



Citizenship and
Immigration Canada

Citoyenneté et
Immigration Canada

World Values Survey (Canada) Immigrant and native born respondent comparisons

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Canada

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Introduction

How do immigrants differ from those born in Canada? And are these differences attributable to such social factors as culture, or are structural explanations more plausible? Since 2000, two waves of the World Values Survey in Canada have included a boosted immigrant sample which allows researchers to compare more reliably the similarities and differences in the values of immigrants and non-immigrants. This report summarizes these differences which are organized around five dimensions: the socio-economic profile; religious outlooks; views about immigration and citizenship; trust; and voluntary association membership.

The World Values Survey

The 2006 wave of the World Values Survey (WVS) is a national representative sample of adult Canadians, 18 years of age and older¹. A boosted New Immigrant Survey (NIS), which targets new immigrants (10 years in the country or less) in Vancouver (N=151), Toronto (N=157), and Montreal (N=192) supplements the core survey (N=1,765). Households were randomly selected and survey respondents were interviewed in person by trained interviewers between the dates of January 18 and March 30, 2006. The survey questionnaires contained 279 items.

Data from the core WVS sample and the boosted NIS sample were combined into a single dataset, and then the cases for analysis were sorted into three groups: Those born in Canada are identified throughout the report as “Canadian born” (N=1,766). The “recent immigrant” group comprises those immigrants who have lived in the country for less than 10 years (N=570). “Earlier immigrants” are those immigrants who have been in Canada for ten years or longer (N=298). And for each question, the reported results exclude respondents who did not, or refused to, answer the question.

This report mainly focuses on a descriptive analysis of the data; the focus on the presentation is on the key differences and similarities between the three groups. Section 1 summarizes the demographic differences between Canadian born, recent immigrant, and earlier immigrant respondents. The point of comparison is data from the 2001 Canadian Census. Section 2 describes the structural characteristics of ‘recent’ and ‘earlier’ immigrants and Canadian born respondents. Section 3 focuses on religious outlooks: how religious are the three different groups? And what role do they think churches should play in society? Section 4 examines outlooks towards immigration, citizenship, and cultural diversity within Canada. Section 5 examines levels of trust, both interpersonal and generalized trust. Section 6 considers involvement in voluntary associations

¹ The sample is distributed across all provinces of Canada, with the exception of the Canadian Territories, Indian reservations, and those located in remote parts of the country.

1. Basic demographics

According to the 2001 Census, 18.6 percent of all Canadians are immigrants. Of those, 66.2 percent arrived in the last 10 years. Table 1-1 shows the distribution of the WVS working data with the 2001 Census.

Table 1-1: Canadian born and immigrant populations

Group	WVS	2001 Census
Canadian Born	67.0% (n=1766)	81.4%
Recent Immigrants (< 10 years)	21.6% (n=570)	6.3%
Earlier Immigrants (> 10 years)	11.3% (n=298)	12.3%

Source: 2006 World Values Survey and 2001 Census

Gender, age and education will play an important role in the analysis. Table 1-2 and Table 1-3 disaggregate the three groups by gender. Across all three groups females slightly outnumber males.

Table 1-2: Groups by gender (WVS)

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Female	58.8%	54.9%	50.8%
Male	41.2%	45.1%	49.2%
Total	100.0% (n=1,763)	100.0% (n=297)	100.0% (n=569)

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 1-3: Groups by gender (2001 Census)

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Female	50.7%	51.6%	52.0%
Male	49.3%	48.4%	48.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: 2001 Census

To compare age cohorts, the samples are divided into four categories: youth (18 to 25 years of age), young individuals of working age (26 to 44 years of age), older individuals of working age (45 to 64 years of age), and those individuals aged 65 years and older. Table 1-4 and Table 1-5 show that recent immigrants tend to be slightly younger than their Canadian born and earlier immigrant counterparts. According to 2001 Census data, the mean ages for Canadian born, recent immigrant, and earlier immigrant groups are 34.8, 32.5, and 52.6 years respectively.

Table 1-4: Groups by age (WVS)

Question: Can you tell me your year of birth? This means you are _____ years old?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Youth (18-25)	11.3%	8.6%	15.1%
Young Working Age (26-44)	32.7%	27.1%	71.5%
Older Working Age (45-64)	36.1%	38.4%	12.7%
Retired (65+)	20.0%	26.0%	0.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,758)	(n=292)	(n=551)

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 1-5: Groups by age (2001 Census)

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Youth (18-25)	15.2%	4.3%	16.1%
Young Working Age (26-44)	39.0%	26.3%	56.8%
Older Working Age (45-64)	30.9%	43.1%	20.7%
Retired (65+)	14.8%	26.3%	6.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: 2001 Census

Earlier immigrants have higher levels of exposure to post-secondary education than their Canadian born counterparts. And as Table 1-6 and Table 1-7 show, recent immigrants have higher levels of post-secondary education than the other groups. These differences are statistically significant ($p < .01$).

Table 1-6: Groups by education (WVS)

Question: What is the highest educational level you have attained? (If respondent indicates to being a student, check highest level s/he expects to complete).

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Less than high school	25.9%	18.6%	2.6%
High school	18.7%	18.6%	7.7%
Post-secondary	55.4%	62.7%	89.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,754)	(n=295)	(n=569)

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 1-7: Groups by education (2001 Census)

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Less than high school	31.5%	32.7%	26.0%
High school	14.6%	12.1%	12.3%
Post-secondary	53.9%	55.1%	61.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: 2001 Census

2. Socio-economic profile

The tables and figures in this section summarize the socioeconomic profiles of each of the three groups (Canadian born, recent immigrants and earlier immigrants). The data are organized around four themes: language and ethnicity, family and religious life, economic status, and overall life satisfaction.

2.1. Language and ethnicity

As Table 2-1 illustrates, over 90 percent of Canadian born respondents and 64.1 percent of earlier immigrants are Caucasian compared to only 27.0 percent of recent immigrant respondents. Recent immigrants are predominantly East Asian; 37.0 percent of recent immigrants identify as East Asian, Chinese, and Japanese. South Asian Indians and Pakistanis make up 14.4 percent of recent immigrants.

Table 2-1: Ethnicity

Question: What is the ethnic group of the respondent (self identification)?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Caucasian	96.6%	64.1%	27.0%
Black	1.3%	8.1%	6.9%
South Asian Indian, Pakistani	0.4%	7.4%	14.4%
East Asian, Chinese, Japanese	0.7%	13.1%	37.0%
Arabic, Central Asian	0.0%	3.7%	11.7%
Latin American/Hispanic	0.1%	2.0%	1.4%
Native / Native Indian	0.7%	1.0%	0.2%
Other	0.2%	0.7%	1.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,763)	(n=298)	(n=562)

N = 2,623

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

After English and French, Chinese is the main language spoken at home. Of recent immigrants, 33.2 percent speak Chinese at home (Table 2-2). 2001 Census data are consistent with these responses. 2.1 percent of all Canadians speak Chinese at home, and 19.1 percent of recent immigrants speak Chinese at home.

Table 2-2: Language spoken at home

Question: What language do you normally speak at home?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
English	69.4%	63.9%	13.6%
French	29.0%	8.8%	9.4%
Chinese	1.5%	26.4%	33.2%
Other	0.0%	1.0%	43.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,761)	(n=296)	(n=566)

N = 2,623

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

2.2. Family & religion

Table 2-3 shows that both recent and earlier immigrants are more likely than native born Canadians to be married, and they are also far less likely to live in common law relationships. When it comes to family size (see Figure 2-1) Canadian born individuals (2.9 children on average) and earlier immigrants (3.2) tend to have more children than recent immigrants (2.1).

Table 2-3: Marital status

Question: Are you currently married, living together as married, divorced, separated, widowed, or single?

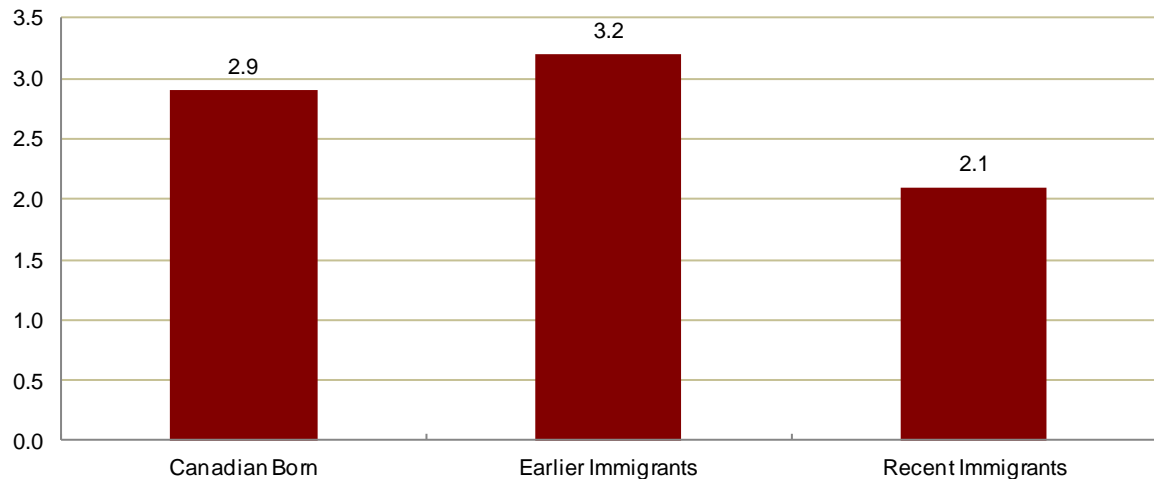
	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Married	47.1%	60.5%	69.8%
Common law	14.5%	5.1%	2.8%
Divorced	7.1%	4.7%	3.5%
Separated	3.6%	4.1%	1.8%
Widowed	8.3%	7.4%	0.9%
Single	19.4%	18.2%	21.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,761)	(n=262)	(n=569)

N = 2,626

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 2-1: Average number of children

Question: Have you had any children? If yes, how many?



Source: 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,631

As Table 2-4 shows, Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents are more religious: 28.1 and 27.6 percent. 35.9 percent of recent immigrants claim no membership in any religious denomination. Section 3 examines the religious attributes of the survey respondents in greater detail.

Table 2-4: Religious denomination*Question: Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination?*

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Not a member	28.1%	27.6%	35.9%
Catholic	43.6%	28.3%	15.0%
Protestant	27.4%	32.7%	12.4%
Orthodox Christian	0.3%	3.4%	11.2%
Jewish	0.1%	2.4%	0.9%
Muslim	0.2%	2.4%	17.0%
Other	0.3%	3.4%	7.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,763)	(n=297)	(n=565)

N = 2,625

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

2.3. Economic status

Immigrants tend to see themselves as occupying the lower rungs of the economic ladder. According to Figure 2-2 and Table 2-5, recent immigrants are more likely than Canadian born and earlier immigrants to identify themselves as “working class”.² Correspondingly, Figure 2-3 and Table 2-6 show that a majority of recent immigrants (52.4 percent) report a household income of less than \$35,000. Earlier immigrants are twice as likely as their recent immigrant counterparts to report a household income of greater than \$62,501.

Table 2-5: Class self-identification

Question: People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class or the upper class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the...upper class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, working class, or lower class?

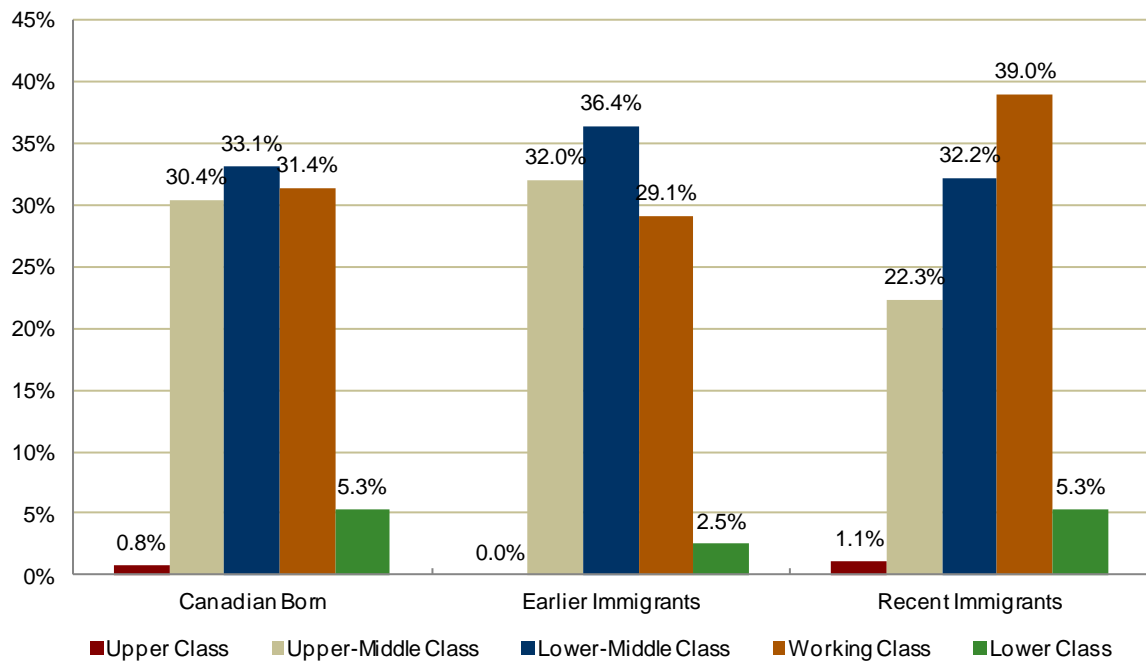
	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Upper class	0.8%	0.0%	1.1%
Upper-middle class	30.4%	32.0%	22.3%
Lower-middle class	33.1%	36.4%	32.2%
Working class	31.4%	29.1%	39.0%
Lower class	5.3%	2.5%	5.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,706)	(n=275)	(n=543)

N = 2,524

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

² 4.4 percent of the sample respondent responded “Don’t know” or refused the question.

Figure 2-2: Class self-identification



Source: 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,524

Table 2-6: Household income

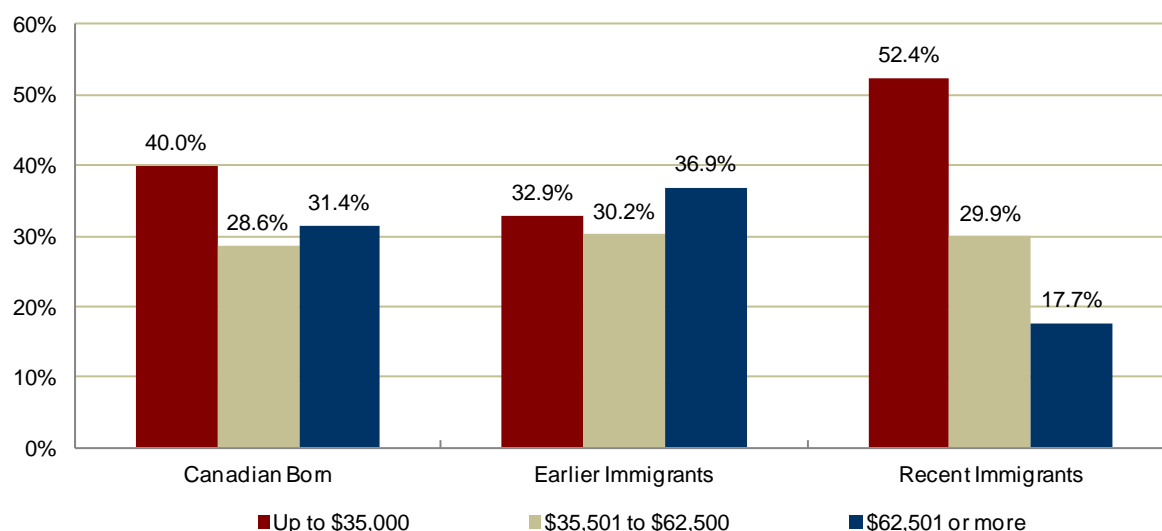
Question: Here is a scale of incomes. We would like to know in what group your household is, counting all wages, pensions and other incomes that come in.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Up to \$35,000	40.0%	32.9%	52.4%
\$35,501 to \$62,500	28.6%	30.2%	29.9%
\$62,501 or more	31.4%	36.9%	17.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,499)	(n=255)	(n=506)

N = 2,260

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 2-3: Household income



Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Not surprisingly, given the educational profiles of each group, immigrants are more likely than non-immigrants to work in managerial or professional occupations (Table 2-7). And recent immigrants (43.5 percent) are more likely to be employed full-time (Table 2-8) than either Canadian born (36.6) or earlier immigrant respondents (34.9).

Table 2-7: Occupation

Question: In which profession/occupation do you work? If more than one job, the main job? What is/was your job there?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Manager/Professional	35.6%	46.2%	46.9%
Non-Manual Labour	18.5%	17.1%	21.1%
Skilled Labour	31.3%	24.1%	16.3%
Unskilled Labour	13.0%	12.0%	14.8%
Agricultural	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Other	0.8%	0.6%	0.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=930)	(n=158)	(n=337)

Notes: Manager/Professional includes employers/managers of any size of firm, and professional workers. Non-manual labour includes all office workers except managers. Skilled labour includes foremen and supervisors, and skilled manual workers. Unskilled labour includes semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. Agricultural includes farmers (with farm ownership) and agricultural workers.

N = 1,425

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 2-8: Employment status*Question: Are you employed now or not?*

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Full-Time	36.6%	34.9%	43.5%
Part-Time	11.1%	10.8%	15.3%
Self-Employed	6.1%	8.5%	3.7%
Retired	25.6%	29.8%	0.4%
Homemaker	6.2%	3.4%	7.4%
Student	3.1%	4.1%	12.9%
Unemployed	9.8%	8.1%	16.5%
Other	1.5%	0.3%	0.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,763)	(n=295)	(n=568)

N = 2,626

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Recent immigrants differ from the other groups in two other respects. They are far more likely (88.4 percent) than non-immigrants (65.6 percent) to work in the private sector. And they are less likely to have supervisory roles (Table 2-9 and Table 2-10). These variations may be attributable to demographic factors: recent immigrants are younger.

