career mobility of a group of people due to the common characteristics they share (e.g., women, minorities) that cannot be explained by technical factors. Immigrant professionals are often denied access to positions that match their education and experience due to the devaluation of their human capital and employers' subtle prejudices (e.g., Beck et al., 2002; Boyd & Thomas, 2001; Esses et al., 2007). Thus, this dissertation refers to perceptions of glass walls as immigrant professionals' beliefs about the extent to which the access to professional employment is restricted as a group.

Second, social identity theory provides tools to define the characteristics of the perceived career boundaries that limit immigrant professionals' career mobility. Despite recent calls for studying subjective perceptions of career boundaries at the individual level (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011; Gunz et al., 2007; Rodriguez & Guest, 2010), operationalization of perceived career boundaries remains in need of further investigation. Social identity theory proposes that the way in which people respond to their group's circumstances depend on the perceptions of three main characteristics of the boundaries: (1) permeability, (2) stability, and (3) legitimacy. These characteristics refer to the extent to which individuals perceive mobility to be possible between two groups (permeability), low-status group members believe that their status is likely to change in the future (stability), and different statuses between groups are fair and justified (legitimacy) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986).

Although career boundaries are mainly discussed in terms of the extent to which they are permeable (Gunz et al, 2007; Ituma & Simpson, 2009; Rodrigues & Guest, 2010), social identity framework helps us to examine career boundaries from a broader perspective that is

relevant to the dynamic and social nature of careers. For example, perceptions of stability allow us to observe the perceived impermanence of career boundaries, such that the obstacles immigrant professionals face during their career transition can change with time. Also, as discussed previously, career boundaries disadvantage immigrant professionals in the labour market. Perceptions of legitimacy can help us to better understand whether immigrant professionals evaluate the rules or employment practices that form these boundaries as fair and just. These different characteristics can help to better understand how immigrant professionals perceive career boundaries as contextual and situational cues in their new social context.

Finally, social identity framework provides a basis to understand the circumstances under which (i.e., perceived glass walls) immigrant professional identity becomes salient. Social identity theory focuses on the social context as the primary source of self-definition and “delineates the circumstances under which social identities are likely to become important” (Ellemers & Haslam, 2011, p. 379). Drawing on perceived permeability, stability, and legitimacy, this dissertation looks at how immigrant professional identity – as a distinct social identity – becomes salient in response to career boundaries.

Perceived permeability. Social identity theory states that individuals perceive group boundaries to be permeable when they feel that they can pass freely from one group to another (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). When group boundaries are perceived to be impermeable, individuals find it difficult – if not impossible – to switch to another group because of barriers such as institutionalized constraints (e.g., laws that prohibit a person from taking up a foreign citizenship) or psychological obstacles (e.g., perceptions that one is not welcome as a member of the new social in group) (Terry, Carrey, & Callan, 2001). It follows that individuals have greater incentives to pursue individual based mobility strategies (e.g., changing oneself to

become a member of the higher status group) when they perceive group boundaries as permeable (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997).

Similarly, Gunz et al. (2007) defined perceived permeability of career boundaries as individuals' perceptions about how easy or difficult it is to make a given work role transition. Symbolically, glass denotes "a transparent, invisible boundary" (Gabriel, 2005, p. 22) that individuals can seemingly pass through, yet this transition is hindered because of the tangible nature of the glass. Outsiders can see in, but penetration of the perceived barrier is far more difficult (Gabriel, 2005). Perceived impermeability of glass walls, therefore, reflects the career owners' beliefs about the extent to which structural (institutional) factors block their movement. Individuals perceive impermeable glass walls when they believe that institutional barriers inhibit their access to a given work role transition. Glass walls can mean immense effort for those who seek to penetrate them. Perceived permeability can help us to understand the relationship between the boundaries that surround individuals' careers, individuals' interpretations of the boundaries and their responses to them. Individuals' perceptions of the extent to which glass walls are permeable can affect the way they view their career options or their subjective evaluation of their career success.

Perceived stability. Social identity theory argues that the collective capacity of the 'low status' groups to dream up an improvement to the status quo (perceived stability) plays a key role in whether or not the necessary steps to bring about change are taken (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). If an alternative outcome to the current status relationships cannot be effectively imagined, or there is perceived stability, the likelihood of challenging the status quo is greatly diminished.

Similarly, perceived stability of career boundaries reflects the extent to which the group that is facing the career boundaries believes that improvements to the status quo (limitations of the structural factors) are possible. For some glass walls can mean temporary obstacles that impede access to certain roles; obstacles that can change form and meaning with time. The extent to which obstacles are perceived as stable structures can affect the career decisions and experiences of the individuals. For example, if individuals perceive glass walls to be stable, they are more likely to believe that institutional forces will continue to inhibit their access to positions.

Perceived legitimacy. Perceived legitimacy is defined as “the belief that authorities, institutions, and other social arrangements are appropriate, proper, and just” (Tyler, 2006, p. 376). According to social identity theory when the differences between perceived intergroup status are seen as just and fair, the members of the ‘low status’ group are less likely to question or challenge the advantages (e.g. promotions, salaries) enjoyed by the ‘high status’ group (Tajfel, 1978; Turner & Brown, 1978). On the other hand, when status relations are perceived to be unfair, the ‘low status’ groups are more likely to call into question the benefits enjoyed by the ‘high status’ groups.

Perceived legitimacy of the social structures in the labour market may affect individuals’ perceptions about the fairness of employment procedures and the career opportunities in the labour market (Deutsch, 1985; Thibaut & Walker, 1975; Tyler, Boeckmann, Smith, & Huo, 1997). Glass walls are socially constructed structures that denote a formation process which allows for the movement of individuals between work roles based on their social groups (Foley, Kidder, & Powell, 2002). Whether they are perceived as legitimate social structures or not can also affect the career owners’ reaction to the existence of the glass

walls, as well as their career experiences. Individuals perceive illegitimate glass walls when they believe that their career transition is limited as a result of discriminatory employment practices or professional regulations that unfairly restrict them.

Characteristics of Perceived Glass Walls and Immigrant Professionals' Subjective Career Outcomes

Despite a variety of motivations, individuals cross national and regional boundaries with the expectation that such moves will support their future career mobility (Richardson & Mallon, 2005). Most immigrant professionals only gain a sense of settling-down, or relief, upon reestablishing themselves professionally in their host country (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Chen, 2008). Thus it comes as little surprise that in order for the social transition to go well, it must be accompanied by a satisfactory professional transition.

Two overarching factors, therefore, are important for the adjustment of immigrant professionals: (1) career-based success, and (2) subjective well-being. It becomes critical to examine these outcomes when considering the immense effect they have on establishing a satisfying career, and, consequently, successful social integration in Canada. Although the effects of career boundaries on the occupational attainment and income levels of immigrants is well documented (e.g., Alboim et al., 2005; Frenette & Morissette, 2005; Galarneau & Morissette, 2008; Li, 2000; Picot & Sweetman, 2005; Reitz, 2001, 2005; Worswick, 2004), only a few studies have focused on the psychological effects of career challenges faced by immigrants in Canada (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Grant & Nadin, 2007; Zikic, Bonache, & Cerdin, 2010).

Perhaps one of the earliest studies on how employment difficulties impact the psychological well-being of immigrants is Aycan and Berry's (1996) study on Turkish immigrants career experiences in Canada. Aycan and Berry found that stresses related to acculturation, adaptation difficulties, and negative self-image are significantly related to the losses of employment status that so often accompany immigration. On the other hand, Turkish immigrants who were able to access jobs reflective of their levels of education and experience reported better psychological health. For some immigrants, the inability to find suitable work in Canada led to their eventual immigration to countries offering more enticing employment possibilities. The study concluded with a suggestion that employment among immigrants, beyond providing financial stability, provides a sense of status and identity, thus equipping the individual with the tools to foster interpersonal relationships with other members of society.

Grant and Nadin (2007) examined the psychological reactions of immigrant professionals to credentialing problems and their work place experiences in Canada. Their interviews and survey study with newcomer professionals from Asia and Africa revealed that most participants reported facing challenges with the credentialing process and experienced downward mobility. Participants also reported negative workplace experiences; about half of whom stated that their experiences with Canadian employers were more negative than they expected, and that they believed Canadian employers treated immigrants unfairly. These negative experiences in the workplace and credentialing challenges led to negative psychological experiences such as sadness, disappointment, hurt, frustration, resentment, and anger.

In a recent qualitative study with 45 qualified immigrants in Canada, Spain and France, Zikic et al. (2010) explored their subjective career experiences in their host country.

Devaluation of foreign credentials and work experience, accompanied by the fact that immigrant professionals are often first required to obtain Canadian work experience in lower positions, was a source of frustration for the participants. Such requirements led immigrant professionals to adjust their subjective career desires and plans. Also, many immigrant professionals reported that they encountered identity struggles as a result of the adjustment process: “[t]hey were continuously managing their sense of identity while deliberating between ‘feeling foreign or not’ and searching for ways to adjust, feel identified with and integrated into the local society” (p. 674). Overall, this study showed that immigrant professionals’ careers are bounded by the structures in their social context, and how they navigate their careers is influenced by their subjective experiences of these boundaries.

The above studies demonstrate the interdependent relationship between the social context and individuals’ careers by exploring immigrant professionals’ personal experiences. This dissertation furthers our understanding of this relationship by focusing on the perceptions of particular characteristic of the social context (e.g., glass walls), and how these perceptions affect subjective career outcomes.

Subjective Career Outcomes

This dissertation focuses on career satisfaction, career anxiety, life satisfaction and regret for immigration as indicators of subjective career outcomes that reflect the perceived career success and subjective well-being of immigrant professionals.

Career satisfaction is defined as “the satisfaction individuals derive from intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of their careers, including pay, advancement, and developmental opportunities” (Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz, 1995, p. 487). Career satisfaction is internally

defined and reflects an individual's response to perceived progress regarding career goals and expectations (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990). A sense of career satisfaction is important for immigrant professionals, as it relates to their feelings about their progress in establishing their careers in Canada. Career satisfaction denotes an overall picture of an individual's career rather than that of current satisfaction (Greenhaus et al., 1990). For example, a rewarding job with limited prospects for professional advancement could produce limited feelings of career success. Conversely, a person may despise their current professional standing, but be satisfied with their career because of the prospects that accompany it (Heslin, 2003).

For many immigrant professionals, immigration brings with it feelings of enthusiasm, and indeed, urgency, about re-establishing their career in their host country. The feelings of urgency can be accompanied, however, by feelings of *career anxiety* as a result of the career boundaries that limit their access to employment. Anxiety is defined as "negative expectations and cognitive concerns about oneself, the situation at hand, and potential consequences" (Morris, Davis, & Hutchings, 1981, p. 541). Immigrant professionals' affective responses (such as anxiety) about establishing a career in Canada can be effected by the perceptions of the career boundaries and possibility of accomplishing career goals. Examining such emotions can offer valuable insights into immigrant professionals' feelings towards career establishment in Canada. Feeling anxious about one's career may negatively affect immigrant professionals' efforts in applying for jobs due to fear of rejection or interview performance (Kanfer, Wanberg, & Kantrowitz, 2001).

Another important aspect to consider when examining the subjective well-being of immigrant professionals, as a result of facing perceived glass walls, is that of *life satisfaction*. Life satisfaction is understood to be a global evaluation of the quality of one's life, and feeling

of contentment, fulfillment, or happiness with life in general (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985; Peterson, Park & Seligman, 2005). Establishing a career is an important part of work-life integration of immigrants in their host country, especially during the first few years of immigration (Chen, 2008; Yakushko, Backhaus, Watson, Ngaruiya, & Gonzalez, 2008). The more successful the career adjustment, the better the transition experience will be in all aspects of life outside of work. Life satisfaction is important because a general sense of well-being is central to establishing a good career and successful life in Canada.

The final outcome of interest is immigrant professionals' feelings of *regret regarding their decision to immigrate to Canada*. While going through a professional transition, the challenges immigrant professionals perceive can lead to feelings of failure and regret about immigrating to Canada. Feelings of regret can be understood as “an unattained goal which is cited as one reason why one’s actual life course has not converged with the intended one in some important respect” (Jokisaari, 2003, p. 488). People tend to feel the greatest regret when they believe an opportunity to change their situation for the better has been missed (Beike, Markman, & Karadogan, 2009). Regret may lead immigrant professionals to ponder alternative career paths that they might have pursued had they not immigrated to Canada. This may have consequences for their well-being, as unmet goals and expectations have been shown to be associated with depression (Kuhl & Helle, 1986; Lecci, Okun, & Karoly, 1994) and low level of subjective well-being (Schwarz & Strack, 1991).

Characteristics of Perceived Glass Walls and Subjective Career Outcomes

Perceived glass walls are expected to affect immigrant professionals' subjective evaluations of their career success as well as their well-being in Canada. When immigrant

professionals perceive glass walls as inhibiting their access to quality employment, this affects how they feel about their career and their life satisfaction. Immigrant professionals perceive glass walls as impediments to accessing professional employment, and accordingly, obstacles to successful career transition in Canada.

Perceived impermeability and subjective career outcomes. The extent to which glass walls in the Canadian labour market are perceived to be impermeable is an important determinant of whether or not immigrant professionals deem it possible to access employment that aligns with their knowledge and skills. When immigrant professionals believe that accessing such employment is unlikely, their career goals seem more out of reach; a reality that can negatively affect perceived professional success and subjective well-being. This may also affect immigrant professionals' satisfaction with their accomplishment in Canada so far, and lead to a pessimistic outlook about their future advancement.

Perceived stability and subjective career outcomes. Similarly, the extent to which immigrant professionals believe that accessing quality employment without restrictions will become possible in the future can affect both their feelings about finding suitable employment in Canada and their career satisfaction. When current employment prospects are perceived to be unlikely to improve, immigrant professionals may feel stuck in regards to their career development, resulting in feelings of anxiety towards finding employment. These feelings may ultimately lead to regret about immigration and low satisfaction with their life in Canada, especially when their situation appears unlikely to improve.

Perceived illegitimacy and subjective career outcomes. Upon immigration, immigrant professionals face social uncertainty and may tend to pay particular attention to the

procedures they encounter, in order to evaluate the social structures in their new context (Van Den Bos & Lind, 2002). How immigrant professionals identify the causes of their disadvantaged position in the labour market may affect the perception of the legitimacy of glass walls. For example, career boundaries are perceived as illegitimate when immigrant professionals believe that their disadvantaged status is a result of discriminatory employment practices or professional regulations that unfairly restrict them from gaining employment in their occupation. Perceptions of unjust treatment when applying for jobs can cause psychological distress to immigrants struggling to establish their vocational life.

When immigrant professionals believe their current status is due to unjust employment practices, career satisfaction is likely to be reduced. Unrealized expectations and unmet career goals may lead to feelings of failure and regret about immigrating to Canada, thus affecting immigrant professionals' life satisfaction and psychological well-being.

Overall, perceptions of impermeability, stability, and illegitimacy can affect immigrant professionals' subjective outcomes during these career transitions:

Hypothesis 1. Immigrant professionals' perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 1a), stable (Hypothesis 1b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 1c) glass walls are negatively related to career satisfaction and life satisfaction, and are positively related to regret for coming to Canada and career anxiety.

Although most immigrant professionals come to Canada with hopes of establishing a career (Grant & Nadin, 2007; Chen, 2008), the importance of achieving this goal may not be the same for all. The importance attributed to one's career can affect the relationship between the perceptions of the glass walls and its affect on subjective career outcomes. Role theory

(Stryker, 1980; Stryker & Serpe, 1982) posits that when a particular aspect of one's life (career, family, etc.) has central value, the successful fulfillment of this domain is important for the self-esteem and well-being of that individual. Therefore, individuals who place importance on establishing a career can feel the constraining effects of perceived glass walls on their subjective career experiences. I propose that career salience will moderate the relationship between characteristics of perceived glass walls and subjective career outcomes.

Moderating Role of Career Salience

Career salience is defined as “the importance of work and a career in one's total life” (Greenhaus, 1971, p. 52). When career is a salient part of an individual's life, one may value career achievement, be motivated by career success, and identify strongly with their career (i.e. a career as a social entity) (Thoits, 1992). According to the role theory (Stryker, 1980, Stryker & Serpe, 1982), salient roles influence how individuals interpret and respond to various situations in their lives.

Immigrant professionals with high career salience may place high importance on re-establishing their career in Canada, and, as a result, be more likely to pay attention to career boundaries that limit their career mobility. Greater importance given to career may thus affect the psychological well-being of immigrant professionals when glass walls are perceived to limit career options. This may be because immigrant professionals with high career salience are more likely to value their progress, and will be more self-aware that they are not where they want to be while going through career transition in the host country. As a result, they may be less satisfied with their career progress and prospects, and feel less enthusiastic about their careers in general. Furthermore, due to the fact that some view their professional status as central to

their overall purpose and satisfaction, an absence of work for these individuals may lead to lower levels of psychological well-being (e.g., Ashforth, 2001; Jackson, Stafford, Banks, & Warr, 1983; Kinicki, 1989).

Hypothesis 2. Career salience moderates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 2a), stable (Hypothesis 2b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 2c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, regret for coming to Canada, career anxiety), such that the relationship will be stronger under high levels of career salience.

Explanatory Factors

Having proposed that characteristics of perceived glass walls affect subjective career outcomes, I turn to establishing two possible reasons why these perceptions might lead to decreased perceived career success and subjective well-being. I propose that this occurs because of the quality of the employment gained, and the change in immigrant professionals' self-concepts, namely the increase in the salience of their immigrant professional identities.

Finding employment in their field of expertise, or at a level that matches their education and experience, can affect immigrant professionals' perceptions of career success and well-being. Indeed, most immigrant professionals gain a sense of security and ease in their new country only after they have re-established their careers in their desired positions (Chen, 2008). Also, immigrant professionals face the challenge of non-recognition of their credentials or previous professional experience, as well as losing their professional identity (Chen, 2008). This challenge is compounded by the fact that immigrant professionals experience the effects of social structure on their social identity to a greater degree, as they have left their place of

belonging and are adapting to new systems of values and new ways of doing things (Attanapola, 2006). Coping with the challenges of defining oneself professionally constitutes an important challenge for immigrant professionals. Because of this, I examine employment quality and immigrant professional identity salience as explanatory mechanisms in the relationship between perceived characteristics of glass walls and immigrant professionals' subjective career outcomes.

Employment Quality as a Mediator

As discussed in the previous section, perceived glass walls represent structural constraints characterized by various gate-keeping activities (Gunz et al., 2002) that control immigrant professionals' entry to desired employment. Thus, immigrant professionals perceive their career trajectories to be influenced by the institutional policies and practices in the Canadian labour market. Most immigrants come to Canada without pre-arranged employment and most experience a period of adjustment within the labour market, in addition to adjusting to their new life outside of work (Reitz, 2007). Searching for a job is a process that commonly includes uncertainty and rejection (Caplan, Vinokur, Price, & van Ryn, 1989; Wanberg, 1997). This is especially true for immigrant professionals who perceive glass walls to inhibit them from securing suitable employment and satisfying careers. I propose that the perceptions of glass walls inhibit the attainment of quality employment, which, in turn, adversely impacts both immigrant professionals' perceived career success and subjective well-being.

Employment quality of immigrant professionals. Saks (2005) defined employment quality as the "job search outcomes that occur once the job seeker assumes a position and begins employment" (p. 168). Employment quality refers to both the objective characteristics of

employment, such as the nature of the work, remuneration and work schedule, and one's subjective evaluation of employment, such as perceived job fit and relationships with colleagues (Beatson, 2000). Perceived job fit may be an important indicator of employment quality, as it reflects individuals' perceptions of the match between their abilities, needs, desires, and the attributes of the job (Edwards, 1991; Ehrhart, 2006).

Recently, a few studies have focused on how immigrant professionals respond to the career boundaries they face in the host country labour market (Ariss, 2010; Richardson, 2009; Zikic et al., 2010). Richardson (2009), in her qualitative study, explored the way international academics adapt their careers to their new circumstances while moving across national boundaries. Richardson interviewed 30 British academics with positions in universities in Turkey, Singapore, the United Arab Emirates and New Zealand, as well as 44 academics of different nationalities that moved to Canada from various disciplines. Despite the geographical flexibility, participants faced challenges with the national education system, such as an unwillingness of the host institutions "to allow for the specific career capital of international academics" (p. 168). Richardson's study showed that different modes were adopted by international academics in order to navigate their careers through the structures of their employing institutions. While some academics adopted a maintenance mode and accepted the employment policies in the host environment to be virtually irrefutable, others adopted a transformation mode by attempting to alter the barriers that limit their career advancement (Richardson, 2009).

Drawing on Richardson's (2009) study, Ariss (2010) analyzed the career strategies of 43 skilled Lebanese migrants in France in managing barriers to their career development. In addition to adopting maintenance and transformation modes of engagement, qualitative

interviews with the participants suggested that some participants adopted an entrepreneurship mode by starting their own business to avoid the negative consequences of the boundaries. Still others chose to 'opt-out' from the workforce. However, these studies did not explore the reasons for why these modes of engagement are adopted by certain individuals, while not by others.

Recently, Zikic et al. (2010) explored subjective experiences of 45 qualified immigrants in Canada, Spain and France and how subjective experiences of career barriers resulted in different career orientations. All participants in the qualitative study reported that their careers were challenged by institutional barriers they encountered in their host countries (e.g., devaluation of credentials, non-recognition of foreign work experience). Interview results showed that almost half of the participants adopted an adaptive orientation – that is they searched for ways to modify their subjective career aspirations and cope with the objective barriers encountered. Some immigrant professionals were employed in temporary 'survival jobs,' while others accepted employment in a similar field or industry to their profession in the hopes that they would eventually pursue their intended career path and desired professional status. Still others acquired local training (e.g. certifications, licenses, etc.) that would enable them to practice their profession. The results also showed that some immigrant professionals perceived career boundaries as impossible to overcome, and were discouraged by the challenges at hand. The barriers faced prevented them from securing desirable employment and resulted in feelings of discouragement dissatisfaction and unhappiness regarding their career experiences. A small percentage of the participants, however, saw the institutional barriers as temporary challenges to be overcome. These individuals adopted an embracing orientation characterized by the reinvention of their careers. Zikic et al.'s (2010) study shows that there is a

direct relationship between how these individuals understand their new social context and the way they viewed their careers, the actions they undertook, and the subjective evaluations of their career.

The studies reviewed above suggest that immigrant professionals' careers are bounded by the structures in their social context, and that the navigation of their careers is based on their subjective experiences of these boundaries. The perception of glass walls has a direct impact on employment quality. Due to perceived glass walls immigrant professionals attempting to re-establish their careers in Canada may start to form beliefs about what kind of employment is possible.

