BRIDGING, BONDING, AND TRUSTING: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AND TRUST ON IMMIGRANTS' SENSE OF BELONGING TO CANADA

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Abstract/Résumé:
Recent literature extols the virtues of social capital and trust on community attachment. , This paper explores how they affect Canadian immigrants' sense of belonging to the country. Additional theories accounting for community size, length of time in Canada, education level, education location, and personal income are also examined. Findings indicate that social capital and generalized trust do not have significant impacts on immigrants' sense of belonging; however, particularized trust does. This finding suggests a need for further research on neighbourhood influences on national social cohesion in Canadian immigrant populations.

Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War, Canada's population has become increasingly diverse. To accommodate this, Canada adopted multicultural policies designed to promote inclusion while also supporting nation building. Nonetheless, there are numerous critics of those policies. Some argue that these policies do not lead to an inclusive and cohesive society. For example, Bissoondath (2002) contends that multiculturalism's emphasis on immigrants' homelands, and its insistence that the "there" is more important than "here," discourages the complete loyalty of immigrants to Canada. Others (see Uslaner and Conley, 2003: 342-343; and Alesina and Ferrara, 2000: 850) posit that immigrants with strong ethnic identities and who associate primarily with people of a similar ethnic background either withdraw from mainstream civic participation or engage only with organizations that represent their original nationality. This in turn reinforces prejudices and ultimately limits a sense of belonging to the wider community. If this is the case, the goal of Canadian multiculturalism is undermined.

It is important, therefore, to explore the extent to which immigrants feel like they belong to Canada and the factors that affect that sense of belonging. Some have already begun to engage these questions. For example, Reitz and Banerjee (2007) use data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) to explore the influences of visible minorities' sense of belonging to Canada and conclude that visible minorities in fact express a stronger sense of belonging to the country than whites (2007: 19). Their findings yield evidence that concerns over integration and national attachment may be overblown.

This paper builds on Reitz and Banerjee's (2007) scholarship but extends the analysis by disaggregating data to explore immigrant populations. This is an important

next step because it allows researchers to uncover subtle differences between outcomes

for immigrants in general and visible minority populations (see Li, 2001; Reitz, 2001).

To examine these issues, I will draw on recent literature on social capital and trust

because both are considered to be important influences on community attachment.

Putnam (2000) argues that declining stocks of social capital in the United States

decreased civic engagement and voluntary participation and, along with it, feelings of

general community attachment. My paper will analyze whether these factors also affect

Canadian immigrants' sense of belonging to the country. Several competing theories also

account for sense of belonging; thus, explanations that examine trust, community size,

length of time in Canada, education, and personal income will also be examined.

Theoretical Review

Theories of social capital have catapulted onto many research agendas in recent

years; however, contemporary theorists use the term in a variety of ways. Nonetheless,

Putnam's (2000) work is the most salient with respect to community attachment. Social

capital, as he sees it, "refers to connections among individuals—social networks and the

norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (2000: 19). In this sense,

social capital operates in the social networks of individuals, fostering a virtuous circle

where individuals are more trusting of one another and more likely to actively pursue

collective goals. As individuals' participation increases, they develop a sense of

ownership of and attachment and belonging to a given community, which in turn leads to

more engagement in it. Consequently, continuing along this line of argument, individuals

who participate in civic activities are more likely to have a stronger sense of community

belonging than those who do not (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980: 224-225; Hunter, 1975: 544).

Numerous scholars support such notions. Long and Perkins (2007: 573), for example, conclude that measures of social capital, including civic participation, positively influence sense of community. Others, exploring citizen participation and neighbouring uncover strong relationships between them and increased community attachment (Perkins and Long, 2002; Chavis and Wandersman, 1990).

Putnam (2000: 22-23) identifies two types of social capital: bridging and bonding, both of which have different benefits and consequences. Bonding social capital—or strong ties—is "good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity" (Putnam, 2000: 22). These ties create relationships *within* groups, enabling immigrants to develop a strong sense of identity and to enforce norms and sanctions within tight-knit communities. Conversely, bridging social capital—or weak ties—is "better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion" (Putnam, 2000: 22) and can be considered ties *among* various groups, which allow access to a diverse range of information. For immigrants and ethnic minorities, this provides links to mainstream society and access to various information and services unavailable in ethnic communities.

The distinction between the two types of social capital is important because each can have very different outcomes on immigrants' sense of belonging. For instance, Coleman argues that social capital is formed through network closure, and strong ties among closed networks, such as the family, foster obligations, expectations, and norms (Coleman, 1988: S105-106). As a result, bonding social capital may be a stronger influence on sense of belonging to an ethnic community. Conversely, bridging social

capital does not foster strong obligations and expectations to one particular group, and the benefits that come with it can influence sense of belonging to a larger entity, such as a province or country.

As a result, my first and second hypotheses are

H₁: Immigrants with more bonding social capital will have a weaker sense of belonging to Canada than immigrants with less bonding social capital.

and

H₂: Immigrants with more bridging social capital will have a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than immigrants with less bridging social capital.

Trust, like social capital, is another important element affecting community attachment. According to numerous scholars, social trust provides the cohesiveness needed for the development of meaningful and long-lasting relationships (see Hardin, 2002). Delhey and Newton (2003) theorize that social trust is related to various indicators of community attachment. They show a strong association between trust and involvement in informal social networks (2003: 98-111), a key indicator of community attachment. Li et al. (2005: 120) also document their discovery that increased trust is related to good neighbourly relations, a potential measure of community attachment.

Uslaner (2002: ch. 3) makes an important distinction between two types of trust: particularized and generalized. Particularized trust is narrowly based. Individuals who are particularized trusters have faith only in those from their own, or a very similar, background (Uslaner and Conley, 2003: 333-335). They worry that those outside their group do not share their beliefs and values and do not understand their practices. Because of this, they tend to stick to themselves and others like them (Yamagishi and

Yamigishi, 1994: 137). They tend not to engage in political activities and rarely join clubs or organizations unless members of their own ethnic group administer them. Their relationships are formed around family and close friends of common identity at the expense of more general feelings of belonging (Paxton and Moody, 2003: 45; Kearns and Forrest, 2000: 1008-1009).   Their relative isolation from the wider society negatively influences their sense of belonging to it.

Generalized trust is the opposite of particularized trust. Generalized trusters believe that most others share common values and beliefs and, as a result, are more likely to trust a wider range of people with differing backgrounds and identities (Uslaner and Conley, 2003: 335; Putnam, 2000: 135-137). They tend to participate more in formal and informal groups and organizations and are active in the political process. They have a more optimistic view of other people and see strangers as opportunities for new friendships and lasting relationships. These relationships may not be as deep as those of particularized trusters, but they bridge a variety of groups, connecting them to a wide array of people. As a result, their relationships may have a greater payoff because they span a variety of different groups. Subsequently, they are more likely to participate in the wider society (Uslaner and Conley, 2003: 335; Putnam, 2000: 135-137) and to develop stronger feelings of attachment to it.

The distinction between these two types of trust is extremely important in the context of Canadian immigrant communities. Recent research shows that ethnically diverse communities foster particularized, rather than generalized, trust. Knack and Keefer (1997: 1282-1283), for instance, demonstrate that generalized trust is lower in ethnically heterogeneous communities than in homogeneous ones. In such communities,

ethnic competition reinforces boundaries of identity. Alesina and LaFerarra (2002: 222-223) support similar conclusions. Moreover, Uslaner and Conley (2003: 342), find a strong relationship between diverse societies and particularized trust. They conclude that diverse communities allow people with strong ethnic identities to withdraw from civic participation or to participate in groups of only their own nationality. Further, they argue that people with looser ties to their ethnic community are more likely to take an active role in the wider society with respect to joining broad organizations and groups.

In Canada, immigrant populations are growing rapidly, creating increasingly diverse communities in the wider society. However, immigrant communities often encourage particularized trust and inhibit generalized trust, which thus hinders the development of a strong sense of belonging to the wider society. As a result, my third and fourth hypotheses are

H$_3$: Immigrants with more particularized trust will have a weaker sense of belonging to Canada than immigrants with less particularized trust.

and

H$_4$: Immigrants with more generalized trust will have a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than immigrants with less generalized trust.

Community size also accounts for sense of belonging. Some call this the linear model of community attachment because linear increases in population in a given community are believed to be the primary factor influencing collective human behaviour (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974: 328). More specifically, larger populations weaken social ties, social structures, and, ultimately, social norms. The result is alienation and social anomie, which lead to increasingly individual behaviour (Tittle, 1989; Fischer, 1975;

Wirth, 1938). Individualism and withdrawal from community engagement, associated

with populous communities, subsequently weaken sense of attachment.

In a notable Canadian study, Aizlewood and Pendakur (2005: 90) uncover

evidence supporting the linear model. They state that larger communities are consistent

predictors of lower interpersonal trust, lower inclination to join organizations, and less

time spent with friends – all potential measures of community attachment. They argue

that such a "city effect" has serious implications given Canada's growing urbanization.

The increasingly diverse and urban Canadian society may become less trusting, leading

to less social cohesion and a decreased sense of belonging to the nation. This

phenomenon can already be seen in a recent Statistics Canada (2003) study, which

reported that only 18% of Canadian urbanites had a "very strong" sense of belonging to

their community compared to nearly 30% of rural dwellers.

With this in mind, I predict that immigrants in Canada's largest urban centres will

have a weaker sense of belonging to Canada than those living outside these areas. My

fifth hypothesis is

> **H$_5$: Immigrants living in Canada's largest metropolitan centres will have a
> weaker sense of belonging to the country than immigrants living outside
> these areas.**

Like the linear model of community attachment, the systemic model of

attachment also influences sense of belonging. This model stresses the importance of the

effects of length of residence in a community on sense of belonging. More time spent in

a community allows individuals improved selectivity in their social relationships, which

in turn produces a more positive appraisal of local attachment (see Kasarda and Janowitz,

1974). Advocates of this model argue that there is a positive relationship between length of time in a community and sense of belonging to it. That is, the longer one remains in a particular community, the stronger one's sense of belonging to it.

Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) are the most well- known proponents of this model. Using data from Great Britain, they test both the linear and systemic model of community attachment and find no support for the linear model, concluding that across a variety of communities, increased size has no impact on sense of belonging. They did find overwhelming support for the systemic model, arguing that increased length of residence is a central factor in the development of social bonds, which in turn fosters a stronger and more positive sense of belonging (1974: 330).

Numerous other scholars have found similar supporting evidence. Goudy (1990: 189) and Sampson (1988: 777) both find a strong positive relationship with community size. In the Canadian context, much research examines immigrants' length of time in the country and community attachment. For example, Soroka et al. (2007: 23) explore social cohesion and diversity in Canada, arguing that even along different ethnic lines, length of time in Canada consistently plays an important role in promoting a stronger sense of belonging to it. They find that the longer new immigrants remain in Canada, the greater their sense of pride and belonging. Similarly, Reitz and Banerjee (2007: 23) examine Canadian visible minorities' sense of belonging. They, too, find a positive relationship between length of time and community attachment. Thus, my sixth hypothesis is

H_6: Recent immigrants to Canada will have a weaker sense of belonging to the country than immigrants who have been in Canada longer.

The relationship between education level and community attachment has been explored by many social scientists. According to Helliwell and Putnam (1999: 1), education is the most important predictor of individual participation in civic and political activities. Other scholars, including Liu et al. (1998: 438) and Sampson (1988: 771), extol the positive effects of education on community belonging. They find that as an indicator of socio-economic status, education is positively associated with feelings of belonging.

However, Ryle and Robinson (2006) disagree. They argue that the education system in the United States breeds an individualistic ideology that leads to a weakened sense of national belonging among highly educated people. They claim that through its content and pedagogy, the US education system promotes individual freedom over dogmatism, cultural relativism over absolutism, competition over cooperation, and the belief that upward mobility is achieved through more education and hard work (Ryle and Robinson, 2006: 54-55). In essence, the ideology promoted runs counter to any notion of communitarianism, which fosters community commitment and participation. Looking at Canada, Weakliem (2002: 153) agrees, stating "education increases commitment to individualism." He finds that the well educated have less confidence in institutions, are more likely to be sceptical of authorities, and are more likely to have confidence in their ability to make decisions. They also feel that individuals, rather than groups, are more capable of making sound decisions, and, as a result, shun community participation and engagement. As a result, well-educated Canadians and immigrants to Canada may have a weaker sense of belonging to the country. Consequently, my seventh hypothesis is

H$_7$: Well-educated immigrants will have a weaker sense of belonging to Canada than less-educated immigrants.

Higher levels of education, moreover, are important because they make people less suspicious of difference (Sullivan et al., 1982: 116). Emler and McNamara (1996) assert that university students, particularly those living away from home, have access to a wide range of networks, which, they argue, are the basis for weak ties and trust that allow international students to secure their future careers. They claim that the connection between elite education and membership in networks and communities is strong.

This is especially important in Canada, given the high number of international students attending post-secondary institutions in the country. Unlike traditional immigrants, international students who migrate spend considerable time in a potential host country, making friends and contacts, graduating with domestic credentials, and developing good language skills. Moreover, their exposure to a host community and its inhabitants may lead them to become more generalized trusters, bridging the gaps between their ethnic background and geographic community. As a result, my eighth hypothesis is

H$_8$: Immigrants who obtained their education in Canada will have a stronger sense of belonging than immigrants who did not.

Personal income is the final factor I will explore. The relationship appears quite evident: those who are financially well off have more resources to devote to community and political activities and are less burdened by the time commitments often necessary for such endeavours. Davidson and Cotter (1986: 613), for instance, report that

individuals who earn more than their community's median income report stronger

feelings of belonging.

Others treat income as a component of social or socio-economic class. Goudy

(1990: 178) points out that in addition to length of residence, social position, regularly

defined through occupation and/or income plays an important role in the systemic model

of community attachment (1990: 179). Higher social standing allows individuals to

select the social ties they wish to stress, which, in turn, fosters more positive evaluations

of community bonds. Similarly, Kasarda and Janowitz (1974: 332) use socio-economic

position as an indicator of social class and find a positive relationship between social

class and interest in the community. Loury (1992: 186) also uses income as a measure of

socio-economic status. He discovers that those having higher incomes express the most

interest in local affairs. As a result, my final hypothesis is

> **H_9: Immigrants with higher incomes will have a greater sense of belonging to Canada than immigrants with lower incomes.**

Methods

The EDS was selected because it contains rich and detailed information about

Canadian immigrants. Conducted from April to August 2002, it was developed by

Statistics Canada in partnership with the Department of Canadian Heritage with two

goals in mind: to better understand how people's backgrounds affect their participation in

the social, economic, and cultural life of Canada and how individuals of different ethnic

backgrounds interpret and report their ethnicity (Statistics Canada, 2007).

The EDS does not contain an immigrant variable; however, I was able to create

one by disaggregating variable GENYARR to include only those who had indicated they

were first generation and, thus, born outside of Canada. I then utilized the variable

CITCANS to isolate only those who were landed immigrants and naturalized citizens.

According to the Statistics Canada PUMF Codebook (2005: 84), "'Canada by

naturalization' includes persons who were born outside Canada; who are, or who have

ever been, landed immigrants in Canada; and who reported that they were a citizen of

Canada." These differ from those considered "Canadian by birth." My immigrant flag

variable (and thus sample) includes landed immigrants who are naturalized citizens of

Canada.[1] Using this measure, I can explore immigrants' sense of belonging, which will

be done through graphical data and Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression.

The emotional experience of "sense of belonging" is often difficult for people to

describe, but researchers have explained it as feelings of safety or of belonging, or simply

as a general feeling of inclusion (Cross, 2003: 13-15). Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001:

276) contend that the fundamental meaning of community belonging is the desire to

remain close to the object of attachment. For the purposes of this research, I measure

sense of belonging through EDS question AT_Q050, which asks respondents to indicate

the degree of their sense of belonging to Canada on a five-point Likert scale ranging from

"not strong at all" to "very strong." This measure is similar to those employed by Soroka

et al. (2007: 9) and Reitz and Banerjee (2007: 18). For this project, the measure will

provide a general idea of respondents' sense of belonging to Canada.

Bonding social capital is defined as strong ties among homogenous groups

(Putnam, 2000: 23). Coleman (1988) was instrumental in establishing the relationship

between the immediate family and social capital. Others, such as Amato (1998), expand

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[1] This interpretation was confirmed by Kelly Tran, Analyst with Statistics Canada (January 31, 2008).

this by exploring the role of parent-to-parent relationships on social capital. Furstenberg and Hughes (1995) examine non-resident parents' contributions to their children's social capital. Thus, bonding social capital can be measured by the presence of family members. However, bonding social capital is also fostered by communication with family in general (Bourdieu, 1986). For immigrants, this often occurs with relatives living in their home country. As a result, I measure *bonding social capital* using variable FI_Q105, which measures the frequency of contact immigrants have with family members living outside Canada. In this case, family refers only to respondents' direct families and does not include relatives of a respondent's spouse or common-law partner.

Conversely, *bridging social capital* can be considered weak ties among diverse groups (Putnam, 2000: 22), which connect individuals to a wider range of people and interact with a diverse set of people from various social positions and classes. I measure *bridging social capital* with EDS variable PC_Q020, which measures respondents' participation in various groups, activities, and organizations in the past 12 months. It follows Fernandez and Nichols (2002), who use similar measures from the Social Capital Benchmark Survey.

Like social capital, there are two types of trust, each with potentially different impacts on immigrants' senses of community belonging. Particularized trusters may have faith in others but likely only those from their immediate communities. Following Uslaner and Conley (2003), who explore trust in Asian immigrant communities, I measure *particularized trust* with EDS variable TS_Q040, which examines the extent respondents trust other people in their neighbourhood.

Generalized trust is the willingness to consider strangers as a part of one's "moral community" (Uslaner, 2002: 26-28), that is, to feel that others share fundamental values at some level. Immigrant generalized trusters believe that most people, even those outside their ethnic background, share common values. As a result, they are more willing to trust strangers who may seem outwardly different from themselves (Fukuyama, 1995: 153). I measure *generalized trust* with EDS variable TS_Q020, a measure of respondents' general trust in others. The question is an accepted measure for determining respondents' generalized trust levels (see Grootaert et al. 2004). As noted in hypothesis four, I anticipate that generalized trusters will feel a strong sense of belonging to Canada.

Community size is another factor that may impact immigrants' sense of community belonging. Many studies explore community size and sense of belonging by looking at specific population counts (see Goudy, 1990; Sampson, 1988); however, such data were unavailable for this study. Nonetheless, others have analyzed it at a broader level. For example, Aizlewood and Pendakur (2005) explore the relationship between community size and social cohesion using CMA and census tract-level data. Following them, I measure community size through variable CMA3, an indicator of respondents' residential status in Canada's major metropolitan areas. In my fifth hypothesis, I anticipate that community size will have an inverse relationship to immigrants' sense of belonging to Canada.

Length of residence in a community is another factor that influences immigrants' sense of belonging. Increased time living in a given place leads to long-term social integration into a local area, and such integration creates an emotional bond between residents and their homes and community. Investigating this relationship, Kasarda and

Janowitz (1974: 332) measure length of residence in a local community through six categories, ranging from less than one year to over twenty years. Arizu and Garcia (1996) use the number of years in the United States as a rough measurement of time in the greater community. I measure *length of residence* with EDS variable GENYARR, an indicator that asks "first generation" respondents to report their arrival to Canada as either pre-1991 or 1991 to 2001, the year before the survey was conducted. I anticipate, as noted in hypothesis six, a positive relationship between length of time in Canada and sense of belonging.

Another influence is *education*. Bolan (1997: 228) explores the relationship between education levels and neighbourhood attachment using three categories of completed education: high school degree or less (grades 0-12); college experience (grades 13-16); and greater than college degree (grades 17 and higher). Ryle and Robinson (2006: 59) code education as the number of years of schooling. Like these researchers, I am interested in exploring the effect of increased education on sense of community belonging. I measure *education* with EDS variable HLOS, which measures respondents' highest level of education. Hypothesis seven expects that increased education will negatively influence sense of belonging.

Education location is also related to a higher sense of community belonging. Immigrants who received their education in their host country demonstrate higher feelings of belonging to that it (see Leigh, 2006). I will measure this through EDS variable HLSOCAN, which asks respondents if their highest level of education was attained inside or outside Canada. My eighth hypothesis predicts that sense of belonging Canada will be higher for those who obtained their highest level of education in Canada.

Personal income is also linked to a higher sense of community belonging. The implication is that those who have more income have additional resources, such as time and money, to devote to voluntary activities, which in turn fosters community belonging. Aizlewood and Pendakur (2005: 84) include income level as an independent variable when analyzing ethnicity and social capital. Goudy (1990: 182) also uses income level as an independent variable. I measure *personal income* using EDS variable INCP20N, which measures respondents' incomes at $20,000 increments. Like researchers before me, I expect that immigrants with higher incomes will report a stronger sense of belonging to Canada (hypothesis nine).

Age, gender, marital status, region of birth, and Canadian citizenship status are also included as control variables. The control for age is particularly important, given the association between increased age and length of time spent in a community (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 29; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974: 333). The control for gender is worth examining, given potential variances in civic participation rates among men and women. Marital status is also considered, as well as region of birth.

Results and Discussion

Figure 1 presents information on immigrants' sense of belonging to Canada. Sixty-five percent of immigrants indicated a very strong sense of belonging, and another 21% reported a strong sense of belonging. Ultimately, the vast majority (over 85%) of immigrants feel like they belong, while fewer than 5% feel they do not.

Figure 1: Sense of Belonging to Canada
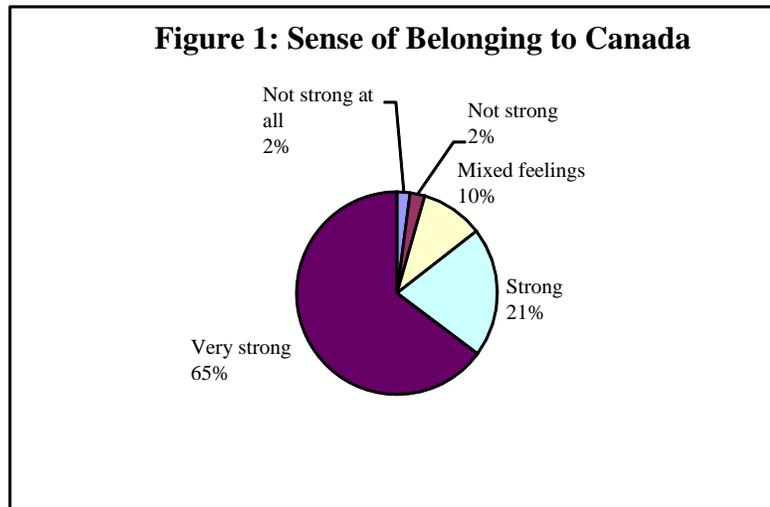
This is not surprising given recent research. Soroka et al. (2007), in studying ethnic integration, find that a majority of respondents report a strong sense of belonging to Canada, which leads them to claim there is "no [ethnic] group that clearly feels it does not belong" to Canada (Soroka et al., 2007: 569). Similarly, Reitz and Banerjee (2007: 365) find that regardless of ethnic background, the majority of immigrants and ethnic minorities living in Canada feel like they belong.

The strong sense of belonging to Canada is perhaps a credit to the Canadian multicultural framework and the federal government's keen interest in developing policies and programs based on research on Canadian social cohesion (see Stanley, 2003). However, perhaps high levels of belonging are also linked to the influence of social capital and trust literature in Canadian policy circles (Frank, 2001: 3). If the latter is the case, it is worth exploring what role they play in influencing immigrants' sense of belonging

Linear regression was conducted to examine the relationship between my variables of interest and sense of belonging.[2] Based on my hypotheses, one would expect a negative relationship between bonding social capital, particularized trust, community size, and education level on the one hand and sense of belonging on the other. By contrast, my hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between bridging social capital, generalized trust, length of time in Canada, location where education was attained, and personal income on the one hand with sense of belonging on the other.

The results of linear regression (see Table 1) provide mixed support for my hypotheses. For instance, neither measure of social capital is statistically significant. Of the measures of trust, only particularized trust is statistically significant; however, its positive relationship with sense of belonging was not anticipated. With respect to the hypothesized variables, none are statistically significant, and of the control variables, age, sex, and marital status are statistically significant, with age having the greatest effect on sense of belonging.

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[2] The regression model discussed is built upon Pearce's (2007) earlier work. For this paper, a different set of assumptions wasused to determine the sample. For a more detailed account of regression, including the basic models, refer to Pearce (2007).

Table 1: Sense of Belonging to Canada Regressed on Social Capital, Trust, Hypothesized Variables, and Controls

Variables	Coefficient	Beta	Robust Standard Error
Bonding Social Capital	0.0102	0.0159	0.0118
Bridging Social Capital	0.0063	0.0037	0.0279
Particularized Trust	0.1002	0.1231***	0.0169
Generalized Trust	-0.0203	-0.0120	0.0315
Community Size	0.0015	0.0026	0.0096
Length of Time in Canada	0.0619	0.0293	0.0486
Education Level	-0.0027	-0.0068	0.0076
Location of Highest Level of Education	0.0088	0.0052	0.0348
Personal Income	-0.0055	-0.0090	0.0118
Age	0.0830	0.1869***	0.0118
Sex	0.0512	0.0302*	0.0305
Marital Status	-0.0170	-0.0424**	0.0080
Region of Birth	-0.0198	-0.02925	0.0130
Constant	3.6031	- -	0.1781
Prob >F	0.0000		
R^2	0.0803		

* Significant at the .10 level
** Significant at the .05 level
***Significant at the .01 level

As noted above, the EDS data do not support my social capital theses. This raises concerns with respect to the influence these measures of social capital have on immigrant sense of belonging. One reason my study does not arrive at similar conclusions may be because of the measure employed. The EDS variable used to examine bridging social capital looks at participation in groups or organizations in the 12 months before the administering of the survey. There is no information on the specific type of groups or organizations with which Canadian immigrants engage. If they are participating in groups and organizations that are divided along religious, ethnic, or cultural lines, they may not be connecting to individuals in general society. This then fails to adequately capture bridging social capital. Others, such as Newton (1997: 583-584), contend that

people do not spend enough time in civic organizations to develop values as deeply held as trust in a generalized other. Uslaner and Conley (2003: 351-352) echo this argument. Thus, the discrepancy in my findings may have to do with claims that increased participation does not actually influence a stronger sense of community attachment.

As with bridging social capital, bonding social capital has been shown to influence sense of belonging. However, this was not supported in my research either, due possibly to the measure used. Frequency of contact with family living outside of Canada was used to examine bonding. It was believed that immigrants who had frequent contact with family outside of Canada would continue to nurture strong ties to their home county, thus limiting respondents' attachment to Canada. Distance between communicators, found in this measure, may impact its power as a variable. Contact with those abroad may not influence immigrants' sense of belonging the same way as contact with family living in the immediate vicinity of the respondent (see Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1988).

Like social capital, support for measures of trust is mixed and unanticipated. With respect to particularized trust, it is the only hypothesized variable that is statistically significant; however, its positive relationship with sense of belonging to Canada was unexpected. Regarding generalized trust, it is not statistically significant, thus suggesting that immigrants' general trust in others does not influence their sense of belonging to Canada. This runs counter to the work of numerous scholars who have explored the effect of trust in ethnic groups (see Reitz and Banerjee, 2007; Soroka et al., 2007; Aizlewood and Pendakur, 2005). My results may signify that immigrants' sense of belonging is not necessarily linked to how they feel about a generalized other, but rather to how they feel about their more personal relationships. This idea is reinforced by the

fact that immigrants' trust in their neighbours plays a powerful role in influencing their sense of belonging.

The effect of community size on sense of belonging is not statistically significant, thereby offering no support to the linear model espoused by Wirth (1938), Fischer (1975), and Tittle (1989).   My finding is also inconsistent with Aizlewood and Pendakur's (2005: 96) assertion that Canadian immigrants' level of attachment is attributed to a "city effect," a model based on community size, density, wealth, and education. Their research focused on all ethnic minorities of a particular community, and their findings may not be applicable to immigrants alone. This could account for differences that exist among attitudes between first-generation immigrants and visible minorities, which is similar to the findings of Reitz and Banerjee (2007). Nonetheless, these findings are consistent with a wide body of literature on community attachment that claims to have found no discernible relationship between community size and sense of belonging (see Goudy, 1990; Sampson, 1988; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974).

