

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

**Understanding Social Capital: A Preliminary Analysis of the Norm of Reciprocity
and Bounded Solidarity**

By

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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**Understanding Social Capital: A Preliminary Analysis of the Norm of Reciprocity and
Bounded Solidarity**

BY

Renuka Chaturvedi

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of
Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree**

Of

Master of Arts

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Und so weiter.

Abstract

Empirical analyses of social capital have been hindered by the inability of researchers to arrive at a consensus as to how this concept should be defined and how it operates in communities. Research also lacks accepted, statistically validated measures of social capital. The purpose of this project is to develop a firmer conceptual and operational definition of social capital. Two elements of social capital, the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, are examined. Survey questions pertaining to each are administered to 56 individuals who have immigrated to Winnipeg from the Philippines. Factor analyses conducted on the data find two important elements underlying the norm of reciprocity, namely the expectation of return for debts owed, and the importance of in-group trust in reciprocity. Analyses of the survey items pertaining to bounded solidarity were less promising, indicating this concept must be further refined theoretically before it can be accurately studied quantitatively.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Analyzing the social context in which immigrant resettlement takes place has gained renewed importance as researchers have shifted their focus from predominately studying the influence of human capital, or individual-level variables, on integration to investigating social capital and looking more closely at the social context of integrating into Canadian society (Lamba and Krahn, 2003; Li, 2003a)¹. Although this social context includes the host society into which an immigrant arrives, it also refers to the influence an immigrant or ethnic community can exert on resettlement experiences. As human capital variables such as occupation, education, and language ability are unable to fully explain the course of immigrant resettlement, the relationship between social capital and integration has become the focus for a good deal of immigration research.

Immigration and Social Capital

Research on Cuban migrants to Miami demonstrates why social capital is so important to immigration studies. Findings indicate that since the 1950s the Cuban community in Miami has influenced the course of resettlement for new Cuban immigrants (Portes and Zhou, 1992; Portes and Stepnick, 1993), including their initial decision to immigrate. Community members have been important sources of information on housing and the job market, and businesses in the Cuban enclave have served as a source of employment and loans for individuals who for various reasons are not able to accrue a return to their human capital. The community has also offered a familiar social

¹ While it might appear a relatively recent interest in mainstream sociological research, social capital is more accurately a topic that has experienced resurgence in popularity, drawing upon seminal concepts (for example, Tonnies' (1957) work on *Gemeinschaft* societies).

milieu in which new immigrants can integrate themselves, serving as an important buffer to the sometimes hostile and discriminatory environment many Cuban immigrants encounter upon their arrival and during their resettlement in Miami. The presence and influence of the Cuban community has also had negative effects for some immigrants, where in-group discrimination has at times further limited the smooth resettlement of Cuban migrants and refugees. One example is the case of Mariel refugees to Cuba, who have been denied economic resources not only in the Miami labour market, but also within the Cuban community (Portes and Stepnick, 1985). These are good examples of the ways in which community can provide for people lacking in human capital or for those whose human capital is not recognized by institutions in the host country (Zhou and Bankston, 1994).

This example emphasizes the importance of considering the social context in which resettlement takes place because it can be significant in explaining both successful and negative integration outcomes. Social capital is able to provide alternate explanations for why some immigrants are able to find jobs more quickly than others, or to explain differences in life satisfaction within and between immigrant populations. Including social capital as an explanatory variable is especially important for large-scale, quantitative studies of immigrant integration so that non-human capital components can be included in models explaining and predicting the course of resettlement.

Immigrant communities also provide a good site to study social capital, because of the centrality the community can often have for newcomers (Li, 2003a). On one hand,

social capital can provide resources that are important and sometimes necessary to ease difficulties with resettlement. These resources can include economic aid, emotional support, providing social groups and functions, and importantly a sense of stability and belonging that can be disrupted during the migration process. On the other hand, some immigrants may have few options for accessing resources provided outside their community. If this is the case, then as a group immigrants might be more reliant on, or simply involved in the community, and therefore, social capital (Coleman, 1988).

The utility of social capital as an analytical concept, however, extends well outside the field of immigration studies. The Canadian government has made social capital a central concern and priority of social policy, in order to foster community and the development of supportive institutions at the level of civil society. There has been a flurry of research and publication on social capital spanning diverse fields and disciplines, from management to international development (Edwards and Foley, 2001)².

Although the concept of social capital is enjoying popularity in immigration research as well as in the wider social sciences literature, empirical analyses of social capital have been hindered by the inability of researchers to arrive at a consensus as to how social capital should be defined and how it actually operates in communities. Instead, research tends to focus more on the benefits that social networks and communities can offer their members, rather than operating out of an empirically grounded definition of this concept. Nor is there an accepted, statistically validated

² A simple library search on social capital will result in hundreds of articles from diverse fields. Some examples that can be provided here are Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), Adler and Kwon (2000), Freitag (2003), and Woolcock (1998).

measure of social capital in social research. The problem is two-fold, within and across disciplines in the social sciences. First, our understanding of social capital as a theoretical concept remains fragmented and contested. There lacks any agreed upon academic definition to this concept. Second, there is a lack of quantifiable measures of social capital required to make its consideration possible in statistical research projects. There are therefore two 'needs' in social capital research with which this project is concerned; the first is to develop a firmer conceptualization of social capital, which will require, in part, the identification of some of its elements. The second is to develop an operational definition of social capital by identifying the indicators of these elements, and constructing their quantitative measurements. The goal of this thesis is to address these two gaps in current research in an attempt to more precisely define this complex concept, and in so doing, to advance the quantitative study of social capital. As a potential characteristic of ethnic communities that allows the community to serve as a resource appropriable by group members, developing quantitative measurements of social capital will result in research that can account for various determining and important influences on resettlement and integration. Because social capital is evident across so many diverse communities, ideally these measures will be incorporated into future multi-disciplinary research on immigrant and non-immigrant communities.

The definition of social capital developed here represents a synthesis of some of the major theories of social capital put forward by Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988; 1990), and Alejandro Portes (1995; 1998; 2000). This thesis views social capital as a characteristic of social networks with conscious mutual recognition

between members. It allows for a group to serve as a resource from which group members can draw. A network in which social capital is present provides for individual members what might not have been present in the network's absence. Normative or obligatory prescriptions for behaviour including solidarity, reciprocity, and the presence of group-specific institutions are defining characteristics of social capital in that they are phenomenon that are social in nature, and they make the groups appropriable as a resource by group members. Also, as resources are invested and drawn upon, they emerge in expanded form; being able to successfully draw from the network means individuals are more likely to reinvest their time and personal resources in the network, generating more social capital to be drawn from. This thesis is an attempt to operationalize two elements of social capital, the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity. The remaining elements must be left for future studies.

Study Preview

Based on a review of literature on the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, survey questions pertaining to each are developed and administered to a sample of 50 individuals in Winnipeg who have immigrated to Canada from the Philippines in the last 15 years. Factor analysis is used to determine whether the survey items and the indices to which they belong represent valid measures of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity.

The Philippines has long been a major source country of migrants to Canada, and to Winnipeg in particular (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002). Although

available research on Filipino immigrants to North America is for the most part dated and sparse³, the findings that do exist indicate Filipino communities are tight-knit, emphasizing collective identity and the importance of community. Research suggests Filipino communities in Canada, the United States and elsewhere have consistently evidenced what social research now refers to as social capital (Hollnsteiner, 1973; Bustamante, 1984; Bonus 2000).

The research question asks, *What are the important indicators of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity?* This question will be in part answered by identifying the important elements of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity put forward in existing literature, synthesizing this information, and by subsequently developing conceptual definitions of each. These conceptual definitions will serve as a guide to the development of their survey measurements. Factor analyses are conducted on the data from these survey items to isolate discrete elements of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity that can be measured quantitatively.

Social capital is particularly important for immigration research as an academic discipline, namely to counter the logic of economics and emphasis on human capital that underlies most large-scale studies of immigrant resettlement (Borjas, 1994; Wanner, 1998; Pendakur and Pendakur, 1999). The idea of social capital highlights the important explanatory power social context can hold when social researchers attempt to explain and predict human behaviour and outcomes such as immigrant integration (Loury, 1977; Granovetter, 1985; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1995; Lomas, 1997; Lin,

³ For more recent research, see the work of Yan Espiritu (2003) and Anita Beltran Chen (1998).

2001; Li, 2003a). The purpose of this thesis is not to analyze the integration process *per se*, but to create indices that have the potential to measure an important influence on immigration. This thesis attempts to clarify the definitions of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity and identifies some important indicators of each, to be utilized in larger studies. The benefit of this would be twofold. On the one hand, academic research could be informed as to the importance of community, with empirical research to fortify this assertion. On the other hand, demonstrable evidence of the importance communities have for resettlement provides the means with which to confront immigration critics and the mainstream media, who frequently voice the urgency of retrenching Canada's current policy emphasis on family class admissions. To do so could be to erode the base of what could be important systems of support (economic and otherwise) and community for new immigrants. This thesis represents an initial step in this debate.

Thesis Overview

Chapter Two reviews the major theories of social capital put forward by Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Alejandro Portes. It offers a critical analysis of the strengths and weaknesses in their conceptualizations of social capital, respectively, and how these conceptual definitions have translated into empirical research. In this chapter these definitions are synthesized, resulting in a partial definition of social capital that identifies the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity as two elements of social capital that will be statistically analyzed in this thesis.

Chapter Three describes the methodology. It includes a discussion of the thesis research question and hypothesis, the operationalization of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, characteristics of the sample, the mode of survey administration, sample selection criteria, sampling method, ethical considerations involved in this study, and the method of data analysis employed. Chapter Four outlines the steps taken in the data analysis and a discussion of the results, and Chapter Five concludes the thesis and offers suggestions for future research in the areas of social capital and immigrant integration.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Development

Introduction

In recent years, social capital has become a central analytical concept in the social sciences. What is more, not only does social capital enjoy popularity in academic research, but the Canadian government has also identified it as a priority for social policy (Voyer, 2004). Empirically speaking, however, its study has been complicated by the numerous theoretical approaches attempting to explain this concept. If social capital is to accurately inform social policy, it requires a solid operational definition on which research can be based. By examining the major theories of social capital, it becomes evident that each has weaknesses for which new research should correct, and strengths that it should incorporate. After reviewing several prominent theories of social capital, an attempt is made to synthesize these theories into a conceptual model that will serve as a guide to empirical research. The purpose of this chapter is to critically review some of the existing research, examine how social capital translates into measurement, and discuss important research findings in the area of social capital especially as it pertains to the experience of resettlement for new immigrants. This review serves as a basis for operationalizing two elements of social capital, namely the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity.

Social Capital in Brief

Before social capital can be discussed, it must first be defined. At the outset, this is a difficult task as there is little consensus on a precise meaning of social capital. As a

result, the conceptualization of social capital underlying this thesis represents a synthesis of these sometimes consonant and sometimes dissonant approaches. By way of generally introducing the concept, we can get a sense of what is meant by 'social capital' by comparing it to other forms of capital. Namely, if financial capital is embodied in money form, and human capital in the skills or abilities that an individual possesses, then social capital is embodied in the social groups to which an individual belongs (Coleman, 1988; Portes 1998). Without always discussing social capital directly, qualitative research findings can provide a general sense of this concept by offering examples of the way in which community can serve as a resource, both positive and negative, for its members (Coleman, 1990; Li, 1977; Pardo, 1991; Fernandez-Kelly, 1995; Rubio, 1997; Ochoa, 2000; Stepnick et al., 2001; Mayoux, 2001; Molyneux, 2002; Ebaugh, 2000). For example, some of the positive influences include help finding employment or suitable housing, and negative influences could include pressure to devote an excess of free time to the community. The question remains, what is it about these social groups that enable them to be a type of 'capital' for their members? It is necessary to answer this question if the statistical indicators of social capital are to be developed.

Onyx and Bullen recently made important headway in this direction. In their 2000 study of social capital in five Australian communities, they utilize factor analysis to identify several characteristics of communities comparatively 'rich' in social capital. Their statistical analysis also confirms the presence of a general factor, social capital, of which these characteristics are components. In particular, they find trust, reciprocity, and participation in social networks to be important components of communities evidencing

social capital, and concluded that the degree to which these components exist in communities is related to its overall level of social capital. Thus, because they were able to identify a general factor, social capital, they were able to use their statistical measures to compare levels of social capital across communities. On the basis of this finding, their research can be used to predict, in part, which communities would possess high versus low levels of social capital. This research provides encouraging evidence that social capital is a concept that can be studied quantitatively, and that statistical research can begin to make reliable comparisons of social capital across communities. This is a useful finding for immigration research. Not only could the influence of social capital on the course of resettlement be included as a consideration in large-scale studies, but questions could be answered to the relative influence of social capital by comparing resettlement outcomes for immigrants in communities with 'high' versus 'low' social capital.

However, this research by Onyx and Bullen seems an anomaly in the social capital literature. In fact, they argue the impetus for their research is the need to develop a grounded, empirical definition of social capital, a concern that is echoed in this thesis. For the most part, research on social capital still operates from the work of a number of prominent theorists who fail to substantiate their theoretical claims with empirical findings. Although these theories have had a pioneering influence in the development of social capital as an analytical tool, there are several weaknesses in these theories that complicate their translation into quantitative research.

Weaknesses in Current Conceptualizations of Social Capital

While studies of social capital address these ‘gaps’ with varying degrees of success, the theories that form the basis of the research suffer from three general weaknesses that complicate their translation into empirical study. The first is the lack of clarity in the research literature as to how social capital should be conceptualized and ultimately operationalized. Words like “sources”, “mechanisms”, “forms” and “benefits” are used interchangeably. Furthermore, the unit of analysis when studying social capital often differs from definition to definition. The result is a disjointed concept that makes empirical analysis difficult, as most researchers do not have a common operational definition of social capital on which to base their studies.

