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**The Devaluation of Immigrants' Foreign Credentials:
The Psychological Impact of This Barrier To Integration into Canadian
Society**

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Updated Abstract

When evaluating the skill set of immigrants, Canadian employers and professional bodies often have to evaluate unfamiliar foreign qualifications. As a result these qualifications are often undervalued creating widespread underemployment among foreign-trained immigrants. Three studies examined this important issue from the immigrants' perspective. The first and third studies involved qualitative interviews with samples of skilled immigrants. A thematic analysis of the data from Study 1, allowed a questionnaire to be constructed which was given to skilled emigrants from Asia and Africa currently experiencing credentialing problems in Study 2 (N = 181). The results showed that many respondents felt that immigrants were being discriminated against by Canadian employers. Nevertheless, they were actively pursuing a variety of career options. Indeed, over half of the sample were willing to work in rural Saskatchewan for three years in exchange for training which would result in their credentials being recognised. Further, structural equation modelling showed that a social psychological model derived from relative deprivation theory and social identity theory was supported. Specific theoretical directions and policy recommendations are discussed, including the need for policies which would give skilled immigrants clear training paths to follow so that they can obtain appropriate Canadian credentials in their chosen vocation more easily.

Executive Summary

When evaluating the skill set of immigrants, Canadian employers and professional bodies often have to evaluate unfamiliar foreign qualifications. As a result these qualifications are often undervalued creating widespread underemployment among foreign-trained immigrants. Three studies examined this important issue from the immigrants' perspective. The first and third study involved qualitative interviews with small samples of skilled immigrants (the data from Study 3 is still being analysed). A thematic analysis of the data collected in Study 1, allowed a questionnaire to be constructed which was given to skilled emigrants from Asia and Africa currently experiencing credentialing problems in Study 2 (N = 181). The results showed that many respondents were surprised and upset that it was so difficult for them to obtain recognition of their foreign credentials and work experience. Indeed, many felt that immigrants-in-general were being discriminated against by potential Canadian employers. Further, these skilled immigrants felt that immigrants were discriminated against because of their race, their cultural background, their accent, and their inability to speak English well. Nevertheless, they were actively pursuing different career options including taking work for which they were overqualified, volunteering, having their qualifications assessed, and upgrading and broadening their training. Indeed, over half of the sample were willing to work in a remote rural area of Saskatchewan for three years in exchange for training which would result in their credentials being recognised and, on average, they were prepared to pay 50% of the associated costs.

Two clear policy recommendations were derived from the results. These are that Federal and Provincial governments, in collaboration with professional accreditation bodies:

- 1) develop new policies initiatives designed to allow skilled immigrants to utilize their training and experience more quickly and more fully**
- 2) place priority on the development of new policies which provide highly trained immigrants with clear retraining paths to follow that will result in the accreditation of their foreign credentials and, where necessary, the upgrading of their training to Canadian standards.**

Study 2 was also designed to test a model of social protest derived from relative deprivation theory and social identity theory. This model specifies that the strength of cultural and national identifications are opposing motivational forces that, along with outrage at the unfair way immigrants are treated, will directly impact the frequency of the past protest actions and the future protest intentions of skilled immigrants. Structural equation modelling shows that the model is generally an excellent fit to the data. However, an unexpected direct causal path from national identity to protest actions was obtained which showed that the stronger the respondents identified with Canada and felt Canadian, the more they tended to protest unfair discrimination directed against immigrants from their cultural group. The suggestion is that having a strong Canadian identity allows immigrants to feel entitled to protest unfair and discriminatory actions, even though it mitigates their feelings of outrage. More generally, the theoretical implications of these findings for the integration of social identity theory and relative deprivation theory are discussed.

The Devaluation of Immigrants' Foreign Credentials: The Psychological Impact of This Barrier To Integration into Canadian Society

Statement of the Problem and Project Objectives

Immigrants are welcomed by Canadians for two very different reasons. On the one hand, labour shortages and a low birth rate make it essential to recruit highly trained immigrants for economic reasons. This objective is achieved through the points system which is designed to ensure that independent class immigrants are well educated and come to Canada with skills and experience in their chosen profession. On the other hand, humanitarian imperatives dictate that Canadian immigration policy should support the reunification of families and the acceptance of refugees fleeing from persecution in countries controlled by repressive regimes. The result is that, on balance, immigrants-in-general tend to be better educated than native born Canadians, with a greater proportion having some post secondary education, even though the number of family class immigrants has increased considerably over the last decade (Grant & Oertel, 1998; Li, 2001).

Increasingly, immigrants to Canada are members of visible minorities from Asia, Africa, and Latin America with a cultural background that differs considerably from mainstream Canadian culture (Basavarajappa & Jones, 1999). The 2001 census, for example, shows that three quarters (73%) of the immigrants who came to Canada during the 1990s are members of a visible minority with the largest number coming from Asia (58.2%), particularly China (Statistics Canada, 2003). The result is that professional accreditation bodies and potential employers have had to evaluate the worth of foreign qualifications and work experience from a very different part of the world. Regrettably, these accreditation bodies and employers have not been up to this difficult task. Specifically, a human capital approach to research investigating this issue has shown that foreign qualifications and work experience are consistently undervalued resulting in wage gaps that for recent immigrants, particularly immigrants of colour, decline much more slowly than in the past (Basavarajappa & Jones, 1999; Grant & Oertel, 1998; Li, 2000, 2001; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2000; Rajagopal, 1990). Indeed, this research indicates that the wage gap for immigrants of colour is the result of both an undervaluing of their professional credentials and discrimination, with women being especially adversely affected (Boyd, 1990, 1999).

A human capital approach has great value in documenting the extent of this formidable barrier to the integration of highly trained immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It can not shed a more detailed light on the employment experiences of these immigrants as they face this barrier while adjusting to living in a very different society, however. This is because researchers in this research tradition typically use regression analysis of census microdata files in which discrimination is inferred, given that white Canadian-born males still earn significantly more than other subsamples of respondents defined by their nativity, visible minority status, country of origin, and gender after controlling for a variety of human capital and other variables. Noting this, Basran and Zong (1998) gave a questionnaire to 404 foreign trained professionals living in Vancouver who had immigrated from India, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. The results were both revealing and disturbing as they showed that these professionals had experienced considerable downward mobility after emigrating to Canada and were currently living on a relatively low income (70% under \$30,000). For example, 88% had worked in their profession in their country of origin but only 18.8% had done so in Canada, and most had experienced difficulty in having their foreign credentials and work experience recognised. In addition, considerable numbers said that they were discriminated against by potential employers because of their skin colour (65%), national or ethnic origin (69%), or because they spoke English as a second language (79%). Interestingly, approximately three quarters of the respondents said that the government should do more to help immigrants meet Canadian accreditation standards and were willing to partially cover the costs of such government services (just over 50% were willing to negotiate a bank loan for this purpose). As well, almost 80% of the respondents said they would support a program in which immigrants work in a rural area for some time as repayment for retraining designed to help them meet professional standards.

Similarly Krahn, Derwing, Mulder, and Wilkinson (2000) examined the Canadian employment experiences of 525 refugees mostly from former Yugoslavia who had resettled in Alberta between 1992 and 1997. Although many of these refugees came to Canada with a high education level and corresponding work experience, they also experienced considerable downward mobility which they attributed to credentialing problems, a lack of Canadian work experience, and inadequate language training.

Recently, I completed two studies in Saskatoon funded by PCERII that investigated the content and function of the Canadian identity of immigrants predominantly from Asia and Africa (Grant, 2002; Grant & McMullen, 2005). In the first study, in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with 25 immigrants who had become leaders within their cultural communities. The results showed that one barrier to developing a strong Canadian identity and actively participating in Canadian society (psychological and behavioural acculturation) was racism-in-general and the lack of acceptance and the undervaluing of foreign credentials and work experience-in-particular. As well, difficulties understanding and penetrating the Canadian labour market and mastering the English language were also barriers to acculturation. In the second study, 403 immigrants mostly from Asia and Africa completed a questionnaire which examined the same topics using a mix of established scales and new scales developed from the themes identified in Study 1. The results showed that support for multiculturalism and the development of a strong Canadian identity among these respondents was negatively associated with their perception of the extent to which discriminatory barriers prevented their integration into Canadian society. As well, the less the respondents identified with Canada, the more they favoured their heritage culture over Canadian culture (cultural group bias). These results illustrate the negative psychological implications of underutilizing immigrants' training, skills, and talents. The more they feel marginalized in the Canadian labour market, the less they wish to become part of the mainstream Canadian society that has rejected them. That is, these results suggest that the undervaluing of foreign credentials and work experience is an injustice that is both socially undesirable because it undermines multiculturalism and economically undesirable because it squanders valuable human capital.

