

Social Capital, Social Integration and Political Participation of Young Canadians

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Abstract

Studies point to the role of ethnic civic community on political participation; that is, the greater the civic community involvement (a measure of social capital), the greater is the political participation. In this paper we expand the hypothesis linking social capital and political participation on two fronts: we explore whether family social capital has similar effect as the affiliation to ethnic group and, we examine whether social capital affects not only political participation but also the social dimension of integration.

Using the data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey conducted by Statistics Canada in 2002, we examine the relation between ethnic and family social capital on experience of discrimination, sense of belonging to the wider society, and voting in federal election. We focus on young Canadians aged 15 to 34, and do separate analysis for all young Canadians, all visible minorities, and for Blacks, Chinese, and South Asians.

In general, family social capital (measured as trust and sense of belonging to family) is positively related to integration and political participation. As for membership in organizations, the results show contrasting effects. Membership in ethnic and sports organizations increases one's sense of belonging to the wider society, and members of organizations are more likely to vote. In contrast, for visible minorities, the proportion reporting discrimination is higher among members than non-members of all types of organizations.

Keywords: Social capital, civic organizations, young adults, social integration, political participation, discrimination

A. Social Cohesion and Social Capital Defined

The increasing diversity of Canadian society generates concerns about social cohesion, in particular, the integration of immigrants, many of whom come from backgrounds that differ in ethnicity and culture. The concern has been highlighted by findings that recent immigrants, most of whom come from non-European countries, are not doing well in terms of economic integration – that is, they are less likely to be employed, and more likely to be earning less than the Canadian-born and long-time immigrants (Li, 2000; Frenette and Morissette, 2003; Picot and Hou, 2003; Aydemir and Skuterud, 2005; Reitz, 2003). However, as Reitz and Banerjee (2007:33) note “at an individual level, low earnings in and of themselves contribute little or nothing” to social integration, indicating that integration is not just about the economy.

Integration is social cohesion viewed at the individual level, thus understanding its concept hinges on grasping the meaning of social cohesion (Ravanera and Rajulton, 2006). Soroka, Johnson and Banting (2007) identify three approaches to defining social cohesion: the first focuses on norms, shared values and common sense of identity; the second on active engagement and participation; and the third on social capital accumulated through social networks and norms of trust. Cohesiveness based mainly on common identity has a limited utility for a contemporary society that thrives on diversity and multi-cultural composition of its population. We thus lean towards the second approach wherein social cohesion is viewed in terms of ensuring “that different identities are recognized as legitimate, that newcomers are incorporated in the economy, that citizens bring their diverse values and identities into the political life and that all groups engage in the political institutions that manage the tensions inherent in modern diversity” (Soroka, Johnson, and Banting, 2007: 8). This approach recognizes that social cohesion is a multi-dimensional concept encompassing *economic* inclusion and equality, *social* recognition and belonging, and *political* legitimacy and participation (Jenson, 1998, Bernard, 1999).

While social cohesion is often equated with social capital, the two could be seen as distinct concepts, depending on the academic lens and the units of analysis that one uses. Furstenberg (2005) identifies a sociological tradition in the research on social capital, which could be traced back to Durkheim (1951), Coleman (1990), and Bourdieu (1985). This approach assumes that “individuals are embedded in a system of normative obligations created by social consensus” (Furstenberg, 2005: 810). Social capital is seen in terms of “social networks” that provides access to resources (Portes, 1998; Frank, 2005). It is mainly an attribute of individuals (or of families), and is not equated with social cohesion. This concept of social capital is often used in studies examining the effect of social capital on say, the developmental outcomes of children (Coleman, 1990, McLanahan and Sandefur, 1994; Teachman, Paasch, and Carver, 1997 Bianchi and Robinson, 1997).

In the interest of measuring social capital, Stone and Hughes (2002: 2) distinguish three types of networks - informal ties with kin, families, friends, neighbours, and workmates; generalized relationships with local people, people in civic groups, and people in general;

and relationships through institutions. They also identified dimensions of networks, including size and extensiveness, density and closure, and diversity, which are useful for empirical measurement of social capital (Stone and Hughes, 2002; Ravanera, 2007). The type of networks and dimension of diversity could be used to distinguish between the “bonding” and “bridging” nature of social capital (Gittell and Vidal, 1998, Woolcock, 2001, Granovetter, 1973; Erickson, 2003). Close relationships or “strong” bonds that engender sense of belonging could be confined to a limited number of individuals, whereas bridging social capital or “weak” bonds - and its variant, the “linking” social capital that refers to a relation with people in position of power - may have a wider outreach that could prove more useful, say, for economic outcomes.

In the political science approach, the conception of which is traced by Furstenberg (2005) to De Tocqueville (1945) and Putnam (1995, 2000), social capital is seen in terms of social trust and civic participation. This concept of social capital is often used in analysis of aggregates and thus making social capital an attribute of community, regions, or countries. In this conceptualization, social capital could arguably be equated with social cohesion.

In this paper, we make use of the concepts of social capital in its sociological sense, and of integration – the individual-level manifestation of social cohesion – with focus on the social and political dimensions of integration.

B. Linking Social Capital and Integration

Social capital grounded on ethnic networks is a key element in the economic integration of immigrants (Portes, 1998). The strength of ties to ethnic communities and the social support that they provide can be instrumental for the success in education and occupation of immigrants (Portes and Zhou, 1996; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Kao and Tienda, 1995; Vernez and Abrahamse, 1996; Rumbaut, 1997). However, tight bonding with ones ethnic group has its downside: it can impede social mobility as it can exclude individuals from information available to mainstream society (on say, work opportunities), which would be particularly true for ethnic groups that demand conformity and restrict individual freedom (Reitz and Sklar, 1997; Li, 2003; Portes and Landolt, 1996).

Social capital is also seen as instrumental in the political integration of immigrant groups. One of the central issues surrounding multiculturalism policies in Western countries relates to the political participation. Studies point to the role of ethnic civic community, that is, the greater the civic community involvement (a measure of social capital), the greater the political participation (Tillie, 2003; Jacobs and Tillie, 2004). The proposition has been tested through studies in European countries with mixed results. Fennema and Tillie (1999), for example, showed that in Amsterdam, the greater the densities of ethnic associations, the greater are the political trust and participation in political activities. In Brussels, however, Jacobs et al. (2004) found no strong positive relation between memberships in ethnic associations and political involvement. Togeby (2004) found that among immigrants in Denmark, the relationships vary with ethnic groups and with type of political participation examined (informal or voting). Despite the mixed findings, we

think that the proposition is worth examining in the case of political participation of young Canadians.