The perceptions of these glass walls may affect the possible job prospects immigrant professionals deem to be realistic, and the job prospects they ultimately achieve. Accordingly, when immigrant professionals perceive the labour market conditions as unfavourable towards securing desired employment (i.e., perceived impermeability), they may be more willing to accept jobs below their skill levels. Similarly, if the prospects for change in their access to quality employment are perceived to be limited (perceived stability), immigrant professionals may feel that their efforts are not likely to pay off in the future and there is no choice but to accept underemployment as a result. These perceptions may discourage immigrant professionals from believing they are able to achieve the goal of continuing with their career of choice. This may result in lowered motivation and enthusiasm to pursue their professional career in Canada, as well as the decision to accept jobs outside of their professional field for other, more achievable, employment prospects.

Also, when immigrant professionals perceive themselves to be discriminated against because of their lesser-valued human capital (perceived illegitimacy), they may be less likely to push for quality employment and will be more likely to accept underemployment. Indeed, most immigrants enter the Canadian labour market by accepting jobs that do not match their education and work experience, which may impede their successful long-term integration to the labour market (Grant, 2007; Reitz, 2005). Again, immigrant professionals may decide that the only way of getting a job in Canada is to leave their skilled profession and start looking for employment in different fields. As such, perceptions of career boundaries may influence whether or not immigrant professionals are willing to accept employment that is not suited to their education and expertise.

Employment quality and subjective career outcomes. The quality of employment should affect immigrant professionals' assessment of career based success and subjective well-being. Immigrant professionals' employment quality may inform how well they are doing in their new social context, and whether they are capable of establishing a successful career in Canada. When immigrant professionals find themselves in positions outside of their field, their satisfaction with their new life in Canada may be affected as they adjust to their new working environment. Also, immigrant professionals who are employed in jobs that do not match their skills and qualifications can feel the effects of underemployment on their career outcomes. Individuals who struggle with insufficient employment can experience the effects of anxiety and depression; similar to that which is experienced by those who are unemployed (Dooley, 2003). When employed in a job where there is less fit between an individuals' skills and the job requirements, individuals may feel they have a capacity to perform at a higher level, but are unable to demonstrate their full potential (Feldman, Leana, & Bolino, 2002). Individuals who

are employed in such jobs may feel as though they are low performers, resulting in feelings of disappointment and lower life and career satisfaction (Bolino & Feldman, 2000). Poor employment quality is also related to symptoms of depression, deflated self-concept (Friedland & Price, 2003), and lower levels of life satisfaction (Wilkins, 2007).

One way in which perceptions of glass walls affect perceived career success and subjective well-being, therefore, is through the quality of employment obtained. Understanding how immigrant professionals perceive glass walls as limiting their chances to find meaningful employment can help to illustrate how they navigate their careers, and how they evaluate their subjective career outcomes. Based on these perceptions, immigrant professionals may choose to manage their careers – or respond to boundaries – in different ways.

Hypothesis 3. Employment quality mediates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 3a), stable (Hypothesis 3b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 3c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, regret for coming to Canada, career anxiety).

Immigrant Professional Identity Salience as a Mediator

The second explanatory factor for how characteristics of perceived glass walls affect perceived career success and subjective well-being is the salience of immigrant professional identity. Social identity theory posits that an important part of an individual's self-concept is that of social identity; an identity derived from "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p. 292). In other words, social identity theory provides a framework for understanding the pieces that constitute the complex puzzle of self concept; particularly the

social categories – professional, cultural, ethnic, gender – from which one belongs to and identifies with (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001).

The extent to which specific group memberships become a salient aspect of an individual's self-concept depends on the immediate situational and contextual cues that focus one's attention on the group membership (Tajfel, 1978). These cues make a specific social identity salient and activate individuals' beliefs relating to their identity based on how they interpret that social context. Social identity theory emphasizes identity as a fluid state responding to changing social contexts in which aspects of the identity can be adjusted, enhanced, or administered accordingly (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). Not surprisingly then, significant changes in one's social context, such as immigration, can have profound effects on one's social identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). When an individual's social context drastically changes (e.g., immigration), the structures that previously supported their social identities cease to exist (Hormuth, 1990). Individuals are therefore faced with a 'social sea-change' and are faced with the need to redefine their social identity based on their newfound social structures (Phinney, 1993). New categories for social identification emerge, and individuals begin to redefine their identities by categorizing themselves and others within the framework of these new social categories (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, 1987, 1999).

Past intergroup research has primarily focused on the short-term, situationally-based shifts in salience of social identity between contexts (Turner et al., 1987). However, an increasing number of studies have produced evidence for the variations that occur in the social identities of group members over time (Jetten, Iyer, Tsivrikos, & Young, 2008; Jetten, O'Brien, & Trindall, 2002; Kessler & Mummendey, 2002). While transferring their careers across

nations, immigrant professionals face the challenge of redefining their professional identity. The social structures that validate immigrant professionals' identity (e.g., social status granted by a successful career in medicine or business) no longer exist, and they find themselves in a foreign environment with newfound – and often unknown – social structures. In this new and unfamiliar context, social identity processes (e.g., self-categorization) arise as a means of mitigating subjective uncertainty about one's thoughts and perceptions of the new social structures, and one's place within them (Hogg & Abrams, 1993; Hogg & Mullin, 1999; Hogg & Terry, 2000). In order to reduce the uncertainty and align oneself with the social context, individuals need to self-categorize themselves based on the cues in the new context and cultivate an identity within this context that is subjectively identified as most meaningful (Hogg & Terry, 2000).

This dissertation explores the salience of the “immigrant professional” identity to understand unique experiences of immigrant professionals by focusing on how the shifts in immigrant professionals' social context and professional standing lead to a reconstruction of self-identification in their new context. Although researchers have examined immigrant identity (Deaux, 1996) and professional identities in transitions (Ibarra, 1999), the intersectional perspective of “immigrant professional” has yet to be thoroughly explored. Intersectionality is defined as “the mutually constitutive relations among social identities” (Baca, Zinn, Thornton Dill, 1996; Nakano Glenn 1999; West & Fenstermaker 1997). An individual's different social identities (such as race, gender, and class) may interact to form qualitatively different experiences and meaning that cannot be explained by each social identity alone (Cole, 2009; Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1994; Warner, 2008). This perspective suggests that immigrant professionals may see themselves separate from other immigrants (e.g., non-skilled) and other

professionals (e.g., native born or trained) because of their unique experiences in the labour market. Therefore, in the context of career transition, the “immigrant professional” identity may become paramount in immigrant professionals’ newly forged self-concepts.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) suggests that an individual’s immediate context informs where he or she is positioned within a social hierarchy (Ouwkerk & Ellemers, 2002), and that the extent to which a particular social identity becomes salient is dependent upon the characteristics of the context (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). Building on this assumption, I expect that the perceptions of glass walls will have an effect on the salience of immigrant professional identity.

Salience of immigrant professional identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) is particularly important in understanding the effects of an individual’s environment (e.g., country of origin, country of current of residence) upon the formation of an individuals’ identity. The shifts in individuals’ psychosocial environment, as a result of the immigration process alters the social context that grounds individuals’ social identities (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). Consequently, immigrant professionals are faced with the challenge of recreating their social identities as they relate to their new country of residence.

Social identity theory posits that individuals’ beliefs about the nature of relationships between their in-group and relevant out-groups influence how they see themselves (self-categorization), and the specific behaviors they adopt (individual or collective actions) in efforts to enhance their self-concept (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1982; Turner & Giles, 1981). The characteristics of perceived glass walls can act as contextual and situational

cues that immigrant professionals focus their attention on to help define their social status in their new context, as well as factors that can influence their career experiences.

Most immigrant professionals face the challenges of devaluation of their foreign education and work experience in their host country (Reitz, 2007). When immigrant professionals become aware of employers' reactions to their skills and qualification – whether through job interviews or repeated rejections – and believe that there are systemic barriers that inhibit immigrant professionals' access to quality employment (perceived impermeability), their immigrant professional identity may become more salient. While explanations may come in the form of 'inapplicable work experience,' 'over qualification,' or 'under qualification,' one thing is clear: with each disappointing professional experience, immigrant professionals become that much more aware of employers' reactions to their skills and qualifications. Consequently, immigrant professional identity may become salient when immigrant professionals perceive that they face common obstacles to access suitable employment that others do not. On the other hand, when immigrant professionals see permeable boundaries, the immigrant professional status may not be as salient to their social identity, as they can see that they are able to re-establish their professional status.

If immigrant professionals believe that accessing quality employment without restrictions will become possible in the future (perceived instability), they may be more likely to believe that their status in the labour market will depend on their skills and experience rather than their "immigrant professional" status. On the other hand, if they believe that perceived glass walls are stable, and that career opportunities for immigrants are not likely to improve, their immigrant professional identity may become increasingly salient.

Immigrant professional identity may also become salient when immigrant professionals believe that the employment practices in the labour market are discriminatory (perceived illegitimacy), and that they cannot access quality employment as a result. According to Tajfel (1978), and the rejection-identification model developed by Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey (1999), which is based on social identity theory, when individuals perceive that they and similar others are subjected to prejudice and discrimination, they are more likely to identify with that group. Schmitt, Spears, and Branscombe (2003) examined how perceived discrimination affected international students' identification. In their study, international students who felt that they were discriminated against while in the host community perceived greater differences between native and international students, which led them to identify with being an international student rather than with their native country. The authors concluded that "people experiencing discrimination are not likely to simply cling to whatever social categories they have available to them. Instead, they identify with a group that is relevant to the discrimination that they experience and the context in which they find themselves" (p. 10). When applying this theory to immigrant professionals in Canada, one thing becomes very clear: after several interviews or rejections from employers, immigrant professionals realize the immediate effect that qualification devaluation has on their professional identity. Hence, in the context of career boundaries that appear to be impermeable, illegitimate, and stable, "immigrant professional" identity may become paramount in their newly forged self-concept.

Salience of immigrant professional identity and subjective career outcomes.

Identity salience has been understood to affect how individuals' think and behave in ways reflective of that identity (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Jackson, 1981; Stryker & Serpe, 1982).

When immigrant professional identity becomes salient due to perceived glass walls, immigrant

professionals may experience the effects of this identity, signaling the loss of past professional status on subjective evaluations of their career and well-being.

Being an “immigrant professional” can come with the disappointment of not being able to utilize professional qualifications and experience. Unrealized career expectations, as well as feelings that professional development in Canada is not likely to occur, can result.

Consequently, an array of psychological difficulties may emerge, including feelings of frustration, hopelessness, and regret about the decision to immigrate. This may also influence how immigrant professionals perceive their careers in their new country. Contending with limited access to jobs that match their qualifications and unrealized professional status may affect their feelings of career success. Indeed, how a group is evaluated in a given society can have an impact upon the attitudes and behaviours of the individuals who belong to that group (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Spears, Oakes, Ellemers, & Haslam, 1997).

Immigrant professionals may feel discouraged from believing that they are able to continue their careers in their desired positions, and may feel more anxious about their future and less satisfied with their career progress. In sum, I propose that perceptions of glass walls affect perceived career success and subjective well-being through the salience of immigrant professional identity.

Hypothesis 4. Salience of immigrant professional identity mediates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 4a), stable (Hypothesis 4b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 4c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, regret for coming to Canada, career anxiety).

It is important to note that not all individuals who belong to a said social group identify with ‘their’ social group (Leach & Smith, 2006; Smith & Leach, 2004). One factor that may affect the strength of the relationship between perceived glass walls and immigrant professional identity salience is the extent to which immigrant professionals attribute their inability to access suitable employment. Perceived glass walls represent barriers that disallow a group of people to make given work role transitions. For immigrant professionals this group identity becomes salient when they find no explanation to their unemployment situation, other than being denied access to quality employment as a group. Hence, immigrant professional identity may become more salient as a result of perceived glass walls for those who attribute the unemployment situation of immigrant professionals to more external factors (e.g., employer practices, discrimination) than internal factors (e.g., effort, skills). Next, I discuss how immigrant professionals attribute their unemployment to play a moderating role between characteristics of perceived glass walls and the immigrant professional identity salience.

Moderating role of attribution for unemployment. Weiner’s (1972) attribution theory asserts that peoples’ feelings and behaviors are impacted by the degree to which they perceive the causes of successes or failures to be internal (relating to oneself) or external (environmental/situational). While going through career transition and job search, immigrant professionals may seek explanations for their failure to obtain quality employment. Individuals’ explanatory tendency to attribute possible causes to the outcomes of specific events (Peterson, 1991) provides insight into how immigrant professional identity becomes salient when faced with the daunting labour market situation.

As discussed previously, perceived glass walls represent barriers that hinder the movement of a group of people who possess the qualities to make a given transition, but are

inhibited from doing so because of structural factors (Gunz et al., 2002). The extent to which immigrant professionals attribute their disadvantaged position in the labour market to internal or external factors may, therefore, influence the effect of glass walls on the salience of their immigrant professional identity. For immigrant professionals who attribute unemployment of immigrant professionals more to situational and uncontrollable factors (e.g., discrimination), their immigrant professional identity may become more salient. This is due to the belief that the barriers they face are a result of belonging to a specific group that is denied access to employment (i.e., immigrant professionals). This belief may exacerbate the effect of perceived characteristics on the social identity of immigrant professionals. On the other hand, when immigrant professionals attribute their unemployment status to internal and controllable factors (e.g., effort, qualifications), they may be less likely to feel the effect of perceived glass walls on their social identity. Such immigrant professionals may not understand glass walls to be targeted towards them as a result of their social group identity, but that employment challenges are individual struggles to be overcome with personalized efforts. Hence, when this situation is viewed as more of an individual problem, however, the social group identity may not become salient.

In summary, I expect that perceived impermeability, stability, and illegitimacy will increase the salience of immigrant professional identity only for individuals with low levels of internal attribution. Due to the combination of the moderating effect of attributions for unemployment on immigrant professional identity salience, and the mediating role of immigrant professional identity salience on the relationship between perceived characteristics and subjective career outcomes, I propose that immigrant professional identity mediates the

relationship between characteristics of perceived glass walls and subjective career outcomes only for immigrant professionals with low levels of internal attribution for unemployment.

Hypothesis 5. Attributions for unemployment moderate the mediating effect of immigrant professional identity salience on the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 5a), stable (Hypothesis 5b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 5c) glass walls and subjective career outcomes, such that the mediation will be stronger under low levels of internal attribution.

In conclusion, this section provided an in-depth overview of the characteristics of glass walls, immigrant professional identity salience, and the career outcomes of immigrant professionals. Also, hypotheses were posed based on the discussion of the literature. The proposed theoretical framework is presented in Figure 1.

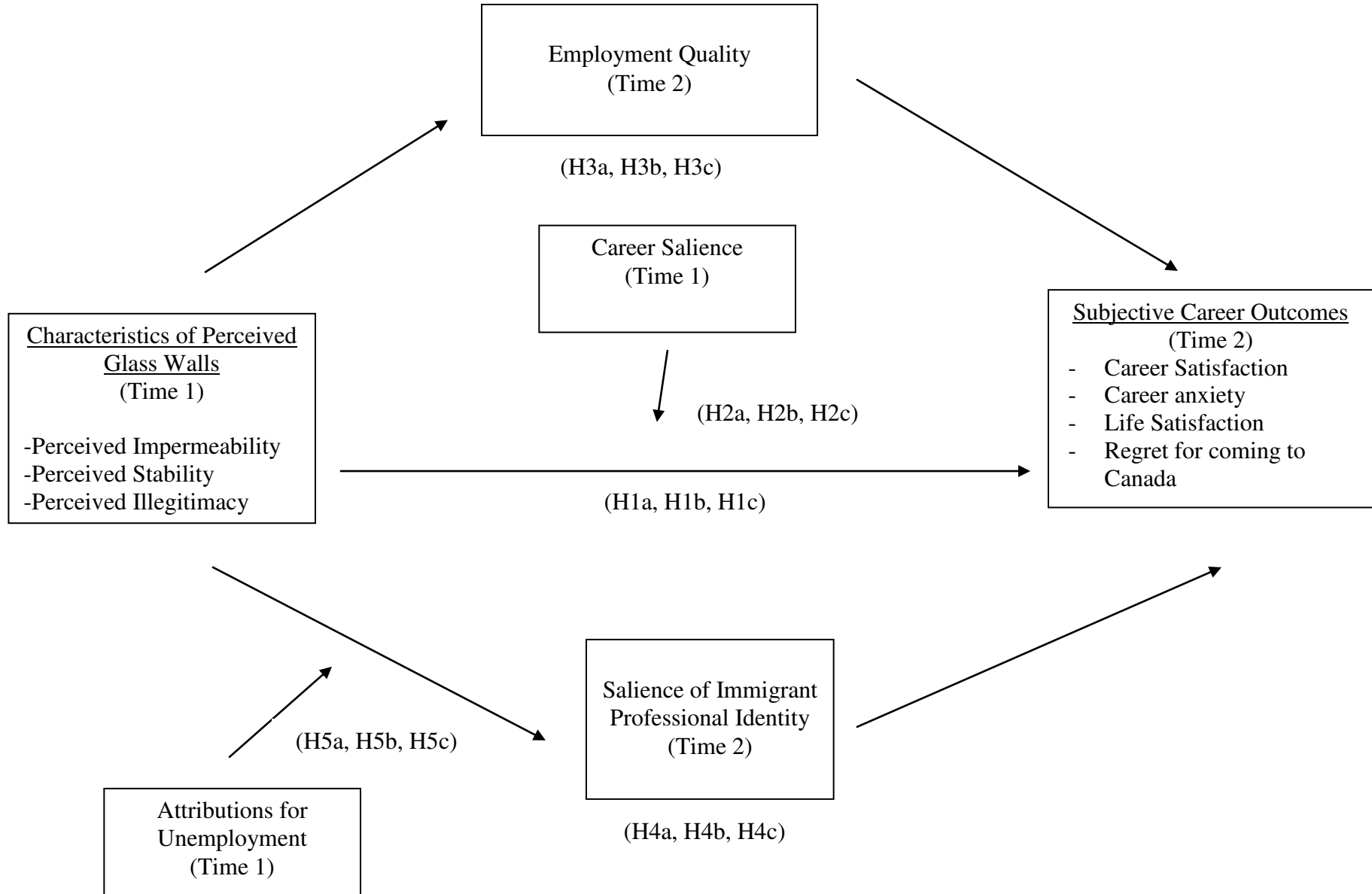


Figure 1. Proposed Theoretical Framework

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This chapter details the procedures, describes the sample and study measures, and discusses the statistical analyses used to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter 2.

Quantitative Study

Data was collected at two time points to minimize common method bias and to understand the changes in employment quality. The first was collected by questionnaire given to the participants at the time of recruiting (Time 1). The second survey (Time 2) was collected via an online questionnaire 6 months after the initial survey.

Sample

Participants at Time 1

Two hundred and twenty-seven unemployed, foreign-trained immigrant professionals responded to the first survey. The condition for selecting participants was such that they had to be new or recent immigrants who arrived in Canada within the past 5 years through official channels of immigration (newcomer definition of Statistics Canada, 2005). These participants, therefore, have full and legitimate access to the labour market. The country of origin, occupation, or the age range was not specified while recruiting participants. This allowed a variation of the sample regarding their cultural background and career experiences.

52% of the respondents were women and the average age was 39 ($SD = 7.64$). The participants were from a mix of nationalities such as China (30.3%), India (12%), Pakistan (6%), and Sri Lanka (5%). Respondents had been in Canada for an average of 2 years ($SD = 1.80$). All

respondents had at least a Bachelors Degree (93%), and 40% of these had post-graduate degrees (Masters and PhDs). Participants had an average of 12 years ($SD = 6.9$) work experience in their former country. The average time spent unemployed since arrival in Canada was 1.2 years ($SD = 1.5$) at the time of the first survey. Participants belonged to a variety of professions before coming to Canada. The highest percentage of occupations among the participants was natural/applied science (17.1%), business and financial operations (12%), health sciences (10.1%), manufacturing (10%), office-admin support (7%). 49% of the participants belonged to regulated professions such as engineering, accounting, and architecture; 51% belonged to non-regulated professions such as information technology, banking, and administration.

Participants at Time 2

At time 2 (6 months after Time 1) a follow-up questionnaire was sent out to individuals who completed Time 1 questionnaire. Out of the 227 surveys sent to participants, 12 bounced back (the email addresses were either not used anymore or were incomplete) with a total of 215 questionnaires received by the participants. Participants were asked to complete the surveys in three weeks. Two reminder emails were sent to the participants; two weeks and one month after the initial email. Overall, out of the 215 questionnaires, 101 were returned completed (47% response rate).

Among the 101 participants who responded to the second survey 55 (54%) were employed at the time of the survey, where 46 (45%) were unemployed. Out of the 55 employed, 39 (73%) were employed in their profession, 14 (26%) were employed outside of their profession. 36 (70%) were employed in entry-level jobs, 16 (30%) were employed in middle

level jobs. 34 (66%) participants reported that they were employed in full time positions, where 17 (34%) were employed part-time.

In order to assess whether there are differences between the participants who responded to the second questionnaire and non-respondents, Time 2 respondents were compared to non-respondents on several demographic variables. Several chi-square test analyses showed that there were no significant differences in age, gender, ethnicity, educational level, years of work experience, length of unemployment in Canada, occupation type (regulated vs. non-regulated), or job search intensity.

Procedure

Procedure at Time 1

Immigrant professionals in the Greater Toronto Area were recruited through adult learning centers, employment agencies, postings in community centers, and personal networks. In order to recruit participants from the learning centers, the center was contacted and the objective of the study was explained to the program managers. After the approval of the program managers was received, the researcher was given permission to make a number of presentations in the classroom explaining the purpose and the nature of the study. The presentations lasted about 10-15 minutes each time, as it was the time allowed by the learning centre's main administration to explain the study and the forms to the students. The informed consent forms were read and explained to students in the classroom, and students were given opportunities to ask questions. Participants were also recruited by posting notices in the community center bulletin boards, and through personal connections. Individuals who were interested in

participating were sent invitation letters explaining the purpose of the study and the consent forms.

All participants were asked to sign a consent form that included detailed information regarding the goal of the study, confidentiality, and that participation is voluntary. Participants were also informed that withdrawal from the study is possible at any time. On the consent form of the first questionnaire the respondents were informed that the study was composed of two parts, and that they would be receiving the second questionnaire approximately 6 months after the initial survey.

Procedure at Time 2

Six months after the initial survey, the second questionnaire was sent to the participants from Time 1 through email. This time interval was chosen as participants in the adult learning centers had already finished their program and could possibly have found employment by then. At this point it was expected that individuals would be able to accurately respond to the second questionnaire examining their employment quality and career outcomes.

Measures

This section describes the measures, their collection and the information relevant to scale analysis. The characteristics of the perceived glass walls, as well as demographic information and individual differences such as career salience, attributions for unemployment were measured at Time 1. Immigrant professional identity salience, employment quality, and subjective career outcomes were assessed in Time 2 (6 months after Time 1) (see *Appendix 1* and *2* for a copy of the Time 1 and Time 2 questionnaires).