The research program described here was built upon my earlier work as well as that of Basran and Zong (1998) and Krahn et al. (2000) and **its first general objective** was to examine immigrants' reactions to systemic discriminatory barriers that prevent them from practicing their chosen vocation in Canada from a social psychological perspective.

Theoretical Framework

Highly trained immigrants come to Canada expecting to practice their chosen profession. These expectations are dashed, however, if their foreign credentials and work experience are not recognised as legitimate by potential employers and accreditation bodies. This type of social situation is the focus of relative deprivation theory (Olson, Herman, & Zanna, 1986; Runciman, 1966; Walker & Smith, 2002). In this theory, relative deprivation is defined as a perception that an expectation has been violated (the cognitive component) and feelings of injustice, dissatisfaction, and discontent at this violation (affective component). Relative deprivation can take two very different forms. Egoistic relative deprivation results when a person feels that he or she is unjustly deprived relative to other individuals and it causes stress and lower life satisfaction. Collective relative deprivation, the theoretical focus of this research program, results when a person feels that his or her group is unjustly deprived relative to other social groups and it motivates collective or group actions. To be precise, relative deprivation theory (RDT) specifies and empirical evidence substantiates that affective relative deprivation is the proximal cause of engagement in protest action, which fully mediates the more distal effects of cognitive relative deprivation as shown by the central causal path in Figure 1 (Dion, 1986; Dube-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Grant & Brown, 1995; Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Pettigrew, 2002). The focus of this study was on collective relative deprivation because it was designed to test this causal path within a more comprehensive model that predicts when an immigrant is most likely to protest the unfair treatment of all immigrants from their cultural group.

It is sometimes overlooked that Tajfel's formulation of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) casts it as a theory that complements rather than replaces other social psychological theories of intergroup relations. For example, he explicitly acknowledged the importance of conflicts of interest between groups in generating prejudice and discrimination as described by Realistic Group conflict theory (Campbell, 1965; Sherif, 1966; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961). Further, and of particular interest here, Tajfel felt that only an integration of social identity theory with relative deprivation theory would provide a complete explanation for why minority group members participate in mass protest actions. Thus, in describing the circumstances under which social protest are most likely to occur, he writes, "It might be said that much of it (*the theoretical development of SIT*) can be seen as an attempt to articulate some of the social psychological processes which are responsible for the genesis and functioning of relative deprivation" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 67).

In the last 25 years, there have been a number of attempts at integrating SIT with RDT (e.g., Ellemers, 2002; Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Smith Spears, & Hamstra, 1999). This is because the accumulation of evidence

suggests that the two theories are even more intertwined than Tajfel had imagined. In this paper I examine two ways in which social identity theory and relative deprivation theory can be integrated to explain the involvement of minority group members in mass protests against inequitable treatment of their group. First, it is clear that those people most likely to care when individuals are treated unfairly because they are a member of a minority group, are the minority group members themselves! Conceptually strength of group identity influences a minority group member's motivation to join a protest movement both directly and indirectly. First, a straightforward extrapolation from social identity theory results in the hypothesis that group identification motivates outrage at social injustice: The stronger a person identifies with a minority group, the stronger his or her feelings of outrage at that group's illegitimately low status and unfair treatment. This is because a strong group identification motivates minority group members to place particular importance on the results of intergroup social comparisons between their group and the majority group and, therefore, to react emotionally to any unfair treatment of their group (Brown, 2000; Smith, Spears, & Hamstra, 1999). That is, this integration of SIT and RDT suggests that group identification in addition to the belief that an expectancy has been unjustly violation (the cognitive component of relative deprivation) influence the strength of the affective component of relative deprivation (the path from cultural identity to affective CRD in Figure 1) because "people become more sensitive to invidious social comparisons" (Tougas & Beaton, 2002, p. 129).

Strength of group identification may also influence a person's desire to engage in protest actions directly (e.g., Wright & Tropp, 2002). This hypothesis can be derived from social identity theory because, in this theory, a person's group identity is conceptualizes as an important part of a person's self-concept. Clearly, individuals are more likely to publicly endorse the protest actions of a group with which they identify strongly, as they are more predisposed to act as a representative of that group and to support group actions not only to enhance it's social status, but also to show their loyalty (e.g., Abrams, 1990; Smith, Spears, & Hamstra, 1999; Wright & Tropp, 2002). Indeed, a strong group identification appears to act as an internal barrier which prevents group members from seriously considering leaving a minority group and "passing" into the majority group (Brown, 2000; Ellemers et al, 1997), even when a minority group's status is perceived to be illegitimately low and unstable (the path from cultural identity to protest actions in Figure 1).

Recent immigrants are an interesting group to study because not only do they have a strong identification with the culture in which they raised, but also they have an emerging national identification with their new country (they are members of two partially overlapping ingroups). Indeed, the stronger their national identification the more they will be protesting against the unfair actions of an important *ingroup*, rather than a cultural outgroup. The novel hypotheses tested in this research program is that national identification will tend to mitigate feelings of outrage at the unfair treatment of the immigrant's cultural group (the affective component of relative deprivation) as well as protest actions themselves (See the paths in the top half of Figure 1). This is because the experience of unfair treatment at the hands of members of one's new countrymen and countrywomen is more likely to be construed as well meaning, though misguided, and is less likely to provoke outrage. As well, immigrants with a strong national identity are less likely to engage in protest actions because such actions could be construed as disloyal or unpatriotic.

A second way in which SIT is intertwined with RCT is through the specification of the beliefs that are associated with protest actions. Social identity theory specifies that the minority group members most likely to participate in such protests are those who believe that their groups' status is illegitimately low and that there is a possibility of change for the better (the group's status is unstable). In parallel fashion, relative deprivation theory specifies that the cognitive component of relative deprivation is the belief held by cultural group members that they are not receiving societal benefits to which they feel entitled (an expectancy violation). Indeed, minority group members often argue that they are entitled to the same benefits as other members of society. Because access to such benefits is linked to social status, the extent to which this expectancy is violated is dependent on the extent to which the minority group members believe that their group has an illegitimately low social status which can be changed. The two theories are integrated, therefore, by specifying that the cognitive component of relative deprivation is the product of the belief that the minority group's status is illegitimately low with the belief that this illegitimate status is unstable (see Figure 1).

In sum, the model shown in Figure 1 represents a theoretical integration of SIT with RDT. It also represents a new approach to the social psychology behind a person's desire to take protest actions because it predicts the opposing motivational effects of cultural and national identity on this desire. That is the model focuses on the impact of multiple and partially overlapping *ingroup* identifications on the willingness of minority group members to protest injustices perpetrated against their group within a multicultural society of which they are a part.

This is in contrast to the commonly used theoretical model which focuses on ingroup – outgroup relations and assesses the impact of a person’s identification with a low status minority ingroup on their protest actions against the unfair practices and policies of a high status majority outgroup. My general argument is that the model shown in Figure 1 is the more appropriate one in contemporary society within the Western world, particularly when immigrants are permitted to become citizens of their adopted country and, therefore have both strong cultural and national identities. Testing this model with structural equation analysis was the **second major objective** of this research program.

STUDY 1

Introduction

This was a qualitative study in which recent immigrants experiencing credentialing problems were identified and interviewed using primarily qualitative open-ended questions. As well, a small number of service providers who helped immigrants with these problems were also interviewed. The focus of both sets of interviews was to gain insights into the particular problems experienced by skilled immigrants coming to Saskatoon and ensuring that the questions used in Study 2 were applicable to the current life circumstances and labour market conditions experienced by these immigrants.