Similarly, there is no support for the systemic model of community attachment. Advocates of this model posit a positive relationship between length of time in a community and sense of belonging. However, the relationship between length of time in Canada and sense of belonging is not statistically significant. The inconsistency of my findings with those of other scholars may be due to the measure used. Recall that the measure asks immigrants when they first arrived in Canada. It does not account for subsequent moves within Canada. Canadian immigrants in search of better employment, improved housing, or increased opportunities for their children, might move more frequently. Such residential mobility is detrimental to the development of social bonds

and the establishing of roots, both prerequisites of community attachment (Putnam, 2000: 204-205).

Contrary to hypotheses seven and eight, neither level of education nor location of highest education has a statistically significant relationship with immigrant sense of belonging. Thus, there is no support for Ryle and Robinson's (2006) claims that higher education systems encourage an individualistic ideology counter to feelings of community attachment. Nor is there support for Helliwell and Putnam's (1999) emphasis on the importance of education on individual participation in the community. The discrepancy between these results and those of the established literature make sense in light of my earlier work (Pearce, 2007). Using an immigrant measure that includes immigrants *and* migrants (which includes temporary workers, refugees, and foreign students), this work finds evidence supporting Ryle and Robinson's (2006) work. However, when disaggregating for naturalized immigrants only, which is done in this paper, no support for Ryle and Robinson (2006) is evident, likely due to the "temporary" status of these respondents and the likelihood of their experiencing a weaker sense of belonging to Canada.

Of the control variables age, gender, and marital status, are all statistically significant, while region of birth is not. The relationship between age and sense of belonging is positive and has the greatest impact of all variables. This supports the relationship between increased age and time spent in a community (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 29; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974: 333). With respect to gender and marital status, females and respondents in relationships (married or common law) have a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than others. This could be because immigrant females in

relationships take on traditional maternal roles and may engage with the wider

community and/or family and friends day to day while their partner is at work. This

finding is worth further investigation.

Particularized trust, operationalized as immigrants' amount of trust in their

neighbours, increases immigrants' sense of belonging to Canada and has the second

greatest impact on sense of belonging. Contrary to researchers who found that close

bonds at the local level negatively affect attachment to the larger community (see Paxton

and Moody, 2003; Kearns and Forrest, 2000), my research suggests that the more

immigrants feel their neighbours can be trusted, the greater their sense of belonging to

Canada.

This finding is interesting in light of current debates with respect to heterogeneous

populations and national cohesion. Some recent research on ethnic diversity yields

evidence supporting the notion that ethnic heterogeneity is detrimental to establishing a

national sense of belonging (Uslaner, 2002). Uslaner and Conley (2003: 333) contend

that social ties to an ethnic community lead people to withdraw from mainstream society

or to interact only with individuals with a similar ethnic background. This withdrawal

from mainstream society negatively affects sense of belonging.

However, my results suggest a positive relationship between particularized trust

in specific communities and greater national sense of belonging. One possible

explanation for this may be that immigrants see their neighbours as a sample of the entire

Canadian population and link their feelings toward their immediate community to their

feelings for the wider society. As Hipp and Perrin (2006: 2513-2514) explain, there is a

strong positive relationship between neighbourhood level feelings and a strong sense of

national attachment. These researchers argue that strong local ties act in a reinforcing way to encourage participation in neighbourhood activities, which, in turn, fosters greater feelings of belonging to the wider society.

My primary interests in this study were social capital and trust. I anticipated that measures for both factors would be dominant influences on immigrants' sense of national belonging. However, neither bonding nor bridging social capital nor generalized trust has discernible impacts on sense of belonging. Only particularized trust influences sense of belonging but in an unexpected way. Trust in one's immediate neighbours leads to a strong sense of national belonging. This suggests that there may be an intricate relationship between neighbourhood strength and general community attachment. A more detailed explanation of why this is the case should be articulated.

Contrary to opponents of multicultural policy and those who believe diverse communities are problematic for national cohesion, my exploratory research provides some evidence that official multiculturalism works. Even though Canada is becoming increasingly diverse and most immigrants tend to live in one of Canada's three largest urban centres, most still feel like they belong to the wider national community.

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