Measures at Time 1

Perceived impermeability. Perceived impermeability was measured using a four-item scale adapted from Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, and Federico (1998). This measure was originally developed by Levin et al. to assess the system beliefs of different ethnic groups in American (African Americans, and Asian Americans) and Israeli societies (Arabs and other non-Jewish Israelis) and whether respondents felt that individual mobility is possible in the society. This measure was adapted to immigrant professional sample and assessed their beliefs about whether access to quality employment is possible for immigrant professionals in Canada. Sample items are “Career advancement in Canada is possible for all immigrant professionals,” and “Immigrant professionals have difficulty accessing professional employment.” The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Cronbach’s alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .61.

Perceived stability. Perceived stability was measured using a two-item measure adapted from Hersby, Ryan, and Jetten (2009). This measure was originally developed by Hersby et al. to measure women’s perception of the stability of the current gender relations in an organization. It was adapted to the immigrant professional sample and assessed participants’ perception of whether the difficulties faced by immigrant professionals are likely to improve in the future. The items are “Immigrant professionals will have equal opportunities as local professionals in the future,” and “Immigrant professionals’ access to quality employment is likely to improve in the future.” The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Cronbach’s alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .53.

Perceived illegitimacy. Perceived illegitimacy was measured using a three item scale adapted from Levin et al. (1998). Levin et al. assessed the degree to which respondents perceived

American society to be just, fair, and legitimate. The measure was adapted to immigrant professional sample and assessed their beliefs about whether the difficulties immigrant professional face in getting quality employment to be just, fair, and legitimate. Sample items are “Canada is a just society where differences in access to employment between immigrant and local professionals reflect actual differences such as technical ability and professional qualifications between the two groups,” and “Differences in access to employment between immigrant and local professionals are fair.” The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Cronbach’s alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .53.

Career salience. Career salience was measured using ten-item Occupational Role Commitment and Role Reward scale (Amatea, Cross, Clark & Bobby, 1986). This scale was designed to assess the involvement of individuals in major life roles, including marital, parental, and occupation (e.g., Cinamon & Rich, 2002; Graves, Ohlott, & Ruderman, 2007; Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002). Sample items are “I want to work, but do not want a demanding career,” and “I value being involved in a career and expect to devote the time and effort needed to develop it.” The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Cronbach’s alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .85.

Attributions for unemployment. Attributions for unemployment were measured by four item subscale from Gurney (1981). This measure originally developed by Gurney to assess youth’s beliefs about getting employment and explain youth unemployment. This measure was adapted to immigrant professionals sample. Participants were asked to what extent they think immigrant professionals’ unemployed position is due to internal factors such as qualifications, looking harder for jobs, and confidence. Sample items are “If they had better qualifications most

of the immigrant professionals would soon get jobs in Canada,” and “Unemployed immigrant professionals haven’t tried hard enough and don’t know how to sell themselves.” The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *completely false*, 5 = *completely true*). Cronbach’s alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .94.

Control variables. Several control variables were used in the study analyses. Participants indicated their age, gender, ethnicity, as well as their educational level, years of work experience, length of unemployment in Canada, language (English) efficacy, and occupation (regulated vs. non-regulated). These control variables have been identified as potentially important in immigrant professionals’ employment status in Canada (e.g., Boyd, 2000; Galarneau & Morissette, 2008; Statistics Canada, 2005).

Also, *job search intensity* was selected as a control variable. Research found that job search intensity is a predictor of employment outcomes such as employment or reemployment status (Kanfer et al., 2001; Wanberg, Glomb, Song, & Sorenson, 2005). Job search outcomes may influence immigrants’ subsequent perceptions of career boundaries based on the positive and negative outcomes of their job applications. Negative outcomes (not being called for interview, or explicit rejections) during job search may discourage individuals about their perceptions of the employment outcomes and whether they are able to achieve their professional goals.

Job search intensity was examined by a 10-item job search intensity measure derived from Blau (1994). Participants were asked to indicate how frequently they performed a variety of job search behaviours on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *very frequently*). Sample items are “Preparing/revising resume,” and “Contacting employment agencies.” Similar to Wanberg,

Kanfer, and Banas' (2000) study, one extra item was added to Blau's scale ("Looking for jobs on the internet") in order to capture online job searching activities. Also, one item from Blau's scale ("Used previous employers to locate job leads") was deleted because immigrant professionals have little ties with the past now. Cronbach's alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .82.

Measures at Time 2

Immigrant professional identity salience. Immigrant professional identity salience was measured by three items adapted from Hoelter (1983). Participants were given a definition of immigrant professionals as "individuals who were born and educated in a foreign country and have professional experience mostly obtained outside of the host country." They were then asked to rate the extent to which they view themselves as immigrant professionals, and how much they value this identity. They were asked to rate the following word pairs on a range of 5-point scale: (1 = *not central to who I am*, 5 = *central to who I am*; 1 = *not important for my self-definition*, 5 = *important for my self-definition*; 1 = *does not describe myself*, 5 = *describes myself*). Cronbach's alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .90.

The salience of immigrant identity and the strength of professional identity were also measured to assess their relationship with "immigrant professional identity." Immigrant identity salience was measured using the same semantic difference technique (Hoelter, 1983) that assessed immigrant professional identity salience. Participants were asked to rate how much they see themselves as an immigrant. The strength of professional identity was measured using four items from the identity subscale of Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) Collective Self-Esteem Scale. Sample items are "In general, my profession is an important part of my self-image," and "I have

a strong sense of belonging to my profession.” The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Immigrant professional identity salience was positively related to both immigrant identity salience ($r = .56, p < .01$) and professional identification ($r = .46, p < .01$).

Employment quality. Employment quality was measured using seven items. One item assessed whether participants found employment in their professional field (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*), and one item assessed whether the level of positions participants hold is middle/senior level (0 = *entry/junior level*, 1 = *middle/senior level*). A four-item measure adopted from Lauver and Kristof-Brown (2001) was used to assess whether participants see fit with their jobs in terms of their skills (e.g., “My knowledge, skills, and match the requirement of the job,” and personality/temperament (e.g., “My job is a good match for me”) on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). One item assessed the extent to which participants would agree that their current job is better than the one they had in their previous country on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). All the items were standardized to create an employment quality scale. Cronbach’s alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .85.

Career satisfaction. Career satisfaction was measured using five items (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990). Sample items are “I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career,” and “I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my overall career goals.” The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Cronbach’s alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .94.

Life satisfaction. Life satisfaction was measured using the five-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The participants were asked to indicate their agreement with statements such as "In most ways my life is close to ideal," and "I am satisfied with my life." The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .86.

Career anxiety. Career anxiety was measured using ten items adapted from Saks and Ashforth (2000). Participants were asked to indicate how much they agree (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) with the emotional states when they think about gaining professional employment in Canada (e.g., "Tense," "Anxious," "Calm"). Cronbach's alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .92.

Regret for immigrating to Canada. Regret was measured using nine items adapted from the procedure used by Beike, Markman, and Karadogan (2009). Beike et al., based on Roese and Summerville's (2005) meta-analysis, measured regret regarding different life domains by assessing the intensity of regret regarding choices and decisions in that domain, past opportunities to make changes in that domain, and opportunities to make changes in that domain in the future. Participants were asked questions regarding their regret for decision to immigrate to Canada, whether they would change their decisions if they had the opportunity, the degree of opportunity they had in the past to make changes in that domain, and whether they plan to move to a different country or return to their home country. Sample items include "I very much regret coming to Canada," "If I were able to, I would like to move to another country with better career opportunities," "As soon as I am able to, I would like to move to another country." The items were measured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha estimate for the internal reliability of the ratings was .96.

Qualitative Study

The objective of the qualitative part of the dissertation was to explore career experiences of immigrant professionals and shed light on the findings of the overall study. Interviews were conducted to add richness to the information collected and provide a better, and more personal, understanding of the immigrant professional identity.

Twelve immigrant professionals were recruited from different stages in their career and background. The interview study included employed and unemployed immigrant professionals in order to capture a broader understanding of career experiences in different stages of development. Interviews were approximately one hour long and consisted of a series of semi-structured questions. Because interviews were semi-structured, all participants were asked the same questions in the same order. Having respondents answer the same set of questions increases the compatibility of responses, and facilitates clear organization and analysis of the data. All of the interviews were openly tape-recorded.

The first set of questions explored immigrant professionals' educational and professional background, their reasons for immigrating to Canada, and their career expectations. The second set of questions explored their experiences in the job market, specifically relating to their job search experiences. The aim was to explore the perceptions of the glass walls (e.g., impermeability, stability, illegitimacy), and how they see their careers unfolding in the face of these obstacles. The third set of questions addressed the immigrant professional identity. The participants were asked to explain what it means to be an immigrant professional, and what experiences they have had with this new identity (*See Appendix 3* for interview questions).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter reports the results of the tests of all the hypotheses and the qualitative interview study. The qualitative data analysis will be first presented in order to elicit greater understanding of the perceptions of the glass walls and immigrant professional identity before presenting the hypothesis tests.

Analysis of Qualitative Data

Audio-taped interviews were transcribed verbatim. The general guidelines of thematic analysis offered by Braun and Clarke (2006) were used for finding common patterns within the interviews. The first stage was to read each transcript, and then highlight the key excerpts and phrases that stood out. After becoming familiar with the data, initial codes were created into a combination of categories in NVivo.

The participants – six female, six male – ranged between 26 and 45 years of age, were from a mix of countries such as Iran, Venezuela, Romania, Indonesia, and their time in Canada varied between six months to five years. They came from a variety of professions, including HR specialist, lawyer, manager, IT specialist, pharmacist and dentist. Seven participants were in regulated professions, and five were in non-regulated professions. Five individuals were employed, one was in a co-op placement and six were looking for employment (See Table 1 for a summary of participants' background).

Most participants stated that the main reasons for immigrating to Canada were mostly personal, and related to creating a better life in a new country. Although the participants were aiming to find employment in their professional fields, most indicated that after immigrating they realized the need to alter their profession or work within a related career field in an alternative role. Indeed, all participants stated that they may seek a different career in an unrelated field in the future if it is the only way to gain employment.

Table 1
Interview Study Participants

Participant	Gender	Age	Country	Occupation	Time in Canada	Work Experience in Home Country
1	Male	40	Colombia	Engineer	1.2 years	15 years
2	Male	32	Venezuela	Lawyer	2 years	10 years
3	Female	45	Iran	Art and Design Teacher	4.5 years	14 years
4	Female	36	El Salvador	Pharmacist	2 years	10 years
5	Male	44	Indonesia	HR Specialist	2 years	16 years
6	Male	29	Bangladesh	IT Professional	1.2 years	8.5 years
7	Male	35	Iran	Biologist	6 months	7 years
8	Female	40	Peru	Dentist	7 months	8 years
9	Female	40	Hungary	Manager	1.3 years	9 years
10	Female	25	Brazil	Law Clerk	10 months	5.5 years
11	Female	42	Romania	Journalist and Health Care Practitioner	4 years	8 years
12	Male	43	Niger	Engineer	1.8 years	10 years

Job Search Experiences

All participants reported that they faced several challenges when they began looking for employment. Overall, these challenges included level of proficiency in English language, unfamiliarity with the job market, lack of networks and connections, inability to access hidden job markets, and non-recognition of their credentials and pre-Canadian work experience. Also,

for immigrant professionals in regulated professions, finding employment meant a long examination and re-credentialing process, as well as re-training and/or internship. Three of the twelve participants stated that the professional employment assistance programs were not helpful in finding jobs that match their educational and occupational background. Mostly, the employment support programs were only reported to assist them in acquiring entry-level positions.

When specifically asked about job application processes and interview experiences, all participants stated that despite their efforts of sending out resumes, they had received very few callbacks from employers.

“I sent out resumes, heard nothing. I heard thousands of stories from people that you never hear back. I went to a networking meeting, one of the people there said he has sent out 300 resumes and heard nothing. Probably employers review the first couple and then don’t even look at the rest. The old rule is still true; it is who you know what you do how you connect with people.” (IT professional)

All participants stated that after sending out countless resumes as an initial job search strategy and gaining no success; they tried using different strategies to apply for positions in Canada. These strategies included attending job search workshops, resume clinics, and seeking support from employment counselors. Unfortunately, none of these strategies seemed to help:

“I couldn’t find any organization that was helpful. I attended courses on resume writing, job counseling but it wasn’t that helpful. I talked to job counselor for several sessions, they assessed my skills but finally what they did was to send emails and positions for very simple jobs, for security or waiter like that. It wasn’t helpful at all.” (Biologist)

Also, seven participants reported that they found themselves in a dilemma of being at once *over*-qualified for jobs that had access to (i.e., entry-level positions) and *under*-qualified for positions similar to their pre-Canadian experience, due to their lack of Canadian experience:

“I saw that I am at the border of over and under qualification. On the one hand I am under-qualified for positions like quality control manager because I don’t have Canadian

experience. Then I am overqualified when I apply to an entry-level position. Again, I don't fit into the job." (Engineer)

"If I don't put my law degree in my CV I don't have anything, if I put it I have too much." (Lawyer)

Participants who got interviews stated that they were never called back, and did not receive any feedback about whether they were rejected or accepted. For the participants, this utter lack of response was an extremely frustrating experience:

"Mostly I don't get any confirmation; they just say you don't get the job. I think this is not a good culture. The official contacts do not give confirmation-whether you get or don't get the job. I even send them thank you emails, I get no response." (HR specialist)
Also, during the interviews, some participants were told that their skills did not match the

job qualifications or that they are not a good fit because they do not have enough Canadian experience:

"You know, in the job search I don't know what they expect from us, they don't tell you what is wrong or why you didn't get the job. I tried to get back with the interviewer to give me feedback. I keep applying to assistant manager positions, and I have an interview next Monday again. I don't know I have been to 5-6 interviews now. I don't know, they always tell me that I need more experience or don't call back. So I am not excited anymore, even if it's an interview. Maybe a good thing is I wouldn't be as nervous as in the other interviews." (Manager)

Overall, job search was a frustrating experience for all of the participants. Despite their efforts of sending out countless resumes or going on job interviews, they were not given enough explanation by the employers in regards to why they were not qualified or being considered for the these positions. Thus, this may have led them to feel uncertain about what to do or where to turn for help to access these positions.

Perceived Glass Walls

"There's an entire world out there you know that you will never get into, you are on another level. The gap is that you can't get there. In Romania I was in that world, I was a journalist with a degree. It's not a good feeling when you go as a delivery girl with files to lawyers. In other circumstances I could have been one of them. It's a kind of despair you don't know whether you will break out." (Journalist and Health Care Practitioner)

When asked whether they think it is possible for immigrant professionals to find suitable employment in Canada, most participants discussed two types of boundaries: (1) boundaries that can be overcome and (2) boundaries that are seemingly impermeable. Language problems, assessment of credentials and re-examinations are listed as boundaries that can be overcome. However, participants mentioned certain obstacles that seem more insurmountable to overcome. Before discussing these obstacles, it is important to note that all participants stated a difference between “finding a job” and “establishing a career” in a suitable employment. Specifically, employed participants believed that finding employment does not mean that they achieved success because they are employed in lower positions. Low quality jobs were possible to find, but the main struggle was finding a professional job.

All participants talked about some sort of a *hidden job market* that inhibits them from accessing employment; a hidden market that only networking and Canadian experience can provide access to:

“Unfortunately not all job positions are posted. Job positions are hidden you need to have your own network and connections to apply for those jobs. People inside of organizations have access to those jobs. You know that when you have someone working somewhere he can directly hand in resume, convince and persuade them that this person is the right person for this position. But when applied externally, when they are screening you lose your chance at the beginning.” (IT Specialist)

Another impermeable barrier that was mentioned is *Canadian employers’ unwillingness to hire immigrant professionals*. Exactly half of the participants talked about employers’ lack of trust in new immigrants’ abilities. Because of their unfamiliarity with their credentials, immigrants’ background and employment experience outside of Canada was of little consequence to Canadian employers:

“... I think that employees are a little bit wary about our credentials and background. If you don't find someone like a mentor to recommend you, it is very hard.” (Engineer)

“For example they always have doubts in us, whether I can do the job, I can feel comfortable in the position, with co-workers... That's a big question for them. I am not saying this is the only reason why I didn't get the jobs, but this is definitely a big part of it.” (Manager)

Closed professional circles, specifically for immigrant professionals in the regulated professions, was the most impermeable barrier limiting access to employment in their field:

“The legal profession is a closed circle. The job and the income market are very attractive so I think lawyers want to keep a certain number they don't want to accept immigrant lawyers. They want to keep it to themselves. They have absolute power; all the regulated professions are like that. The job market is always going to be affected by the offer vs. demand. The amount of offer for law jobs, you could say exceeds the demand. There are more offers than lawyers. So entry level salaries for lawyers are very large and very good it could be a hundred thousand dollars. You need to attract the limited pool of professionals. So the lawyers are the ones to control certification, they are not going to hurt themselves too much. I am sure this is a factor in somehow.” (Lawyer)

Also, the main barrier for immigrant professionals who were employed was a *lack of advancement opportunities*. Three of the five employed participants felt stuck in their job, in the sense that they have no chance to show what they are capable of in their positions:

“I know I have a future in the company that I am at right now. When I applied for my current position at the store the manager said she saw my potential but she couldn't give me the job, because I needed to work in that level. In order to get to the coordinator position, maybe I need to stay for another year and then move to up. I've seen this with my current manager and former manager. They started from the beginning, they said they all started and then move their way up. I just don't want to wait that much time. I have been there years ago. It makes me feel bad I know my potential I know I could do the job they are doing but I don't have a chance to show that I have those qualifications.” (Manager)

When asked about their perceptions of the fairness of the employment practices, eight participants stated that they are in a disadvantaged position as result of employers' bias towards their skills and competencies. However, although they described this as a frustrating experience, most accepted it as an inevitable part of their transition process, and stated that they understand employers' preference for hiring Canadian workers. Most participants said that they are aware of

the fact that it's much easier for Canadians to get jobs, not because they have better skills or qualifications, but because they are already established in their profession and have relevant networks. Immigrant professionals, on the other hand, have to start from zero, leaving behind all of their experience and educational background:

“Say I have 5 years experience in economics, and another Canadian has the same experience. When we apply for the same job, who do you think they will choose? They choose Canadian. It's an issue of trust. They are familiar degree from a Canadian university, they can count on it. But from other countries, they don't know.” (Engineer)

Three participants, however, found the employment barriers as stemming from *employer's discrimination against immigrants*. For example, one participant said that the employers treated him differently because of his ethnicity:

“I got lots of knowledge and experience in various industries. But I don't know why people here think that Indonesia is like Myanmar or something. They discriminate my country of origin. But if I came from US, it would be different. There is a bias towards immigrants. I don't believe in the theoretical equity and non-discrimination. It's only slogans. City of Toronto talks about how they like to be diverse and have ethnic minorities in their employment. But almost all the middle managers are white Caucasian Canadian. You will see even on their website there is a stigma. It does not represent the real population. It is a silent violation, discrimination.” (HR Specialist)

In general, participants' perceptions of career boundaries reflected that while improving their language proficiency or credential assessment were seen as the challenges that can be overcome, employers' unwillingness to hire immigrant professionals and accessing the hidden job market were hard to overcome. While some participants saw these challenges as an inevitable part of establishing themselves in Canada, some were more disappointed with these experiences.

Navigating Through the Glass Wall

One of the main themes that emerged in regards to perceptions of impermeable boundaries is the role of these perceptions in shaping participants' career trajectories. The barriers faced led most participants to re-evaluate their career options and ways to go about their

careers in Canada. Most participants believed that starting from lower level jobs was the only way for getting Canadian experience, and the only way to move into positions that require higher levels of qualification. Also, re-training, going back to school, obtaining Canadian certificates, and seeking employment in a different field were seen as possible ways to start their careers in Canada:

“I can’t do my profession with my education in Peru; I need to do some 2-3 years of studying. I need to bring my credentials from Peru and show them and then see what’s going to happen. I want to practice my profession. I would accept a job that’s below my skills like a dental assistant because I know it is tough to get a job. I have to be very open and I thought about this. I can at least become an assistant; I have no problem. If I can go to the university I will, if not I will start with something related to my field.” (Dentist)

“Well, I guess if I get the certificate and designation I will get the job, start from entry level. I will be willing to do that, because there is no other way, I have to accept even though I don’t want to.” (Engineer)

Indeed, career trajectories of the participants who were employed at the time of the interview showed that they all found their first jobs through a friend or a relative in entry-level positions. Most saw this as the only way to start their career in Canada, as their job search efforts provided little success. Two of the employed participants decided to go back to school to re-train after their first (entry-level) job experiences:

“When I came here in February I passed the exam and got the law clerk certification in Canada. I thought that could find a job as a law clerk but I couldn’t. Actually, I couldn’t find any job by myself. I sent out over 200 resumes, with specific resumes and cover letter for each position, and I only received two or three responses. Then my friend who is a lawyer at a large Canadian Insurance Company referred me as a receptionist. Since I was being referred, they looked and liked my resume. The manager saw my resume and she said “Oh no, she is overqualified”. But my friend said I am a newcomer and I need the job and I am willing to take the position. So they hired me and three months later they hired me as a legal assistant. I don’t know what would have happened if it weren’t for my friend.” (Law Clerk)

Overall, challenges they faced with job search, experiences shared by other immigrant professionals, or advice from employment counselors led most participants to see re-training,

starting from entry-level positions, and career change as ways to continue their career in Canada.

Immigrant Professional Identity

Immigrant professional identity was one core area of exploration for the interview study. As a means of capturing the divergent qualities of the concept in question, participants were first asked to describe what “immigrant professional” means to them. They were then asked whether “immigrant professional” is different from “immigrant” or “professional.” Finally, they were asked about their personal experiences of being an immigrant professional.

Most participants defined an *immigrant professional* as someone with professional qualifications who immigrates to another country with the expectation of finding quality employment and continuing his/her profession (See Table 2 for a list of words participants used to describe immigrant professional). As such, seeking professional continuity in a new country was the key for defining immigrant professionals.

Table 2

Definition of Immigrant Profession Identity

What does immigrant professional mean to you?	
Key Words	Number of Participants
Professional background	9
Education	10
Experience	10
Expectation for employment/practicing profession	12
Seek opportunities (career)	9

All participants stated that the difference between an immigrant and an immigrant professional is that immigrants do not have the skills and credentials that immigrant professionals possess. They move to a different country with the hope of living a better life;

however, they do not necessarily seek to succeed professionally. They stated that immigrant professionals are more qualified and seeking professional employment.

