Trust: The Secret to Happiness?
Exploring Social Capital and Subjective Well-Being among Immigrants

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Abstract: Using the 2002 Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey, this paper examines the relationship between bridging and bonding social capital and immigrant well-being. It extends previous research on immigrant life satisfaction by using a large, diverse, nationally representative sample. Results show that social capital, most notably, trust in neighbors, is positively correlated with well-being among immigrants, above and beyond socio-demographic, human capital, and economic variables. The findings of this study have important implications for the understanding of the role that social capital plays in immigrant life satisfaction and point to the need for trust-building efforts between immigrants and non-immigrants.

Introduction

Between 2000 and 2010, the number of migrants increased, globally, from 150 million to over 200 million. It is predicted that this rise in migration levels will only continue, with an approximate 405 million individuals calling a foreign country home by 2050. In 2010, the International Organization for Migration World Migration Report focused entirely on capacity-building strategies for countries to address the complexities that come with heightened levels of migration, knowing that a state's ability to respond effectively will impact its economic and social strength (International Organization for Migration 2010). In turn, a country's ability to respond effectively is reliant upon an accurate understanding of the migrant experience.

In this study, I aim to add to a growing body of literature whose purpose is to do just that, to find what environmental and personal attributes shape an immigrant's sense of well-being while facing the challenges of building a life in an unfamiliar place. I do this by looking at the association between social cohesion, or social capital, and the subjective well-being of immigrants living in Canada. The positive relationship between social capital and well-being has been well-documented (Anheier, Stares, & Grenier 2004; Bjornscov 2003; Bjornscov 2005**;** Elgar, Davis, Wohl, Trites, Zlenski, & Martin 2011; Helliwell 2003; Helliwell & Putnam 2004). Much of the previous research related to migrants has centered on social capital and social and economic integration (Anthias, 2007; Chelpi-den Hamer & Mazzucato 2010; Hagan 1998; Nannestad, Svendsen, & Svendsen 2008; Jasinkaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter 2006; Lambda 2003; Raza, Beaujot, & Woldemicael 2013; Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara 2008; Ying 1992; Vohra & Adair 2000), with fewer looking at subjective well-being in immigrant communities (Anheier et al. 2004; Bjornscov 2003). Those that have done so have typically used

small ethnicity-specific or age-specific samples (Vohra & Adair 2000; Ying 1992; Xu & Palmer 2011)

This paper addresses the need for more empirical analysis of how social connections relate to migrants' life satisfaction after immigrating by using a large, nationally representative sample of immigrants living in Canada in 2002. After reviewing theories and literature related to social capital, immigration, and well-being, I explore how a migrant's sense of well-being varies by socio-demographic characteristics, human capital, economic capital, and the presence social capital. I then determine the bivariate relationships between inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic social capital and subjective well-being. This is followed by a multivariate analysis of the association between social capital and well-being among immigrants while considering socio-demographic characteristics, human capital, and economic capital. In the final section, I account for the time that an immigrant has spent in the host-society.

Filling this gap in the literature will give further insight into the overall process of immigrants' adjustment to the host culture by distinguishing what specific indicators, or facets, of social capital are most salient in the well-being of immigrants in Canada. This will allow policy institutions and organizations who work directly or indirectly with immigrant populations to focus their energies more strategically as they respond to increasingly diverse communities.

Previous Research and Theoretical Background

The following provides an overview of recent theory and literature on social capital and well-being among immigrants that grounds the work of the current study. The first section reviews common definitions of social capital and contrasts well-known theories on the subject, namely those that have emerged in tandem with increased interest in social capital in the late 1980s through the early 2000s. The two main types of social capital, bonding and bridging, that are used in this research are discussed as well. In the second section, prior findings of the relationship between social capital and subjective well-being and potential confounders are explored. In the final section, studies of the dynamics of life satisfaction among immigrants in relation to the various forms of social capital are considered, including gender, age, and stage of immigration.

Theories of Social Capital

Social capital is a somewhat unresolved concept in the many disciplines in which it has entered the conversation. Theorists debate how it can be measured, what are its primary benefits, and for whom. There is general consensus, however, that social capital is not like other forms of capital in that it cannot be observed directly. Instead, it exists within the interactions between two or more actors. These relational investments have been noted to bring about secondary benefits at the individual and community levels (Portes 1998). The first account of the term is attributed to reformer L.J. Hanifan in 1916, who emphasized the importance of meaningful social contacts that bring immediate benefits to individuals and strengthen the whole of society (Putnam 2000). Much of the recent elaboration of social capital comes from theorists Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, Alejandro Portes, and Robert Putnam (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Portes 1998; Putnam 1993; Putnam 2000; Siisiainen 2000).

According to Bourdieu, there are two primary components of social capital: social networks and group membership. He defines social capital within the context of class, power struggle, and positionality. Like other theorists, Bourdieu places emphasis on social capital's ability to produce other forms of capital, namely cultural and economic. In Bourdieu's theory, these benefits come primarily to the individual and not to the community (Bourdieu 1986; Siisiainen 2000).

For Coleman, social capital manifests within social structures and is defined and measured by what it produces: Reciprocity based on obligations and expectations in an environment of trust; channels of information; and the upholding of social norms. Using the example of education, Coleman concentrates on the creation of human capital at the individual level by way of social capital. In other words, social capital is secondary to human capital. He also looks at the consequences of closed social networks where the strength of ties has the ability to enforce social norms. These norms make a safe and trusting society possible (Coleman 1988).

Robert Putnam popularized the topic of social capital through his book, *Bowling Alone* (2000), bringing terms like social networks and civic participation, previously relegated to the academic realm, to the average household. Like Bourdieu and Coleman, Putnam highlights the ways in which social capital lends itself to other forms of capital, such as financial, physical, and human: "[Social capital is the] features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital (Putnam 1993: 1-2)." In contrast to other theorists' focus on social networks and individual economic outcomes, Putnam concentrates on the creation and benefits of social capital at the community-level. He links evidence of a decline in informal social networks in 20th and 21st century America to the present existence of various social problems.

Alejandro Portes both differentiates his theories from and aligns himself with the previous theorists. Portes criticizes Putnam's idea that individual social problems are the direct result of a lack of social capital due to civic disengagement asserting that Putnam's argument does not acknowledge the existence of economic and political barriers to social capital. Like Coleman and Bourdieu, Portes concentrates on the consequences of social capital at the individual-level. According to Portes, the consequences of social capital are both positive and negative. For example, positive consequences are social control norms, family support, and network-mediated benefits, such as employment referrals. Social capital may have negative consequences as well. Social networks can restrict opportunities and individual freedom as well as place inordinately strenuous demands on group members. In some cases, outsiders are restricted from accessing resources protected by closed networks (Portes 1998).

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

This study focuses on two types of social capital, bonding and bridging (Putnam 2000). Bonding social capital is characterized by strong ties and exclusivity that reinforces the connections within homogenous or highly related groups. Examples of bonding social capital would be familial ties or participation in ethnic organizations. Bridging social capital is more inclusive, reaching across social divides and creating connections between individuals and groups that appear dissimilar. Bridging and bonding social capital are usually found in co-existence.

Social Capital and Well-Being

The benefits of social capital and the continuing quest to find what makes us happy has generated interest in studying the relationship between social connectedness and life satisfaction. The availability of data sets such as the World Values Survey and the European Values Survey has made the comparative study of less tangible subjects, like well-being, feasible. Several cross-national studies have confirmed strong correlations between social capital and reported well-being, both direct and indirect (Anheier et al. 2004; Bjornscov 2003; Bjornscov 2005**;** Elgar et al. 2011; Helliwell 2003; Helliwell & Putnam 2004). Measuring social capital by social trust, relational ties, and civic engagement, Helliwell and Putnam (2004) find a positive relationship between social capital and well-being both directly and through health. Anheier et al. (2004) also find a direct relationship between social capital and life satisfaction in their analysis of 34 countries and regions in Europe, Russia, and the United States.