The second weakness is the tendency for studies to present a tautology, largely by conflating the definition of social capital with its functions (Coleman, 1988). In other words, these studies define social capital in terms of the benefits they provide. This perspective is useful for identifying social capital “in action”, but only when social capital is in action, i.e. only when benefits are being realized. They are less useful in identifying the constituent parts of social capital. Tautological conceptual definitions of social capital also become empirically problematic when researchers attempt to operationalize them, because by virtue of the way social capital is defined (as facilitating benefits) alternate explanations for benefits, and alternate indicators of social capital, are not possible. For example, in a study that seeks to determine why, controlling for human capital, some new immigrants are able to find jobs more quickly than others, we might find some immigrants are provided jobs by their ethnic community. Empirically

however, if we take the fact that ‘the community provides jobs’ to be our indicator of social capital in a community, we are limited in our ability to explain why the community provides jobs. The only explanation allowed by this model would be that the community provides jobs because it is a source of social capital, and we know the community is a source of social capital because it provides jobs. This reasoning is clearly circular. It is difficult to make inferences beyond this point, and so the explanatory power of studies that operate from this definition will be limited.

The third weakness is to define social capital positively. Such definitions are prevalent in the existing literature and eliminate the possibility of studying its potentially ill-effects (Kilbride, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Aguilera, 2003). For example, Helly (1997) wonders if it is appropriate for discussions of social capital to include “adversarial” groups, such as youth gangs. Arguably, the dynamics in a gang are similar to those in supportive communities. Thus, our understanding of this concept is incomplete. Robert Putnam has been particularly criticized on these grounds. As Edwards and Foley (2001: 203) explain, “for Putnam, social capital comes in just three flavors [sic]: good, better, and best”. In these frameworks, social capital appears as a cure-all, a panacea for social ills that institutions like the economy and the state cannot or will not address (Portes and Landolt, 1996; Portes and Landolt, 2000)⁴. If we argue, however, that social capital can only confer benefits, then research cannot be informed of the negative effects social capital can have for in-group and out-group members, and the implications of social capital cannot be fully or accurately recognized.

⁴ A popular way to conceptualize society is to segment it into three parts: the economy, the state, and civil society. Within this triumvirate, social capital is the conceptual equivalent of civil society (Wolfe, 1991; Ostrom, 1994; Woolcock, 1998; Putnam, 2000).

An Examination of Social Capital Theory

A review of the main theoretical approaches to social capital will illustrate their strengths and weaknesses. Arguably the works of Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman are considered the primary sociological works on social capital. Robert Putnam, a political scientist, is perhaps the social capital theorist most known outside academic research, and Alejandro Portes is a central theorist and researcher in the area of social capital and immigrant resettlement.

Social capital was reintroduced to contemporary sociological literature in the work of Pierre Bourdieu⁵. Bourdieu defined social capital broadly, as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986:248). Defining social capital as ‘resources’ that are made possible by participating in social networks, his research focuses more on the benefits of social capital, by examining the ways in which social networks serve as a sort of “resource bank”. In other words, resources (social capital) are a benefit of community membership, which can provide for group members what is not possible via personal resources.

The potential gains that are made possible by membership in networks are not limited to social phenomenon. According to Bourdieu, social capital can beget alternate forms of capital such as small-business loans, or employment, and the decision to

⁵ Although Loury is frequently credited with this, social capital is mentioned for the first and only time in his conclusion as “the consequences of social position in facilitating acquisition of the standard human capital characteristics” (Loury, 1977: 176).

participate in social groups that yield a return is a rational one. He emphasizes that social networks are consciously constructed and entered into in order to realize some kind of gain (Portes, 1998). Bourdieu's assertions have been verified by research on immigrant and ethnic enclaves, particularly as they pertain to access to loans and gaining employment (Portes, 1987; Light et al., 1990; Portes and Zhou, 1992; Granovetter, 1995; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Yoo, 2000)⁶.

Although he touches on some of the major issues necessary to develop a model of social capital, Bourdieu's analysis can be criticized on the grounds of being more vague than systematic. For example, Portes (1998) suggests that Bourdieu's construct can be separated into two component parts; first, a discussion of the community and social networks that allows for the individuals to "claim resources possessed by their associates", and second, "the amount and quality of those resources" (Portes, 1998:4). The problem with Bourdieu's analysis is the two disparate components are amalgamated into the one concept 'social capital'. This amalgamation makes it difficult to discern the unit of analysis in studies of social capital. In other words, to identify indicators of social capital, would a researcher examine the community itself, or the resources it provides to individuals within the community?

As a result, Bourdieu's reference to the types of social groups that are necessary for social capital to be possible, the nature of the "more or less institutionalized

⁶ Though serving as a resource, social capital in the business world can have a negative impact on employees and firms alike. For example, in an American study of firms in large metropolitan areas, Bates (1994) demonstrates that reliance on the co-ethnic community by Asian businesses can be negatively related to the longevity of some Asian businesses.

relationships”, remains ambiguous. Clearly one impetus for entering into a social relationship could be the rational anticipation of some gain coming from it, but the characteristics of the community that allow it to be appropriable as a resource (the dynamics or component parts of the community that serve to institutionalize these relationships) is not discussed in much detail. Therefore, while an important contribution to its study, Bourdieu’s theory remains an abstract basis on which to operationalize social capital.

Bourdieu’s analysis suffers in other respects. While Bourdieu outlines the non-economic benefits that come from participation in supportive networks, this analysis too suffers from ambiguity. Because he relies largely on a Marxist framework, his analysis does not include a detailed discussion on the nature of social interaction within the community, or other mechanisms that might make social capital possible. In his refusal to eschew what he calls the “universal reducibility [of social capital] to economics” (Bourdieu, 1986: 253), the focus of his theoretical model remains centred on the relationship between social capital, other forms of capital, and economics. Using this theory as an empirical framework would make it difficult to study social capital’s non-economic aspects, because they are peripheral to the way in which he conceptualizes this phenomenon.

However, despite its theoretical vagueness, Bourdieu puts forward one of the more sophisticated analyses of social capital within a detailed Marxist framework. Bourdieu provides a discussion of the components of social capital, and a solid discussion

of the reciprocal benefits that communities and the individuals that belong to them confer, namely loans, information on investments, and credentials (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998). Bourdieu's theory therefore emphasizes why the term capital is appropriate, by discussing the process of investment in social relationships and the accumulation and expansion of the group's appropriability as a resource. In this way, he justifiably relates the constituent parts of social capital as being a form of capital, by paralleling it to other forms, such as financial capital.

Notwithstanding Bourdieu's theoretical contribution to social capital, James Coleman's work represents one of the most influential and best-known studies in the sociological literature. According to Coleman, social capital refers to "a variety of entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within that structure" (Coleman, 1990: 302). Coleman goes on to argue that unlike human capital or financial capital, social capital is not something possessed by an individual, rather it "inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons" (Coleman, 1990: 302).

Coleman's analysis of social capital is similar to Bourdieu's in that it operates from a 'rational actor' perspective, where individuals consciously enter into communities based on the benefits they provide. Coleman departs from Bourdieu by placing more emphasis on the rational actor, and by recognizing that while benefits that stem from social networks can be economic, they are also embodied in other forms. For example,

Coleman discusses communities in Jerusalem that serve the protective function of watching out for each other's children when they are playing outside or going to school. Just because their own parents are not supervising in no way means the children are unattended. Rather, there is an entire network of parents operating on a "normative structure" whereby they watch out for each other's children. This is an example of 'non-economic' social capital at work.

Overall, Coleman's discussion of the dynamics within communities that serve as social capital is more concrete than Bourdieu's. Importantly, Coleman identifies some of the characteristics of the networks that make social capital possible. Social capital is unique, he stresses, because it "inheres in the *structure of relations* between actors and among actors" (Coleman, 1988: S96, italics added). The norms and trust in social networks grants them a sort of institutional embeddedness, without the formal institution. To back up these claims, Coleman (1988: S96) details "norms, interpersonal trust, social networks, and social organization", which facilitate transactions between community members. He demonstrates this with the example of informal, rotating credit associations (RCA), which have also been found in research on immigrant communities (Light, 1984). Within an RCA, it is normative for individuals to contribute a set amount of money to a common pool, and every few months one individual in the group is able to appropriate the common money for personal use. The purpose is for each individual to contribute to the fund, and for every individual to have an opportunity to access the pooled money. Within this social organization, group members trust each other to contribute to the

common fund so that when it is their turn to use the money, it is there for them to withdraw.

Empirically, however, Coleman's work remains problematic. Like Bourdieu, Coleman's theory translates into empirical research that would use the benefits of social capital as its key element and indicator. Although he states, "social organization constitutes social capital", he emphasizes social capital is identifiable by its function, namely its role in "facilitating the achievement of goals that could not be achieved in its absence, or could be achieved only at a higher cost" (Coleman, 1990: 304). Like Bourdieu, Coleman argues social capital is a resource because it facilitates the actions of individuals. The social organization itself is not subject to rigorous analysis⁷.

There are several difficulties that stem from his assumption. In his conception, benefits are taken as evidence that social capital is at work, but the key characteristics of communities that allow for social capital are not translated into concrete measures, or subject to empirical analysis. Instead, we could only recognize social capital when its benefits could be clearly identified, and, since the communities themselves remain unstudied, we would not be able to offer or rule out any other explanations for the benefits that arise. From a policy perspective, this research would have very little use in terms of directing funding efficiently and effectively.

⁷ By focusing on the facilitative aspects of social capital, Coleman's definition does not acknowledge that social capital can also impede the actions of individuals.

This leads to the second, arguably major, weakness in Coleman's approach. By defining social capital by the benefits it confers, Coleman also engages in circular reasoning. Social capital facilitates, it provides benefits, and therefore according to this theory we can identify social capital in communities if individuals are gaining benefits from them⁸. Phrased as a logical argument;

Question 1: How did person X access a benefit from their network?

Answer 1: Because the network is rich in social capital.

Question 2: How do we know the network is rich in social capital?

Answer 2: Because person X was able to access the benefit from the network.

By this reasoning, the conclusion will always prove the hypothesis because they are, in effect, the same thing.

The work of Robert Putnam begins to address this gap in Coleman's work, however, it too does not provide concrete indicators of social capital. In Putnam's work, social capital is identified by participation in community and civic associations (involvement in civil society). Therefore, to study social capital in a community (or country) one must examine the degree to which individuals are involved in civil participation. The assumption here is that membership in community and civic

⁸ Robert Putnam (1995) has also been criticized for the same reasons; in his analysis whether or not social capital is present is determined by the presence or absence of the benefits it confers (Portes and Landolt, 1996). Insofar as Putnam and Coleman conflate social capital with its benefits, they are engaging in functionalism. To paraphrase Okamura (1991:58), when something defined as a facilitator is identifiable as a contributor to something, there is an obvious circularity involved.

associations *per se* results in increased levels of social capital. Putnam attempts to outline the specific community dynamics that evidence social capital, for example the importance of trust within a community, but he deals with these concepts in a topical, perfunctory way. In other words, how we can identify these dynamics is not subject to rigorous empirical testing. Moreover, Putnam deals with social capital in an almost entirely positive light, even arguing social capital is what is required to bring America into a new 'golden' age. The resulting body of work presents an idealized version of social capital and community for which Putnam has been repeatedly criticized (Rubio, 1997; Edwards and Foley, 2001).

If the elements of social capital are not clearly delineated, the relationship between participation in community/civil society and social capital remain taken for granted; social capital simply 'results' from civic memberships. While Putnam's work represents an important first step in the study of social capital, beyond analyzing levels of civic participation, this theoretical approach does not provide much detail as to how social capital can be quantified.

In this thesis, the 'positive' bias in the conceptualization of social capital has been framed in terms of functionalism. But the bias might also be influenced by the matter of semantics. Using the term 'capital' is perhaps an error when we are referring to this phenomenon, because it is both leading and misleading. It is leading because rather than referring to a process whereby value is expanded, the term 'capital' commonly becomes

equated only with the notion of ‘gain’⁹. Based on this commonsense and incomplete understanding of capital, when we speak of social capital we encourage readers to think of the positive aspects of social capital rather than the negative aspects. The term is also misleading, in that stressing gain produces a theory that does not incorporate the negative experience of social capital for those that can access it, those who cannot, and those who are negatively affected by the actions of the community.

Alejandro Portes’ work has focused on addressing the circularity that stems from studies that operationalize social capital in terms of benefits, and he has also concentrated on developing a theory of social capital in relation to immigrant networks and the experience of resettlement¹⁰. In his 1995 piece, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*, and again in 1996 and 2000 (with Patricia Landolt), Alejandro Portes warns vehemently against the tendency for theory to confuse social capital with the resources or advantages it accrues. Instead, he argues, “the resources themselves are *not* social capital; the concept refers instead to the individual’s *ability* to mobilize them on demand” (Portes, 1995:12, italics in original)¹¹.

⁹ Like Bourdieu, Hean et al. (2003), go beyond this bias to situate social capital within Marx’s general formula for the accumulation of capital. They argue that utilizing community resources and fulfilling obligations within the community engenders trust and the dynamics that make social capital possible. This is the cycle by which social capital becomes expanded within a community.

¹⁰ Studies of migration and resettlement often include analyses of coethnic networks, specifically the benefits and constraints they can impose, but these are not explicitly concerned with the creation/formation of social capital (see, for example, Breton, 1990; Reitz, 1990; Okamura, 1991).

¹¹ Here Portes’ work runs into difficulty, as he argues it the important unit of analysis in a study of social capital would be the motivations of individuals to confer ends to other community members. As will be explained, the important unit of analysis in a quantitative study of social capital should be the community itself, not the individual members and their motivations.

Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) accept that social capital is something that is inherent in the relations between individuals, and is a potential source of benefit, but they argue the essential element that constitutes social capital is ultimately the motivations group members have for providing the resources that can be accessed by the community and its members. Portes defines social capital as the “ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structures” (Portes, 1998:8). He argues individuals are able to mobilize social capital because the giver is motivated, by virtue of the dynamics involved in the social relationship, to give to other members. Portes then details four major motivations (which he considers sources of social capital): value introjection, bounded solidarity, the norm of reciprocity, and enforceable trust (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Portes, 1995; Portes, 1998; Portes, 2000).