“Immigrants don’t have enough credentials or skills but immigrant professionals have skills and qualifications like. Immigrant professionals have something which is demanded by the country.” (IT Specialist)

“When countries like Canada need workforce; they need different types of workforce, both intelligent and ordinary. I think that immigrant is different than immigrant professionals. I consider myself in a group (immigrant professional) who are more intelligent to use more their brain rather than just their force and elbows.” (Pharmacist)

When asked to define the difference between a professional and an immigrant professional, eight participants explained that although they have extensive professional qualifications (work experience and education), experiencing a loss of professional identity as a result of immigration (e.g., losing their previous social status and connections) makes them feel like an *immigrant* professional rather than simply a professional.

“In my country I had important work projects. My experience led me to connect other professionals. My environment was with professionals, I worked with people under my direction, and the experience was very rich for me. I realize that in here my experience doesn’t count at all. In here I realized that I need to get new experience I need to get Canadian experience.” (Engineer)

“When I was in my country, I had my own connection, circle of acquaintances, there were few people working in my field. I served for companies, they outsourced molecular tests. No wonder that I had a great network and people knew me. I had better chance to make money get orders from client. But here I am anonymous nobody knows who I am. Nobody cares.” (Biologist)

When asked which of the identities define how they feel about themselves, nine participants described themselves as an “immigrant professional”. The narratives about experiences of being an immigrant professional reflect the impact of the perceived glass walls on how participants came to see themselves as immigrant professionals. Employers’ perceptions of the skills and abilities of immigrant professionals, together with the devaluation of their credentials, has made most of them feel that they are not treated as professionals. Consequently,

how they are perceived played a role in becoming aware of their status as an immigrant professional.

For example, being an immigrant professional meant being perceived as less skilled and less capable by the employers:

“At work there were some instances where misunderstandings were interpreted as I didn’t understand the English. Hassle was not made about them but that’s the impression I got. There were areas I did understand the English but there were other misunderstandings. But the person asked me to send the emails send out to the clients forward them to her. She didn’t actually say but wanted to make sure. And I did send it to her. I was viewed at the time as I had limitations, but in reality it was a misunderstanding of another kind.” (Lawyer)

Being an immigrant professional also meant not being treated as a professional by the employers because their education and experience is viewed as less valuable.

“I am an immigrant professional but still unemployed. If immigrant professionals have skills and education that are treated equally in Canada, otherwise they are not treated as professionals.” (Engineer)

“I am in a very lower level position then where I could be. I don’t think they recognize me as a professional, I don’t feel that. In the interviews they ask me you have Canadian experience, I say yes as a sales associate, it is kind of degrading. It doesn’t matter what else you have in your resume because you are a store assistant.” (Manager)

One participant defined being an immigrant professional as feeling uncertainty about who they are professionally due to the loss of their previous professional status.

“Am I a secretary because that’s what I am doing in Canada? Am I a journalist but it doesn’t count here? What do I do?” (Journalist and Health Care Practitioner)

Regarding re-establishing a professional life in Canada, a theme of “not having enough time” emerged in the majority of the participants’ narratives. The disappointment with how long it would take them to re-establish their previous career positions was frustrating and at times overwhelming. Re-establishing their professional careers meant starting from the bottom, or re-training, and moving up slowly. Most participants expressed that they would be willing to do so,

however, it would simply take too long. Such sentiment was especially true for older participants and participants who held high level positions in their home country.

“It takes time, longer than you expected, it puts you in a worse mood than facing these challenges. I would hope that by this time (I’ve been here for a year) I’ve gotten a better job. I am still here; it’s disappointing. In order to get to the coordinator position, maybe I need to stay for another year and then move to up. My current manager and former manager said they all started and then move their way up. I just can’t afford to wait that much time. I have been there years ago. I know that I have to go step by step, but I also know that I can do a better position right now in that field.” (Manager)

“I think you have to accept that you are here to start from the zero. Most people start as an intern, then a chief, then executive that’s what you do but you start when you were 16. I am not 16 anymore and I still have to start from zero.” (Law Clerk)

Striving to become a professional again in Canada, or at least recovering their pre-Canada professional status, can be explored through the lens of the “possible selves” concept, as introduced by Markus and Nurius (1986). The concept of possible selves encapsulates both the self that one fears becoming and the self that one aspires to be. Upon initial analysis, such a conception reflects only a future orientation, though in reality possible selves are deeply rooted in the past and present self (Markus & Nurius, 1986). In fact, possible selves are so closely tied to past self-representations that the past self can reemerge in given situations, such as the expectation of re-establishing their pre-Canada profession. A past self as a doctor or an engineer may lead immigrant professionals to expect a similar fate in Canada. Similarly, the connection between the possible self and the current self is apparent, as individuals assign significant value to events of the present in hopes of particular ends for their desired future selves (Rossiter, 2007).

Their belief about whether the achievement of the possible self (e.g., re-establishing careers in their profession) is likely or not may be important when observing the subjective career experiences of immigrant professionals. Indeed, the narratives of the participants

regarding the re-establishment of their professional identity are seemingly related to how they perceive their success in Canada. For example, one participant discussed two kinds of immigrant professionals: (1) immigrant professionals who could find quality employment and re-establish their career; and (2) immigrant professionals who got stuck and still define themselves by who they *were*. The theme of professional identity was again explored when some participants echoed the belief that a professional is not only someone who has a job, but someone who has a continuous career in a specific area. Many admitted to not feel like professionals in Canada, but rather people who are trying to *regain* their professional status.

“I think that there are 2 categories: one category is people like me who define themselves with what they used to be. Because what they are doing does not define them they see themselves as a failure. They get stuck at a certain level. The other category the ones who succeed, I admire immigrant professional they have a continuation of what they did and they succeed.” (Pharmacist)

Among all of the participants, two defined themselves as immigrants. Both of these participants were employed in jobs that are not related to their profession and in entry-level positions; their narratives reflected their disappointment with their current situation.

“Right now I am just an immigrant. I am not a professional here, I can’t practice. I am nothing here, just a regular immigrant. I can’t practice it makes me feel this way, especially after almost 10 years it’s tough to not practice. But it’s what it is. It gives you little frustration; I don’t know how to do anything else; all my life I’ve been in this field.” (Dentist)

Only one participant defined herself as a professional. This person had spent the longest time in Canada and expressed that she was happy with her current job. Her personal narrative revealed that her PhD degree in Arts from her country was accepted in Canada and she was able to apply to instructor positions in colleges. Her career trajectory was similar with the most of the participants, she stated that she started working in an entry-level position when she first arrived and gradually moved up, connected to professional networks; and now she is where she aspired to be professionally:

“Right now I am defining myself as a professional. I know more about the professional environment in my field, I have knowledge, information, and networks. I have my plan for the future. I think I passed the phases with the help of the country, government and my own effort and positive attitude and overcame the barriers and took the opportunities. I was able to find a job and a work in my field. That’s why I see myself more as a professional now.” (Art and Design Teacher)

The narratives on immigrant professional identity and participants’ experiences with this identity suggested that immigrant professional identity may have a unique meaning for the participants, as they tend to view themselves as different from other immigrants. However, they were still unable to define themselves as professionals because they have not been able to re-establish their professional careers. Feelings of uncertainty about redefining themselves professionally, being perceived as less qualified and capable by employers played a role in feeling like an “immigrant professional.”

Subjective Well-Being

The narratives of most of the participants revealed that career related experiences played an important role in their subjective well-being. Seven participants mentioned a decrease in self-esteem due to the loss of their professional status and social networks. For example, one participant expressed that the difficulties she experienced in her work-life adjustment have negatively impacted her feelings of self-worth:

“In these 3 years I lost a lot of self-value. What happened is that my standards of life have lowered and my expectations of life. I came here and nothing worked for me. Everything was painful...but then what happens is you adjust to pain, you adjust to your dreams broken you get to the point of resignation and you realize that there’re so many people out there who don’t have their dreams fulfilled. Rather than my life getting to my expectations, my expectations came down to the commonsense reality that not everyone get what they want from life.” (Journalist and Health Care Practitioner)

Most participants stated that the struggle to find jobs, while simultaneously dealing with financial and family pressures was overwhelming. Nine participants expressed that their

concerns about finances and the length of time that will take for them to find a job that is a good fit led to frustration, and, at times, depression:

“Sometime when you are in a bad mood with so many disappointments you just stop then looking for jobs. You do what you have to do, I have to work I have to work because we cannot afford need to we can’t live just husband working, hard to put all my energy on the job search (to find better job) is hard.” (Manager)

On the other hand, though the difficulties faced negatively impacted the psychology of the participants, there was a sense of resiliency in their narratives. Some participants said that re-establishing their career while dealing with the financial pressures or daily challenges requires them to be resilient and maintain a positive attitude. They saw this as the only way to succeed in their pursuits. For example, one participant spoke about how he should be resilient and remain focused on his goal of re-establishing his professional career in Canada, in place of gaining unsatisfactory employment to make money:

“Many professional immigrants find it’s difficult to find job in their profession and they drop their initial profession. It may take long but you know, they’ll never let you practice with a degree back home. You have to accept the challenge and sacrifice your time, maybe get 2-3 years of schooling. But a lot of people, they don’t accept this challenge, because they find it hard. I’ve been in Canada 20 months already my choice would be to start working anywhere. If you want to work in my field you have to accept and sacrifice. We need to push ourselves and be resilient.” (Engineer)

Employment experiences negatively affected participants’ subjective well-being at times due to the pressures of job search. However, the narratives of the participants also suggested that they adapted to these challenges by being resilient, and accepting their situation as an inevitable part of their transition.

Summary of Qualitative Findings

Overall, the results of the interview study revealed that immigrant professionals perceive glass walls in regards to “establishing a career” in Canada. Language problems, assessment of

credentials and re-examinations were seen as barriers that can be overcome. However, the hidden job market, employers' unwillingness to hire immigrant professionals, closed professional circles, and lack of career advancement opportunities were what formed seemingly impermeable glass walls for immigrant professionals.

Participants were aware that immigrant professionals are mostly at a disadvantaged position when compared to local professionals in accessing professional employment. While some felt the employment barriers stemmed from employers' prejudices against newcomer professionals, others accepted the challenges they face as an inevitable part of their career transition in Canada. In situations where the basis for discrimination is ambiguous, the negative experiences can be attributed to a number of factors (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997). An example of this is employers' subtle prejudices in the labour market that do not explicitly signal discrimination, but comes in the forms of explanations like "not fitting the requirements of the job" (Esses et al., 2001, 2006). In regards to whether the disadvantaged situation of immigrant professionals in the labour market would change for the better, participants perceived these challenges as somewhat stable. Most participants expressed their frustration with the fact that they will not be able to establish a professional career and regain a professional identity anytime soon.

Participants defined "immigrant professional" as someone with professional qualifications who immigrates to another country with the expectation of finding quality employment and continuing his or her profession. Either through job interviews or repeated rejections, participants became aware of the devaluation of their skills and qualifications. Being perceived as less qualified, less capable, and less than professional by employers contributed to the adoption of the immigrant professional identity. Also, feelings of uncertainty about

redefining themselves professionally, due to the loss of their previous professional status, played a role in realizing that they are now “immigrant professionals,” as opposed to “professionals” seeking quality employment in the labour market.

Job search experiences that result in rejections or no callbacks, and hearing stories of other immigrant, led most participants to feel they have limited options for how to establish their career in Canada. Most immigrants experienced surprise and frustration when faced with this reality, and thus often seek retraining, academic upgrading, as well as starting from entry-level positions or career change, as ways to re-establish their professional career. This process affected their self-esteem as professionals, and, at times, led to despair and frustration.

Analysis of Quantitative Data

Descriptive Statistics

Participants responded to the questions about the characteristics of perceived glass walls, as well as demographic information and individual differences such as career salience and attributions for unemployment, at Time 1. Six months after the initial survey (Time 2), immigrant professional identity salience, employment quality and subjective career outcomes were assessed. The means, standard deviations, internal reliability coefficients, and correlations among the study variables are shown in Table 3.

The items that measured all 12 variables were entered into a principle components factor analysis to determine if a single factor exists (implying the presence of serious common method variance). The un-rotated factor solution extracted 15 factors, with the largest factor accounting for about 22.12% of the total variance. Immigrant professional identity salience, career anxiety,

regret, career satisfaction, and life satisfaction items were all lined up according to their measures (See *Appendix 4*).

Three items from job search intensity measure (“Visiting job fairs,” “Contacting employment agencies,” and “Going on a job interview”) loaded onto separate factors and were weakly correlated with the other items. Therefore these items were dropped from the scales and analysis. Two negatively keyed items from the career salience measure (“I want to work, but do not want a demanding career,” “Building a reputation for myself through work/a career is not one of my life goals”) loaded onto separate factors and were weakly correlated with the other scale items and were also deleted from the scale. Finally, one item from employment quality scale (“What level is your job title in the company?”) loaded onto a separate factor, and was deleted from the scale (See *Appendix 4*). Cronbach's alpha coefficients were calculated for career salience, job search intensity, and employment quality measures after the items were deleted. The new Cronbach's alpha coefficients were .86 for career salience, .83 for job search intensity, and .91 for employment quality.

Control Variables

Before discussing the hypotheses, some of the relationships between the control variables (age, gender, ethnicity, work experience, educational level, length of unemployment in Canada, job search intensity, language (English) efficacy, and occupation type) and dependent variables (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret) will be briefly discussed.

It was found that age was negatively related to career satisfaction ($r = -.24, p < .01$), suggesting that older immigrant professionals are less likely to experience career satisfaction. Age was also related to finding employment in one's profession ($r = .24, p < .05$). Older

immigrant professionals were less likely to find jobs in their professional field ($B = 3.98$, $SE = .05$, $OR = 1.1$, $p < .05$). The findings suggest that older immigrants may experience greater difficulty obtaining employment that matches their intended occupations than younger immigrants. Hence, older immigrants may experience less perceived success while re-establishing their career in Canada.

Occupation type was significantly related to life satisfaction ($r = -.29$, $p < .01$). Immigrant professionals who are in regulated occupations had significantly less life satisfaction ($M = 2.65$ vs. 3.11 , $SD = .84$ vs. $.73$, $t[84.20] = 2.76$, $p < .05$) than those in non-regulated professions. Immigrant professionals in regulated occupations face difficulties to access occupation in their own field due to non-recognition of their credentials and long examination processes (Reitz, 2001; Galarneau & Morissette, 2008). This may affect their subjective well-being as a result of the challenges they face while re-establishing their careers.

Finally, job search intensity was significantly related to regret for coming to Canada ($r = .37$, $p < .01$), and career anxiety ($r = .25$, $p < .01$), suggesting that the more effort immigrant professionals invested in job search, the more they regret their decision to move to Canada, and the more career anxiety they feel. This may be due to the fact that even though immigrant professionals engage in job search by sending out resumes and attending interviews, their efforts do not guarantee employment. The fact that they have not obtained employment, despite their intense job search, may lead to beliefs about whether their efforts will pay off in the future, and to feelings of anxiety about their future career. Also, feelings of not being able to get a response from their job search efforts may make immigrant professionals more resentful about their decision to come to Canada.

Other control variables (i.e., gender, ethnicity, work experience, educational level, length of unemployment in Canada, language efficacy) were not included in the analyses due to their non-significance.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlation Coefficients, and Reliabilities of Main Study Variables

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.Perceived Impermeability	3.02	.93	(.61)													
2.Perceived Stability	2.93	.73	.53**	(.53)												
3.Perceived Illegitimacy	3.37	.69	.41**	.48**	(.53)											
4.Immigrant Professional Identity Salience	3.42	.78	.17	.05	.29**	(.90)										
5.Employment Quality (Standardized)	.01	.73	-.25	-.28	-.24	-.29*	(.85)									
6.Career Satisfaction	3.40	.95	-.16	-.28**	-.02	-.01	.51*	(.94)								
7.Life Satisfaction	2.85	.80	-.36**	-.45**	-.22*	-.21*	.75**	.35**	(.86)							
8.Regret	2.40	1.02	.24*	.28**	.24*	.45**	-.64**	-.17	-.45**	(.96)						
9.Career Anxiety	3.37	.82	.36**	.36**	.14	-.03	-.46**	-.19	-.54**	.30**	(.92)					
10.Career Salience	4.00	.52	-.12	-.16	.13	.07	-.19	.02	-.01	-.01	.08	(.85)				
11.Attributions for Unemployment Control	2.96	.77	-.26*	-.30**	-.22*	.03	.26	.02	.33**	-.32**	-.18	-.03	(.94)			
12.Occupation (0 = non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.49	.50	-.03	.05	-.06	.11	-.28*	.01	-.29**	.04	.21	.08	-.13			
13.Age	39.1	7.64	-.04	.04	-.14*	.10	-.30*	-.24*	-.12	.18	-.03	-.02	.01	-.05		
14.Job Search Intensity	3.49	.75	-.04	.07	.10	.17	-.08	-.04	-.06	.37**	.25*	.19	-.09	.03	-.05	(.82)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Hypothesis Tests

Hypothesis 1 predicted that immigrant professionals' perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 1a), stable (Hypothesis 1b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 1c) glass walls are negatively related to career satisfaction and life satisfaction, and are positively related to regret for coming to Canada and career anxiety.

The main effects of perceived impermeability, stability, and illegitimacy on the subjective career outcomes were tested using regression analyses. After controlling for age, occupation type, and job search intensity (Step 1), the main effects for all the independent variables were entered into regression equations (Step 2). Separate analyses were performed for each relationship between independent and outcome measure. The results of the regression analyses examining the main effects on subjective career outcomes are presented in Tables 4, 5, and 6.

Regression results revealed that perceived impermeability had significant main effects on life satisfaction ($B = -.32$, $SE = .08$, $\beta = -.37$, $t[82] = -3.73$, $p < .01$, Table 4), career anxiety ($B = .31$, $SE = .10$, $\beta = .33$, $t[81] = 3.22$, $p < .01$, Table 4), and regret for coming to Canada ($B = .33$, $SE = .10$, $\beta = .32$, $t[79] = 3.25$, $p < .01$, Table 4). Perceived impermeability was not significantly related to career satisfaction ($B = -.11$, $SE = .11$, $\beta = -.11$, $t[87] = -1.06$, $p = .29$, Table 4). Hypothesis 1a was partially supported: immigrant professionals who perceived glass walls as more impermeable reported more career anxiety and regret, and less life satisfaction. Perceived impermeability was not related to career satisfaction.

Perceived stability had significant main effects on career satisfaction ($B = -.47$, $SE = .14$, $\beta = -.34$, $t[78] = -3.31$, $p < .01$, Table 5), life satisfaction ($B = -.52$, $SE = .12$, $\beta = -.44$, $t[74] = -4.33$, $p < .01$, Table 5), and career anxiety ($B = .38$, $SE = .13$, $\beta = .31$, $t[72] = 2.85$, $p < .01$, Table 5). There was no significant relationship between perceived stability and regret ($B = .22$, $SE = .15$, $\beta = .16$, $t[73] = 1.48$, $p = .14$, Table 5). Hypothesis 1b was partially supported: immigrant professionals who perceived glass walls as more stable reported more career anxiety, and less career and life satisfaction. Perceived stability was not related to feelings of regret for immigrating to Canada.

Perceived illegitimacy had a significant main effect on life satisfaction ($B = -.35$, $SE = .14$, $\beta = -.25$, $t[82] = -2.45$, $p < .05$, Table 6). There were no significant relationships between perceived illegitimacy and career satisfaction ($B = -.20$, $SE = .17$, $\beta = -.12$, $t[87] = -1.18$, $p = .24$, Table 6), career anxiety ($B = .19$, $SE = .15$, $\beta = .13$, $t[81] = 1.24$, $p = .22$, Table 5), and regret ($B = .24$, $SE = .17$, $\beta = .14$, $t[79] = 1.43$, $p = .16$, Table 6). Hypothesis 1c was partially supported: immigrant professionals who perceived glass walls as more illegitimate reported less life satisfaction. Perceived illegitimacy was not related to career satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret.

Table 4

Results of Multiple Regression Tests on Subjective Career Outcomes (Hypothesis 1a)

Variable	Career Satisfaction			Life Satisfaction			Career Anxiety			Regret		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
<u>Step 1</u>												
Intercept	4.95	.74		4.19	.64		2.16	.65		-.46	.76	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.00	.20	.00	-.54	.17	-.32**	.36	.18	.21	.22	.21	.11
Age	-.03	.01	-.23*	-.02	.01	-.16	-.00	.01	-.03	.03	.01	.22*
Job Search Intensity	-.10	.13	-.07	-.07	.11	-.06	.34	.12	.30**	.41	.13	.32**
<u>Step 2</u>												
Intercept	5.33	.82		5.20	.66		1.18	.68		-1.43	.78	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.02	.20	.01	-.47	.16	-.28**	.30	.17	.17	.14	.20	.07
Age	-.03	.01	-.24*	-.02	.01	-.18	-.00	.01	-.01	.03	.01	.21*
Job Search Intensity	-.10	.13	-.07	-.06	.11	-.05	.32	.11	.28**	.41	.13	.32**
Perceived Impermeability	-.11	.11	-.11	-.32	.08	-.37**	.31	.10	.33**	.33	.10	.32**
	<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>	
<i>R</i> ²	.06	.07		.12	.26		.13	.23		.16	.27	
ΔR^2	.06	.01		.12*	.13*		.13*	.10*		.16*	.23*	
<i>F</i>	1.81	1.64		3.66*	6.66*		3.86*	5.85*		4.84*	6.73*	

p* <.05, *p* < .01

Table 5

Results of Multiple Regression Tests on Subjective Career Outcomes (Hypothesis 1b)

Variable	Career Satisfaction			Life Satisfaction			Career Anxiety			Regret		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
<u>Step 1</u>												
Intercept	5.07	.73		4.24	.67		1.95	.65		-.28	.76	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.10	.20	.05	-.48	.18	-.29*	.28	.18	.16	.21	.21	.11
Age	-.04	.01	-.29**	-.02	.01	-.18	-.00	.01	-.00	.03	.01	.22
Job Search Intensity	-.06	.14	-.05	-.08	.12	-.07	.38	.13	.33**	.36	.14	.29*
<u>Step 2</u>												
Intercept	6.13	.76		5.38	.65		1.16	.68		-.73	.82	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.18	.19	.10	-.41	.17	-.25*	.22	.18	.13	.17	.21	.09
Age	-.03	.01	-.27*	-.02	.01	-.14	-.00	.01	-.02	.03	.01	.20
Job Search Intensity	-.00	.13	-.00	-.00	.11	-.00	.30	.12	.27*	.33	.14	.26*
Perceived Stability	-.47	.14	-.34**	-.52	.12	-.44**	.38	.13	.31**	.22	.15	.16
	<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>	
<i>R</i> ²	.09	.21		.11	.30		.14	.23		.14	.17	
ΔR^2	.06*	.17*		.07*	.26*		.10*	.18*		.14*	.02	
F	2.64	4.97*		2.94*	7.45*		3.80*	5.17*		2.63	4.97*	

p* < .05, *p* < .01

Table 6

Results of Multiple Regression Tests on Subjective Career Outcomes (Hypothesis 1c)

Variable	Career Satisfaction			Life Satisfaction			Career Anxiety			Regret		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Step 1												
Intercept	5.36	.75		4.6	.64		2.25	.67		-.92	.78	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	-.03	.20	-.01	-.58	.17	-.36**	.33	.18	.19	.25	.21	.13
Age	-.04	.01	-.27*	-.02	.01	-.21*	-.00	.01	-.04	.04	.01	.26*
Job Search Intensity	-.17	.14	-.13	-.14	.11	-.13	.32	.12	.28*	.48	.13	.36**
Step 2												
Intercept	6.15	1.0		5.86	.80		1.52	.89		-1.79	.98	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	-.04	.20	-.02	-.60	.16	-.40**	.35	.18	.21	.26	.20	.13
Age	-.04	.01	-.29**	-.03	.01	-.23*	-.00	.01	-.01	.04	.01	.27*
Job Search Intensity	-.16	.14	-.12	-.13	.11	-.11	.31	.12	.26*	.48	.14	.36**
Perceived Illegitimacy	-.20	.17	-.12	-.35	.14	-.25*	.19	.15	.13	.24	.17	.14
	<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>	
<i>R</i> ²	.09	.10		.15	.21		.11	.13		.20	.22	
ΔR^2	.09	.01		.15*	.06*		.11*	.02		.20*	.02	
F	2.67*	2.36		4.86*	5.38*		3.22*	2.81*		6.42*	5.39*	

p* <.05, *p* < .01

Hypothesis 2 predicted that career salience moderates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (*Hypothesis 2a*), stable (*Hypothesis 2b*), and illegitimate (*Hypothesis 2c*) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret).