Studies observe that social capital may be a more important determinant of life satisfaction than income (Bjornscov 2003) and could have spillover effects, increasing the life satisfaction of those around them (Helliwell 2003). Elgar et al. (2011) report higher returns on social capital in terms of subjective well-being for women and older adults than for men and the young. Other predictors of well-being include employment status and marital status while education has been found to be insignificant (Helliwell 2003).

Immigrants, Social Capital, and Well-Being

Studies related to immigrants and social capital have focused on the process by which immigrants integrate into current ethnic networks (bonding social capital) as well as into the host society (bridging social capital) (Anthias, 2007; Chelpi-den Hamer & Mazzucato 2010; Hagan 1998; Nannestad et al. 2008; Jasinkaja-Lahti et al. 2006; Lambda 2003; Raza et al. 2013; Ryan, et al. 2008; Ying 1992; Vohra & Adair 2000). Several studies have found that bonding social capital among immigrants is useful for getting basic needs met while bridging social capital provides upward mobility (Chelpi-den Hamer & Mazzucato 2010). Nannestad et al. (2008) observe that bonding social capital appears to have a spillover effect as well, producing bridging social capital. In other words, those immigrants who trust others of their ethnic group tend to trust members of the host society while those who report more friendships within their ethnic group tend to have more friendships with native members of the host culture.

Social capital provides economic benefits for immigrants as well. A study that uses the Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002, which is used in the current paper, found that both trust and civic participation are related to higher earnings among many Canadian immigrant groups, but not all, and less so for men (Raza et al. 2013). Immigrants and refugees often use ethnic group ties to obtain employment when human capital, such as education, is absent. In some cases, however, this may limit their ability to obtain quality employment (Lambda 2003). As mentioned, the availability and economic benefits of immigrant social networks may differ by gender (Anthias 2007; Hagan 1998; Lambda 2003; Raza et al. 2013). For example, social norms may impede female immigrants' abilities to use social networks to connect with business networks (Anthias 2007). In addition, strong family ties may indicate familial responsibilities that could limit the pursuit of economic capital (Lambda 2003).

For immigrants, both bridging and bonding social networks seem to have positive correlations with subjective well-being as well (Jasinkaja-Lahti et al. 2006). A study of Indian immigrants in Canada found that life satisfaction was predicted by perception of social support along with accomplishments in Canada, sense of freedom and respect, levels of guilt about leaving their country of origin, and perceived discrimination (Vohra & Adair 2000). Other predictors of subjective well-being among immigrants include biculturalism, language ability, access to resources, and understanding of American culture (Ying 1992).

Immigrants, Social Capital, and Well-Being at Various Stages of Life Cycle

Older migrants tend to have smaller social networks while younger immigrants tend to create larger and more diverse social connections, particularly younger female migrants (Xu & Palmer 2011). Previous literature has looked specifically at the relationship between social capital and subjective well-being among elderly immigrants and found positive correlations (Amit & Litwin 2010; Park, Roh, & Yeo 2011). One study found that elderly immigrants in Israel who were more socially active reported fewer depressive symptoms (Amit & Litwin 2010) while a study of religious involvement, social support, and life satisfaction among elderly Korean immigrants living in New York city observed that social support, at least in part, explains the positive relationship between religiosity and subjective well-being (Park, Roh, & Yeo 2011). Other studies conclude that social networks do not directly influence life satisfaction among elderly immigrants (Diwan 2008; Xu & Palmer 2011). In fact, the size of one's family network may be negatively associated with life satisfaction among older migrant populations.

Immigrants, Social Capital, and Well-Being over Time

It appears that support networks for immigrants are fluid and change over time according to the needs of the individual and the ethnic group (Chelpi-den Hamer & Mazzucato 2010; Hagan 1998). When immigrants first migrate they may actually have difficulty entering existing ethnic social networks (Ryan et al. 2008). For those who are able to gain access to social connections with co-ethnics, they benefit from assistance in finding employment and navigating a new culture. In the long-term, immigrants may benefit from social connections with those outside of their group – at work, in their neighborhoods, or through civic involvement – and a resulting ability to integrate more fully, both socially and economically, into the host country (Hagan 1998).

Immigrants in Canada

Immigration is the primary source of net population growth in Canada. In 2002, the year on which this study is based, 229,091 immigrants moved to Canada, accounting for 70 percent of the increase in the Canadian population. The majority emigrated from one of three Asian countries: China, India, and the Philippines. Then and now, nearly 1 in 5 Canadians is foreign-born and most live in densely populated regions (Canadian Labour and Business Centre 2003). Seven out of every 10 immigrants live in three major metropolitan areas: Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Statistics Canada 2011). There is some concern in Canada related to the economic integration of immigrants. Due to the devaluation of foreign academic credentials, immigrants of working age (25-64) are more likely to have attained higher levels of education than their Canadian counterparts but less likely to be employed (Raza et al. 2011).

The Present Study

As mentioned, studies of general populations have found direct links between social connectedness and life satisfaction yet few have looked at how social cohesion affects well-being within immigrant communities (Anheier et al. 2004; Bjornscov 2003). Those that have done so have typically used small ethnicity-specific or age-specific samples (Vohra & Adair 2000; Ying 1992; Xu & Palmer 2011). The current study is unique in that it uses a large nationally representative sample from the Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002 to explore and compare the direct relationships between bridging and bonding social capital and subjective well-being among an ethnically diverse group of immigrants.

Data, Measures, and Methods

Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002

The following study uses data from the 2002 Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS), a national study of Canadian ethnic identities and the relationships between ethnic background, social involvement, and economic participation. The EDS was conducted by Statistics Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage. As a post-censal survey, the sampling frame was based on that of the 2001 Canadian census, using a two-phased stratified sampling design. In the first phase, a long questionnaire was given to one in every five households in Canada for the census. In the second phase, a subsample was selected based on responses give on the 2001census related to ethnic origin, country of origin, and parental origin. Data were collected between April 2002 and August 2002 using computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). The interviews were conducted in English, French, Mandarin, Cantonese, Italian, Punjabi, Portuguese, Vietnamese and Spanish in order to ensure higher response rates and greater accuracy. The target population includes Canadians, over the age of 15, living in private households. With a response rate of 75.6 percent, the total number of respondents is 42,476. Those who come from non-Canadian, non-British, or non-French backgrounds were oversampled (Statistics Canada 2002). As such, this paper uses a weighted subsample of 4,117 immigrants, ages 15 and older, who have family both in Canada and in their country of origin.

Measures

Measuring Subjective Well-Being

Previous studies have measured subjective well-being, also called life satisfaction as 10-point or 4-point scales, questioning "how happy" a respondent is or how satisfied with life they currently feel (Bjornscov 2003; Helliwell & Putnam 2004; Anheier et al. 2004). In this case, the outcome variable, subjective well-being, is measured using the following question: "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" Response options are on a 5-point ordinal scale, with 1 being not satisfied at all and 5 being very satisfied. In analysis, subjective well-being is treated as a continuous variable. In table 1, we see that the mean rating of well-being for this sample was 4.26, showing that immigrants in Canada tend to lean toward higher levels of life satisfaction.

Measuring Bridging and Bonding Social Capital

The measurement of social capital variables are approached using two sets of classifications. I first differentiate between bridging social capital (inter-ethnic ties) and bonding social capital variables (intra-ethnic ties). Following Helliwell and Putnam's (2004) categorization of social capital indicators, three clusters of variables are included within each group, each representing common categories of social capital indicators: community participation, trust and reciprocity, and social networks.