By avoiding a focus on social capital in terms of benefits, Portes’ conceptualization of social capital is an important departure from the work of Bourdieu, Putnam, and Coleman. Putnam’s work on social capital has been criticized for overlooking the potentially negative effects of social capital (Putzel, 1997; Harriss, 1997; Portes and Landolt, 2000). Under Coleman’s functional analysis, social capital can only be facilitative; functions are by definition “those observed consequences which make for the *adaptation* or *adjustment* of a given system” (Merton, 1968: 105, italics added; Ritzer, 1992)¹². A functional perspective translates into empirical analysis that can find only positive consequences of social capital (Ritzer, 1992). While Putnam concludes civic associations that generate social capital produce societal and governmental good

¹² Merton goes further to differentiate between ‘functions’ and ‘dysfunctions’ of social phenomenon. Coleman, however, makes no mention of dysfunction.

(Putnam, 1993), several studies have illustrated the extent to which social capital can confer ends to individuals such as economic prosperity, also through negative means (Rubio, 1997; Stephenson, 2001). For example, in his analysis of the development of the drug trade in Columbia, Rubio (1997: 808) concludes, “the consolidation of the various illegal activities in Columbia could not have taken place without a considerable accumulation of perverse social capital that is compatible with these interests”¹³. Rubio’s point is that the nature *and* effect of social relationships must be examined, in order to develop a sophisticated and extensive understanding of social capital. Applying social capital as an explanatory theory without taking into consideration its negative potential will necessarily produce research blind to the lived reality of community. Because Portes’ conception of social capital is not wholly dependent on benefits, his model allows for the consideration of their ill effects on in-group and out-group members.

However, Portes’ theoretical work also tends toward circularity, as much as he is dedicated to addressing and avoiding it. According to Portes’ theory, the important unit of analysis in a study of social capital is the motivations that individual network members have to confer benefits to other members. Therefore, to identify a community rich in social capital, one would determine whether or not individuals in the community possess the motivations to aid others. Portes considers these motivations to be the ultimate source of social capital. However, this becomes problematic because a study that translates this theory into statistical analysis risks assuming individuals in communities, insofar as they are the indicators of social capital, essentially *are* social capital. The basic

¹³ Granted, by referring to ‘perverse’ social capital Rubio appears to distinguish between two types of social capital, the ‘regular’ type and a negative perversion of that.

premise that states social capital inheres in the relations between individuals¹⁴, which Portes accepts, contradicts using the individual as the unit of analysis. If, as Portes contends, the sources of social capital, that is the motivations and their basis, are generated within a certain type or types of community relations, then it must be the communities themselves that are of empirical concern. Individuals do not cause or possess social capital, social groups do.

This means that what Portes considers to be the sources of social capital in communities actually *is* social capital in communities. That is, his “sources”, are more accurately elements of communities that can be deemed comparatively rich in social capital. These sources are the constituent elements of social capital. Therefore, when Portes concludes the sources (or causes) of social capital are separate from the community in which it operates (hence the individual approach), he runs into tautology by breaking what is actually one concept, social capital, into two discrete elements and then presuming they represent a relationship of cause and effect. Statistically speaking, this is problematic as research guided by this model would be measuring the same concept twice.

Despite its ambiguity, social capital is a significant concept for sociological research precisely because it reasserts the importance of analyses at the social, rather than individual level. Portes’ model suggests social capital research should understand communities as aggregates of individuals and their motivations to make themselves appropriable as a resource for others. A sociological analysis of social capital shifts the

¹⁴ Borrowing from Burt (1998: 7, italics added), social capital “is a quality *created between people*”.

focus to presume individuals within the communities are microcosms of their social structure. Therefore, a sociological analysis of social capital should take the community, not the individual, as the unit of analysis. The motivations Portes names, however, are arguably important characteristics of communities that serve as social capital, versus those that do not, and he draws from the work of Bourdieu and Coleman, as well as evidence from his own extensive research on immigrant communities, to develop them. Therefore, the research question for this thesis is informed by part of Portes' theoretical model. Rather than looking at all the 'sources' of social capital (as motivations of individuals), two of these sources, the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, are considered instead to be important characteristics of social capital. It is these characteristics that will be operationalized, to provide statistical indicators of social capital.

Towards A New Definition of Social Capital

The in-depth investigation of the major theories of social capital has lead towards a more refined definition of social capital on which this thesis rests. The definition of social capital on which this thesis rests represents an attempt to consolidate the strengths of Bourdieu's, Coleman's, and Portes' work into a workable conceptualization. This definition is premised on the notion that certain groups in society, owing to their internal structure, can provide for group members that which, in the group's absence, would not be there.

A way to broadly characterize the nature of groups that serve as social capital versus those that do not would be to liken them to the idea of kinship. Social relations within these groups involve dynamics including reciprocity, solidarity, trust, obligation, identification with the group, shared institutions (i.e. service providers as well as ideological institutions), and an active social milieu that further enables group members to come into contact with each other¹⁵. Therefore, to adequately study social capital, the essential unit of analysis is at the level of community, or social networks. The characteristics above are central to communities that possess social capital versus those that do not. Because the networks are built upon similar elements that comprise kinship relations, social capital refers to a specific kind, or (in the case of larger, more diffuse populations) a specific system, of networks. It is the nature of the network that allows the group to serve as social capital¹⁶. For that reason, it is necessary to identify elements of communities that allow them to be social capital and their components, if this term is to be conceptually and operationally defined.

Subsequently, the conceptual definition of social capital that underpins this research is as follows: *Social capital refers to a characteristic of social networks with conscious mutual recognition between members. It allows for a group to serve as a resource from which group members can draw. A network in which social capital is present provides for individual members that which might not have been present in the*

¹⁵ From her research on first and second-generation Asian immigrants in California, Tuan (1998) concludes participation and interaction within a co-ethnic social milieu is essential to constructing and maintaining a sense of culture, an essential bonding element of ethnic communities.

¹⁶ In this way, social capital theory differs from social network theory. Network theory focuses on "actors as points in a system of interconnections" (Turner, 1986: 287-288), or how individuals are known to each other. Here, social capital refers to the content or type of relations within a network.

network's absence. Normative or obligatory prescriptions for behaviour including solidarity, reciprocity, and the presence of group-specific institutions are defining characteristics of social capital in that they are phenomenon that are social in nature, and they make the groups appropriable as a resource by group members. Also, as resources are invested and drawn upon, they emerge in expanded form; being able to successfully draw from the network means individuals are more likely to reinvest their time and personal resources in the network, generating more social capital to be drawn from.

This definition of social capital represents a step towards synthesizing the major theories of social capital, encompassing their strengths and reconciling their weaknesses. Importantly, by using neutral language, the definition developed in this thesis attempts to avoid the tendency to conceptualize social capital in an entirely positive light. Finally, this definition outlines several characteristics of social capital, the translation of which into survey measures will provide preliminary statistical indicators of this concept. These concepts will be discussed in more detail below.

Only two elements of social capital, the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, will be examined in this thesis. Discerning and analyzing the components of all potential elements of social capital would be outside the scope of this project. The norm of reciprocity has been selected because of its centrality to the social capital literature, and bounded solidarity has been selected because of its potential salience for the formation of social capital in immigrant communities. The theoretical and

methodological rationales for selecting these two elements will be elaborated below, and again in Chapter 3.

The Norm of Reciprocity

There are several reasons why the norm of reciprocity has been selected as a characteristic of social capital whose statistical indicators will be developed in this thesis. First is the centrality of norms to community, which makes social capital possible in the first place. Community is neither natural nor static; it ultimately rests on the interrelation between its members and the social forces that guide them. In sociological theory, one of the more essential forces is a social norm. By this logic it is reasonable to assume social norms are essential to social capital, as well.

Another reason is the weight given to reciprocity by researchers and theorists interested in social capital. Many analyses identify reciprocity as a cornerstone of social capital. For Coleman (1988, 1990) and Putnam (2000), active reciprocity results in communities of trust and mutual aid, which they believe are necessary for social capital to occur. Portes (1995; 1998; 2000) names the norm of reciprocity as one of the central sources of social capital. There is near consensus that reciprocity is an important component of social capital. Because the research literature frames reciprocity as a vital characteristic of social capital, this concept is important to include in the research project (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Lang, 1994; Portes, 1995; Fernandez-Kelley, 1995; Putnam, 1995; Portes, 1998; Ricks et al., 1999; Sandefur and Laumann, 2000; Adler and Kwon, 2000; Onyx and Bullen, 2000; Putnam, 2001).

Methodological considerations also make the norm of reciprocity an important characteristic of social capital to study empirically. Because the main aim of the research project is to develop an operational definition of social capital, one consideration is for the characteristics selected for study to be amenable to quantifiable, or survey data¹⁷. Though norms are internalized as part of the socialization process, a process that is ongoing throughout life, most individuals are cognizant of what constitutes 'normal' versus 'abnormal' behaviour within a certain social group. Cognizance of the norm allows community members to respond as to the dynamics of the norm of reciprocity within their community.

The norm of reciprocity is also important to analyze because it is a uniquely sociological concept. A structural, or community level approach to social capital stresses the *normative* component of reciprocity. The way in which researchers choose to operationalize the norm of reciprocity reflects the seminal debate in sociology of structure versus agency. A structural approach would take as its starting point the influence of norms on behaviour, the agentic the individual's conscious decision to act according to various calculations, in this case of gain. It is beyond the scope of this study to fully engage this debate. In terms of research on international migration, if social capital is a response to an overly economic view of integration, then the norm of reciprocity is able to demonstrate the influence of social context on individual lives. Indeed, in the researcher's opinion, social capital is significant precisely because it

¹⁷ Although qualitative research would be useful for identifying additional elements of social capital, and revealing aspects of social capital not identified by statistical research, such an endeavor would be better left to future studies. This idea will be revisited in Chapter 5.

highlights the importance of considering the influence of social structure on individual behaviour and outcomes.

Most importantly, the norm of reciprocity is, in the researcher's opinion, a significant characteristic of ethnic communities that evidence social capital circulation. Reciprocity emphasizes the necessity of community to counter difficulties in the resettlement process many immigrants experience, due to language barriers (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1999), non-recognition of foreign credentials (Basran and Zong, 1998; Wanner, 1998; Li, 2001), deindustrialization (Lo et al., 2000), prejudice and discrimination (Li, 1988; Abu-Laban, 1998; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001) and other externally imposed obstacles.

Because norms are created, maintained, and transformed within specific social groups, it is likely that the dynamics of the norm of reciprocity are subject to some variation depending on the social system in which they occur. Ideally, this research will help to define more precisely the norm of reciprocity. However, a few defining characteristics of the norm can be identified from existing literature, around which there is some consensus. A conceptual definition of the norm of reciprocity is developed based on these general characteristics.

Sociological research understands norms in relation to a broader system of socio-structural influences on behaviour. A normative approach to social behaviour stresses the

degree to which individual action and experience is guided by statuses, roles, and concordant expectations for appropriate behaviour. As a normative component of communities, reciprocal exchange would be an expected behaviour.

Broadly, one's status refers to the general position in society an individual occupies¹⁸. Every status contains clusters of roles, or the various ways in which statuses are acted out (Albas and Albas, 1984). According to Roberts and von Below (2002: 121), "any particular role an individual plays is shaped by the expectations others have for his or her role performance". Therefore, it is possible that the status of 'Filipino' requires, among other things, the successful carrying out of one's role as a member of that group. Individuals holding the status of Filipino would have to satisfy certain obligations and expectations that are more or less prevalent in the community. These obligations and expectations are what constitute social norms.

In brief, norms refer to the ways social networks mandate how individuals 'should', or 'ought' to act, think, feel, or behave in specific social situations. Thus, norms are situational social imperatives for behaviour. Such an expectation could be exemplified by the norm of reciprocity. If, as Berger argues, roles are defined as "a typified response to a typified expectation" (Berger, 1963:95), then engaging in reciprocity can be considered an appropriate response to a normative expectation. As a result, it is important for the survey to address the conscious expectation of repayment as

¹⁸ The idea of status has been conceptualized differently by theorists. For example, Marx explained status in reference to one's economic class and the ability to access and command resources, while Weber emphasized understanding status in terms of power prestige (Ritzer, 1992).

a characteristic of the norm of reciprocity to determine whether reciprocity is hoped for, expected, or neither. In terms of obligation, reciprocity is believed to involve present, community-specific obligations. Though out-group obligation might still be present, it will not be as strong as a sense of obligation to the in-group. Reciprocity should thus involve more pressure to pay back obligations within the group.

Specifically, the norm of reciprocity centres on the notion of a social debt (Pido, 1986), a debt in that repayment is required, and social in that repayment satisfies the norm. This is evidenced in early work on the norm of reciprocity in classical sociological theory, specifically in the work of social exchange theorists (Homans, 1958; Ritzer, 1992), but also in more recent attempts to theorize reciprocity. The 'rational actor' perspective frames the norm of reciprocity in terms of a 'social debt': that is, individuals give because they know they are amassing valuable obligations from others for future favours (Portes, 1998; Blau, cited in Turner, 1986; Coleman, 1988; 1990)¹⁹. The norm is upheld in the community because members deem respecting the norm to be in their overall interest. In part, reciprocity is believed to involve individuals giving, knowing they will now be owed. Because this increases the visibility of the norm for community members, it would arguably be relatively straightforward to gather information on the extent to which the norm operates in Winnipeg's Filipino community.

¹⁹ For example, in the Cuban enclave of Miami (Portes, 1987) and in the Dominican community of New York (Portes and Zhou, 1992) wealthy community members often give others in the enclave start-up money for their own businesses. While the lender is aware that the money will be paid back, it is also common knowledge that other benefits (such as employment for relatives, shares in the company, free goods and services) will be reciprocated to them from the loan recipients.

Specific mandates surrounding the return of a debt are not overtly specified in much of the existing research. Rather, trust in reciprocal exchange within the community is assurance for members that at some point the favour will be returned (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000). For some theorists, trust is an important element of reciprocity and social capital (Granovetter, 1995; Sheedy, 1997; Aguilera, 2003; Freitag, 2003). While this trust is thought to be specific within the in-group, it is possible that in-group status might not be completely sufficient to explain the degree of trust that might exist between community members. There could be other factors mitigating the degree of trust community members have in reciprocal exchange. For example, people might be required to fulfill a reciprocal obligation to increase the trust others have in them, or individuals might be more likely to trust family or friends. It is important not to over-generalize the degree of in-group trust within a community. Rather, personal knowledge of the individual, a sense of security generated from being in the same in-group, someone's good reputation, or standing within the community, might generate the trust that is necessary for reciprocity to occur.