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to test the moderating effect of career salience on the relationship between perceived characteristics and subjective career outcomes. After controlling for age, occupation type, and job search intensity (Step 1), the main effect terms (perceived characteristics and career salience) were entered (Step 2). Next, interaction terms involving perceived characteristics and career salience were entered (Step 3). In order to prevent the multicollinearity between independent and interaction terms; centered scores for control variables, main and interactive effects were entered into analyses (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). Separate analyses were conducted for each interaction effect on outcome variables. All significant interactions were followed-up with simple slope analyses. Following standard procedures for examining interactions (Cohen et al., 2003), mean dependent variable scores were calculated using the regression equation at one standard deviation below and above the means on the perceived characteristics and career salience measures. The results of the analyses examining the interaction effect of career salience and perceived characteristics on subjective career outcome variables are presented in Table 7, 8, and 9.

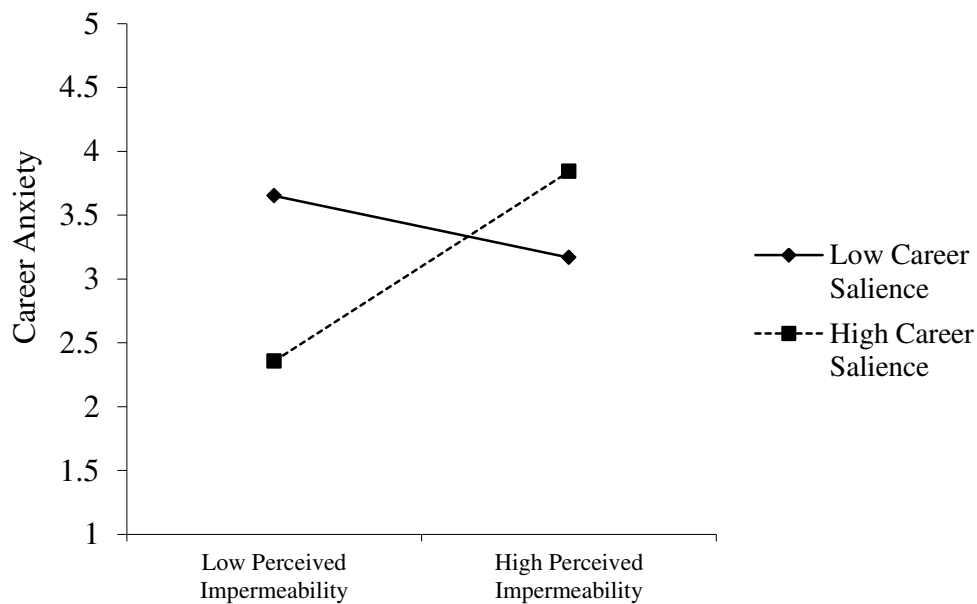
Hypothesis 2a involved the moderating effect of career salience on the relationship between perceived impermeability and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret). There were no significant

interaction effects on career satisfaction ($B = -.16$, $SE = .23$, $\beta = -.10$, $t[68] = -.68$, $p = .49$, Table 7), life satisfaction ($B = -.21$, $SE = .20$, $\beta = -.14$, $t[67] = -1.05$, $p = .30$, Table 7), and regret ($B = .13$, $SE = .22$, $\beta = .08$, $t[65] = .61$, $p = .54$, Table 7). The interaction between perceived impermeability and career salience had a significant effect on career anxiety ($B = .49$, $SE = .21$, $\beta = .33$, $t[63] = 2.35$, $p < .05$, Table 7).

Simple slopes analyses showed that the positive relationship between perceived impermeability and career anxiety was significant when career salience was high (+1 S.D.; $\beta = .51$, $p < .01$); however, there was no significant relationship when career salience was low (-1 S.D.; $\beta = -.02$, $p = .90$) (Figure 2). This suggested that perceived impermeability was associated with greater career anxiety, only for immigrant professionals with high career salience. Hypothesis 2a was partially supported.

Figure 2

Moderating Effect of Career Salience on the Relationship between Perceived Impermeability and Career Anxiety

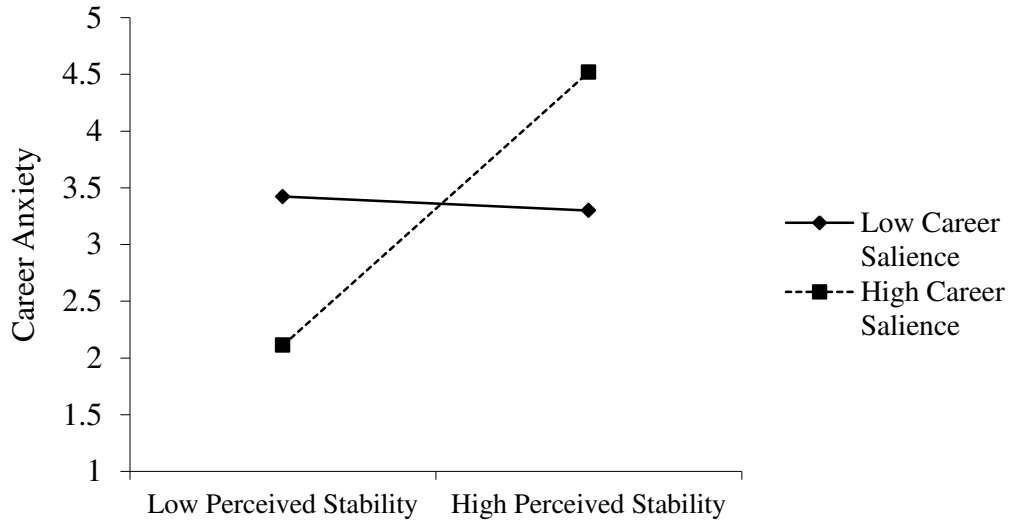


Hypothesis 2b involved the moderating effect of career salience on the relationship between perceived stability and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret). There were no significant interaction effects on life satisfaction ($B = -.35$, $SE = .25$, $\beta = -.17$, $t[59] = -1.40$, $p = .16$, Table 8), career satisfaction ($B = .38$, $SE = .18$, $\beta = .19$, $t[60] = 1.34$, $p = .19$, Table 8), and regret ($B = -.25$, $SE = .30$, $\beta = -.11$, $t[59] = -.85$, $p = .50$, Table 8). There was a significant interaction effect of perceived stability and career salience on career anxiety ($B = .63$, $SE = .27$, $\beta = .30$, $t[55] = 2.36$, $p < .05$, Table 8).

Simple slopes analyses showed that the positive relationship between perceived stability and career anxiety was significant when career salience was high (+1 S.D.; $\beta = .88$, $p < .01$); however, there was no significant relationship when career salience was low (-1 S.D.; $\beta = .21$, $p = .28$) (Figure 3). Perceived stability was associated with greater career anxiety, only for immigrant professionals with high career salience. Hypothesis 2b was partially supported.

Figure 3

Moderating Effect of Career Salience on the Relationship between Perceived Stability and Career Anxiety



Hypothesis 2c involved the moderating effect of career salience on the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret). There were significant interaction effects of perceived illegitimacy and career salience on career satisfaction ($B = -.80$, $SE = .26$, $\beta = -.37$, $t[68] = -3.03$, $p < .01$, Table 9), life satisfaction ($B = -.47$, $SE = .23$, $\beta = -.25$, $t[65] = 2.07$, $p < .01$, Table 9), career anxiety, ($B = .49$, $SE = .25$, $\beta = .25$, $t[63] = 1.96$, $p < .05$, Table 9) and regret ($B = .56$, $SE = .27$, $\beta = .25$, $t[65] = 2.07$, $p < .05$, Table 9).

Simple slope analyses showed that perceived illegitimacy was negatively related to career satisfaction (+1 S.D.; $\beta = .51$, $p < .01$, Figure 4) and life satisfaction (+1 S.D.; $\beta = .88$, $p < .01$, Figure 5), and was positively related to regret (+1 S.D.; $\beta = .51$, $p < .01$, Figure 6) and career anxiety (+1 S.D.; $\beta = .58$, $p < .01$, Figure 7) for individuals with high

career salience. There were no significant relationships when career salience was low (-1 S.D.; $\beta = .23, p = .15$, career satisfaction; $\beta = -.08, p = .60$, life satisfaction; $\beta = .01, p = .95$, regret; $\beta = .05, p = .73$, career anxiety).

Although perceived illegitimacy did not have main effects on subjective career outcomes except for life satisfaction (Table 6), the results showed that there were significant interaction effects of career salience and perceived illegitimacy on all of the subjective career outcome variables. Hypothesis 2c was supported.

Figure 4

Moderating Effect of Career Saliency on the Relationship between Perceived Illegitimacy and Career Satisfaction

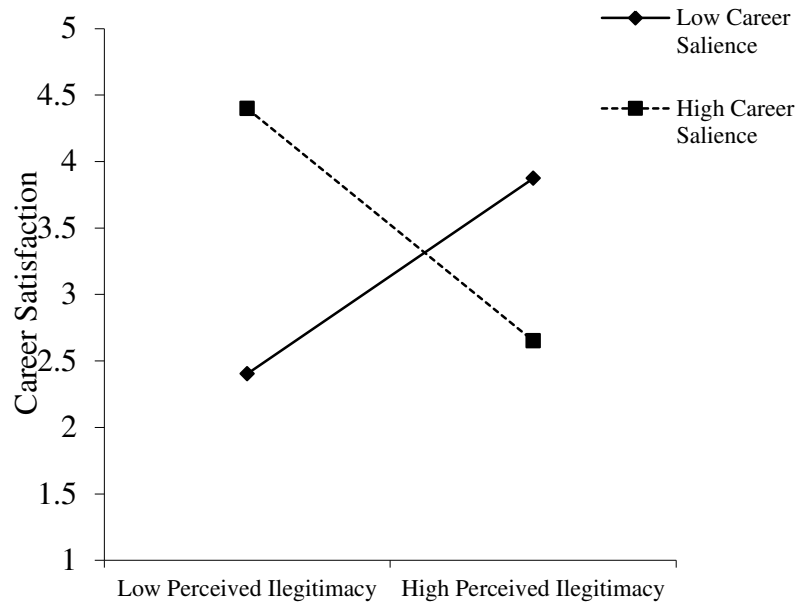


Figure 5

Moderating Effect of Career Saliency on the Relationship between Perceived Illegitimacy and Life Satisfaction

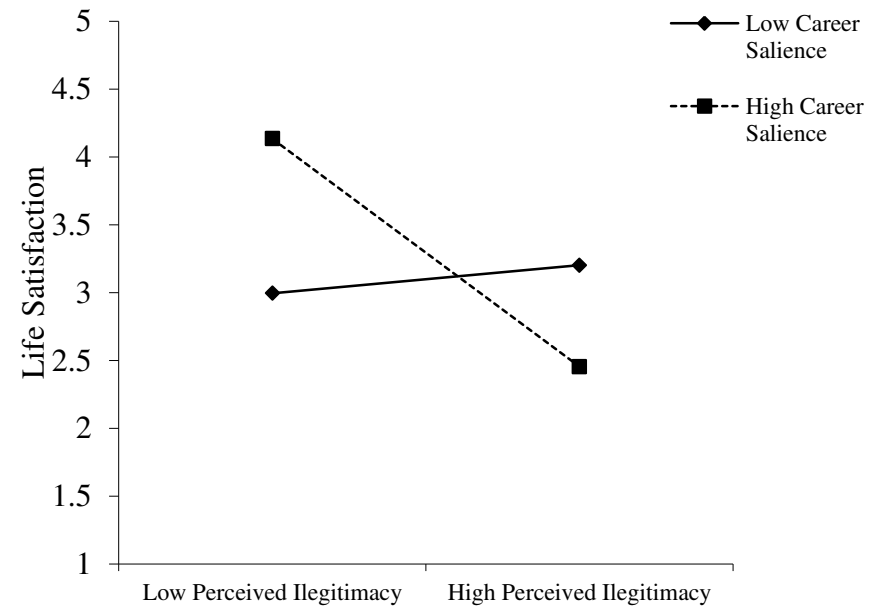


Figure 6

Moderating Effect of Career Salience on the Relationship between Perceived Illegitimacy and Regret

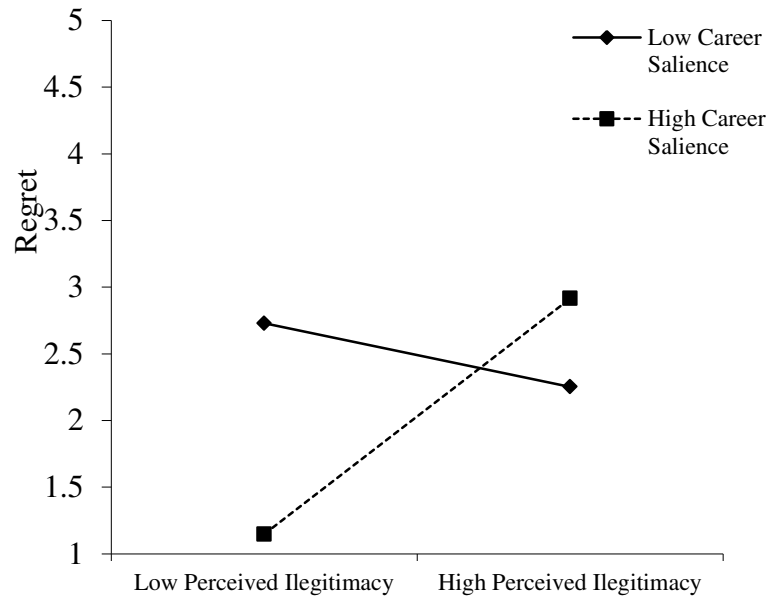


Figure 7

Moderating Effect of Career Salience on the Relationship between Perceived Illegitimacy and Career Anxiety

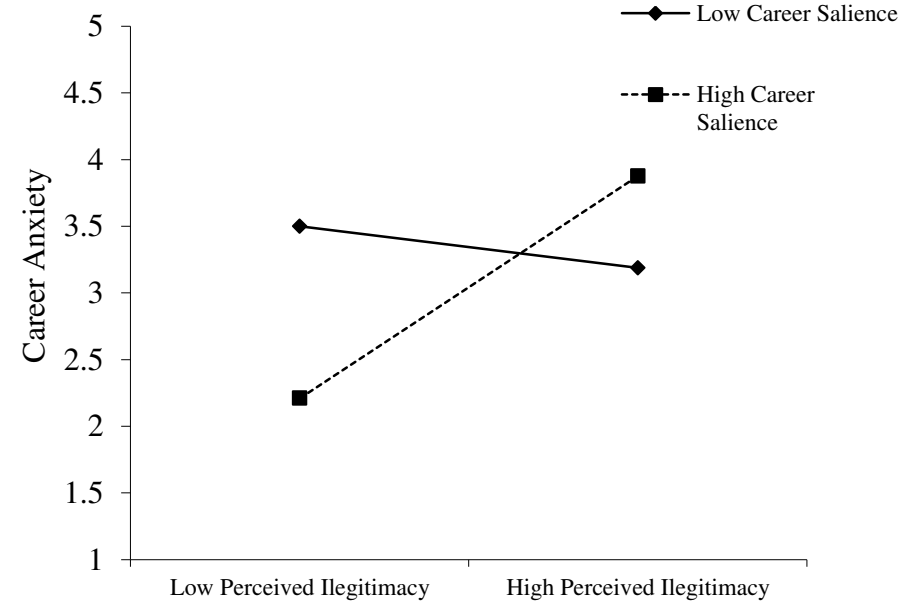


Table 7

Results of Multiple Regression Tests of Moderation on Subjective Career Outcomes (Hypothesis 2a)

Variable	Career Satisfaction			Life Satisfaction			Career Anxiety			Regret		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Step 1												
Intercept	3.37	.16		3.20	.15		3.21	.16		2.23	.17	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.21	.23	.11	-.59	.21	-.33**	.36	.21	.20	.14	.24	.07
Age	-.01	.02	-.09	-.03	.01	-.21	-.01	.01	-.06	.02	.02	.17
Job Search Intensity	-.06	.13	-.05	-.06	.13	-.05	.26	.14	.24	.41	.15	.32*
Step 2												
Intercept	3.36	.16		3.16	.14		3.25	.14		2.26	.16	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.24	.24	.13	-.47	.20	-.26*	.24	.21	.14	.02	.22	.01
Age	-.01	.01	-.09	-.02	.01	-.20	-.01	.01	-.06	.02	.01	.17
Job Search Intensity	-.07	.15	-.06	-.05	.13	-.04	.24	.13	.21	.41	.14	.32**
Perceived Impermeability	-.10	.12	-.11	-.32	.10	-.36**	.30	.11	.33**	.41	.11	.41**
Career Salience	.04	.21	.02	-.06	.18	-.04	.14	.19	.08	-.02	.20	-.01
Step 3												
Intercept	3.35	.17		3.14	.14		3.25	.14		2.27	.16	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.24	.24	.13	-.47	.20	-.26*	.28	-.05	.16	.01	.23	.01
Age	-.01	.02	-.09	-.02	.01	-.20	-.01	.01	-.05	.02	.01	.17
Job Search Intensity	-.06	.15	-.05	-.03	.13	-.03	.19	.13	.17	.40	.14	.31**

Perceived Impermeability	-.08	.12	-.08	-.29	.10	-.33**	.25	.11	.27*	.39	.11	.39**
Career Salience	.13	.26	.07	.06	.21	.04	-.15	.22	-.09	-.10	.24	-.06
Perceived Impermeability X Career Salience	-.16	.23	-.10	-.21	.20	-.14	.49	.21	.33*	.13	.22	.08
	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>
R^2	.03	.04	.05	.13	.25	.26	.10	.21	.27	.13	.29	.29
ΔR^2	.03	.01	.00	.13*	.12*	.01	.10	.11*	.07*	.13*	.16*	.00
F	.65	.55	.53	3.18*	4.18*	3.67*	2.23	3.03*	3.65*	3.03*	4.90*	4.10*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 8

Results of Multiple Regression Tests of Moderation on Subjective Career Outcomes (Hypothesis 2b)

Variable	Career Satisfaction			Life Satisfaction			Career Anxiety			Regret		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Step 1												
Intercept	3.43	.16		3.16	.16		3.33	.16		2.19	.17	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.30	.23	.16	-.53	.23	-.29*	.22	.23	.12	.12	.25	.06
Age	-.02	.02	-.18	-.03	.01	-.22	-.00	.01	-.05	.02	.02	.16
Job Search Intensity	.02	.15	.01	-.07	.15	-.06	.34	.15	.30*	.35	.16	.27*
Step 2												
Intercept	3.42	.16		3.14	.14		3.36	.15		2.19	.17	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.35	.23	.19	-.41	.20	-.23*	.11	.22	.06	.11	.24	.06
Age	-.02	.01	-.15	-.02	.01	-.17	-.01	.01	-.08	.02	.01	.13
Job Search Intensity	.03	.15	.03	-.02	.13	-.02	.27	.14	.24	.35	.16	.28*
Perceived Stability	-.36	.16	-.28*	-.62	.14	-.48*	.50	.16	.39**	.34	.17	.24
Career Salience	.10	.21	.06	.00	.18	.00	.08	.21	.05	-.31	.22	-.17
Step 3												
Intercept	3.42	.16		3.14	.14		3.34	.15		2.19	.17	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.39	.23	.22	-.44	.20	-.25*	.21	.21	.12	.09	.25	.05
Age	-.01	.01	-.11	-.02	.01	-.20	-.00	.01	-.03	.01	.01	.11
Job Search Intensity	.02	.15	.01	-.00	.13	-.00	.23	.14	.21	.36	.16	.29*

Perceived Stability	-.33	.17	-.25	-.65	.15	-.51**	.57	.16	.45**	.31	.18	.22
Career Salience	.03	.22	.02	.07	.19	.04	-.02	.20	-.01	-.26	.23	-.15
Perceived Stability X Career Salience	.38	.28	.18	-.35	.25	-.17	.63	.27	.30*	-.25	.30	-.11
	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>
R^2	.07	.15	.18	.12	.34	.36	.11	.25	.33	.10	.20	.21
ΔR^2	.07	.08	.03	.12	.23*	.02	.11	.14*	.07*	.10	.09*	.01
F	1.42	2.03	2.01	2.50	5.65*	5.13*	2.07	3.39*	4.02*	2.18	2.77*	2.41*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 9

Results of Multiple Regression Tests of Moderation on Subjective Career Outcomes (Hypothesis 2c)

Variable	Career Satisfaction			Life Satisfaction			Career Anxiety			Regret		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Step 1												
Intercept	3.34	.16		3.18	.14		3.23	.15		2.27	.16	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.16	.23	.09	-.66	.20	-.38*	.31	.22	.18	.20	.24	.10
Age	-.02	.01	-.14	-.03	.01	-.27*	-.01	.01	-.07	.03	.02	.23
Job Search Intensity	-.14	.15	-.11	-.15	.13	-.13	.24	.14	.20	.50	.16	.37**
Step 2												
Intercept	3.35	.16		3.21	.14		3.20	.15		2.25	.16	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.16	.23	.08	-.68	.20	-.39**	.34	.21	.20	.21	.24	.10
Age	-.02	.01	-.15	-.04	.01	-.29*	.00	.01	-.05	.04	.02	.25*
Job Search Intensity	-.13	.15	-.11	-.14	.13	-.11	.21	.14	.18	.50	.16	.37**
Perceived Illegitimacy	.02	.22	.01	-.41	.17	-.27*	.35	.18	.24*	.36	.20	.21
Career Salience	-.03	.20	-.02	-.00	.18	-.00	-.03	.20	-.02	-.11	.22	-.06
Step 3												
Intercept	3.33	.15		3.20	.13		3.19	.15		2.26	.16	
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.28	.22	.15	-.60	.20	-.35**	.29	.21	.17	.13	.24	.06
Age	-.01	.01	-.10	-.03	.01	-.27*	-.01	.01	-.08	.03	.02	.22
Job Search Intensity	-.12	.14	-.10	-.13	.13	-.11	.20	.14	.18	.49	.15	.36**

Perceived Impermeability	.19	.21	.11	-.37	.16	-.25*	.34	.18	.23	.32	.19	.19
Career Salience	-.07	.19	-.04	.10	.18	.06	-.15	.21	-.09	-.23	.22	-.12
Perceived Illegitimacy	-.80	.26	-.37**	-.47	.23	-.25*	.49	.25	.25*	.56	.27	.25*
X Career Salience												
	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>	<u>Step1</u>	<u>Step2</u>	<u>Step3</u>
R^2	.05	.06	.17	.18	.25	.30	.08	.13	.18	.18	.22	.28
ΔR^2	.05	.00	.12*	.18*	.07	.05*	.08	.05	.06*	.18*	.04	.05*
F	1.10	.73	2.21	4.59*	4.15*	4.34*	1.71	1.76	2.18	4.46*	3.43*	3.73*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Hypothesis 3 predicted that employment quality mediates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 3a), stable (Hypothesis 3b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 3c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret).