Method

An interview schedule was developed which included questions on the training and work experience that skilled immigrants had gained in their country of origin. Then a variety of questions were asked about their work and training experiences in Canada (including language training), the difficulties they had experienced obtaining recognition for their foreign credentials, the upgrading that they were required to complete, whether they felt overqualified for the Canadian jobs they had held, and the barriers preventing them from accessing jobs appropriate to their skill level in the Canadian job market. Finally, a series of demographic questions were asked to end the interview. The interview schedule for the service providers was shorter but contained questions that paralleled those asked of the recent immigrants.

The tape recorded interviews were carried out by two senior graduate students in the Applied Social Psychology graduate program. Both of these research assistants were already trained qualitative interviewers and I supplemented this training. Two local immigrant organizations (the Saskatchewan Intercultural Association and the Open Door Society) were approached and asked to endorse the project and identify stakeholders who were experiencing credentialing problems. As well, a variety of local cultural organizations and key stakeholders were approached. Eventually 21 interviews were completed with a wide variety of immigrant from many different cultural groups originating in Asia and Africa. Six service providers were also interviewed.

The research assistants transcribed the interviews soon after they were recorded. Then, once all the interviews were completed, the responses to each question were coded into themes by each interviewer independently of one another (creating two new data files). A third research assistant, a recent skilled immigrant from Africa, examined and matched these two sets of themes, recording the percentage agreement between the two coders. When the coders disagreed, the third research assistant chose the theme she thought was most appropriate. A series of meeting involving the coders and myself resulted in the creation of a data file which contains the themes used by three or more respondents by question. This resulted in a great deal of very interesting and rich qualitative information which was used, in conjunction with the extant literature, to create the questionnaire for Study 2.

STUDY 2

Introduction

The first study provided details on the life circumstances and local labour market conditions faced by recent skilled immigrants to Saskatchewan from Asia and Africa. This information, along with the results of past research and social psychological theory, was used to design a questionnaire which assessed how skilled immigrants react to and cope with their credentialing problems. The questionnaire contained measures of the variables specified by the theoretical model shown in Figure 1 so that it could be tested using structural equation modeling.

Method

Respondents

The questionnaire was completed by 181 immigrants with credentialing problems; 56.3% of whom were women. Most of the respondents (82.0%) were married and 58.6% had at least one child (range 1 to 5 children). Half of the respondents were between 30 to 39 years old, with most of the remaining respondents in their 20's (21.8%) or 40's (22.4%). Twenty five percent of the respondents had become a Canadian citizen since coming to Canada. However, most respondents were still landed immigrants (45.0%), university students (14.6%), or on a visitor's visa (12.3%). Seventy three percent of the respondents had lived in Canada for less than four years (median = 35 months).

The respondents emigrated from the Far East (41.7%), South and South East Asia (10.6%), the Middle East (17.2%), and Africa (27.2%). The most common countries of origin were China (39.5%), Iran (15.8%), and Nigeria (15.1%). Only 62.4% of the respondents answered the question on religion. Of these, most said they were Christian (46.9%), Muslim (24.8%), or had no religion (18.6%). Although English was not the first language of any of the respondents, 61.0% had learned English as a child and 43.0% were educated in English.

The vast majority of respondents had a personal income of less than \$30,000 a year (82.9%). Indeed, many respondents' income was less than \$10,000 (32.9%) or between \$10,000 and \$20,000 a year (34.2%). This provides objective evidence that these individuals were experiencing serious credentialing problems as an income of \$20,000 is below the Canadian low income cutoff for a married couple with no children (Statistics Canada, 2004).

Measures

The questionnaire consisted of well established scales developed primarily by researchers in the social identity theory tradition, and quantitative and qualitative questions designed to probe the nature and extent of the respondents' credentialing problems as well as some demographic information.

Training, credentials, and work experience from country of origin. Respondents described the credentials, training, and work experience which they had gained in their country of origin. Then they rated (on a 7-point Likert scale) how difficult it had been to have their foreign credentials, training, and work experience recognized by Canadian employers; to find a job in Canada which utilizes their foreign training; and to obtain references and proof of credentials from their country of origin. Respondents were also asked to indicate if they had their foreign credentials assessed, and to explain how such an assessment helped them find a job.

Respondents were asked how surprised they were by their experiences with Canadian employers, and whether such experiences were more negative or positive than expected. Then they rated how fairly Canadian employers had treated them and how fairly employers treat immigrants-in-general using 5-point Likert scales.

Work experiences in Canada. Respondents were asked about their work experiences in Canada, both paid and unpaid, and the relationship of this Canadian work experience to their qualifications. Specifically, respondents described the Canadian jobs that they had held, both those which required the use of their skills and those which did not. Respondents were also asked about the volunteer work, if any, that they have done in Canada. Finally, respondents rated the "best job" they had had since coming to Canada in terms of its relevance to their foreign training and qualifications.

Canadian education and training. Respondents were asked a series of questions about the Canadian training and education they had received, if any, and to rate (on a 4-point Likert scale) how similar this training was to their chosen career. Then they indicated whether this additional training upgraded their qualifications, and, if so, how their qualifications were upgraded. Respondents also rated the extent to which they felt forced by unfavourable circumstances to take this training, and the extent to which they felt this training helped them find a job.

Respondents rated how difficult (on a 5-point Likert scale) it had been for them to enrol in, pay for, and succeed in a Canadian education or training program. They were asked to describe these difficulties, and explain how they would like to see things change so that it is easier for immigrants to enrol and succeed in Canadian education or training programs. Respondents also indicated the percentage of the educational costs they would pay in order to

gain credentials recognized by Canadian employers, and whether they would work in rural Saskatchewan in exchange for training that would allow them to gain credentials recognized by Canadian employers.

Emotional Reactions. Because the respondents were all experiencing credentialing problems, their emotional reactions to this stressful situation was assessed. Specifically, they indicated the degree to which they felt angry, stressed, frustrated, resentful, sad, disappointed, bad, discouraged, bitter, and hurt on 4-point scales ranging from “not at all ...” to “very...” A factor analysis showed that all these emotional responses loaded on the same factor and so an “Emotional Reactions” scale was created by averaging the respondents scores across the ten items ($\alpha = 0.93$).

The Scales Used to Test the Theoretical Model. Social Identity theory predicts that social protest is most likely to occur when members of a minority group feel that their group’s status is illegitimately low and that the social conditions are such that there is a possibility for change for the better (their group’s status is unstable). These variables were measured by the two parallel questions: “In general, is the social status of immigrants from your country of origin relative to other Canadians legitimate (stable) or not?” Respondents answered on a 5-point scale ranging from very legitimate (stable) to very illegitimate (unstable). The scores from these questions were then multiplied and then divided by 5 so that the higher the score, the more the respondent thought that the social status of immigrants were both illegitimate and unstable. This is a direct measure of the cognitive component of CRD (Figure 1).

The affective component of collective relative deprivation was measured by twelve items answered on 5-point Likert scales (strongly disagree to strongly agree) that measure “barriers to the integration of immigrants into the Canadian way-of-life”. An oblique factor analysis of these items resulted in two correlated factors ($r = .42$). The four items that load on the first factor measure discrimination in the Canadian labour market – e.g., “In Canada, immigrants face discrimination from potential employers because they do not have Canadian work experience.” The six items that load on the second factor measure more general perceptions of discrimination against immigrants – e.g., “In Canada, immigrants face discrimination because of their race”.

The respondents’ strength of identification with Canada and with their cultural group were 6-item scales adapted from a one developed by Brown and his colleagues (1986) which has been used extensively by intergroup relations researchers and which has good reliability and validity (Jackson & Smith, 1999). These items were used in two previous studies of immigrants to measure their cultural and national identity (Grant, 2002). Respondents used the scale twice: once to rate their strength of identification with Canadians and a second time to rate their strength of identification with members of their cultural group using a 7-point response format. In this study, the respondents identified moderately with Canada and very strongly with their culture.