The first set of questions focuses on measures of *bridging social capital*. To indicate community participation, respondents were asked if they are a member of or had participated in any of the activities of a community group or organization within the previous 12 months. This is treated as a dichotomous variable. In terms of trust and reciprocity, two questions were asked: the first asked whether or not people in general can be trusted while the second asked, on a 5-point ordinal scale (1=can be trusted completely; 5=cannot be trusted at all), to what extent they feel they can trust their neighbors. Finally, the presence of bridging social capital within social networks was gauged through a question asking what proportion of one's friendship circle is of another ethnicity (for those who reported more than one ethnicity, their response was based on their self-reported primary ancestry). Originally divided into six categories (all friends, most, about half, a few, none, or no friends in Canada), a dichotomous variable was created where having half or more of friends of another ethnicity is a marker of bridging social capital while having fewer than half delineated a lack of inter-ethnic ties, at least within the friendship network.

The second set of indicators deal with measures of *bonding social capital*. For intra-ethnic community participation, respondents were asked if they had participated in an ethnic or immigrant organization within the previous 12 months. Trust and reciprocity were originally measured by asking interviewees to rank, on a 5-point ordinal scale (1=can be trusted completely; 5=cannot be trusted at all) to what degree they trust their family. The vast majority of migrants, however, said that they trust their family completely (84.8%) (see Table 3). As such, observations in the first three response options were combined to increase the number of observations in each category, creating a total of three separate categories (1=cannot be trusted – can be somewhat trusted; 2=can be trusted; 3=can be trusted a lot). Relatively large discrepancies in group size remain and results must be interpreted with reserve. Social networks were gauged by looking at the frequency of contact with family members using two questions. Respondents were asked to report how often they have been in contact with family in Canada (in person, via telephone, email, or other written communication) and with family still living in their country of origin over the past 12 months. Responses for each variable were dichotomized so that bonding social capital networks are indicated by those respondents who had contact with family at least once per month.

Control Variables

As mentioned, previous literature speaks of the inextricable relationships between social capital and other forms of capital, including the unique ability of social capital to produce the latter. As such, control variables were divided into three categories: socio-demographic controls, human capital variables, and economic capital variables. Variables that have previously been found to

be significantly related to life satisfaction or well-being for the general population as well as for immigrants were chosen.

Research Questions

The research question is twofold: Firstly, to what extent do various types of social capital explain life satisfaction among Canadian immigrants when considering demographic characteristics, human capital, and economic capital? Secondly, are these types of social capital differentially important for life satisfaction among for those who have lived a greater or lesser proportion of their life in Canada?

Analysis

The percentage distribution and average subjective well-being for immigrants in Canada, aged 15 and older, by demographic, human capital, and economic capital variables are presented in table 1. In line with Bourdieu and Coleman's emphases on the connections between social capital and other forms of capital, each of these is used as a control variable in the multivariate analysis.

The effects of demographic background on well-being are apparent in age, proportion of life spent in Canada, ethnic background, and marital status. Well-being tends to increase with age, $F(2, 3,944) = 7.37$, p<.001. The mean life satisfaction of those ages 65 and older is .40 points higher than for those ages 15 to 24. The largest increase occurs between ages 55 to 64 and ages 65 and older, where well-being increases by .18 points. Similar to the findings of Amit and Litwin (2010), life satisfaction does not differ substantively or significantly between males and females. Age at migration does not significantly impact subjective well-being but the proportion of life spent in Canada does, $F(2, 3,944) = 7.37$, p=.001. Namely, those immigrants who have spent a greater proportion of their lives in Canada tend to report higher life satisfaction than those who have spent a lower proportion of time in Canada. Those who not belong to a visible minority group typically display higher levels of subjective well-being than those who are visible minorities, $t(3,770) = -5.71$, p<.001. In the same manner, European immigrants display a significantly higher level of satisfaction with their lives than those who have emigrated from other parts of the world $F(3, 3,989) = 14.77$, p<.001. The most pronounced regional difference occurs between European immigrants and immigrants from Asia and the Middle East, where there is a .22 point difference in subjective well-being. In terms of marital status, those who are married report significantly higher levels of well-being, by .27 points, than those who are not, $t(2,938) = 9.15$, p<.001.

In terms of human capital, language-use seems to be associated with subjective well-being, congruent with previous findings (Ying 1992). The use of official language(s) (French and English) at home and with friends is correlated to an increase in reported well-being. Those who most frequently use one or both of the official languages at home tend to rate their subjective well-being more highly, by .17, than those who do not, $t(2,616) = 5.46$, p<.001. The same is true for those who most often use an official language when communicating with friends, who report average levels of life satisfaction that are .10 points higher than for those who mostly use an unofficial language, $t(581) = 2.34$, p<.05. There is no significant difference in life satisfaction

between those who are naturalized Canadian citizens and those who are not. It is interesting to note that between less than a high school education and some post-secondary education, as higher levels of education are attained, life satisfaction decreases among immigrants in Canada. There is a slight increase in well-being between some post-high school education and obtaining a university degree, although these relationships are not significant.

For economic capital, household income is significantly related to life satisfaction while employment status is not. Subjective well-being increases with household income, most notably between those whose household income is less than 20,000 and those whose income is greater, with a difference of .24 points. Returns appear to diminish when moving to income brackets above 50,000, $F(3, 2,539) = 11.71$, p<.001. Individual paid employment status is not significantly or substantively associated with life satisfaction. This same is true when comparing those whose main activity is household production and those for whom it is not their primary activity.

Tables 2 and 3 display bivariate results for the two sets of our main independent variables, bridging social capital and bonding social capital. Independent samples t-tests were used to examine mean differences in subjective well-being for categorical variables while Pearson's r Correlation is reported for the ordinal-level variables, trust in neighbors. The p-values of each of the respective independent samples t-tests for the remaining variables are reported in the fourth column of each table.

Indicators of bridging social capital include participation in a community group or association at least once over the past 12 months, a general belief in the trustworthiness of others, degree of trust in neighbors, and whether or not the majority of one's friendship network is comprised of those of the same ethnicity as the respondent. Results show that each of the bridging social capital variables is significantly related to subjective well-being except for friendship network. In terms of its independent effects, bridging social capital does appear to be positively related to subjective well-being. Those who participate in community activities are happier, by .09 points, than those who do not, $t(3,139) = 2.92$, p<.001, as are those who believe that others can be trusted, by .14 points, $t(3,686) = 4.95$, p<.001 (see figure 1). In addition, as trust in neighbors increases, subjective well-being does as well, $r(3,864) = .260$, p<.001. Although, the correlation itself is relatively weak, $r<.30$ (see figure 2). While not significant, those who reported having more diverse social networks also reported higher mean levels of life satisfaction than those with social networks comprised mostly of those of the same ethnic background as their own (see Table 2).