A series of regression analyses conducted to test the four criteria for mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). These four criteria are as follows: (a) independent variable (perceived characteristics) is significantly correlated with the dependent variable (subjective career outcomes), (b) the independent variable (perceived characteristics) is significantly correlated with the mediator (employment quality), (c) the mediator (employment quality) is significantly correlated with the dependent variable (subjective career outcomes), controlling for the independent variable (perceived characteristics), and (d) the indirect effect is significant according to bootstrapping procedure suggested by Preacher and Hayes (2008).

Following the recommendations by Hayes (2009), in testing the fourth criterion 5000 bootstrap re-samples were generated. This procedure yields an inference about the size of the indirect effect, a standard error estimate, and 95% confidence intervals based on the distribution of the 5000 samples. If the confidence interval does not include zero, the indirect effect (i.e., mediation) is considered significant. Preacher and Hayes (2008) proposed that bootstrap confidence intervals are more accurate than Sobel test in assessing the size of indirect effects. While the Sobel test assumes symmetry (and, more specifically, normality) in the sampling distribution of the indirect effect; bootstrap confidence intervals make no assumptions about the shape of the sampling distribution.

Separate mediation analyses were performed for the relationships between each independent and outcome variables. Age, occupation type, and job search intensity were entered as control variables in all the analyses.

Hypothesis 3a involved the meditational effect of employment quality on the relationship between perceived impermeability and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret). The results of Hypothesis 1a showed that perceived impermeability was significantly related to career anxiety, life satisfaction, and regret (Table 4). The first criterion was supported for career anxiety, life satisfaction and regret.

The second criterion assessed the relationship between perceived impermeability and employment quality. Perceived impermeability had a significant main effect on employment quality ($B = -.31$, $SE = .11$, $\beta = -.35$, $t[48] = -2.76$, $p < .01$), suggesting that immigrant professionals who perceived glass walls as more impermeable reported lower employment quality. The second criterion was supported.

The third criterion assessed the relationship between employment quality and subjective career outcomes. Employment quality was significantly related to career anxiety ($B = -.49$, $SE = .17$, $\beta = -.41$, $t[47] = -2.88$, $p < .01$), life satisfaction ($B = .73$, $SE = .12$, $\beta = .70$, $t[44] = 6.01$, $p < .01$), and regret ($B = -.58$, $SE = .14$, $\beta = -.54$, $t[42] = -4.24$, $p < .01$), after controlling for perceived impermeability. The third criterion was supported for career anxiety, life satisfaction, and regret. Finally, in testing the fourth criterion, 5000 bootstrap re-samples were generated. There was a significant indirect effect of perceived impermeability on career anxiety (95% CI: $\{.0343, .3553\}$) with 5,000 re-

samples), life satisfaction (95% CI: $\{-.4895, -.0536\}$ with 5,000 re-samples), and regret (95% CI: $\{.0450, .3656\}$ with 5,000 re-samples) via employment quality. The results suggest that perceived impermeability was related to lower employment quality, which in turn influences career anxiety, life satisfaction, and regret.

Hypothesis 3a was partially supported: employment quality mediated the relationship between perceived impermeability and life satisfaction, regret, and career anxiety. Participants who perceived impermeable glass walls reported lower employment quality. Lower employment quality, in turn, was related to lower levels of life satisfaction and higher levels of regret and career anxiety.

Hypothesis 3b involved the mediational effect of employment quality on the relationship between perceived stability and subjective career outcomes. First criterion assessed the relationship between perceived stability and subjective career outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 1b showed that perceived stability had significant main effects on career satisfaction, life satisfaction, and career anxiety (Table 5). The first criterion was met for these variables.

The second criterion assessed the relationship between perceived stability and employment quality. There was no significant relationship between perceived stability and employment quality ($B = -.21$ SE = $.18$, $\beta = -.19$, $t[40] = -1.17$, $p = .25$). The second condition was not met. Therefore, it was not necessary to conduct the rest of the steps. Subsequently, in the absence of all four criteria being met, a mediational analysis was not conducted. Hypotheses 3b was not supported.

Hypothesis 3c involved the mediational effect of employment quality on the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and subjective career outcomes using the four criteria of mediation. The first criterion assessed the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and subjective career outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 1c showed that perceived illegitimacy was significantly related to life satisfaction (Table 6). The first criterion was supported for life satisfaction.

The second criterion assessed the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and employment quality. Perceived illegitimacy was significantly related to employment quality ($B = -.32$, $SE = .15$, $\beta = -.27$, $t[49] = -2.05$, $p < .05$), suggesting that immigrant professionals who perceived glass walls as more illegitimate reported lower employment quality. The second criterion was supported.

Employment quality was significantly related to life satisfaction ($B = .75$, $SE = .12$, $\beta = .72$, $t[45] = 6.19$, $p < .01$), after controlling for perceived illegitimacy. The third condition was supported for life satisfaction. Finally, there was a significant indirect effect of perceived illegitimacy on life satisfaction (95% CI: $\{-.7549, -.0611\}$ with 5,000 re-samples) via employment quality. Hypothesis 3c was partially supported: employment quality mediated the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and life satisfaction. Participants who perceived illegitimate glass walls reported lower employment quality. Lower employment quality, in turn, was related to lower levels of life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that immigrant professional identity salience mediates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 4a), stable (Hypothesis 4b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 4c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes. As in

testing for Hypothesis 3, a series of regression analyses conducted using four criteria of mediation to test whether immigrant professional identity salience mediated the relationship between characteristics of perceived glass walls and subjective career outcomes.

Hypothesis 4a involved the meditational effect of immigrant professional identity salience on the relationship between perceived impermeability and subjective career outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 1a showed that the first criterion was met for life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret for coming to Canada, as perceived impermeability had a significant relationship with these variables (Table 4).

The second criterion assessed the relationship between perceived impermeability and immigrant professional identity salience. Perceived impermeability was significantly related to immigrant professional identity salience ($B = .18$, $SE = .09$, $\beta = .21$, $t[85] = 1.95$, $p = .05$), suggesting that when immigrant professionals perceive impermeable glass walls, immigrant professional identity becomes more salient. Therefore the second criterion was supported.

After controlling for perceived impermeability, immigrant professional identity salience was significantly related career anxiety ($B = -.24$, $SE = .12$, $\beta = -.21$, $t[79] = -2.04$, $p < .05$) and regret ($B = .39$, $SE = .13$, $\beta = .31$, $t[76] = 2.97$, $p < .01$), but was not related to life satisfaction ($B = -.04$, $SE = -.11$, $\beta = -.04$, $t[79] = -.34$, $p = .73$). The third criterion was supported for career anxiety and regret.

Finally, there was a significant indirect effect of perceived impermeability on regret for coming to Canada (95% CI: {0.0089, 0.2139} with 5,000 re-samples) via

immigrant professional identity salience. The indirect effect of perceived impermeability on career anxiety via immigrant professional was not significant (95% CI: $\{-.1100, .0066\}$ with 5,000 re-samples), suggesting that there was no mediation. The indirect effect of immigrant professional identity was also not significant for life satisfaction (95% CI: $\{-.0838, .0460\}$ with 5,000 re-samples).

Hypotheses 4a was partially supported: immigrant professional identity salience mediated the relationship between perceived impermeability and regret for coming to Canada. When immigrant professionals perceived glass walls as more impermeable, immigrant professional identity salience was higher. Immigrant professional identity was, in turn, related to higher regret for coming to Canada.

Hypothesis 4b involved the meditational effect of immigrant professional identity salience on the relationship between perceived stability and subjective career outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 1b showed that perceived stability had significant main effects on career satisfaction, life satisfaction, and career anxiety (Table 5). The first criterion was met for career satisfaction, life satisfaction, and career anxiety.

The second criterion for mediation was not supported: Perceived stability was not significantly related to immigrant professional identity salience ($B = -.04$, $SE = .13$, $\beta = -.03$, $t [76] = .29$, $p = .77$), therefore it was not necessary to conduct the remaining steps. Consequently, in the absence of all four criteria being met, a meditational analysis was not conducted. Hypothesis 4b was not supported.

Hypothesis 4c involved the meditational effect of immigrant professional identity salience on the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and subjective career

outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 1c showed that perceived illegitimacy was significantly related to life satisfaction (Table 6). The first criterion was supported for life satisfaction.

The second criterion was also supported: Perceived illegitimacy was significantly related to immigrant professional identity salience ($B = .37$, $SE = .14$, $\beta = .27$, $t[85] = 2.57$, $p < .01$), suggesting that immigrant professional identity became more salient when immigrant professionals perceived illegitimate glass walls. The third criterion, however, was not supported: immigrant professional identity was not significantly related to life satisfaction ($B = -.42$, $SE = .12$, $\beta = -.04$, $t[79] = -.36$, $p = .72$), after controlling for perceived illegitimacy. Also, the indirect effect of perceived illegitimacy on life satisfaction via immigrant professional was not significant (95% CI: $\{-.1178, .0586\}$ with 5,000 re-samples). Hypothesis 4c was not supported.

Given that immigrant professional identity salience was positively related to immigrant identity salience ($r = .56$, $p < .01$) and professional identification ($r = .46$, $p < .01$), the mediating effect of immigrant identity salience and professional identity strength were tested on the relationships between perceived characteristics and subjective career outcomes. Perceived characteristics were not significantly related to either immigrant identity or professional identity. Hence, no mediating effect was found for the immigrant identity and professional identity.

Hypothesis 5 predicted moderated mediation, such that attributions for unemployment moderate the mediating effect of immigrant professional identity salience on the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 5a), stable

(Hypothesis 5b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 5c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes.

A series of moderated mediation tests were conducted to explore the indirect effect of immigrant professional identity salience on the perceived characteristics and subjective career outcomes; it is predicted that the relationship would be stronger for low levels of internal attributions.

Preacher, Rucker and Hayes (2007) suggested a procedure to accurately test moderated mediation: first, a mediator variable model is estimated, in which the mediator is regressed on the independent variable, the moderator variable, and the interaction term (mediator model). Second, a dependent variable model is estimated, in which the dependent variable is regressed on the independent variable, the moderator, the interaction term, and the mediator (dependent variable model). SPSS macro developed by Preacher et al. (2007) was used to perform conditional indirect effects at high and low levels of the moderator, as one standard deviation above and below the mean score of the moderator.

In order to test the hypotheses, four criteria of moderated mediation were conducted: (1) significant effect of independent variable (perceived characteristics) on dependent variables (subjective career outcomes); (2) significant effect of independent variable (perceived characteristics) and moderator (attributions for unemployment) interaction on mediator (immigrant professional identity salience); (3) significant effect of mediator (immigrant professional identity salience) on dependent variable (subjective career outcomes); and (4) different conditional indirect effects of independent variable

(perceived characteristics) on dependent variables (subjective career outcomes), via mediator (immigrant professional identity salience), across high and low levels of moderator (attributions for unemployment). The last criterion, which is the essence of moderated mediation, establishes whether the strength of the mediation via immigrant professional identity salience differs across levels of the moderator (Ng, Ang, & Chan, 2008; Preacher et al., 2007). Separate moderated mediation analyses were performed for the relationship between each independent and outcome variables. Age, occupation type and job search intensity were entered in the analyses as control variables.

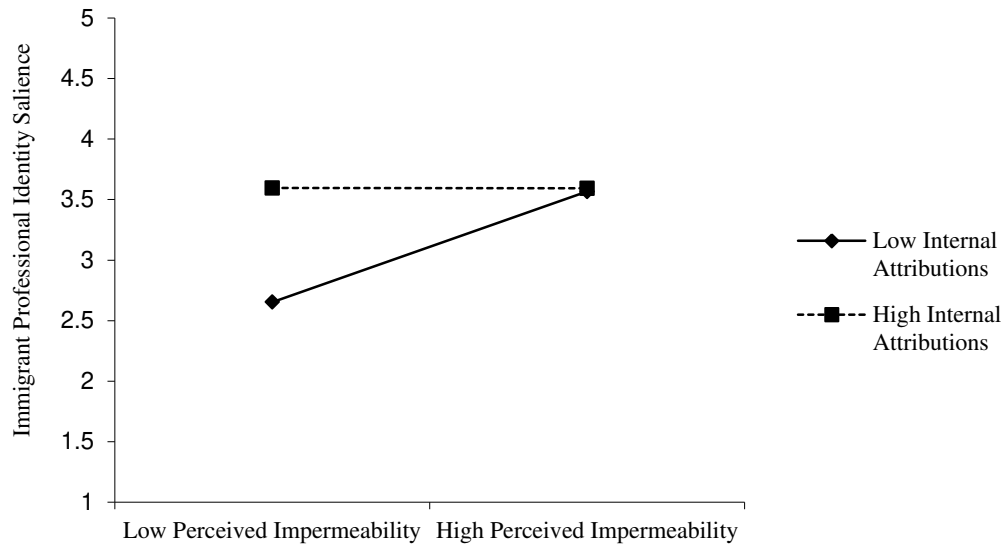
Hypothesis 5a predicted that attributions for unemployment moderate the mediating effect of salience of immigrant professional identity on the relationship between perceived impermeability and subjective career outcomes.

The first criterion assessed the relationship between perceived impermeability and subjective career outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 1a showed that the first criterion was supported for life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret for coming to Canada (Table 4), as perceived impermeability has a significant relationship with these variables.

The second criterion was also supported. There was a significant interaction between perceived impermeability and internal attributions on immigrant professional identity salience ($B = -.22$, $SE = .10$, $\beta = -.23$, $t[83] = -2.24$, $p < .05$). Simple slopes analyses showed that perceived impermeability was related to higher immigrant professional identity salience when internal attribution for unemployment was low (-1 S.D.; $\beta = .41$, $p < .01$). When internal attribution for unemployment was high (+1 S.D.; $\beta = .05$, $p = .65$) (Figure 8), however, there was no significant relationship. This suggests

that perceived impermeability is associated with greater immigrant professional identity salience, only for immigrant professionals who attribute their unemployed situation less to internal factors.

Figure 8
Moderating Effect of Attributions for Unemployment on the Relationship between Perceived Impermeability and Immigrant Professional Identity Salience



The third criterion tested the relationship between immigrant professional identity salience and subjective career outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 4a showed that immigrant professional identity was significantly related to regret and career anxiety. Immigrant professional identity was not significantly related to life satisfaction. The third criterion was supported for regret and career anxiety.

Lastly, the fourth criterion was tested. Conditional indirect effect statistics were computed at low and high values of the internal attributions. The findings showed that conditional indirect effects of perceived impermeability on regret for coming to Canada was significant for low internal attributions for unemployment (- 1 SD, $z = 2.16, p < .05$,

Table 10), though not significant for high internal attributions for unemployment (+ 1 SD, $z = .47$, $p = .63$, Table 10). Thus, the moderated mediation model was supported as the relation between perceived impermeability and regret via immigrant professional identity salience differed across levels of internal attributions for unemployment. In particular, when glass walls are perceived as impermeable, low internal attributions (but not high) significantly predicted higher regret for coming to Canada through increased salience of immigrant professional identity. Conditional indirect effects of perceived impermeability on career anxiety was not significant for low internal attribution (-1 SD, $z = -1.70$, $p = .09$, Table 9) or for high internal attribution (+1 SD, $z = -.14$, $p = .88$, Table 9), suggesting that there was no moderated mediation.

Hypothesis 5a was partially supported: attributions for unemployment moderated the mediating effect of immigrant professional identity on the relationship between perceived impermeability and regret for coming to Canada. This suggested that immigrant professional identity mediated the relationship between perceived impermeability and regret only for those with low levels of internal attribution.

Table 10

Moderated Mediation Results on Career Anxiety and Regret (Hypothesis 5a)

Variable	Model 1 (Step 2: Career Anxiety)			Model 1 (Step 2: Life Satisfaction)			Model 1 (Step 2: Regret)		
	B	SE	t	B	SE	t	B	SE	t
<u>Mediator Model (Step1)</u>									
Immigrant Professional Identity Salience									
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.01	.16	.10	.14	.17	.85	.18	.17	1.08
Age	.00	.01	.36	.27	.01	1.37	.01	.01	1.34
Job Search Intensity	.26	.11	2.41*	.26	.11	2.44*	.26	.11	2.33*
Perceived Impermeability	.19	.09	2.11*	.23	.09	2.61*	.23	.09	2.60*
Internal Attributions	.22	.11	1.98	.25	.11	2.21*	.22	.12	1.90
Perceived Impermeability X Internal Attributions	-.23	.11	-2.01*	-.23	.11	-2.17*	-.22	.10	-2.11*
<u>Dependent Variable Model (Step2)</u>									
Occupation (0 =non-regulated; 1 = regulated)	.24	.17	1.39	-.40	.17	-2.30	-.02	.20	-.11
Age	.00	.01	.10	-.02	.01	-1.68	.02	.01	1.57
Job Search Intensity	.39	.12	3.20	.00	.12	.02	.27	.13	2.06*

Perceived Impermeability	.34	.10	3.37*	-.24	.10	-2.45*	.22	.11	2.05*
Internal Attributions	.05	.12	.40	.23	.12	1.87	-.15	.14	-1.08
Perceived Impermeability X Internal Attributions	-.21	.12	-1.69	.05	.11	.44	-.08	.13	-.66
Immigrant Professional Identity Saliency	-.29	.12	-2.26*	-.07	.12	-.59	.41	.14	2.94**
	Indirect Effect	SE	Z	Indirect Effect	SE	Z	Indirect Effect	SE	Z
Conditional Indirect effects									
-1 SD	-.10	.06	-1.70	-.03	.05	-.56	.17	.07	2.16*
Mean	-.05	.04	-1.44	-.01	.03	-.54	.09	.05	1.90
+ 1 SD	-.00	.04	-.14	-.00	.02	-.22	.02	.05	.47

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Hypothesis 5b predicted that attributions for unemployment moderate the mediating effect of salience of immigrant professional identity on the relationship between perceived stability and subjective career outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 1b showed that perceived stability had significant main effects on career satisfaction, life satisfaction, and career anxiety (Table 5), suggesting that first criterion was supported for these variables.

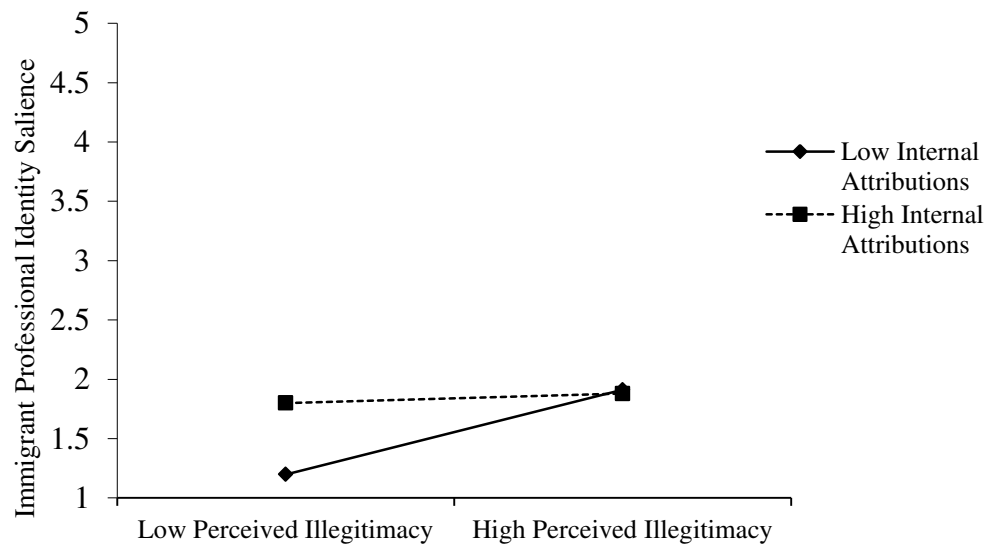
The second criterion was not supported: there was no significant interaction between perceived stability and internal attributions on immigrant professional identity salience ($B = -.32$, $SE = .16$, $\beta = -.23$, $t[76] = -2.03$, $p = .06$). In the absence of a significant interaction between perceived stability and internal attributions on immigrant professional identity salience, it was not necessary to conduct moderated mediation for perceived stability. Hypothesis 5b was not supported.

Hypothesis 5c predicted that attributions for unemployment moderate the mediating effect of salience of immigrant professional identity on the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and subjective career outcomes. Results of Hypothesis 1c showed that perceived illegitimacy is significantly related to life satisfaction (Table 6). The first criterion was met for life satisfaction.

Second criterion was also supported: There was a significant interaction between perceived illegitimacy and internal attributions on immigrant professional identity salience ($B = -.34$, $SE = .17$, $\beta = -.21$, $t[83] = -1.99$, $p < .05$). Simple slopes analyses showed that the positive relationship between perceived illegitimacy of the glass walls and immigrant professional identity salience was significant when internal attribution for

unemployment was low (-1 S.D.; $\beta = .59, p < .01$), but a non-significant relationship when internal attribution for unemployment was high (+1 S.D.; $\beta = .07, p = .75$) (Figure 9). This suggests that perceived illegitimacy is associated with greater immigrant professional identity salience, only for immigrant professionals with low levels of internal attribution.

Figure 9
Moderating Effect of Attributions for Unemployment on the Relationship between Perceived Illegitimacy and Immigrant Professional Identity Salience



The results of Hypothesis 4c showed that the third criterion was not supported: immigrant professional identity was not related to life satisfaction. Also, conditional indirect effects of perceived illegitimacy on life satisfaction was not significant for low internal attribution (-1 SD, $z = -.44, p = .65$) or for high internal attribution (+1 SD, $z = .00, p = .99$), suggesting that there was no moderated mediation. Hypothesis 5c was not supported.

Summary of Quantitative Findings

Hypotheses	Results
<i>Hypothesis 1.</i> Immigrant professionals' perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 1a), stable (Hypothesis 1b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 1c) glass walls are negatively related to career satisfaction and life satisfaction, and are positively related to regret for coming to Canada and career anxiety.	H1a: Perceived impermeability: (-) life satisfaction, (+) regret, (+) career anxiety.
	H1b: Perceived stability: (-) life satisfaction, (-) career satisfaction, (+) career anxiety.
	H1c: Perceived Illegitimacy: (-) life satisfaction.
<i>Hypothesis 2.</i> Career salience moderates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 2a), stable (Hypothesis 2b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 2c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes (career satisfaction, life satisfaction, regret for coming to Canada, career anxiety), such that the relationship will be stronger under high levels of career salience.	H2a: Supported for career anxiety.
	H2b: Supported for career anxiety.
	H2c: Supported for career satisfaction, life satisfaction, regret, and career anxiety.
<i>Hypothesis 3.</i> Employment quality mediates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 3a), stable (Hypothesis 3b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 3c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes.	H3a: Employment quality mediated the relationship between perceived impermeability and life satisfaction, career anxiety, and regret.
	H3b: Not supported.
	H3c: Employment quality mediated the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and life satisfaction.
<i>Hypothesis 4.</i> Salience of immigrant professional identity mediates the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 4a), stable (Hypothesis 4b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 4c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes.	H4a: Supported for the relationship between perceived impermeability and regret.
	H4b: Not supported.
	H4c: Not supported.
<i>Hypothesis 5.</i> Attributions for unemployment moderate the mediating effect of immigrant professional identity salience on the relationship between perceptions of impermeable (Hypothesis 5a), stable (Hypothesis 5b), and illegitimate (Hypothesis 5c) glass walls, and subjective career outcomes, such that the mediation will be stronger under low levels of internal attribution.	H5a: Supported for the relationship between perceived impermeability and regret.
	H5b: Not supported.
	H5c: Not supported.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter summarizes the main results and highlights the major contributions and implications of the study. It concludes with some limitations of the current study and suggestions for future research.

The current study, conducted with recent immigrant professionals in Canada, examined the effects of characteristics of perceived glass walls on immigrant professionals' subjective career outcomes in a longitudinal design. Specifically, two important areas for establishing a satisfying career and successful social integration in Canada were examined as subjective career outcomes: (1) perceptions of career-based success (career satisfaction and career anxiety) and (2) subjective well-being (life satisfaction and regret for immigrating to Canada). The roles of employment quality and immigrant professional identity in explaining the relationship between characteristics of perceived glass walls and subjective career outcomes six months later were explored. Finally, this dissertation examined the moderating role of career salience and attributions for unemployment situation of immigrant professionals on the relationship between the perceived characteristics of glass walls, subjective career outcomes, and the salience of immigrant professional identity. This study also used qualitative inquiry for better understanding the career experiences of immigrant professionals and immigrant professional identity. The summary of the results and the insights gained from the findings are discussed below.

Overview of Results

It was expected that perceived impermeability, stability, and illegitimacy have a negative relationship with life and career satisfaction, and a positive relationship with career anxiety and regret for immigrating to Canada six months later. Probably the most consistent effect of characteristics of perceived glass walls was on the *life satisfaction* of immigrant professionals. Perceived impermeability, stability, and illegitimacy were all negatively related to immigrant professionals' life satisfaction six months later. In other words, the less permeable the glass wall was seen to be, the lower the immigrant professional's life satisfaction. Similarly, life satisfaction was lower if the immigrant professional believed that the glass walls were not going to improve, or that the rules governing it were unfair. The effect of perceived glass walls on immigrant professionals' subjective well-being was also evident in the interviews. Some participants expressed the view that the challenges they faced on their way to find quality employment had negative impacts on their feelings of self-worth. Also, struggles with job search and the length of time needed to find a job that matches their skills and experience led to frustration, and at times despair. This effect supports previous research that the employment challenges faced by immigrants play an important role in their subjective well-being as most immigrants feel a sense of 'settling-down' only after re-establishing themselves professionally in their host country (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Grant & Nadin, 2007; Zikic et al., 2010).

Perceived impermeability and stability were related to higher levels of *career anxiety* six months later. When immigrant professionals see impermeable barriers that hinder them from quality employment, and that the likelihood of accessing these

positions will not improve in the future, they reported higher anxiety about establishing a career in Canada. This was especially true for immigrant professionals with high career salience. Most immigrant professionals come to Canada with the aim of establishing a career (Chen, 2008; Reitz, 2001; Statistics Canada, 2005), and especially for those for whom career establishment is of particular importance, perceptions of glass walls resulted in a pessimistic and hopeless outlook on future employment. For immigrant professionals with high career salience, finding jobs that are aligned with their skills and qualifications to continue their career path may be of higher priority than simply obtaining employment. Perceptions that securing such desired employment is not possible led immigrant professionals with high careers salience to become anxious about their careers.

The relationships between the characteristics of perceived glass walls and career satisfaction, and perceived glass walls and regret, were somewhat less consistent. Only perceived stability had a significant main effect on *career satisfaction* six months later. Immigrant professionals who perceived stable glass walls reported less satisfaction with their careers. Contrary to expectations, results did not support the effect of perceived impermeability and illegitimacy on career satisfaction. Upon reflection, and insights from the interviews, it can be interpreted that most immigrant professionals were not expecting to readily find quality employment, and their primary concern was to secure better jobs in the future. Most of the immigrant professionals in the interview study were ready to accept lower level employment if they believed that it would help them to advance their careers. Perhaps this expectation, with the readiness to accept lower level employment, *temporarily* negated any potential influence perceptions of impermeability and illegitimacy on career satisfaction. On the other hand, if they believed that their chances

of accessing such jobs would not improve, they became unsure about whether their accumulated actions will lead them to where they aspire to be.

This finding emphasizes the central role that the perceptions of “time” play in immigrant professionals’ career transition. While perceived stability demonstrates a certain characteristic of the glass walls that is related to time (future improvement of the glass walls), impermeability and illegitimacy portray the current situation of the perceived glass walls. Career satisfaction denotes an overall picture of an individual’s career, rather than that of their current professional satisfaction (Greenhaus et al., 1990). Dissatisfaction with their current employment situation can be tolerated if individuals believe that things will improve in the future (Heslin, 2003). In the context of immigrant professionals’ career transition, career satisfaction may reflect a more general evaluation of whether their career-related experiences are helping them to progress towards their intended direction, and whether expectations about their career goals and needs will eventually be met. The long-term perception about establishing a career may be the reason why perceived impermeability and illegitimacy did not predict career satisfaction. However, having a rather pessimistic picture of the future for their careers (perceived stability) made immigrant professionals feel less satisfied about how their career are progressing.

Only perceived impermeability was related to *regret for immigrating to Canada* six months later. Contrary to expectations, perceived stability and illegitimacy were not related to regret. Immigrant professionals who perceived impermeable glass walls reported more regret about their decisions to immigrate Canada. Feelings of regret reflect a cognitive assessment of the discrepancy between one’s current and intended situation

(Jokisaari, 2003), and of lost opportunities, as individuals tend to regret outcomes that could possibly have been altered in the past, but are now unchangeable (Beike et al., 2009). For example, narratives of the participants in the interview study revealed that some participants compared their current employment situation with their past professional life, wondering whether their situation would be better had they stayed in their home countries. Believing that they are faced with impermeable glass walls that hinder accessing quality employment led immigrant professionals to feel regret about their decision to immigrate to Canada.

The findings that regret for immigrating to Canada and career satisfaction were affected by different characteristics of perceived glass walls (e.g., permeability, stability) suggest that immigrant professionals may attach meaning to their subjective career experiences, both from a prospective and retrospective perspective (Gunz & Mayrhofer, 2011). When looked at from a prospective standpoint, immigrant professionals can see their careers as an accumulation of career related experiences that help them to reach their professional goals. While evaluating their career success, immigrant professionals may focus on future possibilities and their ability to achieve career-based objectives. When viewed from this perspective, subjective evaluations of overall career progress, such as current actions leading to a more desirable future, can be more directly related to perceived stability of career boundaries.

When looked at from a retrospective perspective, on the other hand, individuals can evaluate their careers based on why events played out the way they did, and what they might have done differently (Gunz & Mayrhofer, 2011). Consequently, subjective outcomes that signify the constraining effect of the current situation on achieving one's

intended goals can be more related to perceived impermeability of career boundaries, as impermeable glass walls can be seen as the cause for the current reality of immigrant professionals. The findings suggested that while career satisfaction is related to a long-term outlook about career progress and expectations about the improvements of glass walls, regret was related to immigrant professionals' evaluation of their current career situation in relation to their past. This tells us that the different qualities attached to characteristics of perceived glass walls (e.g., time) have different effects on specific career outcomes. Therefore, while perceived stability relates to overall career satisfaction, perceived impermeability affects regret about the decision to immigrate to Canada.

Perceived illegitimacy had no main effects on the subjective career outcomes other than life satisfaction. However, there was a significant interaction effect between perceived illegitimacy and career salience on career anxiety, regret, career and life satisfaction. For immigrant professionals who placed special importance on establishing their careers in Canada, perceptions of illegitimate glass walls were related to lower career and life satisfaction and higher career anxiety and regret. The fairness of the perceived glass walls was related to subjective career outcomes only for immigrant professionals with high career salience. For these immigrant professionals with high career salience, gaining professional employment that parallels their skills and expertise is of more importance than to those with low career salience, who are more likely to be content with employment inconsistent with their initial career path. Therefore, those immigrant professionals with high career salience, may face more setbacks in their quest for employment, as they seek highly sought after careers. These immigrant professionals are also more likely to be met with failed interviews and rejections, and, upon realizing

they are unable to successfully navigate the hiring process, may tend to pay closer attention to the fairness – or lack thereof – of the employment practices.

This dissertation study also proposed and examined two factors that may explain the relationship between characteristics of perceived glass walls and immigrant professionals' subjective career outcomes: employment quality and the salience of immigrant professional identity. First, the role of employment quality six months after assessing perceptions of glass walls on explaining the relationship between the perceptions of glass walls and subjective career outcomes was explored. Perceived impermeability and perceived illegitimacy were related to lower quality of employment six months later. When immigrant professionals perceived glass walls as impermeable they were more likely to be employed in positions that are not compatible with their education and expertise. Similarly when immigrant professionals perceived that employment practices were unfair, and that their qualifications had been disregarded by employers, they were more likely to accept lower quality of employment. Employment quality mediated the relationship between perceived impermeability and career anxiety, life satisfaction, and regret six months later. It also mediated the relationship between perceived illegitimacy and life satisfaction.

For immigrant professionals, employment in positions not aligned with their profession and skills may mean re-starting their career in positions where they are unable to utilize their qualifications. This loss of professional status and vocational familiarity negatively affected immigrant professionals' satisfaction with their new life in Canada. It comes as no surprise that immigrant professionals face challenges with underemployment due to institutional barriers. Interestingly, though, is the effect that their evaluations of

their current employment situation have on their happiness and subjective evaluations of career success (Bolino & Feldman, 2000; Feldman et al., 2002; Wilkins, 2007). Perceived stability, on the other hand, did not have an effect on employment quality. This finding also echoes that different characteristics of perceived glass walls had different effects on immigrant professionals' career outcomes. Employment quality reflects individuals' assessment of the match between their skills and needs, and their current job situation. Thus it follows that immigrant professionals' perceptions about the improvement of the glass walls (perceived stability) did not have a significant effect on employment quality.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) looks mainly at the perceived characteristics of the intergroup boundaries as determinants of whether individuals choose individual mobility strategies to move into a higher status group, or pursue collective action (e.g., social creativity or social competition) to enhance the status of their group. It is important to note that although this dissertation used social identity theory as a guiding framework for examining the perceived characteristics of the career boundaries and their effects on subjective career outcomes and employment quality, the primary focus was limited to individual career outcomes. Immigrant professionals are newcomers who are unlikely to possess the necessary social wherewithal to pursue collective action aimed at challenging the status quo. Also, such efforts may not be high on the list of priorities for immigrant professionals as they tend to be more focused on finding employment to survive in their new context. Because of the focus on immigrant professionals' imminent concern for securing employment, an exploration of the different characteristics that may account for the decision to undertake collective action was

excluded. As a result, the mixed results of the effects of different characteristics of perceived glass walls may be due to the limited scope of this dissertation.

Second, in addition to employment quality, the role of immigrant professional identity salience in explaining the relationship between the perceived characteristics and subjective career outcomes was explored. Perceived impermeability was related to increased salience of immigrant professional identity six months later. This is consistent with the social identity approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986), suggesting that the characteristics of the perceived glass walls act as contextual cues that focus immigrant professionals' attention to who they are in their new professional context. Social identity theory proposes that when group boundaries are perceived as impermeable, individuals are more likely to define themselves in terms of social identity. When immigrant professionals perceived impermeable glass walls as impediments to quality employment, the salience of immigrant professional identity was higher. Perceived illegitimacy was also related to higher identity salience. This supports the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999): when immigrant professionals perceived that they and other immigrant professionals are subjected to unfair hiring practices and discrimination, the salience of "immigrant professional" identity was higher.

Participants in the interview study defined "immigrant professional" as someone with professional qualifications who immigrates to another country with the expectation of finding quality employment and continuing his or her profession. However, though possessing extensive professional qualifications, employers' perceptions of the skills and abilities of immigrant professionals, together with the devaluation of their credentials, made most participants feel a loss of professional status. The narratives about experiences

of being an immigrant professional reflected the effect of the perceived glass walls on how participants came to see themselves as immigrant professionals. Whether through job interviews, repeated rejections, or employers' reactions to their skills and qualifications, the immigrant professionals interviewed realized they are now immigrant professionals as opposed to professionals seeking quality employment. In the interviews, for example, some participants reported that despite their extensive work experience and education, they felt that employers perceived them as less skilled and less capable. The devaluation of their credentials, and the loss of their previous social status and professional networks, has made them feel less like professionals, and more like "immigrant professionals" seeking employment in the labour market.

Contrary to expectations, perceived stability of glass walls was not related to salience of immigrant professional identity. One possible explanation can be that the immigrant professional identity becomes salient as a result of the individuals' perception of their current employment situation. That is, the salience of immigrant professional identity depends on evaluation of their current situation rather than their evaluation of how their status is likely to improve in future.

Immigrant professional identity salience mediated the relationship between perceived permeability and regret for coming to Canada. When immigrant professional identity becomes salient, as a result of their perceptions of the impermeable glass walls that deny them chances to access professional employment, immigrant professionals may begin questioning if they will ever be able to re-establish their professional status in Canada. Immigrant professionals' disappointment with their current situation, and the loss of their professional status led to feelings of regret. Also, moderated mediation

analyses showed that attributions for the unemployment situation of immigrant professionals interacted with perceived impermeability to predict immigrant professional identity salience. This, in turn, was related to regret for immigrating to Canada. Perceived impermeability was related to salience of immigrant professional identity only when immigrant professionals believed that the reason for unemployment among immigrant professionals is that of external social structures rather than individual factors. On the other hand, when immigrant professionals attributed the unemployment of immigrant professionals to more individual factors (i.e., qualifications, effort, etc.), they tend not to see themselves as a part of this social group.

Immigrant professional identity salience did not mediate the relationship between perceived glass walls and career outcomes, save for its mediating effect on the relationship between perceived impermeability and regret. As discussed above, the results of the interviews suggest that immigrant professional identity is perceived to be a devaluation of social status. The correlation analyses showed that it was associated with lower life satisfaction and higher levels of regret for immigrating to Canada (Table 3). The negative effect of immigrant professional identity salience on measures of subjective well-being is consistent with the assumption that perceptions of a lower social status negatively impact an individual's self-esteem and well-being (Brown & Lohr, 1987; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Thus, it can be argued that immigrant identity salience seems to matter more for subjective well-being (regret and life satisfaction) than for career related outcomes; a finding that is not entirely surprising. After all, no matter how frustrated immigrant professionals became with their professional identity loss and their current social status, the determination to regain a professional identity may supersede the

effect this identity has on immigrant professionals' career related activities. Nevertheless, when considering the effect of perceived glass walls on immigrant professional identity salience – and the relationship between this identity, regret, and life satisfaction – the immigrant professional identity becomes an important area to address when exploring the career experiences of immigrant professionals.

Immigrant professionals' careers are bounded by the institutional context in their host country (e.g., Boyd & Schellenberg, 2007; Boyd & Thomas, 2001, 2002; Esses et al., 2001; Wayland, 2006), as well as individual factors such as language and culture (e.g., Galarneau & Morissette, 2008; Grondin, 2007). These factors combine to create a complex web of constraints surrounding immigrant professionals when transitioning to suitable employment. The results of this longitudinal study and the qualitative interviews showed that perceptions of the glass walls and different characteristics attached to them (e.g., impermeable, stable, illegitimate) was related to immigrant professionals' career-based success and subjective well-being during their career transition. Understanding the perceptions of the social context that immigrant professionals find themselves in is especially important when considering that the perceptions of social structures – as either helpers or hindrances to vocational integration – influence their perceptions about how to navigate their careers through these constraints.

Theoretical Contributions of the Study

This dissertation makes several contributions to the field of careers by integrating various disciplines such as career studies, social psychology, and immigrant studies.

First, the conceptual model developed in this study extends the focus of career transitions by paying attention to the boundaries across which the career transitions are made. Career researchers have been called to explore career boundaries from the perspective of the individuals crossing them (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011; Gunz et al., 2007) and through empirical research (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). In response to these calls, this study was the first to explore how career boundaries are perceived in an empirical design. Borrowing concepts from social identity theory, perceptions of career boundaries were operationalized based on three characteristics (permeability, stability, legitimacy). The results of this longitudinal study suggest that these characteristics of perceived career boundaries were related to immigrant professionals' career outcomes. For example, immigrant professionals' perceptions of permeability were related to the quality of employment and feelings of regret about immigrating to Canada, while perceptions of stability were related to satisfaction with career progress.

Overall, the adoption of the social identity framework served to deepen our understanding of the ways that career boundaries are perceived. Defining the perceptions of career boundaries based on different characteristics (permeability, stability, legitimacy) helped to disentangle the effects of these perceptions on individuals' objective and subjective career outcomes. The different qualities attached to perceived career boundaries can have different effects on specific career outcomes. Although there are a complex set of factors that play role in individuals' career trajectories, the findings of this study contribute to our understanding in regards to the differences in individuals' career experiences when faced with a certain career boundary.

Second, this study explored the effect of perceived career boundaries on individuals' social identities. Literature on career transitions mainly focused on the emergence of new role identities that are followed by individuals' transitions into new careers (Ibarra, 1999; Schein, 1987). These changes in identity of the individuals experiencing career transitions often accompany the adoption of skills and knowledge related to their new work roles (Ibarra, 1999; 2003). Unlike much of the career literature, this study examined how a particular social identity becomes salient when individuals face institutional barriers that hinder their career transition as a group. Specifically, "immigrant professional identity" is explored as a distinct social identity that emerged as a result of career boundaries experienced by immigrant professionals in their new social context. The findings of this study suggest that social identities become salient due to the constraints individuals face when their career transition is disrupted. When participants perceived impermeable career boundaries immigrant professional identity became more salient, which in turn was related to subjective career outcomes such as life satisfaction and regret.

Overall, the findings of this study extend our understanding of career boundaries as social structures that not only limit the career mobility of individuals, but also influence the way individuals define themselves. Salient social identities are important to understand as individuals tend to think and act in accordance with their salient social identity (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) and may make career decisions accordingly. Thus, armed with this enriched understanding of the impact that career boundaries have on social identity, this study contributes to career literature by pointing to the importance of career boundaries in shaping career trajectories and influencing perceptions of self.

This study also looked at immigrant professional identity as an intersectional identity, suggesting that being both a professional and an immigrant combined to form qualitatively different experiences for participants that cannot be explained with each identity alone. For example, for the participants of the interview study, being a professional indicated possessing extensive education and experience, while being an immigrant indicated depletion and devaluation of these professional qualifications. Notwithstanding the nuances of gender and race that impact the experiences of immigrant professionals, this study suggests that there may be commonalities in the immigrant professional experience that can be partially explained by immigrant professional identity.

Third, this study contributes to immigration research by studying the effects of immigration on careers at the individual level. Although research on immigration emphasizes the devaluation and depletion of career capital that accompanies migration; the focus has mainly centered on the impact of this devaluation on the local economies, labour market movements, and immigrants' employment status (e.g., Iredale, 2001; Scott, 2006; Wallace, 2002), rather than on immigrant professionals' subjective career experiences. The findings of this study suggest that the loss of human capital due to immigration and the difficulties in establishing a career in their new country negatively affected immigrant professionals' subjective career experiences. Studying the subjective career experiences of the immigrants contributes to immigration research as it has implications for career and life integration of immigrants in their new countries, both at the individual and societal level. Moreover, by examining its conceptual model on immigrant professionals' career related experiences, this study contributes to careers

literature through its focus on an ever-growing and not well-understood group of workers that populate many of today's workplaces. It is expected that the contribution of immigrants to labour market growth will increase by up to 100 percent between 2011 and 2016 (Lochhead & Mackenzie, 2005). The struggles that these highly trained individuals face attempting to bridge the gap between meeting immigration requirements and actually securing work in their chosen field may not be recognized by many. Overall, this study intended to shed light on a part of the picture that includes career boundaries as well as immigrant issues in a single study.

Finally, this dissertation extend the use of social identity framework by applying its basic concepts to the study of careers and career boundaries. Social identity theory is a theory that encapsulates the relationship between the individual and the social context in order to understand how this relationship affects individuals' attitudes and behaviours in various social settings (Ellemers & Haslam, 2011; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner & Giles, 1981). This study broadened the application of social identity theory as an explanatory framework for understanding the interplay between the individual and the social context, this time in the context of career boundaries. Although social identity theory's primary focus has been the characteristics of the social structures that govern intergroup relationships, this study demonstrated that these concepts can be applied to the study of career boundaries. Overall, this study defined career boundaries as social structures that can be examined based on different characteristics (permeability, stability, and legitimacy) and affect the attitudes and behaviours of individuals along with their social identities.