Table 2-9: Employment sector

Question: Are you working for the government or public institution, for private business or industry, or for a non-profit private organization? If you do not work currently, characterize your major work in the past.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Government or Public Organization	29.1%	20.0%	8.5%
Private Business or Industry	68.6%	78.1%	88.4%
Private Non-Profit Organization	2.3%	1.9%	3.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=930)	(n=160)	(n=354)

N = 1,444

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 2-10: Supervisory role*Question: Do you or did you supervise other people at work?*

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Supervise others	37.5%	46.3%	27.2%
Do not supervise others	62.5%	53.8%	72.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=944)	(n=160)	(n=357)

N = 1,461

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

2.4. Overall life satisfaction

All respondents were asked questions about their health and their levels of life satisfaction. Immigrants are more likely than Canadian born respondents to claim that their state of health is “good” or “very good” (Table 2-11). But recent immigrants are significantly less likely than Canadian born or earlier immigrants to report that they feel happy (Table 2-12) or satisfied with life (Figure 2-4).

Table 2-11: State of health

Question: All in all, how would you describe your state of health these days?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Very good	39.3%	41.6%	43.9%
Good	41.0%	37.2%	44.7%
Fair	15.9%	17.2%	10.2%
Poor	3.7%	4.1%	1.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,763)	(n=296)	(n=570)

N = 2,629

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 2-12: Happiness

Question: Taking all things together, would you say you are very happy/quite happy/not very happy/not at all happy.

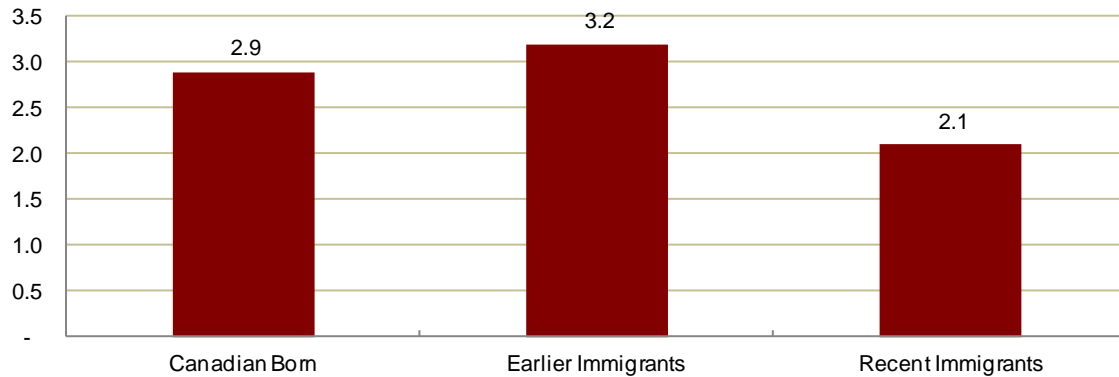
	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Very happy	46.8%	48.8%	26.9%
Quite happy	48.6%	46.8%	59.8%
Not very happy	4.1%	3.7%	12.0%
Not at all happy	0.5%	0.7%	1.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,762)	(n=295)	(n=569)

N = 2,626

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 2-4: Satisfaction with life

Question: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? A score of 1 is “completely dissatisfied” and 10 is “completely satisfied”. Results presented are the mean scores for each group.



Source: 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,627

Immigrants exhibit marginally higher levels of national pride than Canadian born respondents. According to the data summarized in Figure 2-5, recent and earlier immigrant respondents are most likely to report that they are “quite proud” or “very proud” to be Canadian. Native born Canadians, however, are more likely to say that they are “very proud” to be Canadian (71.1 percent) than recent (52.2 percent) or earlier immigrants (69.6 percent).

Table 2-13: National pride

Question: How proud are you to be Canadian? Response categories are “very proud”, “quite proud”, “not very proud” and “not at all proud.” Results in Figure 2.5 shown are for those responding with “very proud” or “quite proud.”

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Very proud	71.1%	69.6%	52.2%
Quite proud	25.4%	27.6%	44.6%
Not very proud	3.0%	1.4%	2.6%
Not at all proud	0.5%	1.4%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(n=1,753)

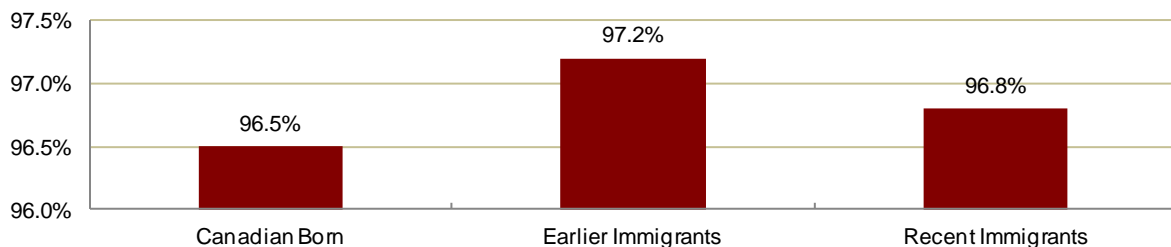
(n=283)

(n=312)

N = 2,348

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 2-5: National pride



Source: 2006 World Values Survey

3. Religion

The 2006 and 2001 World Values Survey probe respondents' religious values with 14 questions. Some ask directly about subjective religiosity, the importance of religion in peoples' lives. Others probe respondents' views about the moral authority of the Church. The most recent data available from 2006 are complemented with cross-time comparisons from the 2001 WVS and NIS data.

The first two indicators of religious outlooks confirm a general trend observed both from previous waves of the World Values Survey (Nevitte, 1996; Inglehart, 1997) and from Census data over the past thirty years (Statistics Canada, 2003): participation in, and identification with, organized religion is on the decline. Figure 3-1 and Table 3-1 show the results of the question: *"Independently of whether you attend religious services or not, would you say you are a...religious person, not a religious person, or an atheist?"* The data show that, with the exception of earlier immigrants, the personal religiosity of respondents—those who claim to be a "religious person"—has decreased since at least 2001. Among Canadian born respondents there has been a decline of over 7 percentage points. The decline in levels of personal religiosity among recent immigrants is almost 5 percentage points.

Despite the common trends, however, on balance the personal religiosity of recent immigrants is still noticeably lower than other Canadians. More than 70 percent of Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents report that they are "religious" in 2006 compared to only 56 percent of recent immigrants (Table 3-1). This coincides with the data on religious denomination membership (Table 2-4): The most frequently reported religious denomination for Canadian born respondents is Catholicism, while for earlier immigrants, the most frequently reported denomination is Protestantism. For recent immigrants, 35.9 percent claim no religious denomination, followed by 17.0 percent who identify as Muslim.

Table 3-1: Religious identification

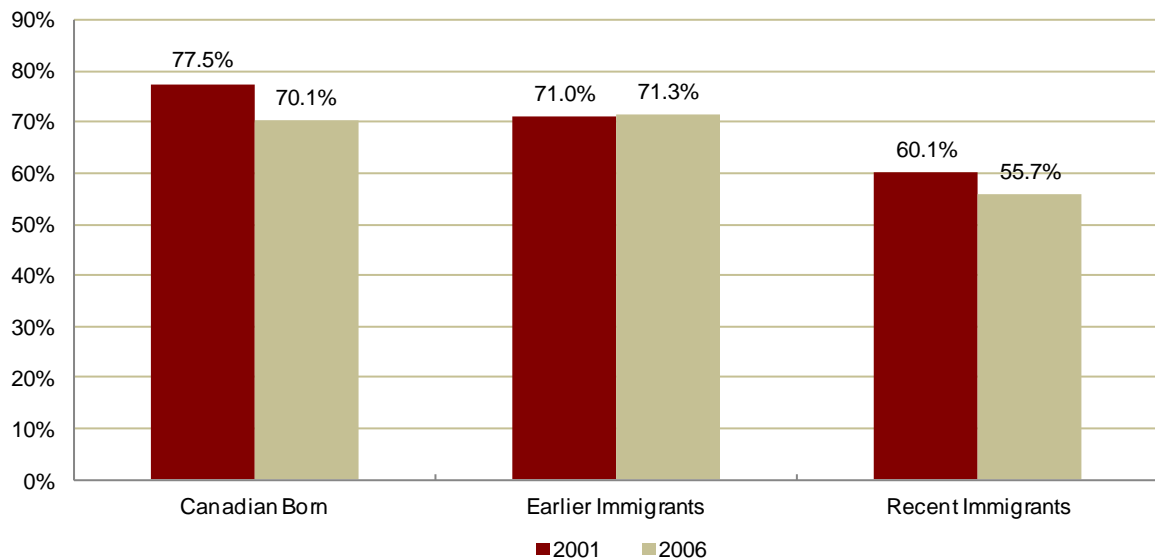
Question: Independently of whether you attend religious services or not, would you say you are a religious person, not a religious person, or an atheist?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Religious	70.1%	71.3%	55.7%
Not religious	24.3%	24.2%	37.0%
Atheist	5.7%	4.5%	7.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,730)	(n=289)	(n=560)

N = 2,579

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 3-1: Percentage identifying as religious



Source: 2001 and 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,747 (2001) and N=2,579 (2006)

Attendance at religious ceremonies has also declined among all Canadians. There are variations between Canadian born, recent immigrant, and earlier immigrant respondents. But across all three groups, the data show that attendance at religious ceremonies has declined since 2001 (Figure 3-2 and Figure 3-3). The decline is modest, but the trends are in the same direction.

Table 3-2: Church attendance

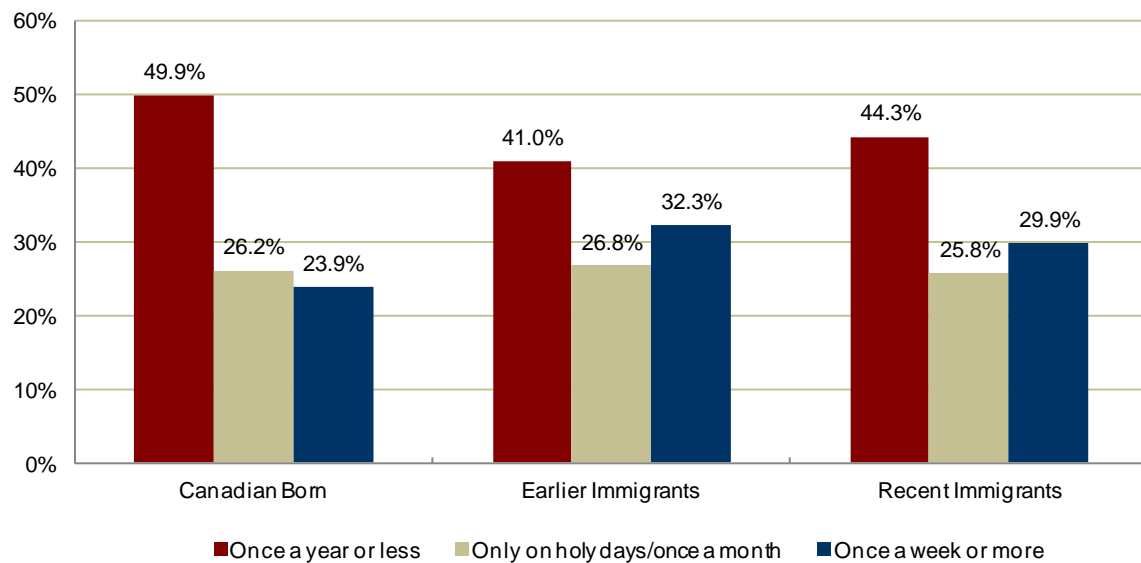
*Question: Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?
More than once a week, once a week, once a month, only on holy days, once a year, less often, or
never/practically never.*

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
More than once a week	5.7%	9.2%	12.0%
Once a week	18.2%	23.1%	17.9%
Once a month	9.3%	12.9%	9.0%
Only on holy days	16.9%	13.9%	16.8%
Once a year	8.4%	6.1%	6.2%
Less often	8.1%	10.8%	12.4%
Never/practically never	33.4%	24.1%	25.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,757)	(n=295)	(n=565)

N = 2,617

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

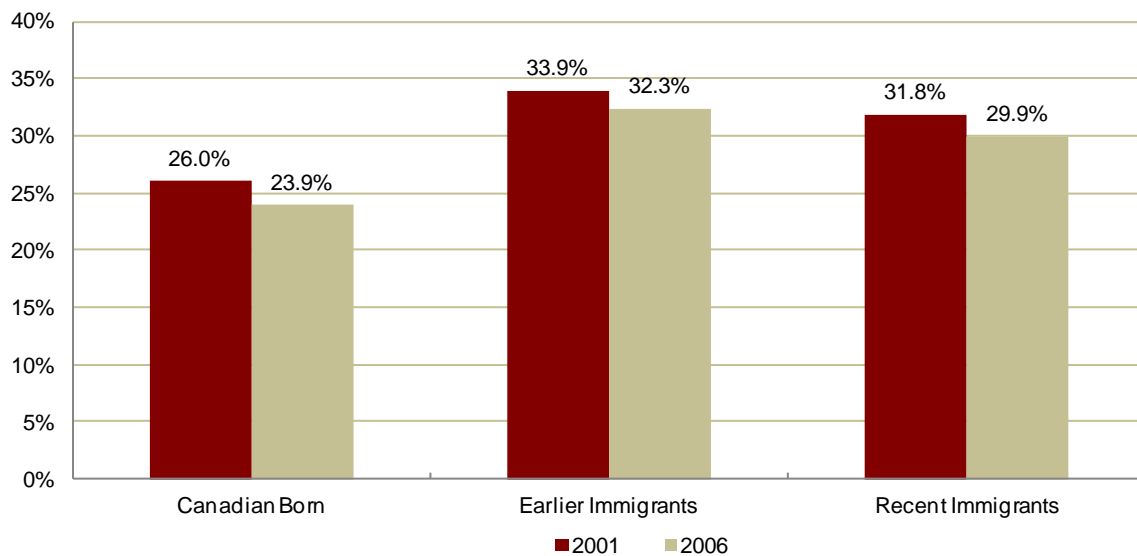
Figure 3-2: Religious attendance rates



Source: 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,617

Figure 3-3: Weekly church attendance: 2001 and 2006



Source: 2001 and 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,788 (2001); N=2,617 (2006)

23.9 percent of Canadian born respondents report attending religious service once a week or more compared to 29.9 percent of recent immigrants and 32.3 percent of earlier immigrants (Table 3-2). The differences in each case are modest but statistically significant ($p < .01$).

When asked “*how important is religion in your life?*” the number of Canadian born respondents answering “very important” or “rather important” fell, modestly, by 4 percent between 2001 and 2006. But the number of recent and earlier immigrants who responded that way increased by 2 and 3 percentage points, respectively, over the same period. Granted, these differences are modest and may be attributable to sampling error, but the divide between Canadian born and immigrant groups on this dimension appears to be widening.

Table 3-3: Importance of religion

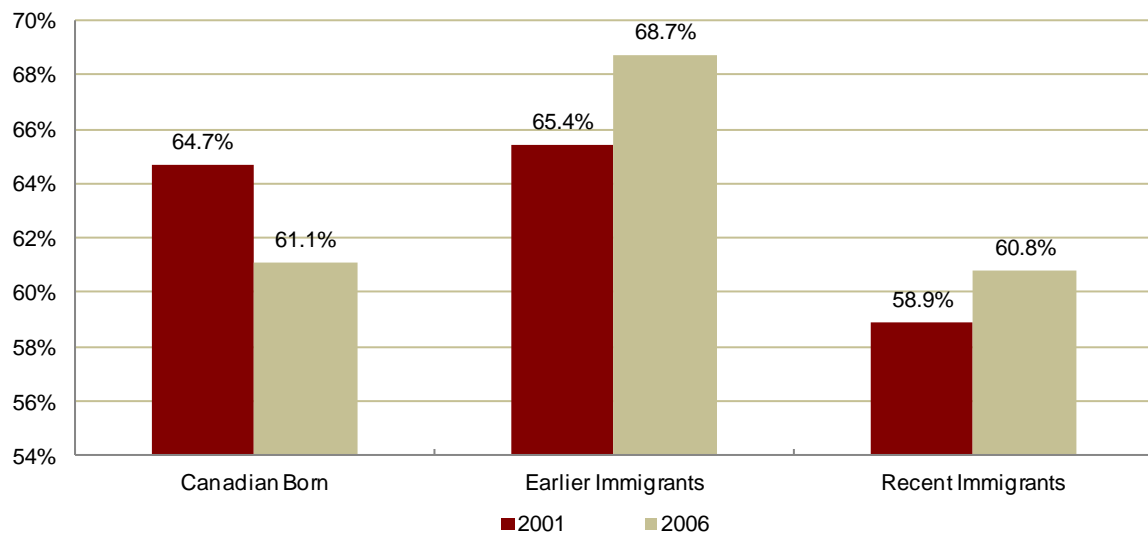
Question: How important is religion in your life? Very important, rather important, not very important, or not at all important.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Very important	31.7%	44.1%	35.5%
Rather important	29.4%	24.6%	25.3%
Not very important	24.5%	21.2%	28.3%
Not at all important	14.4%	10.1%	10.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,753)	(n=297)	(n=569)

N = 2,619

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 3-4: Importance of religion



Note: Results are for those responding "very important" or "rather important"

Source: 2001 and 2006 World Values Survey

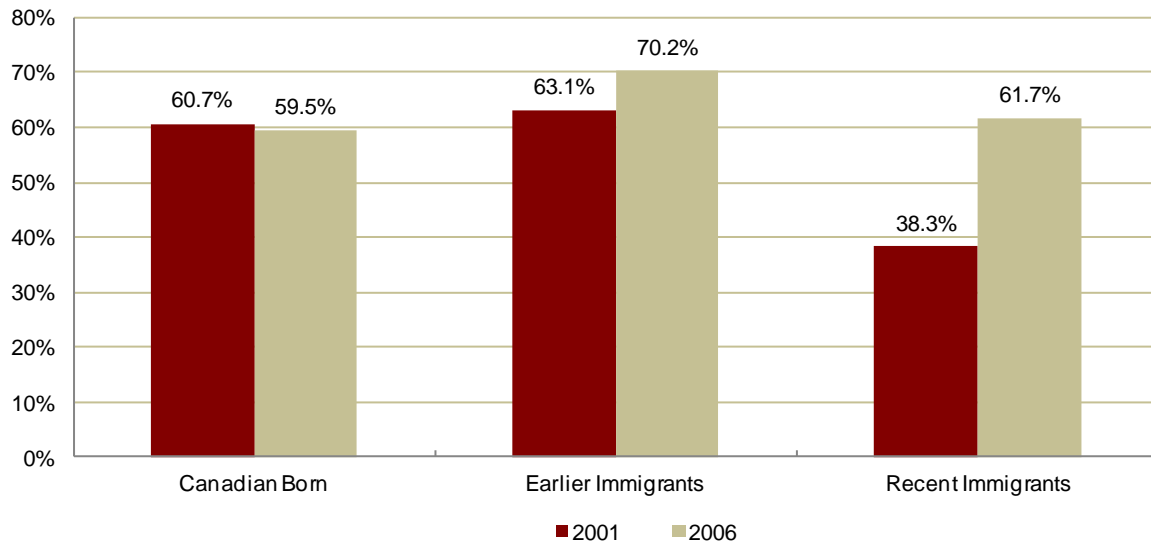
N=2,781 (2001); N=2,619 (2006)

When asked about personal spirituality—“*How important is God in your life?*”—Canadian born respondents display almost no change: Between 2001 and 2006, around 60 percent indicated that God is of “high importance”³ in their lives (see Figure 3-5). Among immigrant groups, the levels of the importance immigrant groups attach to ‘God in their lives,’ however, increased. The proportion of earlier immigrants indicating that God is of “high importance” increased by 7 percentage points since 2001 to 70.2 percent in 2006, while the proportion for recent immigrants increased by over 20 percentage points to 61.7 percent.