Among the three dimensions of integration – economic, political, and social – the link between social capital and the dimensions of social integration (recognition and belonging) seems to be the least explored empirically. And yet, a link between social capital and social integration is an implied assumption in the policy of multiculturalism defined as “the doctrine that *cultural diversity* should be recognized as a permanent and valuable part of political society” (Templeman, 1999: 17, emphasis ours). Cultural diversity is maintained when people of the same ethnic or cultural backgrounds are connected through networks of relationship and trust, that is, when social capital continues to be accumulated and invested within an ethnic group even as the members are integrated into the larger society. Further, following on the thesis that family social capital promotes economic integration, we propose that connectedness through informal networks influences social integration to the larger society as well.

In this paper therefore we expand the hypothesis linking social capital and political participation on two fronts: we explore whether *family social capital* has similar effect as the affiliation to ethnic group and, we examine whether the social capital effects are manifested not only on political but on the *social* dimension as well. That is, using information from the 2002 Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey, we explore how “bonding” social capital – engendered by sense of belonging and trust in one’s family *and* in one’s own ethnic group – relates to political participation *and* to social recognition and belonging to the wider society. We expect that the bonding social capital will have a similar impact on *social* integration as it has on economic integration – that is, both a positive and a negative effect – and, as with the influence on political participation, the relation could vary by ethnic group. The positive influence would come from the support and the sense of identity that families and members of one’s own ethnic group provide, and negative, from the confinement that comes with tight bonding.

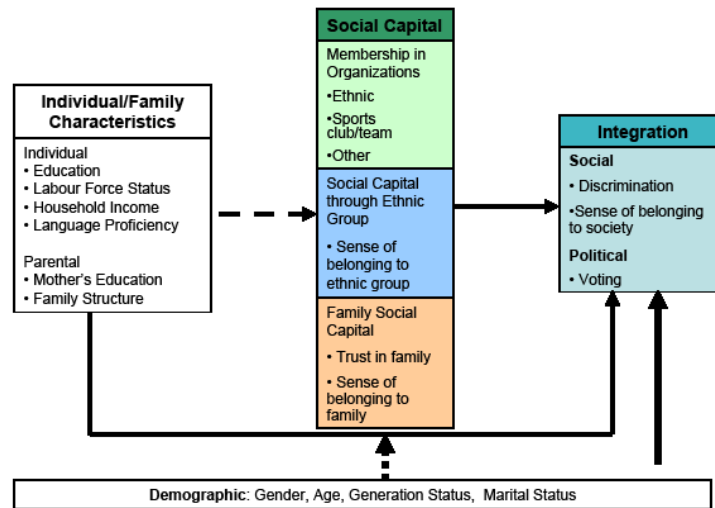
Our analysis focuses on young Canadians aged 15 to 34 as integration could differ by life course stage. Studies have shown that political participation and sense of belonging to community is lower among young Canadians (Ravanera and Rajulton, 2006; Reitz and Banerjee, 2007), warranting an analysis separate from those at older ages. Furthermore, the young (particularly young men) are more likely to manifest their frustration from social exclusion, sometimes in violent manner as has happened in Paris in 2006, and thus, the importance of getting a better understanding of their integration into society.

C. Framework of Analysis, Data, and Methods

Framework of Analysis. Using the information provided through the Ethnic Diversity Survey, our framework of analysis makes use of measures of integration, and social capital, individual and family characteristics, and demographic variables (Figure 1). We focus on the relation between social capital and integration, but also include factors that other studies have found to influence integration (see for example, Jacobs and Tillie,

2004; Reitz and Banerjee, 2007; Soroka, Johnson, and Banting, 2007, Ravanera and Rajulton, 2006). These variables include demographic (gender, age, generation, and marital status), individual (education, labour force, household income, language proficiency), and, given the age group of interest, parental characteristics (mother's education and family structure). While we recognize that the demographic, individual and family characteristics influence the accumulation and use of social capital (indicated by the broken arrow line), we do not directly examine these relationships in this paper.

Figure 1: Framework of Analysis for Social Integration and Political Participation



Data: The Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS), conducted by Statistics Canada in 2002 provides detailed information on individual and family characteristics, attitudes, and behaviours, including such topics as ethnic ancestry, ethnic identity, place of birth, visible minority status, religion, religious participation, knowledge of languages, family background, family interaction, social networks, civic participation, interaction with society, attitudes, satisfaction with life, trust and socio-economic activities (Statistics Canada, 2005).

The survey had a total of 42500 respondents, 15431 of whom were men and women aged 15-34, the subject of our study. We do separate analysis for all visible minorities combined, and for Chinese, South Asians, and Blacks. As can be seen in Table 1, the size of survey sample aged 15-34 is sufficiently large to allow analysis for these specific ethnic groups and preliminary analysis showed that they differ in levels of social capital and integration. Survey weights are used in all the statistical procedures – fractional weights are derived from assigned individual survey weights such that the number of cases equals the unweighted number for the particular group of interest.

As seen in Table 1, the weights take into account the survey design that oversampled visible minorities; that is, whereas the visible minorities comprise 30% of the sample, the weights bring the proportion down to 17%, reflecting the proportion of visible minority aged 15-34 in the population. [Note: In this and all other tables, “non-visible minority” refers to the mainstream or white population, that is, everyone who is not considered to belong to a “visible minority” group.]

Ethnic Groups	Unweighted		Weighted	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Non-Visible Minority	10501	69.6	12447	83.0
Visible Minority	4589	30.4	2550	17.0
Chinese	1150	7.6	607	4.0
South Asians	1056	7.0	600	4.0
Blacks	833	5.5	397	2.6
Other Visible Minority	1550	10.3	946	6.3
Missing information on ethnicity	341	2.2	433	2.8
Total	15431	100.0	15431	100.0

Source: Tabulated from 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey

Dependent Variables: We use two variables as indicators of the social dimensions of integration: experience of discrimination in the last 5 years (or, in the case of recent immigrants, since the time of arrival); and sense of belonging to the wider society. The variable is a response to the question: “do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of your ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion?” This variable is intended to capture one of social cohesion’s dimensions, that is, *social recognition* defined by Berger (1998) as tolerance of pluralism where people of different beliefs and values peacefully co-exist. Alternative indicators could be beliefs and values measured, for example, by responses to questions on whether one would be willing to have as neighbour, or allow his/her child to marry someone from “other” ethnic or cultural origins, religion, etc. These types of questions were however not asked in the Ethnic Diversity Survey.

Social belonging refers to the feeling of being part of community and connotes a sense of identity and sharing of values and norms (Jenson, 1998). To measure this dimension, we derived a score through factor analysis of the strength of belonging to Town, municipality or city, Province, Canada, and North America. As can be seen in Appendix Table 1, these 4 variables are significantly correlated, and one factor component explains 66% of the variance, which we take as a measure of the sense of belonging to the **wider** society (as opposed to a sense of belonging to the family or an ethnic group).