Figure 1 Relationships between bridging social capital and subjective well-being
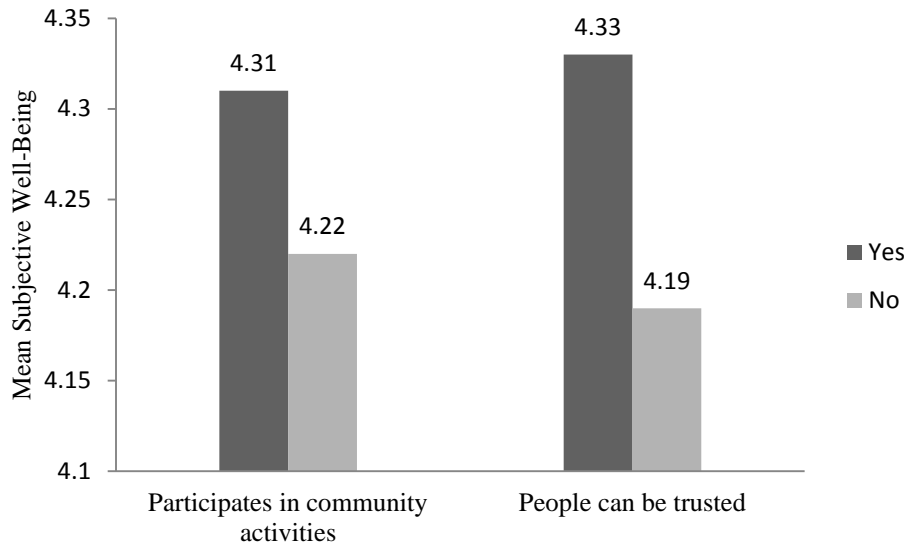
Figure 2 Relationship between trust in neighbors (bridging social capital) and subjective well-being
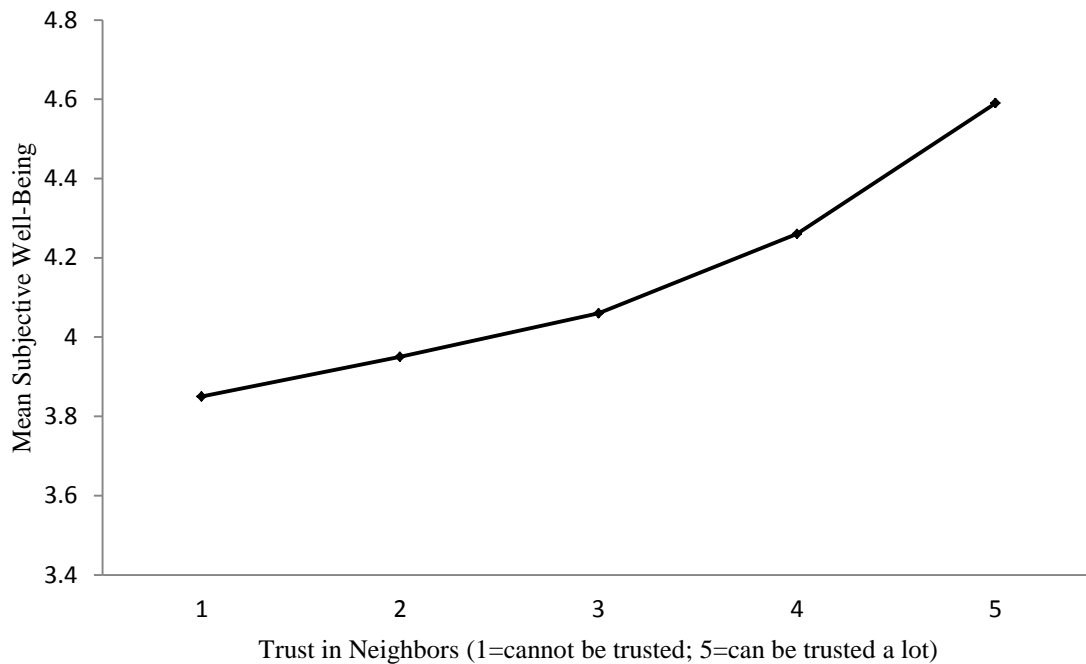
There were fewer significant relationships between bonding social capital variables and subjective well-being than for bridging social capital variables. The vast majority of migrants said that they trust their family completely (84.8%). Originally measured on a 5-point ordinal scale (1=cannot be trusted; 5=can be trusted a lot), observations in the first three response options were few and, as such, combined to increase the number of observations in each category, creating a total of three separate categories (1=cannot be trusted – can be somewhat

trusted; 2=can be trusted; 3=can be trusted a lot). Using these categories, a significant and positive relationship exists between trust in family members and subjective well-being, $F_{(2, 3969)} = 95.36$, p<.001. As trust in family members increases, life satisfaction does as well. There are still large discrepancies in the proportion of those in each group, however, and results must be interpreted with reserve (see figure 3). In terms of social networks and intra-ethnic ties, results show that those who have contact with family members at least once per month have higher levels of life satisfaction, by .13 points, than those who have less frequent contact, $t_{(583)} = 2.90$, p<.01 (see figure 4). There were no significant differences in the mean levels of reported well-being of those who do or do not participate in ethnic or immigrant associations, although there is a substantive difference of .07 points in favor of those who are members of ethnic organizations. Likewise, there was no significant difference between those who have contact with family members living in the respondent's country of origin and those who do not.

Figure 3 Relationships between bonding social capital and subjective well-being
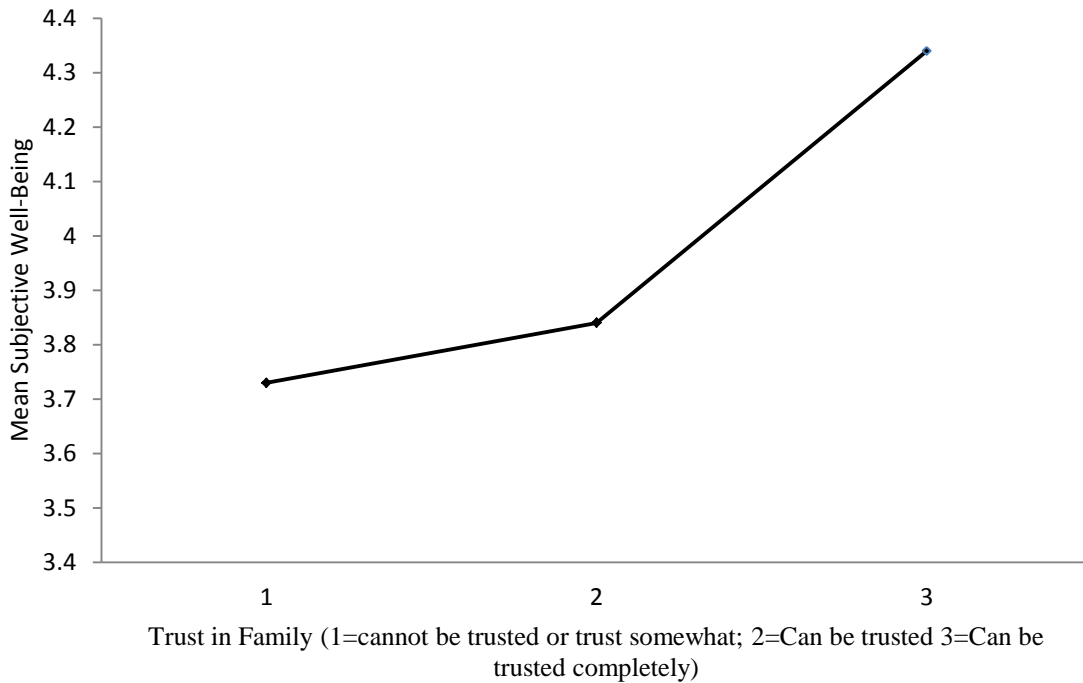
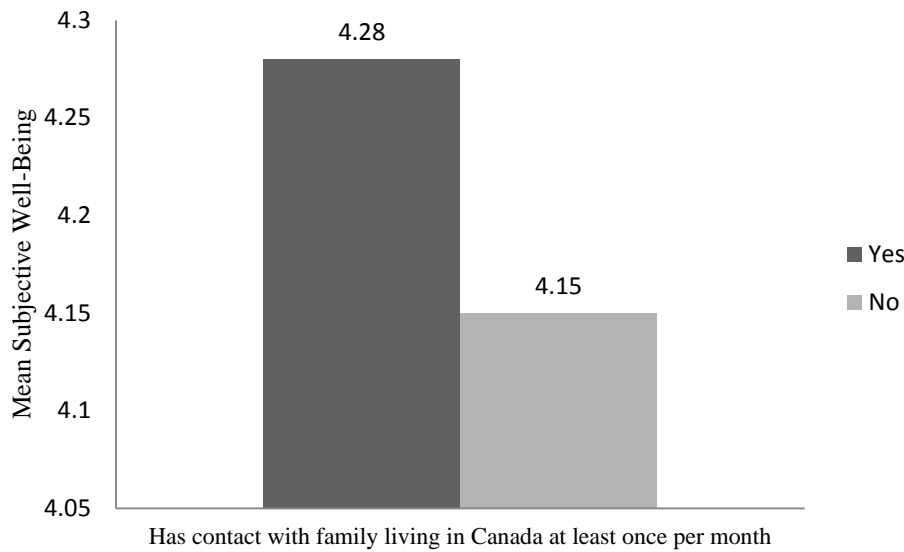*Figure 4* Relationship between bonding social capital and subjective well-being

Comparing the Effects of Bridging and Bonding Social Capital

Multivariate analysis was conducted using ordinary least-squares regressions. Four models were created and applied to both the set of bridging social capital and the set of bonding social capital variables. In the first model, each of the respective social capital indicators are included. The second model adds demographic variables. The third model looks at the impact of human capital variables while the final model adds measures of economic capital.