When one member helps another, there is generally no specification or expectation as to what form the reciprocal act will take, nor need there be any designation as to when the favour will be repaid (Bourdieu, 1985; Putnam, 1995; Portes, 1998; Adler and Kwon, 2000; Onyx and Bullen, 2000; Molm, 2003). It is also possible that who pays back the favour, and how individuals are repaid for favours, will be less important than the reciprocal transaction itself (Portes, 1998; Durrenberger, 2003). According to Gouldner (1960), reciprocal repayment can occur in a number of ways; a) to repay the

favour in the exact form in which it was received, and b) to repay a favour in terms of value, as subjectively determined by the giver and receiver. Within a community, there are no doubt varying degrees in terms of the expectation of reciprocity, the time to reciprocation, and the form in which the pay back is received²⁰.

Generally, a violation of social norms results in social sanctions, ranging from informal (social disapproval) to formal (a prison sentence) (Kendall et al., 2001). Homans (1958) argues the sanctions individuals incur for departing their behaviour from these generalized beliefs of what they 'should', or 'ought' to do, are vital components of norms. Therefore, the norm of reciprocity should involve informal sanctions for those who default on their reciprocal obligations.

Based on these assumptions, in this thesis the norm of reciprocity refers to *a social directive that indicates individuals in a social network, within which the norm operates, are expected to return favours, good deeds, or other aid that alternate network members provide for them*²¹. *As a normative system of reciprocal exchange, the receiver has, to varying degrees, an obligation to pay back the favour.*

²⁰ It is important to note that the dynamics of the norm can vary according to the stratification of statuses within a social group. For example, women are often expected to participate in 'caring' organizations, without expectation of recompense (Silvey and Elmhirst, 2003). Burt (1998) argues that in some groups women are not considered 'legitimate' members and can be exempt from accessing social capital. Though outside the scope of this project, future research would be well advised to analyze how the dynamics of social capital vary within, instead of just between, communities.

²¹ Although this definition might be criticized for framing reciprocity positively, Becker (1986) notes the norm of reciprocity does not involve repaying harm for harm, which would more accurately be defined as retribution (for an exception, see Fehr et al., 2002). Milbank also argues that reciprocity takes place when "gift is met with counter-gift" (Milbank, 2001:342).

Trust is an important component of the norm of reciprocity because network members are under no formal, or official obligation to repay what is socially considered owed. However, individuals who default on their normative obligation are instead subject to informal social sanctions, ranging from poor reputation to being excluded from further aid.

In the following section the conceptual development of bounded solidarity, the second element of social capital examined in this thesis, will be discussed.

Bounded Solidarity

The concept of bounded solidarity arises mainly from the work of Alejandro Portes, first developed out of research findings on the Haitian community in Miami (Portes, 1995)²². However, Portes locates the roots of bounded solidarity in Marx's idea of class-consciousness, when a class of-itself becomes a class for-itself. Broadly, bounded solidarity is rooted on the realization that one shares a commonality with a specific group of others, owing to a shared social position. According to Portes (1998: 7-8), "by being thrown together in a common situation, [members of an ethnic group] learn to identify with each other and support each other's initiatives. This solidarity...is an emergent product of a common fate". What Portes considers particularly important to

²² Although evidence of bounded solidarity can be found in other studies on immigrant integration (see for example, Ebaugh, 2003), it is not explicitly theorized as a sociological concept.

this concept is the degree to which bounded solidarity arises from feelings of marginalization and exclusion from the dominant group²³.

Therefore, bounded solidarity is particularly relevant for the study of social capital in immigrant communities, because it incorporates several variables on which social capital within immigrant communities might be based. Commonality based on a shared identity and mutual recognition provides more insight as to why some immigrants may choose to resettle within an ethnic enclave rather than outside it. As such, bounded solidarity is a potentially useful concept for elucidating the social context in which immigrants resettle. In this sense, self-identification could be the basis for the affinity and trust requisite for social capital. Once quantified, bounded solidarity can also empirically question whether ethnicity affects the course of resettlement, a concept that cannot be examined using conventional data. There are several potential indicators of bounded solidarity discussed below.

The notion of shared identity is a central component of bounded solidarity. This shared identity can run along a number of lines. The first is bounded solidarity that arises from the recognition within a community that its members share a similar, marginalized position. This is separate from the experience of discrimination, which is central to Marx's, and Portes' work on bounded solidarity. Even if the community does not

²³ A marginalized position might not be necessary for bounded solidarity to operate within a community. It is feasible to assume the same motivations would occur between members of an elite social group, as well. Even within immigrant communities, Portes' work has shown this to operate. In the Cuban enclave in Miami, wealthy members of the Cuban community who immigrated to escape Castro's regime openly exclude Mariel refugees, who arrived in the 1980s (Eaton and Garrison, 1992)

experience overt discrimination or other hostile reactions, some immigrants attest to feeling not at home, or feeling at the fringes of the host society. This would refer to a feeling of marginalization, rather than discrimination, and can refer to feeling excluded from the host society. According to the concept of bounded solidarity, the experience of marginalization also strengthens the ties and identification with others in the community. The difference is that marginalization would foster solidarity based on its practical necessity, whereas overt discrimination would foster a desire for solidarity based on the perception of an adversarial relationship between 'us' and 'them'. While keeping in mind they might have different origins and manifestations, creating indicators of bounded solidarity would require the inclusion of measures of shared identity owing to the experience of marginalization, and discrimination.

Bounded solidarity in immigrant communities can also be generated by being a member of a specific ethnic group, and by the shared experience of migration. In these instances, shared identity would be based on ethnicity, and immigrant status. As a community dynamic, another important indicator of bounded solidarity would be the degree to which solidarity is expected of community members (Portes, 1995).

Based on these characteristics, in this thesis bounded solidarity *revolves around the idea of 'self' and 'other', evoking the classic sociological concept of in-group and out-group members. This solidarity is bounded, as it is limited to communities or networks whose members identify each other as 'self'. The notion of shared identity is central to this concept. Thus, bounded solidarity is an affiliational or identificational*

connection between in-group members. The sharing of identity arises from common characteristics such as ethnicity, but primarily from a similar, subordinate social position shared by members because of those common characteristics. The shared identity allows the group to be appropriable as a resource by other members, in some instances to advance the interests of the group's position as a whole.

Based on the conceptual development provided in the preceding sections, indicators of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity are identified and translated into survey measurements. In order to collect data that, when subject to factor analysis will identify the underlying components of each concept, these survey questions are administered to a sample of immigrants to Winnipeg. Because this study aims to empirically analyze the constituent elements of social capital and their constituent parts, social capital must first be relevant to the sample from which information on these elements will be collected. Due to its size and strength of community, individuals living in Winnipeg who have immigrated from the Philippines comprise the sample. A discussion of why Filipino immigrants have been selected for this thesis is provided below.

Migration to Canada from the Philippines

The 1970s heralded the advent of a new 'value free' era of immigration. That is, rather than acceptance criteria hinging ethnic quotas, the 'points system' was expected to ensure immigrants were selected on the basis of their human capital, and its projected relationship to economic performance and ease of resettlement (Hawkins, 1988; Li, 1988,

Jakubowski, 1999). The points system is often considered one of the reasons for the change in countries of origin for immigrants to Canada, from European to Asian, African, and Latin American. The policy's emphasis on human capital is often considered one of the reasons for this shift.

As Espiritu (2003) notes, although macrostructural explanations for patterns of international migration are valid, their focus is primarily on the economic impetus for migration. Consequently, they are not able to identify that which, in the case of Filipino migrants, is arguably a more important influence on the decision to immigrate and the choice of resettlement location. It is true that the importation of Filipino labour (Cohen, 2000; Parrenas, 2001; Espiritu, 2003) encouraged Philippine migration to North America, and that the relaxation of ethnic quotas tempered their admittance exclusion. But at the same time, "affiliative" [sic] influences (Espiritu, 2003:44), or patterns of chain migration, are also responsible for the patterns of Filipino migration and resettlement. Many Filipino immigrants were able to enter North America because relatives sponsored them as family class migrants. Hence, immigrants from the Philippines are very likely to be enmeshed in social linkages of family and kinship relations, the type of social networks hypothesized to be key for social capital. This makes this population very suitable for an initial study of social capital.

It is difficult to formulate an informed discussion about the research on Filipino immigrants, especially in Canada, given the lack of research interest in this group. In 1990, Anita Beltran Chen (1990: 83) conducted a review of the literature on Filipinos in

Canada. She summarized the state of research as “scanty and fragmentary”, with a “virtual lack of original empirical studies”, and some 15 years later the situation has not improved. The research literature on Filipino immigrants in Winnipeg is especially sparse²⁴. However, some studies have been conducted in Canada and the United States, notably in Hawaii and California (Ponce and Lee, 1977; Almirol, 1982; Okamura, 1984; Espiritu, 1995; Espiritu, 2003; Espiritu and Wolf, 2001). Though for the most part dated, research stresses the rich social and cultural life that contributes to an enduring and salient sense of common identity and solidarity among immigrants from the Philippines (Aranas, 1983; Bonus, 2000; Espiritu, 2003). Mutual aid, reciprocity and the importance of kinship networks are also frequently cited in the research literature as key characteristics of Filipino communities (Bustamante, 1984; Holsteen, 1988; Chen, 1998; Bonus, 2000)²⁵. Research has also repeatedly shown that in the Philippines as well as in Filipino communities abroad, reciprocity is an active, important norm (Bustamante, 1984; Pido, 1986; Holsteen, 1988; Chen, 1998; Bonus, 2000). Therefore, this ethnocultural group provides a group that is presumably well suited for the study of the norm of reciprocity.

In terms of bounded solidarity, Filipino communities have not been immune to the experience of discrimination and ‘otherness’ that is characteristic of the immigration experience in Canada (Abu-Laban, 1998). Research cites the perception many Filipino

²⁴ For exceptions, see Buduhan (1972), Buduhan and Oandason (1981), Holsteen (1988), Salazar et al. (2001) and the exemplary work of Yen Espiritu (1995; 2003).

²⁵ Hollnsteiner (1973) examines the norm of reciprocity operating in the village of Tawiran, Philippines. She identifies reciprocity as a particularly important element of social life in the village. Most important is *utang na loob*, a phenomenon closely akin to the norm of reciprocity. Here the type and time of repayment is unspecified, and all members of the community are obligated to provide assistance to other members whenever possible.

immigrants have felt for the necessity of kin relationships and ethnic networks to combat social isolation and exclusion (Buduhan, 1972; Ramcharan, 1982; Espiritu, 2003), and to provide services that ease the settlement experience (Almirol, 1982; Liu, Ong and Rosentstein, 1991). These factors serve to enhance the sense of solidarity and 'we-ness' that is so important to bounded solidarity. It also enhances the need for reciprocity within immigrant communities, and increases the likelihood that the respondents will be aware of these dynamics.

Overall, immigrant communities, Winnipeg's Filipino community in particular, are well suited to studies of social capital. On the one hand, community resources are often necessary to ease the difficulties with resettlement. These resources can include economic aid, emotional support, social groups and functions, and providing a sense of stability and belonging that can deteriorate during the migration process. On the other hand, as Portes notes, immigrants often have few options for these same kinds of things outside their community (Portes, 1998; Coleman, 1988). For various reasons, these immigrants might not be as mobile as the native-born²⁶. They may lack the knowledge necessary to seize opportunities for mobility, or lack ties to networks that are often key links to social and occupational mobility (access to social capital in networks outside the ethnic community). Furthermore, immigrants are often met with discrimination and blocked opportunity outside the ethnic community, further compounding their dependence on the ethnic community. For these reasons, social capital is an important

²⁶ This is of course a generalization. There are many native-born individuals who are not mobile outside their physical and social geography, and many immigrants who are highly mobile.

aspect of immigrant integration, and immigrant communities provide a useful site in which to study social capital.

Conclusion

The idea for this study arose from noting a relative inability of most large-scale studies of immigrant resettlement to account for the social bases of integration, and the aforementioned issues with the social capital literature. There are two important considerations that determined the form in which social capital will be operationalized. First, it is arguable that the inability of research to explain patterns of integration arises from a lack of sufficient measures of the social forces that exert a powerful influence on the nature of resettlement, measures that can also be used in a large-scale study. Second, such large-scale studies are generally conducted via quantitative survey research. Social capital has the potential to be an important analytical tool predicting the resettlement experiences of immigrants. Operationalizing social capital in survey format will satisfy what is lacking in some research, and will become an applicable consideration in future analyses.

This chapter has discussed the conceptual work surrounding social capital and two of its constituent parts; the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity. On the basis of previous theory and research, a new definition of social capital has been offered which attempts to synthesize the major theories of social capital into an operational model for its empirical study. In addition, the underlying components, or indicators, of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity have been discussed. Chapter 3 details the way in

which this conceptual work translates into the operationalization of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, and the means by which corresponding survey data will be collected and analyzed.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The primary purpose of this project is to operationalize some important elements of social capital within ethnic communities. The goal of the thesis is to create preliminary statistical measurements of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, two central elements of social capital. This chapter will discuss the research questions, operationalization of variables, the method of data collection, sample criteria, sampling method, a brief discussion of the sample characteristics, ethical considerations involved with carrying out the study, and the method data analysis.

Research Question and Hypothesis

The research question of the thesis project asks: What are the important elements of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity? The research question is answered by identifying the elements of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity using previous research as a guide then testing this conceptualization through the utilization of survey methods. Factor analysis is used to statistically identify the factors that comprise the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity.

Based on the assumption that the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity are important parts of social capital, answered in part by the conceptual development outlined in Chapter Two and in part by factor analysis, the hypothesis underlying this thesis presumes the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity can be quantitatively

identified by survey research. This will be addressed by factor analyses conducted on the survey data.

This research is important for a number of reasons. The first lies in advancing the definition of social capital. Social capital currently enjoys immense popularity in the social sciences and humanities, but the concept still remains theoretically ambiguous and lacking a firm operational definition. This project seeks to address this by identifying two potentially important aspects of social capital, and to provide preliminary survey measurements of each.

A second, but less central concern for this research is its importance for advancing the quantitative study of immigrant and ethnic communities. To accurately represent the experience of resettlement and the factors that influence this, immigration research should examine the social context of resettlement, of which ethnic communities can be an important part.