We use voting in the 2000 federal election as our only indicator of political participation. Information on voting in the provincial and municipal elections is provided by the survey

but they are correlated with voting in federal election. A preliminary check of the data showed that about 90% of those who voted in the municipal and provincial elections also voted in the federal election. Analysis of voting behaviour is confined to eligible voters: citizens and those aged 18 and over. Volunteering, which is also a measure of political participation, is not used as a dependent variable because the survey question specifically referred to volunteering in the organizations that one is a member of. In this study, we use membership in organization as an independent variable to examine the proposition that associational membership increases political participation, thus using volunteering as a dependent variable would have been tautological.

Independent Variables: One measure of social capital is membership in Ethnic, Sports, and Other organizations. “Ethnic or immigrant association includes responses indicating participation in ethnic or immigrant associations formed for the purposes of socializing, promoting cultural activities, providing settlement assistance or sustaining heritage languages: for example, Immigrant Services Societies, ethnic school clubs, language classes in the respondent's ethnic or traditional language, etc.” (Statistics Canada, 2005). The Other organization category includes hobby club, business or job related associations, religious affiliated group, service club or charitable organizations, and youth organization or children’s school group. We assume that both the Sports and Other organizations are cross-cultural or multi-ethnic in their membership. We include these two types of organizations in our analysis following the suggestion in Jacobs and Tillie (2004) to take into account cross-cultural associations as well.

The informal network with members of the same ethnic group is indicated by the strength of sense of belonging to one’s ethnic or cultural group, a variable derived from the response to the question “Some people have a stronger sense of belonging to some things than others. Using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong, how strong is your sense of belonging to your ethnic or cultural group(s)?” We considered other available variables such as friends from the same ethnic group or importance of one’s ethnicity but preliminary analysis shows that sense of belonging is a better single indicator and has also the least number of missing cases.

We use two indicators for family social capital. One is the strength of sense of belonging to family derived from response to the question: “Some people have a stronger sense of belonging to some things than others. Using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong, how strong is your sense of belonging to your family?” The second is trust in the family, derived from the response to: “Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means cannot be trusted at all and 5 means can be trusted a lot, how much do you trust ... people in your family?” As most responses have scores of “5”, both variables were recoded into just two categories, (1) very strong sense of belonging, or can be trusted a lot; and (2) all other responses, indicating lower than “very strong” belonging, or in the case of trust, lower than “can be trusted a lot”.

Among young Canadians, joining sports clubs or teams is favored over membership in other organizations (Table 2). Membership is highest among the Whites and this is true for Visible Minority as well, if one considers that the “Other” category includes several other types of organizations. Membership in ethnic associations is very low, with only 1.6% reporting membership. The Blacks have the highest proportion at 6.4% and those

not belonging to any visible minority group the lowest at 1%. The trend is similar for sense of belonging to the ethnic group with the highest proportion of Blacks (48%) having very strong sense of belonging, and the South Asians a close second (42.5%).

Indicators of Social Capital	All	Non-Visible Minority	Visible Minority	Chinese	South Asian	Black	Other Visible Minority
Membership in Organizations (%)							
Ethnic	1.6	1.0	4.8	4.7	5.8	6.4	3.5
Sports	29.0	30.8	20.1	19.7	17.3	21.7	21.4
Others	23.8	23.7	24.0	22.3	27.2	26.2	22.1
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (%)							
1 Not strong at all	13.7	15.7	3.8	2.7	3.4	3.5	4.9
2 ...	13.9	15.1	8.0	11.8	4.3	6.6	8.4
3 ...	25.6	26.3	22.2	25.2	20.0	18.6	23.2
4 ...	22.3	20.8	29.8	36.5	29.8	23.1	28.2
5 Very strong	24.5	22.1	36.2	23.7	42.5	48.1	35.4
Family Social Capital							
Trust in Family							
Can be trusted a lot (%)	82.4	82.3	82.8	85.9	84.4	73.3	83.9
Sense of Belonging to Family							
Very strong (%)	73.0	73.1	72.9	62.3	76.7	80.5	74.1
Family Social Capital (FScore)	0.002	0.002	0.002	-0.029	0.073	-0.107	0.022
Source: Tabulated from 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey							

As for family social capital, the trends in trust and sense of belonging to the family is similar to the average for most groups, that is about 82% trusting their family a lot, and 73% expressing very strong sense of belonging to the family. The exceptions are the Blacks with the lowest proportion for Trust (73%) and highest for Belonging (80.5%), and Chinese, the reverse with 85.9% and 62.3% for Trust and Belonging respectively. As the two variables are correlated, we did a factor analysis using the two variables, with the derived factor score as indicator of level of family social capital. The South Asians have the highest score for family social capital, with Blacks the lowest. In the subsequent analysis, we use the two variables rather than the factor score in order to retain the intuitive meaning of trust in and belonging to family.

The measures used for other variables (demographic, individual, and family variables) can be seen in Appendix Tables 2 to 4. Of particular importance is the Generation Status variable, with categories that include (a) immigrants before 1991, (b) immigrants between 1991 and 2002, (c) second generation – born in Canada of parents born in other

countries, and (d) third generation – respondents and parents born in Canada. The second and third generations are combined for analysis of visible minority groups due to small sample in the third generation.

Our statistical procedures consist of a descriptive bivariate analysis of the dependent variables by the social capital variables, and a multivariate procedure that include in the analysis the social capital variables together with all the other explanatory variables. We use binary logistic for Discrimination and Voting as these variables take on two categories (whether or not the respondent experienced discrimination or voted in 2000 federal election) and ordinary least square (OLS) regression for Belonging, measured as a factor score. In the tables presenting the results of the multivariate models, we show the coefficients (and their associated levels of significance), interpreting them in relation to the reference category; that is, positive coefficients indicate higher (and negative coefficients, lower) level of sense of belonging or higher probability of having experienced discrimination or voting compared to the reference group¹. We focus our discussion of results for the social capital variables, but bring in the results for the other variables when we deem that doing so will help us understand the findings about the relation between social capital and the dependent variables.

D. Results of Analysis

Table 3 presents the levels of social integration and political participation of young Canadians by ethnic groups. About one-sixth of young Canadians reported that they have experienced discrimination, with a sharp contrast between the Whites (12%) and the Visible Minority (38%). The highest proportion is among the Blacks (56%). However, this perceived low level of recognition seems to be compensated for by the sense of belonging to society that is greater, on average, among Visible Minority, with South Asians having the highest mean score, and Chinese the lowest. About 62% of the respondents reported they have voted in the last federal election but voting among Visible Minority is lower than average (56%), although South Asians report a higher than average (67%), and the Chinese and Blacks report the lowest proportion of voting(52%).

A bivariate correlation analysis between variables shows that those who reported having voted also reported a stronger sense of belonging, and as expected, those who reported having experienced discrimination reported a weaker sense of belonging (see bottom of Table 2).

¹ An alternative way of presenting the results would be to use odds ratios. This would have work well with results for binary logistic models but not for the results of the OLS. Further, for the sake of parsimony, we deemed the presentation of the levels of significance (without showing the standard errors of the coefficients as well) as sufficient for our purpose of discussing the differences between categories of our variables of interest.