³ The question asks respondents to indicate their response on a 10 point scale, with 10 meaning very important and 1 meaning not at all important. “High importance” is defined as any response of 8 through 10.

Figure 3-5: The importance of God in life: 2001 and 2006

Question: How important is God in your life? 1 = Not important at all; 10 = very important. High = those indicating 8, 9, or 10 on the 10 point scale.



Source: 2001 and 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,552 (2001); N=2,614 (2006)

There are also differences between recent immigrants and others when it comes to personal non-institutional religious and spiritual practices, as indicated by the data in Figure 3-6 and Figure 3-7.

Another dimension of personal spirituality is captured by the question: “Do you take moments of prayer, meditation, contemplation or something like that?” The number of Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents answering “yes” decreased slightly since 2001, while the number of recent immigrants who answered “yes” increased over the 5 year span. As Figure 3-6 illustrates, over 7 percentage points more Canadian born citizens (81.5 percent) and almost 8 percentage points more earlier immigrants (82.0) took “spare moments of prayer” than recent immigrants (74.3) in 2001. By 2006, the gap between recent immigrants and the other two groups narrowed: the proportion of recent immigrants taking spare moments of prayer increased to 77.7 percent. Over the same period the proportion of Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents decreased to 78.8 and 80.6 percent, respectively.

Table 3-4: Taking spare moments of prayer, meditation, contemplation

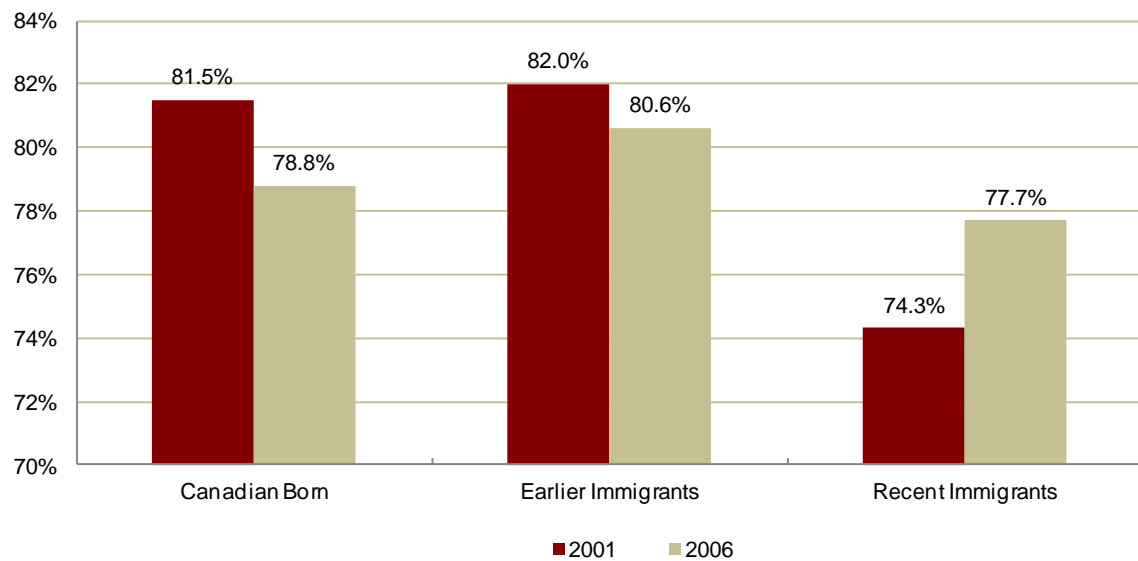
Question: Do you take spare moments of prayer, meditation, contemplation or something like that?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Yes	78.8%	80.6%	77.7%
No	21.2%	19.4%	22.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,757)	(n=294)	(n=565)

N = 2,616

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 3-6: Taking spare moments of prayer, meditation, contemplation



Between 2001 and 2006 the proportion of Canadian born and earlier immigrants who said they “often” thought about the meaning and purpose of life decreased among both Canadian born and earlier immigrant groups by 7 and 4 percentage points respectively. The number of recent immigrants giving that same response over the same period increased by 10 percentage points. The gap between recent immigrants and Canadian born and earlier immigrant groups has widened on this dimension.

Table 3-5: Thinking about the meaning of life

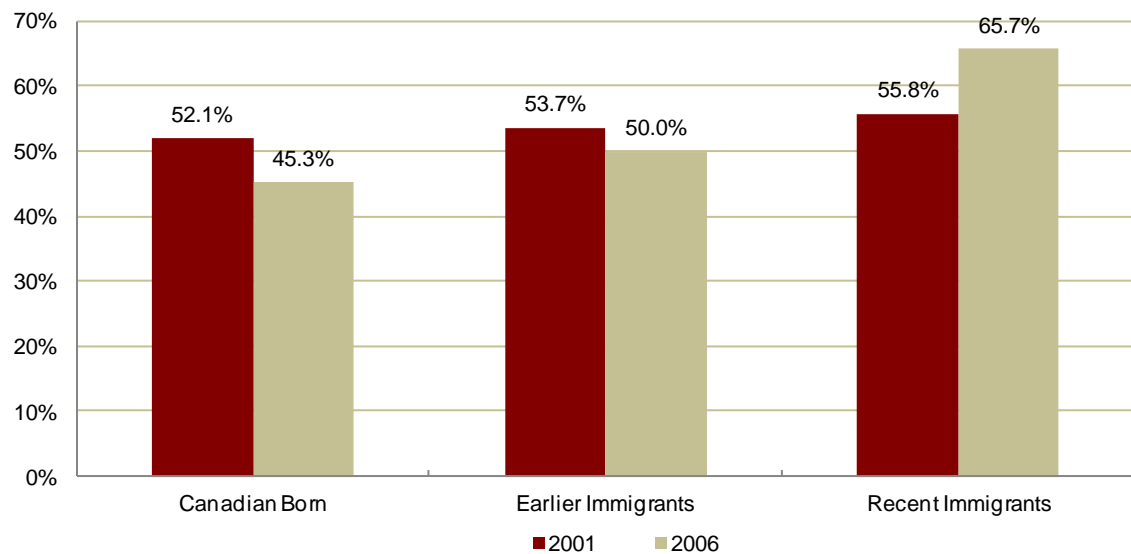
Question: How often do you think about the meaning and purpose of life? Often, sometimes, rarely or never.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Often	45.3%	50.0%	65.7%
Sometimes	37.7%	36.1%	30.7%
Rarely	12.7%	9.8%	3.4%
Never	4.3%	4.1%	0.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,754)	(n=296)	(n=566)

N = 2,616

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 3-7: Respondents who “Often” think about meaning of life: 2001 and 2006



Two observations emerge from the results seen so far: First, personal religiosity, as measured by attendance at church services and religious identification, is declining. This trend is the same with personal spirituality. Levels of participation in non-institutional spiritual activities have declined for Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents. But for recent immigrants, personal spirituality has increased.

Evidence from previous WVS waves show that the decline in personal religiosity since 1981 has been accompanied by a decline in the moral authority of churches in society (Nevitte, 1996). Does the trend continue to hold with these new data?

The WVS asks respondents two batteries of questions about the relationship between church and society. Questions on the moral authority of the church capture perspectives about how much influence people think organized religion ought to have on public life. The first battery of four questions (see Table 3-6 to Table 3-9) ask whether respondents believe churches can provide answers to society's: Moral problems, family problems, spiritual needs, and social problems. The second battery (see Table 3-10 to Table 3-13) probe responses to two sets of statements that tap secular and non-secular views of state-society relations.

For each battery we construct an index that provides a reliable summary overview of respondents' orientations towards (1) church moral authority⁴ and (2) secularism⁵. A score of 1

⁴ The church moral authority index comes from responses to four questions: Are churches giving adequate answers to...*the moral problems and needs of the individual / the problems of family life / people's spiritual needs / the social problems facing society?* Yes or no. Responses of "yes" are scored as 1 and responses of "no" are scored as 0. The scores from all four indicators were then added and divided by the total number of indicators used to construct the index (4). The resulting range of the index is between 0 and 1. Cronbach's alpha reliability score is .803.

⁵ The secularism index comes from responses to four questions: *How strongly do you agree with each of the following statements?* (1) *Politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for office* / (2) *Religious leaders should not influence how people vote* / (3) *It would be better for Canada if more people with strong religious beliefs held public office* / (4) *Religious leaders should not influence government decisions.* Strongly agree, agree, neither, disagree, or strongly disagree. Responses of "strongly disagree" for questions (1) and (3), and responses of "strongly agree" for questions (2) and (4) are scored as 4. Responses of "strongly agree" for questions (1) and (3) and "strongly disagree" for (2) and (4) are scored as 0. Responses of "agree", "neither", and "disagree" were then assigned an appropriate value, such that "neither" is always scored as 2. The

on the moral authority index indicates that the respondent fully supports the idea that the church has moral authority on those questions, while a score of 0 indicates no support. Similarly, a score of 4 for the secularism index indicates full agreement with secular values, and a score of 0 indicates full support for non-secular values.

Recent immigrants assign churches higher moral authority than either respondents who were born in Canada or earlier immigrants. Figure 3-8 presents the mean scores for the church moral authority. The differences between immigrants and non-immigrants within each time point (2001 and 2006) are statistically significant ($p < .01$). In 2006, the mean scores of those in the Canadian born group (0.50) and earlier immigrants (0.52) are similar. Recent immigrants, however, have a slightly higher mean score of 0.62; they are somewhat more likely to believe churches have answers to problems facing society.

Table 3-6: Churches and Moral problems

Question: Are churches in your country giving adequate answers to: the moral problems and needs of the individual?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Yes	44.5%	47.8%	63.6%
No	55.5%	52.2%	36.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,540)	(n=247)	(n=467)

N = 2,254

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 3-7: Churches and Family problems

Question: Are churches in your country giving adequate answers to: the problems of family life?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Yes	44.5%	47.8%	59.5%
No	55.5%	52.2%	40.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,567)	(n=251)	(n=476)

N = 2,294

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 3-8: Churches and Spiritual needs

Question: Are churches in your country giving adequate answers to: people's spiritual needs?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Yes	75.1%	74.0%	82.6%
No	24.9%	26.0%	17.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,592)	(n=250)	(n=494)

N = 2,336

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

scores from all four indicators were then added and divided by the total number of indicators used to construct the index (4). The resulting range of the index is between 0 and 4. Cronbach's alpha reliability score is .661.

Table 3-9: Churches and Social problems facing society

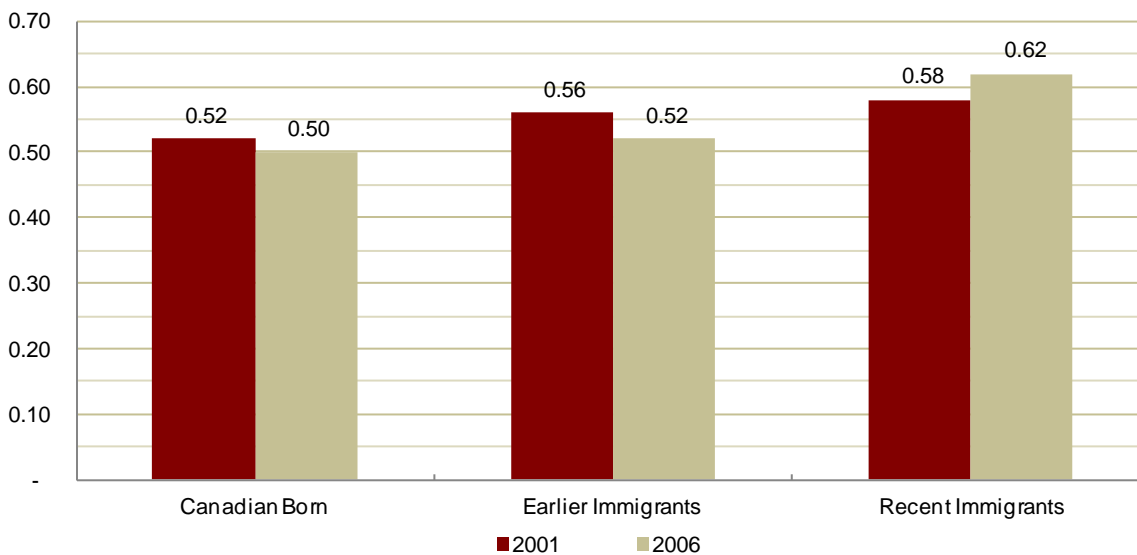
Question: Are churches in your country giving adequate answers to: the social problems facing society?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Yes	38.2%	42.5%	46.3%
No	61.8%	57.5%	53.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,529)	(n=240)	(n=480)

N = 2,249

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 3-8: Group scores on the moral authority of the church index



Notes: The church moral authority index consists of four questions: Are churches giving adequate answers to...the moral problems and needs of the individual / the problems of family life / people's spiritual needs / the social problems facing society? Yes or no. Responses of "yes" are scored as 1 and responses of "no" are scored as 0. The scores from all four indicators were then added and divided by the total number of indicators used to construct the index (4). The resulting range of the index is between 0 and 1. Cronbach's alpha reliability score is .803.

Source: 2001 and 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,281 (2001); N = 2,026 (2006)

When it comes to the relationship between religion and politics, all three groups of respondents have predominantly secular perspectives regarding the role of the church in state affairs. Given the country's prevailing tradition of the division between church and state, it would be expected that secular values should predominate. But the question is: To what extent do immigrants subscribe to this value set?

Overall, in 2006, Canadian born respondents are slightly more secular than respondents from the two immigrant groups (a difference of approximately 0.14 on the secularism index). The Canadian born group has a mean score of 2.74, while recent immigrants and earlier immigrants have mean scores of 2.61 and 2.59, respectively. As in the case of variations on the moral authority index, these differences between groups are statistically significant ($p < .01$).

There are some nuanced differences and similarities between immigrants and non-immigrants. About one in four recent immigrants (24.6 percent) compared to 17 percent of Canadian born and 13 percent of early immigrants think that “politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for office.”

But the overwhelming majority of all three groups (80 percent of Canadian born; 79 percent of early immigrants and recent immigrants) believe that religious leaders should not influence how people vote. The same basic pattern applies to views about people with strong religious views holding office and whether or not religious leaders should influence government decisions. Clear minorities—30 percent of recent immigrants, and 25 percent and 22 percent of early immigrants and Canadian born respondent, respectively—think that Canada would be better off if people with strong religious beliefs held public office. And clear majorities in each group (72 percent of Canadian born; 65 percent of early immigrants; and 76 percent of recent immigrants) think that religious leaders should not influence government decisions.