The theoretical model specifies that collective protest actions are predicted by collective relative deprivation and by strength of national and cultural identity (Figure 1). In this study, such protest actions were measured in two ways. First, the research participants indicated whether or not they had participated in twelve different collective protest actions during the last year. These actions included helping other immigrants from their cultural group (e.g., I have helped other immigrants from my cultural group find a job), supporting their cultural community (e.g., I have shopped in stores that I know are owned by Canadians from my cultural group), lobbying for their cultural group in the media and to government representatives (e.g., I have worked with others to lobby the government to improve the position of my cultural group in Canada), and signing petitions, attending meetings, and participating in peaceful public demonstrations (e.g., I have participated in peaceful demonstrations to improve the social position of my cultural group in Canada).

The second protest measure asked participants to indicate the likelihood (0%, 25%, 50%, 75%, 100%) that they will take the same 12 protest action during the upcoming year (an intentions measure). A factor analysis ($N = 106$) showed that all items loaded on one factor but that this measure was very hard to answer and contained a great deal of missing data. Therefore, the scores were averaged for each respondent provided that he or she had answered at least 9 items ($N = 133$).

Procedure

Participants were recruited over a six month period from September 2004 through February 2005 using both informal and formal networks. Three research assistants, an international student and two recent immigrants to Canada from Africa and Asia, recruited participants through their extensive community contacts. Most of the participants ($N=172$) were obtained using these informal networks. The formal networks consisted of local community and government agencies that provide services to immigrant populations. A fourth research assistant

worked with a contact person at each agency to access potential participants. Recruitment procedures through these formal networks varied depending on the agency's requirements. Some agencies would provide the research assistant with the contact information of potential participants; however, most often, potential participants were given information about the study and the researcher's contact information.

Most often, envelopes containing the questionnaire and a consent form were given to the respondents during a gathering or a meeting of a local organization. The respondents could read through the questionnaire before agreeing to take part in the study and the research assistant's job was to ensure that all potential respondents understood the nature of the study before signing the consent form. After signing the form, the respondents could take the questionnaire home to complete (a popular option), or they could complete it with the research assistant present at a mutually convenient time. In either case, the research assistant was available to help the respondent with difficult questions in-person and by telephone. Research assistants were trained to use non-directive probes so that when they helped they did not influence the respondents to answers in a particular way.

Results Documenting The Experiences of Skilled Immigrants Facing Credentialing Problems

Training, Credentials, and Work Experience from Country of Origin

Overall, these respondents were highly educated with training and work experience in a variety of professions. Of the 120 respondents who reported their level of education, 117 (97.5%) had completed postsecondary education in their country of origin. Undergraduate degrees had been earned by 51 (42.5%) individuals, 35 (29.2%) people had a Masters degree, and 23 (19.2%) had completed a Doctoral program. Of the remaining respondents 8 (6.7%) had completed a college diploma, 2 (1.7%) had earned a trade/vocational school certificate, and only 1 person (0.8%) had stopped at Grade 12.

The National Occupation Classification (NOC) is a standardized Canadian employment classification system (Human Resources Development Canada, 2001). It was used in the present study to categorize the nature of each respondent's employment prior to Canadian immigration. The NOC classifies occupations by skill type and skill level. Skill *type* refers to the kind of work performed and the general field of education or training. Skill *level* refers to the amount of education or training that is required for a particular occupation and is represented by a number ranging from 1 through 6; 1 representing a university degree and 6 representing no formal educational requirements.

Respondents' occupations in their countries of origin categorized by NOC skill type is presented in Table 1. The table shows that respondents were working in a range of fields including health, education, the social sciences, various trades, and business. In terms of job skill (n=106), 77.4% of respondents were working at skill level 1 prior to immigrating to Canada, indicating that they were employed in jobs that required at least a university education; 17.0% of respondents were employed at skill level 2 which requires years of college, specific vocational, or on-the-job training. Thus, 94.3% of respondents were employed at high skill levels (i.e., 1 or 2) before coming to Canada. Only a small percentage of respondents (5.7%) were employed in jobs that required little specific qualifications and/or training. Of course, this is a Canadian classification system, and may not map perfectly onto foreign qualifications. Nevertheless, the findings clearly indicate that this sample of immigrants have a high skill level.

Work and Educational Experiences in Canada

Although most respondents were highly skilled both in terms of their training and their work experience in their country of origin, they had worked only 9 months (the median) at a job that used this skill and experience, and success at finding such a job varied widely. Indeed 40 of the 130 respondents (30.8%) who answered this question indicated that they had never had a job that used their credentials and work experience. The remainder had spent, on average, almost half of the time they had lived in Canada (49.5%) working at such a job.

Respondents had worked an average of 4 months (median) in Canada at a job that does not require them to use their skills and experience. This distribution was very skewed, however, as 22.1% of the 132 respondents who

answered this question said 0 months and 22.1% said more than 18 months. Of the 138 respondents who answered the question, “How many times have you had to take an unskilled job because your family needed the money since coming to Canada?”, 36% stated they have never had to take unskilled work, 21.0% indicated they had to take unskilled work once, 15.9% twice, and 27.5% three or more times since coming to Canada. Thus, experience with a variety of unskilled jobs varied widely within this sample.

Two thirds of the respondents (N = 122) described the “best job” that they had held since coming to Canada. This job was described as permanent by 36.5% and as casual by 37.4% of these respondents, with 29.6% stating that the job was part time (< 20 hours). Just over half of the respondents (50.9%) felt that they were overqualified for this job, with almost all the remainder indicating that they were qualified (45.7%). Further, only half of the respondents (49.6%) felt that their training and experience was relevant or highly relevant to this job. We coded the respondents’ “best job” using the NOC skill levels (n=99), and found that less than half (40.2%) of respondents’ “best job” in Canada could be classified at level 1, with 26.8% of these “best jobs” are classified at skill level 2. Given that more than three quarters of respondents (77.4%) were working at NOC skill level 1 in their country of origin, these numbers indicate that many in this sample of highly trained immigrants had experienced downward mobility since coming to Canada. Indeed, one third (32.9%) of the respondents’ “best jobs” in Canada are classified at a skill level 4, 5, or 6 compared to only 5.7% of the respondents who had worked at these lower skill levels prior to arriving in Canada.

To combat this underemployment, over a quarter of the respondents (28.2%) had had their qualifications assessed by an international qualifications assessment agency and almost half (44.0%) had taken or planned to take qualifying exams so that their credentials would be recognised by Canadian employers. A good way to obtain Canadian work experience is to volunteer and one-third (58/181 or 32.0%) of the sample indicated that they had done just that. Of those who volunteered, two thirds had volunteered for six months or less and one third had volunteered for more than six months (range 7 to 84 months). Together these results suggest that this sample of skilled immigrants were finding it hard to obtain a Canadian job because Canadian employers were not fully recognising the value of their foreign training and experience.

One way to penetrate the Canadian labour market is by enrolling in a Canadian educational institution and 58.6% of the sample (106 of 181) had made some attempt to pursue this option. Table 3 shows that more than three quarters of the respondents did not feel that enrolment or doing well academically in a Canadian institution would be difficult. Rather the main difficulty, which was identified by almost half of the respondents (47.2%), was meeting the expenses associated with taking an academic program of studies, although those considering this option were prepared to pay, on average, about half of these expenses (52.5%). Approximately three quarters of the respondents (74.2% of 93 respondents) were using this Canadian training to obtain Canadian qualifications in the same or similar career, and this career training was often a Canadian upgrade to their foreign qualifications (65.9% of 82 respondents). Of course, upgrading your professional qualifications is usually perceived positively but, in this case, many respondents (34.3% of 105 respondents) stated that they felt forced to take this upgrade presumably because of a lack of recognition of their foreign credentials by Canadian employers. Many respondents who had taken or who were currently taking such training felt that this Canadian training would help them find a job (41.1% of 90 respondents), while a similar number (38.9%) felt that it was too soon to tell. It is important to note that over half of the sample (50.9% of 114 respondents) were willing to work in a remote rural area of Saskatchewan for three years in exchange for training that resulted in Canadian employers recognising their professional credentials.

Personal Experiences with Canadian Employers and Reactions to Underemployment

Almost half of the respondents (44.2%), who were all skilled immigrants, described obtaining recognition from Canadian employers for their foreign credentials and their work experience as “impossible” or “very difficult”, with a similar percentage (50.6%) saying that it was “impossible” or “very difficult” to find a job in Canada which fully utilizes their foreign training and experience (Table 2). This was in spite of the fact that the majority of respondents did not experience much difficulty with obtaining certificates validating their credentials or with reference letters from former employers from their country of origin.

Given that skilled workers in Asian and African countries are often told that Canadian employers are recruiting people with their training and experience, it is hardly unexpected to find that almost three quarters of the respondents (74.0%) were either “a little surprised”, “surprised”, or “very surprised” to find that it is so hard to find a suitable job in Canada. Furthermore, more than half of respondents (54.0%) indicated that their experiences with Canadian employers were either “slightly more negative”, “more negative”, or “much more negative” than they expected. Indeed, one-third (33.3%) of respondents felt that, in general, they personally had been treated “unfairly” or “very unfairly” by Canadian employers. Table 3 shows that approximately one half of the respondents frequently felt that their foreign qualifications and work experience were not valued by Canadian employers and that they had a better chance of finding a good job “back home”. As well, about a third of the respondents frequently feared that they would have to settle for an unskilled job if they wanted to stay in Canada and doubted their ability to find a more suitable job. Table 4 shows the gamut of emotions experienced by skilled immigrants with credentialing problems. These emotions are highly interrelated with a factor analysis showing that they all have factor loadings higher than 0.70 on one factor. This means that an immigrant facing credentialing problems is likely to experience many of these emotions at the same time. Specifically, feelings of disappointment, sadness, hurt, and stress are mixed with feelings of frustration, bitterness, resentment, and anger with Table 4 indicating that these emotions are felt quite intensely by a sizeable proportion of the sample (40% to 70%).

Perceptions of discrimination against Immigrants by Canadian Employers and Canadians-in-General

Many respondents in this sample felt that immigrants-in-general were disadvantaged in Canadian society. For example, almost three quarters (74.0%) of the respondents indicated that, compared to other Canadians, immigrants from their country had a “slightly lower”, “lower”, or a “much lower” social status. Further, one-half (50.6%) of the respondents felt that, in general, Canadian employers treat immigrants either “unfairly” or “very unfairly” with only a quarter (23.2%) indicating that Canadian employers treat immigrants “fairly” or “very fairly”.

The respondents were asked questions regarding “the barriers that **“immigrants-in-general face** as they try to learn about and participate in the Canadian way-of-life”. Two interrelated scales ($r = 0.48, p < .001$) were developed from these questions. The first measures how much the respondents agree or disagree that immigrants from their cultural group are discriminated against as they try to enter the Canadian workforce because they do not have a Canadian education, credentials, or work experience. In general, the respondents agreed that this discriminatory barrier is prevalent ($M = 4.07$, where a score of 4 is labelled “agree”) with 88.5% of all respondents scoring above the mid point of the scale and hence agreeing, on average, that these discriminatory barriers are a problem. The second scale measures how much respondents agree or disagree that immigrants face discrimination in Canadian society because of their race, culture, accent, poor English language skills, inferior education, and low income level. The respondents also tended to agree that this, more general, discriminatory barrier also exists ($M = 3.46$), although significantly less so than discriminatory employment barriers; $t(171) = 10.32, p < .0001$.

The Policy Implications of These Findings

The results presented above have clear policy implications which can be summarized in the form of two general recommendations. These recommendations were first made at the Tenth International Metropolis conference in Toronto (Grant & Nadin, 2005) as part of an afternoon workshop which I organized on the credentialing issue.

Study 2 was built upon previous Canadian work (e.g., Basran & Zong, 1998; Krahn et al, 2000), although it was unique because skilled immigrants from Asia and Africa with current credentialing problems were deliberately sampled. It is not surprising, therefore, that the results are quite similar to those found previously. Specifically, our findings document the high level of underemployment in this sample with many respondents taking casual and part time work for which they feel overqualified. These figures are quite similar to those reported by Krahn and colleagues (2000) even though their interview study used a very different sampling strategy and a very different target population; namely a representative sample of refugees to Alberta from the former Yugoslavia. It is instructive to note that those researchers showed that it was professionally trained refugees who had experienced the most downward mobility as they had the most trouble finding suitable work. This of course is one of Study 2’s main findings even though most respondents were not having a problem obtaining certificates which authenticate their credentials, a common occurrence and cause of great stress to many refugees. Our findings also parallel those obtained in a study of professionally trained emigrants from India, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China living in Vancouver (Basran & Zong, 1998). Although the respondents were older and predominately male in comparison to

the respondents in our study, they had had very similar difficulties with obtaining recognition of their credentials and work experience from Canadian employers (79% versus 78.3% in our study), with 70% stating that their income was less than \$30,000 (versus 83% of respondents in our study), even though they had lived longer in Canada and had become Canadian citizens. The fact that many of the highly trained immigrants in our sample often did volunteer work, had their credentials assessed, were interested in upgrading their credentials through a Canadian post secondary institute, and were willing to work in rural areas in order to gain recognition for their credentials suggests that they were fighting strong social forces toward downward mobility within the Canadian job market. **Therefore, I recommend the development of new policies initiatives designed to allow skilled immigrants to utilize their training and experience more quickly and more fully** (see Krahn et al, 2000 for similar recommendations with regard to refugees). As Basran and Zong (1998) note such policy changes are imperative because Canada can not afford to waste such valuable human capital.

An important and unique aspect of our study was its focus on how skilled immigrants experiencing ongoing credentialing problems react psychologically. The results summarized in Tables 3 and 4 demonstrate how this ongoing stressful situation results in feelings of self-doubt, sadness, and distress as well as anger, bitterness, and resentment. Clearly the actual employment opportunities available in Canada were not those that were anticipated and hoped for by the respondents when they made their decision to emigrate. We would argue, however, that the biggest negative psychological impact that credentialing problems creates is the perception that Canadian employers and professional bodies are acting in a discriminatory manner toward all immigrants. This is because results from this and a previous study (Grant & McMullen, 2005) show that the more that recent immigrants feel that immigrants-in-general face discrimination, the less they identified with their new country, Canada. Thus, not only do employment barriers prevent integration into the Canadian workforce, but also they prevent immigrants committing themselves to their new country and developing a strong Canadian national identity. These results suggest that the fairness and transparency of new policies and procedures designed to integrate skilled immigrants into the Canadian labour market should be made crystal clear. This is because the respondents in our study were not distressed because Canadian employers did not accept their credentials immediately and without serious and prolonged scrutiny. Rather they were distressed because they do not know the path to take to overcome the credentialing problems that they faced. It is my view that most skilled immigrants would welcome a serious evaluation of the merits of their foreign credentials provided that such an evaluation would direct them toward a retraining path that, if followed, would allow them to practice their profession again. **I recommend, therefore, that Federal and Provincial governments, in collaboration with professional accreditation bodies, place priority on the development of new policies which provide highly trained immigrants with clear retraining paths to follow that will result in the accreditation of their foreign credentials and, where necessary, the upgrading of their training to Canadian standards.**

Tests of the Model and the Theoretical Implications of This Research

The theoretical implications of the results were presented in a paper to the Social Psychology division of the British Psychological Society recently (Grant, 2005) in the form of a formal test of the theoretical model shown in Figure 1. Before describing the results of the structural equation modelling analyses, it is important to note that the respondents felt that, generally, skilled immigrants are treated unfairly by potential employers (74.1%) and that immigrants are accorded a lower status than other Canadians (74.3%). This means that both relative deprivation theory and social identity theory can be used to interpret the responses of the research participants as they are clearly responding as members of a disadvantaged minority group in Canadian society.

EQS version 6.1 was used to test the theoretical model as well as the measurement models for affective relative deprivation, cultural identity, and national identity (Figure 2). Because this type of analysis is quite sensitive to violations of the multivariate normality assumption, measured variables for affective CRD and cultural identity were created by combining items and then transformations were used to eliminate skewness and kurtosis (see Grant, 2005 for details).