For discussion of subsequent results examining the relation between social capital and integration, we present analysis for: (1) All Canadians aged 15-34, (aged 18-34 for Voting), (2) All Visible Minorities combined, (3) Chinese Only, (4) South Asians Only, and (5) Blacks Only.

Table 3: Measures of Social and Political Integration by Ethnic Groups Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002						
Ethnic Groups	Discrimination Experience		Belonging to Society		Voted in Last Federal Election	
	Total N	Per cent	Total N	F Score	Total N	Per cent
Non-Visible Minority	12318	12.1	12211	-0.016	9636	62.2
Visible Minority	2494	38.2	2406	0.078	1393	56.2
Chinese	596	36.3	568	-0.109	360	51.6
South Asians	574	33.9	546	0.269	307	66.9
Blacks	388	56.3	384	-0.037	213	51.7
Other Visible Minority	936	34.6	908	0.129	513	54.9
Total	14812	16.5	14617	0.000	11030	61.5
Dis-						
Bivariate correlation	crimination		Belonging		Voted in Election	
	-0.001	.064***				
		-0.043***				
*** Correlation is significant at .01 level (2-tailed)						
Note: Total number excludes cases with missing values. Those not eligible to vote (15-17 years, non-citizens) are also excluded from the analysis.						
Source: Tabulated from 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey						

D.1. Experience of Discrimination

As Table 4 shows, for all young Canadians, the proportion reporting experience of discrimination is higher among members of all organizations excepting sports clubs or teams. For Visible Minority, sports clubs or teams are no exemption – the proportion reporting discrimination is also higher among members than non-members. The difference between non-members and members in proportions reporting discrimination is greatest in ethnic associations (for Visible Minority, about 14%) than in sports (6%) and other organizations (8%). The pattern is similar for Chinese and Blacks. Among South Asians, the proportion experiencing discrimination is slightly higher among non-members.

Sense of belonging to ethnic groups has a similar pattern as membership in organizations. Experience of discrimination is reported by a higher proportion of the young who feel a stronger sense of belonging to one's ethnic group (Table 4). Again, an exception is the

South Asians – the proportion reporting discrimination is highest among those with somewhat weak sense of belonging to ethnic group.

Table 4: Proportion (%) Who Have Experienced Discrimination by Types of Social Capital and by Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002					
Indicators of Social Capital	All	Visible Minority	Chinese	Black	South Asian
Membership in Organizations (%)					
Ethnic					
Non-Member	16.2	37.5	35.6	54.9	34.0
Member	33.7	51.9	51.5	76.5	32.7
Sports					
Non-Member	16.6	37.0	35.2	55.2	31.5
Member	16.1	43.2	40.7	60.5	44.8
Others					
Non-Member	14.9	36.4	34.5	55.3	30.8
Member	21.4	44.0	42.7	59.2	42.0
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (%)					
1 Not strong at all	10.5	23.5	15.8	20.2	27.9
2 ...	13.3	38.5	35.0	45.5	52.3
3 ...	15.0	37.4	36.8	47.2	38.5
4 ...	19.6	39.2	35.6	56.7	34.1
5 Very strong	20.4	40.1	40.3	63.5	32.0
Family Social Capital					
Trust in Family					
Cannot to somewhat trusted	20.8	44.4	43.2	63.6	39.8
Can be trusted a lot	15.5	37.2	35.7	54.5	32.7
Sense of Belonging to Family					
Not strong to somewhat strong	17.0	37.5	36.1	56.3	33.0
Very strong	16.2	38.6	36.2	56.5	34.2
Total Proportion with Discrimination Exp.	16.5	38.4	36.4	56.2	34.6

Source: Tabulated from 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey

The family social capital has a somewhat different effect from that of the social capital engendered through ethnic groups. The proportion reporting discrimination is lower among those who trust their family a lot. Reporting of the experience of discrimination does not vary with strength of belonging to the family.

The above findings remain robust even after controlling for other variables such as education, income, language, etc. As can be seen in Table 5, membership in organizations and the strength of belonging to one's ethnic group continue to be "positively" correlated, and Trust in the family "negatively" associated with experience of discrimination. Comparing the three types of organizations, membership in ethnic associations seems to have the biggest impact for the Visible Minority.

Table 5: Binary Logistic Regression of Discrimination Experience By Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002 Results for Social Capital Variables											
		All		All Visible Minority		Chinese		Black		South Asian	
		Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Social Capital											
Membership in Organizations (ref: Non-Member)											
	Member of Ethnic Organizations	0.342	**	0.459	***	0.601	**	0.694	*	-0.128	
	Member of Sports Organizations	0.183	***	0.276	***	0.506	***	0.187		0.157	
	Member of Other Organizations	0.508	***	0.273	***	0.400	***	0.532	***	0.303	*
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (ref: Not strong)											
	2 ...	0.084		0.590	***	0.747		1.258	***	0.683	
	3 ...	0.167	**	0.632	***	0.742		1.960	***	0.771	*
	4 ...	0.364	***	0.768	***	0.772		2.187	***	0.461	
	5 ... Very strong	0.433	***	0.806	***	0.916	*	2.758	***	0.587	
Social Capital - Trust in Family (ref: lower trust)											
	Trust family a lot	-0.410	***	-0.272	***	-0.344	*	-0.552	***	-0.375	*
Social Capital - Sense of belonging to family (ref: weaker belonging)											
	Very strong belonging to family	-0.061		-0.028		-0.002		-0.106		0.226	
N of Cases		14248		4328		1083		761		940	
Pseudo R Square		14.0%		8.6%		11.0%		25.0%		12.5%	
Significance levels *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10%											
Source: 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey, extracted from Appendix Table 2											

There could be a number of explanations for the positive relationship between membership in organizations and discrimination experience. One possible explanation is reverse causation – that is, those who join ethnic-based associations may have already felt that they have been discriminated against and thus seek to bond with those who may have had the same experience. A similar explanation could be proffered for the positive association between discrimination and sense of belonging to one’s own ethnic group – that is, experience of discrimination may drive one to seek solace from one’s ethnic group and thus feel a stronger sense of belonging.

For the positive association with sports and other types of organization, a possible explanation could be a differential exposure to the risk of discrimination – the more one joins associations or sports clubs and teams, the higher the risk of experiencing discrimination. A similar explanation may hold for the positive association between discrimination and level of education (see Appendix Table 2). The higher one’s aspirations, the more likely is the possibility of being discriminated against (an objective assessment), or the sharper one’s sensitivity to discrimination (a subjective assessment). In the same way, the lower reporting of discrimination among more recent immigrants

(compared to the 2nd generation) could be due to their shorter period of exposure to situations where discrimination could arise (also shown in Appendix Table 2).

The negative relation between trust in the family and experience of discrimination may be due to the subjective measure of discrimination – that is, those well-grounded in their family may tend to take a more positive view of their experience with others. This may be the same reason for why those who have lived with both parents until age 15 are less likely to report experience of discrimination, especially among Blacks where the coefficient for family structure is highly significant (Appendix Table 2).