Table 3-10: Politicians and belief in God

Question: How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for office.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	5.9%	12.9%	9.3%
Agree	11.3%	10.4%	15.3%
Neither	19.6%	16.5%	19.9%
Disagree	38.7%	43.2%	37.0%
Strongly disagree	24.4%	16.9%	18.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,529)	(n=240)	(n=480)

N = 2,545

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 3-11: Religious leaders and vote influence

Question: How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Religious leaders should not influence how people vote.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	35.1%	33.0%	32.6%
Agree	44.8%	46.3%	46.2%
Neither	8.2%	7.0%	9.3%
Disagree	9.1%	11.6%	9.7%
Strongly disagree	2.8%	2.1%	2.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,739)	(n=285)	(n=559)

N = 2,583

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 3-12: Religious leaders for Canada

Question: How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? It would be better for Canada if more people with strong religious beliefs held public office.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	4.6%	7.2%	8.5%
Agree	17.8%	18.1%	22.7%
Neither	21.1%	22.1%	25.8%
Disagree	39.3%	36.6%	31.6%
Strongly disagree	17.1%	15.9%	11.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,709)	(n=276)	(n=550)

N = 2,535

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 3-13: Religious leaders and government decisions

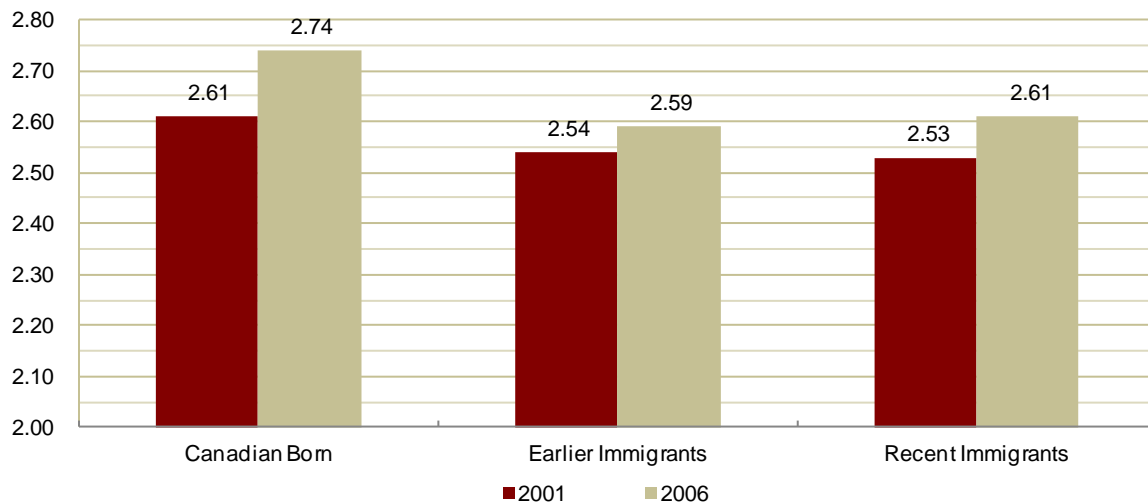
Question: How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Religious leaders should not influence government decisions.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	29.1%	24.2%	28.7%
Agree	43.7%	40.4%	47.8%
Neither	11.4%	12.6%	11.0%
Disagree	13.0%	19.6%	10.3%
Strongly disagree	2.9%	3.2%	2.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,725)	(n=285)	(n=554)

N = 2,564

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 3-9: Secular outlooks



Note: The secularism index is comprised of four questions: How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (1) Politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for office / (2) Religious leaders should not influence how people vote / (3) It would be better for Canada if more people with strong religious beliefs held public office / (4) Religious leaders should not influence government decisions. Strongly agree, agree, neither, disagree, or strongly disagree. Responses of "strongly disagree" for questions (1) and (3), and responses of "strongly agree" for questions (2) and (4) are scored as 4. Responses of "strongly agree" for questions (1) and (3) and "strongly disagree" for (2) and (4) are scored as 0. Responses of "agree", "neither", and "disagree" were then assigned an appropriate value, such that "neither" is always scored as 2. The scores from all four indicators were then added and divided by the total number of indicators used to construct the index (4). The resulting range of the index is between 0 and 4. Cronbach's alpha reliability score is .661

Source: 2001 and 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,663 (2001); N = 2,473 (2006)

What explains the differences between groups when it comes to differences in religious outlooks, with differences in personal religiosity the most pronounced? One explanation for these findings is that differences in religious identification are related to background structural factors. Some analyses of religion in Canada (Bibby, 1979) argue that increasing industrialization and increasing levels of education and urbanization, are linked to rising levels of secularization in society. Other work (Nevitte, 1996) confirms that changing moral outlooks are also affected by such changing background structural factors as age and education.

To test whether background structural factors explain the differences observed between the three groups, we take the personal religious identification measure as the dependent variable. As the data in Table 3-1 indicates, recent immigrants differ significantly from others; almost 15 percentage points fewer recent immigrants identify as "religious".

To determine which factors drive these orientations we enter into the multivariate analysis two dummy variables indicating if the respondent is a recent immigrant or born in Canada. Six socioeconomic indicators are also included to determine if structural factors explain the apparent differences in religious identification.

Educational attainment is included to test the expectation that as societies become more secular, educational and scientific institutions begin to fill the social role that religion occupied in agrarian societies (Inglehart, 1988).

Marital status and the respondents' number of children is also included. Religious commitment has been shown to be associated with a variety of dimensions in family life (Thornton et al., 1992). Marriage and procreation, in particular, are highly valued by many religious groups and

the presence of children in the family may lead individuals to want to instill religious or moral messages into their children (Greeley, 1989).

Life cycle effects may also have an effect on personal religiosity. Religion is typically less of a preoccupation for younger people seeking independence and autonomy (Wilson and Sherkat, 1994). Age may also reflect generational differences (Nevitte, 1996). And from data presented earlier (Section 1), it is clear that recent immigrants are on average younger than other Canadians.

There is some evidence indicating that there are gender differences in levels of personal religiosity (Levin et al., 1994; Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi, 1975). On balance, women are more religious than men. Thus it is plausible that the differences between recent immigrants and other Canadians may be attributable to the fact that there are slightly more women than men represented in the Canadian born and earlier immigrant samples than in the recent immigrant sample (See Table 1-2).

In addition to these standard SES variables, the analysis also includes variables indicating the ethnic group of the respondent. Evidence from the United States shows that racial group membership (black versus white in the American context) influences an individual's religious experience. Johnson et. al. (1991), theorize that religion plays an important communal and social role in some minority communities. Dummy ethnicity variables in the analysis serve to test this theory.

The results of the multivariate analysis (Table 3-14) indicate that gender, age, marital status and family size are significant determinants of personal religiosity for Canadian born respondents. In particular, those who are older, married, or have more children are more likely than others to identify as 'religious'. Female respondents are also more likely than males to be religious.

The determinants of immigrants' religious identification differ from one another and from Canadian born respondents. Among earlier immigrants, female and married respondents are significantly more likely to be subjectively "religious". And East Asian early immigrants are also less likely than immigrants from other ethnic backgrounds to be "religious". Among recent immigrants, those with larger family sizes are more likely to be religious, along with those identifying as 'black'. Recent East Asian immigrants, however, are less likely to be subjectively religious. And age is a significant factor for non-immigrants when it comes to personal religiosity, but age is not related to personal religiosity for either of the immigrant samples.

Table 3-14: Determinants of religious identification

	Canadian Born		Earlier Immigrants		Recent Immigrants	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
SES						
Education	.023	.141	-.314	.390	-.477	.516
Male	-0.568**	.114	-.604	.292	.259	.194
Age	1.452**	.217	.360	.577	.279	.629
Married	.367**	.123	0.597*	.296	.075	.247
Number of Children	1.146**	.354	.143	.839	2.038*	.956
Ethnicity						
Black	-.509	.743	.000	1.300	1.720*	.711
South Asian	.029	.968	-.731	1.206	.856	.585
East Asian	-.757	.814	-2.505*	1.120	-1.059*	.535
Arabic			-.886	1.345	.544	.587
Caucasian	-.592	.580	-1.575	1.081	.024	.541
Constant	.496	.588	2.312*	1.153	.505	.706
Cox & Snell R ²	.093		.104		.162	
Nagelkerke R ²	.132		.148		.217	
N	1,700		279		533	

** significant at p < .01; * significant at p < .05

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Given these findings, the fact that recent immigrants are less likely to identify as ‘religious’ than other respondents can be attributed to demographic factors: Recent immigrants are predominantly East Asian and have fewer children.

4. Immigration and citizenship

What about respondents' views about immigration, citizenship, and diversity? Some WVS questions ask respondents about how much importance they attach to three different requirements for citizenship: Having relatives in Canada, abiding by Canadian laws, and adopting Canada's customs. Figure 4-1 to Figure 4-3 and Table 4-1 to Table 4-3 show the basic distributions for each of the three groups is similar. Less than half of all respondents in each group think that having relatives in Canada is an important requirement for citizenship. By contrast, over 90 percent of respondents report that abiding by Canadian laws is a "very important" requisite for obtaining citizenship.

When it comes to adopting Canada's customs (Figure 4-3), however, there are truly striking differences between Canadian Born, earlier immigrant and recent immigrant respondents. Over 60 percent of Canadian born respondents, compared to 50 percent of earlier immigrant respondents, and one third of recent immigrant respondents, thought it was "very important" for new citizens to adopt the customs of Canada. Recent immigrants are about half as likely as their counterparts to think that adopting Canadian customs is an important requirement for citizenship.

Table 4-1: Having relatives in Canada as requirement for citizenship

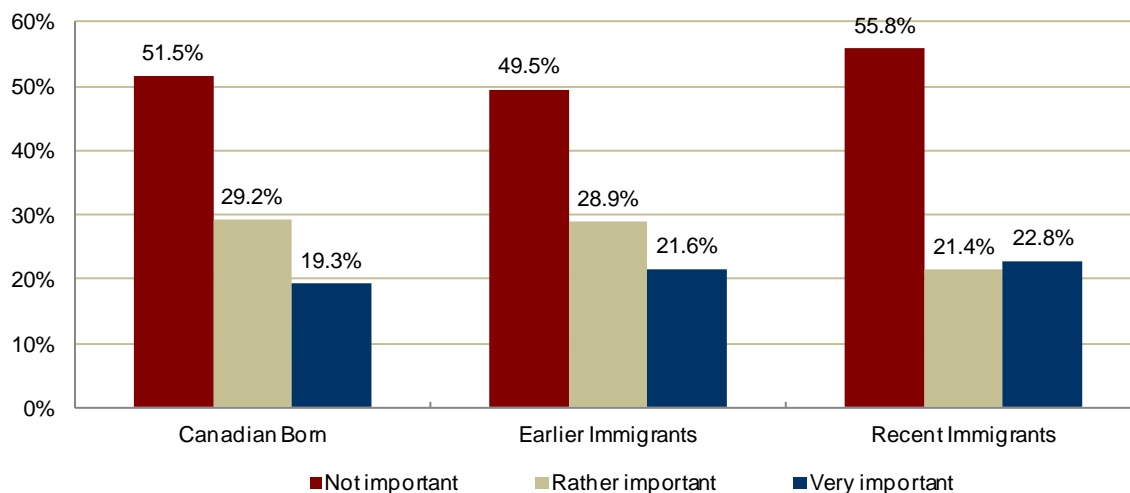
Question: In your opinion, how important should the following be as requirements for somebody seeking citizenship of your country? Specify for each requirement if you consider it as very important, rather important, or not important having relatives in Canada.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Very important	19.3%	21.6%	22.8%
Rather important	29.2%	28.9%	21.4%
Not important	51.5%	49.5%	55.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,733)	(n=291)	(n=570)

N = 2,594

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 4-1: Having relatives in Canada as requirement for citizenship



Source: 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,594

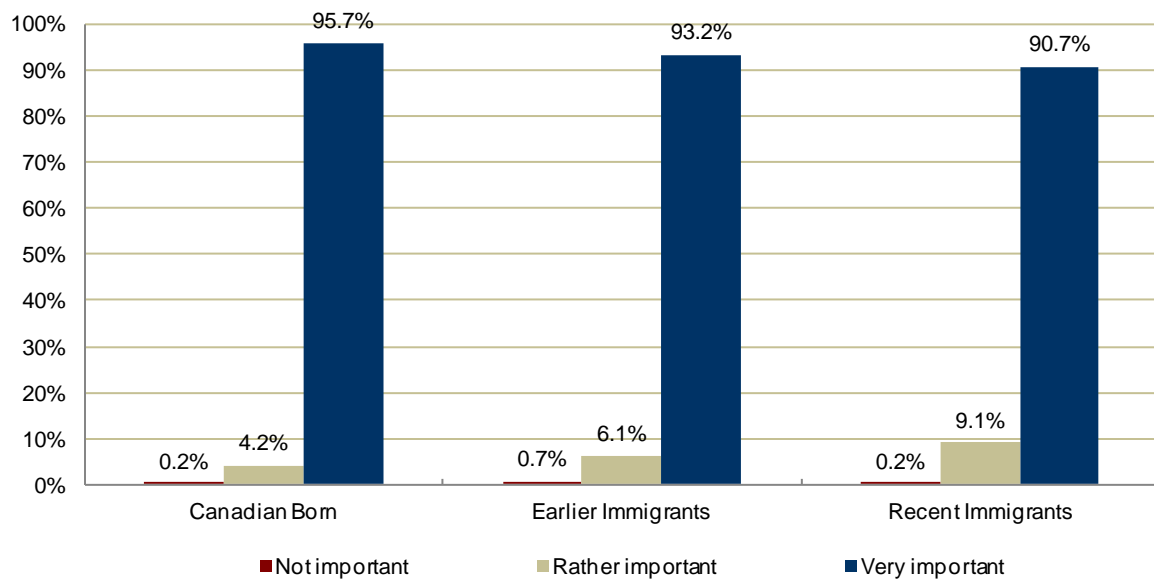
Table 4-2: Abiding by Canadian laws as requirement for citizenship

Question: In your opinion, how important should the following be as requirements for somebody seeking citizenship of your country? Specify for each requirement if you consider it as very important, rather important, or not important abiding by Canadian laws.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Very important	95.7%	93.2%	90.7%
Rather important	4.2%	6.1%	9.1%
Not important	0.2%	0.7%	0.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,758)	(n=295)	(n=569)

N = 2,622

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 4-2: Abiding by Canadian laws as requirement for citizenship

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

N=2,622

Table 4-3: Adopting Canada's customs as requirement for citizenship

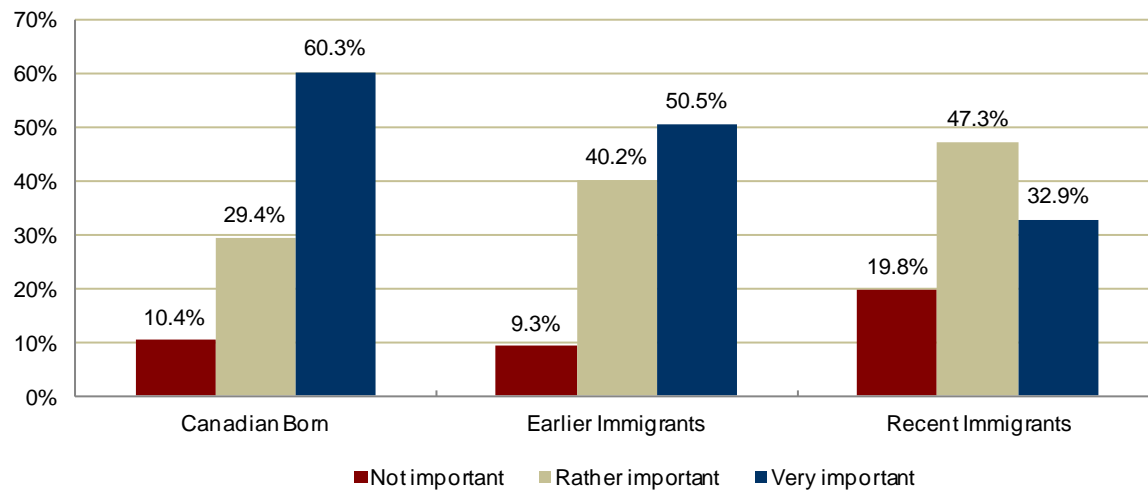
Question: In your opinion, how important should the following be as requirements for somebody seeking citizenship of your country? Specify for each requirement if you consider it as very important, rather important, or not important adopting Canada's customs.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Very important	60.3%	50.5%	32.9%
Rather important	29.4%	40.2%	47.3%
Not important	10.4%	9.3%	19.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,739)	(n=291)	(n=566)

N = 2,596

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 4-3: Adopting Canada's customs as requirement for citizenship



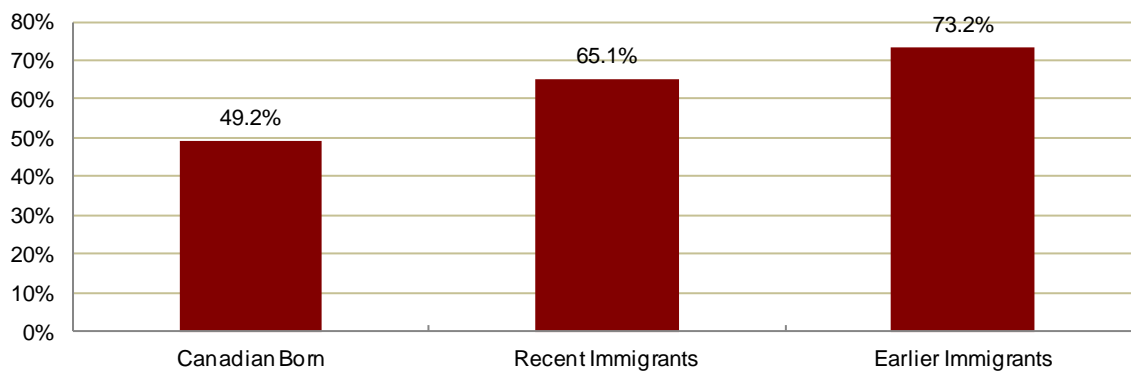
That native born Canadians attach importance to citizens adopting Canadian customs, could well reflect broader views about cultural diversity.

The WVS asks two questions which allow us to investigate this issue in greater detail. First, respondents were presented with two statements and asked to rate (1-10) which came closest to their own views. Statement #1 reads: “*Cultural diversity undermines Canadian unity*” (1). And statement #2 reads: “*Cultural diversity enriches life in Canada*” (10). A score of 8 or higher on the ten-point scale signifies strong support for the idea that cultural diversity enriches society.

Clearly, recent immigrants are the most likely to feel strongly that cultural diversity enriches life in Canada. As Figure 4-4 shows, over 73 percent strongly agree with the statement compared to 65 percent of earlier immigrants, and about half (49 percent) of Canadian born respondents.

Figure 4-4: Cultural diversity enriches life in Canada

Question: Turning to the question of cultural diversity, with which of the following views do you agree? 10-point scale; 1 = cultural diversity erodes a country's unity; 10 = cultural diversity enriches life. Results reported for strong agreement of “cultural diversity enriches life” (8-10)



This finding provides context for interpreting responses to the second question: “*Do you feel that in your dealings with the government, you have been treated better than other Canadians, about the same as other Canadians, worse than other Canadians, or much worse than other Canadians?*”⁶

Only a small minority of respondents believe that immigrants are treated poorly (Figure 4-5). The striking finding here is that Canadian born respondents are almost 10 times more likely than recent immigrants (and twice as likely as earlier immigrants) to say that the government treats immigrants better than other Canadians (Table 4-4). And significantly, recent immigrants (11.6 percent) are somewhat less likely than their earlier counterparts (22.7 percent) and Canadian born respondents (19.8 percent) to believe that they are treated worse than “other Canadians”.

Table 4-4: How are immigrants treated

Question: (Asked to recent immigrants) Do you feel that in your dealings with the government, you have been treated better than other Canadians, about the same as other Canadians, worse than other Canadians, or much worse than other Canadians? / (Asked to Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents) How do you feel immigrants are treated in Canada?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Better than other Canadians	23.5%	10.3%	2.9%
About the same as other Canadians	56.8%	67.0%	85.5%
Worse than other Canadians	18.2%	20.2%	10.9%
Much worse than other Canadians	1.6%	2.5%	0.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,667)	(n=282)	(n=560)

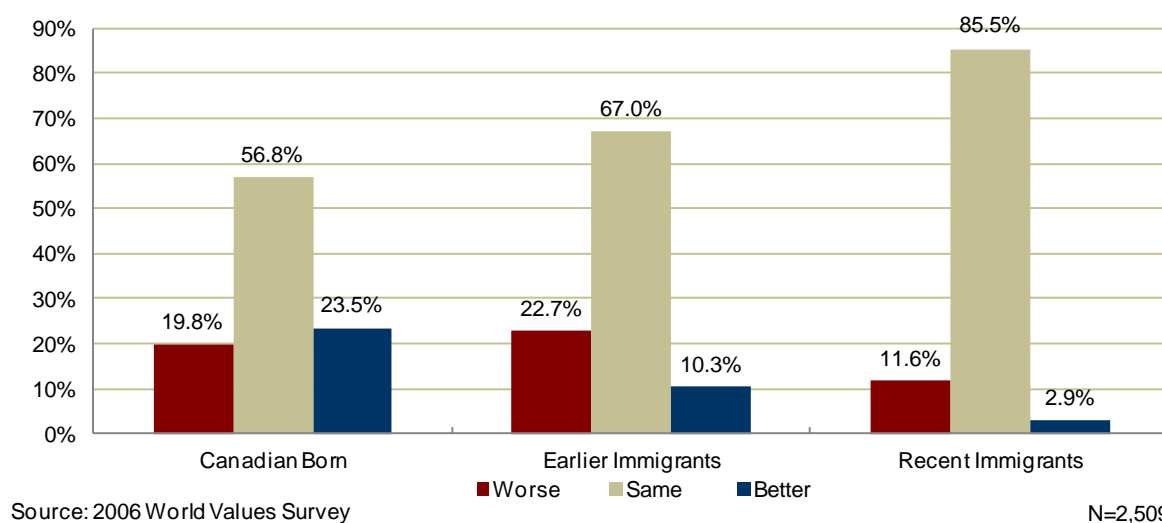
N = 2,509

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

⁶ The question asked to those in the main WVS sample is worded as “How do you feel immigrants are treated in Canada?”

Figure 4-5: How are immigrants treated

Question: (Asked of recent immigrants only) Do you feel that in your dealings with the government, you have been treated better than other Canadians, about the same as other Canadians, worse than other Canadians, or much worse than other Canadians? / (Asked of Canadian born and early immigrant respondents only) How do you feel immigrants are treated in Canada?



These opinions about cultural diversity and immigrant treatment may be related to views on immigration policy. Immigrants are much more favourable to liberal immigration policies than their counterparts. The WVS asks respondents: “*When it comes to people from other countries coming to work, which do you think the government should do?*” Of the four choices available, Table 4-5 shows that Canadian born respondents are about evenly divided. Some 46.6 percent think that the government ought to “place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come,” and 45.6 percent say that the government should “let people come as long as there are jobs available.” There is virtually no difference between recent and early immigrants: About 64 percent of respondents think that the government should “let people come as long as there are jobs available.” And both earlier and recent immigrants are less inclined than Canadian born respondents to want the government to “place strict limits” on foreign workers.

Table 4-5: Government policy for foreign workers

Question: When it comes to people from other countries coming to work, which do you think the government should do?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Let anyone come who wants to	5.5%	10.7%	8.7%
Let people come as long as there are jobs available	45.6%	64.3%	63.6%
Place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come	46.6%	24.3%	27.1%
Prohibit people coming here from other countries	2.3%	0.7%	0.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,714)	(n=280)	(n=561)

N = 2,555

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Are positive views towards cultural diversity related to positive views about the immigration process? The short answer is yes: Across the entire sample, those who think that cultural diversity enriches Canada are significantly less likely to believe that adopting the country's customs is very important for citizenship ($r = -.188$; $p < .01$). They are also less likely to think that immigrants are treated better than other Canadians ($r = -.250$; $p < .01$). And they are less likely to agree that strict limits should be placed on immigration numbers ($r = -.170$; $p < .01$).⁷

Feelings about cultural diversity may also be related to levels of general tolerance. The general principle of tolerance has wide support in Canada, but people do not necessarily apply the principle to "all spheres in equal measure" (Nevitte, 1996).

The WVS asks respondents questions that allow us to examine specific types of tolerance. It invites respondents to identify from a list any groups that "*you would not like to have as neighbours.*" (Table 4-6) Factor analysis shows that responses consistently cluster along two dimensions: The first dimension might be labeled social intolerance; it includes not wanting to have as neighbours drug addicts, people with AIDS, heavy drinkers, homosexuals, and unmarried couples living together. The second dimension, perhaps, captures cultural intolerance: not wanting to have as neighbours people of a different religion, immigrants, people who speak a different language, and Muslims.

⁷ Correlation coefficients are calculated using Spearman's rho for ordinal level data.

Table 4-6: Undesirable neighbours

Question: On this card are various groups of people. Could you please read out any that you would not like to have as neighbours?

Group	Percent Mentioned			N
	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants	
Drug addicts	80.8%	83.6%	91.4%	2,603
People who have AIDS	11.7%	13.1%	27.6%	2,543
Heavy drinkers	61.3%	69.2%	80.6%	2,597
Homosexuals	13.3%	21.2%	33.9%	2,548
Unmarried couples living together	2.8%	5.3%	8.8%	2,544
People of a different race	3.0%	2.5%	3.0%	2,541
People of a different religion	2.5%	2.8%	2.7%	2,539
Immigrants	4.8%	2.5%	1.8%	2,535
People who speak a different language	3.7%	2.8%	3.0%	2,545
Muslims	12.9%	8.0%	10.3%	2,529

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

The data show that very few Canadians, immigrants or non-immigrants, are particularly intolerant along the cultural dimension. Of the groups in the cultural dimension, only Muslims exceed 10 percent as an unwanted outgroup (12.9 percent for Canadian born, 8.0 percent for earlier immigrants and 10.3 percent for recent immigrants).

There are much larger differences along the social dimension. Over 90 percent of recent immigrants do not want drug addicts as neighbours, compared to just over 80 percent for Canadian born and earlier immigrants. The difference is even more pronounced for heavy drinkers. While only 31.3 percent of Canadian born respondents did not want heavy drinkers as neighbours, 69.2 percent of earlier immigrants and 80.6 percent of recent immigrants see heavy drinkers as undesirable. The same goes for homosexuals: while only 13.3 percent of Canadian born and 21.2 percent of earlier immigrants picked homosexuals as an unwanted group, 33.9 percent of recent immigrants identified homosexuals as a group they would not like to have as a neighbour.

It appears, then, that although immigrants, are more likely to support cultural diversity, those feelings do not necessarily translate into tolerance at all levels. Indeed, recent immigrants appear to be less socially tolerant than others.

But if Canadians are generally tolerant people, why are Canadian born respondents less likely to have favourable views about cultural diversity? A somewhat more nuanced explanation might be that attitudes towards outgroups, and cultural diversity more generally, are affected by perceptions of economic vulnerability (Cochrane and Nevitte, 2007). This “ethnic competition hypothesis” argues that the competition for scarce resources increases intergroup conflict; prejudice towards outgroups increases when majority groups perceive competition in the labour market as coming from immigrant minorities (Burns and Gimpel, 2000). And as Citrin et. al. (1997) observe, even the perception of a general economic downturn, rather than any personal economic hardship, can affect views about immigration and diversity.

The economic competition hypothesis can be tested using both subjective and objective variables. The perception of economic hardship can be regressed using indicators of overall

financial satisfaction and life satisfaction⁸. Life satisfaction, in particular, can be included to measure perceptions of a general threat which, according to the ethnic competition hypothesis, could be blamed on immigrant minorities (McLaren, 2003). Objective measures of economic security include: total household income and current employment status.

Another possibility is that views about cultural diversity may also be related to structural factors. Previous research clearly shows that levels of tolerance are strongly related both to education attainment and age (Nevitte, 1996). The young and better educated tend to be more tolerant than those who are older and less educated.

The OLS regression results reported in Table 4.7 tests the economic security and education hypotheses; attitudes towards cultural diversity are the dependent variable.

Table 4-7: Determinants of support for cultural diversity

	Canadian Born		Earlier Immigrants		Recent Immigrants	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Education	.137**	.035	.025	.085	.323**	.108
Age	.001	.049	-.086	.123	.399**	.117
Low Income	.027	.032	.044	.078	.044	.043
Employed Part Time	-.053	.044	-.085	.106	.060	.060
Unemployed	-.060	.047	-.103	.124	-.038	.055
Life Satisfaction	.161*	.075	.369	.202	.201	.125
Financial Satisfaction	.041	.062	.211	.171	.096	.103
Constant	.260**	.072	.253	.190	.072	.140
Adjusted R ²	.015		.018		.044	
N	1,410		233		477	

** significant at $p < .01$; * significant at $p < .05$

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

The results of the analysis show that support for cultural diversity among Canadian born respondents is predicted primarily by educational attainment and levels of life satisfaction: Those with higher education and higher levels of life satisfaction than other Canadian born respondents are more likely to support cultural diversity in Canada. Objective measures of economic hardship, such as low income and employment status, are not significant. At least for Canadian born respondents, support for cultural diversity is explained by subjective evaluations of life in general.

For earlier immigrants, no single variable in the regression was found to be significant. Neither the economic competition hypothesis nor structural explanations predict how earlier immigrants feel about cultural diversity.

Among recent immigrants, the significant predictors of support for cultural diversity are educational attainment and age. Recent immigrants with higher levels of education than other

⁸ Both variables are 10-point scales where 1 indicates completely dissatisfied, and 10 indicates completely satisfied. Financial satisfaction asks, "How satisfied are you with the financial situation of your household." Life satisfaction asks, "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?"

newcomers are more likely to support cultural diversity. But intriguingly it is older, not younger, recent immigrants who are more likely to support cultural diversity.

4.1. Identity

Results presented earlier compare levels of national pride between the three groups. 71.1 percent of those born in Canada, 69.6 percent of earlier immigrants, and 52.2 percent of recent immigrants said they felt “very proud” to be Canadian (Table 2-13). Are those variations related to the levels of peoples’ attachments? Some people identify primarily with their province, others identify primarily with their local community. Yet other respondents see themselves as world citizens.

There is no particular reason to suppose that those who identify primarily with their local community, or province, will necessarily exhibit lower levels of national pride. Though it might be argued that immigrants, socialized in other national settings, might adopt more cosmopolitan outlooks.

All respondents were asked whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement: “*I see myself as...a citizen of the world/a citizen of North America/a citizen of Canada as a whole/a citizen of my province or region/a member of my local community*”.

The results, summarized in Table 4-8 to Table 4-12, indicate that recent immigrants are less likely than earlier immigrants and Canadian born respondents to “strongly agree” with any particular communal identity, with the exception of identifying as a world citizen. For all three groups, respondents are most inclined to strongly identify as a citizen of Canada and least likely to identify as a citizen of North America (Figure 4-6), again with the exception of the “world citizen” identity.

Table 4-8: I see myself as a...member of my local community

Question: People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself I see myself as a member of my local community.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	33.6%	31.6%	19.9%
Agree	57.9%	56.1%	67.0%
Disagree	7.9%	11.9%	12.1%
Strongly disagree	0.7%	0.3%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,756)	(n=294)	(n=564)

N = 2,614

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 4-9: I see myself as a...citizen of my province

Question: People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself I see myself as a citizen of my province or region.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	41.9%	36.0%	26.1%
Agree	56.2%	56.9%	64.3%
Disagree	1.8%	6.7%	8.5%
Strongly disagree	0.1%	0.3%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,754)	(n=297)	(n=566)

N = 2,617

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 4-10: I see myself as a...citizen of Canada as a whole

Question: People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself I see myself as a citizen of Canada as a whole.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	44.8%	48.1%	38.2%
Agree	51.8%	48.1%	57.2%
Disagree	3.0%	3.4%	3.9%
Strongly disagree	0.4%	0.3%	0.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,758)	(n=295)	(n=565)

N = 2,618

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 4-11: I see myself as a citizen of...North America

Question: People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself I see myself as a citizen of North America.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	26.5%	26.8%	16.0%
Agree	57.9%	53.6%	59.4%
Disagree	13.5%	16.5%	21.7%
Strongly disagree	2.0%	3.1%	2.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,744)	(n=291)	(n=557)

N = 2,592

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 4-12: I see myself as a...world citizen

Question: People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself I see myself as a world citizen.

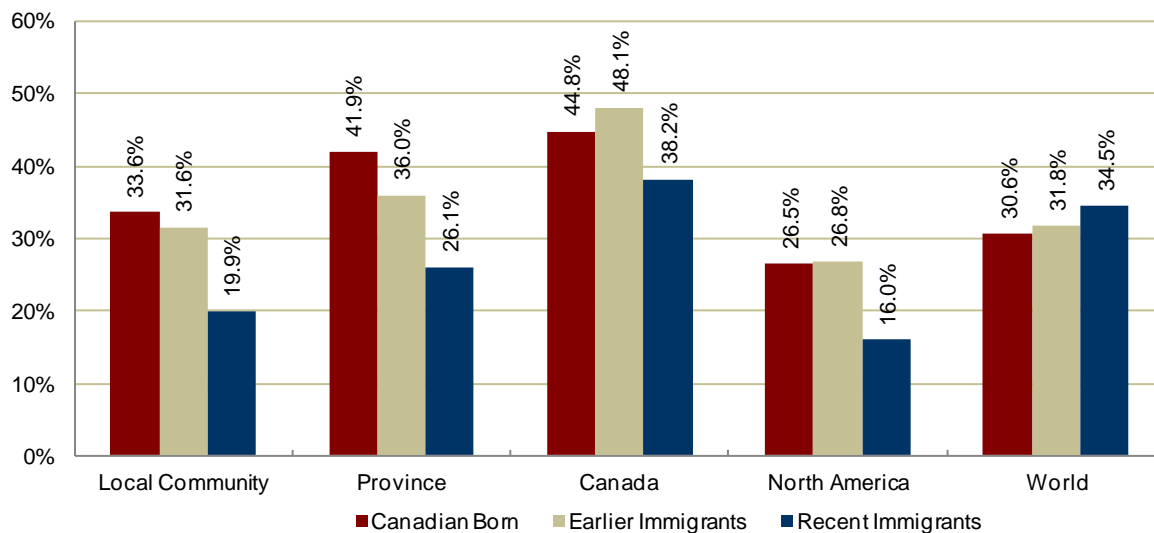
	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Strongly agree	30.6%	31.8%	34.5%
Agree	55.5%	56.4%	51.9%
Disagree	12.1%	9.3%	13.3%
Strongly disagree	1.8%	2.4%	0.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,729)	(n=289)	(n=565)

N = 2,583

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 4-6: Strongly agree with communal identities.

Question: Would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? I see myself as...a member of my local community / as a citizen of my province or region / as a citizen of Canada as a whole / as a citizen of North America / as a world citizen. Strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Results reported are for responses of “strongly agree”.



Source: 2006 World Values Survey

It comes as little surprise to discover that recent immigrants do not have the same level of strong attachments to communal identities as those who have been in the country longer. The relationship between national pride and identification with “Canada as a whole” is positive and statistically significant ($r = .243$; $p < .01$). It is also understandable that recent immigrants are more likely than their counterparts to strongly identify as a citizen of the world.

However, there is evidence that the longer an individual lives in the new host country, the stronger the communal identities will become. Earlier immigrants are more similar to Canadian born respondents than recent immigrants.

5. Trust

A variety of analysts have consistently demonstrated that high levels of interpersonal trust make a significant contribution to the health of democracies (Almond and Verba, 1963; Putnam, 1993). Trust and norms of reciprocity promote civic engagement while in turn shaping how individuals participate in democratic life. An exploration of the levels of trust that Canadian born, earlier immigrant and recent immigrant respondents provides some insight into how well integrated individuals are into Canadian democracy.

Are immigrants more or less trustful than native born Canadians? The WVS asked all respondents: “*Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?*” Eight groups are considered: your family, people you know personally, your neighbourhood, people you meet for the first time, Canadian people in general, French Canadians, recent immigrants, and Americans. Results are summarized in Table 5-1 through Table 5-8.

Table 5-1: Trust in your family

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all your family?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Trust completely	83.8%	86.3%	91.5%
Trust somewhat	14.3%	13.4%	7.8%
Do not trust very much	1.3%	0.3%	0.7%
Do not trust at all	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,768)	(n=299)	(n=566)

N = 2,633

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 5-2: Trust in people you know personally

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all people you know personally?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Trust completely	48.8%	41.3%	29.9%
Trust somewhat	48.1%	52.3%	63.7%
Do not trust very much	2.3%	5.7%	6.2%
Do not trust at all	0.7%	0.7%	0.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,772)	(n=298)	(n=565)

N = 2,635

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 5-3: Trust in your neighbourhood

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all your neighbourhood?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Trust completely	23.2%	16.6%	10.4%
Trust somewhat	62.0%	68.9%	67.5%
Do not trust very much	11.7%	13.5%	18.9%
Do not trust at all	3.1%	1.0%	3.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,760)	(n=289)	(n=560)

N = 2,609

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 5-4: Trust in Canadian people in general

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all Canadian people in general?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Trust completely	6.6%	8.3%	8.6%
Trust somewhat	78.5%	79.9%	75.1%
Do not trust very much	13.0%	10.4%	14.9%
Do not trust at all	1.9%	1.4%	1.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,747)	(n=288)	(n=558)

N = 2,593

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 5-5: Trust in French Canadians

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all French Canadians?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Trust completely	6.6%	6.2%	5.3%
Trust somewhat	78.1%	79.1%	68.4%
Do not trust very much	12.5%	12.8%	23.7%
Do not trust at all	2.8%	1.9%	2.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,254)	(n=211)	(n=266)

N = 1,731

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 5-6: Trust in recent immigrants

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all recent immigrants?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Trust completely	2.7%	3.7%	3.7%
Trust somewhat	62.9%	71.1%	62.4%
Do not trust very much	24.6%	20.5%	30.9%
Do not trust at all	9.8%	4.8%	3.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,679)	(n=273)	(n=540)

N = 2,492

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 5-7: Trust in Americans

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all Americans?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Trust completely	2.7%	4.3%	2.9%
Trust somewhat	61.8%	64.6%	56.2%
Do not trust very much	24.1%	22.9%	30.3%
Do not trust at all	11.4%	8.2%	10.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,723)	(n=280)	(n=521)

N = 2,524

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 5-8: Trust in people you meet for the first time

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all people you meet for the first time?

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Trust completely	1.7%	1.0%	1.3%
Trust somewhat	51.3%	45.8%	32.3%
Do not trust very much	34.4%	39.6%	50.0%
Do not trust at all	12.6%	13.5%	16.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,749)	(n=288)	(n=560)

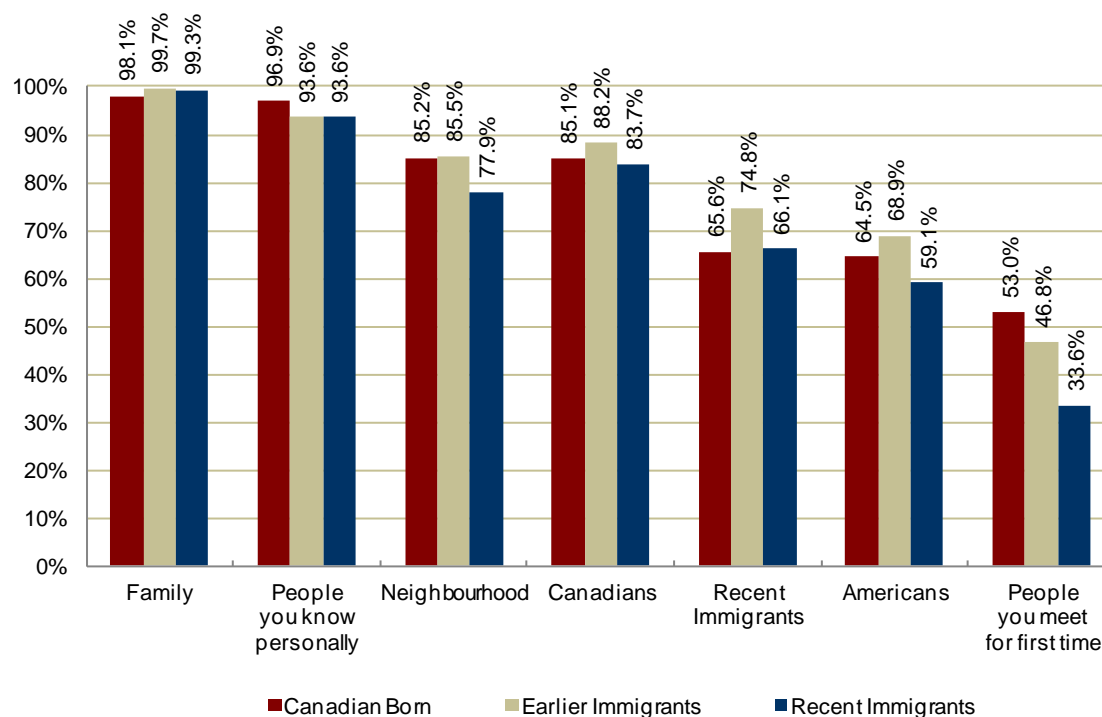
N = 2,597

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

The data show (Figure 5-1) that there is, in effect, a hierarchy of interpersonal trust. Respondents are the most trustful of their families, and least trustful of people they meet for the first time.

Figure 5-1: Levels of trust

Question: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?



Notes: Results reported are for those responding “trust completely” or “trust somewhat”.

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Uslaner and Conley (2003) suggest that immigrants tend to engage primarily, or even solely, with their own ethnic communities, a pattern of associational life that leads to “unsocial” capital (Levi, 1996). The WVS evidence provides some initial support for that line of speculation. Among recent immigrants, 75.1 percent trust “completely” or “somewhat” members of their own ethnic groups compared to 66.9 percent who trust “completely” or “somewhat” members of other ethnic groups. The same pattern holds for people they meet for the first time. Recent immigrants are almost 20 percent less likely than Canadian born respondents and 10 percent less likely than earlier immigrants to trust people they know personally “completely” ($p < .1$). (Table 5-2).

Social capital theory makes a distinction between interpersonal and generalized trust. Interpersonal trust is generated by close, face-to-face contact with others, while generalized trust refers to the trust that individuals have for other abstract groups or society as a whole (Stolle, 1998; Sullivan and Transue, 1999). Generalized trust, in particular, forms the “social lubricant” that promotes broad social interaction and cooperation.

Exactly how these two dimensions of trust are related to each other is a matter of some debate. Granovetter argues that strong interpersonal networks may actually act as a barrier to the creation of “weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973, 1983). These weak ties are crucial to the building of generalized trust and social capital because they enable individuals to interact with those outside their regular social circles. Indeed, it is entirely possible that if the bonds of the interpersonal group are too strong and hierarchical, they may inhibit the formation of generalized trust (Putnam, 2000).

The results of a factor analysis of these items (Table 5-9) indicate that responses to the trust questions do tend to cluster along two dimensions. The first cluster includes orientations towards larger groups including: Canadian people in general, recent immigrants, Americans and people you meet for the first time. The second cluster includes these groups with which respondents have more regular and intimate contacts: Trust in the family, the neighbourhood, and in people who are known personally.

Table 5-9: Factor analysis: the dimensions of trust

Factor Loading		
Family	-.046	.711
People you know personally	.180	.695
Neighbourhood	.272	.706
Canadians	.755	.170
Recent immigrants	.831	.047
Americans	.808	.052
People you meet for the first time	.654	.314
Eigenvalue	2.450	1.619
Percentage of variance explained	35.0%	23.1%

Notes: Principle Components Extraction Procedure with Varimax Rotation; Factor analysis conducted using only cases in the main WVS sample

Source: 2006 World Values Survey and 2001 Census

N=1,941

From these two factors, two indices—an interpersonal trust index⁹ and a generalized trust index¹⁰—are created to allow us to explore variations in patterns of trust among the three groups.

Over 70 percent of all Canadians, both immigrants and Canadian born respondents, exhibit high levels of interpersonal trust (Table 5-10). Over 80 percent of all Canadians have at least medium levels¹¹ of generalized trust (Table 5-11). The data does show that recent immigrants are somewhat less likely to have high levels of interpersonal¹² trust than earlier immigrants and Canadian born respondents, and the difference is statistically significant ($p < .1$). For generalized trust, there is no statistically significant difference between the three groups.

⁹ The interpersonal trust index comes from responses to three questions: *Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all? Your family, people you know personally, and your neighbourhood.* Responses of “trust completely” are given a score of 3 and responses of “do not trust at all” are given a score of 0. The scores from all three indicators were then added. The resulting index ranges between 0 and 9. Cronbach’s alpha reliability score is .514.

¹⁰ The generalized trust index comes from responses to four questions: *Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all? Canadians, recent immigrants, Americans, and people you meet for the first time.* Responses of “trust completely” are given a score of 3 and responses of “do not trust at all” are given a score of 0. The scores from all three indicators were then added. The resulting index ranges between 0 and 12. Cronbach’s alpha reliability score is .758.

¹¹ Low levels of generalized trust = 0 through 3; Medium = 4 through 8; High = 9 through 12.

¹² Low levels of interpersonal trust = 0 through 3; Medium = 4 through 6; High = 7 through 9.

Table 5-10: Levels of interpersonal trust

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
High (7-9)	79.8%	77.6%	73.5%
Medium (4-6)	19.3%	22.4%	26.1%
Low (0-3)	0.9%	0.0%	0.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,746)	(n=286)	(n=559)

Notes: The interpersonal trust index comes from an additive index of responses to four questions: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all? Your family, people you know personally, and your neighbourhood. Responses of "trust completely" = 3. Responses of "do not trust at all" = 0.

The resulting values range between 0 and 9. Cronbach's alpha = .514.

N = 2,591

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Table 5-11: Levels of generalized trust

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
High (9-12)	9.6%	7.3%	7.9%
Medium (4-8)	84.6%	85.8%	86.8%
Low (0-3)	5.8%	6.9%	5.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,647)	(n=260)	(n=509)

Notes: The generalized trust index comes from an additive index of responses to four questions: Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all? Canadians, recent immigrants, Americans, and people you meet for the first time. Responses of "trust completely" = 3. Responses of "do not trust at all" = 0.

The resulting values range between 0 and 12. Cronbach's alpha = .758.

N = 2,416

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

6. Voluntary associations

If levels of trust among the three groups are similar and generally high, do these levels of trust, as social capital theory predicts, correspond to high levels of involvement in voluntary associations? The 2006 WVS contains a variety of questions that allow us to explore that hypothesis directly.

The WVS asks all respondents: “*Could you tell me whether you are an active member, an inactive member or not a member of that type of organization?*” Respondents are then asked to report their level of involvement in wide variety of groups including: Church or religious organizations; sport or recreational organizations; art, music and education organizations; labour unions; political parties; environmental organizations; professional associations; humanitarian or charitable organizations; consumer organizations; and ethnic associations. The results for each of the ten different organizational types are summarized in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1: Active membership in organizations

Question: For each one, could you tell me whether you are an active member, an inactive member or not a member of that type of organization? Results reported are for “active” members.

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
Church or Religious	27.3%	37.6%	23.7%
Sport or Recreational	25.6%	24.6%	18.2%
Art, Music or Educational	19.9%	21.8%	20.5%
Labour Union	13.7%	8.8%	5.7%
Political Party	4.9%	5.4%	2.1%
Environmental Organization	5.5%	7.4%	6.2%
Professional Association	16.7%	19.3%	17.0%
Humanitarian or Charitable	20.6%	26.2%	13.7%
Consumer Organization	3.8%	4.8%	3.9%
Ethnic Association	2.7%	10.8%	13.5%

N = 2,638

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Levels of involvement in voluntary associations are measured by simply recording the number of voluntary associations in which an individual is involved. In general, the expectation is that individuals involved in more associations are less isolated than those involved in few or none.

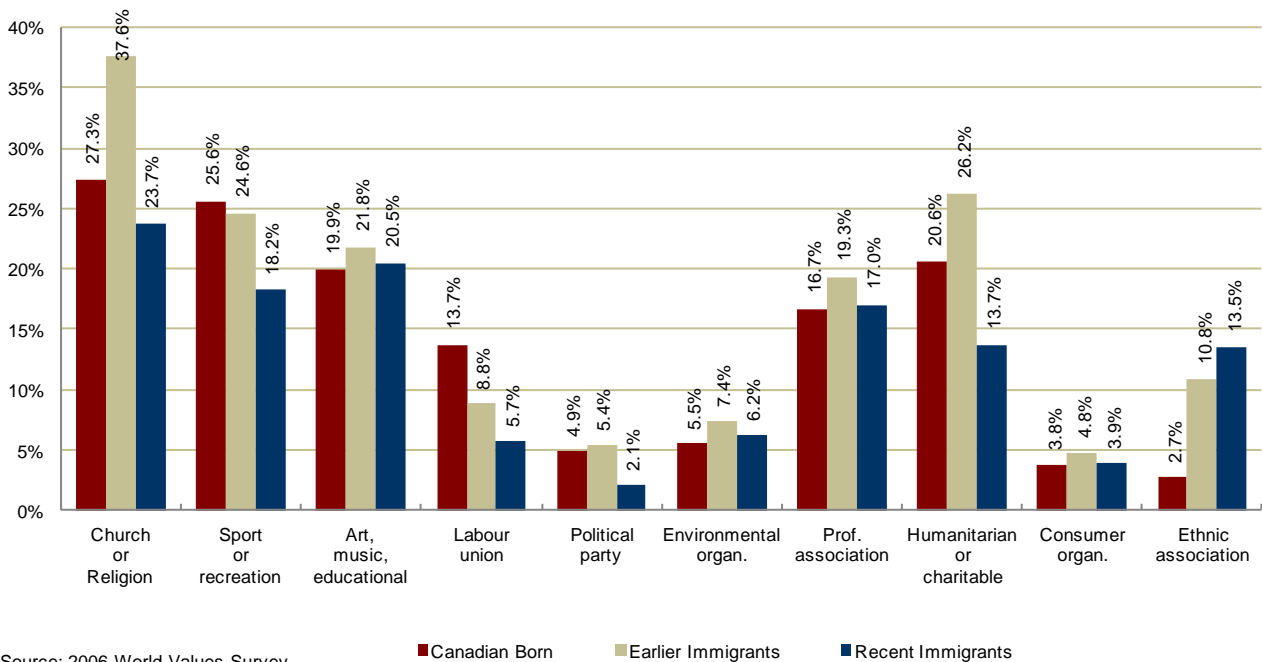
The data show, on balance, that recent immigrants are less likely than others to be active members of voluntary associations (Figure 6-1). 42.6 percent of recent immigrants report no active memberships in any of the ten voluntary associations, compared to 28.0 percent and 36.7 percent earlier immigrants and Canadian born respondents respectively (Table 6-2). But notice also that the recent immigrants are exceptional in one important respect; they are more likely than their earlier counterparts and Canadian born respondents, to be members of ethnic associations.

Table 6-2: Active membership in voluntary associations

	Canadian Born	Earlier Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
3 or more	20.6%	25.7%	16.3%
2 active memberships	17.8%	19.3%	16.1%
1 active membership	24.9%	27.0%	25.1%
None	36.7%	28.0%	42.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(n=1,779)	(n=300)	(n=566)

N = 2,645

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

Figure 6-1: Reporting active membership in voluntary associations

Recent immigrants are not “joiners” in a general sense, but their associative inclinations tend to emerge where one would expect, namely, where the cultural transaction costs are lowest. Indeed, previous work using WVS data has found that new immigrants bring their “pre-migration” experiences to their new country. These inhibit initial adaptation to their new country (Bilodeau and Nevitte, 2007).

It is also entirely possible that structural factors create obstacles to involvement in associational life. Analysis of the European experience of immigrant integration in the political process shows that structural factors are a major barrier to widespread social and political participation inhibiting immigrant membership in voluntary associations (Bäck and Soininen, 1998). These barriers include cultural and linguistic differences; newcomers are more likely to face language barriers to wider participation. Then again, they often occupy the lower socioeconomic rungs in society (Schmitter, 1980). Newcomers face greater economic insecurity and these preoccupations trump greater involvement in voluntary association networks, at least in the short run.

To determine which structural factors work as barriers to associative involvement, we can turn to multivariate analysis. Level of active voluntary memberships of a respondent, in this case, is the dependent variable. Six indicators serve as independent variables: Trust is measured using the two trust indices measuring interpersonal and generalized trust. Four SES variables are also considered. Formal education and income may act as key impediments to participation in voluntary associations. Knowledge of the dominant language (French in Quebec, English in the rest of Canada) also matters; those without knowledge of the dominant language are less likely to be involved in associations. It is plausible that age may also matter: older individuals have had more time to participate in associational life than younger individuals (Knoke and Thomson, 1977).

Table 6-3: Determinants of voluntary association membership

	Canadian Born		Earlier Immigrants		Recent Immigrants	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Interpersonal trust	.381	.229	-.325	.680	.928	.529
Generalized trust	.573**	.189	.121	.518	.017	.409
Age	.077	.107	-.061	.268	-.044	.313
Income	.527**	.085	.651**	.205	.073	.168
Knowledge of official language	-.158	.129	.210	.181	.208	.134
Education	.470**	.080	.453*	.205	-.997**	.303
Constant	.260**	.072	.253	.190	.072	.140
Adjusted R ²	.015		.018		.044	
N	1,410		233		477	

** significant at $p < .01$; * significant at $p < .05$

Source: 2006 World Values Survey

The determinants of, and barriers to, voluntary association membership vary between each group, as indicated in Table 6-3. Among Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents, level of formal education and income remain the key predictors of associational membership; those with higher levels of education and higher levels of income are more involved. Moreover, the effects are in the predicted direction as the relative costs of involvement in voluntary associations to the individual are lower for those with greater resources. Generalized trust is associated with involvement for Canadian born respondents, but it is not a significant predictor, net other factors, for earlier immigrants.

But the key results concern the findings for recent immigrants. The primary factor predicting voluntary association membership among the entered variables is education. Strikingly, education has a very different impact than expected. Recent immigrants with high levels of formal education are less likely to be involved. Unlike the cases of Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents, higher education results in fewer memberships in voluntary associations for recent immigrants.

One possible explanation for this seemingly counter-intuitive finding, some speculate, concerns the credentials problem facing new immigrants; the problem of blocked labour mobility (Bauder, 2003). Those whose credentials are not recognized may be less likely to hold managerial positions, or even be employed in the field of their training (Boyd and Thomas, 2001). That

interpretation remains speculative. But we note that only 27.9 percent have supervisory roles as work, compared to 39.1 percent of native-born Canadians and 50.8 percent of earlier immigrants. Moreover, only 34.7 percent of university educated recent immigrants say they are able to “save money in the past year”, compared to 40.9 percent of Canadian born respondents and 42.9 percent of earlier immigrant respondents. The associational patterns of earlier immigrants are essentially the same as those from Canadian born respondents.

6.1. Discussion

The preceding analysis suggests that immigrants and non-immigrants differ along several dimensions. These differences can be summarized as follows:

Socioeconomic profile

- Recent immigrants are younger, and more likely to have post-secondary education than earlier immigrants and Canadian born respondents.
- Recent immigrants are less likely to have high levels of income or consider themselves as middle or upper class.
- Recent immigrants are more likely to be married and have smaller family sizes than other Canadians.

Religion

- Recent immigrants are less likely to identify as “religious” than earlier immigrant and Canadian born respondents.
- Immigrants from East Asia and those with smaller family sizes are less likely to identify themselves as “religious”.
- Recent immigrants are more likely to participate in non-institutional religious and spiritual practices, but this personal spiritualism does not translate into greater participation in formal and institutional religious activities.

Immigration and citizenship

- Canadian born respondents are much more likely than immigrants to favour stringent requirements for immigration. And they are less likely to think that cultural diversity is good for the country. This issue requires deeper analysis.
- Those born in Canada with higher educational attainment and life satisfaction are more likely to support cultural diversity.
- Among recent immigrants, the older and more educated respondents are more likely to support cultural diversity than the younger and less educated.
- Canadian-born respondents are 10 times more likely than recent immigrants, and twice as likely as earlier immigrants, to feel that immigrants are treated “better than other Canadians”. This question also requires a more detailed investigation.