Table 4, model 1, shows that when all of the bridging social capital variables are considered together, the only significant relationship exists between trust in neighbors and subjective well-being. In the first model, the unstandardized B coefficient of the trust in neighbors variable reveals that each additional unit increase in an immigrant's trust in their neighbors results in a .190 unit increase in life satisfaction. This is significant at a 99 percent confidence level. The relationship between civic engagement and well-being, seen in the bivariate results, disappears. It may be that those who are actively involved in community organizations have built higher levels of trust in their neighbors as a result of having more cross-cultural contact. The significant relationship between general social trust and well-being disappears as well. Those who display a general trust in others will likely have more trust in those around them, including their neighbors, but it seems that it is an immigrant's belief that those in their immediate environment are trustworthy that is a stronger predictor of well-being

In model 2, with the consideration of demographic variables, the unstandardized B coefficient for trust in neighbors reduces from .190 to .165, but remains significant. Among the set of demographic variables, proportion of life spent in Canada and marital status are both positive and significant. This shows that when we compare immigrants in Canada who have spent a similar proportion of their lives in Canada and those of the same marital status, immigrants who

have more trust in their neighbors still report higher levels of well-being. The B coefficient for trust in neighbors is reduced, however, by more than 10 percent (.025), indicating that being married and having spent a higher proportion of your life in Canada partially explains the relationship between trust in neighbors and well-being. In other words, those who have more trust in their neighbors may tend to be married and/or have spent a higher proportion of their lives in Canada, groups that typically report higher levels of life satisfaction. Unexpectedly, the relationship between age and well-being, which was positive and significant in the bivariate analysis, is negative (with the exception of those ages 65 and older in model 4) and insignificant in the multivariate models. Further analysis revealed that marital status suppresses the relationship between age and well-being, causing the coefficient sign to change. In other words, higher levels of life satisfaction among older immigrants, at least up through age 64, are at least in part the result of the positive relationship between age and being married. Visible minority status and region of origin also become insignificant in the multivariate analysis.

In model 3, human capital variables are controlled for to examine any partial effects on bridging social capital and subjective well-being. Results show that human capital, including citizenship status, education, and language use do not impact the relationship between trust in neighbors and subjective well-being. The B coefficient for trust in neighbors remains the same. The same is true with the introduction of economic capital variables in the final model. While belonging to a household income bracket above 19,999 annually does increase reported well-being, trust in neighbors appears to operate separately in its relationship to life satisfaction. We also see that the B coefficient for being married reduces from .284 to .229, revealing that economic situation (employment status and household income) partially explain the association between marriage and well-being. It is important to note that proportion of life in Canada, significant in models 2 and 3 is no longer significant when household income is introduced. Proportion of life, which reduced the relationship between trust in neighbors and well-being in part between models 1 and 2, was likely serving as a proxy for income. In contrast to the bivariate analysis, the use of official languages at home and with friends is no longer significant.

The standardized betas indicate that of the predictors included in the final model, trust in neighbors has the strongest positive relationship with subjective well-being (B=.192), followed by having a household income between 50,000 and 79,999 (B=.164) and an income between 20,000 and 49,999 (B=.141) as compared to a household income less than 20,000, and being married (B=.125).

The inclusion of the bridging capital variables alone accounts for only 5.7 percent in the variation in subjective well-being scores (R^2=.057) while the inclusion of all of the control variables increases this to 9.8 percent of the variation in the dependent variables (R^2=.098). The semi-partial correlation (.173) indicates that 4.5 percent of the variance in subjective well-being can be explained by trust in neighbors.

Table 4 shows the results of the multivariate regression for bonding social capital variables. As with the first set of models, model 1 includes the bonding social capital variables followed by the addition of demographic, human capital, and economic capital controls. When all of the bonding social capital variables are considered, trusting family a lot, as opposed to not trusting family at all or somewhat and contact with family in Canada at least once per month, stand out as

significant predictors of well-being. It is important to note that in contrast to the bivariate results, having contact with family in Canada at least once per month is actually negatively correlated with well-being. The correlation, however, is very weak (-.065). It seems that those who spend more time with their family have higher levels of trust in family and, as such, greater well-being. Contact with family itself, however, has a slightly negative impact on life satisfaction.

In model 2, when considering the demographic variables, we find that the unstandardized B coefficients for trusting family a lot and contact with family in Canada remain significant, the former at a 99 percent confidence level and the latter at a 95 percent confidence level. The coefficient for trusting family a lot decreases by more than 10 percent, from .545 to .528. The same is true for trusting family a lot, which reduces from -.065 to -.049. As with bridging social capital, it appears that being married and spending a greater proportion of your life in Canada partially explain the relationship between contact with family in Canada, trust in family, and subjective well-being. (Those who are married and have spent more time in Canada tend to have more contact with family in Canada and greater trust in family member.) As in the bridging social capital models, gender, age, age at migration, visible minority status, and region of origin are not significant.

In model 3, human capital variables are introduced, controlling for immigrants with citizenship status, varying education levels, and with different patterns of language use. Using an official language (French or English) in one's home is positively and significantly related to subjective well-being but does not appear to impact the relationship between the significant bonding social capital variables and life satisfaction. In the final model, employment status and household income are significant and seem to partially explain the relationship between trust in family and subjective well-being as the B coefficient for the aforementioned reduces by more than 10 percent, from .527 to .500. It may be that those who trust their family more tend to be in a better economic situation, who in turn are typically more satisfied with their current life situation. As with the bridging social capital variables, the B coefficient for being married reduces from .218 to .124, revealing that economic situation (employment status and household income) partially explain the association between marriage and well-being.

According to the standardized betas, it seems that of the predictors considered in the final model, trusting family a lot (.208), being married (B=.102) and having a higher household income (50,000 – 79.999, B=.111; 20,000 – 49,999, B=103; 80,000+, B=.069) in relation to the reference group have the strongest positive relationships with subjective well-being, followed by speaking an official language at home (B=.066), and being employed (B=.061). Contact with family (B=.061) had a slightly weaker, yet still significant, relationships with subjective well-being.

At 4.0 percent (R^2=.040), the bonding social capital variables seem to account for a lower proportion of the variance subjective well-being than the bridging social capital variables. The addition of the control variables more than doubles the adjusted R^2 to equal .087, or 8.7 percent of the variance. In examining the semi-partial correlations for the significant bonding social capital variables, we find that having a lot of trust in family members in contrast to no trust or some trust (.105) uniquely accounts for 1.1 percent of the variation in well-being while contact with family in Canada accounts for less than 1 percent.