D.2. Sense of Belonging to Society

On the whole, membership in ethnic and sports organizations increases one's sense of belonging to society (Table 6). However, the effects of membership vary by both types of organizations and by ethnic groups. For Chinese and Blacks, membership in organizations is strongly associated with sense of belonging. In contrast, South Asians who are non-members report stronger sense of belonging to society. The sense of belonging to one's own ethnic group and family social capital are both positively related to sense of belonging to society. These relationships hold for all Visible Minority and for Chinese, Black, and South Asian.

Table 6: Mean Score of Sense of Belonging to Society by Types of Social Capital and by Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002					
Indicators of Social Capital	All	Visible Minority	Chinese	Black	South Asian
Membership in Organizations (%)					
Ethnic					
Non-Member	-0.002	0.079	-0.116	-0.056	0.284
Member	0.092	0.063	0.022	0.228	0.052
Sports					
Non-Member	-0.008	0.076	-0.138	-0.107	0.320
Member	0.017	0.086	0.001	0.214	0.050
Others					
Non-Member	0.001	0.088	-0.130	-0.066	0.367
Member	-0.004	0.049	-0.041	0.043	0.030
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (%)					
1 Not strong at all	-0.531	-0.755	-0.842	-0.123	-0.852
2 ...	-0.347	-0.580	-0.580	-0.700	-0.530
3 ...	-0.155	-0.155	-0.421	-0.205	0.023
4 ...	0.087	0.008	-0.009	-0.290	0.137
5 Very strong	0.574	0.515	0.394	0.238	0.661
Family Social Capital					
Trust in Family					
Cannot to somewhat trusted	-0.288	-0.239	-0.416	-0.371	-0.040
Can be trusted a lot	0.061	0.145	-0.058	0.091	0.331
Sense of Belonging to Family					
Not strong to somewhat strong	-0.469	-0.423	-0.480	-0.657	-0.091
Very strong	0.172	0.263	0.115	0.108	0.381
Mean Score of Sense of Belonging	-0.001	0.078	-0.108	-0.042	0.271
Source: Tabulated from 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey					

Controlling for other variables in a multivariate analysis shows that members of sports teams or clubs have stronger sense of belonging to society than non-members. This is true for all groups, except for South Asians, but especially for the Blacks, where the coefficient for the sports is the highest. South Asians stand out as having the highest score in sense of belonging (Table 6) but membership in sports organization has no significant effect, and membership in other organizations has a negative effect on their sense of belonging to society (Table 7).

Table 7: OLS Regression of Sense of Belonging to Society By Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002 Results for Social Capital Variables										
	All		All Visible Minority		Chinese		Blacks		South Asians	
	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Social Capital										
Membership in Organizations (ref: Non-Member)										
Member of Ethnic Organizations	-0.092		-0.113 *		0.111		0.249 *		-0.208 *	
Member of Sports Organizations	0.071 ***		0.103 ***		0.188 ***		0.466 ***		-0.007	
Member of Other Organizations	-0.019		-0.026		0.027		0.122		-0.263 ***	
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (ref: Not strong)										
2 ...	0.242 ***		0.256 ***		0.292 *		-0.247		0.465 **	
3 ...	0.397 ***		0.556 ***		0.439 ***		-0.042		0.785 ***	
4 ...	0.614 ***		0.647 ***		0.794 ***		-0.105		0.762 ***	
5 ... Very strong	0.998 ***		1.053 ***		1.120 ***		0.259		1.207 ***	
Social Capital - Trust in Family (ref: lower trust)										
Trust family a lot	0.126 ***		0.148 ***		0.176 **		0.185 **		0.160 *	
Social Capital - Sense of belonging to family (ref: weaker belonging)										
Very strong belonging to family	0.381 ***		0.400 ***		0.291 ***		0.462 ***		0.266 ***	
N of Cases	14127		4146		1045		759		911	
R Square	18.9%		20.8%		20.2%		21.0%		23.4%	
Significance levels *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10%										
Source: 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey, extracted from Appendix Table 3										

The greater the sense of belonging to one's ethnic group, the greater is the sense of belonging to society. Similarly, the strength of belonging and trust in the family are both positively related to sense of belonging to society. This is true for all groups, although for the Blacks the relationship is neither linear nor statistically significant. When viewed in terms of bonding and bridging social capital these findings seem to indicate that one does not preclude the other. On the contrary, a strong affiliation to one's family or ethnic group seems to strengthen one's attachment to the larger society.

Since we are studying young Canadians, it is no surprise that membership in sports organizations has a strong effect. Sports as society's unifying force becomes even more significant when viewed in terms of level of membership that is higher than any other type of organizations with possibly many of these associations having cross-cultural or cross-ethnic membership.

D.3. Voting

For all young Canadians in general, members of organizations are more likely to vote. However, the relation between organization membership and voting varies by ethnic group (Table 8). Blacks belonging to sports organizations are more likely to vote. For Blacks and South Asians, voting is more likely among members of ethnic associations. Among the three ethnic groups, members of organizations other than sports or ethnic associations are more likely to vote, with the difference greatest among the Chinese.

The relationship between sense of belonging to one's own ethnic group and voting is positive for all young Canadians as well as for all ethnic groups. The proportion voting is mostly higher among those with greater family social capital, except for Blacks with no clear pattern according to strength of sense of belonging.

Table 8: Proportion (%) Who Voted in Federal Election by Types of Social Capital and by Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002					
Indicators of Social Capital	All	Visible Minority	Chinese	Black	South Asian
Membership in Organizations					
Ethnic					
Non-Member	61.3	55.7	52.2	49.9	65.4
Member	73.1	64.8	40.7	76.9	88.3
Sports					
Non-Member	61.0	56.8	51.9	50.9	67.7
Member	62.9	53.7	50.5	55.9	63.5
Others					
Non-Member	59.0	54.0	49.0	50.3	64.4
Member	69.7	62.9	61.7	56.4	73.6
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group					
1 Not strong at all	53.9	50.4	55.8	58.0	41.0
2 ...	60.6	59.2	57.2	45.6	62.5
3 ...	62.4	52.5	50.6	44.8	56.2
4 ...	64.6	55.4	43.8	45.7	76.4
5 Very strong	63.5	58.7	58.9	56.9	68.8
Family Social Capital					
Trust in Family					
Cannot to somewhat trusted	59.8	52.3	33.4	53.0	62.2
Can be trusted a lot	62.0	56.9	53.8	51.1	68.3
Sense of Belonging to Family					
Not strong to somewhat strong	55.2	49.6	43.8	43.4	64.0
Very strong	63.7	58.7	56.5	53.8	68.0
Total Proportion Who Voted	61.5	56.2	51.6	51.7	66.9

Source: Tabulated from 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey

The multivariate analysis for voting mainly confirms the findings from the bivariate analysis. The relationships between social capital and political participation shows up as significant in the analysis for all young Canadians, indicating that these relationships are clear for Whites but not as significant for visible minority (Table 9). Much of the variations for Visible Minority on the likelihood of voting could be explained by factors other than social capital. Education and household income, for example, are both positively related to voting (Appendix Table 4).