Operationalization of the Norm of Reciprocity

To recap, the norm of reciprocity refers to a social directive indicating individuals in a social network within which the norm operates should, or ought to return favours, good deeds, or other aid that alternate network members provide for them. As a normative system of reciprocal exchange, the receiver has, to varying degrees, an obligation to pay back the favour. Trust is an important component of the norm of

reciprocity because network members are under no formal or official obligation to repay what is socially considered owed.

Respondents were asked 27 questions (Questions 16a-aa) pertaining to the norm of reciprocity. Response options for all 27 questions are organized using a five-point, Likert-type scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree), with two 'opt-out' responses (Don't Know, and 'No Response'). Appendix B refers

Questions 16a, j, g, and t pertain to the expectation of repayment in the Filipino community, for aid received from other members. Questions 16x, u, and z inquire as to whether community members are obligated to engage in reciprocal transactions, and whether reciprocity is limited to the community, or operates outside the community as well. Questions 16d and 16i measure the instrumental, or rational-actor aspect of reciprocity, by inquiring as to whether individuals who do a favour within the community have the conscious expectation this favour will be repaid. Questions 16h, q, and y examine trust as an active component of the norm of reciprocity. Four survey questions (questions 16m, o, s, and aa) ask about the presence of sanctions for those who default on reciprocal obligations, i.e. is failure to repay a favour in some way 'punishable'? Question 16b examines whether reciprocity extends uniformly to all coethnics, or differentially, in this case seeing whether individuals who are more involved in the community are more likely to receive aid than others²⁷. Two open-ended questions (19

²⁷ It was not feasible to ask questions in terms of all the ways in which social capital might be differentiated within the group, due to the survey length.

and 20) allow for the respondent to provide information on the characteristics of people who would be more likely, and less likely, to receive help.

Based on the conceptual work surrounding negative social capital, question 16k and 16e examines the problem of free-riders as an element of the norm of reciprocity, and excess claims on group members, respectively.

Operationalization of Bounded Solidarity

Bounded solidarity revolves around the idea of 'self' and 'other', evoking the classic sociological concept of in-group and out-group members. This solidarity is bounded as it is limited to communities or networks whose members, to varying degrees and intensities, identify other members as 'self'. The notion of shared identity is central to this concept. Thus, bounded solidarity is an affiliational or identificational connection between in-group members, based in a sense of 'sameness'. Twenty-seven questions on the survey, 7a-aa, directly relate to bounded solidarity. Like the questions on the norm of reciprocity, individuals are given a card indicating their response options, which range from 'Strongly agree' to 'Strongly disagree' (Appendix A refers).

In a study of bounded solidarity, it is important to examine why identification with co-ethnics happens in the first place. Questions 7a, k, and o measure whether the Filipino community holds a marginalized position in Winnipeg, and whether the community feels 'togetherness' based on this marginalized position. Questions 7b, f, u,

and w look at whether Filipinos experience discrimination in Winnipeg, and the togetherness might they feel as a result of being part of a group experiencing discrimination.

Because “sameness” does not only arise based on negative reactions from dominant groups²⁸, questions 7p, and 7x focus simply on solidarity based on shared Filipino ethnicity, while question 7j examines whether community members feel a solidarity with Filipino immigrants owing to ‘migration empathy’²⁹. Several questions examine the differentiation of affinity within the ethnic community (questions 7d, g, n, and aa)³⁰. Question 7h examines trust specific to the Filipino community.

Questions 7t and 7r measure the salience of solidaristic feelings within the community, and the importance of in-group solidarity within the community. Questions 7l and 7y, examines solidarity in terms of whether it is an entrenched expectation in the community.

Questions 7v, e, m, i, and q look at the ill-effects of bounded solidarity, namely restrictions on personal freedom, downward levelling norms, excess claims on group

²⁸ Bounded solidarity need not arise solely from marginalization; several studies have outlined the resistance to assimilation immigrant groups have demonstrated, avoiding integration to the dominant culture by keeping social ties within the coethnic community (Zhou and Bankston, 1994; Rumbaut, 1997)

²⁹ By this logic, it is arguable that bounded solidarity could occur between immigrants, across different ethnicities or countries of origin. In this thesis I limit the analysis to one ethnic group, therefore the fluidity of bounded solidarity cannot be exhaustively examined.

³⁰ It is beyond the scope of this thesis project to examine fully the degree to which solidarity can be differentiated within the Filipino community, but it was important to compile some preliminary data on the nature of differentiation.

members, and exclusion of out-group members. These questions attempt to capture the potential strains that solidarity to the in-group can cause.

Operationalization of Control Variables

The survey includes a number of control variables that might affect the respondent's experience with bounded solidarity and the norm of reciprocity. These are ultimately used as a test for construct validity and are not intended for comparative use given the nature of the research question.

Demographic data is collected from the study sample, to get a sense of the relationship between demographic characteristics and the dependent variables and as a simple test of construct validity. Demographic questions pertain to age, sex, highest level of education, marital status, years in Canada, ethnic identity and annual household income³¹. Collecting demographic data is standard procedure that allows the researcher to gain an understanding of the sample composition, and also allows readers of the research to situate the sample in certain social contexts (e.g. if the sample is skewed with highly educated respondents, for example). In this case, demographics can also be linked to statuses, which could be a potentially significant interactant with social capital³².

Because this is a preliminary attempt at measuring the norm of reciprocity and bounded

³¹ One concern with income measures is the reluctance of respondents to reveal personal information. To compensate for a potential source of response attrition, respondents were given a card listing income categories in denominations of ten thousand dollars. They were then asked to provide the number that best represented their annual household income.

³² Social status could reasonably affect how an individual experiences and understands the characteristics of social capital in communities. It also allows for the definition of social capital to be further refined on the basis of things like position in the community.

solidarity quantitatively, it should be possible to test for relationships between demographic characteristics and the constructs of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity to partially rule out various status effects. An examination of the bivariate relationships between the demographic variables and scores for the indexed dependent variables, and their tests of significance will elucidate relationships that might exist.

Characteristics of Sample

A demographic profile of the sample is presented in Table 3.1. Twenty-nine women and 21 men participated in the study. Respondents range in age from 19 to 66, and the mean age of respondents is 41 years. All respondents emigrated from the Philippines, and have immigrated between one and fifteen years ago. The mean length of time living in Canada is 7 years. The majority of respondents (36) are married. The sample is highly educated. Thirty-five respondents hold Bachelor's degrees or college diplomas, and 7 hold Master's degrees. Correlations between education and the dependent variables were conducted to screen for any potential bias in responses and no such patterns or significant relationships are found.

Table 3.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Sample (N=50)		
<i>Variable</i>	N	%
Age (years)	Mean=41	
19-31	7	14.0
31-39	15	30.0
40-49	21	42.0
50-59	6	12.0
60+	1	2.0
Years in Canada	Mean=7	
1-5	22	44.0
6-9	13	26.0
10-15	15	30.0
Marital Status		
Married	36	72.0
Not Married	14	28.0
Education		
High School	5	10.0
Technical		
School	2	4.0
Bachelor's	35	70.0
Master's	7	14.0
PhD	1	2.0
Gender		
Female	29	58.0
Male	21	42.0

Data Collection and Mode of Administration

Interviews were conducted between March and June, 2004, by interviewing individuals in Winnipeg who have immigrated from the Philippines in the last 15 years. At the outset, a minimum sample size of 30 respondents was deemed feasible for the study's purposes. At the end of data collection, however, 56 respondents completed the

survey. Fifty of these interviews are retained for data analysis as 6 interviews were given by individuals who had been in Canada for more than 15 years.

There were several considerations regarding sample size. First, the size of the sample has to be large enough so it could be statistically analyzed, and 30 respondents was agreed to be the smallest sample for the thesis. Second, time to administer the surveys is a consideration. The sample size has to be small enough so a single researcher can produce the data in several months, an amount of time that is reasonable for a Master's thesis. Third, gathering data from a larger sample is unfeasible due to the cost involved in administering the survey for transportation, letterhead, printing the survey, letters of consent and introduction, and canvassing posters. Moreover, the sample had to be manageable, given that the abstract nature of the topic made in-person interviews the most appropriate method of survey administration³³. Considerations of informed consent and feedback, response pattern attrition, interviewer-respondent rapport, enhancing the reliability of responses through visual aids, and enhanced responses to open-ended questions favour conducting in-person interviews over telephone, or self-administered surveys. These will be discussed in turn below.

In-person interviews allow for the researcher to explain the purpose of the survey directly to the respondent, and to ensure they read the letters of introduction and consent.

³³ Though administering a survey by in-person interview results in higher response rates than for self-administered surveys (Bourque and Fielder, 1995; Fowler, 2002), in-person interviews means fewer respondents can be contacted and surveyed in the same amount of time as would be the case for telephone interviews (Fowler, 2002). Mailing the surveys to potential respondents could result in contacting a larger number of people in a small amount of time, but often results in an even smaller sample size due to low response rates associated with mail-out surveys (Dillman, 1983; Weinberg, 1983; Rogers, 1989).

Respondents are able to sign the letter of consent directly, and to raise any questions regarding the study and its purpose directly to the researcher, facilitating direct and immediate feedback. In-person interviews also allow the interviewer to control the order in which questions are answered, and they assure the respondent is the same person for whom the survey was intended. This mode of administration also ensures that “question order biases” (Sheatsely, 1983:199) do not enter the data because each respondent is interviewed uniformly, answering questions in the order in which they occur without prior knowledge of subsequent questions. In other words, respondents are not able to peruse the entire questionnaire before they begin to answer questions, something that could potentially bias their responses (Bourque and Fielder, 1995). These are all important considerations because the survey relies on strict response sets, and rests on the input of a select group of people only.

In-person interviews are also preferable because the survey is rather lengthy, comprised of 94 questions. According to Sheatsley (1983:199), only “time and cost factors” limit the length of questionnaires designed for personal interview need. In this case, the interviews are too long for telephone interviewing, but acceptable for in-person interviews. The interview process for this survey took, on average, 45 minutes to complete. Another benefit is that meeting someone and speaking to them face-to-face is more amenable to developing a rapport, which can encourage and maintain respondent interest in the survey. Over the telephone, lengthy interviews that involve similar response sets for many questions can become boring and confusing, especially if the survey is lengthy. It is essential for the reliability and validity of both the survey

instrument and the data it produces that neither the interviewer nor the respondent becomes disinterested or fatigued. Fatigue and boredom can seriously affect the way the interview questions are asked, as well as the thought the respondent devotes to answering each question (Weinberg, 1983; Fink, 1995a), negating any value the questions themselves might have.

In-person interviews also allow the researcher to be aware of respondent's non-verbal cues, which, for example, may alert the researcher to their confusion, or disinterest (Weinberg, 1983; Rogers, 1989). Both can seriously affect the quality of responses that are given thus increasing response error (Groves, 1989). This is particularly important in the event a respondent is hesitant to voice their difficulty comprehending a question or particular word. In the event a question is unclear, in-person interviews also facilitate immediate clarification.

A useful technique for enhancing the reliability of survey scales is to provide visual aids that detail the response options for each question. Owing to the strict response sets in the survey, and because English is a second language for some of the respondents, visual aids are a useful tool for this project (Weinberg, 1983; Rogers, 1989). For this survey, several such cards were created and handed to the respondent as they were asked longer, grid-type questions. Copies of the response cards are included in Appendix B.

Responses to open-ended questions are also generally more detailed for in-person than for telephone surveys. This is because the interviewer has a better chance to develop a rapport with their interview subjects. According to Weinberg (1983: 337), rapport can be essential in putting the respondent at ease with the interview, and in subsequently eliciting "open and frank responses" (Fowler and Mangione, 1990). Given the abstract nature of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, there are several open-ended questions in this survey and the in-person method is deemed more appropriate.

One disadvantage associated with in-person interviews is that the risk of social desirability bias is higher than with self-administered interview techniques (Bradburn, 1983; Sheatsley, 1983; Rogers, 1989). Respondents "may react to the interviewer's physical characteristics and may be more eager to please an interviewer who is physically present" (Frey and Oishi, 1995: 40). Also, in face-to-face interviews, respondents present their physical person, which is closely tied to how they feel others will react to them and who they feel they are (Goffman, 1959). In this study, however, social desirability bias is not a great concern. With the exception of education and income variables, this survey asks for the respondent to divulge little of themselves. Granted, respondents might be more tempted to show the community in a positive light, but social desirability is a potential pitfall that almost all research using human subjects risks. Respondents are explained that honesty in their answers is important, and any response they choose is useful to the study. It is hoped this will reassure the respondent and facilitate honest answers to the survey questions.

Response option cards for the income question, included in the appendices, are designed to ameliorate the response attrition to some of the more sensitive questions. As to the temptation for respondents to emphasize the positive, and underplay the negative aspects of Winnipeg's Filipino community, the letters of introduction which are reiterated by the researcher at the start of each interview, stress the respondent be as open and honest as possible. Again, this is a consideration in nearly all forms of research involving human subjects, and was duly addressed in this study.

Selection Criteria

Inclusion in the study rests on several criteria. Respondents were required to 1) be of Filipino ethnic origin, 2) have emigrated from The Philippines in the last 15 years, 3) be over the age of 18, and, 4) be fluent in English. The reasons that one ethnic community such as the Filipinos is chosen as the subject of study are substantive and pragmatic. The research literature agrees that a sense of connection to the community is important for reciprocity and solidarity to operate (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2001; Hean et al., 2003). It makes sense then, that in the case of research on social capital and immigrant networks, a major variable that underpins and makes possible these elements is co-ethnicity³⁴ (Light et al., 1990; Waldinger, 1995; Portes and Landolt, 2000; Yoo, 2000; Uslaner and Conley, 2003).

³⁴ Some research dissects the nature of solidarity between coethnics by examining the attitudes immigrants and native-born coethnics can have towards one another. Ochoa (2000) for example, finds both conflict and cooperation (especially around matters involving cultural commonality) between the two groups. This is mentioned to underline the importance of not overstating the extent to which a major bonding variable (see Woolcock, 1998) like ethnicity would secure uniformity in the experience of community life and social capital. Espiritu (2003) also cautions that inter-group cleavages can occur across class, gender, age, and linguistic lines. Researchers dissatisfied with an over-generalized conception of social capital are emphasizing the importance of refining the theory's accuracy by examining the concrete intersections of ethnicity, gender, and class, and their relation to social capital (Burt, 1998; Mayoux, 2001; Molyneux, 2002; Silvey and Elmhirst, 2003).