Identity

- Recent immigrants are less likely than their counterparts to strongly identify with any particular community. Rather, they are more likely to see themselves as “world citizens”.

Trust

- Recent immigrants report lower levels of interpersonal trust than earlier immigrants and Canadian born respondents. There is no statistical difference between the three groups when it comes to generalized trust.
- Recent immigrants are somewhat more trustful of their own ethnic group than of other ethnic groups. 75.1 percent of recent immigrants trust their own ethnic group “somewhat” or “completely” compared to 66.9 percent of recent immigrants who trust other ethnic groups “somewhat” or “completely”.

Voluntary associations

- Recent immigrants are far less likely than others to be actively involved in voluntary associations.
- Recent immigrants are far more likely than the other groups to be active members of ethnic associations.
- Contrary to expectations, higher educational attainment is negatively related to membership in associations among recent immigrants. For Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents, education, as well as income, is positively associated with membership in associations.

The socioeconomic profile of those arriving in the country within the past 10 years is quite distinct. Recent immigrants are young, highly educated individuals; they share many of the values of the rest of society. This report has focused on structural factors, and it appears that these structural factors do help to explain many of the differences and similarities between immigrants and non-immigrants.

The evidence indicates that exposure matters. The immigrants live in the country, the more ‘integrated’ they become; there is more convergence on key outlooks. Indeed, throughout the analysis, the characteristics of earlier immigrants position them between those of Canadian born respondents and recent immigrants. Other analyses of the WVS data support this conclusion: the impact that immigration has on creating societal cleavages is limited and short-lived (Bilodeau, White & Nevitte, 2005). Those findings apply to some patterns as associational memberships, and they also apply to more formal measures of political participation such as voting behaviour (see White et. al., 2008).

The analysis suggests at least two areas where immigrants and non-immigrants diverge to a significant degree. First, what are the particular causes and implications of the divide between immigrants and non-immigrants when it comes to outlooks on cultural diversity? Are native-born Canadians becoming increasingly anti-immigrant? Second, why are recent immigrants, even the most highly educated of the group, less likely to be “joiners”? Moreover, why does education encourage Canadian born and earlier immigrant respondents to join associations, while it appears to be a barrier for recent immigrants? These questions raise important issues about immigration policy in Canada. They merit closer investigation.

Appendix A: Survey questionnaire

- V1. Survey wave number (write in constant) _____
 V2. Country code (write in 3-digit code from list below) _____
 V3. Interview number (write in 4-digit number identifying each respondent) _____

(Introduction by interviewer):

Hello. I am from the _____ (*mention name of the interview organization*). We are carrying out a global study of what people value in life. This study will interview samples representing most of the world's people. Your name has been selected at random as part of a representative sample of the people in _____ (*mention country in which interview is conducted*). I'd like to ask your views on a number of different subjects. Your input will be treated strictly confidential but it will contribute to a better understanding of what people all over the world believe and want out of life.

Show card A

For each of the following, indicate how important it is in your life. Would you say it is (*read out and code one answer for each*):

		Very important	Rather important	Not very important	Not at all important
V4.	Family	1	2	3	4
V5.	Friends	1	2	3	4
V6.	Leisure time	1	2	3	4
V7.	Politics	1	2	3	4
V8.	Work	1	2	3	4
V9.	Religion	1	2	3	4

(NOTE: Code but do not read out-- here and throughout the interview):

- 1 Don't know
- 2 No answer
- 3 Not applicable

V10. Taking all things together, would you say you are (*read out and code one answer*):

- 1 Very happy
- 2 Quite happy
- 3 Not very happy
- 4 Not at all happy

V11. All in all, how would you describe your state of health these days? Would you say it is (*read out*):

- 1 Very good
- 2 Good
- 3 Fair
- 4 Poor

Show card B

Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to five! (*Code five mentions at the maximum*):

		Mentioned	Not mentioned
V12.	Independence	1	2
V13.	Hard work	1	2
V14.	Feeling of responsibility	1	2
V15.	Imagination	1	2
V16.	Tolerance and respect for other people	1	2
V17.	Thrift, saving money and things	1	2
V18.	Determination, perseverance	1	2
V19.	Religious faith	1	2
V20.	Unselfishness	1	2
V21.	Obedience	1	2

Show card C

V22. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using this card on which 1 means you are “completely dissatisfied” and 10 means you are “completely satisfied” where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? (*Code one number*):

	Completely dissatisfied										Completely satisfied									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10										
V23.	Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?																			
	1 Most people can be trusted																			
	2 Can't be too careful																			

Now I am going to read off a list of voluntary organizations. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an active member, an inactive member or not a member of that type of organization? (*Read out and code one answer for each organization*):

		Active member	Inactive member	Don't belong
V24.	Church or religious organization	2	1	0
V25.	Sport or recreational organization	2	1	0
V26.	Art, music or educational organization	2	1	0
V27.	Labor Union	2	1	0
V28.	Political party	2	1	0
V29.	Environmental organization	2	1	0
V30.	Professional association	2	1	0
V31.	Humanitarian or charitable organization	2	1	0
V32.	Consumer organization	2	1	0
V33.	Ethnic association	2	1	0

Show card D

On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors? (*Code an answer for each group*):

		Mentioned	Not mentioned
V34.	Drug addicts	1	2
V35.	People of a different race	1	2
V36.	People who have AIDS	1	2
V37.	Immigrants	1	2
V38.	Homosexuals	1	2
V39.	People of a different religion	1	2
V40.	Heavy drinkers	1	2
V41.	Unmarried couples living together	1	2
V42.	People who speak a different language	1	2
V43.	Muslims	1	2

Do you agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements? (*Read out and code one answer for each statement*):

		Agree	Neither	Disagree
V44.	When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	1	2	3
V45.	When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to Canadian people over immigrants	1	2	3
V46.	Immigrants who commit crimes in this country should be deported	1	2	3

Show card E

V47. Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "none at all" and 10 means "a great deal" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out (*code one number*):

None at all										A great deal
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

Show card F

V48. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? Please show your response on this card, where 1 means that "people would try to take advantage of you," and 10 means that "people would try to be fair" (*code one number*):

People would try to take advantage of you										People would try to be fair
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

V49. Now I would like to ask you something about the things which would seem to you, personally, most important if you were looking for a job. Here are some of the things many people take into account in relation to their work. Regardless of whether you're actually looking for a job, which one would you, personally, place first if you were looking for a job (*read out and code one answer*):

- 1 A good income so that you do not have any worries about money
- 2 A safe job with no risk of closing down or unemployment
- 3 Working with people you like
- 4 Doing an important job that gives you a feeling of accomplishment

V50. And what would be your second choice (*code one answer*):

- 1 A good income so that you do not have any worries about money
- 2 A safe job with no risk of closing down or unemployment
- 3 Working with people you like
- 4 Doing an important job that gives you a feeling of accomplishment

Please specify for each of the following statements how strongly you agree or disagree with it! Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree? (*Read out and code one answer for each statement*):

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
V51.	To fully develop your talents, you need to have a job.	1	2	3	4	5
V52.	It is humiliating to receive money without working for it.	1	2	3	4	5
V53.	People who don't work become lazy.	1	2	3	4	5
V54.	Work is a duty toward society.	1	2	3	4	5
V55.	Work should always come first, even if it means less free time.	1	2	3	4	5
V56.	People have different ideas about following instructions at work. Some say that one should follow one's superior's instructions even when one does not fully agree with them. Others say that one should follow one's superior's instructions only when one is convinced that they are right. With which of these two opinions do you agree?					
	1 Should follow instructions					
	2 Must be convinced first					
	3 Depends [ONLY IF VOLUNTEERED]					

Show card G

V57. Are you currently (*read out and code one answer only*):

- 1 Married
- 2 Living together as married
- 3 Divorced
- 4 Separated
- 5 Widowed
- 6 Single

V58. Have you had any children? (*Code 0 if no, and respective number if yes*):

- 0 No children
- 1 One child
- 2 Two children
- 3 Three children
- 4 Four children

- 5 Five children
- 6 Six children
- 7 Seven children
- 8 Eight or more children

- V59. If someone says a child needs a home with both a father and a mother to grow up happily, would you tend to agree or disagree? *(Code one answer):*
- 1 Tend to agree
 - 2 Tend to disagree
- V60. Do you think that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled or is this not necessary? *(Code one answer):*
- 1 Needs children
 - 2 Not necessary
- V61. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement (read out): "Marriage is an out-dated institution." *(Code one answer):*
- 1 Agree
 - 2 Disagree
- V62. If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent but she doesn't want to have a stable relationship with a man, do you approve or disapprove? *(Code one answer):*
- 1 Approve
 - 2 Disapprove
 - 3 Depends (do not read out, code only if volunteered)

For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? *(Read out and code one answer for each statement):*

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
V63.	Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.	1	2	3	4
V64.	On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.	1	2	3	4
V65.	A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl.	1	2	3	4
V66.	On the whole, men make better business executives than women do.	1	2	3	4

People pursue different goals in life. For each of the following goals, can you tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with it? *(Read out and code one answer for each statement):*

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
V67.	One of my main goals in life has been to make my parents proud.	1	2	3	4
V68.	I seek to be myself rather than to follow others.	1	2	3	4
V69.	I make a lot of effort to live up to what my friends expect.	1	2	3	4
V70.	I decide my goals in life by myself.	1	2	3	4

Show card H

V71. How satisfied are you with the financial situation of your household? Please use this card again to help with your answer (*code one number*):

Completely dissatisfied										Completely satisfied	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

Show card I

V72. People sometimes talk about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important? (*Code one answer only under "first choice"*)

V73. And which would be the next most important? (*Code one answer only under "second choice"*)

	First choice	Second choice
A high level of economic growth	1	1
Making sure this country has strong defense forces	2	2
Seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities	3	3
Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful	4	4

Show card J

V74. If you had to choose, which one of the things on this card would you say is most important? (*Code one answer only under "first choice"*):

V75. And which would be the next most important? (*Code one answer only under "second choice"*)

	First choice	Second choice
Maintaining order in the nation	1	1
Giving people more say in important government decisions	2	2
Fighting rising prices	3	3
Protecting freedom of speech	4	4

Show card K

V76. Here is another list. In your opinion, which one of these is most important? (*Code one answer only under "first choice"*):

V77. And what would be the next most important? (*Code one answer only under "second choice"*)

	First choice	Second choice
A stable economy	1	1
Progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society	2	2
Progress toward a society in which Ideas count more than money	3	3
The fight against crime	4	4

V78. Of course, we all hope that there will not be another war, but if it were to come to that, would you be willing to fight for your country? (*Code one answer*):

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? (*Code one answer for each*):

		Good	Don't mind	Bad
V79.	Less importance placed on work in our lives	1	2	3
V80.	More emphasis on the development of technology	1	2	3
V81.	Greater respect for authority	1	2	3
V82.	More emphasis on family life	1	2	3

Show card L

Now I will briefly describe some people. Using this card, would you please indicate for each description whether that person is very much like you, like you, somewhat like you, not like you, or not at all like you? (*Code one answer for each description*):

		Very much like me	Like me	Some- what like me	A little like me	Not like me	Not at all like me
V83.	It is important to this person to think up new ideas and be creative; to do things one's own way.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V84.	It is important to this person to be rich; to have a lot of money and expensive things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V85.	Living in secure surroundings is important to this person; to avoid anything that might be dangerous.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V86.	It is important to this person to have a good time; to "spoil" oneself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V87.	It is important to this person to help the people nearby; to care for their well-being.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V88.	Being very successful is important to this person; to have people recognize one's achievements.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V89.	Adventure and taking risks are important to this person; to have an exciting life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V90.	It is important to this person to always behave properly; to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V91.	Looking after the environment is important to this person; to care for nature.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V92.	Tradition is important to this person; to follow the customs handed down by one's religion or family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
V93.	<i>In the long run, do you think the scientific advances we are making will help or harm mankind? (Code one answer):</i>						
	1 Will help						
	2 Will harm						
	3 Some of each [DO NOT READ OUT]						

Show card O

Now, I would like to read some statements and ask how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. For these questions, a 1 means that you “completely disagree” and a 10 means that you “completely agree.” (*Code one number for each statement*):

		Completely disagree						Completely agree				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
V94.	Science and technology are making our lives healthier, easier, and more comfortable											
V95.	Because of science and technology, there will be more opportunities for the next generation.											
V96.	Science and technology make our way of life change too fast.											
V97.	We depend too much on science and not enough on faith.											

Show card S

V98. All things considered, would you say that the world is better off, or worse off, because of science and technology? Please tell me which comes closest to your view on this scale: 1 means that “the world is a lot worse off,” and 10 means that “the world is a lot better off.” (*Code one number*):

	A lot worse off						A lot better off				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
V99.	How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you (read out and code one answer):										
	1	Very interested									
	2	Somewhat interested									
	3	Not very interested									
	4	Not at all interested									

Show card M

Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never under any circumstances do it (*read out and code one answer for each action*):

		Have done	Might do	Would never do
V100.	Signing a petition	1	2	3
V101.	Joining in boycotts	1	2	3
V102.	Attending peaceful demonstrations	1	2	3
V103.	Joining unofficial strikes	1	2	3

Have you or have you not done any of these activities in the last five years? (Read out and code one answer for each action):

		Have done	Have not done
V104.	Signing a petition	1	2
V105.	Joining in boycotts	1	2
V106.	Attending lawful demonstrations	1	2
V107.	Joining unofficial strikes_____	1	2

V108. Here are two statements people sometimes make when discussing the environment and economic growth. Which of them comes closer to your own point of view? *(Read out and code one answer):*

- 1 Protecting the environment should be given priority, even if it causes slower economic growth and some loss of jobs.
- 2 Economic growth and creating jobs should be the top priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent.
- 3 Other answer (code if volunteered only).

Show card N

I am going to read out some statements about the environment. For each one, can you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree? *(Read out and code one answer for each):*

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
V109.	I would give part of my income if I were certain that the money would be used to prevent environmental pollution.	1	2	3	4
V110.	I would agree to an increase in taxes if the extra money were used to prevent environmental pollution.	1	2	3	4
V111.	The Government should reduce environmental pollution, but it should not cost me any money.	1	2	3	4

I am going to read out a list of environmental problems facing many communities. Please, tell me how serious you consider each one to be here in your own community. Is it very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious or not serious at all? *(Read out and code one answer for each problem):*

		Very serious	Somewhat serious	Not very serious	Not serious at all
V112.	Poor water quality.	1	2	3	4
V113.	Poor air quality.	1	2	3	4
V114.	Poor sewage and sanitation.	1	2	3	4

Now let's consider environmental problems in the world as a whole. Please, tell me how serious you consider each of the following to be for the world as a whole. Is it very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious or not serious at all? *(Read out and code one answer for each problem):*

		Very serious	Somewhat serious	Not very serious	Not serious at all
V115.	Global warming or the greenhouse effect.	1	2	3	4
V116.	Loss of plant or animal species or biodiversity.	1	2	3	4
V117.	Pollution of rivers, lakes and oceans.	1	2	3	4

Show card P

V118. In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right." How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking? (*Code one number*):

Left												Right
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

V119. Imagine two secretaries, of the same age, doing practically the same job. One finds out that the other earns considerably more than she does. The better paid secretary, however, is quicker, more efficient and more reliable at her job. In your opinion, is it fair or not fair that one secretary is paid more than the other? (*Code one answer*):

- 1 Fair
- 2 Not fair

Show card Q

V120. Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between. (*Code one number for each issue*):

	Incomes should be made more equal						We need longer income differences as incentives for individual effort				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
V121.	Private ownership of business and industry							Government ownership of business and industry should be increased			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
V122.	The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for							People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
V123.	Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas							Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
V124.	In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life							Hard work doesn't generally bring success—it's more a matter of luck and connections			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
V125.	People can only get rich at the expense of others							Wealth can grow so there's enough for everyone			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

Show card R

V126. Some people believe that individuals can decide their own destiny, while others think that it is impossible to escape a predetermined fate. Please tell me which comes closest to your view on this scale on which 1 means “everything in life is determined by fate,” and 10 means that “people shape their fate themselves.” *(Code one number):*

Everything is determined by fate										People shape their fate themselves
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

I'd like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all? *(Read out and code one answer for each):*

	Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
V127. Your family	1	2	3	4
V128. Your neighborhood	1	2	3	4
V129. People you know personally	1	2	3	4
V130. People you meet for the first time	1	2	3	4
V131. Canadian people in general	1	2	3	4
V132. French Canadians	1	2	3	4
V133. Recent immigrants	1	2	3	4
V134. Americans	1	2	3	4
V135. People of another nationality	1	2	3	4
V136. People of another religion	1	2	3	4

I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? *(Read out and code one answer for each):*

	A great deal	Quite a lot	Not very much	None at all
V137. The churches	1	2	3	4
V138. The armed forces	1	2	3	4
V139. The press	1	2	3	4
V140. Television	1	2	3	4
V141. Labor unions	1	2	3	4
V142. The police	1	2	3	4
V143. The courts	1	2	3	4
V144. The government in Ottawa	1	2	3	4
V145. Political parties	1	2	3	4
V146. Parliament	1	2	3	4
V147. The Civil service	1	2	3	4
V148. Major Companies	1	2	3	4
V149. Environmental organizations	1	2	3	4
V150. Women's organizations	1	2	3	4
V151. Charitable or humanitarian organizations	1	2	3	4
V152. NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement)	1	2	3	4
V153. The United Nations	1	2	3	4

I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? (*Read out and code one answer for each*):

		Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad
V154.	Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections	1	2	3	4
V155.	Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country	1	2	3	4
V156.	Having the army rule	1	2	3	4
V157.	Having a democratic political system	1	2	3	4

Show card T

Many things may be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. Please tell me for each of the following things how essential you think it is as a characteristic of democracy. Use this scale where 1 means “not at all an essential characteristic of democracy” and 10 means it definitely is “an essential characteristic of democracy” (*read out and code one answer for each*):

		Not an essential characteristic of democracy					An essential characteristic of democracy				
V158.	Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V159.	Religious authorities interpret the laws.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V160.	People choose their leaders in free elections.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V161.	People receive government assistance for unemployment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V162.	The army takes over when government is incompetent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V163.	Civil rights protect people's liberty against oppression.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V164.	The economy is prospering.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V165.	Criminals are severely punished.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V166.	People can change the laws in referendums.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V167.	Women have the same rights as men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Show card U

V168. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is “not at all important” and 10 means “absolutely important” what position would you choose? (*Code one number*):

Not at all important					Absolutely important				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Show card V

V169. And how democratically is this country being governed today? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is “not at all democratic” and 10 means that it is “completely democratic,” what position would you choose? (*Code one number*):

Not at all democratic					Completely democratic				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

V170. How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in this country? Do you feel there is (*read out and code one answer*):

- 1 A great deal of respect for individual human rights
- 2 Some respect
- 3 Not much respect
- 4 No respect at all

V171. Have you heard of the Millennium Development Goals?