These results reflect what studies in Europe have found; that is, when it comes to the relation between associational membership and political participation, various ethnic groups behave differently within the same country (Jacobs and Tillie, 2004).

**Table 9: Binary Logistic Regression of Voting in Last Federal Election
By Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002**

	All		All Visible Minority		Chinese		Blacks		South Asians	
	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Social Capital										
Membership in Organizations (ref: Non-Member)										
Member of Ethnic Organizations	0.485	***	0.312		-0.411		1.287	**	1.304	**
Member of Sports Organizations	-0.086	*	-0.164		0.183		0.387		-1.038	***
Member of Other Organizations	0.357	***	0.346	***	0.752	***	0.427		0.468	*
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (ref: Not strong)										
2 ...	0.236	***	0.203		-0.597		0.517		1.533	**
3 ...	0.248	***	-0.162		-0.720		0.203		1.156	*
4 ...	0.427	***	0.078		-0.851		0.693		1.952	***
5 ... Very strong	0.376	***	0.234		-0.499		0.976		1.781	***
Social Capital - Trust in Family (ref: lower trust)										
Trust family a lot	-0.085		0.024		0.963	***	-0.371		0.207	
Social Capital - Sense of belonging to family (ref: weaker belonging)										
Very strong belonging to family	0.179	***	0.002		0.337		0.075		-0.405	
N of Cases	10659		2394		651		428		506	
Pseudo R Square	15.1%		21.0%		26.8%		34.2%		36.2%	
Significance levels *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10%										
Source: 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey										

E. Implications for Policies and for Further Research

Political scientists have looked into the relation between diversity and social capital mainly measured in terms of trust in people in general. Putnam (2007) has, for example, found that in the United States diversity leads to “hunkering”; that is, the more diverse the community, the lower is the level of trust. In Canada, Soroka, Helliwell, and Johnston (2007) come to a similar conclusion in that the level of trust of those in the “minority” is lower than those in the “majority” in diverse neighbourhood. These studies tend to lead to the conclusion that diversity is detrimental to social capital. [But see the study of Aizlewood and Pendakur (2007) that contradicts this, pointing instead to urban lifestyle as the probable cause of decline in social capital.] In spite of these findings of lower social capital that diversity brings, these political scientists seem to agree that ethnic diversity benefits society in the long run. Furthermore, the trend towards greater diversity in most of the Western countries including Canada will likely continue, and thus, policy questions are probably better posed not so much in terms of whether or not diversity is detrimental to social capital but rather how diversity could be harnessed to enhance social capital. And indeed, Putnam (2007) concludes his paper with policy directions that would help the United States attain its objective of “*e pluribus unum*” or creating “a novel ‘one’ out of a diverse ‘many’” (p.165).

In this study, instead of viewing social capital in terms of trust in people in general, we examined social capital as attributes of families and ethnic groups and how it relates to integration into the wider society. One of our findings is that the greater the social capital lodged in the family, the greater is the likelihood of integration into the wider society. Young adults who have a lot of trust and a strong sense of belonging to their own family are less likely to have experienced discrimination and more likely to feel a strong sense of belonging to the wider society. This implies that families have an important role in developing good citizens and thus policies that are supportive of families would yield benefits not only for the families themselves but for society as a whole.

We also found that the levels of family social capital differ by ethnic groups with the Blacks having the lowest level of family social capital. This may be an outcome of family dissolution as social capital seems to be lower in non-intact families (Ravanera, 2007), and family disruption may be higher among the Blacks than among other ethnic groups. This implies that it would be beneficial to consider ethnic diversity in the development of programs and services aimed at families.

For young Canadians, social capital engendered through affiliation with one's own ethnic group – whether measured as sense of belonging or membership in ethnic associations – does, in general, strengthen their sense of belonging to the wider society, and for some ethnic groups, increases their political participation. Could this be taken as a validation of effectiveness of multiculturalism, well-articulated and championed by political philosophers such as Will Kymlicka (1989), and recently chronicled as a Canadian success by Michael Adams (2007)? The answer that this study gives is a “yes, but ...”. Caution is warranted since the same ethnic social capital seems to increase experience of discrimination. One could argue against the subjective measure of discrimination used in the survey, but the dimension of integration that the measure seeks to represent – acceptance or recognition by society at large – is also subjective or a matter of perception, and thus, the report of experience of discrimination by a high proportion of Visible Minority should be a matter for concern.

It would seem that discrimination is in the realm of individual behaviour not subject to state intervention. And indeed there is a lot that individuals can do in terms of examining ones attitudes and behaviours as writer Pasha Malla (2008) has done. His premise is that beneath the open-mindedness of many of us, we have “unbidden and un-admitted” racist thoughts. Awareness of such thoughts and a more open discussion of racism would probably be a step towards reducing discrimination. But, the state has also a role to play in promoting tolerance and acceptance. Putnam (2007) suggests investment in places that could create opportunities for interaction among people of different ethnic backgrounds, including community centres, athletic fields, and schools.

Open discussion of discrimination and sense of belonging would be benefited by further research. In this study, for example, we found that, in general, experience of

discrimination reduces the sense of belonging to the wider community. But, we also found that membership in organization is associated both with greater likelihood of experiencing discrimination and with a stronger sense of belonging to the wider society. This is puzzling in that one would expect that if membership in organization generates experience of discrimination, members would feel a weaker sense of belonging to the wider community. This indicates that there may be “pathways” from organization membership to sense of belonging that need to be further studied. The same could be said about the strength of belonging to one’s own ethnic group – that is, the stronger the sense of belonging to one’s own ethnic group, the greater is the experience of discrimination but also the greater is the likelihood of feeling a strong sense of belonging to the wider society. This indicates that a strong *bonding* social capital does not preclude a strong *bridging* social capital. This too needs to be examined more carefully possibly with longitudinal data, although further analysis could be tried using the same data set but with other statistical methods (for example, path analysis).

Canada’s ethnic groups with different cultures are numerous, but even with only three examined here, big differences are manifest in the level and manner of integration. Blacks seem to be the least integrated, with high proportion reporting discrimination and a lower than average feeling of sense of belonging to society. They have the strongest sense of affiliation with their ethnic groups as shown by both measures of membership in ethnic associations and sense of belonging to their ethnic group. However, their family social capital is the lowest, which together with membership in sports organization, is a factor that has a significantly higher influence on sense of belonging to society among young Blacks than among Chinese or South Asians.