Comparing Social Capital, Well-Being, and Proportion of Life Spent in Canada

Table 5 applies each of the models previously used for the whole sample to three separate groups of immigrants, based on the proportion of one's life that has been spent in Canada. The three groups are those who have lived in Canada for less than 1 percent to one-third, one-third to two-thirds, and two-thirds or more of their life. The bonding social capital variables were excluded from analysis as cross-tabulations revealed a small number of cases within each category of the main independent variables, presenting a risk of inaccurate significance levels. In addition, age at migration was removed from the second model (demographic variables) because of high co-linearity with the time-proportion groups.

For each of the three groups, trust in neighbors is significant throughout all four models, although this variable appears to have the strongest relationship with subjective well-being for those who have lived in Canada for one-third to two-thirds of their life (B=.219), followed by those who have lived in Canada for two-thirds or more of their life (B=.192), and has the lowest impact on those who have lived in Canada for one-third or less of their life (.128). When demographic variables are introduced in model 2, the unstandardized B coefficients for trust in neighbors decrease for all three groups. For those who have lived in Canada for one-third or more of their lives, this reduction seems to be due to the introduction of marriage. Among those who have spent less than one-third of their lives in Canada, marriage is surprisingly insignificant. The introduction of demographic variables appears to explain less of the relationship between trust in neighbors and well-being for those who have spent less time in Canada than for the other two groups.

Participation in community activities is positive and significant only for those who have lived one-third to two-thirds of their lives in Canada. For those who have spent the lowest proportion of their life in the host country, general social trust remains significant throughout the models and has nearly as strong of a relationship with well-being (B=.111), as does trust in neighbors (B=.128). Friendship network is also negatively significant for those who have spent the lowest proportion of their life in Canada, but is explained by the inclusion of demographic variables in the second model.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, I investigated the relationship between social capital and subjective well-being among a nationally representative sample of immigrants in Canada. Intra-ethnic (bonding) and inter-ethnic (bridging) social capital were examined separately, using common indicators related to civic engagement, social trust, and social networks. I then look at how these relationships differ by the proportion of one's life that has been spent in Canada.

Congruent with previous studies of both general and immigrant populations, overall, this study confirms a positive relationship between an immigrant's level of social capital and subjective well-being (Anheier et al. 2004; Bjornscov 2003; Helliwell & Putnam 2004). This relationship exists largely independent of many indicators of human and economic capital in addition to demographic variables. Not all measures of social capital appear to be related to the well-being

of immigrants in Canada. Trust and reciprocity, and to a lesser degree, social networks were associated with immigrant life satisfaction whereas civic engagement was not. In fact, there was a weak negative correlation between contact with family in Canada and a migrant's life satisfaction. In this study, participation in community activities that promote the strengthening of co-ethnic relations did not relate to well-being. Inter-ethnic social networks, or an immigrant having half or more of friends who belong to a different ethnic group than their own was not relevant either. Nor was contact with family outside of Canada.

More than the comparative relevance of bonding and bridging social capital, the findings of this study point to the greater importance of trust as an indicator of social capital in determining immigrant life satisfaction. Trust in those around, whether family or members of the community, seems to increase the likelihood of life satisfaction for immigrants in Canada more than most measures of human and economic capital. In terms of bridging social capital, only trust in neighbors was a relevant predictor of well-being in multivariate analysis. It also stood out as the strongest of all of the social capital predictor. For bonding social capital, trust in family members increased well-being while contact with family living in Canada slightly reduced subjective well-being. Their associations with immigrant well-being went above and beyond even that of household income, similar to the findings of Bjornscov (2003).

Two findings stand out in a comparison of the bivariate and multivariate analyses. Firstly, general social trust, significantly related to well-being in bivariate analysis, becomes insignificant when trust in neighbors is considered in the multivariate models. It seems that it is not a general sense that others can be trusted that relates to an immigrant's well-being, but a more concrete belief in the trustworthiness of those with whom they interact on a daily basis. This is supported by the significance of trust in family members in predicting well-being among immigrants.
Given the seeming importance of trust in immigrant well-being, the question becomes how does trust between an immigrant and their neighbors, co-workers, or others with whom they share their lives develop. A key to this may be in this second observation; when trust in neighbors is considered, an immigrant's participation in community activities, outside of ethnicity-specific or immigrant associations, also becomes insignificant. This may signify that those who are actively involved in the community have higher levels of trust due to increased inter-ethnic contact.

The importance of social connections appears to vary by the proportion of an immigrant's life that has been spent in Canada. The strength of the correlation between trust in neighbors and an immigrant's well-being increases for those who have lived in Canada for a greater proportion of their lives. In contrast with the general model, civic engagement is an important factor in the well-being of immigrants who have lived one-third or more of their lives in Canada. Also, general social trust is significant only for those who have lived less than one-third of their lives in the host-culture. It is important that these and other potential variations are considered in future work.

Additionally, this research confirms previous findings related to the importance of various human capital and economic capital variables in predicting life satisfaction. Namely, marital status was strongly related to well-being while level of educational attainment was not (Helliwell

2003). Although, the positive correlation between marriage and well-being is partially explained by higher levels of income. Additionally, host-culture language ability was positively associated with life satisfaction (Ying 1992), as was income (Bjornscov 2003).

As a broad term, the question of how social capital impacts subjective well-being among immigrants can be somewhat elusive. As such, specific indicators were used in an attempt to cover several dimensions of the concept; nevertheless, the findings of this study are still limited in interpretation to the specific constructs that were chosen. Its application is also restricted to the target population of immigrants, ages 15 and older, living in Canada in the year 2002.

These findings point to important implications for policy and many opportunities for future exploration. Policymakers might consider focusing on building community coalitions that create opportunities for immigrants and their non-immigrant neighbors to dialogue about community issues and encourage positive cross-cultural exchange in order to strengthen levels of trust, or bridging social capital. Future research may consider exploring what specific factors are correlated with increasing trust between immigrants and non-immigrants. Additionally, a comparison of immigrants and non-immigrants in the effects of social capital on well-being may give further insight into the unique integration experience of newcomers. Furthermore, a comparison of social capital and the well-being of immigrants in Canada and immigrants in the United States may be informative in understanding any congruencies and discrepancies in the experience of migrants cross-nationally.

Tables

Table 1 Socio-demographic, human capital, and economic characteristics: Proportions of the sample, associated mean levels of subjective well-being, and bivariate results.

	Percent	Mean Well-Being	P
Life Satisfaction	-	**4.26**	-
Socio-demographic			
Age			
15-24	10.9%	4.09	
25-34	14.1%	4.19	
35-44	19.5%	4.21	0.000***
45-54	20.3%	4.21	
55-64	17.0%	4.31	
65+	18.2%	4.49	
Sex			
Males	47.1%	4.26	0.893
Females	52.9%	4.26	
Age at migration			
0-14	32.7%	4.24	
15-24	28.6%	4.30	0.066
25-44	32.5%	4.24	
45+	6.2%	4.36	
Marital status			
Married	61.0%	4.37	0.000***
Not married	39.0%	4.10	
Proportion of life spent in Canada			
<1% to 33%	18.2%	4.15	
34% to 66%	50.9%	4.28	0.001**
67% to 99%	30.9%	4.31	
Visible minority status	47.5%	4.18	0.000***
Not a visible minority	52.5%	4.34	
Region of origin			
Central America, South America, Caribbean, and Bermuda	13.7%	4.27	
Europe	43.2%	4.36	0.000***
Asia and the Middle East	33.3%	4.14	
Africa, North America, Oceania, and Other	9.8%	4.23	
Human Capital			
Canadian Citizenship			
Yes	82.1%	4.27	0.147
No	17.9%	4.21	
Educational attainment			
Less than high school	26.0%	4.29	0.532
High school diploma	21.2%	4.27	