The Filipino community is an ideal community to examine social capital in Winnipeg. There are a number of practical and substantive reasons for selecting this group. The first is the size of the community in Winnipeg, which in part reflects the numbers of Filipino immigrants to Canada. Since 1992, The Philippines has been amongst the top ten source countries for migrants to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2003a). But these numbers belie important regional differences in terms of where Filipinos choose to resettle. Like other ethnic groups in Canada (for example the Japanese in Vancouver, South Asians in Toronto, and Caribbeans in Montreal), Filipinos live in more or less concentrated areas of the country, and Winnipeg has one of the largest and most active Filipino communities in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001).

In Winnipeg, while Filipinos represent approximately 5% of the total population, and they represent 36% of the visible minority population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002). The Filipino community is also by far the largest immigrant community in Winnipeg. While the city does not have the largest number of Filipino residents in Canada, proportional to the local population the percentage of Filipinos living in Winnipeg is the highest³⁵. Moreover, of 30,490 reported Filipinos living in Manitoba, only 395 live outside Winnipeg. If Chen's (1998: 42) assertion is correct, and "close family and kin [prevail] in the area of destination" for Filipino immigrants, then it is likely not a coincidence that the numbers of Filipinos are concentrated in Winnipeg.

³⁵ Although numbers are important insofar as they are linked to larger networks and social groups, it should be mentioned that large communities are not absolutely necessary for social capital. For example, Gronseth (2001) found positive and negative social capital in a small community of Tamil refugees in Northern Norway. These findings are similar to those from an earlier study on "tropical islanders in the Atlantic" (Magsino, 1982).

These statistics seem to reflect a community with strong affiliational ties, one that likely to be relevant to a study of social capital.

More people immigrate to Winnipeg from the Philippines than any other country. Statistics Canada data indicates between 1991 and 2001, of the 26,405 immigrants that arrived in Winnipeg, 7,225 (27.4%) were from the Philippines (Statistics Canada, 2003a). Filipinos constitute the largest proportion of new immigrants to Winnipeg within the last ten years. Furthermore, Canadian Census data indicates in 2001 Filipinos constituted 21.2% of the total immigrant population (Statistics Canada, 2003b). Not only does the Filipino community already comprise a sizeable population, but also a continuous migratory flow means the Filipino community is growing every year.

In addition to large numbers of migrants, data indicates Filipinos are also likely to have a strong sense of ethnic identity and community (Chekki and Redekop, 2001). Based on 2002 data collected from the Ethnic Diversity Survey, Statistics Canada reported that Filipinos were most likely (78%) to report feeling a “strong sense of belonging” (Statistics Canada 2003c: 3) specifically with other Filipinos, making them a good choice for a study of this type.

Because the interviews are conducted in English only, individuals who were eligible for inclusion in the sample must be fluent in English. This is a criterion most Filipinos satisfy. Essentially a U.S. colony until 1946, the primary language of education

in The Philippines remains English (Pido, 1986; Espiritu, 2003). The Philippines has long been influenced by American culture, by way of movies, music, magazines and television (Espiritu and Wolf, 2001). One result of all this is that Filipino immigrants to Canada generally arrive with a firm grounding in English. Granted, the 2001 Census data reveals Tagalog is the most widely spoken minority language in Winnipeg (Statistics Canada, 2003c), which is indicative of the size of the Filipino community, but it also points to a significant proportion of community members who do not identify as Tagalog speakers and are likely to be native English speakers.

These considerations identify the Filipino community as an excellent group in which to launch a Winnipeg research project on social capital. This group has developed into a thriving community with an established history in the city and an enduring sense of ethnic identity.

Immigrants are specifically selected to participate in the research study for a number of reasons. First, research on social capital has important implications for immigration policy. It is an important analytical tool used to modify existing human capital theories of integration, which do not include considerations of the social context of resettlement. Second, since this thesis is concerned with advancing the theoretical and statistical study of social capital, immigrant communities provide important spaces in which social capital can be studied. Another reason for the study of immigrants, rather than native-born Filipinos, is the potential importance of social capital to the resettlement process. Repeatedly, research has demonstrated the importance of communities and

social networks to combat various difficulties immigrants face when they arrive in their host country. Rather than making the explicit assumption that communities are only a source of gain for new immigrants, the research instrument also allows for the negative effects of belonging to a closely-knit community.

To be included in the study, immigrants were required to have immigrated to Winnipeg within the last 15 years. It was also important to provide a mix of recently arrived immigrants, as well as immigrants who have had some time to settle in Winnipeg. While immigrants who arrived 15 years ago will likely be very familiar with community dynamics, the community is also important to the process of resettlement for new immigrants. Because of the potential for their reliance on the community, it is believed newer immigrants will also be familiar with the dynamics of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, and thus a good source from which to gather information about the community, from a perspective different than “older” immigrants. In addition, their recency of arrival made it easier to locate potential respondents through Filipino organizations, and key informants in the Filipino community.

There are limitations involved with this sample. Unfortunately the small sample size complicates the statistical analysis of the social capital indices. The concern here is the findings of these indices will be limited in their generalizeability. Because of this, findings from the analysis must be interpreted with caution. However, this thesis is an attempt to develop preliminary measurements of social capital. From the project’s outset, it was clear the validity of the dependent variable measurements would require more

rigorous quantitative scrutiny in future study. Although this situation is not ideal, creating reliable and internally valid indices will provide the important groundwork on which future studies will be able to test the factorability of similar scales.

Sampling Method

Respondents for the study are obtained using a variety of techniques of non-probability sampling, namely key informants, canvassing, and snowball sampling. Non-probability sampling is the most feasible method of generating a sample because there are no lists detailing new immigrants to the city, their backgrounds, or their contact information, from which a random sample can be generated and contacted. A situation such as this is one in which non-probability sampling routinely occurs (Babbie, 2001; Berg 2001). The limitations of non-probability sampling and its implications for data analysis and interpretation will be discussed below.

To obtain the sample, the thesis project advisor was able to put the researcher in contact with several key members of the Filipino community. The cooperation of community leaders was obtained via telephone conversations, e-mail, letters of introduction, and in-person meetings. The researcher was also put in contact with members of the Filipino community through the connections of family and friends. These members include church leaders, community liaisons, and members of the health care profession who act as key informants to the Filipino immigrant community. Key informants were able to provide the researcher with names and contact information of newly arrived Filipino immigrants who might be interested in participating in the study.

Filipino cultural centres, churches, restaurants, shops, and other immigrant serving agencies were canvassed in order to invite interested parties to contact the researcher and set up an appointment to be interviewed. Signs posted in these places provided a brief description of the study, the sample requirements, and the researcher's contact information. The posters also detailed the contact information for the thesis project advisor and the head of the sociology department, should the respondent have had any concerns. The researcher also gave an interview on *Manila Sound*, a Philippine broadcast on a local radio station, describing the study and inviting those interested to participate. Interested parties were able to contact the researcher via telephone or e-mail. They either provided their contact information to be reached at a convenient time to set up an appointment, or if they reached the researcher via telephone, an interview was set at that time.

Snowball sampling was also used to obtain the sample. Once respondents had completed the survey, they were asked for the contact information of individuals they knew who met the selection criteria, and who might be interested in completing the survey. The ways in which respondents were recruited was also recorded, to facilitate identifying any potential biases in recruitment methods. Therefore, in the event skewness resulting from snowball sampling is a concern, this could be tracked³⁶. Though the effects of snowball sampling on the scales' external validity cannot be ameliorated, this check allows the study to go beyond the standard caution of bias used when reporting results. Therefore, the study can provide a more concrete guide as to how the answers

³⁶ No significant relationship was found between how participation for the study was obtained, and the dependent variables.

may be biased (e.g. a tightly-knit snowball), and a directive as to how the scales can be made generalizeable in subsequent studies.

The greatest limitation of non-probability sampling stems from the inability to generalize the findings from such a sample to the population of interest (Babbie, 2001; Berg, 2001). Probability sampling assumes randomization, a process whereby there is a known, equal chance that members of the population will be selected into a sample. Because non-probability samples are not random, it generally follows that a select subset of the population will have a greater likelihood of being selected for the sample. This also makes for a sample highly “vulnerable to selection biases” (Fink, 1995a: 32). Selection biases occur when, for a variety of reasons, the individuals in the sample could be different from the target population, and very similar to each other, in a number of potentially important ways.

Snowball sampling and using key informants to identify respondents, therefore, risks generating a sample that is internally consistent, but is not representative of the wider community. With snowball sampling, research also runs the risk of not attaining enough variation in terms of the types of responses given, owing to similar experiences and world-views between respondents. So, for example, a respondent might give a particular answer to questions about the experience of discrimination because they know friends who have experienced discrimination first-hand. However, those friends, if interviewed, will likely give the same responses, skewing the data. A person who has been denied aid from the community might speak very poorly of it, accentuating its

negative aspects. Those who are close to them, using their friend's experience as a referent, could respond in kind. As Fink (1995b: 23) notes, the researcher has little power to prevent this bias (except through probability sampling) because they have "little or no control" over who is recommended by respondents.

Another potential selection bias is risked for individuals whose participation was "opportunistic and voluntary" (Fink, 1995b: 23), for example those who responded to recruitment posters in cultural centres. These respondents also might not be representative of the Filipino community. For example, responding to a sign eliciting participation indicates a certain extroversion—which is endemic to almost all surveys; those who respond could be particularly outgoing, and might be particularly active inside and outside the Filipino community—or if they were contacted via a valued community member, they may feel more pressured to complete the survey than if they had been contacted at random. They also might have an interest in social research, and therefore could be social scientists, or more educated, themselves. Or, the fact that individuals saw posters that were in the cultural centres implies they spend time in the centres, and therefore might be more entrenched in the community. These are recruitment issues that cannot be ignored in this project.

While on the one hand these individuals might be better sources than those removed from the community to speak of its dynamics, they are still a source of potential bias. For example, they might have a personal interest in putting the community's 'best face forward', and downplaying the negative aspects of the community. Again, this is

always a concern involved in social research. The letter of introduction stresses the importance of honesty in answering the questions, and the survey questions themselves can be read aloud in a way that normalizes, for example, reciprocity, and therefore minimizes the potentially negative connotations of the question, in an attempt to elicit more honest answers. This did not turn out to be an issue, as only two respondents out of 50 responded to posted signs.

Ethical Considerations

Along with the approval of the three thesis committee members, two independent reviewers have approved an ethics proposal as submitted to the Research Ethics Board (REB) at the University of Manitoba. There are no major ethical considerations to this study that are not routine in any research involving adult human subjects. Of these routine considerations, the primary concern is with issues of informed consent, and confidentiality.

Before survey administration, respondents are made fully aware of the research objectives and methods. A letter of introduction is given to respondents in person, before the interview takes place. The respondent is invited to read the letter, or, if they prefer, to have the letter read to them by the interviewer. They then confirm if they understand, and any questions they have are addressed. At this point, a letter of consent is given to the respondent. Further questions or concerns about the project are addressed and clarified. The respondents then sign the consent forms, indicating they are aware of the research objectives, their role in the research, and they agree to participate. Respondents

are informed by the letter of introduction and by the letter of consent that they have the option of terminating the interview at any point during the interview, and are given the researcher's contact information, in the event they wish to rescind their participation or alter their answers. Respondents are also encouraged, in the letter of introduction and the letter of consent, to voice any questions or concerns before, after, and during the interview.

At the outset, respondents are assured of the confidentiality of their responses, that in no way will it be possible to connect their responses with their names once the research findings have been disseminated. At no time were the names of respondents used, or connected to the answers they gave. To maintain confidentiality, the cover sheet of each survey details the respondent's name, but also assigns them a respondent number and a questionnaire number. This is primarily for the purposes of record-keeping. This top sheet is the only way the researcher is able to link a respondent's name to their responses (respondent name by respondent number by questionnaire number). At the completion of the interview, the top sheet is removed by the interviewer and kept in a separate file. These files and a master-list linking respondent names with respondent numbers are stored in a cabinet in a secured office at the University of Manitoba. At no time are the top sheets or the master list transported off the premises, nor are they viewable by anyone other than the researcher and the thesis project advisor. Only the questionnaire number and the respondent number are ultimately attached to the survey, on the first page of survey questions.

The survey does not include sensitive questions, nor does it probe into overly personal information about the respondent. Individual respondents are used as informants to gain information about the Filipino community as a whole. Therefore, the questions inquire only as to their perceptions about the community. One set of questions inquires as to the respondent's perception of discrimination. They are also asked their opinions on discrimination in Canada in general. However, they are not asked to recount any personal experiences, rather to generally state whether they agree or disagree with statements handed to them. They do not have to volunteer any personal information.

Data Analysis

Factor analysis is the statistical technique best suited to answering the project's research questions. Factor analysis is employed when a researcher is interested in examining survey items, or indicators, that hypothetically represent the dynamics underlying a theoretical concept (Comrey and Lee, 1992; Pett et al., 2003). It is also a form of data reduction, most useful when the researcher has compiled a large number of survey items, again hypothetically measuring the aspects of a phenomenon, but is interested in finding a parsimonious and reliable way of measuring this phenomenon statistically. Factor analysis allows the researcher to see which indicators of a phenomenon 'cluster' together, to form compatible subsets (Comrey and Lee, 1992). On the basis of statistical and theoretical dimensions, the researcher is then able to confirm, refute and refine the way a phenomenon is conceptualized.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the thesis project's methodology, namely research questions, variable operationalization, mode of administration, selection criteria, sampling method, characteristics of sample, ethical considerations, and data analysis. The goal of the thesis is to identify and operationalize the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, two important elements of social capital. One main research question underlies this research project: *What are the important elements of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity?* It is assessed in terms of its ability to be addressed via survey research. Therefore, the researcher has developed survey questions pertaining to the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity. The next chapter will discuss the results of factor analyses conducted on the data, which will provide operational definitions of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity and serves to clarify and refine them as theoretical constructs.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

Introduction

In Chapter Two, social capital and two important elements that comprise it, the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, were discussed. The purpose of the analyses reported on in this chapter is to identify the important statistical indicators of these elements. This information is useful for further refining our theoretical understanding of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, which until now remain ambiguously defined. These concepts will be briefly reintroduced in the following discussion.

Prominent social capital theorists frequently identify reciprocity as a key element of social capital (Putnam, 1995; Portes 1998), and several attempts have been made to theorize its dynamics. For the most part, the conceptualization of the norm of reciprocity is straightforward; a normative network of 'give and take' is identifiable in communities where reciprocal exchange becomes systematic. Because reciprocity is normative, appropriate behaviour pertaining to it, in this case the return of favours received, becomes expected. Trust serves a type of insurance that individuals will act in accordance with the norm. Individuals become subject to social, informal sanctions if they breach this expectation. However, while it is clear that within a community where the norm of reciprocity operates favours extended are returned, how and why this is so remains speculative.

Bounded solidarity is a more ambiguous element of social capital, and the work of Alejandro Portes is one of the only attempts to theorize bounded solidarity as a

sociological concept. The dynamics of bounded solidarity are not clearly identified, but broadly it refers to the sense of solidarity and connection within a community that arises from shared identity, or a sense of sameness. For Portes, feeling a part of a group that is marginalized or discriminated against is a major foundation on which affiliational ties between group members are built. Beyond this, bounded solidarity remains a very broad concept whose dynamics have yet to be subject to empirical analysis.

In order to identify some preliminary indicators of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, a series of factor analyses were conducted on survey items pertaining to these two concepts. These items were extracted from the dataset and placed into a separate analysis file, on which subsequent analyses were conducted.

Preliminary Factor Analysis, Norm of Reciprocity

A number of preliminary factor analyses were conducted before the solutions for the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity were obtained. The analysis and results for the norm of reciprocity will be discussed first. An initial factor analysis for the norm of reciprocity was conducted on all 27 survey items (see Table 4.1), and the diagnostics from this analysis clearly demonstrated this solution would not be factorable (Pett et al., 2003)³⁷. To create a 'factorable' solution, it was necessary reduce the number of items in the dependent variable.

³⁷ The Keyser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) was unacceptably low (.384). The Bartlett's coefficient is significant, however, indicating the sample size is large enough to conduct a factor analysis.

Table 4.1
27 Item Solution, Survey Items Measuring the Norm of Reciprocity

<p>"In the Filipino community, members expect the favours they do will be returned"</p> <p>"People who are active in the Filipino community are more likely to get aid from other Filipinos"</p> <p>"It is good enough if community members return a favour by helping out the giver's family or friends"</p> <p>"People in the community do each other favours because they know the favour will be returned"</p> <p>"Some people put more into the community than they get out of it"</p> <p>"The time it takes for community members to return a favour is not important"</p> <p>"Filipinos know that when you receive a favour from the community, you are supposed to repay it"</p> <p>"Members of the Filipino community can be trusted to repay favours more than non-Filipinos"</p> <p>"It is good for Filipinos to do each other favours, because it increases the number of people they can call on for help"</p> <p>"When members of the community do someone a favour, they expect the favour will be returned"</p> <p>"Some Filipinos take more than they give back to the community"</p> <p>"The community will give loans to Filipinos who can repay their debt in some other way"</p> <p>"Individuals who do not return favours will be less likely to get help from the community in the future"</p> <p>"When community members help each other out, <i>who</i> repays the favour is not as important as returning the favour"</p> <p>"A person's reputation for returning favours can effect whether they can get help within the community"</p> <p>"When community members help each other out, <i>the way</i> the favour is repaid is not important"</p> <p>"People in the community trust other Filipinos to return a favour, even if they do not know them personally"</p> <p>"Community members are required to pay back loans in money form only"</p> <p>"Individuals who do not repay favours gain a bad reputation in the community"</p> <p>"It is common for the community to help its members without thinking the favour will be returned"</p> <p>"There is more pressure to repay favours to members of the Filipinos community, than to non-members"</p> <p>"In the community, you must repay favours in the same form as what you received"</p> <p>"Community members should repay favours by giving something or doing something in equal value to what was received"</p> <p>"Filipinos in this community are obliged to help out other members of the community"</p> <p>"In the Filipino community, it is important to consider a person's reputation for repayment before you do them a favour"</p> <p>"I would feel I must help a non-Filipino if they had once helped me"</p> <p>"Someone who did not pay back favours could be excluded from community events"</p>
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Improving the Factor Model, Norm of Reciprocity

A solution will be made more factorable by removing survey items that are weakly correlated with other items (Pett et al., 2003). In this analysis, items whose highest correlations with another item were 0.3 or less were removed the solution³⁸. Eighteen items were removed based on these criteria, and Item 16c was removed because it lacked content validity³⁹. It was the only item remaining that measured the ‘terms’ of reciprocity, to determine whether repayment itself is key to reciprocity, or if there are dimensions underlying reciprocity that dictate what is a more acceptable or less acceptable way of repaying debts. After these changes, an 8 item solution remains, the KMO for which is .825, with a significant Bartlett’s coefficient, and two factors explaining 60.61% of the variance⁴⁰.

Selecting the Number of Factors to Extract, Norm of Reciprocity

The next step in the analysis was to select the number of factors to retain in the solution. One way to do this is to use the Kaiser-Guttman rule (Pett et al., 2003), using the ‘Total Variance Explained’ to identify components (factors) with eigenvalues lower than 1. The scree plot also identifies the number of factors that should be extracted for the ultimate solution. Both criteria indicate a two-factor solution for this model.

³⁸ Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) also advise items with correlations of 0.3 or lower are not useful for factor analysis, as the low correlations are early indicators of items that are unlikely to cluster with other items on factor loadings, and will instead load on factors of their own.

³⁹ Item 16c reads “It is good enough if community members return a favours by helping out the giver’s family or friends”.

⁴⁰ Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) was conducted on the solutions, in addition to Principal Components Analysis. The two methods of factor extraction produced similar diagnostics and a two factor solution with very similar loading values. Because PAF did not provide any information not provided by PCA, the simpler method of extraction was utilized.

Table 4.2 Total Variance Explained by Two Extracted Factors, Norm or Reciprocity						
Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extracted Sums of Squares Loadings		
	Total	%Variance	Cumulative%	Total	%Variance	Cumulative%
I	3.708	46.35	46.35	3.708	46.35	46.35
II	1.141	14.26	60.61	1.141	14.26	60.61

Rotating the Factors, Norm of Reciprocity

Orthogonal rotation (Varimax) of 8 items results in a two-factor solution, with the majority of variables loading on the first factor. In this model, the unrotated factor solution provides similar findings to the rotated matrix. Because the unrotated solution is a simpler method of analysis, the unrotated matrix will be used to interpret and discuss the findings. According to Comrey and Lee (1992), loadings higher than 0.71 are excellent, loadings lower than 0.63 are considered very good, loadings lower than 0.55 are considered fair, and items with loadings lower than 0.32 should be removed from the solution as they do not explain a sufficient amount of the variance for that factor. Of the six items that load on the first factor, four have loadings in excess of 0.71, one item has a loading higher than 0.63, and one item has a loading of 0.526. Two items load highest on factor two, with one item loading higher than 0.71 and one item with a loading of 0.584 (see table 4.3)

Cronbach's Alpha Scores, Norm of Reciprocity

Cronbach's alpha scores for the 8 item, 2 factor solution statistically confirm the internal cohesion of the solution, and the cohesion of items loading on each factor. The

alpha for the general model is strong ($\alpha=0.823$), which indicates that overall the items in this solution measuring the norm of reciprocity have high internal consistency.

Cronbach's for factor one is also strong ($\alpha=0.850$), indicating the items measuring factor one are also internally consistent. The alpha for factor two is weaker ($\alpha=0.519$), however this low alpha could be explained by the presence of only two items loading on factor two.

Interpreting and Naming the Factors, Norm of Reciprocity

This analysis finds that the expectation within the community that favours extended will be returned appears to be a significant component of the norm of reciprocity. Six items load highest on factor one, all of which can be interpreted in terms of this expectation. This factor will therefore be named *Expectation of return*. This finding fits well with the theoretical literature on reciprocity and community. Statistically and conceptually, it appears the *Expectation of return* is a well-defined element of the norm of reciprocity⁴¹.

⁴¹ The loading values for these items on *Expectation of return* are high, and there is no overlap of comparable loadings on factor two.

<p>Table 4.3 Factor Loadings From the Component Matrix, Norm of Reciprocity Principal Component Analysis, Unrotated</p>			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
16a.	In the Filipino community, members expect the favours they do will be returned	0.762	
16d.	People in the community do each other favours because they know the favour will be returned	0.698	
16g.	Filipinos know that when you receive a favour you are supposed to repay it	0.801	
16j.	When members of the community do someone a favour, they expect the favour will be returned	0.868	
16k.	Some Filipinos take more than they give back to the community	0.754	
16o.	A person's reputation for returning favours can affect whether they can get help within the community	0.526	
16h.	Members of the Filipino community can be trusted		0.778
16i.	It is good for Filipinos to do each other favours because it increases the number of people they can help	<u>0.543</u>	0.584

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors
Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed

Three variables, items 16a, 16g and 16j explicitly measure the degree to which extension of aid within the community carries with it the expectation of reciprocal aid, that meaning those who give expect they will be repaid, and those who receive know repayment of the favour is expected of them. Item 16d measures the degree to which the expectation of reciprocity is an express motive within the community for extending aid to others. Again, the *Expectation of return* is a central theme. Item 16k refers to negative

social capital, specifically the problem of “free riders”. Although this is the only item remaining in the solution that measures negative social capital, this item is relevant to the *Expectation of return* as a component of the norm of reciprocity. Community awareness of those who take without commensurate giving highlights the degree to which return of aid is expected. Arguably, if the return is not expected, the community would not be aware of defaulters. Item 16o is similar, in that it looks at community sanctions for those who default on their obligations to return aid, in this case, their ability to appropriate resources from the community. The presence of sanctions for not returning aid underlines the normative component of reciprocity, and the importance the expectation of return has to that norm. If *Expectation of return* were not central to this concept, there would be no sanctions for individuals who violate the expectation; there would be no ‘behavioural violation’ to which sanctions would be a response.

Factor two appears to refer to trust as an aspect of the norm of reciprocity, from which this factor derives its name. The items loading on *In-group trust* refer to in-group trust in reciprocity, and the degree to which trust results in a sort of ‘insurance’ that favours or aid will be returned. Item 16h measures the degree to which trust is specific to the community where the norm is in place. This item is an indicator of trust specifically placed in in-group members to reciprocate favours. Members do not feel as confident placing trust in the reciprocation of aid outside the community. The second item loading on factor two, 16i, was originally intended to measure the self-interest underlying the norm of reciprocity. Conceptually, item 16i seems a better fit for factor two. It is reasonable to assert an item measuring the degree to which a community ‘knows’ favours

extended will be returned can be measuring community confidence in the reciprocal act⁴².

This confidence comes from the trust community members have in each other to reciprocate. This finding is important in that it supports the general assertion that trust is an important element of social capital (Fukuyama, 1995; Coleman, 1990; Feher, 2002), and an important element of the norm of reciprocity (Putnam, 1995). It is also an important contribution to Portes' theory, which does not explicitly discuss trust as an element of normative reciprocity, at least not to the same extent as other theorists.

However, it should be cautioned here that because these findings are based on a small sample size, they should be interpreted with caution. Also, as Table 4.3 illustrates, item 16i loaded on factor two but demonstrated a comparable loading on factor one. Future research would ideally confirm that item 16i is indeed a measure of trust.

Discussion of Results, Norm of Reciprocity

The findings from this analysis support the idea that reciprocity can be normative in a community, evidenced by two important indicators. The first is the expectation of appropriate behaviour, namely the return of aid received. The second is the trust, or confidence, placed in community members specifically. When behaviour is normative, there exists a degree of trust that individuals will act in expected ways. These dynamics, or indicators, of the norm of reciprocity will be discussed below.

⁴² This item is somewhat similar to item 16g, however the emphasis in that item is on the expectation of repaying the favour (the expectation) and item 16i looks at the confidence within the community that favours will be repaid.

First, this analysis finds the norm of reciprocity can be measured in communities by examining the expectation that community members return favours they receive, despite the fact that expectation of reciprocity is not usually verbalized (Putnam, 2000). This analysis finds several important indicators of this expectation, including the expectation on the part of those within the community extending the aid that people whom they help will return the favour in the future, and indicators of the degree to which those who receive aid within the community are aware they must fulfill their reciprocal obligations.

The expectation of return involved in the norm of reciprocity is also indicated by the presence of sanctions for those who do not act in accordance with the norm's obligation for community members to return aid received. In this case, non-reciprocation limits a community member's chances of receiving aid, whereas well-established patterns of reciprocity will enhance it. Item 16o⁴³ was the only indicator of sanctions for violating normative behaviour retained in the solution. The wording of this item could have influenced this. Whereas other items pertaining to sanctions were worded more directly, the wording on item 16o was less direct. This item does not explicitly state individuals will be sanctioned, nor does it name the specific nature of the sanction involved⁴⁴. In this sense item 16o might be a useful indicator of the sanctions involved in the norm of reciprocity if it is worded in a way that minimizes bias in responses due to considerations of social desirability.

⁴³ "A person's reputation for returning favours can affect whether they can get help within the community".

⁴⁴ For example, Item 16aa which states people might be 'excluded' from community events, or item 16s which explicitly states individuals who do not reciprocate will gain a 'bad' reputation in the community.

The expectation of return is further indicated by the problem of “free riders” as a negative aspect of social capital (Portes, 1998). It is interesting that the problem of “free-riders” remains the only measure of negative social capital in this analysis. This might be because the problem of “free riders” is not simply a matter of community members acting in contradiction to expected behaviour (violating a norm), rather they are violating a norm that insures a return for investment. This might explain why acting in contradiction to the expectation of reciprocity is particularly problematic. It is possible that free-riders specifically pose a problem because they are not giving back to those who give to them.