The Chinese have the lowest score in sense of belonging to society. This could be a true reflection of their sense of belonging to society, but it could be due to cultural differences in responding to survey questions. In comparison to Blacks and South Asians, the Chinese are more cautious in their expression of sense of belonging to any group, including their own ethnic group. The modal response among the Chinese for strength of sense of belonging to their ethnic group, for example, is “4”, whereas it is “5” (“very strong” among Blacks and South Asians).

South Asians stand out in having the strongest sense of belonging to society and the highest proportion voting compared to all ethnic groups. Furthermore, membership in organizations has a negative effect on their sense of belonging to society (whereas for other ethnic groups membership has the opposite effect). The strong sense of belonging could be attributed to their more pleasant experiences in Canada or it may simply be their cultural upbringing whereby they feel a strong sense of belonging to society regardless of the country that they live in.

In sum, the findings from this study have policy relevance for immigration, family issues, and for civic participation, but cultural differences have to be brought into the picture as well.

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**Appendix Table 1: Pearson Correlation and Factor Analysis of Sense of Belonging to Society
Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002**

Pearson Correlations

Strength of sense of belonging to	Strength of sense of belonging to			
	Town, city, or municipality	Province	Canada	North America
Town, city or municipality	1.000	0.603	0.380	0.377
Province		1.000	0.467	0.474
Canada			1.000	0.582
North America				1.000

All correlation significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Factor Analysis

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.972	65.745	65.745	1.972	65.745	65.745
2	0.642	21.405	87.150			
3	0.386	12.850	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix: 1 component extracted.

Strength of sense of belonging to	Component 1
Town, city or municipality	0.825
Province	0.865
Canada	0.737

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Source: 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey

**Appendix Table 2: Binary Logistic Regression of Discrimination Experience
By Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002**

	All		All Visible Minority		Chinese		Blacks		South Asians	
	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Social Capital										
Membership in Organizations (ref: Non-Member)										
Member of Ethnic Organizations	0.342	**	0.459	***	0.601	**	0.694	*	-0.128	
Member of Sports Organizations	0.183	***	0.276	***	0.506	***	0.187		0.157	
Member of Other Organizations	0.508	***	0.273	***	0.400	***	0.532	***	0.303	*
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (ref: Not strong)										
2 ...	0.084		0.590	***	0.747		1.258	***	0.683	
3 ...	0.167	**	0.632	***	0.742		1.960	***	0.771	*
4 ...	0.364	***	0.768	***	0.772		2.187	***	0.461	
5 ... Very strong	0.433	***	0.806	***	0.916	*	2.758	***	0.587	
Social Capital - Trust in Family (ref: lower trust)										
Trust family a lot	-0.410	***	-0.272	***	-0.344	*	-0.552	***	-0.375	*
Social Capital - Sense of belonging to family (ref: weaker belonging)										
Very strong belonging to family	-0.061		-0.028		-0.002		-0.106		0.226	
Demographic/ Life Course Variables										
Ethnic Group (ref: Non-visible minority)										
Chinese (ref: for All Visible Minority)	1.202	***								
South Asian	1.031	***	-0.139							
Blacks	1.949	***	0.751	***						
All Other Minority Groups	1.118	***	-0.062							
Gender (ref: Males)										
Females	-0.206	***	0.056		0.384	***	-0.637	***	-0.388	**
Age Groups (ref: Age 25-34)										
Age 15-17	-0.289	***	-0.309	**	-0.261		-0.959	***	-0.650	*
Age 18-24	-0.222	***	-0.220	**	0.062		-0.921	***	-0.447	*
Generation Status (ref: 3rd for All, and 2nd and 3rd Gen for VisMin)										
First Generation - arrived before 1991	0.300	***	-0.105		0.023		-0.329		-0.133	*
First Generation - arrived 1991- 2002	0.111		-0.385	***	0.239		-1.242	***	-0.887	***
Second Generation	0.204	***								
Marital Status (ref: Married, Cohabiting, Formerly Married)										
Never Married	0.203	***	0.228	**	-0.064		0.297		0.370	
Individual and Family Characteristics										
Resp. Education (HS or less)										
Some university or college	0.397	***	0.389	***	0.786	***	0.113		0.411	
Diploma or higher	0.248	***	0.344	***	0.862	***	0.679	***	0.567	
Labour Force Status (ref: Full-time employed)										
Employed part-time	0.141		-0.107		-0.138		0.368		0.553	
Housework/Caring	0.102		0.251	*	-0.135		0.097		0.388	
In school	-0.021		0.031		-0.095		0.749	***	0.456	*
Other activities (inc. not employed)	0.387	***	0.235		-0.525		-0.563		0.756	***
Household Income (Less than \$30000)										
\$30000-\$49999	0.213	***	0.332	***	0.033		0.380		-0.333	
\$50000-\$79999	0.080		0.113		0.206		0.970	***	0.197	
\$80000 and higher	0.059		0.126		-0.101		0.478		0.272	
Missing	0.063		-0.091		0.250		0.351		-0.245	
Language Most Often Used at Home (ref: Official Language)										
Official and Other Language	0.242	***	0.189	**	0.407	**	-0.105		0.282	
Other Language Only	0.089		0.080		0.067		0.814		0.506	**
Mother's Education (ref: HS or Less)										
Beyond High School	-0.022		-0.015		-0.088		-0.073		-0.168	
Family Structure										
Lived with both parents until age 15	-0.284	***	-0.174	*	-0.503		-0.489	***	-0.583	**
Constant	-2.095	***	-1.327	***	-1.788	***	-1.333		-0.814	
N of Cases	14248		4328		1083		761		940	
R Square	14.0%		8.6%		11.0%		25.0%		12.5%	
Significance levels *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10%										
Source: 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey										

**Appendix Table 3: OLS Regression of Sense of Belonging to Society
By Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002**