Trade, technical, vocational, some university	29.9%	4.23	
University degree	22.9%	4.26	
Language used most at home			
Official language(s)	64.4%	4.32	0.000***
Non-official language(s)	35.6%	4.15	
Language used most with friends			
Official language(s)	87.6%	4.27	0.020*
Non-official language(s)	12.4%	4.17	
Economic Capital			
Employment Status			
Employed	55.8%	4.26	0.906
Not employed	44.2%	4.26	
Household production			
Main activity is household production	9.8%	4.24	0.679
Main activity is not household production	90.2%	4.26	
Household Income			
Less than 20,000	15.7%	4.01	
20,000 to 49,999	42.9%	4.25	0.000***
50,000 to 79,999	29.7%	4.31	
80,000 or more	11.7%	4.35	

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 2 Bridging social capital and subjective well-being, univariate and bivariate results

	Percent	Mean Well-Being	P
Bridging Social Capital			
Civic Engagement			
Member of a community group or association	37.0%	4.31	
Not a member of a community group or association	63.0%	4.22	0.000***
General Social Trust			
Yes, people can be trusted	51.3%	4.33	0.000***
No, people cannot be trusted	48.7%	4.19	
	Mean	Correlation	
Trust in Neighbors (1=cannot be trusted at all; 5=can be trusted a lot)	3.8	0.26	0.000***
Friendship Network			
Majority of friends are of a different ethnicity	59.5%	4.27	0.150
Majority of friends are of the same ethnicity	40.5%	4.23	

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 3 Bonding social capital and subjective well-being, univariate and bivariate results

	Percent	Mean Well-Being	P
Bonding Social Capital			
Civic Engagement			
Member of ethnic or immigrant organization	6.6%	4.33	0.074
Not a member of ethnic or immigrant organization	93.4%	4.26	
Trust in Family Members			
1 – 3 (cannot be trusted – can be trusted somewhat)	3.7	3.73	
4	11.5	3.84	0.000***
5 (can be trusted a lot)	84.8	4.34	
Frequency of Contact with Family in Canada			
Has contact with family at least once per month	87.8%	4.28	
Has contact with family less than once per month (or not at all)	12.2%	4.15	0.004**
Frequency of Contact with Family in Country of Origin			
Has contact with family at least once per month	56.9%	4.29	
Has contact with family less than once per month (or not at all)	43.1%	4.24	0.158

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

	Bridging Social Capital					Bonding Social Capital				
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	β	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	β
Bridging Social Capital										
Participant in community activities	.058 (.039)	.060 (.039)	.059 (.040)	.050 (.039)	.027					
General social trust	.060 (.041)	.073 (.041)	.075 (.041)	.069 (.041)	.038					
Trust in neighbors	.190 (.019)***	.165 (.019)***	.165 (.019)***	.162(.019)***	.192					
Half or more of friends are of other ethnicities	.014 (.039)	.015 (.041)	.002 (.043)	-.010 (.042)	-.005					
Bonding Social Capital										
Participant in Immigrant/Ethnic Association						.113 (.077)	.105 (.076)	.115 (.076)	.112 (.075)	.032
Trust in family[1]										
Trust family						.108 (.115)	.099 (.113)	.092 (.113)	.068 (.113)	.025
Trust family a lot						.545 (.103)***	.528 (.102)***	.527 (.102)***	.500 (.102)***	.208
Contact with family in Canada at least 1x per month						-.065 (.024)**	-.049 (.024)*	-.049 (.024)*	-.051 (.024)*	-.047
Contact with family in country of origin at least 1x per month						.003 (.019)	-.018 (.020)	.-021 (.020)	-.018 (.020)	-.021
Demographics										
Male		-.065 (.038)	-.065 (.038)	-.088 (.040)*	-.049		.001 (.039)	-.002 (.039)	-.017 (.040)	-.010
Age[2]										
25-34		-.035 (.090)	-.034 (.092)	-.057 (.096)	-.023		-.078 (.095)	-.090 (.096)	-.148 (.100)	-.060
35-44		-.134 (.086)	-.149 (.087)	-.183 (.093)*	-.084		-.093 (.089)	-.129 (.090)	-.189 (.095)*	-.089
45-54		-.184 (.115)	-.199 (.116)	-.225 (,120)	-.097		-.101 (.124)	-.131 (.125)	-.194 (.129)	-.085
55-64		-.206 (.119)	-.236 (.120)*	-.230 (.122)	-.092		.001 (.128)	-.050 (.128)	-.079 (.130)	-.033
65+		-.026 (.144)	-.053 (.145)	.036 (.146)	.015		.080 (.157)	.037 (.157)	.093 (.157)	.041
Age at Migration[3]										
15-24		.151 (.083)	.156 (.083)	.142 (.083)	.072		.150 (.090)	.166 (.090)	.170 (.090)	.089
25-44		.147 (.132)	.150 (.133)	.143 (.132)	.074		.138 (.144)	.150 (.144)	.164 (.144)	.090
45+		.277 (.200)	.286 (.201)	.262 (.200)	.067		.280 (.215)	.309 (.216)	.304 (.216)	.084
Proportion of life in Canada		.429 (.187)*	.381 (.190)*	.319 (.189)	.105		.428 (.202)*	.352 (.205)	.335 (.204)	.109
Visible Minority Group		.045 (.077)	.044 (.077)	.043 (.077)	.024		.056 (.077)	.060 (.077)	.068 (.077)	.039

Region of Origin[4]								
CA, SA, Caribbean, Bermuda	.059 (.087)	.047 (.087)	.041 (.087)	.016	.024 (.089)	.004 (.089)	-.015 (.090)	-.006
Asia and the Middle East	-.091 (.085)	-.081 (.086)	-.089 (.086)	-.047	-.142 (.085)	-.128 (.086)	-.139 (.087)	-.075
Africa, NA, Oceania, Other	.035 (.076)	.030 (.076)	.034 (.076)	.011	.062 (.076)	.041 (.077)	.047 (.077)	.016
Married	.280 (.043)***	.284(.043)***	.229(.045)***	.125	.206 (.043)***	.218 (.044)***	.184 (.045)***	.102
Human Capital								
Canadian Citizen		.046 (.052)	.030 (.051)	.013		.074 (.051)	.059 (.051)	.027
Education Level[5]								
High school diploma		-.005 (.058)	-.022 (.058)	-.010		.021 (.058)	.005 (.058)	.002
Some post-high school education		-.033 (.053)	-.055 (.053)	-.029		-.012 (.053)	-.033 (.053)	-.017
University degree		-.014 (.062)	-.049 (.062)	-.022		.035 (.061)	.011 (.061)	.005
Use official language(s) at home		.079 (.050)	.065 (.050)	-.034		.131 (.048)**	.119 (.048)*	.066
Use official language(s) with friends		-.010 (.073)	-.036 (.072)	-.012		.011 (.067)	.003 (.067)	.011
Economic Capital								
Employment Status								
Employed			.067 (.056)	.037			.190 (.056)*	.061
Homemaker			.058 (.077)	.019			.123 (.076)	.042
Income[6]								
20,000-49,999			.255(.060)***	.141			.184 (.059)**	.103
50,000-79,999			.321(.068)***	.164			.211 (.066)***	.111
80,0000+			.301(.082)***	.110			.187 (.081)*	.069
Constant	3.458(.074)***	3.186(.145)***	3.162(.161)***	3.050 (.163)	3.862(.118)***	3.515(.170)***	3.413(.182)***	3.301 (.184)***
Adjusted R-squared	.057	.088	.087	.098	.040	.077	.080	.087
N	2093	2093	2093	2093	2003	2003	2003	2003

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

[1]Reference category is do not trust family/trust somewhat
[2]Reference category for age is 15 to 24.
[3]Reference category for age at migration is 0 to 14.
[4]Reference category for region of origin is Europe.
[5]Reference category for education level is less than high school or no schooling.
[6]Reference category for income is less than 20,000