Limitations

This study presents a series of limitations. First of all, the conceptual model proposed in the study can only be seen as a snapshot of a much more complex picture of career boundaries. This study examined the perceptions of a specific form of career boundary – glass walls, and a specific type of career transition – from unemployment to employment. The specific conceptualization and measurement of the perceived glass walls may not be extended to other types of career boundaries (e.g., frontiers, chalk lines) (Gunz et al., 2002). Additionally, this study examined the perceptions of career boundaries by immigrant professionals, thus limiting the ability to generalize the findings to other contexts and populations.

The measures of perceived characteristics of glass walls revealed low internal consistency reliability. These measures were adapted from other studies that assess the system beliefs of ethnic minorities as there were no established measure specific to career boundaries. The adapted measures may not have captured the extent to which immigrant professionals perceive the structures that limit their career continuity at the personal level. Providing a more specific operationalization of glass walls, and developing a more specific measure – rather than adapting others – could improve the validity and reliability of the measures. As well, the measure of salience of immigrant professional identity was assessed by a 3-item measure asking respondents the extent to which they see themselves as an immigrant professional. Validated measures that better tap into this construct are needed.

Self-reports were relied upon in this study – a necessary approach given that we were interested in the perceptions of career boundaries, and not the boundaries themselves, and also the individuals’ perspective of their self-concept. Although Time 2 results were obtained six months following Time 1, many individuals were either recently employed or remained unemployed. Employed individuals could still have been learning about their new jobs, and were likely to be going through a period of socialization. Therefore, their perceptions of career satisfaction or perceived fit may change as they progress through their careers. The honeymoon period following the gaining of employment could have enhanced satisfaction, though satisfaction may diminish over time as immigrant professionals begin to realize that progress – or the opportunity to use their skills – is limited. Alternatively, satisfaction may improve as individuals pass the initial stage of socialization and gain much needed Canadian experience. Adequate exploration of the changes in identity and the perceptions would require more frequent assessments.

This study used a longitudinal design whereby the mediating variables (employment quality and immigrant professional identity salience) and career outcomes were assessed 6 months apart from the independent variables (characteristics of perceived glass walls). This methodology, however, can still lead to problems with the assumption of causality, as the mediators and outcome variables were assessed concurrently (Cole & Maxwell, 2003). Such a situation may affect the interpretation and accuracy of the findings. One possibly way to ameliorate this situation is to assess the mediator and the outcome variables both times, while controlling for the prior levels of mediator and outcome variables in the analyses (Cole & Maxwell, 2003).

Although the demographic characteristics of the sample partially represent the general characteristics of skilled immigrants in Canada, one drawback of the current study is the representativeness of the sample. This study used immigrant professionals that were recruited through adult learning centers, employment agencies, and community centers. These individuals may be unique from other immigrant professionals in terms of their motivation to find employment and advance their careers. Therefore, the voluntary aspect of the participation in the study poses a limitation on the generalization of the findings to the overall immigrant professional population.

Future Directions

The results of this dissertation provide several areas for future research. First, this study aimed to explore the perceptions of career boundaries and the effect of these perceptions on their subjective career outcomes. Future research is needed to more broadly define and operationalize career boundaries. For example, Gunz et al. (2007) provided a theoretical background to how the subjective career boundaries are formed as a negotiation between ego (career owner) and alters (e.g., employers, gatekeepers). Research may explore the role of the perceptions of the different parties in formation of career boundaries and effects on the career transitions.

Also, how individuals' perceptions of career boundaries affect their actual career trajectories can be an avenue of research. Longitudinal studies can be designed to follow career owners' trajectories over the course of their career transitions. More sophisticated modeling techniques (Chan, 2005) should be considered to capture more closely the dynamic nature of career processes. Future studies may also explore the interactive role

of the structural context (e.g., occupation, labour market) to better understand the perceptions of glass walls. Which constraints individuals face during subsequent career stages, how they can adapt to these constraints, and what support mechanisms they develop over time remain questions for further inquiry.

Given that perceptions of glass walls play a role in individuals' subjective career experiences, it is important to understand the individual differences that may affect these perceptions as well their effects on career outcomes. This study examined career salience and attributions for unemployment as potential variables that affect the strength of these relationships. Other individual variables can be examined to shed more light on the differences in perceptions, such as personality, motivations, expectations, skills and needs.

The dynamic nature of immigrant professional identity can be examined by adopting a long-term perspective regarding immigrant professionals' career transitions, such as how social encounters in the workplace influence the identity over time. Also, this research can be extended to different populations, such as marginalized groups and visible minorities that face structural constraints in gaining employment or developing professional careers.

Conclusion

This study explored the relationship between characteristics of perceived career boundaries on the career outcomes and the social identities of immigrant professionals. Initial evidence suggests that perceived glass walls have implications for immigrant professionals' subjective career outcomes, as well as employment quality and social

identities. The longitudinal design of the study provides support for the temporal dimension of perceived characteristics. Immigrant professionals' initial perceptions about the social structure still predicted their beliefs about success six months later.

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APPENDIX 1

Time 1 Questionnaire

IMMIGRANT PROFESSIONALS' EXPERIENCE SURVEY

Informed Consent Form for Participation in Research Study

A Brief Overview:

The project is entitled: The Immigrant Professionals' Experience. **The objective of the research is to examine the factors that help or harm immigrant professionals' careers in Canada.**

Conditions for Participating:

Your participation in our study is voluntary. As part of your participation, you will be asked to respond to 2 separate questionnaires given at different time points. You will receive \$10 Tim Horton's gift card for filling out the first questionnaire. If you complete the second questionnaire, you will receive a \$10 gift certificate from a store of your choice.

In the questionnaires, we ask that you state your first name, email, and mailing address. This is to enable us to link your responses from the different surveys, email you the follow-up online surveys, and send you the gift certificates. The identifying information will be deleted from the data after the questionnaires have been linked and the certificates have been given. Your identifying information will not be part of the database kept and analyzed by the researchers.

Your instructors will not know whether you did or did not participate in the study. To protect the identities of participants and non-participants, we ask that you return the sealed envelopes to your instructor in a week whether you completed the questionnaire or not.

You may refuse to answer any question asked. You may also choose to withdraw from the study at any time. If you withdraw from the study, you will not be sent any future questionnaires, but you will be compensated for the questionnaire(s) that you completed. Also, your responses will be removed and deleted, and not be used in the study.

What are the benefits for you?

This is an opportunity to help relevant agencies, the school, and Canadian researchers better understand the issues faced by immigrant professionals. We hope that the findings of the study will help future immigrant professionals in their transition to working in Canada. At the end of the study, we can provide with you a summary of the findings of the study if requested.

What risks are there for you in participating in this study?

There are minimal risks to participating in the study. You may experience some discomfort, or anxiety about responding to some of the questions about your personal attitudes and experiences as new immigrants to Canada.

This is an independent study conducted by the researchers at the University of Toronto. The research team is independent of the Adult Learning Center or any other agencies. Only the research team, Dr. Soo Min Toh, Dr. Hugh Gunz, and Basak Yanar, will have access to the data you provide. All the data will be kept in confidence. In NO WAY will you be identified by name in any publications or reports. Your responses will NOT be available to the administration of your school or your employing organization, and will NOT be used to evaluate your performance as part of any school or system evaluation. Your school or co-op organization will NOT be identified. All the raw data collected during the study will be secured in a locked file and after two years will be shredded.

If you need more information, please contact: basak.yanar05@rotman.utoronto.ca

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a participant, please feel free to contact the University of Toronto's Office of Research Ethics (ethics.review@utoronto.ca; 416-946-3273).

RESEARCH CONSENT

I have read and understood the conditions of this study.

Please check one:

- I do not consent to be a participant. I do not wish for my responses to be included the study.

- I consent to be a participant.

My \$10 Tim Horton's gift card may be mailed to me at this address:

My address: _____

I can be contacted at the following email address for the follow-up surveys:

My email address is (please print):

THANK YOU!

A) What do you think about the employment opportunities of immigrant professionals in Canada?

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. Canada is an open society where immigrant professionals can access professional employment (PI_m, reverse coded).
2. Career advancement in Canada is possible for all immigrant professionals (PI_m, reverse coded).
3. Immigrant professionals have difficulty accessing professional employment (PI_m).
4. Canada is a just society where differences in access to employment between immigrant and local professionals reflect actual differences such as technical ability and professional qualifications between the two groups (PI, reverse coded).
5. Differences in access to employment between immigrant and local professionals are fair (PI, reverse coded).
6. Immigrant professionals will have equal opportunities as local professionals in the future (PS, reverse coded).
7. Immigrant professionals are often unable to access professional employment (PI_m).
8. Differences in access to employment between immigrant and local professionals are a result of injustice (PI).
9. Immigrant professionals' access to quality employment is likely to improve in the future (PS, reverse coded).

Note: PI_m= Perceived impermeability, PS= Perceived stability, PI = Perceived Illegitimacy

B) Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. I want to work, but I do not want to have a demanding career (reverse coded).
2. I expect to make as many sacrifices as are necessary in order to advance in my work/career.
3. I value being involved in a career and expect to devote the time and effort needed to develop it.
4. I expect to devote a significant amount of my time to building my career and developing the skills necessary to advance in my career.

5. I expect to devote whatever time and energy it takes to move up in my in my job/career field.
6. Having work/career that is interesting and exciting to me is my most important goal.
7. I expect my job/career to give me more real satisfaction than anything else I do.
8. Building a name and reputation for myself through work/a career is not one of my life goals (reverse coded).
9. It is important to me that I have a job/career in which I can achieve something of importance.
10. It is important to me to feel successful in my work/career.

C) Here are some things that people are saying about the unemployment issue of immigrant professionals. Please indicate your opinion on the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely false</i>	<i>Very likely to be false</i>	<i>Cannot tell</i>	<i>Very likely to be true</i>	<i>Completely true</i>

1. If they had better qualifications most of the immigrant professionals would soon get jobs in Canada.
2. Most immigrant professionals get jobs if they look hard, are confident and have a lot to offer.
3. It is mainly the immigrant professionals with the best qualifications who have been able to get work.
4. Unemployed immigrant professionals haven't tried hard enough and don't know how to sell themselves.

D) How often do you engage in the following job search activities?

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Hardly ever</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Almost always</i>

1. Making inquiries/reading about getting a job.
2. Preparing/revising resume.
3. Reading classifieds/help wanted advertisements.
4. Talking with friends or relatives about possible job leads.
5. Visiting job fairs.
6. Contacting employment agencies.
7. Looking for jobs on the internet.
8. Making inquiries to prospective employers.
9. Sending out application letters.
10. Going on a job interview.

E) Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statement

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. I am proficient in the English language.

G) Please tell us more about yourself:

1. Age: _____

2. Sex: Male Female

3. Which of the following best describes your ethnicity (check one):

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Arab/West Asian | <input type="checkbox"/> | Black |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Chinese | <input type="checkbox"/> | Filipino |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Japanese | <input type="checkbox"/> | Korean |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Latin American | <input type="checkbox"/> | South Asian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | South East Asian | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other _____ |

4. What is your highest level of education? (Check one)

Ph.D. Masters Bachelors College / Diploma High School

5. What country did you emigrate from?

6. How long have you been in Canada? _____ months.

7. In what industry or field of work were you in your home country?

8. How long have you worked in your home country? _____ years.

9. How long have you been unemployed since you arrived in Canada? _____ months.

APPENDIX 2

Time 2 Questionnaire

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your interest in participating in our follow-up questionnaire. This research, as you already know, is conducted by a team of Organizational Behaviour researchers at Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto to understand the factors related to career success for internationally trained professionals like yourself in Canada.

Your participation in our study is voluntary. You may refuse to answer any question asked in the questionnaires or withdraw from the study at any time. Individual responses will be completely CONFIDENTIAL. Please answer each question as honestly as possible. REMEMBER: There are NO RIGHT OR WRONG answers, only your opinions and feelings. Your honest response to the questions is vital to the success of this study. All responses are kept in complete confidentiality and any reports of the study will not include any identifying information.

As promised, we will send you a \$10 gift certificate if you complete this survey from a store/restaurant of your choice. Kindly indicate your choice in the survey.

We thank you for your support and interest in the study. Your input will help us gather essential data that can help agencies and employers understand the integration of newcomer professionals better!

RESEARCH CONSENT

I have read and understood the conditions of this study.

Please check one:

- I do not consent to be a participant. I do not wish for my responses to be included the study.

- I consent to be a participant.

Please indicate your store of choice:

- Tim Horton's
- Chapters/Indigo
- President's Choice

My \$10 gift card may be mailed to me at this address:

My address: _____

A) Immigrant professionals are individuals who were born and educated in a foreign country and have professional experience mostly obtained outside of the host country. How much do you see yourself as an Immigrant Professional?

Being an Immigrant Professional:

Is not central to who I am 1 2 3 4 5 Is central to who I am
 Is not important for defining myself 1 2 3 4 5 Is important for defining myself
 Does not describe myself 1 2 3 4 5 Describes myself

B) Are you currently employed?

- Yes
- No

Is this job in the area in which you were trained?

- Yes
- No

What level was your job title in the company?

- Junior
- Middle/Senior

C) Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following questions about your job:

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. My knowledge, skills, and abilities match the requirement of the job.
2. My job fulfills my needs.
3. My job is a good match for me
4. My job enables me to do the kind of work I want to do.
5. My current job is better than the one I had in their previous country.

D) Please indicate the extent to which you agree about the following statements about your professional career. I am satisfied with:

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
--------------------------	-----------------	----------------	--------------	-----------------------

1. The success I have achieved in my career.
2. The progress I have made toward meeting my overall career goals.
3. The progress I have made toward meeting my goals for income.
4. The progress I have made toward meeting my goals for advancement.
5. The progress I have made toward meeting my goals for the development of new skills.

E) Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with my life.
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

F) Read each statement below and then indicate how you feel when you think about gaining professional employment in Canada.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. Calm (reverse coded).
2. Secure (reverse coded).
3. Tense.
4. At ease (reverse coded).
5. Upset.
6. Anxious.
7. Comfortable (reverse coded).
8. Nervous.
9. Relaxed (reverse coded).
10. Worried.

G) How do you feel about being in Canada?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
--------------------------	-----------------	----------------	--------------	-----------------------

1. I very much regret coming to Canada.
2. I have been disappointed with my experience in Canada.
3. Some days I wished I never came to Canada
4. I wish I had immigrated to a different country.
5. If I were able to, I would like to move to another country with better career opportunities.
6. I would rather live in *any* country other than Canada.
7. As soon as I am able to, I would like to move to another country.
8. I am making plans to move to another country.
9. I am making plans to return to my home country

H) How much do you see yourself as an immigrant?

Being an Immigrant:

- Is not central to who I am 1 2 3 4 5 Is central to who I am
 Is not important for defining myself 1 2 3 4 5 Is important for defining myself
 Does not describe myself 1 2 3 4 5 Describes myself

I) How important is your profession to you?

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. In general, my profession is an important part of my self-image.
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my profession.
3. I have a strong attachment to other people in my profession.
4. My profession is an important reflection of who I am.
5. I strongly identify with my profession.

APPENDIX 3

Interview Questions

Invitation Email for the Interview Study

You are invited to participate in an interview study conducted through the University of Toronto’s Rotman School of Management. The purpose of this study is to have an in-depth understanding of the factors that help or harm immigrant professionals’ careers in Canada. It is our hope that this study will provide useful information about your experiences, and help relevant agencies, organizations, and policy makers to better

understand immigrants' career experiences, and the problems they face with finding jobs that match their qualifications.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and strictly confidential. Should you participate, your individual responses will not be seen by anyone other than the research team at the University of Toronto. You may refuse to answer any question asked in the questionnaires or withdraw from the study at any time. In NO WAY will you be identified by name in any publications or reports.

Your participation will involve an interview that would take approximately 45-60 minutes about your personal experience regarding your career transition in Canada. As part of your participation, you will receive \$10 Tim Horton's gift card.

If you choose to participate in the interview, we ask that you reply to our email confirming your availability.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Basak Yanar
PhD Candidate - OB/HRM
Joseph L. Rotman School of Management
University of Toronto

Interview Study Informed Consent Form

IMMIGRANT PROFESSIONALS' EXPERIENCE STUDY

Informed Consent Form for Participation in Research Study

A Brief Overview:

The project is entitled: The Immigrant Professionals' Experience. **The objective of this qualitative interview study is to examine the factors that help or harm immigrant professionals' careers in Canada.** Your participation in this project is extremely valuable, as the purpose is to obtain information that will provide useful information

about immigrant professionals' experiences, and help relevant agencies, organizations, and policy makers to better understand immigrants' career experiences, and the problems they face with finding jobs that match their qualifications.

Conditions for Participating:

Participation in this study will involve an interview that would take approximately one hour about your personal experience regarding career transition in Canada. Your participation in our study is voluntary. As part of your participation, you will receive \$10 Tim Horton's gift card.

You may refuse to answer any question asked. You may also choose to withdraw from the study at any time. Your responses will be removed and deleted, and not be used in the study.

What are the benefits for you?

The benefits you might expect from this study are: (a) an opportunity to contribute to academic research that aims to obtain information that will be helpful for policy makers and organizations to better understand an immigrants' experiences in the labor market, (b) to gain more insight about my individual experiences in the labour market.

At the end of the study, we can provide with you a summary of the findings of the study if requested.

What risks are there for you in participating in this study?

There are minimal risks to participating in the study. You may experience some discomfort, or anxiety about responding to some of the questions about your personal attitudes and experiences as new immigrants to Canada.

This is an independent study conducted by the researchers at the University of Toronto. Only the research team, Dr. Soo Min Toh, Dr. Hugh Gunz, and Basak Yanar, will have access to the data you provide. All the data will be kept in confidence. In NO WAY will you be identified by name in any publications or reports. The data collected will be secured in a locked office and/or a password protected computer file until the study is completed, at which point they will be deleted from computers and audiotapes and hard copies will be shredded.

The research team will answer any other questions about the research either now or after the interview. If you need more information, please contact:
basak.yanar05@rotman.utoronto.ca

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a participant, please feel free to contact the University of Toronto's Office of Research Ethics (ethics.review@utoronto.ca; 416-946-3273).

RESEARCH CONSENT

I have read and understood the conditions of this study.

Please check one:

I do not consent to be a participant. I do not wish for my responses to be included the study.

I consent to be a participant. I consent that it is acceptable for direct quotes to be used by the researchers as long as those quotes do not contain any identifying information and my name is not attached to the quote.

Participant's name _____

Participant's signature _____

Date: _____

My \$10 Tim Horton's gift card may be mailed to me at this address:

My address: _____

THANK YOU!

Interview Questions

Individual Background

- 1) What is your country of origin?
- 2) How long have you been in Canada?
- 3) Tell me about your educational and professional background and your career before you came to Canada. What did you do?

Career Experiences

- 4) What were your professional expectations when you first moved to Canada?
- 5) Can you tell me about your current employment situation?
- 6) What is the job searching process like? What kind of jobs have you been applying for?
- 7) What do you think about the challenges in your way to find quality employment?
- 8) Do you think it is possible to overcome these challenges, how so?
- 9) Do you think the challenges will change with time?
Probe: You will be able to access to quality employment in the future?
- 10) Do you think the differences in accessing employment between immigrant and local professionals are a result of actual differences like skills and qualifications or there's another reason?
- 11) What are the options you have in here regarding your career in Canada? (jobs, organizations and job market in Canada)?

Identity

- 12) What does being an immigrant mean to you?
- 13) What does being a professional mean to you?
- 14) What does being an immigrant professional mean to you?
- 15) Do any of these definitions reflect how you see yourself (in terms of your career) in Canada?

If the person does not identify with these definitions: Would you describe yourself in other ways (in terms of your career)? What is the one word you would use to describe yourself as (insert their definition here)?

- 16) What factors have contributed to seeing yourself as an (insert term they use – i.e., professional immigrant /immigrant/professional)
- 17) To what extent do you think being an (insert term they use – i.e., professional immigrant /immigrant/professional) affected your access to employment?
- 18) Has the way you see yourself professionally changed since you immigrated to Canada? Do you see yourself differently compared to before moving to Canada?

Career Expectations/Outcomes

- 19) How have your experiences affected these career goals in Canada?
- 20) Do you think you can accomplish your career goals in Canada? Why or Why not?

Workplace Experiences (If the person is employed)

- 21) How is your experience in the workplace? How are your experiences with the culture, co-workers, supervisors, the way they treat immigrant professionals?

Closing

- 22) Is there anything else that you would like to add that we have not touched upon but you think is important to add understanding to this study?

Appendix 4
Factor Solution for Study Variables

Items	Perceived Impermeability	Perceived stability	Perceived Illegitimacy	Immigrant Professional Identity	Employment Quality	Career satisfaction	Life satisfaction	Regret	Career Anxiety	Career Salience	Attributions for Unemployment	Job search Intensity
Perceive Impermeability 1	.723											
Perceived Impermeability 2	.678											
Perceived Impermeability -3	.670											
Perceived Impermeability -4	.586											
Perceived stability1		.823										
Perceived stability2		.823										
Perceived Illegitimacy1			.778									
Perceived Illegitimacy 2			.705									
Perceived Illegitimacy 3			.672									
Immigrant Professional Identity1				.882								
Immigrant Professional Identity2				.857								
Immigrant Professional Identity 3				.732								
Employment Quality 1					.012							
Employment Quality2					.671							

Employment Quality3					.877							
Employment Quality4					.835							
Employment Quality5					.948							
Employment Quality6					.886							
Employment Quality7					.781							
Career satisfaction1						.904						
Career satisfaction2						.900						
Career satisfaction3						.882						
Career satisfaction4						.845						
Career satisfaction5						.836						
Life satisfaction1							.757					
Life satisfaction2							.734					
Life satisfaction3							.698					
Life satisfaction4							.677					
Life satisfaction5							.669					
Regret 1								.897				
Regret2								.884				
Regret3								.870				
Regret4								.860				
Regret5								.857				
Regret6								.833				
Regret7								.794				
Regret8								.789				

Regret9									.775			
Career Anxiety1									.588			
Career Anxiety2									.675			
Career Anxiety3									.737			
Career Anxiety4									.868			
Career Anxiety5									.596			
Career Anxiety6									.726			
Career Anxiety7									.843			
Career Anxiety8									.882			
Career Anxiety9									.900			
Career Anxiety10									.877			
Career Salienc 1										.021		
Career Salienc 2										.647		
Career Salienc 3										.784		
Career Salienc 4										.833		
Career Salienc 5										.852		
Career Salienc 6										.746		
Career Salienc 7										.794		
Career Salienc 8										-.028		
Career Salienc 9										.481		
Career Salienc 10										.447		
Attributions1												.745

Attributions2												.658	
Attributions3												.596	
Attributions4												.745	
Job search1													.814
Job search2													.512
Job search3													.787
Job search4													.690
Job search5													.179
Job search6													.199
Job search7													.665
Job search8													.621
Job search9													.592
Job search10													.042