1. Yes
2. No

V172. In 2000, leaders representing almost all the world’s countries agreed to carry out a number of programs to improve the lives of the peoples of low-income countries. These programs are known as the Millennium Development Goals. I’m going to read out some of the problems that these programs involve. I would like you to indicate which of these problems you consider most serious. Which of the following problems do you consider the most serious one for the world as a whole? (*Read out and code one answer under “most serious for the world”*):

V173. And which is the second most serious problem for the world as a whole? (*Code one answer under “next most serious for the world”*):

	Most serious in the world	Second most serious in the world
People living in poverty and need.	1	1
Discrimination against girls and women.	2	2
Poor sanitation and infectious diseases.	3	3
Inadequate education.	4	4
Environmental pollution.	5	5

V174. Which of these problems do you consider the most serious one in Canada? (*Code one answer under “most serious for own country”*):

V175. And which is the next most serious for Canada? (*Code one answer under “next most serious for own country”*):

	Most serious in own country	Next most serious in own country
People living in poverty and need.	1	1
Discrimination against girls and women.	2	2
Poor sanitation and infectious diseases.	3	3
Inadequate education.	4	4
Environmental pollution.	5	5

V176. In 2003, this country’s government allocated **a tenth of one percent** of the national income to foreign aid—that is, **\$43.75** per person. Do you think this amount is too low, too high, or about right? (*Code one answer*):

- 1 Too low
- 2 About right
- 3 Too high

* [Restate this figure using information for your country from the 1st table at the end of this document!]

** [Restate this figure using information for your country from the 2nd table at the end of this document!]

(If respondent answered "too low," go to next question! Otherwise skip next question!)

V177. Would you be willing to pay higher taxes in order to increase your country's foreign aid to poor countries? *(Code one answer!)*

1 Yes

2 No

V178. Thinking about Canada's problems, should Canadian leaders give top priority to help reducing poverty in the world or should they give top priority to solving this country's problems? Use this scale where 1 means "top priority to help reducing misery in the world" and 10 means "top priority to solve my own country's problems." *(Code one answer):*

Top priority to help
reducing poverty in the world

Top priority to solve
Canada's problems

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations, such as the European Union, rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. I'm going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations? *(Read out and code one answer for each problem):*

	National governments	Regional organizations	United Nations
V179. Peacekeeping	1	2	3
V180. Protection of the environment	1	2	3
V181. Aid to developing countries	1	2	3
V182. Refugees	1	2	3
V183. Human Rights	1	2	3

V184. Now let's turn to another topic. How often, if at all, do you think about the meaning and purpose of life? *(Read out and code one answer!)*

1 Often

2 Sometimes

3 Rarely

4 Never

V185. Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? If yes, which one? *(Code answer due to list below. Code 0, if respondent answers to have no denomination!)*

No: do not belong to a denomination 0

Yes: Roman Catholic 1

Protestant 2

Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.) 3

Jewish 4

Muslim 5

Hindu 6

Buddhist 7

Other *(write in):* _____ 8

(NOTE: If your own society does not fit into this coding system, please devise an alternative, following this as closely as possible; for example, in Islamic countries, ask about Sunni, Shia, etc. Send a list of the categories used here along with your data.)

Show card X

- V186. Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?
(Code one answer):
- 1 More than once a week
 - 2 Once a week
 - 3 Once a month
 - 4 Only on special holidays
 - 5 Once a year
 - 6 Less often
 - 7 Never, practically never

(NOTE: In Islamic societies, ask how frequently the respondent prays!)

- V187. Independently of whether you attend religious services or not, would you say you are (read out and code one answer):
- 1 A religious person
 - 2 Not a religious person
 - 3 An atheist

Generally speaking, do you think that the churches in your country are giving adequate answers to (read out and code one answer for each):

	Yes	No
V188. The moral problems and needs of the individual	1	2
V189. The problems of family life	1	2
V190. People's spiritual needs	1	2
V191. The social problems facing our society	1	2

Show card Y

- V192. How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate. 10 means "very important" and 1 means "not at all important." (Code one number):

Not at all important					Very important				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

- V193. Do you take some moments of prayer, meditation or contemplation or something like that?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No

Show card Z

How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (*Read out and code one answer for each statement*):

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
V194.	Politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for public office.	1	2	3	4	5
V195.	Religious leaders should not influence how people vote in elections.	1	2	3	4	5
V196.	It would be better for Canada if more people with strong religious beliefs held public office.	1	2	3	4	5
V197.	Religious leaders should not influence government decisions.	1	2	3	4	5

Show card AA

Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card. (*Read out and code one answer for each statement*):

		Never justifiable					Always justifiable				
V198.	Claiming government benefits to which you are not entitled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V199.	Avoiding a fare on public transport	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V200.	Cheating on taxes if you have a chance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V201.	Someone accepting a bribe in the course of their duties	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V202.	Homosexuality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V203.	Prostitution	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V204.	Abortion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V205.	Divorce	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V206.	Euthanasia—ending of the life of the incurable sick	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V207.	Suicide	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
V208.	For a man to beat his wife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Show card AB

People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself? *(Read out and code one answer for each statement):*

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
V209.	I see myself as a world citizen.	1	2	3	4
V210.	I see myself as member of my local community.	1	2	3	4
V211.	I see myself as citizen of Canada as a whole.	1	2	3	4
V212.	I see myself as citizen of North America.	1	2	3	4
V213.	I see myself as a citizen of my province or region.	1	2	3	4
V214.	I see myself as a citizen of a country other than Canada	1	2	3	4
V215.	I see myself as an autonomous individual.	1	2	3	4

V216. How proud are you to be Canadian? *(Read out and code one answer):*

- 1 Very proud
- 2 Quite proud
- 3 Not very proud
- 4 Not at all proud
- 5 I am not Canadian *(do not read out! Code only if volunteered!)*

V217. Were you born in Canada?

1. Yes (ASK 218, SKIP 219)
2. No (SKIP 218, ASK 219)

V218. Are your mother or father immigrants to this country or not? Please, indicate separately for each of them *(read out and code one answer for each):*

		Immigrant	Not an immigrant
a.	Mother	1	2
b.	Father	1	2

V219a In what country were you born? WRITE IN _____

V219b How many years have you lived in Canada? (CODE IN ACTUAL YEARS) _____

V220 Do you think that immigrants in Canada are treated:

1. Better than other Canadians
2. About the same as other Canadians
3. Worse than other Canadians
4. Much worse than other Canadians

Some people think that there should be requirements for immigrants getting citizenship in Canada. For each of the following requirements, do you consider it very important, rather important or not important at all for getting citizenship in this country *(read out and code one answer for each requirement):*

		Important	Rather important	Not important
V221.	Having relatives in Canada	1	2	3
V222.	Adopting Canada's customs	1	2	3
V223.	Abiding by Canadian laws	1	2	3

Show card AC

V224. Thinking now about cultural diversity. Here are two statements. Which comes closest to your own view? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between. *(Code one number for each issue):*

Cultural diversity undermines Canadian unity						Cultural diversity enriches life in Canada				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

V225. When it comes to people from other countries coming here to work. Which one of the following do you think the government should do? (Read out and code one answer):

- 1 Let anyone come who wants to?
- 2 Let people come as long as there are jobs available?
- 3 Place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here?
- 4 Prohibit people coming here from other countries?

V226. What language do you normally speak at home? (Code one answer!)

- 1 English
- 2 French
- 3 Other (Specify) _____

People use different sources to learn what is going on in their country and the world. For each of the following sources, please indicate whether you used it last week or did not use it last week to obtain information *(read out and code one answer for each):*

	Used it last week	Did not use it last week
V227. Daily newspaper	1	2
V228. News broadcasts on radio or TV	1	2
V229. Printed magazines	1	2
V230. In depth reports on radio or TV	1	2
V231. Books	1	2
V232. Internet, Email	1	2
V233. Talk with friends or colleagues	1	2

V234. How often, if ever, do you use a personal computer? (Read out and code one answer):

- 1 Never (SKIP V235-V243)
- 2 Occasionally
- 3 Frequently
- 4 Don't know what a computer is (do not read out, code only if volunteered!) (SKIP V235-V243)

And can you tell me how often you use the following technologies?

	Every Day	A few times a week	A few times a month	A few times a year	Hardly Ever	Never
V235 Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6
V236 Email	1	2	3	4	5	6
V237 Satellite Television or Digital Cable	1	2	3	4	5	6
V238 Cellular telephone	1	2	3	4	5	6
V239 High Speed Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6

How often do you use a computer for...

		Every Day	A few times a week	A few times a month	A few times a year	Hardly Ever	Never
V240	Work	1	2	3	4	5	6
V241	Downloading or uploading music or video files	1	2	3	4	5	6
V242	Online chat (including MSN/Yahoo Messenger)	1	2	3	4	5	6
V243	Video Games	1	2	3	4	5	6

Show card AD

V244. If there were a federal election tomorrow, for which party on this list would you vote? Just call out the number on this card. If you are uncertain, which party appeals to you most? (*Code one answer*):

- 01 Liberal
- 02 Conservative
- 03 N.D.P
- 04 Bloc Quebecois
- 05 Other Party (Specify) _____ .
- 06 None [ONLY IF VOLUNTEERED]

V245. And which party would be your second choice? If you are uncertain, which one appeals you second most? (*Code one answer*):

- 01 Liberal
- 02 Conservative
- 03 N.D.P
- 04 Bloc Quebecois
- 05 Other Party (Specify) _____ .
- 06 None [ONLY IF VOLUNTEERED]

In your opinion, should Canada have closer, or more distant, economic ties with...

- 1. Much Closer
- 2. Somewhat Closer
- 3. Somewhat distant
- 4. Much more distant

- V246 Europe
- V247 Japan
- V248 Mexico
- V249 United States
- V250 China

V251 Most European countries now have a common currency. Do you oppose or support the idea of North America adopting the U.S. dollar as a common currency.

- 1. Strongly oppose
- 2. Oppose
- 3. Support
- 4. Strongly Support

Show card BB

Would you favor or oppose having Canada and the United States form one country.....

(STRONGLY OR SLIGHTLY) ?

	Strongly favour	Favor	Neither favour nor oppose	Oppose	Strongly oppose
V252A. If it meant that you would enjoy a higher standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
V252B. If it means losing this country's cultural identity	1	2	3	4	5
V252C. If it meant that we could deal more effectively with environment issues like acid rain and air pollution	1	2	3	4	5
V252D. If it meant that Canada would form 12 new states in the United States	1	2	3	4	5
V252E. If it meant slightly lower taxes but fewer government services	1	2	3	4	5
V252F. If it meant a better quality of life	1	2	3	4	5
V253. All things considered, do you think that we should do away with the border between Canada and the United States?					
1 Favor					
2 Oppose					
V254. When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?					
1. Frequently					
2. Occasionally					
3. Never					
V255. Did you vote in Canada's recent federal election? (Code one answer):					
1 Yes					
2 No					

Demographics

V256. (Code respondent's sex by observation):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

V257. Can you tell me your year of birth, please? 19____ (write in last two digits)

V258. This means you are ____ years old (write in age in two digits).

V259. What is the highest educational level that you have attained? [NOTE: if respondent indicates to be a student, code highest level s/he expects to complete]:

- 1 No formal education
- 2 Incomplete primary school
- 3 Complete primary school
- 4 Incomplete secondary school
- 5 Incomplete College/CEGEP
- 6 Complete College/CEGEP
- 7 Some university-level education, without degree
- 8 University-level education, with degree

V260. At what age did you (or will you) complete your full time education, either at school or at an institution of higher education? Please exclude apprenticeships [NOTE: if respondent indicates to be a student, code highest level s/he expects to complete]:
 _____ (write in age in two digits)

V261. Do you rent or own your place of residence? (Code one answer):

- 1 Rent
- 2 Own
- 3 Neither (e.g. live with parents/relatives)

V262. Are you employed now or not? If yes, about how many hours a week? If more than one job: only for the main job (code one answer):

Yes, has paid employment:

Full time employee (30 hours a week or more) 1

Part time employee (less than 30 hours a week) 2

Self employed 3

No, no paid employment: 0

Retired/pensioned 4

Housewife not otherwise employed 5

Student 6

Unemployed 7

Other (write in): _____ 8

(NOTE: If answer is "yes" and respondent has a job, continue with next question. If no, continue with V268!)

V263. In which profession/occupation do you work? If more than one job, the main job? What is/was your job there?

_____ (write in and code due to list below but do not read out list!)

- 1 Employer/manager of establishment with 10 or more employees
- 2 Employer/manager of establishment with less than 10 employees
- 3 Professional worker lawyer, accountant, teacher, etc
- 4 Supervisory - office worker: supervises others.
- 5 Non-manual - office worker: non-supervisory
- 6 Foreman and supervisor
- 7 Skilled manual worker
- 8 Semi-skilled manual worker
- 9 Unskilled manual worker
- 10 Farmer: has own farm
- 11 Agricultural worker
- 12 Member of armed forces, security personnel
- 13 Never had a job

V264. Are you working for the government or for a private business or industry? (read out and code one answer):

- 1 Government or public organization
- 2 Private business or industry
- 3 Private non-profit organization (if volunteered)

V265. Are the tasks you perform at work mostly manual or non-manual? Use this scale where 1 means "mostly manual tasks" and 10 means "mostly non-manual tasks" (Code one answer):

Mostly manual tasks

Mostly non-manual tasks

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

V266. Are the tasks you perform at work mostly routine tasks or mostly not routine? Use this scale where 1 means “mostly routine tasks” and 10 means “mostly not routine tasks” (*Code one answer*):

Mostly routine tasks	Mostly not routine tasks
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

V266. How much independence do you have in performing your tasks at work? Use this scale to indicate your degree of independence where 1 means “no independence at all” and 10 means “complete independence” (*Code one answer*):

No independence at all	Complete independence
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

V267. Do you supervise other people at work? (*Code one answer*):

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V268. Are you the chief wage earner in your household? (*Code one answer*):

- 1 Yes (in this case skip next two questions and continue with V271)
- 2 No (in this case continue with next question)

V269. Is the chief wage earner of your household employed now or not? (*Code one answer*):

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V270. In which profession/occupation does he/she work (or did work)? If more than one job, the main job? What is/was his/her job there?

_____ (*write in and code due to list below but do not read out list!*)

- 1 Employer/manager of establishment with 10 or more employees
- 2 Employer/manager of establishment with less than 10 employees
- 3 Professional worker lawyer, accountant, teacher, etc
- 4 Supervisory - office worker: supervises others.
- 5 Non-manual - office worker: non-supervisory
- 6 Foreman and supervisor
- 7 Skilled manual worker
- 8 Semi-skilled manual worker
- 9 Unskilled manual worker
- 10 Farmer: has own farm
- 11 Agricultural worker
- 12 Member of armed forces, security personnel
- 13 Never had a job

V271. During the past year, did your family (*read out and code one answer*):

- 1 Save money
- 2 Just get by
- 3 Spent some savings
- 4 Spent savings and borrowed money

V272. People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the (*read out and code one answer*):

- 1 Upper class
- 2 Upper middle class
- 3 Lower middle class
- 4 Working class
- 5 Lower class

Show card AE

V273. Here is a scale of incomes. We would like to know in what group your household is, counting all wages, pensions and other incomes that come in. Just give the letter of the group your household falls into, before taxes and other deductions.

- A. Up to 12 500
- B. 12 501 to 20 000
- C. 20 001 to 27 500
- D. 27 501 to 35 000
- E. 35 001 to 42 500
- F. 50 001 to 62 500
- G. 62 501 to 75 000
- H. 75 501 to 100 000
- I. 100 001 to 150 000
- J. 150 001 or more

V274. *(Code how interested the respondent was during the interview):*

- 1 Respondent was very interested
- 2 Respondent was somewhat interested
- 3 Respondent was not interested

V275. *(Code size of town):*

- 1 Under 2,000
- 2 2,000 - 5,000
- 3 5 - 10,000
- 4 10 - 20,000
- 5 20 - 50,000
- 6 50 - 100,000
- 7 100 - 500,000
- 8 500,000 and more

V276a *(Code ethnic group of Respondent by observation):*

- 1 Caucasian white
- 2 Negro Black
- 3 South Asian Indian, Pakistani, etc.
- 4 East Asian Chinese, Japanese, etc.
- 5 Arabic, Central Asian
- 6 Other (write in): _____

V276b *(Code ethnic group of Interviewer):*

- 1 Caucasian white
- 2 Negro Black
- 3 South Asian Indian, Pakistani, etc.
- 4 East Asian Chinese, Japanese, etc.
- 5 Arabic, Central Asian
- 6 Other (write in): _____

V277. *(Code province where the interview was conducted):*

- 1 Prince Edward Island
- 2 Nova Scotia
- 3 New Brunswick
- 4 Quebec
- 5 Ontario
- 6 Manitoba
- 7 Saskatchewan
- 8 Alberta
- 9 British Columbia
- 10 Newfoundland

V278. *(Code language in which interview was conducted):*

- 1 English
- 2 French
- 3 Other (Write in) _____

[NOTE: if relevant, use codes appropriate to your own society]

V279 Insert Postal Code of Respondent's residence _ _ _ - _ _ _

V280. Weight variable (Provide a 4-digit weight variable to correct your sample to reflect national distributions of key variables. If no weighting is necessary, simply code each case as "1." It is especially important to correct for education. For example, if your sample contains 10 percent more university-educated respondents as there are in the adult population, members of this group should be downweighted by 10 percent, giving them a weight of .9, coded as "90").

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