Table 5 OLS Subjective well-being and bridging social capital by proportion of life spent in Canada

	Lived in Canada for one-third or less of life					Lived in Canada for one-third to two-thirds of life				
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	β	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	β
Bridging Social Capital										
Participant in community activities	-.006 (.103)	.010 (.104)	-.021 (.106)	-.047 (.106)	-.022	.098 (.056)	.121 (.056)*	.120 (.057)*	.113 (.056)*	.061
General social trust	.212 (.100)*	.210 (.104)*	.224 (.105)*	.219 (.105)*	.111	.016 (.058)	.036 (.059)	.034 (.059)	.028 (.059)	.015
Trust in neighbors	.123 (.045)**	.116 (.046)*	.120 (.046)*	.115 (.047)*	.128	.209 (.027)***	.188 (.027)***	.188 (.027)***	.181 (.027)***	.219
Half or more of friends are of other ethnicities	-.181 (.095)*	-.171 (.100)	-.191 (.104)	-.173 (.105)	-.088	.072 (.055)	.101 (.057)	.091 (.060)	.063 (.060)	.035
Demographics										
Male		-.056 (.100)	-.057 (.101)	-.049 (.107)	-.025		-.071 (.054)	-.071 (.055)	-.116 (.057)*	-.065
Age[1]										
25-34		-.065 (.193)	-.086 (.203)	-.103 (.207)	-.036		.120 (.116)	.132 (,119)	.067 (.125)	.025
35-44		-.008 (.163)	-.091 (.173)	-.154 (.183)	-.077		.022 (.119)	.018 (.121)	-.049 (.127)	-.018
45-54		.239 (.307)	.209 (.318)	.185 (.320)	.033		-.058 (.106)	-.062 (.108)	-.116 (.116)	-.055
55-64		-.096 (.229)	-.200 (.241)	-.194 (.244)	-.051		-.027 (.111)	-.039 (.114)	-.056 (.116)	-.025
65+		.308 (.183)	.180 (.202)	.240 (.205)	.092		.111 (.117)	.099 (.119)	.194 (.121)	.081
Visible Minority Group		-.138 (.199)	-.135 (.200)	-.137 (.200)	-.056		.139 (.112)	.135 (.113)	.136 (.112)	.075
Region of Origin[2]										
CA, SA, Caribbean, Bermuda		.347 (.246)	.327 (.249)	.317 (.252)	.117		-.073 (.127)	-.081 (.128)	-.100 (.128)	-.042
Asia and the Middle East		.122 (.231)	.120 (.233)	.111 (.235)	.055		-.156 (.124)	-.151 (.126)	-.160 (.126)	-.084
Africa, NA, Oceania, Other		.149 (.254)	.129 (.256)	.139 (.258)	.038		-.007 (.118)	-.010 (.120)	-.004 (.119)	-.001
Married		.092 (.117)	.124 (.120)	.053 (.125)	.026		.312 (.063)***	.314 (.064)***	.263 (.066)***	.143
Human Capital										
Canadian Citizen			.192 (.106)	.177 (.106)	.087			.034 (.077)	-.010 (.077)	-.004
Education Level[3]										
High school diploma			-.067 (.156)	-.046 (.157)	-.019			-.019 (.081)	-.054 (.081)	-.025
Some post-high school education			-.069 (.154)	-.046 (.154)	-.021			-.009 (.074)	-.046 (.074)	-.024
University degree			-.093 (.156)	-.099 (.157)	-.047			.006 (.090)	-.036 (.090)	-.016

Use official language(s) at home			.110 (.115)	.075 (.115)	.037			.046 (.068)	.029 (.068)	.015
Use official language(s) with friends			.042 (.137)	.036 (.137)	.015			-.012 (.097)	-.055 (.097)	-.019
Economic Capital										
Employment Status										
Employed				.099 (.142)	.050				.110 (.079)	.061
Homemaker				.251 (.187)	.079				-.025 (.111)	-.008
Income[4]										
20,000-49,999				.174 (.133)	.088				.320 (.087)***	.175
50,000-79,999				.344 (.153)*	.152				.393 (.098)***	.202
80,0000+				.280 (.222)	.073				.314 (.118)**	.116
Constant	3.608(.169)***	3.520 (.265)***	3.443(.299)***	3.283 (.307)***		3.384(.103)***	3.249 (.143)***	3.221(.174)***	3.106 (.177)***	
Adjusted R-squared	.038	.040	.037	.046		.069	.095	.090	.108	
N	418	418	418	418		1013	1013	1013	1013	

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

[1]Reference category is do not trust family/trust somewhat
[2]Reference category for age is 15 to 24.
[3]Reference category for age at migration is 0 to 14.
[4]Reference category for region of origin is Europe.
[5]Reference category for education level is less than high school or no schooling.
[6]Reference category for income is less than 20,000

Table 5 cont'd OLS Subjective well-being and bridging social capital by proportion of life spent in Canada

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	β
		Lived in Canada for two-thirds or more of life			
Bridging Social Capital					
Participant in community activities	.011 (.064)	.024 (.064)	.018 (.064)	.012 (.065)	.007
General social trust	.045 (.068)	.045 (.067)	.042 (.068)	.043 (.068)	.026
Trust in neighbors	.188 (.033)***	.162 (.035)***	.160 (.035)***	.159 (.035)***	.192
Half or more of friends of other ethnicities	-.008 (.075)	.012 (.074)	.000 (.076)	.003 (.076)	.002
Demographics					
Gender		-.061 (.063)	-.049 (.063)	-.062 (.066)	-.038
Age[1]					
25-34		-.068 (.132)	-.093 (.137)	-.067 (.149)	-.033
35-44		-.273 (.138)*	-.298 (.142)*	-.274 (.155)	-.138
45-54		-.258 (.149)	-.268 (.152)	-.241 (.166)	-.112
55-64		-.399 (.163)*	-.400 (.165)*	-.367 (.172)*	-.144
65+		-.066 (.151)	-.060 (.153)	-.035 (.159)	-.017
Visible Minority Group		-.035 (.133)	-.018 (.134)	-.016 (.135)	-.008
Region of Origin[2]					
CA, SA, Caribbean, Bermuda		.101 (.144)	.110 (.145)	.123 (.146)	.046
Asia and the Middle East		-.127 (.154)	-.100 (.158)	-.112 (.158)	-.046
Africa, NA, Oceania, Other		.007 (.103)	-.028 (.104)	-.025 (.105)	-.010
Married		.331 (.068)***	.325 (.068)***	.306 (.073)***	.185
Human Capital					
Canadian Citizen			-.155 (.104)	-.146 (.105)	-.054
Education Level[3]					
High school diploma			.059 (.099)	.058 (.100)	.028
Some post-high school education			-.041 (.087)	-.042 (.089)	-.025
University degree			.073 (.106)	.069 (.108)	.034
Use official language(s) at home			.120 (.112)	.128 (.113)	.047
Use official language(s) with friends			-.058 (.388)	-.122 (.391)	-.012
Economic Capital					
Employment Status					
Employed				-.024 (.097)	-.015
Homemaker				-.s032 (.134)	-.011
Income[4]					
20,000-49,999				.183 (.116)	.110
50,000-79,999				.124 (.130)	.070
80,0000+				.212 (.144)	.092
Constant	3.543 (.141)***	3.675 (.190)***	3.778 (.460)***	3.692 (.466)***	
Adjusted R-squared	.051	.090	.089	.087	
N	660	660	660	660	

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

[1]Reference category is do not trust family/trust somewhat
[2]Reference category for age is 15 to 24.
[3]Reference category for age at migration is 0 to 14.
[4]Reference category for region of origin is Europe.
[5]Reference category for education level is less than high school or no schooling.
[6]Reference category for income is less than 20,000

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