The model was tested twice: once to predict actual protest actions taken during the last year and a second time to predict protest intentions for the year to come. The results from both analyses show that the model is a good fit according to both comparative fit and residual fit indices (Dunn, Everitt, & Pickles, 1994; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Specifically, the overall Chi Squared goodness of fit test for both analyses are close to non-significant, both comparative fit indexes (CFI) are greater than 0.95, and the standardized root mean square residuals (RMR) are less

than 0.08 (Protest actions: CFI = 0.97 and standardized RMR = .064, $\chi^2(df = 72, N = 128) = 91.17, p < .06$; Intentions: CFI = 0.95 and standardized RMR = .075, $\chi^2(df = 72, N = 116) = 98.90, p < .05$).

Figure 3 shows the estimates for the standardized path coefficients and the correlation between national and cultural identity that were generated in the analyses. These estimates suggest that the model which represents an integration of relative deprivation theory and social identity theory is largely supported. Specifically, the suggestion that the cognitive component of collective relative deprivation is based in the belief that the intergroup relationship is both illegitimate and unstable as specified in social identity theory is supported as the model clearly shows that it has strong direct relationship with the affective component of CRD as relative deprivation theory would predict. Further, the evidence reveals a direct causal path from affective relative deprivation to protest actions which fully mediates the relationship between cognitive relative deprivation and these actions. This supports relative deprivation theory and replicates past research which has shown that the cognitive component of collective relative deprivation is a distal cause of social protest which is fully mediated by the affective component of relative deprivation, the more proximal cause (Dion, 1986; Dube-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Grant & Brown, 1995; Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Pettigrew, 2002).

The evidence goes further, however, because it suggests that strength of cultural identity does not influence social protest directly ($p = -0.05, ns$) but rather a strong cultural identity increases the perception that immigrants-in-general are discriminated against which, in turn, increases the likelihood of engaging in protest actions. That is, a strong cultural identity motivates social actions because it inflames the feeling associated with the unfair treatment of this cultural ingroup (the affective component of relative deprivation). This makes sense because it would be unreasonable to suppose that a person would become angry enough to take protest actions on behalf of an ingroup when group membership is not an important part of the person's self-concept. As hypothesized, a strong national identity has the opposite effect. That is, cultural and national identities are counteracting motivating forces which influence the intensity of the feeling of injustice that are engendered when a person's cultural group is unfairly disadvantaged in society. The model shown in Figure 1 was not entirely supported, however. Although a direct causal path from national identity to protest actions was obtained it was not in the hypothesized direction. Rather, the stronger an immigrant's national identity, the more he or she was likely to protest discrimination against immigrants from their cultural group in Canada. This means that the stronger an immigrant identifies with Canada and feels Canadian, the more he or she will protest unfair discrimination directed toward his or her cultural group. The implication is that having a strong national identification allows a minority group member to protest unfair and discriminatory actions *which are directed at fellow ingroup members from his or her cultural background* – a legitimate political act for citizens of a democratic country like Canada.

In sum, these results suggests that taking protest actions can be explained by an model derived from an integration of RDT and SIT. Further, the tests of this model resulted in some unexpected results that show the value of casting minority – majority relations in terms of identification with partially overlapping cultural and national ingroups rather than in terms of a minority ingroup protesting the actions of a majority outgroup. A new research direction that my graduate students and I intend to explore more fully in the near future.

STUDY 3

Introduction

The first two studies provided a great deal of information on the experiences of skilled immigrants facing credentialing issues. The third, small qualitative study was designed, therefore, to explore future directions in three ways: it examined the experiences of skilled immigrants who had moved to Canada very recently; it examined possible differences in the way in which men and women are affected by credentialing problems, and it probed the link between credentialing problems and the desire to settle in Canada and become a Canadian citizen.

Method

Tape recorded interviews were carried out by a research assistant who is an international graduate student from China doing her Ph.D. at the University of Saskatchewan and who is fluent in both Cantonese and Mandarin. Before conducting the interviews, I trained her in the use of qualitative interview techniques. During May and June of 2005, she used her local contacts to find and interview skilled immigrants who had recently emigrated from China

and who were experiencing credentialing problems. Eventually interviews were completed with five women and five men. None of the respondents had had time to become Canadian citizens, but they were all considering it seriously. The interviews were conducted in English, but the questions were explained in Cantonese or Mandarin when necessary. The interviewer was trained to use non-directive explanations so that the questions remained truly open-ended.

The research assistant followed an interview schedule in which participants were asked what becoming a Canadian citizen meant to them. Then they identified some of the factors that made them desire or feel reluctant to becoming a citizen. The respondents were asked to explain how being a Chinese citizen was similar to and different from being a Canadian citizen. Then they described their Chinese training and work experience and the nature of their credentialing problems. The respondents reflected on how their credentialing problems influenced their desire to become a Canadian citizen. Then they discussed how the local Canadian-Chinese cultural community and their strong Chinese cultural identity had helped them with their credentialing problems and/or had made these problems more difficult. Finally, a series of demographic questions were asked which ended the interview.

The research assistant transcribed the interviews soon after they were recorded. Currently, these transcripts are being content analysed following the same procedure used in Study 1.

DISSEMINATION AND LINKAGES

The results of Studies 1 and 2 have been presented at two major conferences this year (Grant, 2005; Grant & Nadin, 2005). The tests of the theoretical model derived from relative deprivation theory and social identity (see Figures 1 and 3) using structural equation modeling was presented at the annual conference of the British Psychological Society in Edinburgh Scotland where it was received very well. I plan on writing an article detailing this approach in the coming months. This was a very good conference because it brought together European researchers in the intergroup relations tradition, many of whom are becoming more interested in immigration issues. Very recently, I was granted a six month sabbatical leave to work with Professor Stephen Reicher at the University of St. Andrews in the first half of 2007. There I hope to continue the development of this theoretical model and collaborate on theory relevant immigration research which has applicability for policy makers in both Canada and Scotland.

The results which have more direct policy relevance were presented as one of six papers in a afternoon workshop that I organized for the Tenth International Metropolis conference in Toronto this October (Grant & Nadin, 2005). Since that time, I have submitted a proposal for a special issue of the Journal of International Migration and Integration which will incorporate five of these six papers. The editor has indicated interest in this special issue provided that authors from outside of Canada are also invited to submit papers. This will likely take the form of inviting papers from presenters at the Tenth International Metropolis conference who discussed the credentialing issue in other workshops. I am actively pursuing this option which I hope will result in this special issue being published early in 2007.

The results from Study 3 are still being content analyzed. Building on some of the preliminary results as well as some findings from my previous studies, my graduate student Shevaun Nadin has begun work on her M.A. thesis proposal. This research will examine the relationship between the credentialing problems of skilled immigrants and their desire to become a Canadian citizen. Looking to the future, my students and I plan on writing a paper summarizing the results from several qualitative studies that explore the development of a strong Canadian identity in the face of discriminatory barriers as part of the acculturation process.

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

As in my previous PCERII grant, I involving several students as research assistants, and I supervised theses, practica, and internships in my immigration research primarily through the Applied Social Psychology Graduate program at the U. of S.

In the first year funded by the grant, I hired and trained two graduate students, Karen Parhar and Tanya Robertson, as interviewers for study 1. Karen is a Ph.D. student and Tanya was an M.A. student who has just

recently graduated. They also helped me do a content analysis of the data from this qualitative study during the summer of 2004 along with Busola Adelugba who had worked with me on my previous PCERII grant. It was during this year that my Ph.D. student, Debra Woods, completed her Ph.D. on acculturation which is available through the PCERII library (Woods, 2004).

In the second year of the grant, I involved my new M.A. student, Shevaun Nadin, and used the grant to buy out part of her graduate teaching fellowship so that she could work with me on Study 2 as a research assistant. Shevaun has done very well and was awarded a master's SSHRC grant to support her second year of study. She presented a paper with me at the Tenth International Metropolis Conference. Currently she is working on her thesis proposal which will focus on how the credentialing problems of skilled immigrants influence their desire to become a Canadian citizen (building on the findings from Study 3 funded by this grant). I also hired Le Li who is an international graduate student from China doing her Ph.D. in the College of Education at the U. of S to work on Studies 2 and 3. My other research assistants for Study 2 were Busola Adelugba and Giti Caravan who are both recent immigrants with extensive contacts in their respective cultural communities.