	All		All Visible Minority		Chinese		Blacks		South Asians	
	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Social Capital										
Membership in Organizations (ref: Non-Member)										
Member of Ethnic Organizations	-0.092		-0.113 *		0.111		0.249 *		-0.208 *	
Member of Sports Organizations	0.071 ***		0.103 ***		0.188 ***		0.466 ***		-0.007	
Member of Other Organizations	-0.019		-0.026		0.027		0.122		-0.263 ***	
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (ref: Not strong)										
2 ...	0.242 ***		0.256 ***		0.292 *		-0.247		0.465 **	
3 ...	0.397 ***		0.556 ***		0.439 ***		-0.042		0.785 ***	
4 ...	0.614 ***		0.647 ***		0.794 ***		-0.105		0.762 ***	
5 ... Very strong	0.998 ***		1.053 ***		1.120 ***		0.259		1.207 ***	
Social Capital - Trust in Family (ref: lower trust)										
Trust family a lot	0.126 ***		0.148 ***		0.176 **		0.185 **		0.160 *	
Social Capital - Sense of belonging to family (ref: weaker belonging)										
Very strong belonging to family	0.381 ***		0.400 ***		0.291 ***		0.462 ***		0.266 ***	
Demographic/ Life Course Variables										
Ethnic Group (ref: Non-visible minority)										
Chinese (ref: for All Visible Minority)	-0.133 ***									
South Asian	0.072		0.190 ***							
Blacks	-0.262 ***		-0.145 ***							
All Other Minority Groups	-0.018		0.103 ***							
Gender (ref: Males)										
Females	0.040 **		0.033		0.074		0.038		0.052	
Age Groups (ref: Age 25-34)										
Age 15-17	-0.193 ***		-0.248 ***		-0.239 *		-0.291 *		-0.115	
Age 18-24	-0.133 ***		-0.088 **		-0.115		-0.180		0.071	
Generation Status (ref: 3rd for All, and 2nd and 3rd Gen for VisMin)										
First Generation - arrived before 1991	0.008		0.071 *		-0.070		0.037		-0.082	
First Generation - arrived 1991- 2002	0.027		0.170 ***		-0.246 ***		0.571 ***		0.203 ***	
Second Generation	-0.009									
Marital Status (ref: Married, Cohabiting, Formerly Married)										
Never Married	0.001		-0.040		0.010		-0.091		-0.037	
Individual and Family Characteristics										
Resp. Education (HS or less)										
Some university or college	-0.083 ***		-0.094 **		-0.228 ***		-0.117		-0.237 ***	
Diploma or higher	-0.165 ***		-0.217 ***		-0.350 ***		-0.431 ***		-0.066	
Labour Force Status (ref: Full-time employed)										
Employed part-time	0.020		-0.080		-0.263		0.177		-0.849 ***	
Housework/Caring	-0.040		-0.518 ***		0.064		-0.318 **		-0.591 ***	
In school	-0.016		-0.101 **		-0.242 ***		-0.015		-0.151	
Other activities (inc. not employed)	-0.052		-0.182 ***		-0.073		0.289		-0.372 ***	
Household Income (Less than \$30000)										
\$30000-\$49999	0.030		0.028		-0.201 **		0.059		0.159	
\$50000-\$79999	0.030		0.055		-0.163 *		-0.180		0.154	
\$80000 and higher	0.071 ***		0.032		-0.210 *		0.121		0.005	
Missing	0.035		0.057		-0.131 **		0.165		0.024	
Language Most Often Used at Home (ref: Official Language)										
Official and Other Language	0.056 *		0.056		-0.023		-0.108		0.276 ***	
Other Language Only	-0.024		-0.044		-0.056		0.237		0.201 **	
Mother's Education (ref: HS or Less)										
Beyond High School	-0.024		-0.065		-0.025		-0.118		0.003	
Family Structure										
Lived with both parents until age 15	-0.020		-0.154 **		0.114		-0.098		-0.320 ***	
Constant	-0.782 ***		-0.823 ***		-0.622		-0.537		-0.721 ***	
N of Cases	14127		4146		1045		759		911	
R Square	18.9%		20.8%		20.2%		21.0%		23.4%	
Significance levels *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10%										
Source: 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey										

**Appendix Table 4: Binary Logistic Regression of Voting in Last Federal Election
By Ethnic Groups, Canadians Aged 15-34, 2002**

	All		All Visible Minority		Chinese		Blacks		South Asians	
	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Social Capital										
Membership in Organizations (ref: Non-Member)										
Member of Ethnic Organizations	0.485	***	0.312		-0.411		1.287	**	1.304	**
Member of Sports Organizations	-0.086	*	-0.164		0.183		0.387		-1.038	***
Member of Other Organizations	0.357	***	0.346	**	0.752	***	0.427		0.468	*
Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group (ref: Not strong)										
2 ...	0.236	***	0.203		-0.597		0.517		1.533	**
3 ...	0.248	***	-0.162		-0.720		0.203		1.156	*
4 ...	0.427	***	0.078		-0.851		0.693		1.952	***
5 ... Very strong	0.376	***	0.234		-0.499		0.976		1.781	***
Social Capital - Trust in Family (ref: lower trust)										
Trust family a lot	-0.085		0.024		0.963	***	-0.371		0.207	
Social Capital - Sense of belonging to family (ref: weaker belonging)										
Very strong belonging to family	0.179	***	0.002		0.337		0.075		-0.405	
Demographic/ Life Course Variables										
Ethnic Group (ref: Non-visible minority)										
Chinese (ref: for All Visible Minority)	-0.362	***								
South Asian	0.160		0.535	***						
Blacks	-0.376	**	0.069							
All Other Minority Groups	-0.204	*	0.162							
Gender (ref: Males)										
Females	-0.100	**	0.028		0.303		0.618	**	-0.422	*
Age Groups (ref: Age 25-34)										
Age 18-24	-0.630	***	-0.733	***	-1.240	***	-0.717	**	-0.829	***
Generation Status (ref: 3rd for All, and 2nd and 3rd Gen for VisMin)										
First Generation - arrived before 1991	-0.064		0.273	*	-0.490	**	0.858	***	0.633	**
First Generation - arrived 1991- 2002	-0.482	***	-0.205		-0.362		-0.450		-0.654	**
Second Generation	-0.057									
Marital Status (ref: Married, Cohabiting, Formerly Married)										
Never Married	-0.301	***	-0.350	**	0.287		-0.718	**	-0.303	
Individual and Family Characteristics										
Resp. Education (HS or less)										
Some university or college	0.565	***	0.364	**	0.422		0.137		1.596	***
Diploma or higher	0.827	***	0.774	***	1.059	***	0.682		1.219	***
Labour Force Status (ref: Full-time employed)										
Employed part-time	-0.216	*	0.459		0.547		0.007		1.609	*
Housework/Caring	-0.086		-0.010		1.113	*	-0.921	**	-0.392	
In school	-0.192	***	-0.201		0.067		-0.701	**	-0.386	
Other activities (inc. not employed)	0.051		-0.640	**	0.342		-1.817	***	-0.721	
Household Income (Less than \$30000)										
\$30000-\$49999	0.371	***	0.307		0.430		0.488		0.356	
\$50000-\$79999	0.240	***	0.337		-0.021		0.690		0.609	
\$80000 and higher	0.523	***	0.638	***	0.071		0.829	*	0.879	**
Missing	0.279	***	0.048		-0.312		1.035	***	0.491	
Language Most Often Used at Home (ref: Official Language)										
Official and Other Language	-0.008		0.044		-0.055		0.324		0.352	
Other Language Only	0.071		0.103		0.086		-0.353	***	1.403	***
Mother's Education (ref: HS or Less)										
Beyond High School	0.199	***	0.132		-0.270		0.061		-0.056	***
Family Structure										
Lived with both parents until age 15	0.285	***	0.417	**	1.576	***	0.660		0.796	
Constant	-0.445	***	-0.708		-2.180	**	-1.428		-2.392	
N of Cases	10659		1331		651		428		506	
R Square	15.1%		21.0%		26.8%		34.2%		36.2%	

Significance levels *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10%

Source: 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey