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Immigrant Workers' Perceptions of Workplace Attitudes as a Predictor of Job Satisfaction

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Immigrant Workers' Perceptions of Workplace Attitudes as a Predictor of Job Satisfaction

by

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Abstract

A model predicting Canadian immigrant workers' job satisfaction was investigated to determine potential differences due to demographic variables. There were 96 participants; 66.7% men, and 33.3% women with an average age of 34 years. Participants completed standardized measures of job satisfaction, workplace attitudes, bicultural competence, English acculturation, and social support. ANOVA and t-test analyses revealed that there were no differences in job satisfaction based on gender or age group, but that workers who had been in Canada for less than one year had significantly lower job satisfaction than those who had been in Canada for more than five years. A regression analysis showed that as workers' perceptions of a more inclusive workplace environment and social support increased, so did their reported level of job satisfaction. Study limitations and implications for immigrant workers, career practitioners, counsellors, employers, and policy-makers, as well as future research directions are discussed.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, Barbara Dixon. You were always my inspiration to keep tying, to stay dedicated to a task, and to forge on even when situations turned tough. You gave fully of yourself to those around you and were not afraid to become a fiery force when needed. I will miss our chats about life, romance novels, food, and everything in between. Love you always.

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CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

To begin this thesis, Chapter One contains an overview of the study. The sections of this chapter will include the context in which the study took place, an orientation to relevant concepts, the theoretical framework, and the research approach used in the study. Finally, the discussion will highlight the significance of such a study for the advancement of knowledge and its potential utility for Canadians.

Immigration is often romantically viewed as the relocation to a land of opportunity where immigrants can create a life more conducive to them and their family. In conjunction with increased globalization, there has been increased immigration to developed countries since World War II (Cobb-Clark, Antecol, & Trejo, 2003). Initially, this migration was from Europe to colonized territories such as North America, Oceania, Africa, etc. and, apart from the displaced indigenous people, immigrants were predominately ethnically and culturally homogenous to the inhabitants of their destination country (Walsh, 2008).

During colonialization, immigration was considered a strategic economic and political plan to significantly increase the population growth of these territories (Bosi, Iliopulos, & Magris, 2008; Bouchard & Carroll, 2008). The premise was that, through increasing the population, these territories would be able to better represent themselves as sovereign, self-reliant nations capable of defending from other nations and, eventually, distinguish themselves from their forefathers (Green & Green, 2004). Essentially, to be able to justify and defend borders, create laws, and have the available workers to truly take advantage of the natural resources available. Eventually, these territories and even Europe opened up to receiving immigrants from ethnically and culturally diverse countries with current trends indicating that

the majority of recent newcomers are from African, Asian, and Middle Eastern countries (Chowhan, Isik, & Gordon, 2012; Dryburgh, 2005).

Immigration policy differs significantly by country; however, most consider immigration a source of population growth, given the declining birthrates in developed countries (Bosi, Iliopulos, & Magris, 2008; Reitz, 2011). Immigration is important for keeping national economies globally competitive by increasing the workforce and, subsequently, productivity (Nelson, Verma, Hall, Gastaldo, & Janjua, 2011). As well, it is necessary to have workers who can help pay into social benefit programs, such as national pensions (Yang, 2009). Some policies advocate for immigration as a way to diversify talent, which helps to make that country more innovative and competitive globally (Sakamoto, Wei, & Truong, 2008). However, immigration policies are controversial as opponents argue that it is changing the demographic and cultural make-up of nations (Azmier, 2005).

Specifically, current trends in immigration have resulted in increasing ethnic and cultural diversity in most developed countries (Chui, Tran, & Maheux, 2007). Researchers have also documented a trend since the 1990's (Fry, 1996), where immigrants are now facing deteriorating employment outcomes in the destination countries (Morissette & Galarneau, 2004; Skuterud & Su, 2012). This trend is disturbing given the implications for immigrants and society itself. That is, immigrants will likely need continued and more significant support from the state in order to adjust to the new home country. Additional support creates added strain on the society rather than supplementing it (Yakushko, Backhaus, Watson, Ngaruiya, & Gonzalez, 2008).

Immigration Situation in Canada

As immigration policies are different between countries, this section will focus on some realities in Canada. The government of Canada's economic strategy to recruit immigrants with

specific qualifications for in-demand positions is heralded internationally for its success (Somerville & Walsworth, 2010). That is, each year Canada has an immigration target between 200,000 and 300,000 individuals (Danso, 2009). A large portion of these newcomers are selected for entry based on criteria set out by a stringent point system, which is based on education level, work experience, and age (Alboim, 2009). Selection based on this system is credited for the statistic that the average immigrant in Canada has a higher level of education than the average Canadian-born individual (Bauder, 2005; Zikic, Bonache, & Cerdin, 2010). Developed countries around the world have looked to Canadian immigration policy in an attempt to improve upon their own success in enticing highly educated immigrants (Zikic et al., 2010). The premise for seeking skilled immigrants is that, intuitively, the more skilled applicants are, the better their chances of integrating into the host society and, in particular, the local workforce (Carneiro, Fortuna, & Varejão, 2012; Safi, 2010).

Although Canada actively recruits skilled workers during the immigration process, the reality is that these newcomers often face barriers for securing employment commensurate to their skill level and aspirations, and instead end up in positions of underemployment or unemployment (Boudarbat & Cousineau, 2010; Palameta, 2004). When this happens, the demand for skilled positions remains unaddressed, immigrants may become disenchanted, they may not participate in the workforce, and they may withdraw from society (Berry, 1997; Noels & Berry, 2006; Danso, 2009; Wills, 2010). These conditions have the unintended consequence of putting strain on social programs, such as welfare, and defeat the purpose of the economic and immigration policies (Dean & Wilson, 2010).

Researchers have implicated the disconnection between what is valued during the immigration process and the credentials that Canadian employers accept in the job hiring process

(Drolet et al., 2014; Grant, 2007). Others point to Canada's yearly target of immigrants as too large for the workforce to accommodate (Choudry & Thomas, 2013; O'Grady, 2012), or suggest that immigrants need to overcome structural barriers themselves by upgrading or seeking career counselling, for example (Weiss, Sauer, & Gotlibovski, 2003). Consequently, additional research is needed to tease out the factors influencing immigrant workers' adjustment to the Canadian workforce in order to reverse the trend of underemployment (Somerville & Walsworth, 2010).

Rationale for the Study

The rationale for the current study was to address the need for further investigation into the adjustment experiences of immigrant workers in Canada. Specifically, the employment disparity between Canadian-born individuals and foreign-born individuals living in Canada has reached a critical point (Picot & Sweetman, 2012). That is, immigrants in Canada are twice as likely to be unemployed or underemployed (Reitz, 2011; Young, 2007), which has implications regarding the physical and mental health of these individuals, as well as strain upon the Canadian economy (Gangl, 2006; Zamfir, 2012). There is a need then to move past examining the various barriers that exist and to explore how organizations, namely employers, are acting to help immigrant workers overcome these barriers for more successful outcomes (Drolet et al., 2014).

In this regard, research has implicated job satisfaction as crucial to retaining skilled immigrants (Glazer & De La Rosa, 2008) and maintaining Canada's reputation as a top destination country. To date, multicultural and vocational research has studied the effects of discrimination on life satisfaction (Hahn & Wilkins, 2013), but few studies have looked at the effects of immigrants' perceptions of workplace attitudes toward them on job satisfaction (Dumas, Phillips, & Rothbard, 2013). This research is important to demonstrate the need for

employer policies to reflect the changing Canadian demographic and facilitate greater job satisfaction in newcomers to Canada.

Previous research in the multicultural and vocational psychology field has suggested that immigrants face barriers in gaining meaningful employment in Canada (Danso, 2009; Somerville & Walsworth, 2010), even as Canada is recognized as a top destination country for skilled immigrants (Bauder, 2005). Studies have identified individual factors that enable immigrant workers to overcome these barriers (Baltodano et al., 2007; Yakushko, Backhaus, Watson, Ngaruiya, & Gonzalez, 2008). These factors include being able to successfully navigate the social norms of the heritage culture and Canadian culture, also known as bicultural competence, as well as being capable in English language usage, and having a strong network of social support in Canada (Wei et al., 2010). What is less known is how immigrant workers' perceptions of others' attitudes at the workplace affect the job satisfaction of immigrant workers (Amit, 2010). This is important given the research that shows that Canadian-born ethnically diverse individuals' perceptions of workplace attitudes do impact their job satisfaction (Chowhan, Isik, & Gordon, 2012; Umamaheswar & Magee, 2011). There is a gap in the literature regarding how this phenomenon extends to the immigrant population.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was firstly to explore the relationship between immigrants' workplace attitudes and job satisfaction. This exploration allows for an understanding of how the organizational environment contributes to the immigrant workers' well-being in Canada. Secondly, this study sought to determine the predictive value of workplace attitudes on immigrant job satisfaction. This exploration provides clarity around the relative contributions of

this relationship and can lead to ideas around ways to improve immigrant workplace well-being, which will help retain skilled newcomers and facilitate a more productive workforce.

Significance of Study

The significance of this study is that it implicates employers as having a critical role in helping immigrant workers integrate into the Canadian workforce. That is, by showcasing the predictive nature of workplace attitudes, this study provides evidence to suggest that employers have the ability to help determine an immigrant worker's job satisfaction. This investigation is important as job satisfaction is related to worker retention, productivity, and quality of work (Umamaheswar, & Magee, 2011). Furthermore, for immigrant workers, job satisfaction is also associated with life satisfaction and adjustment to life in a new country (Yap, Holmes, Hannan, & Cukier, 2014; Vohra & Adair, 2000; Wang & Pierre, 2005).

If the current trend of immigrant workers struggling to integrate into the Canadian workforce continues, Canada will eventually gain notoriety as a land of misrepresentation, rather than opportunity (Przygoda, 2010). This trend would affect Canada's success in recruiting skilled immigrant workers, who may choose a different destination country instead (Grant, 2007; Nguyen, 2008). With the competing global labour market for skilled workers, it is critical to consider the influences on employment integration of immigrants (Arthur, 2014). This consideration is important given the government of Canada's intention to maintain its reliance on the recruitment of skilled immigrant workers to off-set an aging population as part of its economic strategy (Denton & Spencer, 2009).

Personal Connection to Study

Examining the relationship between immigrant workers' job satisfaction and workplace attitudes is a personal topic to me for a couple of reasons. First, my parents immigrated to

Canada and, while growing up, I was aware of the struggles my father faced in having his foreign-earned education recognized. Eventually, my father did find an organization where his skill-set was valued and I was intrigued by how this affected my father's sense of inclusion in Canadian society.

Second, I moved to Japan to teach for a few years and my time there was greatly impacted by the workplace environment. That is, I felt my Japanese employers and colleagues went out of their way to help me integrate into the school community. Moreover, I perceived that my skills and education were being valued and I was able to contribute meaningfully in my position. For these reasons, I am personally interested in the role that the workplace environment has in helping immigrant workers integrate successfully. My intent in carrying out this research was to create discussion around the role of Canadian employers in helping immigrant workers integrate into the Canadian workforce.

Definition of Terms

Having reviewed the rationale and significance of the current study, this section will outline pertinent terms used throughout. As an organizing framework, the definitions are provided in order to avoid ambiguity of meaning and to provide clarity and transparency for all readers. Specifically, working definitions will be given for (a) immigrant worker, (b) job satisfaction, (c) workplace attitudes, (d) acculturation, (e) bicultural competence, and (f) social support.

Immigrant worker. Newcomers to Canada gain entry in a variety of ways and so it can be hard to identify who constitutes an immigrant worker (Dryburgh, 2005). For the purposes of this study, an immigrant worker is an individual who has applied for entry into Canada through the point-system used by immigration services (Alboim, 2009). These are individuals who are

evaluated as having an education, skill set, and/or work experience that is considered in demand by Canadian employers (Somerville & Walsworth, 2010). To differentiate, these are not individuals who have been admitted through refugee status, the family reunification program, or the foreign worker program.

Job satisfaction. Within the literature, job satisfaction is generally considered to be an emotional-affective response to a particular position (Faragher, Cass, & Cooper, 2005; Loher, Noe, Moeller, & Fitzgerald, 1985). Specifically, job satisfaction characterizes the cognitive process the individual undergoes in evaluating their current position (Saane, Sluiter, Verbeek, & Frings-Dresen, 2003); that is, how well the current position and its incentives match the needs and wants of the individual (Eggerth & Flynn, 2012). It is important to not confound job satisfaction with career satisfaction, which refers to the individual's career path, or culmination of positions currently and previously held (Haar & Brougham, 2013). Job satisfaction refers solely to the current position held by the individual.

Workplace attitudes. Workplace attitudes include the individual's perceived acceptance or discrimination from coworkers or supervisors/hiring officials (Ng & Feldman, 2010). This also includes the individual's perceived advancement opportunities for her/himself or others of his/her ethnic group within the company (Ng & Sorensen, 2008).

Acculturation. Degree of acculturation is a term that refers to ethnic group comparisons (Berry, 1997; Navarrete & Jenkins, 2011). For immigrants who have recently moved to Canada, they are likely to make comparisons to their own ethnic group; whereas, the longer they remain in Canada and the more interaction they have with Canadians from the dominant group, then the more likely the comparison group will shift (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). That is,

over time, immigrants start to make comparisons with the mainstream culture and, in doing so, start to adopt the values and beliefs of the mainstream culture as well (Wei et al., 2010).

Bicultural competence. Related to acculturation, bicultural competence occurs when individuals from non-dominant groups start to develop the ability to successfully negotiate the cultural values and beliefs of their own culture and that of the mainstream one (Phinney, 1989). Perceived competence in adhering, satisfying, or balancing these different, and at times conflicting, values is shown to be one of the most adaptive levels of acculturation (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012).

Social support. Social support pertains to the network of family, friends, and community resources that individuals perceive as being accessible to them (Tonsing, Zimet, & Tse, 2012). Accessibility to social support is important to mediate negative experiences and contribute positively to well-being (Stewart et al., 2004).

Theoretical Framework

After reviewing key terms, this section will present the theoretical framework used to construct the current study. Specifically, this study was conceptualized using Dawis, England, and Lofquist (1964)'s theory of work adjustment. The theory of work adjustment is based on person-environment correspondence theory (Melchiori & Church, 1997; Bizot, 1993). That is, an individual's career choice consists of two related interactions. The first refers to the match between the individual's skill set and the employer's desired skill set (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984). The second refers to the match between the individual's personal needs and the employer's offered incentives (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984). It is the degree to which both sets of interactions are satisfied that determines how long the individual will remain with the employer and how long the employer will allow the individual to continue in that position (Lyon, & O'Brien, 2006).

Research into the theory of work adjustment has provided empirical evidence for its use (Leung, 2008) and has been used to construct several career assessments. The theory of work adjustment was selected as the theoretical framework for this research as it emphasizes the interaction between the individual and the environment in which they exist. This theory is important for framing this study as the focus is on the relationship between immigrant workers' workplace attitudes and their job satisfaction. The theory of work adjustment is a positivist theory and thus lends itself to a quantitative research approach, which asserts that there is one objective reality (Pelham, 2013). Although the current study employed a quantitative approach in conjunction with the theory of work adjustment, it should be noted that, increasingly, post-modern theories and qualitative approaches are being used to investigate the unique experiences of participants (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Post-modern theories assert that there is no one objective reality and that knowledge is socially constructed (Gergen, 1985). The theoretical framework and research approach chosen depend upon the particular research questions of a study (Lichtman, 2012). The positivist and post-modern frameworks are not mutually exclusive and the researcher may select a positivist research approach while having a post-modern worldview, or vice versa (Harper & Thompson, 2012).

Research Approach

Given that the current study seeks to examine the factors that predict the job satisfaction of immigrant workers, a quantitative approach was used. Specifically, this research sought to identify if previously identified factors including bicultural competence, English language acculturation, and social support were relevant to the Canadian population (Glazer & De La Rosa, 2008; Okafor et al., 2013; Valdivia & Flores, 2012). Moreover, this study investigated the unique contribution of immigrant workers' perceptions of workplace attitudes in determining

their reports of job satisfaction (Ng & Sorensen, 2008). Developing and verifying a predictive model of job satisfaction is useful as it provides a direction for how best to ameliorate immigrant workers' job satisfaction (Pelham, 2013).

To gain this understanding, the principal analysis used was a hierarchical regression. A hierarchical regression is a statistical approach used for determining a model based on specific factors (Stevens, 2007). The factors that are entered, and the order in which they are presented, are determined by the researcher based on evidence from previous literature (Stevens, 2007). This analysis was chosen because it allowed for social support, bicultural competence, and English language acculturation to be entered into the model first before investigating the unique contribution of workplace attitudes.

Summary

Chapter One provided an overview of the context, rationale, purpose, significance, theoretical framework, and approach to this study in order to orient the reader. Specifically, this study sought to address the relationship between immigrant workers' job satisfaction and their perceptions of workplace attitudes toward them. The quantitative design allowed for a model to be constructed of the factors that appropriately predict immigrant worker job satisfaction (Pelham, 2013). This research provided evidence of the role Canadian employers can play in helping immigrant workers integrate into the Canadian workforce. This evidence is critical given the current trend of unemployment in the immigrant population and the Canadian government's economic plan, which consists of recruiting skilled immigrant workers to off-set an aging domestic population (Drolet et al., 2014).

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter One provided an overview of the rationale and significance of the current study as well as the social context in which it existed. In order to further understand the importance of immigrant workers' perceptions of workplace attitudes, it is essential to provide the context in which these perspectives exist. As such, Chapter Two will provide a literature review consisting of an overview of classic and current thought in career development before discussing relevant concerns for career development in immigrant workers. The review will then showcase the relevance of job satisfaction for immigrant workers' experiences in Canada, before outlining literature on workplace attitudes and their potential relationship with job satisfaction. Finally, the discussion will turn to contextual influences on immigrant job satisfaction, including acculturation and ethnic identity development as well as social support.

Overview of the Career Development Experience

In understanding the workplace adjustment of immigrant workers, it is crucial to first acknowledge the contemporary career development theories used in Western, English-speaking culture. This understanding helps to appreciate the decisions made by individuals and policy-makers, as well as the opinions of the society in which both exist (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). Career development is a broad and diverse field, which is in part a reflection of the mixed messages portrayed through societal and cultural influences about how best to approach one's personal and professional life, which are inescapably linked (Erik, Paul, & Fred, 2008). Vocational theories have traditionally focused on trait-and-factor matching between the individual and specific positions (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). Others have emphasized that career choice is a developmental process and thus changes and shifts throughout the individual's life span (Brown, 2002). When defining career development, it is critical to understand that such

definitions are culturally bound (Savickas, 2013), and many theories have been criticized for their foundations in individualistic Western/Eurocentric ideologies (Leung, 2008).

Contemporary researchers emphasize that the days of matching interests with related careers as the primary career development process are no longer useful to people over the life-course (Savickas, 2012). Specifically, there are changes in the world of work that need to be taken into account. For example, workers cannot depend on their employers to keep them for the majority of their working life. The global economic instability has shaped a setting where workers need to continuously upgrade their skill sets and advance both within and across companies (Bimrose & Hearne, 2012). It is argued that rather than matching skills, the only way to ensure secure employment is to make oneself adaptable to the rapidly-changing job market and create skill sets that are transferable between positions (Brown, Bimrose, Barnes, & Hughes, 2012; Savickas, 2011). Addressing this change in the workforce is particularly important for immigrant workers who have been welcomed into Canada based on specific skill sets but who must then prove the transferability of these experiences to the Canadian workforce (Grant, 2007). Given the changes faced by today's workers, it is important to highlight the prominent theories used within the vocational field.

Career Development Theories

In this section, the dominant theories in career development will be discussed. Specifically, this discussion will highlight key factors related to immigrant workers' experience including the strengths and limitations to various theories. This will be followed with an outline of the key barriers that immigrant workers face in securing meaningful employment in Canada.

Theorists point to childhood as the dawn of vocational development with self-engagement through aroused curiosities, exploration of fantasies, identification of interests, and

cultivation of skills (McMahon & Watson, 2008; Watson & McMahon, 2008). Human beings have an evolutionary drive to adapt in order to survive, a component essential to career success.

Adaptation is exhibited in the way children learn to compromise their wants and needs (Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracek, 2008). Some researchers state that while children engage in fantasy exploration of future career options, they are generally ignorant of the intricacies of work in the real world (Porfeli et al., 2008). However, other research shows that this is untrue and that children actually are career orientated and have a coherent understanding of career development (Watson & McMahon, 2008). From early elementary school, children shift from a fantasy occupational perspective and gradually form perspectives based in reality; furthermore, as children age, they name prestige as a career goal (Hartung et al., 2005). This seems to also be a societal based expectation given the frequency with which children are asked, "what do you want to be when you grow up?"

Career aspirations and preference for academic subjects tend to remain stable across the school years, suggesting that children are beginning to form the interests, values, and goals for future careers (Watson & McMahon, 2005). That is, an individual's interests and values do not become stable until around 15 years old, at which point they become differentiated and specific (Hartung et al., 2008). Porfeli et al. (2008) outlined the general stages of children's vocational development. In mid-childhood, children begin to develop an emerging sense of societal norms. In late childhood, children continue to learn more about work as well as develop a sense of self and abilities. Finally, in adolescence, individuals continue to develop a sense of self in work, which involves self-control.

In general, immigrant workers will have followed the typical career development steps in their home country before relocating to Canada (Chen, 2008). This relocation is disruptive to the

career developmental process and adds an element to it that is generally not experienced by individuals who live in one area consistently (Chen, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to extend the conceptualization of immigrant workers' career development beyond the generally expected experiences to capture the immigration process (Berry, 2006; Chen, 2006). As such, it is critical to review the major vocational theories, their strengths and weaknesses, before the discussion can attempt to conceptualize the career development experience of immigrant workers.

When it comes to the specific field of vocational psychology and conceptualizing career decisions of individuals, there are many theories. Patton and McMahon (2014) indicated that these theories can be categorized by (a) content; (b) process; (c) content and process; and (d) constructivist and social constructionist themes. Content theories are those that focus on the intrinsic qualities of the individual and the context in which they exist (Brown, 2002). Process theories look at the development of the individual and the changes which occur over time (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). Accordingly, theories that emphasize content and process are concerned with the intrinsic qualities of the individual and the way these changes unfold over time (Brown, 2002; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). Finally, constructivist and social constructionist theories view career development as a holistic understanding of career decisions through interactions with the individual's environment (Patton & McMahon, 2014).

It is important to note that content, process, and content and process based theories tend to have a common bias toward self-actualization; that is, the tendency to realize one's potential (Lent, 2001). Postmodern theories, in comparison, tend to emphasize the experience and perspective of the individual (Gergen, 1985). In order to gain a greater understanding of the current direction of the vocational psychology field, these categories will be explored and the major theories within each will be discussed.

Content Based Career Theories

The first category of career theories to be addressed will be theories that focus on the intrinsic qualities of the individual, referred to as content based theories. Content based theories are some of the most prominent theories within Western cultures, partially because they were some of the first career theories postulated (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Specifically, content based career theories view career development as the prediction of career choices based on individual differences such as attitudes, interests, values, achievements, and personality characteristics (Porfeli, Lee, & Vondracek, 2013). Many of the content based theories are influenced by Frank Parsons' work, which is now called trait-and-factor theory (Leung, 2008). Parsons is often considered the pioneer of vocational psychology and his work focused on assisting adolescents to move from school to work (Swanson & Fouad, 2010).

Parsons' works emphasized that individuals must be aware of the conditions for success within various lines of work, self-aware of their own qualities, and understand the relationship between the two (Parsons, 1909). That is, the importance is on matching the individual's qualities with the work ones and this perspective is sometimes viewed as limited to an important career choice (Brown, 2002; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). Some of the most prominent theories that came from Parson's work include Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities, Psychodynamic Theory Approach to Career Development, Values-Based Theory, the Five Factor Theory, and the Work Adjustment Theory (Patton & McMahon, 2014). In order to highlight the influence of Parson's work, Holland's Vocational Personalities Theory and Work Adjustment Theory, which is an evolution of Parson's work and advocates for a person-environment fit, will be highlighted in depth.

Theory of Vocational Personalities. One of the most established and influential of the

trait-and-factor theories is Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities in the Work Environment (Leung, 2008). Holland claims that career interests can be made into systematic classifications called typologies which reflect the individual's personality (Holland, 1997). Holland also postulated parallel typologies of work environments based on the assumption that the dominant personalities of individuals working in a particular profession shape it (Holland, 1996). When individuals' career interest type and the work environment type match, then there is congruence, with high congruence signifying satisfaction and low congruence meaning dissatisfaction with their employment (Holland, Fritzsche, & Powell, 1997; Holland, Johnston, & Asama, 1993).

Holland identified six types of career interests including (a) realistic, (b) investigative, (c) artistic, (d) social, (e) enterprising, and (f) conventional (Spokane, Luchetta, & Richwine, 2002). According to Nauta (2009), a realistic type is someone who is a "doer" such as a carpenter or an electrician. An investigative type is a "thinker" such as a medical researcher or a professor. An artistic type is an individual that is a "creator" who could be an architect or a web-designer. A social type is a "helper" with careers such as an educator or a nurse. An enterprising type is a "persuader" with a job such as a real estate agent or an office manager. Finally, a conventional type is an "organizer" such as an accountant or a pharmacist.

The individual is given a three-letter acronym that is based on their primary and secondary types (Toomey, Levinson, & Palmer, 2009). These typologies are arranged in a hexagon and neighbouring types share more similar characteristics while types that are opposite of each other are highly dissimilar (Spokeane & Cruza-Guet, 2005). By examining these similar and dissimilar types, the individual is able to differentiate the specific interests that are important to them as well as the particular work environments that complement their interests (Toomey et

al., 2009).

In terms of evaluating the applicability and appropriateness of Holland's theory, what is noteworthy is that the theory has received extensive research and has been an influential theory in career counselling and assessment for the past one hundred years (Helwig, 2003; Spokane, Meir, & Catalano, 2000; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). As well, there appears to be cross-cultural relevance for Holland's theory in its applicability with individuals with non-Western backgrounds (Leung, 2008). At the same time, some studies question the clustering of jobs into certain types (Nauta, 2009) and advocate that positions nowadays are constantly in flux. Additionally, there is some concern around the clustering of occupations by gender as limiting or misleading occupational information, especially for women (Case & Blackwell, 2008). Some researchers also indicated that 'congruence' is an ambiguous term, which can make Holland's theory difficult to fully evaluate (Spokane et al., 2002).

Theory of Work Adjustment. Another trait-and-factor theory is the Theory of Work Adjustment (TWA) developed by Dawis, England, and Lofquist in 1964. TWA, more so than Holland's theory, emphasizes the reciprocal relationship in person-environment correspondence (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Melchiori & Church, 1997). That is, career choice is viewed as the individual's continual adjustment of personal needs, which is for an environment congruent with their psychological and physical needs. Needs include creativity or expression of talents and monetary gain (Dawis, 2002). As well, the individual is aware of and responsive to the needs of the employer, ensuring that their capabilities or skills are needed by the employer (Dawis, 2005). It is the degree to which both parties are satisfied that determines how long the individual will remain with the employer (Bizot, 1993).

Dawis (2005) outlined four styles of adjustment including (a) flexibility, (b) activeness,

(c) reactiveness, and (d) perseverance. According to TWA (Dawis, 2002), flexibility is the degree to which individuals are able to tolerate a mismatch between their needs and what they are receiving from the employer. Activeness is the individual's tendency to seek changes from the employer to reduce the mismatch between what individuals need and what they are receiving. Reactiveness is similar to activeness; however, individuals attempt to change their needs to match what they are getting from the employer. Finally, perseverance is the degree to which individuals are resolved to making an adjustment before deciding to leave the employer and seek greater congruence between their needs and what the employer can offer.

Throughout the years, TWA has received extensive research and, thus, has evidence for its place as one of the leading vocational counselling theories (Bizot, 1993; Leung, 2008; Melchiori & Church, 1997). As well, TWA seems to have some cross-cultural relevance (Lyons, Brenner, & Fassinger, 2005; Lyons & O'Brien, 2006. That said, Bizot (1993) and Swanson and Fouad (2010) outline the limitations, similar to Holland's theory, of operationalizing 'congruency' as well as the need to consider non-work environmental factors. That is, while job satisfaction and satisfactoriness may have evidence for their relevance in career decisions, both for the individual and the employer, it fails to incorporate contextual influence, such as parental or cultural influence.

Process Based Career Theories

The second category of theories to be discussed is process based theories. These theories consider development to be continuous and unfolding over time with maturity and experience (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). Specifically, process based theories usually consist of stages through which individuals pass in their career decision-making (Brown, 2002). This shift from matching individuals with positions came during the 1950's, which saw the rise of developmental theories

and likely influenced perspectives within career development (Patton & McMahon, 2014).

The major shift was considering career choice as a dynamic process rather than a static event (Leung, 2008). These theories are also known as lifespan approaches because they conceptualize career decisions as the result of reshaping of the career over time (Brown, 2002; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). One the first approaches was Ginzberg's Developmental Theory, which was a derivative of trait-and-factor theories (Ginzberg, 1972). Ginzberg, Ginzberg, Axelrad, and Herma (1951) emphasized that career choice is a developmental process which progresses from early childhood through early adulthood. Important process-based career development theories include Super's Life Span Life Space Theory, and Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise (Patton & McMahon, 2014). For the purposes of this discussion, Super and Gottfredson's theories will be further highlighted in order to provide insight into prototypical process based theories.

Life Span Life Space Theory. A well-established vocational theory, Super's Life Span Life Space Theory explains that in choosing a career, individuals make manifest their self-concept (Super, 1953). That is, individuals are acting in ways that are congruent with their view of self (Super, 1980). A person's self-concept is the result of the intricate interactions between the person's physical and mental development, experiences with success and failure, the environment, and the level of stimulation perceived (Smart & Peterson, 1997; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). According to Leung (2008), a relatively stable self-concept emerges during adolescence; however, through the life-span, the self-concept continues to evolve, acting as a guide for the individual through life.

Super proposed five stages of the self-concept throughout life including (a) growth, (b) exploration, (c) establishment, (d) maintenance or management, and (e) disengagement

(Savickas, 2002). According to Smart and Peterson (1997), growth is the start of forming an occupational self-concept and occurs between ages four and 13. Exploration is characterized by a period of trying to fit the view of self into a societal role and happens from 14 to 24. Establishment is when individuals implement their self-concept into an occupational role and attempt to establish themselves, from ages 25 to 44. Maintenance is when individuals consider whether this profession is something they wish to continue with or to make a change and occurs from age 45 to 65. Finally, disengagement is when the individual leaves the workforce and retires. When an individual is able to complete the associated vocational development tasks for these stages, the person is said to have achieved career maturity, or as it has recently become know, career adaptability (Betz, 1994; Savickas, 2002).

A positive aspect of Super's theory has been that it is well researched (Leung, 2008; Salomone, 1996) and has served as the foundational work or influence for newer theories, such as Savickas' (2012) work and the Developmental Contextual Approach (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Further, research has suggested that there is cross-cultural relevance for the idea of self-concept, or identity, because it is shaped by the ideas and values of the individual (Stead & Watson, 1998).

That said, there is concern that Super's theory focuses heavily on the individual and the development of the self (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). This focus on the self may come at the exclusion of outside influences, such as unexpected events that interrupt or disrupt typical development (Blustein, Schultheiss, & Flum, 2004). Furthermore, some have critiqued Super's theory for its set ages within the developmental model (Schultheiss, Palma, & Manzi, 2005). Specifically, it is argued that developmental tasks are ongoing and are not neatly locked into prescribed times.

Theory of Circumscription and Compromise. Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise is based on the assumption that career choice is a process requiring the individual to have a high level of cognitive functioning (Betz, 2008). The ability to synthesize and organize career information into choosing from alternative career choices is a development of age or maturity as well as general intelligence (Cochran, Wang, Stevenson, Johnson, & Crews, 2011). Gottfredson stressed the interaction between genetics and environment (Gottfredson, 2002; Gottfredson, & Lapan, 1997). That is, genetics contribute the basic features, including skills, interests, and values, while the environment moderates the expression of these features (Gottfredson, 2005a). At the same time, Gottfredson claims that genetics and environment do not remove all responsibility from individuals as they are still an active agent in the process (Gottfredson, 2005b).

Gottfredson (2002; 2005a; 2005b) postulated that the career development process is achieved through the elimination of alternatives. This is done through circumscription, the process of narrowing possible alternatives by progressive elimination, and compromise, the process of renegotiating needs or wants (Cochran et al., 2011). There are four stages of circumscription in vocational development including (a) the orientation to size and power, (b) the orientation to sex-roles, (c) the orientation to social valuation, and (d) the orientation to the internal and unique self (Leung, 2008).

From the ages of three to five, children begin to perceive the roles of adults in their life as well as the respective powers associated with these different roles (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). From six to eight, children notice the sex-roles and sex-norms associated with the roles of adults in their lives and start to formulate a sense of which career alternatives are accessible to men and women (Gottfredson, 2002). From ages nine to 13, children begin to discern the relative social

class of various careers and eliminate positions that are perceived as being below or above their station in society (Gottfredson, 2005a). Finally, from age 14 onwards, individuals develop a sense of an internal and private set of rules, which includes their interests (Gottfredson, 2005b). It is through these levels of circumscription that people generate the list of alternative career options available to them and from which they must choose (Cochran et al., 2011). When choosing, the individual may have to compromise and in such a case, the compromise is likely to come from personal preferences rather than the perceived norms, such as sex-roles, prestige, etc. (Blanchard & Lichtenberg, 2003).

Gottfredson's theory has been useful in providing a framework from which to understand why individuals may forsake personal preferences over environmental pressures, such as pleasing the wishes of parents (Blanchard & Lichtenberg, 2003). As well, the theory seems to have some cross-cultural relevance (Leung, 1993). As it is a relatively new theory compared to Super or Holland, Gottfredson's theory is still limited in empirical research (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Gottfredson's theory has proven difficult to empirically evaluate given that concepts such as 'prestige' are hard to operationalize and differ depending upon the cultural context (Cochran et al., 2011; Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracek, 2005).

Content and Process Based Career Theories

The third category of theory within career development is theories which are based on both content and process. That is, there is a convergence of viewpoints from theories that seek to match qualities about the individual with positions and those that consider career development to be a series of choices across the lifespan (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). After the influence of content and process theories, theorists began to share and advance their ideas taking into account both intrinsic qualities, situational realities, and the interactions between the two (Patton &

McMahon, 2014).

What sets these theories apart from their predecessors is that they take into consideration the complexities of society, the many different factors that influence career decision, and how these change over time (Brown, 2002). Influential theories that are considered to be both content and process based include Social Learning Career Theory, Happenstance Learning Theory, Social Cognitive Career Theory, Cognitive Information Processing Approach, Developmental Contextual Approach, and Personality Development and Career Choice (Brown, 2002; Patton & McMahon, 2014). For the purposes of this discussion, Social Cognitive Career Theory and Happenstance Learning Theory will be further highlighted in order to bring understanding to these types of approaches to career development.

Social Cognitive Career Theory. Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) is based on Albert Bandura's self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1977; Leung, 2008). It states that career choice is influenced by the relationships between people and their environment (Bandura, 1997; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). In SCCT, there are three interwoven development models including (a) the development of academic and vocational interests, (b) how academic and occupational choices are made, and (c) the stability of academic and career performance (Lent, Brown, & Hacklett, 2002; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). These models further revolve around three core variables including (a) the self-efficacy of the individual, (b) the outcome expectations the individual holds, and (c) the personal goals of the individual (Lent et al., 1994; Leung, 2008).

Self-efficacy is the comprehensive set of beliefs that are associated with specific performance experiences and activities around an individual's perception of confidence in performing specific tasks (Brown & Lent, 1996; Thompson & Dahling, 2012). Outcome expectations are the individual's beliefs about the consequences associated with specific

behaviours or activities, and personal goals are the degree to which the individual intends to engage in specific activities or to incur a particular outcome (Anderson & Betz, 2001; Bandura, Barbaranelli, Vittorio Cparara, & Pastorelli, 2001).

SCCT theorists also emphasize there are three approaches that individuals may take, depending on the situation, in developing job alternatives (Lent, 2005; Lent et al., 1994; Swanson & Fouad, 2010): (a) the interest model, which involves specifying interests through efficacious activities with positive outcomes; (b) the choice model, which clarifies interests that are viable through performance feedback; and (c) the performance model, which uses feedback to inform individuals about their self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and future performance goals.

One strength of SCCT is that it is grounded in Bandura's self-efficacy theory, which has been highly researched and supported within the literature (Betz & Schifano, 2000; Donnay & Borgen, 1999; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000). Relatedly, the research has shown support for this theory cross-culturally (Kenny, Blustein, Chaves, Grossman, & Gallagher, 2003; Tang, Fouad, & Smith, 1999). That said, previous research points to a lack of studies with children and whether this theory is generalizable to a wide range of age groups (Thompson & Dahling, 2012). Furthermore, it has been argued that SCCT merely appears to incorporate cultural factors into its conceptualization of individuals' career decisions but actually has a Western, self-actualizing bias (Swanson & Fouad, 2010).

Happenstance Learning Theory. Happenstance Learning Theory (HLT) could be seen as an evolution of the Social Cognitive Career Theory, as it contains some of its components but also emphasizes the role of chance in the individual's career development (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Specifically, HLT advocates that instead of trying to match individuals with particular

positions, it is more useful to approach career development as a constant learning process or teachable moment (Krumboltz, Foley, & Cotter, 2013). In this framework, chance is viewed as both inevitable and normal to every individual's experience (Mitchell, Levin, & Krumboltz, 1999).

Furthermore, career development is conceptualized as a series of lifelong decisions rather than a singular one. HLT posits that human behavior is the product of innumerable learning experiences, made available by both planned and unplanned situations, in which individuals find themselves (Krumboltz, 2011). The learning outcomes include skills, interests, knowledge, beliefs, preferences, sensitivities, emotions, and future actions. The aim of HLT then is to increase the resiliency and adaptability of the individual (Krumboltz, 2009).

The goal of a planned happenstance intervention is to assist individuals to generate, recognize, and incorporate chance events into their career development (Krumboltz et al., 2013). In this line of thinking, there are four main pillars upon which HLT exists (Krumboltz, 2011). First, the goal of career development is to encourage individuals to learn how to take actions that result in achievements which are more satisfying to their career and personal lives. Second, there is an emphasis on cultivating stimulation to continue learning. Third, individuals are viewed as needing to learn through engagement or through exploratory actions, which helps to generate benefit from unplanned events. Finally, successful career development is conceptualized as the accomplishments of the individual.

Another important concept within HLT is openmindedness and is meant to displace indecision in planned happenstance theory (Krumboltz, 1999; Krumboltz, 2009). That is, individuals must learn to tolerate ambiguity and to develop an exploratory attitude. Openmindedness is used to help individuals develop certain skills to benefit from unexpected

events. Those skills include (Krumboltz, 2011), (a) curiosity, exploring new learning opportunities; (b) persistence, exerting effort despite setbacks; (c) flexibility, changing attitudes and circumstances; (d) optimism, viewing new opportunities as possible and attainable; and (e) risk taking, taking action in the face of uncertain outcomes.

While not extensive, there is some research to support HLT (Bright, Pryor, & Harpham, 2005; Bright, Pryor, Wilkenfeld, & Earl, 2005) and there appears to be some cross-cultural relevance for the theory as well (Chien, Fischer, & Biller, 2006). The theory's strength is that it was developed as a practical approach with immediate translation into the counselling setting. That is, other theories may be used to help identify potential areas of interest to the individual while HLT can be used to prepare the individual to embark on the continuous journey that occurs after making this initial career decision (Magnuson, Wilcoxon, & Norem, 2003). However, given that HLT is a relatively young theory, additional research is needed to further substantiate these claims.

Constructivist and Social Constructionist Career Theories

The final category of career theories to be discussed is theories considered to be within the realm of constructivism and social constructionism. Constructivism advocates that human beings create meaning for things in their world through their interactions with their environment (Cobern, 1993). It is argued that there are no objective realities but rather only subjective understandings of the world with no one 'right' or 'true' reality (Corey, 2012). Social constructionism is related to constructivism but instead emphasizes that information and meaning is generated through the interactions of groups of people with each other (Gergen, 1985). That is, meaning is made through shared understanding and agreement around what something is (Corey, 2012).

For career theories, this is a shift onto the context in which the individual exists and how this determines what might be important to consider in career decision making or what constitutes career development (Savickas, 2011). These theories tend to consider the culture in which the individual exists as a primary influence in career decision making (Corey, 2012). The most influential theories, although relatively new in the vocational psychology field, include Systems Theory Framework, Career Construction Theory (also known as Life Design Theory), Chaos Theory, Ecological Approach, Relational/Cultural Approach, and Contextual Action Theory (Patton & McMahon, 2014). For the purposes of this discussion, Systems Theory and Life Design Theory will be highlighted to showcase exemplary theories within this category.

Systems Theory Framework. The Systems Theory Framework (STF) arose during the constructivist movement and sought to address career development from a holistic perspective (Patton & McMahon, 2014). STF is influenced by many diverse fields including physics, biology, and anthropology (Patton & McMahon, 2006). Moreover, the living systems work of Ford (1987) provided influence to STF as an integrated framework of human development, which today is considered a meta-theory (McMahon, 2011). Career development from a STF perspective focuses on the meaning individuals give to their career decisions, based on their past and present actions, as well as future aspirations, and with consideration to the cultural, societal, familial context in which those decisions and actions take place (McMahon & Watson, 2007). This is in contrast to a positivist view, which asserts that there is one objective reality (Corey, 2012).

STF addresses both content and process influences and is concerned with their interactions, which shape career decisions (McMahon, 2011; McMahon, Patton, & Watson, 2004). Content influences are those intrapersonal and contextual variables, such as personality,

interests, values, etc. (Arthur & McMahon, 2005; McMahon, 2005). Process influences are recursive interactions that occur within individuals but also between individuals and their context (McMahon & Watson, 2008). Recursive interactions contribute to micro-process (career decision-making) and macro-process (change over time), and chance. Both content and process influences exist across time (i.e., past, present, future).

Patton and McMahon (2014) note that there are three interacting subsystems conceptualized in STF. At the centre is the individual system, which takes into consideration factors such as gender, age, abilities, personality, and sexual orientation. As the individual does not live in isolation, there is a peripheral system, the contextual system. The contextual system is comprised of two subsystems, (a) the social system, including other peoples' systems; and (b) the environmental/societal system, including the geographical location and socioeconomic status. Career development happens between the systems and subsystems. These interactions are accounted for by the process system, which includes time and chance.

There is less research into STF, which is evidence of its relatively new presence in the vocational psychology field (McMahon & Watson, 2009). That said, the research that does exist suggests that the holistic approach allows for the framework to be applicable and relevant across cultures (Kuit, 2005) and offers realistic guidelines for practice (McMahon, Watson, & Patton, 2005; Patton & McMahon, 2006; Ryan & Tomlin, 2010). A major criticism that is usually directed towards constructivist approaches is that there is a lack of practical guidance into how to implement the framework (McMahon & Watson, 2007).

For STF, there have been advances in terms of qualitative assessments to help guide the process, which include creating narratives of the individual's career development within a cultural/societal context, across time (Watson & McMahon, 2006). Still, future research is

needed to help further operationalize concepts such as recursiveness, which is a key component of STF (McMahon & Watson, 2007).

Life Design Theory. Recently, the vocational field has recognized that the world of work has made irrevocable changes (Bimrose & Hearne, 2012; Hamtiaux, Houssemand, & Vrignaud, 2013). Specifically, workers can no longer assume they will be able to stay with the same position or company for the majority of their career (Blustein, Kozan, & Connors-Kellgren, 2013). Instead, workers can expect to make ongoing career decisions (Savickas, 2002; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). Career development professionals are addressing necessary changes to traditional theories and with the rise in post-modern constructivist and social constructionist approaches, some have called for a shift from trait-and-factor theories to more contextual ones (Blocher, Heppner, & Johnston, 2001; McMahon & Watson, 2013).

Savickas' Life Design Theory focuses on how the self-concept is constructed through individuals' interactions with their environment (Savickas, 2011). Life Design Theory concentrates on the contextual possibilities, dynamic processes between these, the nonlinear progression of career development, the multiple perspectives individuals have, and the personal patterns through which people live (Savickas et al., 2009). In this line of thinking, there is no essential 'self' and, instead, identity is how individuals see themselves (Di Fabio, 2010).

Savickas (2012) outlines four key components to Life Design Theory. The first is construction, where individuals describe their past patterns and share the meaning they currently have about the choices they have made until this point. In the second component, deconstruction, individuals start to review and evaluate these dominate themes that they have just constructed. In the third component, reconstruction, individuals weave together micro-narratives from the construction and deconstruction phases and starts to create new meaning in the shape of identity.

Finally, in co-construction, the individual begins to expand this meaningful identity into the future, and this is the point during which the individual starts to think about the actions that will be needed to achieve this development. The aim of Life Design Theory is to enhance narratability, adaptability, and activity (Savickas et al., 2009). Narratability is individuals' ability to tell their stories and perform their identities, adaptability is the individual's capability to navigate different and unexpected situations, and activity is the degree to which individuals are performing their meaningful identity (Hughes, Gibbons, & Mynatt, 2013).

Life Design Theory is one of the most recent advances in the vocational field and, thus, there are currently few existing studies on its appropriateness (Patton & McMahon, 2014). At the same time, the theory has garnered international interest and what does exist seemed to suggest cross-cultural relevance (Di Fabio & Maree, 2012). As well, research into adaptability suggests that it has critical importance in the situation of current workers' career development (Hamtiaux et al., 2013). Future research is needed to help identify the evidence for Life Design Theory.

In summary, vocational theories have generally been categorized as being content-based, process-based, content and process-based, or postmodern (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Some of the most influential theories in the vocational field have been Holland's theory, Theory of Work Adjustment, Super's theory, Gottfredson's Theory, Social Cognitive Career Theory, Happenstance Theory, Systems Theory, and Life Design Theory (Brown, 2002; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). These theories continue to be used in the conceptualization of an individual's career development. Although each of these theories has their respective strengths and weaknesses, the primary concern for this discussion is which of theory is most applicable to the immigrant workers' situation in Canada. As such, the following section will look more closely at the immigrant workers' experiences in career development.

Considerations for Immigrant Workers' Career Development

Given the wide-ranging choice of career theories to use in conceptualizing the experience of immigrant workers in Canada, narrowing down to one option can pose some difficulty. For the purposes of this research, however, the emphasis is on not only the immigrant workers' career development, but also takes into consideration the perspective of the employer. For that reason a person-environment fit theory is best suited to conceptualize this relationship (Patton & McMahon, 2014; Sawnson & Fouad, 2010). More specifically, this research investigated the influences on job satisfaction of the immigrant worker in terms of intrinsic factors as well as the employer and social contextual factors. As such, this research was framed by the key assumptions from the Theory of Work Adjustment, which emphases the degree of congruence between what the individual is seeking from an employer and the skills the worker can offer to the employer (Dawis, 2005; Dawis et al., 1964; Dawis & Lofquist, 1984).

With the TWA framework in mind, this section will highlight the changes in the world of work that are shaping current career transitions of almost all workers. In order to outline the rationale for focusing on immigrant worker integration into the Canadian workforce, the specific barriers faced by immigrant workers will be highlighted. As well, the consequences of unemployment and underemployment to both the individual and the society will be discussed.

Pressing Changes in the World of Work

Adult workers are adjusting to a changing job market tied to the economic downturn (Bimrose & Hearne, 2012). That is, employment is no longer linear and hierarchical, but multifaceted; the unstable, cyclical, and transitional nature of the job market means individuals will have many jobs in their lifetime (Brown et al., 2012). Likewise, career counselling has shifted from attempting to match individual interests and skills with a particular profession to

empowering the individual to pursue their life path and deal with transitions (Savickas, 2012). The current bias in the literature is that individuals need to seek self-actualization (Leung, 2008). That is, the emphasis is on individuals and their increased responsibility to control their environment and, although the field is shifting toward creation of a life-design, it is not widely accepted (Bimrose & Hearne, 2012). Vocational counselling seeks to help prepare the individual to safe-guard against becoming disenfranchised with the volatile job market, or burnout from having to negotiate differing work conditions (Betz, 2008; Blocher et al., 2001).

Another aspect of the changing world of work is that technological advances have created numerous new types of jobs while simultaneously destroying others (Savickas, 2011). Vondracek (2001) suggests that many of the jobs taken by current youth when they are adults will be invented in the next few years and jobs popular today with working adults may not exist. This presents an interesting situation as it is impossible to prepare youth or retrain adults for jobs that do not yet exist (Lent, 2001; Zimmer-Gembeck, & Mortimer, 2006). Instead, Lent (2001) claims that the emphasis seems to be on creating universal and adaptable skills. Specifically, instead of increasing individuals' content knowledge base, adaptability requires increasing the individual's job market process knowledge base; knowing how the system works (Brown, Bimrose, Barnes, & Hughes, 2012). Bimrose and Hearne (2012) suggested that if workers do not update their skills within a five year period, they run the risk of becoming stuck in a particular position and then vulnerable to the market collapsing that position. That is, their ability to adapt to the job market decays.

Barriers to Immigrant Workers Career Development

For immigrant workers, the barriers go beyond the changing economic market and workforce. That is, immigrant workers in Canada face unique barriers to meaningful

employment, which systematically keep them unemployed or underemployed (Somerville & Walsworth, 2010; Wong, Duff, & Early, 2001). Researchers have stressed three key barriers (Chen, 2008; Zikic et al., 2010). The first is that immigrant workers tend to have a lack of knowledge about the Canadian labour market customs (Bauder, 2005; Chen, 2008). For example, the necessity of a cover letter and how best to represent themselves and their credentials on paper or in an interview. Often there are critical differences in the ways immigrant workers successfully obtained employment in their country of origin versus how best to approach this process in Canada (Van Ngo & Este, 2006).

A second key barrier is that immigrant workers generally lack the networking opportunities and connections in Canada to help find and secure appropriate employment opportunities (Chen, 2008; Reitz, 2011). That is, immigrant workers may be in a location where they have few or no family and friends to help them gain access to relevant jobs commensurate to their credentials (Koert, Borgen, & Amundson, 2011). The final key barrier is that the foreign experience, education, and skill level of immigrant workers are often overlooked or discredited by employers during the hiring process (Alboim, 2009; Chen, 2008). Immigrant workers are invited into Canada for these skills, yet employers tend to favour Canadian experience (Amundson, Westwood, & Prefontaine, 2007), which means that immigrant workers often must return to school in Canada to earn a Canadian education for the skills they already have.

Barriers to meaningful employment extend beyond the hiring process and into the workplace integration of immigrant workers (Chen, 2008). That is, should immigrant workers be able to overcome the odds and secure employment, often they are hired into positions that are well below their experience, education, and skill level (Chen, 2008; Zikic et al., 2010). Immigrant workers can also have negative supervisory experiences if the supervisor is unaware

of different work styles across cultures and/or assumes that immigrant workers are aware of Canadian workplace expectations (Friesend & Ingram, 2013; Koert et al., 2011). This confusion is compounded when employers fail to make these expectations explicit (Van Ngo & Este, 2006). Research has also suggested that immigrant workers are less likely than Canadian-born individuals to receive promotions within an organization, presenting a barrier to mobility and keeping immigrant workers in these positions of underemployment (Hahn & Wilkins, 2013; Regmi, Naidoo, & Regmi, 2009).

Some researchers have advocated that investigations into the barriers faced by immigrant workers overemphasized individual deficits and do little to address the systemic deficits that are outside of the individual's control (Shan & Guo, 2013; Wong & Guo, 2011). Guo (2013) noted that for immigrant workers from a non-dominant ethnic group, there is a triple glass effect with socio-political ramifications. Specifically, immigrant workers face three systemic obstacles in obtaining meaningful employment due to the glass gate, the glass door, and the glass ceiling. The glass gate is where immigrant workers trained in a specific area, and accredited in their home country, are denied or face obstacles in obtaining entry into professional membership in Canada. The glass door is where immigrant workers are obstructed from high-wage positions within their skill area and are instead regulated to low-wage positions constituting underemployment. Finally, the glass ceiling is where immigrant workers are withheld access to management positions within their skill area and thus have limited advancement opportunities.

These barriers are seemingly invisible to Canadian-born workers who believe that Canada operates in a democratic, egalitarian way where those who try hard can achieve their goals (Guo, 2008; Guo, 2009). Unfortunately, this belief does not reflect the realities of immigrant workers in Canada and serves only to shoulder them with undue responsibility in

ameliorating their employment situation (Guo, 2010b). The triple glass effect is a societal-based phenomena, largely outside immigrant workers' sphere of control and thus needs to be addressed at the policy level rather than the individual level (Guo, S. (2010a; Guo, 2013).

Consequences of Unemployment/Underemployment

Adults seek vocational counselling for a variety of reasons but perhaps one of the most pressing issues within the field is unemployment (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). Dean and Wilson (2010) listed numerous mental and physical health problems associated with unemployment including insomnia, chest pains, depression, and suicide. Moreover, individuals who have been unemployed long-term, which is a period greater than 12 months, have been found to be more likely than employed peers to report greater intensity and duration of sickness (Zamfir, 2012).

Beyond the health risks of unemployment, Arulampalam (2001) noted that the first year of unemployment is the harshest for individuals financially as well. Specifically, they incur a wage penalty of 6% in the first year and up to 18% for more than one year of unemployment, with this gap in wages remaining relatively stable. That means that even when individuals do return to the workforce, not only are they receiving lower wages than they would have had they remained employed, but their salaries rarely catch-up to where they could have been (Blustein et al., 2013; Dean & Wilson, 2010). Disturbingly, Gangl (2006) notes that one factor in this situation is that these unemployed workers may begin to develop self-perceptions of themselves as 'inferior workers' and this induces a self-fulfilling prophecy of lower income employment.

Although unemployment hits the individual hard, the consequences trickle down to society as well (Van Ngo & Este, 2006). That is, when individuals are unemployed, then they are not contributing to the economic stability of the region (Alboim, 2009). Furthermore, most unemployed individuals need to rely upon some degree of social benefit (Stebleton & Eggerth,

2012). This provides further strain upon social programs and the funds being contributed by those that are employed. It is within society's best interest then to help unemployed individuals integrate into the workforce (Sakamoto et al., 2008). The government of Canada has indicated that it will continue to rely on skilled immigrant workers to offset a declining domestic birthrate and remain globally competitive (Alboim, 2009). As such, having a large portion of newcomers to Canada unemployed or underemployed is counterproductive to this economic strategy. Structural barriers need to be addressed at the policy and organizational levels (Chen, 2008).

Integration of Immigrant Workers into the Canadian Workforce

The focus of the previous section of Chapter Two was placed on foundational career development theories, the barriers immigrant workers face when integrating, and the consequences of unemployment and underemployment. It is also important to look more closely at people's experiences related to working and views of the workplace. Specifically, this section will highlight the role of job satisfaction for immigrant workers and its importance for employers. Finally, this section will showcase the understanding within the literature of the relationship between workplace attitudes on immigrant worker job satisfaction.

Importance of Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is a key component of this study as it is the variable under investigation. It is important to first define job satisfaction. Specifically, job satisfaction is a cognitive and emotional-affective process an individual undergoes when evaluating his/her current employment position (Astrauskaite, Vaitkevicius, & Perminas, 2011; Locke, 1969; Saane et al, 2003). This evaluative process is not a singular event but rather a continuous one that occurs throughout the individual's career path (Davar & RanjuBala, 2012). Given that the adult population is expected to interact with the workplace at some point in their life, if not for the

most meaningful years of their life, it is no surprise that job satisfaction is one of the most investigated topics in vocational psychology (Faragher et al., 2005). A result of this extensive examination is that there are several existing definitions of job satisfaction. For the purposes of this study, job satisfaction is the relationship between the employee's needs and the incentives provided by the employer, which is in line with Dawis and Lofquist (1984)'s conceptualization according to the Theory of Work Adjustment.

From the vast abundance of research into job satisfaction there are several important findings. For workers, job satisfaction is important because it has implications for their health and well-being (Baruch-Feldman, Brondolo, Ben-Dayan, & Schwartz, 2002). Workers with high job satisfaction reported fewer health concerns and indicated greater life satisfaction than workers with low job satisfaction. Specifically, workers with higher job satisfaction were more likely to have reported lower levels of burn-out, anxiety, and depression, and higher self-esteem (Faragher et al., 2005). Job satisfaction is also important to employers as it is linked to several costly factors (Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007). That is, workers with higher job satisfaction were more productive, had greater quality and efficiency in their work, were more motivated, had better relationships with coworkers and supervisors, and had lower rates of absenteeism and turnover than employees with lower job satisfaction. These factors were related to saving employers money through decreased benefit pay-out and reduced hiring and training costs, as well as financial benefits from increased productivity (Ng & Sorensen, 2008).

Even though there seems to be evidence supporting the importance of worker's job satisfaction (Baruch-Feldman et al., 2002; Podsakoff et al., 2007), the research is more divided on how best to do this (Astrauskaite et al., 2011). The debate tends to focus on whether personal/employee characteristics or job/workplace characteristics are more important in

determining job satisfaction. Early research focused on the employee characteristics, with some researchers advocating for the enrichment of the work experience for the employee (Loher et al., 1985). Specifically, providing work that is more challenging to the employee, involving greater abilities, higher expectations, and a greater desire for self-responsibility. This encourages the worker to continuously grow and develop within the position. This is supported by the assumption that, ultimately, job satisfaction is a subjective evaluation and thus is dependent on the personality of the employee (Davar & RanjuBala, 2012).

Lately, however, the field has been considering the role of job/workplace characteristics on influencing the employee's subjective experience of job satisfaction (Echchakoui & Naji, 2013). The thought here is that employees spend the majority of their daytime hours at work and it is thus one their most impactful settings (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). These studies suggested that job satisfaction is best increased by management styles that ensure a balance in workload, employee autonomy, fewer automated tasks, flexible hours and work styles, and security for the employee (Magee, 2013; Uppal, 2005). That is, a management style that helps the employee to feel valued, included, and involved within the organization. Given the evidence for employee and workplace characteristics having influence on employee job satisfaction, there seems to be support for both of these aspects rather than one over the other (Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007).

The importance of job satisfaction is of critical concern for immigrant workers. That is, skilled immigrant workers have come to Canada with the intent to pursue new career advances (Umamaheswar & Magee, 2011; Valdivia & Flores, 2012). The life satisfaction of immigrant workers depends heavily on their success within the workforce (Wang & Pierre, 2005), as many use employment as the reference point for determining the success of their integration into

Canada (Yap et al., 2014). Moreover, immigrant workers, especially those that are more recent to Canada, are usually more dependent upon the incentives from their employer in order to start their new life, including supporting children or extended family (Stebleton & Eggerth, 2012). Rather than a fulfilling job that inspires personal growth, the immigrant worker's job satisfaction may be more highly linked to positions that provide for real world concerns, such as food and shelter (Eggerth & Flynn, 2012). For the purposes of this study then, the focus is on the extrinsic factors of job satisfaction (i.e., the incentives provided by the employer).

Influence of Workplace Attitudes

Given the importance of job satisfaction in the individual's life and the TWA framework of the current study, which focuses on the workplace environment and incentives of the employer, it is crucial to define workplace attitudes. Attitudes are a topic that has been intensively investigated within the literature (Ajzen, 2001; Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007). An attitude is considered to be the affective, cognitive, and behavioural summary evaluation of an individual toward a particular object (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Harrison, Newman, Roth, 2006). For the affective component, the evaluation is generally categorized in terms of opposites; that is, good versus bad, pleasant versus unpleasant (Ng & Feldman, 2010). The individual tends to feel one way or the other in relation to the object. For the cognitive component, the evaluation includes the beliefs, perceptions, and judgments of the individual in regards to the object (Hodson, 2004). For the behavioural component, the evaluation is the tendency of the individual to act in a way that is congruent with the affective and cognitive evaluations (Ng & Feldman, 2010). That is, if the summary evaluation is positive, then the individual will likely move toward the object and away from it when the summary evaluation is negative (Schneider, Watt, Greguras, 2004).

Ng and Feldman (2010) suggested that job attitudes are based on three subset attitudes related to work. The first subset is task-based attitudes, which consist of summary evaluations related to specific tasks including the role and duties that the employee performs (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008). The second subset is people-based attitudes, which are the summary evaluations employees have about other individuals and groups in their social environment at work: including supervisors, coworkers, and clients (Babin & Boles, 1996). The third subset is organization-based attitudes, which are summary evaluations the employee has of the employer and/or of the employment relationship in general (Stinglhamber & Vandenberghe, 2003). For the purpose of this study, the focus is on the relational attitudes within job attitudes; that is, person-based and organization-based attitudes.

Workplace attitudes are an important consideration given the centrality of the work environment in an adult's life (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). That is, as adults spend a plurality of their time in the workplace, it stands to reason that this environment would have critical effects on the individual's well-being (Bimrose & Hearne, 2012). Indeed, there is evidence for this thought within the literature with some studies suggesting that positive attitudes about perceptions of the workplace are related to increases in health (Haar & Brougham, 2013; Hoppe, Fujishiro, & Heaney, 2013). For employers, perceptions of workplace attitudes should be a critical consideration as research provides evidence that positive attitudes held by the employee are associated with increased job satisfaction, decreased intention of and actual turnover, and consistent work motivation (Podsakoff et al., 2007).

Moreover, workplace attitudes seem to prevent stressors, such as work strain, from negatively impacting employees (Glazer & De La Rosa, 2008). Instead, when workplace attitudes are positive, then the employee is more likely to view problems as challenges, and rate

employer incentives (e.g., wages, benefits) more positively (Nguyen, 2008). When employees have negative workplace attitudes, then they are more likely to find supervisor styles oppressive and strict, become overwhelmed with work and problems, and feel that the work aspects of their life are in conflict with their personal goals (Gardner et al., 2013; Ng & Feldman, 2010).

Workplace attitudes are an important consideration for immigrant workers as it seems to play a role in their integration not only to the workforce but the community in general (David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009). Specifically, immigrant workers' positive perceptions of attitudes in the workplace seem to reduce experiences of interpersonal strain and help immigrant workers adjust to the organization, increasing their competence in navigating the new culture (Safi, 2010; Waight & Madera, 2011). Additionally, when immigrant workers have positive perceptions of workplace attitudes toward them, they are more likely to blur the boundaries of work and personal realms, which decreases conflicts in responsibilities and identity (Jian, 2012).

When immigrant workers are more competent in their ability to navigate the new culture, and when their personal identity is more salient, then they are also able to communicate with coworkers and clients more effectively (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007; Sakamoto et al., 2008). This further facilitates a shift from work as a necessary survival task to one that they are personally committed to (Drolet et al., 2014). Finally, when immigrant workers perceive workplace attitudes toward them as negative, they are more likely to view interactions with coworkers and the employer as discriminatory and unsupportive, which decreases commitment to the organization and their motivation to complete work efficiently (Yakushko et al., 2008).

Contextual Factors Related to Immigrant Workers' Workplace Integration

Beyond the overarching career development theories and an understanding of the relationship between workplace attitudes and immigrant workers' job satisfaction, it is crucial to

acknowledge the contextual factors that may influence job satisfaction outside of the workplace. Specifically, this section will discuss the impact of acculturation, particularly bicultural identity, as well as social support on job satisfaction.

Acculturation and Identity Development in Immigrant Workers

Unlike individuals who remain in their home country, immigrant workers have an additional facet to identity development (Yakushko et al., 2008). Within the literature, this unique adjustment is called the acculturation process (Noels & Berry, 2006). The acculturation process was originally conceived as an interactional pattern between the individual and the society both adjusting to each other (Moyerman & Forman, 1992; Sakamoto et al., 2008). Currently, the literature tends to focus on the adjustment and responsibility of the individual, in this case the immigrant worker (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Itzhaky & Ribner, 1999). That is, individuals are responsible for facilitating their own adjustment to the dominant culture with little expected mutual adjustment or help from the dominant culture.

This process is especially important for individuals that come from cultures differing widely from North American culture (Kassan & Nakamura, 2013; Schittenhelm & Schmidtke, 2011). The focus for many researchers has been on the ways in which individuals are able to develop cultural identities to accommodate changes from moving from one culture to another (Bimrose & McNair, 2011). This extends beyond the expected adjustment normally attributed to culture shock and involves the incorporation of this change into the individual's identity (Rahman & Rollock, 2004; Rodríguez, L., Rodríguez, & Rodríguez, 2012).

Cultural identity development helps put into context the ways in which immigrants are interacting with their new environment and their perceived ability in navigating cultural differences (Cohen, Arnold, & O'Neill, 2011). As described by Gfellner and Armstrong (2012),

ethnic identity is a component of identity development that is especially relevant for non-dominant groups and thus for immigrant workers. Models of ethnic identity emphasize the degree to which individuals relate with their own heritage culture versus the mainstream culture in which they reside (Chow, 2007; Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012). Among models, there is some agreement that there are four categories of ethnic identity including (a) bicultural, the individual strongly identifies with both the heritage culture and the mainstream one; (b) mainstream, the individual strongly identifies solely with the dominant culture; (c) traditional, the individual strongly identifies solely with the heritage culture; and, (d) marginal, the individual neither identifies with the racial culture nor the mainstream one (Noels & Berry, 2006; Phinney, 2003; Wei et al., 2010).

Bicultural identity development. Previous research concerning these four categorizations of ethnic identity have found evidence suggesting that a bicultural identity may serve as a safe-guard for the individual against minority stress (Birman, 1998; David et al., 2009; Marks, Patton, & Coll, 2011). That is, strongly identifying with both cultures allows the bicultural individual to negotiate the customs and social rules for both communities that equally create the individual's experience (Yakushko et al., 2008). Theorists view bicultural identity as consisting of two different types; a bicultural identity may either be complementary or contradictory (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Safi, 2010).

A complementary identity is where the individual has integrated both the sense of self according to the heritage and dominant culture (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). That is, the individual feels as if they are acting in agreement with both sets of cultural norms across situations. A contradictory style is where the individual has a distinct sense of self for both the heritage and dominant culture (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). That is, the individual acts

according to one set of norms depending on the specific situation and the sense of self that is most salient in that situation (Berry, 1997; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

For the purposes of this study, emphasis will be given to the bicultural identity, as there is evidence to suggest that perceived bicultural competence can protect the individual from psychological distress (David et al., 2009). Specifically, depressive symptoms, feelings of isolation, low self-confidence and esteem, racism, and discrimination (Wei et al., 2010). This buffering effect is thought to occur as a result of the individual's ability to successfully integrate and navigate in the heritage and dominant culture (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Birman, 1998). Research suggests that while some adjustment to the host culture is needed to have positive interactions with different societal norms, completely rejecting the heritage culture is indicative of disconnection to previous support networks and sense of self (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Valdivia & Flores, 2012).

It is important to note that while a bicultural identity may safe-guard against psychological distress, there is some evidence to suggest that there may be unique stressors associated with this identity (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). Specifically, for individuals who have the complementary or integrated style, they may be perceived by others from their heritage culture as 'betraying' their culture in favour of the dominant one, causing in-group conflict (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Marks et al., 2011). For the contradictory or distinct style, bicultural individuals may face situations in which it is not possible to keep the two sets of cultural norms separate, making it hard to know how best to act (Gfellner & Armstrong, 2010).

That said, for the purposes of this study, a bicultural identity is considered to be a positive influence on job satisfaction as the work environment is likely in the dominant culture. That is,

regardless of the style of bicultural identity, individuals are believed to have an advantage in that they feel more capable of interacting in their work environment than individuals who identify solely with the heritage culture and who have more social support than those that identify solely with the dominant culture (Horverak, Sandal, Pallesen, & Timmerman, 2013; Okafor, Carter-Pokras, Picot, & Zhan, 2013).

Influence of Social Support

There is a general assumption that human beings are social creatures and that social support is one of the most important coping resources (Chun, Moos, & Cronkite, 2006; Corey, 2012). Given this premise, there is a wealth of literature examining social support (Pugliesi & Shook, 1998; Schwarzer & Leppin, 1989; Shor et al., 2013). The purpose of this section is not to provide a thorough overview of this field but more to showcase the ubiquitous nature of social support in order to give a rationale for its inclusion in determining immigrant job satisfaction. It is generally agreed upon that social support consists of the social relationships that either do or could potentially provide material and/or interpersonal resources that are in need or desirable to an individual (Baruch-Feldman et al, 2002; Tonsing et al., 2012). According to López and Cooper (2011), material resources include, for example, money, food, shelter, and transport, among other tangible items. Interpersonal resources are broken down further into components including, (a) emotional: caring, love, empathy, and trust, among others; (b) informational: advice, counselling, suggestions, and access to information, etc.; and, (c) instrumental supports: skill acquisition, sharing responsibilities, sharing tasks, etc. (Adams, King, & King, 1996; Eker & Arkar, 1995).

Although there is support for both material and interpersonal support as being important to an individual's well-being, it seems that individuals' perceptions of the resources that are

available to them is what most strongly impacts well-being (Cacioppo, Fowler, Christakis, 2009; Chen, 2008; Schwarzer & Leppin, 1989; Vaux, 1985). That is, information regarding social support is most useful when it comes from the individuals' experience rather than some objective or quantifiable measurement (Smith, Christakis, 2008). For the purposes of this research then, the individual's perceptions of social support are of key interest.

In general, the research on social support has provided evidence of its benefits for an individual's well-being (Gallant, Spitze, Prohaska, 2007; Helweg-Larsen, Kjoller, Thoning, 2003; Smith & Christakis, 2008). Specifically, there seem to be health benefits related to greater perceived social support, including decreased rates of and faster recovery from cancer (Shor et al., 2013), cardiovascular and infectious illnesses (Helweg-Larsen, 2003), chronic pain (Gallant et al., 2007), and in general lower mortality rates (Christakis & Allison, 2006) than individuals perceiving social support as lower.

There is further evidence that behavioural patterns seemed to be influenced by perceived social support (Schwarzer & Leppin, 1989). That is, individuals who reported high levels of social support also indicated health conscious behaviours around smoking cessation and decreased alcohol consumption (Brummett et al., 2005; Christakis & Fowler, 2008), lower rates of obesity and success in weight loss (Christakis & Fowler, 2007), and fewer cases of sexually transmitted diseases (Shor et al., 2013). Social support also seems to be influential in an individual's mental health (Tsai & Thompson, 2013). Specifically, higher perceived social support was associated with optimism, lower levels of depression, suicidality, loneliness, stress, and generally lower levels of psychological distress than individuals who reported lower perceived social support (Dominguez-Fuentes & Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012; Shor et al., 2013).

Although the relationship between social support and various health factors has been

widely documented, the literature also shows a lack of consensus around the exact nature of the relationship. That is, research has implicated social support as having weak, yet significant direct effects on health (Hope et al., 2013; Vaux, 1985; Johnson & Hall, 1988) while other studies state that the indirect effects of social support are more impactful (Baruch-Feldman et al., 2002). Specifically, social support seems to act as a buffer to health related problems or may facilitate other factors that enhance individual well-being (Smith & Christakis, 2008). Moreover, some researchers argue that it is neither the direct, nor the indirect effects of social support that are important, but rather that the summative value of these effects is what helps make social support the critical factor that it is in well-being (Dominguez-Fuentes & Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012).

For immigrant workers, social support is particularly relevant (Berry, 2006). Having left established social networks in their home country, immigrant workers generally must rely on smaller social connections in the host country (Amundson, Borgen, Iaquinta, Butterfield, & Koert, 2010; Matsumoto, Hirayama, & LeRoux, 2006). These connections are critical not only for personal well-being but also to increase awareness of potential employment opportunities in order to adjust vocationally (Chen, 2008; Koert et al., 2011). Models of stress note a tendency for people from different cultures to cope with it in culture-bound ways (Tweed & Conway, 2006). Specifically, people from individualistic cultures (e.g., Canada, U.S.A., Australia) tend to act in ways that directly express anger or frustration in order to influence the situation that is causing them stress (Chun et al., 2006).

People from collectivist cultures (e.g., Japan, China, South Korea) tend to react in ways that avoid conflict and instead find ways of accepting the situation and working with the stress in constructive ways (Chun et al., 2006). As the immigrant population in Canada is increasingly from non-Western, Caucasian countries, it is important to note that a key coping strategy for

people from collectivist cultures is to refer to their social network (Koert et al., 2011; Zhang & Long, 2006). That is, individuals draw on the strength of family and friends, or continue on in the situation even though it is difficult in order to sustain expectations from the social network (Amundson, Bergen, & Butterfield, 2010; Van Ngo & Este, 2006).

Of particular importance for the current study is the idea that social support may buffer job satisfaction (Amit, 2010; Viswesvaran, Sanchez, Fisher, 1999). That is, research has found that when individuals perceive their social support as high, then they are less susceptible to burn-out or work-related stress (Umamaheswar & Magee, 2011; Valdivia & Flores, 2012). These individuals seem to be more productive and satisfied at work than individuals who reported lower levels of social support (Baruch-Feldman et al., 2002; Gardner et al., 2013; Viswesvaran, Sanchez, & Fisher, 1999). Similarly, research suggests that social support is critically important for immigrant workers when dealing with discrimination at the workplace (Stewart et al., 2008). That is, ethnic non-dominant groups who indicated being discriminated in the workplace, and who also indicated having high levels of social support, tended to report higher levels of job satisfaction than coworkers with low perceived social support (Puyat, 2013; Triana, García, & Colella, 2010; Umamaheswar & Magee, 2011). It is crucial to include social support in a model predicting job satisfaction then in order to discern its impact over other factors (de Castro, Fujishiro, Sweitzer, & Oliva, 2006).

The Current Study

Chapter Two has focused on presenting the key factors related to career development, work transitions, and the experiences of immigrant workers integrating into the Canadian workforce. Research to this point has provided evidence that job satisfaction is paramount to employee retention (Davar & RanjuBala; Loher et al., 1985), in particular for immigrant workers

(Chowhan et al., 2012). Studies have suggested that job satisfaction may be related to workplace attitudes (Hodson, 2004; Podsakoff et al., 2007), degree of worker acculturation (Dumas et al., 2013; Jian, 2012), and social support (Gardner et al., 2013; Shor et al., 2013). There is a gap, however, as to the optimal combination of influences that constitute an appropriate model of immigrant worker job satisfaction.

Having reviewed the key components of the current study, it is important to state the specific goals of the present research. Specifically, the objective for the present study is to close this gap in the literature and start to investigate the relationships between and or the relative contributions of bicultural competence, English language acculturation, social support, and workplace attitudes in a model by which immigrant workers' job satisfaction may be appropriately and reasonably predicted. The study seeks to achieve this goal by addressing the following research questions:

1. What is the nature of the relationship between immigrants' reports of workplace attitudes and level of job satisfaction?
2. How are perceptions of more accepting and supportive workplace environments predictive of greater job satisfaction reports of immigrant workers?
3. Given that perceived bicultural competence and social support are independently significant predictors of job satisfaction, do workplace attitudes represent a unique contribution to this model?

Summary

The discussion in Chapter Two provided an overview of the historical and current trends in research with immigrant workers and their career development. Specifically, the key theories used in vocational psychology were outlined, with particular emphasis on the work adjustment

theory, which serves as the theoretical underpinning for the current study. As well, the discussion reviewed the psychological and health related benefits of unemployment and underemployment, including the impact of immigrant worker job satisfaction. This chapter also provided a description of the research around social support, bicultural competence, and English language acculturation, all of which are implicated in predicting immigrant workers' job satisfaction. Finally, the workplace attitudes of immigrant workers were also addressed, highlighting the potential as a unique contributor to a model predicting immigrant workers' job satisfaction.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

The discussion in Chapter Two highlighted the importance of investigating the job satisfaction of immigrant workers in Canada. Specifically, the literature review focused on how job satisfaction is linked to employee retainment, productivity, quality of work, and physical and mental wellbeing. Moreover, there is evidence to show how job satisfaction can be influenced by workplace attitudes, acculturation, and social support (Umamaheswar & Magee, 2011; Valdivia & Flores, 2012). Given the nature of the research questions derived for this study, which are empirical in nature, a quantitative paradigm was selected (Russo, 2003). This study utilized several survey measures in order to provide information about the best possible model to predict the job satisfaction of immigrant workers. The discussion in Chapter Three will outline these measures, their psychometric properties, the procedures followed for recruiting participants and administering these measures.

Research Design

A quantitative research design is useful to discern statistically important differences between groups, showcase relationships between variables or factors, and predict models of fit according to observations (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2013). Given the breadth and depth of literature into job satisfaction, workplace attitudes, social support, and acculturation, the focus of this study is on providing evidence for how these factors fit in a model predicting the job satisfaction of immigrant workers in Canada (Field, 2009). Table 1 provides an overview of the sequences of analyses that were conducted for the current study.

This study first examined descriptive statistics in order to compare the qualities of the current participants with those in previous studies. Next, the participants' gender, age, and length of time in Canada were examined using an independent t-test and ANOVA analyses to identify

any differences in job satisfaction based on these factors (Pelham, 2013; Stevens, 2007). These factors were determined by examining previous literature and were identified as influencing job satisfaction, necessitating their inclusion in these analyses (Magee, 2013; Ng & Feldman, 2010). Then, correlations between job satisfaction, bicultural competence along with English language acculturation, social support, and workplace attitudes were investigated to ascertain the nature of the relationship between these variables (Gravetter & Wallnau).

Table 1

Overview of Study Analyses

Analyses	Variables	Outcome
Descriptive statistics	Participant demographics Measures	
Independent t-test	Gender	Job satisfaction
ANOVA	Age Time in Canada	Job satisfaction
Hierarchical regression	1. Acculturation a. Bicultural competence b. English acculturation 2. Social support 3. Workplace attitudes	Job satisfaction

Finally, a hierarchical regression was then used, as this allows researchers to investigate the influence of predictors on a criterion (Field, 2009). Moreover, this type of regression looks at how the influence of previously established predictors compare to the influence of newly suggested variables by the researcher (Pelham, 2013). As such, the first level of the regression started with acculturation factors including bicultural competence and English usage, as directed by previous research (Okafor et al., 2013; Sakamoto et al., 2008). The second level included social support, which is suggested in the literature to have influence over immigrant workers' job satisfaction (Glazer et al., 2008).Workplace attitudes were then entered into the third level of the

regression to determine the appropriateness of a model that uses this combination of factors to predict the job satisfaction of immigrant workers over a model that does not (Stevens, 2007).

Participants and Recruitment

This research study, including the recruitment procedures, received approval by the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB) of the University of Calgary. Participants were recruited using an email advertisement that contained a link to the online survey, which was disseminated by community organizations that serve an immigrant population (e.g., Immigrant Services Calgary, Canada immigration forums, local community forums). These organizations largely provide services digitally and thus reached participants across Canada, but mainly from Alberta. The recruitment message consisted of a summary of the study along with the link to the survey and the email address to the student researcher (see Appendix A). This recruitment message was posted digitally on each organization's website. The survey was then distributed through snowball sampling; that is, immigrant workers passed the email advertisement on to other immigrant workers, and so forth.

A sample size of around 60 participants was determined to be needed in order to reflect a moderate acceptable power of .80 and a reasonable squared population multiple correlation of .30 at the $p < .05$ level (Stevens, 2007). Inclusion was limited to individuals who immigrated to and currently live and work in Canada. Participation was not limited by ethnicity in order to reflect the diversity of the immigrant population in Canada (Chui et al., 2007).

Materials

In order to answer the research questions, information for this study was collected using a variety of methods including surveys, scales, and questionnaires. All scales are reputable measures within the literature, while more informal assessments (e.g., demographic information)

are consistent with previous studies in the vocational and immigration studies field (Magee, 2013; Yap et al., 2014). The information contained in the next section will describe these various methods of data collection. Due to copyright issues, individual scales are not included and can be found within the respectively referenced articles.

Demographic information. Participants were asked to compete a demographic questionnaire in order to ascertain background information, which helps to contextualize the results (see Appendix B). Specifically, participants were asked to identify their age, country of origin, ethnicity, gender, highest level of education, relationship status, how many children they have, how long they have lived in Canada, and where they work in Canada. Participants were also asked about their current job position; specifically, type of work (e.g., full-time), organizational type (e.g., government), field of current position, perceived match between current position and education, and length in current position.

Job satisfaction. As the principal construct under investigation, job satisfaction has implications for employee productivity, retention, and quality of work (Eggerth & Flynn, 2012). The Job Satisfaction Survey (JSS; Spector, 1985) is a multidimensional scale that was originally constructed to measure the job satisfaction of employees in the social service sector. However, Spector (1994) argues that it can be used across organizations and fields. Participants rate the 36 items along a six-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*disagree very much*) to 6 (*agree very much*) (Saane, Sluiter, Verbeek, & Frings-Dresen, 2003). An example item includes, "I am not satisfied with the benefits I receive". Items are sorted into nine subscales including, (a) salary, (b) promotion, (c) supervision, (d) fringe benefits, (e) contingent rewards, (f) operating procedures, (h) coworkers, (i) work, and (j) communication (Astrauskaite, Vaitkevicius, & Perminas, 2011). Each subscale consists of four items.

Total job satisfaction scores are calculated by summing the ratings across all items (Spector, 1985). Subscales are tabulated using only the ratings of the relevant items. Higher scores indicate greater job satisfaction while lower scores indicate job dissatisfaction. Of note, certain items require reverse coding for appropriate calculations of job satisfaction scores. The scale was normed with 2,870 individuals, who were not distinguished by sex but represented a variety of positions (Spector, 1985). Spector (1994) reported that, with norms for individuals in the U.S.A., Canada, and many other countries, the JSS has evidence of discriminate and construct validity, and is appropriate for diverse populations. Spector (1985) noted that the JSS has an excellent internal consistency for the total scale ($\alpha = .91$), with the subscales ranging from good to very good ($\alpha = .60$ to $.82$). The JSS has good test-retest reliability for the total scale (.71 across 18-month period), and ranges from moderate to good for the subscales (.37 to .74 across 18-month period; Saane, et al., 2003; Spector, 1994).

Workplace attitudes. Of key interest to this study as a unique predictor of job satisfaction is the individuals' perceived attitudes of the workplace toward them. The Workplace Prejudice/Discrimination Inventory (WPDI; James, Lovato, & Cropanzano, 1994) was created to assess employees' perceptions of prejudice and discrimination at their workplace. There are 15 items and individuals select ratings along a seven-point Likert-type scale. Responses range from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Total scores are calculated by summing the ratings across all questions. Of note, certain items need to be reversed coded.

Higher scores indicate perceived prejudice and discrimination at the workplace and lower scores indicate a more inclusive and inviting environment (Burkard, Boticki, & Madson, 2002). A sample item includes, "At work I feel socially isolated because of my racial/ethnic group" (Burkard, Boticki, & Madson, 2002). The inventory was normed with 46 individuals and

consisted of a multicultural and gender balanced sample (James et al., 1994). James et al. (1994) state that the inventory has promising construct and criterion validity and that there is excellent internal consistency ($\alpha = .93$).

Acculturation and bicultural competence. Bicultural competence is often reported in the literature as the most adaptive degree of acculturation (Berry, 1997) and is implicated as a predictive factor of job satisfaction (Wei et al., 2010). The Bicultural Self-Efficacy Scale (BSE; David, Okazaki, & Shaw, 2009) was used to assess the extent to which an individual feels they are able to negotiate both the host and the home cultures. Specifically, self-efficacy is considered to be the individuals' perceived ability to successfully perform a certain behaviour, which gives the individual a sense of self-regulation (Anderson & Betz, 2001). Self-regulation is related to the individual being able to moderate feelings of anxiety and hopelessness (Betz & Schifano, 2000), with bicultural competence being related to the ability to engage in meaningful relationships in both the host and home culture (Wei et al., 2010).

The bicultural self-efficacy scale is a 26-item assessment that consists of six subscales including (a) social groundedness, (b) communication ability, (c) positive attitudes about both groups, (d) knowledge of cultural beliefs and values, (e) role repertoire, and (f) bicultural beliefs (David et al., 2009). Individuals choose along a nine-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*), 5 (*neutral*), and 9 (*strongly agree*). Total bicultural self-efficacy is calculated by summing the ratings across all items. Subscales are computed using only the ratings from respective items. High scores indicating greater perceived bicultural competence (Wei et al., 2010). An example item includes, "I take pride in both the mainstream Canadian culture and my heritage culture". The scale was normed with 268 ethnic minority undergraduate students (160 women and 108 men) in the U.S.A. and David et al. (2009) indicate that the total scale has

excellent construct validity and internal consistency (α = .94). The two-week test-retest reliabilities ranged from .61 to .89 for the role repertoire and social groundedness scales, respectively (David et al., 2009).

English language use. As both employees and employers identify English language competence as a key factor in successful integration, it is essential to gauge participants' English language use (Somerville & Walsworth, 2010). The English Language Acculturation Scale (Salamonson, Everett, Koch, Andrew, & Davidson, 2008) is a five-item measure which was designed to serve as an indicator of an individual's English language usage. Items are rated in a five-point Likert-type response format, with the scale ranging from 1 (*only non-English language(s)*) to 5 (*only English*).

Total scores are calculated by summing the ratings across all items. Higher scores indicate greater English language usage. An example item includes, "what language(s) do you speak?". Internal consistency for the English Language Acculturation Scale is excellent at α = .94. It was also found to have a moderate and significant correlation with length of stay in host country, r = .53 and was made for use with multicultural and immigrant populations (Salamonson, Attwood, Everett, Weavers, & Glew, 2013).

Social support. Extensive research, in particular with immigrant populations, has indicated that the degree to which individuals perceive social support in their lives predicts their life satisfaction (López & Cooper, 2011; Vohra & Adair, 2000). The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS; Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet & Farley, 1988) is a multidimensional scale that measures both an individual's perceived availability and adequacy of emotional and instrumental support. The MSPSS captures individuals' perceptions of social support across three factors including, family, friends, and significant others. In completing the scale, the

individual rates 12 questions from 1 (*Very Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Very Strongly Agree*) for categories of social support from significant other, family, and friends, each consisting of four items (Zimet et al., 1988). A sample item includes, "my family really tries to help me". The social support provides both a total score and subscales.

The total score is found by summing the ratings across all questions (Zimet et al., 1988). The subscale scores are found by totaling only the ratings of the related subscale items. Higher scores indicate a great deal of perceived social support while lower scores indicate little perceived social support. The MSPSS was normed with 275 undergraduate students consisting of 136 women and 139 men (Zimet et al., 1988). The creators reported that the scale has very good overall internal consistency ($\alpha = .88$) as well as very good to excellent internal consistency for the friend ($\alpha = .85$), family ($\alpha = .87$), and significant other ($\alpha = .91$) subscales. Zimet, Powell, Farley, Werkman, and Berkoff (1990) also indicate that the MSPSS has good construct validity for the overall score and subscales as well as excellent test-retest reliabilities at the three month period of .85, .72, .85, and .75 for the overall score, significant other, family, and friend subscales, respectively. Subsequent studies have investigated the appropriateness of the MSPSS with diverse populations (López & Cooper, 2011) and it seems to be appropriate for use with individuals who have limited English ability (Zimet et al., 1990).

Procedure

All measures were inputted to fluidsurvey.com, which is a Canadian-based online company that adheres to Canadian privacy laws. The complete study was then shared via a hyperlink with organizations across Canada that serve immigrant populations with an ethics approved advertisement explaining the study attached. The participants first completed informed consent (see Appendix C) and then provided demographic details, with the option of including

an email address if they were interested in being entered into the incentive draw. The incentive included the chance to win one of five $25 gift certificates from amazon.ca. In an attempt to prevent the results from being biased due to priming or carry-over effects, participants completed the five assessments outlined in the materials section in a counterbalanced way (Pelham, 2013). After completing the survey, participants were asked to read a debriefing summary of the study with a list of relevant articles should they desire additional information (see Appendix D). Aside from emailing the gift certificates to the winners of the draw, there was no further contact with participants.

Summary

The discussion in Chapter Three outlined the quantitative paradigm used as the framework for this study. Specifically, Chapter Three described how bicultural competence, English acculturation, social support, and workplace attitudes were used in a model to predict immigrant worker's job satisfaction in Canada. As well, the discussion in this chapter introduced the target population, the instrumentation that was administered to participants, and the procedure followed throughout the study. Details regarding the recruitment and debriefing procedures were included. This background information provides a foundation for presenting the statistical analyses used in this study which will be presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The discussion in Chapter 3 outlined the methodology employed in this study, including the research design and procedure. This chapter will focus on the results of the data analyses. First, an overview of the demographic information of the participants in this study will be given. Second, results will be outlined, based on the research questions, as follows: (a) What is the nature of the relationship between immigrants' reports of workplace attitudes and level of job satisfaction?, (b) How are perceptions of more accepting and supportive workplace environments predictive of greater job satisfaction reports of immigrant workers?, and (c) Given that perceived bicultural competence and social support are independently significant predictors of job satisfaction, do workplace attitudes represent a unique contribution to this model?

Prior to conducting the analyses, all data were inspected and cleaned through SPSS to ensure accuracy of data entry and that the assumptions necessary for each analysis were appropriately addressed. All assumptions for each analysis were met. Specifically, all variables were normally distributed, and the assumptions of linearity, homoscedasticity, independence of scores, and independence of residuals were not violated (Pelham, 2013; Stevens, 2007).

Demographic Information

Participants in this study consisted of 128 individuals all of whom indicated having immigrated to and currently working in Canada. Of these participants, 32 were excluded from the data analyses as they did not give sufficient responses to include their data (i.e., provided only one answer). Linear interpolation was used to replace missing items unless over 20% of the items were missing for a particular measure (Stevens, 2007). Of the 96 participants who were included in the analyses, there was an average age of 34.29 (SD = 9.65; Min = 21, Max = 61) of which 66.7% were male and 33.3% were female. Of these participants, 7.3% said they had been

in Canada for less than a year, 46.9% for more than a year but less than five years, and 45.8% for more than five years. In terms of relationship status, 20.8% were single, 18.8% were in a relationship or had common-law status, 52.1% were engaged or married, 5.2% were separated or divorced, and 3.1% were undisclosed, with an average of 0.76 children (*SD* = 1.09). For ethnicity, participants indicated being from diverse backgrounds, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Ethnicity of Participants

Ethnicity	Count	Ethnicity	Count
Caucasian/White	34	East Indian	1
British	6	European/African	1
Filipino	5	European-Amerindian	1
Latino/a	5	Hispanic	1
Asian	4	Irish	1
Indian	4	Jamaican	1
Russian	4	Mayan/Spanish	1
Chinese	3	Mestizo/Ladino	1
Norwegian	3	Middle Eastern	1
European	2	Mixed American	1
Mixed Race	2	Moslem	1
Anglo Saxon	1	New Zealand	1
Arab	1	Norse	1
Australian	1	South-East Asian	1
Black	1	Spain	1
Brazilian	1	Taiwanese	1
Bulgarian	1	Ukrainian	1
Dutch	1		

Note. Count indicates the number of participants who endorsed each item.

Participants reported a wide range of countries of origin, as shown in Table 3. All participants indicated fluency in English along with various other languages, as shown in Table 4. For education, 6.2% indicated having a high school diploma or less, 74.0% had at least some college/vocational training or a post-secondary degree, and 19.8% had an advanced degree (e.g.,

master's or doctoral level). In terms of employment, 85.4% were working full-time, 8.3% were part-time, and 6.3% were self-employed.

For organizational type, 13.5% were in the public-sector, 75.0% were in the private sector, 5.2% were in the voluntary sector, and 6.3% were self-employed, all from a wide range of fields, as shown in Table 5. On average, participants indicated being at their current position for 3.33 years (*SD* = 5.15; *Min* < 1 year and *Max* = 32.00). In response to the question regarding congruence between education and current position, 66.7% reported a match, 14.5% reported a mismatch, and 18.8% reported that there was somewhat of a match. Participants reported working across Canada, as shown in Table 6.

Table 3

Participants' Country of Origin

Country of Origin	Count	Country of Origin	Count
United Kingdom	17	Cuba	1
United States of America	11	Egypt	1
Colombia	6	El Salvador	1
Philippines	6	France	1
Australia	5	Guatemala	1
China	5	Hungary	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3	Iceland	1
Brazil	3	Iran	1
Germany	3	Israel	1
India	3	Jamaica	1
Norway	3	Lebanon	1
Russia	3	Scotland	1
Ireland	2	Taiwan	1
Kenya	2	Tanzania	1
Mexico	2	The Netherlands	1
New Zealand	2	Trinidad and Tobago	1
Austria	1	Ukraine	1
Bulgaria	1	Venezuela	1

Note. Count indicates the number of participants that endorsed each item.

Table 4

Languages Spoken and Written Fluently

Language	Count	Language	Count
English	96	Bengali	1
Spanish	13	Bulgarian	1
French	8	Dutch	1
German	8	Farsi	1
Chinese	6	Frisian	1
Russian	5	Gaelic	1
Tagalog	4	Hebrew	1
Arabic	3	Hungarian	1
Norwegian	3	Icelandic	1
Portuguese	3	Irish	1
Bosnian	2	Italian	1
Croatian	2	Kiswahili	1
Danish	2	Luo	1
Filipino	2	Marathi	1
Gujarati	2	Punjabi	1
Hindi	2	Serbo-Croatian	1
Serbian	2	Taiwanese	1
Swedish	2	Ukrainian	1
Araphoe	1	Urdu	1
Azeri	1	Welsh	1

Note. Count indicates the number of participants that endorsed each item.

Descriptive Statistics

Among descriptive statistics for the scales used, the means, standard deviations, and ranges for participants' scores are noted in Table 7. According to the average score for job satisfaction, participants in this study indicated that they were more satisfied than dissatisfied with their current job. Participants' workplace attitudes scores showed that, on average, they perceived less discrimination and more inclusion at their current job than discriminatory practices. Participants' average scores on bicultural competence indicated that they feel capable of navigating Canadian culture as well as their own heritage culture. For English acculturation,

participants' average scores revealed that they tended to use English more than non-English. Finally, for social support, participants' on average felt they had access to dependable support from friends and family.

Table 5

Field of Occupation

Job Field	Count	Job Field	Count
Information Technology	17	Document Control	1
Engineering	14	Graphic Design	1
Construction	8	Hospital and Health Care/Research	1
Oil & Gas	4	Hospitality	1
Accounting	3	Industrial Instrumentation	1
Video Game Development	3	Law	1
Education	2	Library	1
Finance	2	Machine Operating	1
Food Services	2	Management	1
Mental Health	2	Media Production	1
Quality Control	2	Mining	1
Real Estate	2	Nursing	1
Retail	2	Office Administration	1
Transportation	2	Professional Regulation	1
Web Design	2	Project Management	1
Animal care	1	Sales	1
Archaeology	1	Security	1
Banking	1	Social Services	1
Child Development	1	Social Work	1
Civil Engineering/Quality Control	1	Software Development	1
Computer Programming	1	Technical	1
Corrections Worker	1	Video Production	1

Note. Count indicates the number of participants that endorsed each item.

Although not a research question, in order to discern any potential mean differences on job satisfaction by demographic variables, including gender, age group, and time in Canada by group, three analyses were conducted. For gender, the literature suggests that women tend to have lower job satisfaction than men (e.g., Magee, 2013). An independent t-test was conducted

to determine if this trend was applicable to the current participants.

Table 6

Workplace Location in Canada

Province/Territory	Percentage
Alberta	31.2%
Ontario	24.0%
British Columbia	14.6%
Nova Scotia	11.5%
Manitoba	6.2%
Newfoundland & Labrador	4.2%
Saskatchewan	4.2%
New Brunswick	3.1%
Nunavut	1.0%

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics for Measures

	Eng_Accult.	Job_Sat.	Work_Att.	Bicult_Comp.	Social_Sup.
Mean	19.16	149.55	32.92	195.45	70.74
SD	5.20	31.43	18.23	26.79	10.22
Min	6.00	51.00	15.00	122.00	45.00
Max	25.00	212.00	80.00	234.00	84.00

Note. Eng_Accult. is the English Language Acculturation Scale from Salamonson et al. (2008); Job_Sat. is the Job Satisfaction Survey from Spector (JSS; 1985); Work_Att. is the Workplace Prejudice/Discrimination Inventory from James et al. (WPDI; 1994); Bicult_Comp. is the Bicultural Self-Efficacy Scale from David et al. (BSE; 2009); and Social_Sup. is the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support from Zimet et al. (MSPSS; 1988). All values represent raw, non-standardized scores.

On average, women experienced greater job satisfaction (M = 154.59, SE = 5.02) than men (M = 147.03, SE = 4.09); however, this difference was not significant $t(94) = -1.113$, $p > .05$ and it only represents a small-sized effect, $r = .12$. For age group, a one-way ANOVA was conducted. Participants were grouped by age, as the literature (e.g., Echchakoui & Naji, 2013) has shown that job satisfaction may be different for individuals under 25 years old and those well

into midlife (e.g., around 45 and older). That is, differences may arise based on experiences related to entering and exiting the workplace. There was not a significant effect of age group on job satisfaction, $F(2, 93) = 0.183$, $p > .05$, $\omega = .16$.

For time in Canada, again an ANOVA was conducted. Participants were grouped as culture shock may range from six months to one year (Amit, e.g., 2010), while immigrant workers who have been in Canada for more than five years tend to resemble native-born workers in job satisfaction scores (e.g., Umamaheswar & Magee, 2011). For time in Canada by group, there was a significant effect on job satisfaction, $F(2, 93) = 3.317$, $p = .041$; $\omega = .21$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test revealed that the mean score for the group who had been in Canada less than a year ($M = 124.14$, $SD = 41.13$) was significantly different from the group who had been in Canada for over five years ($M = 155.52$, $SD = 27.36$). These results suggest that participants' job satisfaction differed by time in Canada. Specifically, participants who had been in Canada for more than five years reported higher job satisfaction than participants who had only been in Canada for less than one year. See Table 8 for the ANOVA values.

Table 8

ANOVA Results for Age and Time in Canada on Job Satisfaction

	Source	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*
Age_Cat.	Between	367.72	2	183.86	0.183
	Within	93470.03	93	1005.05	
	Total	93837.74	95		
Time_Canada	Between	6247.91	2	3123.95	3.317*
	Within	87589.83	93	941.83	
	Total	93837.74	95		

Note. *$p < .05$. Age_Cat. is the participants' age as grouped within three categories including, 'younger than 25', '25 to 45', and 'older than 45'. Time_Canada is the participants' time in Canada as grouped within three categories including, 'less than 1 year', 'more than 1 year but less than 5 years', and 'more than 5 years'.

Of note, the sample sizes for each group for gender, age and time in Canada were unequal. This is not a concern for the independent t-test used to determine differences of job satisfaction scores between men and women as it can account for unequal sample sizes (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2013). For the ANOVAs, SPSS will automatically detect unequal sample sizes and use an appropriate analysis to account for this discrepancy (Field, 2009). Additionally, several tests including, estimated marginal means, Welch, and Brown-Forsythe test for the ANOVA and the Gabriel and Games-Howell procedures as post hocs were conducted to further address the differences in sample size (Field, 2009; Pelham, 2013). All of these procedures were in agreement and the values reported are those automatically computed by SPSS.

Research Question #1: Correlational Analyses

To recap, the first research question was stated as follows: "What is the nature of the relationship between immigrants' reports of workplace attitudes and level of job satisfaction?" Bivariate correlational analyses were conducted with the five measures and some of the demographic variables. There were several significant relationships, all of which are represented in Table 9. Specifically, as participants' age increased so too did their level of education, the length of time they have been at their current job, and their time in Canada; whereas, their tendency to use English over non-English decreased. The longer participants indicated being in Canada, then the longer the time spent at their job, and the higher their perceived level of social support and job satisfaction.

As participants indicated a mismatch between their current position and their education level, their scores of job satisfaction decreased and their perceptions of workplace discrimination increased. For bicultural competence, as participants reported higher capabilities for navigating Canadian culture and their heritage culture, they indicated increased usage of English in their

daily life, increased perceived social support, increased job satisfaction, and decreased levels of discrimination at the workplace. Finally, for job satisfaction, as participants' scores increased so too did their levels of perceived social support, while their perceptions of discrimination at the workplace decreased.

Table 9

Pearson Correlations between Measures

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	-										
2	.03	-									
3	.17	.26*	-								
4	.13	.37**	.03	-							
5	.11	.35**	-.03	.38**	-						
6	.01	-.16	.08	-.18	-.16	-					
7	-.09	-.26*	-.16	-.04	.02	.19	-				
8	.11	.06	.06	.24*	.00	-.55**	-.01	-			
9	-.13	-.01	-.11	.03	.10	.27**	-.16	-.62**	-		
10	.09	-.12	.13	-.12	-.05	-.03	.41**	.28**	-.43**	-	
11	.05	-.06	-.04	.23*	.14	-.14	.20	.25*	-.08	.20*	-

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. 1 is gender; 2 is age by category; 3 is education level; 4 is time in Canada by category; 5 is time at current position; 6 is the match between educational level and current position; 7 is the English Language Acculturation Scale from Salamonson et al. (2008); 8 is the Job Satisfaction Survey from Spector (JSS; 1985); 9 is the Workplace Prejudice/Discrimination Inventory from James et al. (WPDI; 1994); 10 is the Bicultural Self-Efficacy Scale from David et al. (BSE; 2009); and 11 is the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support from Zimet et al. (MSPSS; 1988).

Research Question #2 and #3: Regression Model Fitting

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to test the second and third research questions: "Do perceptions of more accepting and supportive workplace environments significantly predict greater job satisfaction reports of immigrant workers?" and "Given that perceived bicultural competence and social support are independently significant predictors of job satisfaction, do workplace attitudes represent a unique contribution to this model?". A

hierarchical regression allows the researcher to create levels in a prediction model using previous theory to guide which predictors are added at each level (Pelham, 2013). Lower level predictors are ones previously established within the literature and generally considered to account for a substantial proportion of the variance of the criterion (Stevens, 2007). The levels thereafter may represent new or less recognized predictors. This multilevel approach allows for the investigation of which predictors have unique contributions to the variance of the criterion (Field, 2009).

In the case of this study, previously established predictors for job satisfaction for immigrant workers, which is the criterion, included bicultural competence and English acculturation (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Okafor et al., 2013). These variables were added in the first level in order to control for their influence on job satisfaction. Social support is also in the literature as influencing immigrant workers' job satisfaction, but more peripherally. Thus, social support was added in the second level, again to control its influence (e.g., Glazer & De La Rosa, 2008). Finally, the organizational environment, in this case workplace attitudes, is less researched and supported within the literature as influencing job satisfaction (e.g., Ng & Sorensen, 2008). Therefore, workplace attitudes were added in the third and final level to determine if it contributed unique variance in job satisfaction above bicultural competence, English acculturation, and social support.

In the first level, the results suggested that a significant proportion of the total variation in the job satisfaction scores was predicted by bicultural competence but not English acculturation, as shown in Table 10; $F(2, 93) = 4.817$, $p = .010$. Specifically, adjusted r^2 values indicated that approximately 7.4% of the variation in job satisfaction was predicted by bicultural competence. In the second level, the results suggest that a significant proportion of the total variation in job satisfaction scores was predicted by social support and bicultural competence but not English

acculturation, $F(3, 92) = 5.016$, $p = .003$. Specifically, adjusted r^2 values indicated that approximately 11.3% of the variation in job satisfaction was predicted by scores for social support and bicultural competence.

Table 10

Regression for Job Satisfaction Prediction

Level	Variable	R^2	ΔR^2	β
1	Acculturation	.094	.094**	
	Bicultural Competence			.336**
	English Acculturation			-.146
2	Social Support	.141	.047*	.222*
	Bicultural Competence			.302**
	English Acculturation			-.176
3	Workplace Attitudes	.444	.303***	-.611***
	Social Support			.226**
	Bicultural Competence			.033
	English Acculturation			-.166

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. Bicultural Competence is the Bicultural Self-Efficacy Scale from David et al. (BSE; 2009); English Acculturation is the English Language Acculturation Scale from Salamonson et al. (2008); Social Support is the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support from Zimet et al. (MSPSS; 1988); and Workplace Attitudes is the Workplace Prejudice/Discrimination Inventory from James et al. (WPDI; 1994).

Finally, in the third level, the results suggested that a significant proportion of the total variation in the job satisfaction scores was predicted by workplace attitudes and social support, but not by bicultural competence and English acculturation, $F(4, 91) = 18.167$, $p < .001$. Specifically, adjusted r^2 values indicate that approximately 42.0% of the variation in job satisfaction was predicted by workplace attitudes and social support. Taken together, these results highlight that as the perceived level of discrimination in the workplace decreased and the perceived level of social support increased, then job satisfaction increased accordingly. Moreover, the addition of workplace attitudes into the model seemed to account for unique

variance in job satisfaction and also for the variance previously attributed to bicultural competence.

Summary

The content of this chapter focused on the details of the various analyses conducted as part of the current study. Specifically, the discussion in Chapter Four outlined the demographic information about the individuals that participated in this study, noted any statistical differences on job satisfaction based on gender, age, and time in Canada through t-test and ANOVAs, and provided evidence for a model predicting job satisfaction that includes social support and workplace attitudes by using a hierarchical regression. Moreover, the model fitting showed that, for this sample, previously established variables including bicultural competence and English acculturation were not significant predictors of immigrant worker job satisfaction. The discussion in Chapter 5 will elaborate on these results, relating them back to the literature.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Chapter Four provided an overview of the analyses that were conducted for the current study. This included examining the evidence for a model for predicting immigrant workers' job satisfaction based on their reported levels of English acculturation, bicultural competence, social support, and workplace attitudes. Chapter Five will discuss these results with reference to the literature in order to situate the findings of the current study within the field of immigration and vocational studies. The discussion of results will be organized according to each of the research questions. Next, the discussion will examine the implications of these results for counsellors, career development practitioners, employers/organizations, and government policy-makers. The implications will then be followed with a review of the strengths and limitations of the current study, as well as potential future research to continue the investigation into immigrant workers' adjustment to the Canadian workforce. Chapter Five will end with personal reflections about the current study and concluding thoughts.

General Observations

This first section of Chapter Five will outline the general observations of the participant demographics and how these compare and contrast with previous studies investigating the job satisfaction of immigrant workers. As well, there will be an overview of how the average responses to workplace attitudes, social support, job satisfaction, English acculturation, and bicultural competence compare to those held by the general public. This introductory material will provide the context for understanding the results related to the research questions, which will be addressed in the following section.

Comparison and Contrast of Participant Characteristics to Previous Studies

The current study sought to investigate the job satisfaction of skilled immigrant workers

in Canada. As such, it is important to first establish the participant characteristics of the current study as they compare and contrast to previous studies with this population. Based on the findings from the current study, it appears that approximately half of participants identified as being Caucasian or being from Western, English-speaking countries (e.g., U.S.A., U.K.). Slightly less than half indicated being from a country with a primary language other than English (e.g., Ukraine). This demographic make-up is consistent with the changing realities of immigration to Canada, which still recruits high numbers of English-speaking individuals but increasingly has been attracting individuals from non-English countries (Chui et al., 2007). Although many studies focus on immigrant workers who are ethnically different to Caucasian Canadian-born individuals (Friesend & Ingram, 2013; Somerville & Walsworth, 2010), the purpose of this study was to look at skilled immigrant workers holistically rather than based on ethnicity.

This distinction was important given that Kassan and Nakamura (2013) used a more holistic sample and found that individuals who appear ethnically similar to Canadian-born Caucasian individuals (e.g., Caucasian individual from the Netherlands) still report discrimination based on language abilities, accent, and differences in work and personal customs. The countries of origin and ethnicities reported by participants in the current study followed a similar trend in recent immigration rates (Alboim, 2008). That is, there were numerous individuals from Asian, Middle-Eastern, and African countries, which is comparable to general immigration trends. Of note, this study also included many individuals from Hispanic countries, which is more typical for immigration to the U.S.A. than in Canada (Valdivia & Flores, 2012). A possible explanation for this discrepancy is that, while the U.S.A. is closer to Hispanic countries, and thus traditionally a target destination spot, political shifts in the U.S.A. have started to limit immigration, particularly in regards to Hispanic individuals (Haley & Taengnoi, 2011). As such,

Canada is beginning to receive increased numbers of individuals from Hispanic countries due to its more welcoming attitudes toward immigrants (Reitz, 2011).

Previous research with immigrant workers has tended to distinguish between the experiences of men and women due to potential sex differences and ways in which society approaches men and women in the workforce (Dominguez-Fuentes, J. M., & Hombrados-Mendieta, M. I. (2012; Koert et al., 2011). For the current study, about a third of the participants were women, despite efforts to recruit a more balanced sample (e.g., contacting immigration services serving women exclusively). Immigration trends since 2006 show that women have comprised just over 50% of immigrant workers to Canada (Chui, 2013). A potential explanation for the discrepancy between the number of men and women participating in the current study is that immigrant women have one of the highest unemployment rates and greatest number of individuals not participating in the workforce in Canada (Chui, 2013; Chui et al., 2007). A requirement for participation in the study was that the individual be currently employed. Had the focus of the research study been placed on the experiences of immigrant workers with no limitation on employment status then perhaps there would have been a more representative balance between men and women. Moreover, the majority of the participants in this study reported being in a long-term committed relationship compared to just over a quarter of participants who indicated being either single or separated/divorced. This is consistent with previous research, which indicated that immigrant workers tend to have a family that they are working to support (Chowhan et al., 2012; Yakushko et al., 2008).

Comparison and Contrast of Participant Contextual Factors to Previous Studies

Beyond the participant characteristics that help compare and contrast the current study to previous research, it is also important to highlight any contextual factors which may be relevant.

Specifically, this section will provide an overview of educational and workplace factors as they pertain to the current sample, placing emphasis on what is different from other studies with this population.

In terms of education, the participants in the current study provide further evidence to the high education obtained by immigrant workers to Canada, especially when compared to native-born Canadians (Cobb-Clark et al., 2003; Dryburgh, 2005). That is, the vast majority of participants in the current study noted having some level of post-secondary education, with many having advanced (e.g., master's or doctoral level) education. This is consistent with previous studies which found that immigrant workers are twice as likely to have advanced education when compared to the level of education of Canadian-born workers (Chen, 2008; Chui et al., 2007). Interestingly, over 85% of the participants in the current study thought that their employment position at least somewhat matched their education level and that the vast majority were in full-time positions. This is in contrast to previous studies which have shown that immigrant workers in Canada tend to find there is a disconnection between their employment opportunities and their education and skill level, often finding themselves in positions of underemployment and part-time work (Baltodano et al., 2007; Dean & Wilson, 2010).

One possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the survey provided a forced choice response for both degree of match between position and education as well as type of work. These forced choices may not capture the full experience of the individual. Specifically, the responses may have been more comparable to previous research had they been rated along a percentage of degree of match and asked for number of hours worked a week. Another possible explanation for this discrepancy is that over 90% of participants indicated being in Canada for at least one year or more than five years, with the average age being above 30 years old. Previous research

indicates that the longer immigrant workers stay in the host country and the older they are, then the more their employment prospects approach those of Canadian-born workers (Palameta, 2004; Skuterud & Su, 2012). The low number of more recent immigrants may not appropriately reflect the employment opportunities of newcomers to Canada and instead reflect the experiences of more established immigrant workers.

When looking at the location in Canada of participants, the majority were living in provinces with the highest rates of immigration including Alberta, Ontario, and British Columbia, with some representation from provinces with smaller immigration trends (Chui et al., 2007). A notable exception to this was Quebec, from which there were no participants. Potentially this lack of representation is due to the survey being conducted exclusively in English, which would limit non-English, French-speaking immigrant workers in Canada. This discrepancy between English-speaking and French-Speaking immigrant workers is an important consideration when comparing the current research, or other studies using a Canadian sample, to work from the U.S.A. given that they generally seek English-speaking skilled immigrants exclusively (Flores, Hsieh, & Chiao, 2011).

In general, it appears that the participants in the current study largely represent the current trends in immigration to Canada (Chui, 2013). That is, the key immigration destinations are represented, with the exception of Quebec, and the population is highly educated and have families with them. Some notable differences included being in Canada for longer than one year or five years, having more men than women, rating the match between their current position and education relatively high compared to previous studies, and the majority were in full-time positions.

Key Factor Observations

The previous sections explored the differences in demographic information provided by the participants in the current study compared to previous research. As such, this section will outline how participants compare to the norms for each instrument.

First, compared to the average level of job satisfaction from the norms within the general public (Spector, 1994), the participants in the current study reported being, on average, more satisfied with their current position. Second, the workplace attitudes reported by the participants in the current study were lower, on average, than the norms associated with the general public (James et al., 1994). The results for jobs satisfaction and workplace attitudes are both in contrast with previous research, which linked lower levels of job satisfaction and higher levels of perceived discrimination in the workplace with immigrant populations (Uppal, 2005; Wang & Pierre, 2005). A potential explanation for this discrepancy between the current study and previous research is in the participants' reported level of bicultural competence and English acculturation. That is, participants in the current study had, on average, higher reported levels of bicultural competence (David et al., 2009) and English usage (Salamonson et al., 2013) than the norms associated with the general population. Participants indicated feeling capable of navigating both their heritage culture and the Canadian culture as well as using more English than non-English daily. From previous research, individuals with higher levels of bicultural competence and English language usage were less likely to be negatively impacted by discrimination (Wei et al., 2010). Furthermore, competence in navigating both the individual's heritage culture and host culture is linked to greater perceived satisfaction in both the individual's personal and vocational lives (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007, 2012).

Third, participants reported perceived social support levels comparable to the general

public, indicating that they feel as if they have an adequate support network (Zimet et al., 1988). Previous studies have found that immigrant populations tend to have lower levels of perceived social support (Glazer & De La Rosa, 2008; Koert et al, 2011). A potential explanation for this discrepancy is that the majority of participants in this study indicated having a family and being in Canada for more than a year. Having a family, or a partner, may help increase perceived social support. As well, having been in Canada for more than a year may have provided time for the individuals to better establish a support network in Canada or may be a reflection of perceived support from their home country.

Research Questions

The discussion in the previous section focused on descriptive statistics and compared the participant demographic information from the current study with previous research. The focus of the current section is on the results derived from the inferential statistical analyses. Specifically, this section will review each research question, how these findings compare or contrast with previous research, and what is novel information. As well, this section will offer possible explanations for the current findings.

Research Question #1: Workplace Attitudes and Job Satisfaction Relationship

The first research question is: "What is the nature of the relationship between immigrants' reports of workplace attitudes and level of job satisfaction?" To address this research question, the correlational relationship between immigrant workers' perceptions of employer/coworkers' workplace attitudes and the immigrant workers' reported level of job satisfaction was examined, along with other contextual factors implicated by previous research. These contextual factors included time in Canada, time at current position, education level, age, gender, match between position and education level, English language acculturation, bicultural

competence, and social support (Chen, 2008; Van Ngo & Este, 2006; Yap et al., 2014). These analyses revealed that, for the current participants, there were several significant relationships with job satisfaction. These relationships included time spent in Canada, the match between the workers' current position and their education level, bicultural competence, social support, and, importantly, workplace attitudes.

This means that for participants with higher job satisfaction scores then the longer individuals reported being in Canada, the more they felt their current position matched their education level, the more competent they felt in navigating their heritage and Canadian culture, the more social support they felt they had, and the more inclusive they felt their workplace was. Notable exceptions are that gender, and English acculturation were not significantly related to job satisfaction, both of which have been found as related in past research (Okafor et al., 2013; Yap et al., 2014). For gender, a possible explanation for this discrepancy is that there were too few women participants and that had there been more of a balance of genders, then perhaps a significant relationship may have revealed itself.

For English acculturation, it may be that this is only a significant factor of workers whose first language is not English. Given that this study had a large portion of native-English speakers, this relationship may not have been apparent than if there had been a larger portion of foreign-language speakers. Finally, even though education level and time at current position were not found to have a significant relationship with job satisfaction, previous research has provided more ambiguous evidence for their influence on job satisfaction (Choudry & Thomas, 2013; Valdivia & Flores, 2012). As such, this study provides further support for time at current position and education level as being less related to job satisfaction compared to other factors (e.g., workplace attitudes).

Although not a specific research question, this study also investigated the relationship between job satisfaction and gender, age, and time in Canada. These factors were further examined given the ambiguity of their influence throughout the literature in the vocational and immigration fields (Magee, 2013; Umamasheswar & Magee, 2011). From the correlational analyses, there was no evidence to suggest a significant relationship between age and job satisfaction or gender and job satisfaction. When both of these factors were further examined, it was determined that, for these participants, there were no significant differences between age and gender reported and the indicated levels of job satisfaction. This is in contrast to previous research which has indicated that women tend to have lower reported levels of job satisfaction than men (Echchakoui & Naji, 2013; Magee, 2013).

As well, older individuals tend to have higher job satisfaction than younger workers (Ng & Feldman, 2010). This discrepancy between age and job satisfaction may be explained by the participants' reported match between current position and education. That is, the vast majority of participants in this study indicated that their current position matched their educational level, which may account for higher job satisfaction across the age-span. There was, however, evidence to suggest that, for the current participants, the longer the immigrant worker had been in Canada, higher levels of job satisfaction were reported. When the reported levels of job satisfaction were examined by grouping (i.e., less than one year, more than one but less than five years, or more than five years in Canada) there was evidence to suggest that, for the current participants, time in Canada did influence job satisfaction.

Specifically, participants who had been in Canada for less than a year reported significantly lower levels of job satisfaction than those who had been in Canada for over five years. There was not a significant difference between participants who had been in Canada for

more than one year but less than five with either of the other groups. This is congruent with previous literature which suggested that the longer an immigrant worker has to adjust to the new country then the more likely they are to approach the job satisfaction levels of Canadian-born individuals (Chowhan et al., 2012). The current study provides further evidence for this explanation.

Research Question #2 & #3: Model Construction Predicting Job Satisfaction

Given the evidence from the first research question that there is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and workplace attitudes, this study focused on investigating the specific nature of the relationship between these two factors. This investigation was necessary in order to ascertain the factors critical in determining immigrant workers' job satisfaction for an appropriate model. As such, the second and third research questions were, respectively: "Do perceptions of more accepting and supportive workplace environments significantly predict greater job satisfaction reports of immigrant workers?" and "Given that perceived bicultural competence and social support are independently significant predictors of job satisfaction, do workplace attitudes represent a unique contribution to this model?". This study sought to address these questions by examining the predictive value of previously identified factors in a comprehensive job satisfaction model. These factors included English acculturation, bicultural competence, social support, and workplace attitudes (Gardner et al., 2013; Safi, 2010; Wei et al., 2010).

Predictive value of workplace attitudes. The current study investigated the predictive value of workplace attitudes on immigrant workers' job satisfaction. This research question was of interest given previous research implicated non-dominant workers' perceptions of workplace inclusivity as influential in worker well-being, productivity, quality of work, and tenure with the

organization (Davar & RanjuBala, 2012; Horverak et al., 2013). The current study sought to extend this understanding to the immigrant workers' experience in Canada. From the analyses, the current participants' job satisfaction was significantly predicted by their reported workplace attitudes.

This means that, as immigrant workers' perceived their coworkers, employers, and the organization as less discriminatory or prejudiced, then the higher their reported job satisfaction. This is consistent with previous research with non-dominant workers and particularly for immigrant workers (Echchakoui & Naji, 2013; Waight & Madera, 2011). That is, the current study seems to suggest that there is merit to the inclusion of immigrant workers' perceptions of workplace attitudes in a model that predicts their job satisfaction.

Relative contribution of workplace attitudes. Given that workplace attitudes do seem to have some predictive value for job satisfaction, it is important to understand this influence in a holistic model including influential contextual factors. Namely, English acculturation, bicultural competence, and social support. Previous research suggested that immigrant workers face critical barriers to obtaining meaningful employment, many pertaining to the immigrant workers' lack of local workforce knowledge, unreliable communication skills (e.g., English proficiency, workplace customs), or lack of resources (Chen, 2008). The onus seems to be on the immigrant workers to find a way to integrate themselves into the Canadian workforce (Boudarbat & Cousineau, 2010). As such, having the ability to successfully navigate both the heritage and Canadian culture, with emphasis on English usage, is considered essential to predicting the workplace adjustment and job satisfaction of the immigrant worker (Amit, 2010; Bauder, 2005; Valdivia & Flores, 2012). As such, this study first investigated a model of predicting job satisfaction which included immigrant workers' bicultural competence and daily English usage.

The analyses revealed that for the current participants, a model with bicultural competence was a significant predictor of job satisfaction. Specifically, as participants feel more competent in navigating both their heritage and Canadian culture, the higher their reported job satisfaction, which is consistent with previous research (Umamaheswar & Magee, 2011; Valdivia & Flores, 2012).

The finding that English acculturation was not significant is noteworthy, given that this is one of the most reported reasons by employers for hesitance in hiring immigrant workers (Scannell, 2006). It is also inconsistent with previous research, which emphasizes the importance of immigrant workers learning English to increase proficiency and, consequently, desirability to potential employers (Haley & Taengnoi, 2011; Wong et al., 2001). A potential explanation for this discrepancy is that the usage of English might be accounted for by bicultural competence, which contains a component of language competence. Alternatively, the scale used to assess English acculturation does not assess English fluency, which may be the criteria employers are using (Haley & Taengnoi, 2011). Additionally, there was a large portion of participants from English-speaking countries as compared to participants from non-English speaking countries. Had there been a bigger proportion of participants from non-English speaking countries then perhaps English acculturation may have been a significant predictor of job satisfaction.

In addition to barriers pertaining to the immigrant workers' skills or abilities, researchers also indicated that immigrant workers tend to have a less established social network than Canadian-born individuals, due to their relocation (Gardner et al., 2013; Tsai & Thompson, 2013). As such, immigrant workers are at a disadvantage in terms of mitigating the stress from prolonged, potentially unfruitful job searches and discrimination due to immigrant status, and lack the social resources to find meaningful employment relevant to their education level (Chen,

2008). For this reason, a model which included social support was explored. The results revealed that, for the current participants, social support was a significant predictor of job satisfaction. That is, as participants indicated perceiving a stronger social network, the higher their reported job satisfaction. This is consistent with previous research, which found that social support helps to mitigate successful integration of immigrant workers (Puyat, 2013). It is notable that with the addition of social support, bicultural competence continued to be a significant and unique predictor of job satisfaction while English acculturation remained insignificant to the current model.

Finally, the current study sought to investigate the relative contribution of workplace attitudes in a model predicting job satisfaction. Given that the current study has established that the variable of workplace attitudes is significantly related to job satisfaction, it is important to establish if it accounts for unique variance in job satisfaction, or if other established factors such as bicultural competence and social support are more influential. With the addition of workplace attitudes to the model, social support seems to be the only contextual factor that is significant in predicting the job satisfaction of immigrant workers in Canada for the current participants. This means that workplace attitudes are a unique predictor, along with social support, of immigrant workers' job satisfaction. Specifically, as participants perceived having stronger social support and perceived their workplace as being inclusive, then the higher they indicated their job satisfaction. This finding provides evidence for the role of the employer and organization in determining the job satisfaction of immigrant workers and suggests workplace attitudes may be a critical factor in a model predicting job satisfaction.

Importantly, with the addition of workplace attitudes, neither bicultural competence nor English acculturation were significant predictors of job satisfaction. This is inconsistent with

previous research, which heavily emphasizes the individuals' acculturation to Canadian culture as a critical factor in successful adjustment, well-being, and life and job satisfaction (Horverak et al., 2013; Moyerman & Forman, 1992; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). A potential explanation for this discrepancy is that, again, many of the participants were from Western countries (e.g., U. S. A., U. K., Australia, etc.) and as such English acculturation and bicultural competence may be less influential in determining job satisfaction as there would be less of an adjustment gap than for individuals from non-Western, non-English speaking countries. Had there been a larger portion of the participants from non-Western, non-English speaking countries than perhaps bicultural competence and English acculturation may have been influential factors in predicting job satisfaction.

In summary, for the current participants, there were two significant predictors of the job satisfaction of immigrant workers in Canada. These factors included workplace attitudes and social support. Specifically, participants' job satisfaction was higher when they perceived their work environment as inclusive and when they felt they had a strong social network to support them. Of note, bicultural competence and English acculturation, which were considered as influencing job satisfaction in previous studies, were not found to be significant predictors of job satisfaction for the current participants. These results suggest that the work environment plays a critical role in determining the job satisfaction of immigrant workers in Canada.

Strengths and Limitations of the Current Study

In representing the findings of the current study it is important to also clearly state the areas in which this research appropriately achieved its goals, as well as the areas in which some caution is required in interpreting the results. As such, this section will provide an overview of the strengths of the current study, followed by some limitations. Acknowledging the strengths

and limitations of the current study helps to appreciate the extent to which the findings are generalizable to the immigrant population.

Strengths

The current study had a few key strengths which are notable in order to appreciate the importance of the findings. First, the current study provides further insight into the factors which contribute to immigrant worker job satisfaction in Canada without separating this heterogeneous population into subgroups. That is, all skilled immigrant workers, regardless of ethnicity, country of origin, gender, and location in Canada were invited to participate in the current study. As such, the current participants represent a wide range of ethnicities with representation from men and women from across Canada. This is a strength, as previous research tended to focus on immigrant workers from non-Western, non-English speaking countries (Hoppe et al., 2013), and/or looked at the influences on men and women separately (Dominguez-Fuentes & Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012), usually from a specific location in Canada (Somerville & Walsworth, 2010).

By taking this holistic approach, the current study is able to provide insight into the impactful factors concerning job satisfaction in a more generalizable sense for many immigrant workers in Canada (Pelham, 2013). As well, the results from the current study are perhaps more reflective of the general experience of being a skilled immigrant worker in Canada rather than a specific subgroups' experience. This is important given that immigration trends suggest that Canada will continue to recruit more ethnically and linguistically diverse skilled immigrant workers, which will consequently lead to a more multicultural state (Chui, 2013). As such, understanding the general trends in immigrant workers' experience with job satisfaction is important for helping these workers successfully integrate into the Canadian workforce (Alboim,

2009; Przygoda, 2010).

Second, the current study provides evidence for further exploration into the influence of employers and organizations in helping immigrant workers successfully integrate into the Canadian workforce. Specifically, for the participants in the current study, workers' perceptions of inclusivity in the workplace was influential in predicting higher job satisfaction. This is a strength as previous research largely focused on the individuals' ability to successfully integrate into the workforce (Carneiro, Fortuna, & Varejão, 2012; Cobb-Clark et al., 2003). For instance, the importance of the immigrant worker improving their English proficiency, or seeking career counselling to learn about Canadian workplace customs (Azmier, 2005; Weiss et al., 2003).

In contrast, the current study showcases the impact of the work environment and employer attitudes in determining immigrant worker integration into the workforce, thus shifting the focus from solely the worker. That is, the current study highlights the dynamic interplay between the employee and the employer. This emphasis is important, given that previous research has noted a trend of deteriorating employment opportunities for the immigrant worker population, in spite of research, community, and provincial and federal efforts to support this population through professional development (Choudry & Thomas, 2013; O'Grady, 2012). As such, the findings from the current study bring into focus the employer's ability to help immigrant workers integrate into the Canadian workforce. Specifically, employers can help move immigrant workers into positions for which their skills and education are sought and not being met by Canadian-born individuals.

Third, the current study sought and surveyed skilled immigrant workers in Canada, the vast majority of whom were all employed full-time, and largely reported feeling that their current position matched their education level. This is a strength as many previous studies have focused

on immigrant workers who have had trouble finding full-time, meaningful employment and their experiences with the Canadian workforce (Grant, 2007; Picot & Sweetman, 2012; Young, 2007). This study offers insight into the job satisfaction experiences of individuals who have, for the most part, been able to successfully integrate into the Canadian workforce.

That is, the current findings move past identifying barriers to meaningful employment in Canada and instead offer the experiences of immigrant workers who have been able to overcome barriers to achieve the societally and individually desired vocational integration. This is important given that the government of Canada will continue to seek immigrant workers to offset an aging domestic population and to increase the Canadian workforce to compete globally. Moreover, focusing on these successful experiences will help to provide understanding into how other immigrant workers might also be helped, through professional development or through employer assistance, to integrate successfully into the Canadian workforce (Amundson, Yeung, Sun, Chan, & Cheng, 2011).

Limitations

Although there are strengths to the current study, there are also limitations to be noted. It is important to outline these limitations in order to appreciate the extent to which the current findings can be interpreted as generalizable. First, while understanding the general trends of immigrant workers' experiences in Canada is important, the current study may not represent the experience of subgroups within the skilled immigrant worker population. Specifically, previous research has found that immigrant workers from non-dominant ethnicities or non-English speaking countries have different experiences integrating into the Canadian workforce than do those individuals from countries with similar cultural backgrounds to Canada (Chen, 2008; Nelson et al., 2011). While the current study sought to obtain a diverse sample, there was a large

proportion, at least one third, of individuals from Western, English-speaking countries who are likely Caucasian. As such, the findings may be overly influenced by these perspectives and may not reflect the experiences of individuals from non-English speaking, non-Western countries, and who are from ethnic non-dominant groups. Additionally, the participants were highly educated, which may not capture the experiences of less educated immigrant workers in Canada.

A lack of diverse representation is a limitation because, had there been more individuals from non-English, non-Western countries and ethnic non-dominant groups, then a separate model could have been constructed to identify if the factors influencing job satisfaction are different for these groups. It is important to appropriately represent the experiences of subgroups within the immigrant workers population given that, compared to individuals from Western, English-speaking countries, individuals from non-English, non-Western countries and non-dominant ethnic groups tend to also face discrimination and unequal employment opportunities in Canada (Stebleton & Eggerth, 2012). Not appropriately accounting for these experiences would further perpetuate these systemic barriers (Arthur, Merali, & Djuraskovic, 2010; Danso, 2009).

Second, women have generally been found to have a different vocational experience than men (Swanson & Fouad, 2010) and this is particularly true for immigrant women (Chui, 2013). The current study, however, did not find any differences in job satisfaction. This discrepancy may have been a by-product of a disproportionate number of men over women as participants. This is a limitation as, had there been more of a gender balance in the participants in order to reflect the current immigration trends (Chui et al., 2007), then perhaps a difference in job satisfaction between men and women may have emerged.

As with ethnically and linguistically diverse populations in Canada, women tend to face

greater systemic barriers to meaningful employment (de Castro et al., 2006). As such, this is an important limitation as the current results may not appropriately reflect the experiences of immigrant women, who are statistically the least paid and most likely to be under or unemployed group in Canada (Chui, 2013). Canada will continue to seek skilled immigrant workers (Grant, 2007; Reitz, 2011), and the trend seems to continue to be for slightly more women than men (Chui et al., 2007). As such, appropriately reflecting the vocational experience of women immigrant workers is necessary to keep from propagating barriers to employment and facilitate integration (Chen, 2006).

Third, previous research has indicated that time in Canada is impactful on job satisfaction of immigrant workers (Chowhan et al., 2012), yet this was not exactly the case for participants in the current study. Instead what was found was that the job satisfaction for participants who had been in Canada for less than one year was lower than when compared to participants who had been in Canada for more than five years. This is a limitation to the current study as the three groups were unequal in size and, moreover, not large enough to construct a job prediction model for each group. For example, being able to construct a prediction model for each group would help to further differentiate the differences in job satisfaction based on the immigrant workers' time in Canada (Stevens, 2007). That is, a model could be constructed based on time in Canada to investigate if there are differences in the factors influencing job satisfaction. This is important given that there were some differences in job satisfaction found in the current study and this is echoed in previous research as well (Valdivia & Flores, 2012). Specifically, as immigrant workers spend more time in Canada, then the more their job satisfaction starts to resemble that of Canadian-born workers.

Research Implications

Given the explanation of the findings, strengths, and limitations of the current study in the previous sections, the discussion will now shift into how these results translate into the world of work. Specifically, this section will outline the potential implications of the current study for immigrant workers, counsellors and career development practitioners, employers and organizations, and government policy-makers. This section will also incorporate areas in the vocational and immigration studies fields that may have addressed these implications or offer possible methods for realizing these implications.

Immigrant Workers

For immigrant workers, the findings of the current study highlight that employer attitudes and the work environment are crucial considerations for adjustment into the Canadian workforce. There are at least two key players involved in negotiating meaningful employment and thus the onus is not solely on immigrant workers. Previous research indicated that, as individuals struggle with unemployment, they tend to develop an identity as an 'inferior worker' (Arulampalam, 2001; Gangl, 2006; Zamfir, 2012). This identity occurs when individuals become distressed with the job search process and begin to view their skills and experiences as less than they are, leading them to accept a position of unemployment. The reality is that, oftentimes, individual have taken the appropriate steps to develop professionally, yet systemic barriers exist which keep their development from having any substantial effect on their vocational outlook (Yakushko et al., 2008). The findings from the current study highlight the bias within Western culture that emphasizes self-actualization and the notion that anything is possible, if one only tries hard enough (Leung, 2008).

Another implication of the current findings for immigrant workers is that the work

environment seems to be a meaningful consideration when determining their job satisfaction. Immigrant workers should be aware that, when they are deciding if their current position is acceptable to them and meeting their needs, the attitudes of their employers and coworkers seem to significantly influence their decisions (Dawis et al., 1964; Echchakoui & Naji, 2013). This is important given that this is not something that the immigrant worker can change within themselves and may be consistent across organizations (Sakamoto et al., 2008). From a social justice perspective, some researchers have sought to encourage immigrant workers to push for their own social change, and there is evidence of this desire to fight oppressive practices within the literature (Wong & Narro, 2007). As such, immigrant workers may wish to advocate for greater inclusivity practices at their workplace, scout out organizations that value diversity, and in general encourage change from the employer side of operations (Triana et al., 2010).

Counsellors and Career Development Practitioners

For counsellors and career development practitioners, an important implication from the current findings is to continue to build awareness of the systemic barriers that may be inhibiting immigrant workers' abilities to successfully integrate into the Canadian workforce (Chen, 2006; Chen, 2008). The direction of practice may be directly with clients or on their behalf, working at systemic or societal levels (Arthur & McMahon, 2005). When working with individual clients, practitioners should be careful not to overemphasize the individual's capabilities in overcoming barriers and instead strike a balance between personal agency and awareness of obstacles at the societal level, which cannot be overcome through hard work alone (Arthur & McMahon, 2005). A multicultural stance within counselling stresses the importance of awareness building, both for the practitioner and the client, around societal norms in order to better approach the concerns of the client (Arthur & Collins, 2011). In this case, awareness of systemic barriers helps to

contextualize and bring new understanding to the seeming lack of accomplishments on the immigrant workers' behalf due to discriminatory practices (Patton & McMahon, 2014). This could help to reduce stress and depressive emotions around feeling defeated or inadequate (Danso, 2009).

As practitioners, another implication from the current findings is that advocacy for employers and organizations to be taking part in the integration of immigrant workers is necessary for success (Young, 2007). That is, given that employer and co-worker attitudes seem to be influential in determining immigrant worker job satisfaction, it stands to reason that fostering better attitudes within the workplace may facilitate the successful integration of immigrant workers (Wills, 2010). Specifically, some researchers suggest that practitioners have a duty to advocate on behalf of their clients for sensitivity and diversity training within organizations (Collins & Arthur, 2007; Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council, 2010). In this way, miscommunications and misunderstandings may be addressed in a safe and open environment, hopefully leading to more constructive interactions between Canadian-born and immigrant workers (Grant, 2007; Regmi, Naidoo, & Regmi, 2009). Moreover, researchers stress that this training must come from trained professionals, which involves practitioners making the effort to connect with organizations within their community (Nguyen, 2008).

A final implication for career practitioners from the current findings is the importance social support during the job search and adjustment process (Koert et al., 2011; Wang & Pierre, 2005). That is, the current study provided evidence for social support as a potential predictor of job satisfaction. As such, career practitioners may encourage immigrant workers to expand their social network in Canada in order to maximize job satisfaction. Specifically, practitioners could seek to improve support networks not only within immigrant workers' community but within

their place of employment (Dumas et al., 2013). Increased social support within the organization may help bridge the professional with the personal, creating a vocational identity that is more congruent with the holistic values of the worker (de Castro et al., 2006; Swanson & Fouad, 2010). As well, workers who perceive greater value in workplace connections are more likely to be invested in the organization and its goals (Yap et al., 2014).

Employers and Organizations

For employers and organizations, the current findings suggest that they have an important role in determining the job satisfaction of immigrant workers. Specifically, the expressed attitudes of the organization and those of the supervisors can influence immigrant workers' productivity, quality of work, commitment to and tenure at an organization, and conflict within the workplace. This is significant to employers as they are seeking skilled workers to advance the competitiveness of the organization (Yang, 2009). Moreover, the hiring and training process places a financial strain upon the organization, making it in their best interest to keep skilled workers. As such, some research has called upon organizations to address these counterintuitive practices of relegating immigrant workers to positions of underemployment (Drolet et al., 2014; Van Ngo & Este, 2006). Some researchers have advocated that employers shift from viewing immigrant workers as liabilities to assets in accomplishing their organizational goals (Alboim, 2009; Friesend & Ingram, 2013).

Another implication for employers is that, regardless of what occurs to address the trend of deteriorating employment conditions for immigrant workers in Canada, employers will have a role in it (Drolet et al., 2014). That is, if immigrant workers' job satisfaction is contingent upon the workplace attitudes, then willing or not, employers can negatively or positively affect the integration of immigrant workers into the workforce (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008). As such,

research suggested that organizations should own their role in the employment process and seek to be an active member in the solution (Waight & Mader, 2011). In doing so, organizations will be able to more readily shape the solution and perhaps tailor it to their own objectives as well, thus providing a direct benefit to the organization (Nguyen, 2008).

Government and Policy-Makers

A final implication from the current study is that there seems to be a lack of recognition from a societal perspective of the employers' role in the employment process and successful integration of immigrant workers (Drolet et al., 2014). Specifically, there seems to be a disconnection between the immigration process and the employment process where potential employment opportunities are not being realized for many immigrant workers (Somerville & Walsworth, 2010). If the government of Canada will continue to seek skilled immigrant workers as part of its economic plan, then the systemic barriers facing immigrant workers when they try to enter the Canadian workforce needs to be considered during the immigration process (Zikic et al., 2010). Some researchers note that government may be able to monitor the actions of organizations and hold them accountable for discriminatory actions that impede the integration of immigrant workers into the workplace (Azmier, 2005; Grant, 2007; Richmond, 2000). From a social justice perspective, it is important that policy-makers do more than accept highly skilled immigrant workers into Canada (Danso, 2009). There is a responsibility to provide leadership and resources for appropriate employment practices (Amundson et al., 2010; Drolet et al., 2014). Ultimately, the goal of these actions would be to narrow the gap that exists between the immigration process and the employment process (Stebleton & Eggerth, 2012).

Future Research

After reviewing the findings, implications, and strengths and limitations of the current

study, the discussion will now focus on the next steps in the field of vocational and immigration studies. In particular, this section will highlight possible follow-up studies and potential future research that may be conducted to further the understanding of immigrant workers' job satisfaction. Moreover, how research can investigate the ways in which employers and the organizational environment may influence immigrant workers' job satisfaction. The ultimate goal of future research in these directions is to help facilitate the successful integration of immigrant workers into the Canadian workforce.

Immigrant Workers' Job Satisfaction

Although the current study investigated the job satisfaction of immigrant workers in Canada, based on previously established workplace and contextual factors, further research is needed in this area. Specifically, replication studies are crucial in providing evidence for the model predicting job satisfaction presented in the current study (Field, 2009). Although the current study found that workplace attitudes and social support were significant predictors of job satisfaction, previous studies have shown support for the inclusion of bicultural competence and English acculturation (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007, 2012). As these factors were not found to be significant in this study, replication studies would help to provide evidence for the verification of the job satisfaction model proposed in the current study. Conducting replication studies is important as it helps to disambiguate findings across studies and provide support for certain models over others (Pelham, 2013).

Future research could address the limitations of the current study. That is, subsequent studies could aim to recruit sufficient participants in order to run separate job satisfaction models for different lengths of time in Canada, as well as by gender. The current study did find that there were some differences between time in Canada and job satisfaction, however, there were not

enough participants in each time group to run separate analyses. As such, recruiting sufficient participants might help to understand more specifically the vocational development of skilled immigrant workers in Canada. Although the current study did not find any significant differences in job satisfaction between men and women, there were disproportionally more men than women, which may have obscured potential differences. In recruiting a more balanced sample in terms of gender, future studies may find different models of job satisfaction by gender. Recruiting more balanced samples helps to understand the experiences of skilled immigrant workers in Canada, which is important considering this population is expected to account for the majority of population growth in Canada for the foreseeable future (Chui, 2013).

Organizational Environment and Employer Role

One of the major findings in the current study is that the workplace environment or, more specifically, employers' and co-workers' attitudes are impactful when predicting the current participants' job satisfaction. As such, further research is needed into which attitudes (e.g., actions suggesting inclusivity or actions portraying discrimination) are more influential in determining job satisfaction. Moreover, how the effects of these attitudes change across subgroups within the immigrant worker population.

Previous research suggested that workers from non-dominant groups are negatively impacted by discriminatory acts, yet, many expect and find it normal for these prejudice practices to occur in the workplace, at least subtly (Hahn & Wilkins, 2013). Other studies noted that overt actions of inclusion within the workplace positively impacted non-dominant workers and were unexpected actions that endeared the employers and coworkers to them (Gardner et al., 2013; Sakamoto et al., 2008). Distinguishing which of these attitudes are influential in predicting job satisfaction will help identify the concrete actions that employers and organizations can take

in order to increase immigrant worker job satisfaction. That is, future research could determine whether it is more influential to work toward promoting inclusivity within an organization or to set targets to reduce discriminatory practices.

Another avenue of potential future research is the investigation of the successful practices of Canadian employers in helping skilled immigrant workers integrate into the Canadian workforce. Moreover, research could discover the actions that employers are taking that help immigrant workers feel that their skills are valued by the organization and that they are contributing meaningfully. An understanding of these practices would help to appreciate the employer's role in the employment process of immigrant workers. This is important as Canadian employers have been missing from the two-way street that is employment, with over emphasis on the role of the employee in successful integration into the workforce (Drolet et al., 2014). Research suggests that while there are ways for immigrant workers to develop their desirability to employers, they still remain one of the most underemployed and unemployed groups in Canada in spite of their skills and education being sought by Canadian employers (Chui, 2013; Chui et al., 2007).

Moreover, future research could investigate if there are certain types of organizations or fields that are having greater success than others. For instance, qualitative studies focusing in-depth on particular organizations that seem to be having success in maintaining immigrant workers in meaningful positions might help to shed light on the specific conditions that are predictive of immigrant worker success in the Canadian workforce (Friesend & Ingram, 2013). Immigrant worker integration into the Canadian workforce will become more of a priority for society as Canada will continue to use immigrant workers to off-set a declining domestic birthrate and meet growing demand for skilled workers to compete in a global economy

(Baltodano et al., 2007).

Personal Reflections

Having reached the end of the current study, I believe it is important to share some personal reflection on this research experience. In conducting this study, I gained a greater understanding of the pertinent factors in determining job satisfaction for immigrant workers and, in particular, the role of workplace attitudes. I was encouraged to see that the inclusion of workplace attitudes in a model predicting immigrant worker job satisfaction was significant. This represented an acknowledgement of the necessity to get Canadian employers on board with future changes concerning policies and practices that help immigrant workers successfully integrate.

From my work experience in Japan, once I felt that my employers were appropriately invested in my adjustment to the Japanese workforce, this had ripple effects within my personal life as well. That is, I felt more competent and confident to become an active member within my community as a volunteer and in promoting local events and development. This involvement in turn helped me to become a more knowledgeable employee with mutually invested interest in the success of the organization. As such, a key reflection from the current study is what ripple effects might be possible for immigrant workers, Canadian society, and Canadian organizations through the promotion of immigrant workers' integration into the Canadian workforce.

Conclusion

In summary, the current study investigated the factors that influence the job satisfaction of skilled immigrant workers in Canada. Canada has historically relied upon immigration to establish itself as a sovereign nation and take advantage of the area's rich natural resources (Richmond, 2000). More recently, the Canadian government has continued its reliance upon

recruiting skilled immigrant workers in order to offset a declining domestic birthrate and remain a competitor in the global economy (Reitz, 2011). For the most part Canada has been successful in recruiting skilled immigrant workers yet research shows a trend where newcomers to Canada face deteriorating employment conditions (Bourdarbat & Cousineau, 2010). Previous research has focused on how immigrant workers can better adjust to the Canadian workforce in order to address this disturbing trend (Yang, 2009). Key factors identified are job satisfaction, degree of acculturation, social support, and workplace attitudes (Alboim, 2009).

Job satisfaction is the degree to which workers feel their skills match the incentives offered by the employer (Davar & RanjuBala, 2012). Higher job satisfaction is related to worker tenure, increased productivity, higher quality work, as well as the personal well-being of the worker, making it a concept of interest in the vocational field (Wang & Pierre, 2005). Workplace attitudes are the immigrant workers' perception of inclusivity within the workplace (Hodson, 2004). That is, the degree to which employers and coworkers support workers from non-dominant groups (Triana et al., 2010). Workplace attitudes have been shown to affect a worker's investment in an organization as well as the quality and quantity of their work (Podsakoff et al., 2007).

Acculturation refers to the degree to which the immigrant worker has incorporated the customs of Canada and the continued adherence to the heritage culture (Berry et al., 2006). For the purposes of this study, bicultural competence, which is feeling competent in navigating both the Canadian and the heritage culture, is of interest as previous research suggests that this category within acculturation is a protective factor against minority stress (Noels & Berry, 2006; Wei et al., 2010). Tied to this is the degree to which the immigrant worker uses English in their everyday life. Past research has suggested that increasing English proficiency is crucial to

immigrant workers' successful integration into the Canadian workforce (Salamonson et al., 2008). Finally, social support is the immigrant worker's perceived level of emotion and material support from their social network (López & Cooper, 2011). Social support has been shown to mediate negative effects across the personal and vocational aspects of an individual's life (Shor et al., 2013).

Given the importance of job satisfaction for both the individual and the organization, the current study sought to address the gap within the literature around which factors are critical in predicting immigrant worker job satisfaction. The current study surveyed employed, skilled, immigrant workers across Canada about their job satisfaction, bicultural competence, English acculturation, social support, and workplace attitudes. A hierarchical regression was used to construct a model predicting job satisfaction from these factors. The results revealed that, for the current population, social support and workplace attitudes significantly predict immigrant worker job satisfaction and that previously established factors including bicultural competence and English acculturation were not significant predictors.

The current study demonstrates evidence that immigrant job satisfaction may best be predicted by a model that includes workplace attitudes. This evidence provides impetus for companies to consider policies that support immigrant workers (Bauder, 2005; Drolet et al., 2014). This is particularly important given Canada's current need for skilled immigrant workers as part of its economic strategy to off-set an aging population. Should employment opportunities continue to erode for immigrants, Canada may lose its position as a top destination country and thus be less competitive globally in attracting skilled immigrant workers (Danso, 2009).

The results of this study help to highlight the need for collaboration between the private sector and immigration policy so that immigrants can be treated appropriately, rather than given

false expectations (Somerville & Walsworth, 2010). The hope is that this collaboration will help Canada maintain its position as a highly attractive destination for skilled immigrants and subsequently support Canada's economic success.

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Appendix A

Recruitment Message

Immigrant Workers in Canada--You are invited to participate in a research survey!

My name is Jon Woodend and I am a graduate student at the University of Calgary. The purpose of this study is to learn more about the relationship between immigrant workers' perceptions of workplace attitudes and how this relates to their job satisfaction.

This study will be used as part of the Master of Science Thesis project being conducted by a graduate student in Educational Psychology. The study is being conducted online, and will take less than 15 minutes to complete. Should you choose to participate in the study, you will be eligible for a chance to win 1 of 5 $25 gift cards to Amazon.ca. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions in the study. This study has been approved by the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB).

For this study, you will be asked to fill out the survey. Specifically, you will be asked to complete 6 questionnaires about your experience as an immigrant worker in Canada. The six questionnaires will ask about demographic information, your satisfaction with your current job, perceived workplace attitudes toward you, how much you use English day-to-day, your perceived bicultural self-efficacy, and your perceived social support.

If you are interested in participating in the study, please click on the link below:

(Link Here)

If you are interested in contacting the researchers for more information, please email

Jon Woodend (Graduate student)

Thank you for your interest!

Appendix B

Demographic Questionnaire

- **How long have you been in Canada?**
  - Less than 1 year
  - Less than 5 years
  - More than 5 years
- **Gender**
  - Male
  - Female
  - Other
- **How many children do you have?**
  - None
  - [select number]
- **What is your relationship status?**
- **How old are you?**
- **What is your home country?**
- **What languages do you speak and/or write in fluently?**
- **What is your highest level of education?**
- **What is your current employment status?**
  - Full-time
  - Part-time
  - Unemployed
  - Other:
- **How long have you been at your current job?**
- **In what field is your current job?**
- **Do you feel that your current job matches your education level?**
  - Yes
  - No
  - Other:
- **What type of organization do you work for?**
  - Public Sector (e.g., government)
  - Private Sector (e.g., business)
  - Voluntary Sector (e.g., non-profit)
  - Self-Employment

Appendix C

Informed Consent

Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, & Email:
Jon Woodend, Werklund School of Education, Educational Psychology

Supervisor:
Dr. Nancy Arthur, Werklund School of Education, Educational Psychology

Title of Project:
Making Ends Meet: Do Immigrants' Perception of Workplace Attitudes Predict Job Satisfaction

This consent form is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study:

You are invited to participate in a research study. This study is being conducted by Jon Woodend, a Master's student in counselling psychology. The purpose of this study is to learn more about the relationship between immigrant workers' perceptions of workplace attitudes and their job satisfaction. The information gathered will be used in the Master's thesis work of Jon Woodend.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

Participation in this study involves completing an online questionnaire that will involve answering some general questions about your situation. You will also be asked to complete six questionnaires. The six questionnaires will ask about your current job satisfaction, your perceived social support, how much you use English day-to-day, your bicultural self-efficacy, and your perceptions of workplace attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions you will be asked. It will take 30 minutes to complete.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to answer all of the questions on a questionnaire, and you can decline to answer any questions if you choose. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time by closing the web browser.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

All participants will remain anonymous and you will not be asked to provide your name at any time in the study. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to provide your gender, age, email address, country of origin, time in Canada, relationship status, number of children, languages fluent in, level of education, current employment status, length at current job, field of current job, level of match between

current job and education level, and type of organization currently working in.

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

There is potential that while answering questions in this study that you may feel a range of emotions, including negative feelings such as discomfort. These feelings are normal and should be temporary. The results from this research may provide a better understanding of the situation of immigrant workers in Canada. The results may also have a positive impact on the understanding of the situation of immigrant workers in Canada for policy makers and employers.

What Happens to the Information I Provide

Participation is completely voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. You are free to stop participation at any time during the study. No one except the researcher and his supervisor will have access to the questionnaires. There are no names on the questionnaire. Only group data will be used for all analyses in this study, and only group data will be summarized for any presentation or publication of results. The questionnaires are kept in a password-protected computer where only authorized persons (Jon Woodend and Nancy Arthur) may access the data. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be deleted. If you withdraw from the study after data collection is complete, your data cannot be destroyed because data is stored without identifiers and cannot be linked to participants. After the study is complete, all research documents will be stored for five years in a locked filing cabinet. After five years, all documents will be destroyed.

This study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the researcher's Master's thesis project. It is anticipated that the results will be included in conference presentations, and may be published in a peer-reviewed journal.

Consent

By submitting the completed or partially-completed survey you are indicating your consent as a voluntary participant in this research study.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Researcher:	Jon Woodend, Educational Psychology, Werklund School of Education
Supervisor:	Dr. Nancy Arthur, Educational Psychology, Werklund School of Education

If you have any concerns about the way you have been treated as a participant, please contact the Ethics Resource Officer, Research Services, University of Calgary.

Appendix D

Project Summary

Principal Investigator: Jon Woodend, Educational Psychology, Werklund School of Education
Supervisor: Dr. Nancy Arthur, Educational Psychology, Werklund School of Education
Project Title: Making Ends Meet: Do Immigrants' Perception of Workplace Attitudes Predict Job Satisfaction

Thank you for your participation in this study! Your participation is greatly appreciated and we hope you found the experience interesting. The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between immigrant workers' job satisfaction, their perceived social support, their perceived ability to navigate two different cultural norms, their perceived English language acculturation, and their perceptions of workplace attitudes toward their ethnic group.

Previous research has found that higher perceived English language ability, bicultural competence, and social support was related to higher job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is of interest because higher job satisfaction is associated with greater employee productivity, higher quality of work, and employee retention. For workers, greater job satisfaction is related to higher life satisfaction. In the current research, we are examining the above research together as a whole and incorporating immigrant workers' perceptions of workplace attitudes. Examining the relationship between workplace attitudes and job satisfaction will help to shed light on the role of the employer/organizational environment in facilitating worker retention.

This study was conducted by a Master's student in counselling psychology. The results of this study will be included in Jon Woodend's Master's thesis, and it is anticipated that the results of this study will also be published as a journal article, and be included in conference presentations. If you would like to know more information about the topics addressed in this research please consult the following articles and books:

Alboim, N. (2009). *Adjusting the balance: Fixing Canada's economic immigration policies*. Toronto, ON: Maytree Foundation.

Chowhan, J., Isik, U. Z., & Gordon, B. C. (2012). Are immigrants' pay and benefits satisfaction different than Canadian-born? *Relations Industrielles, 67*(1), 3-24. doi:10.7202/1008193ar

Picot, G., & Sweetman, A. (2012). *Making it in Canada: Immigration outcomes and policies*. Montreal, PQ: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Somerville, K., & Walsworth, S. (2010). Admission and employment criteria discrepancies: Experiences of skilled immigrants in Toronto. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 11*(3), 341-352. doi:10.1007/s12134-010-0138-4

Thank you again for your participation in this study!