Other student activities include Shevaun Nadin's research internship for the Saskatchewan Intercultural Association. This was a formative evaluation of SIA's mentorship program for recent immigrants with skills in trades and technologies (Nadin & Grant, 2005). As well, my former honours student, Jennifer Millard and I presented work on stereotypes in fashion magazines at a POP culture conference and then we submitted an article which has recently been accepted by the journal *Sex Roles* (Millard & Grant, 2004, 2005). My first PCERII grant partially funded this research because it looked at the stereotypes contained in pictures of Black and White models described as immigrants to Canada. Finally, my new M.A. student, Stryker Calvez, has begun work with me on the credentialing problems of skilled immigrants. Stryker is a very good student who came to the U. of S. with SSHRC support, specifically to work on this issue.

In conclusion, I would like to thank PCERII for providing me with grant support which has stimulated so much interest in current graduate student and in applicants to the Applied Social Psychology program.

Student Articles, Conference Papers, Technical Reports, & Theses

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Table 1

Occupations in Country of Origin Categorized by Skill Type Using the National Occupation Classification

Skill Type	Examples From This Sample	n	%
Natural and Applied Sciences and Related Occupations	Chemist, Computer Systems Administrator, Electrical Engineer, Microbiologists	39	33.6
Health Occupations	Surgeon, Nurse, Pharmacist, Physiotherapist, Dentist	32	27.5
Occupations in Social Science, Education, and Government Service	Teacher, Counsellor, Community Developer, Associate Professor	23	19.8
Business, Finance, Administration Occupations	Accountant, Office clerk, Bank Teller, Auditor	11	9.5
Sales and Service Occupations	Travel and Tourism, Cooking, Waiter, Officer	4	3.4
Occupations in Art, Culture, Recreation, and Sport	Graphic Design, Designer	3	2.5
Trades, Transport, and Equipment Related Occupations	Construction Worker, Electrician, Operator	3	2.5
Management Occupations	Admin Manager	1	.8
Total		116	100

Note. One participant (N=117) listed “self-employed” as their occupation in their country of origin. This response was not categorized because no NOC category exists for this occupation. This National Occupation Classification scheme was developed by Human Resources Development Canada (2001). It was retrieved October 1, 2005 from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada.

Web site: <http://www23.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/2001/e/generic/welcome.shtml>

Table 2

The Level of Difficulty Associated with Obtaining Recognition for Foreign Training, Credentials, and Work Experience; Copies of Credentials and Reference Letters; and Additional Canadian Training

	Impossible or Very Difficult	Difficult	Neither	Easy	Very Easy or No Problems
Difficulties Finding Suitable Employment in Canada					
Recognition of Foreign Training & Credentials	44.2%	29.1%	13.9%	6.7%	6.1%
Recognition of Foreign Work Experience	43.8%	34.3%	10.7%	3.0%	8.3%
Obtaining Suitable Canadian Job Employment	50.6%	30.0%	11.2%	3.5%	4.7%
Obtaining Reference Letters from Abroad	15.6%	14.5%	17.3%	24.9%	27.7%
Obtaining Copies of Foreign Credentials	15.9%	10.6%	17.1%	32.9%	23.6%
Difficulties Obtaining Canadian Training					
Doing Well Academically (n = 105)	3.8%	20.0%	45.7%	20.0%	10.5%
Enrolling in an Educational Institution (n = 103)	9.7%	12.6%	38.8%	28.2%	10.7%
Meeting Educational Expenses (n = 106)	15.1%	32.1%	37.7%	12.3%	2.8%

Table 3

Beliefs Associated with Difficulties Obtaining Recognition for Foreign Credentials and Work Experience by Canadian Employers

	All the Time or Often	Sometimes	Rarely or Never
Foreign Qualifications not Valued	45.5%	27.9%	26.7%
Foreign Work Experience Not valued	49.7%	28.0%	22.4%
A Better Chance of Finding a Job “back home”	48.2%	25.9%	25.9%
Fear Having to Settle for an Unskilled Job	36.8%	32.2%	31.0%
Doubt ability to Find a Canadian Job	32.1%	31.5%	36.4%
Feel a Loss of Self-respect	21.5%	28.5%	50.0%
Wasting My Time in Canada	18.1%	29.2%	52.6%

Table 4

Emotions Associated with Difficulties Obtaining Recognition for Foreign Credentials and Work Experience by Canadian Employers

	Yes or Very Much	Not at all or A Little
Disappointed	67.7%	32.3%
Sad	63.7%	36.3%
Bad	62.3%	37.7%
Stressed	59.4%	40.6%
Hurt	53.2%	46.8%
Frustrated	51.0%	49.0%
Angry	48.1%	51.9%
Bitter	46.7%	53.3%
Resentful	41.5%	58.5%

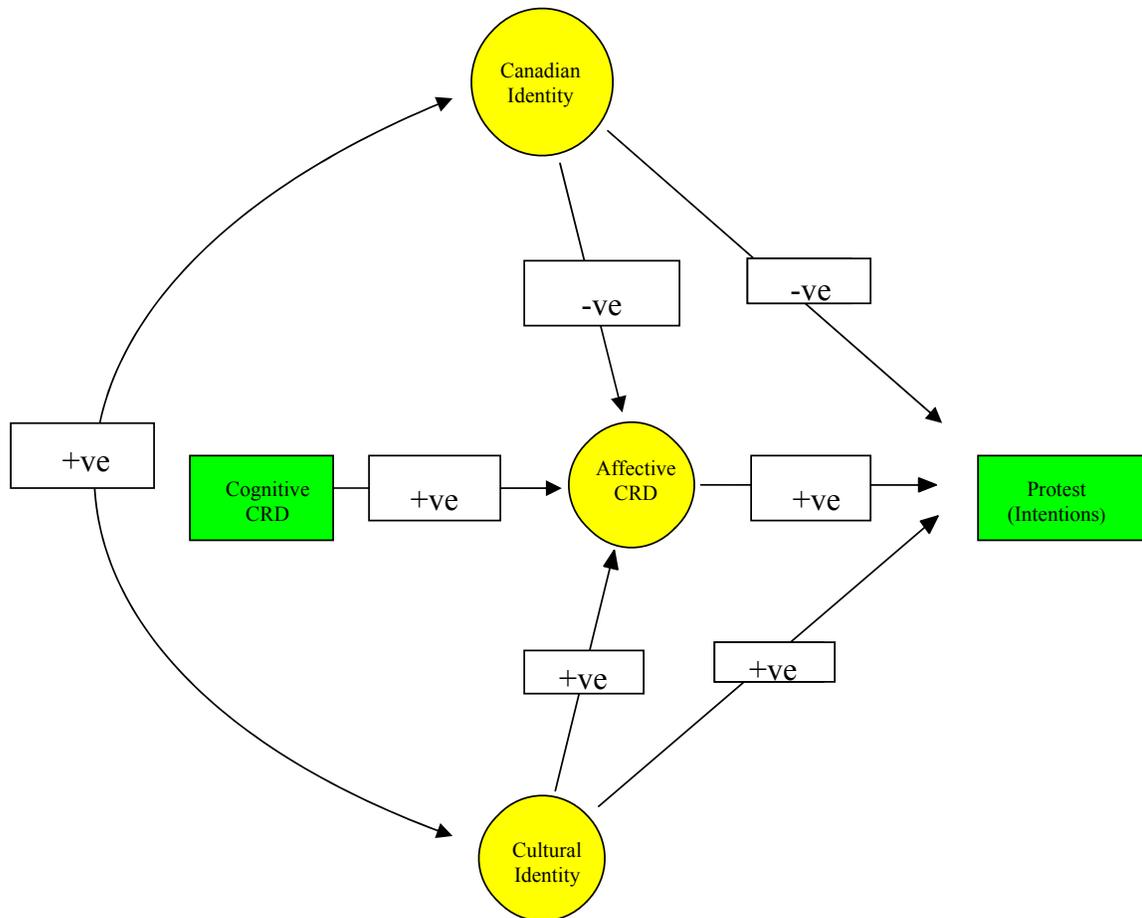


Figure 1. The theoretical model derived from relative deprivation theory and social identity theory.

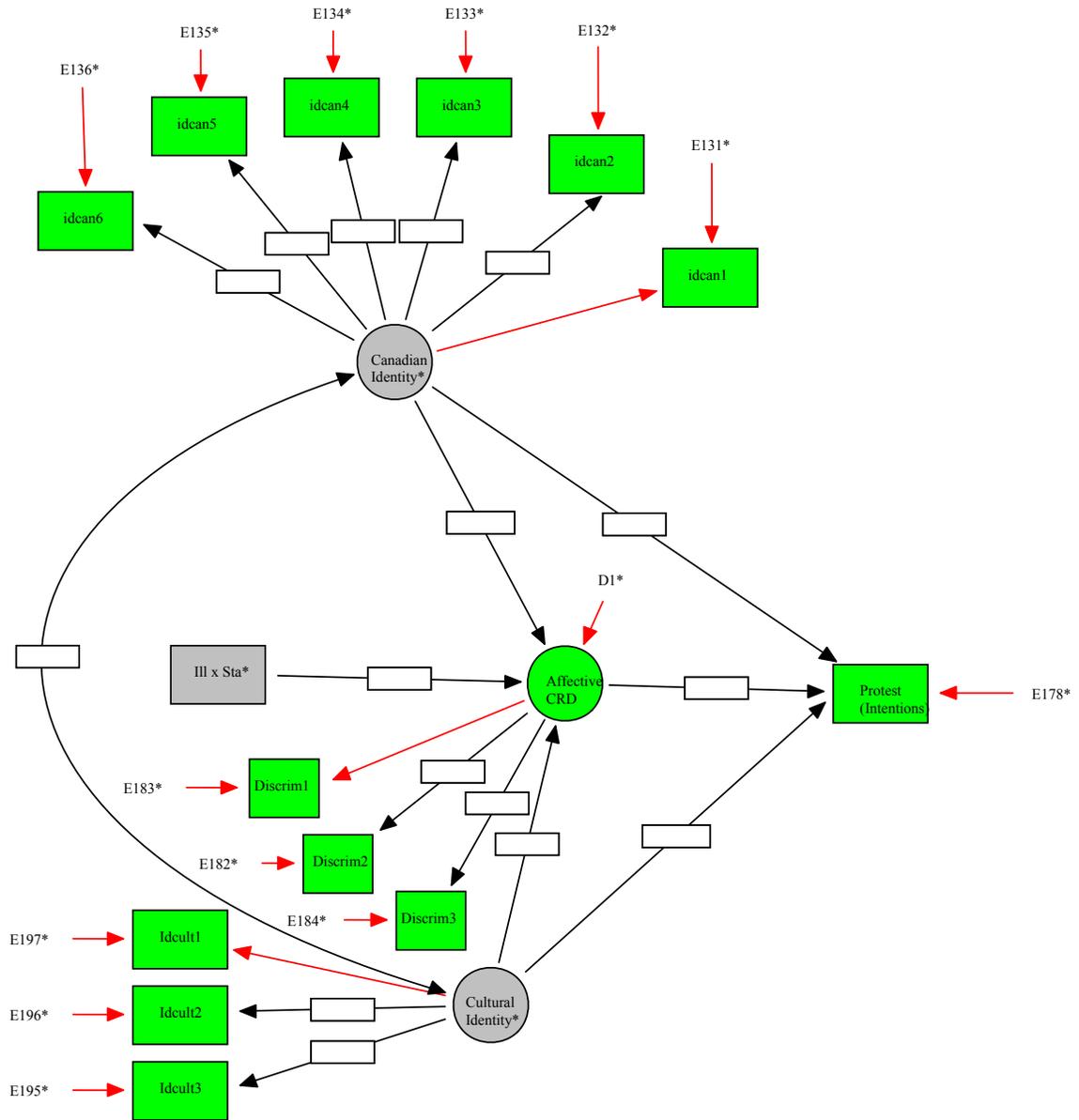


Figure 2. The model that was tested using EQS showing the relationship between the latent factors and the measured variables as well as among the latent factors.

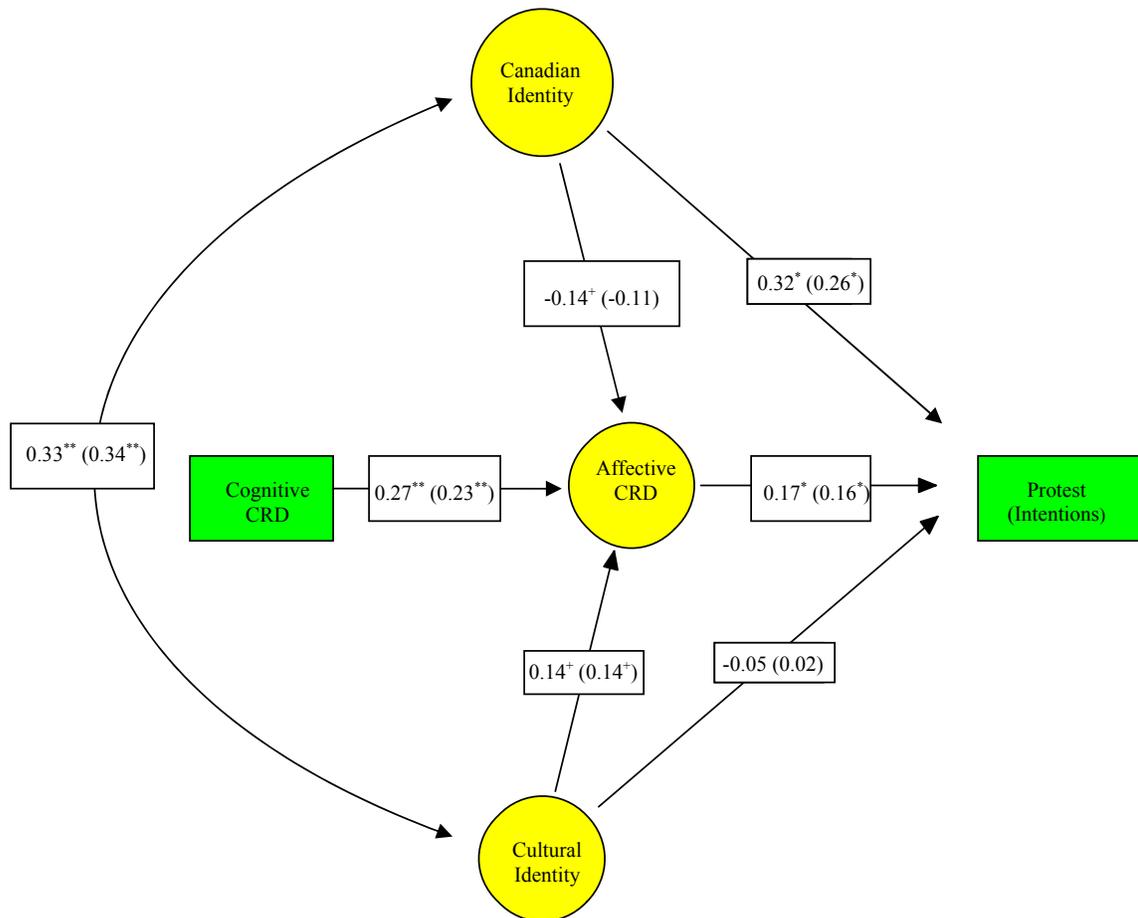


Figure 2: The results of the structural equation modelling analyses for the theoretical model predicting protest actions during the last year and (in parentheses) the intentions to protest in the year to come. This figure omits the measurement model for the latent constructs shown in Figure 2.

Note: Standardized path coefficients are shown. Significance levels for all the path coefficients and the correlation between the strength of Canadian and cultural identity are the same in both analyses except for the path from Canadian identity to affective CRD. The path coefficients were tested using 1-tailed tests as they were specified *a priori*. The significance of the unexpected positive path from Canadian identity to protest actions was examined using a 2-tailed test.

+ $p < .11$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.