However, this finding should be interpreted with some caution, because instrumental concern, or self-interest, which is akin to this interpretation of the problem of free-riders, did not appear to be a useful indicator of the norm of reciprocity. Survey items measuring the instrumental component of the norm of reciprocity did not appear in the analysis, and item 16d, intended to measure the instrumental dimension of the norm of reciprocity, was retained in the analysis but loaded with other items measuring only the expectation of return. It is possible that as an element of a community, the instrumental motivations of community members to provide help are not as central to the norm of reciprocity as is posited in the conceptual work put forward by Coleman (1988; 1990), Portes (1998) and social exchange theorists. Of course this is not to say the expectation of return does not involve self-interest, rather self-interest might not be a discrete element of the norm of reciprocity. It could also be the case that individual self-interest is not at the heart of the norm of reciprocity as much as community self-interest is. Perhaps expectation of return is a prominent aspect of the norm of reciprocity because

it is seen to be in the community's interests, something beneficial to the larger group rather than the individual. Future research should be directed to discerning the relationship between the norm of reciprocity and instrumental concern. This work would be useful for deconstructing the nature and origins of the norm further.

This analysis also indicates in-group trust is an important component of the norm of reciprocity. Individuals trust that in-group members will return the favours done for them, compared to those who are not a part of the community where the norm is in place (or communities where the norm might not be as immediate). This trust seems to act as a sort of insurance, where individuals feel confident favours will be returned. Only one indicator directly related to trust, item 16h, remained in the analysis. However, this study included a minimal number of items indicating trust in the community. So, while in-group trust as a general rule seems to be relevant to the norm of reciprocity (where members of the community can be trusted more than non-members), whether or not this trust operates uniformly across the community requires further definition. In other words, how trust might vary within a community and based on what, remains unspecified. It is possible that trust is a concept separate, but related to, the norm of reciprocity. Unfortunately, this analysis is not able to speak to this possibility further. Because at this stage of the research, trust appears to be an important aspect of the norm of reciprocity (and therefore social capital), future research is required to delineate the indicators of trust as it pertains to the norm of reciprocity, and to the nature of the relationship between trust, the norm of reciprocity, and social capital.

For the most part, this analysis supports the general definition of the norm of reciprocity developed in this thesis, as

a social directive which indicates individuals in a social network, within which the norm operates, are expected to return favours, good deeds, or other aid that alternate network members provide for them. As a normative system of reciprocal exchange, the receiver has, to varying degrees, an obligation to pay back the favour. Trust is an important component of the norm of reciprocity because network members are under no formal, or official obligation to repay what is socially considered owed. However, individuals who default on their normative obligation are instead subject to informal social sanctions, ranging from poor reputation to being excluded from further aid.

What is more, the consistent, discrete, and high loadings of items on the *Expectation of return* and *In-group trust* factors indicate the norm of reciprocity is well defined in terms of these elements. These findings will be summarized in turn below.

First, the analysis supports that as an element of social capital, reciprocity is normative. Rather than return being merely hoped for, or not considered, the return of favours is expected. The obligation of return on the part of those who receive highlights the obligatory nature of reciprocity, a central component of norms.

Second, this analysis empirically supports part of Portes' (1998) belief that the expectation of *repayment* is important to this concept. That is, the norm exists in

communities where those who extend aid expect it to be returned, and where community members feel a social obligation to return the favours done for them. It is difficult to use the results from this analysis to address the potential for reciprocity to contain an instrumental component, namely that reciprocity involves individuals who do favours for others in the community because they will be owed. To a certain extent, this is addressed by the presence of social sanctions as an important component of the norm of reciprocity, as is the 'problematizing' of those who default on their obligations. On the one hand, the presence of sanctions reinforces the importance of recognizing reciprocity as a social norm (Homans, 1950); on the other, it might speak to the instrumental expectation underlying the norm. This is evidenced by the problem of "free-riders" being the only aspect of negative social capital extracted in this analysis. This indicates defaulting on what you owe to others is especially problematic. However, that data cannot determine whether it is individual self-interest, or concern for community-interest, that explains these findings. It is also interesting that none of the other negative aspects of the norm of reciprocity factored in this analysis.

Third, the analysis confirms trust is an important component of the norm of reciprocity, separate from the instrumental expectation and obligation of return on favours given. There were two measures of trust included in the survey, examining whether it is personal knowledge of the individual which is important in generating trust, or does membership in the in-group generate enough trust for aid to occur. However, the data was not able to address these questions as not all of these indicators appeared in the final factor solution.

This analysis was able to support the general assertion that in-group trust is an important component of the norm of reciprocity. In other words, the norm of reciprocity involves the generation of trust specific to members of the group where the norm exists, compared to out-groups. Unfortunately, no strong conclusions can be made regarding variations on trust within the in-group. While one item retained in the ultimate solution, 16o, indicates one's reputation for repayment can affect future help from community, it does not provide much detail as to why or how and is more useful as an indicator of the expectation of repayment. Why one's reputation would affect future help, and in what direction, is not clear. A violation of in-group trust (an emotional reaction) might be the cause, or aid could be refused because economically, it is not in an individual's self-interest to extend aid to those who cannot repay (an instrumental reaction).

Other items attempting to provide more insight as to what is the basis of trust within communities were not retained in the solution. From this analysis it would appear that personal knowledge of an individual, or an individual's good reputation in the community, might not be as central an aspect to the trust involved in reciprocity as was originally conceived. However, due to limitations in the sample and analysis statements such as these must be interpreted with caution. Future research on the relationship between trust and reciprocity is needed to delineate the dynamics of trust, as the question of whether in-group status is sufficient to explain trust between community members cannot be definitively answered. At this point, the only conclusion made is that trust specific to the in-group compared to the out-group is an important element of the trust underlying the norm of reciprocity. Similarly, trust in the norm is such that individuals in

a community where the norm of reciprocity is present can be confident the favours they extend will be returned, though again the interpretation of this item as it pertains to trust is subject to debate.

There were several proposed elements of the norm of reciprocity which the data could not support. For example, in Chapter Two, the specific terms around which reciprocity is considered satisfied were briefly discussed. The literature does not provide much information beyond speculation as to what these terms are, for example, is the norm satisfied if one who receives favours aids the giver's family or friends, or can return only satisfy the norm if the individual or group who helps is repaid directly? Does the norm of reciprocity involve any specifications as to the nature of the return, i.e. must the 'givee' return the favour of the 'giver' in kind? Does the time it takes to return the favour matter? The larger question asks whether it is simply return that is expected, or are some ways of returning favours deemed to consummate the debt.

Items 16c, 16f, 16l, 16n, 16p, 16r, 16v, and 16w were designed to measure the terms of reciprocal exchange, but were not retained in the solution, as they were eliminated in early stages of the analysis due to diagnostics indicating their lack of factorability. Therefore, this analysis seems to support the idea that it is the return of aid or the reciprocity itself that is important, potentially more so than the way in which the aid is repaid, even where money is involved. The only exception was item 16c, statistically suited to be retained in the solution, but removed due to its conceptual 'lack of fit' with the other items in the model. Future research should be devoted to dissecting

the relationship between the nature of aid, the nature of return, and the consummation of the norm of reciprocity.

Preliminary Factor Analysis, Bounded Solidarity

The analysis conducted on the items pertaining to bounded solidarity is less decisive than that for reciprocity. This is to be expected, as bounded solidarity is a more vaguely defined, abstract concept than the norm of reciprocity. Based on its conceptualization, the essence of bounded solidarity can be identified in qualitative literature on ethnic communities, but in effect the work done by Portes (1995; 1998; 2000) is one of the only attempts to theorize bounded solidarity as a distinct element of social capital.

As in the analysis conducted for the norm of reciprocity, an initial analysis in which all 27 items pertaining to bounded solidarity are extracted does not produce a factorable solution. Although the Bartlett's score is significant, the KMO (.319) remains low (Table 4.4 refers).

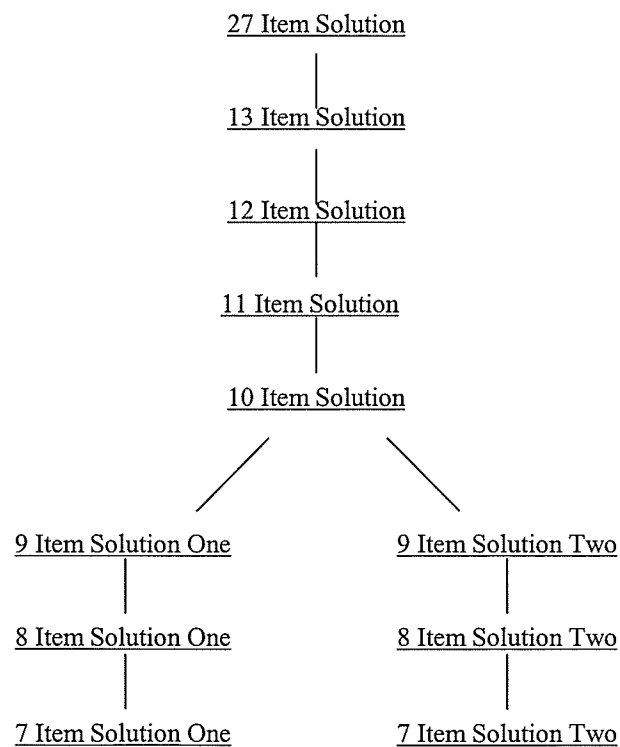
Table 4.4
27 Item solution, Survey Items Measuring Bounded Solidarity

7a	"The Filipino community provides support for new Filipino immigrants because few others will"
7b	"Being from a different cultural group makes it difficult to feel at home with other Canadians"
7c	"Filipinos should try as much as possible to blend into Canadian society and not form separate communities"
7d	"In this community, people would not help someone out just because that person is Filipino"
7e	"I feel a lot of pressure to participate in the Filipino community"
7f	"The community helps new immigrants from the Philippines because they are sometimes treated unfairly"
7g	"Within the community, I feel more of a connection with other (sex of respondent)"
7h	"Other communities are just as trustworthy as the Filipino community"
7i	"The Filipino community is more welcoming to Filipinos than to non-Filipinos"
7j	"The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like"
7k	"There is not much support for new Filipino immigrants outside the community"
7l	"Individuals in this community who don't help new immigrants from the Philippines are not being good citizens"
7m	"It is difficult to say 'no' when the community asks you to do something"
7n	"Within the Filipino community, I feel most at home with people who are about my age"
7o	"The Filipino community needs to stick together"
7p	"The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity"
7q	"The Filipino community is more or less closed to non-Filipinos"
7r	"It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos"
7s	"I feel that at times the Filipino community asks too much"
7t	"When Filipinos help other Filipinos it helps strengthen the community"
7u	"Filipinos in Winnipeg do not feel they are treated any worse than other people"
7v	"The community can be closed-minded"
7w	"Filipinos are sometimes considered inferior"
7x	"Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity"
7y	"Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos"
7z	"There is pressure to devote yourself to the community, even if it means turning down opportunities elsewhere"
7aa	"Members of the community are not as connected to those who are much richer, or much poorer than they are"

Improving the Factor Model, Bounded Solidarity

For clarity, Figure 4.1 provides a visual schematic of the stages through which the analysis on bounded solidarity progressed. Solutions were selected or discarded based on a combination of conceptual and statistical considerations. However, because bounded solidarity is rather ambiguous, this analysis must be interpreted with extreme caution. Because of its conceptual ambiguity, the statistics were used to guide the majority of choices on aspects of the solutions to retain or reject for this element of social capital.

Figure 4.1
Visual Diagram, Factor Solutions Bounded Solidarity



Removing the items from the 27 item factor solution based on their low correlations with other items produces an initial 13 item solution with a KMO of .538, and an R of .007⁴⁵.

Removing items with low measures of sampling adequacy (MSA) will further raise the KMO, and factorability, of the overall solution (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001). Removing items based on this criteria results in an 11 item solution⁴⁶ with a KMO of 0.611.

Item 7v, intended to measure restrictions on personal freedom, a negative aspect of bounded solidarity (negative social capital), was removed from the solution because it did not fit conceptually with the other items remaining in the solution. Item 7v was the only item remaining in the solution that measured negative social capital, and it was the only item remaining that measured 'restrictions on personal freedom', or the way the expectation of solidarity to the group can place stressors on individual group members. Because only one indicator of negative social capital remained in this analysis, restrictions on personal freedom might be a part of a separate element of social capital, rather than being a discrete element of the bounded solidarity. However, the available data was not able to support such an assertion. At this stage of the research, removing this anomaly would result in a more conceptually cohesive solution. Furthermore,

⁴⁵ PCA and PAF were both conducted on this solution and did not differ significantly in their findings. Based on the lack of any notable differences between findings, the lack of any explicit rationale to select PAF as the method of extraction, and because it is the simplest method of analysis and the easiest to interpret, PCA was chosen as the method of factor extraction.

⁴⁶ Because this is an exploratory factor analysis, the researcher worked with two potential models, the 11 and 12 item solution, in case the 12 items solution produced additional findings shedding light on the conceptual development of bounded solidarity, which it did not.

removing item 7v improved the solution statistically. The 10-item solution's KMO increased to 0.649 and the R in this analysis increased to 0.060. Four Factors were extracted explaining 69.4% of the variance.

Selecting the Number of Factors to Extract, Bounded Solidarity

Using the Kaiser-Guttman rule as a guideline suggests a four factor solution, at 69.4% of the variance. The scree plot also and broadly indicated three to four factors should be extracted for this solution⁴⁷.

<p>Table 4.5 Total Variance Explained by Four Extracted Factors, Bounded Solidarity</p>						
Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extracted Sums of Squares Loadings		
	Total	% Variance	Cumulative%	Total	% Variance	Cumulative%
I	3.228	32.28	32.28	3.23	46.35	32.28
II	1.489	14.89	47.17	1.489	14.89	47.17
III	1.152	11.52	58.69	1.152	11.52	58.69
IV	1.075	10.75	69.44	1.075	10.75	69.44

Rotating the Factors, Bounded Solidarity

The four factor solution was subjected to several methods of factor rotation. First, orthogonal rotation was conducted and ultimately rejected⁴⁸. Conceptually, it was

⁴⁷ It should be noted, however, there are several early indicators that this data might produce a solution identifying bounded solidarity as a one factor or two factor solution. First, the sum of squared item loadings for component (factor) one is quite a bit higher than the sum of squared loadings for items on the other factors. For example, the eigenvalue for component one is 3.228, while the sum of squared item loadings for component (factor) two is 1.49, less than half of that for component one. At this point it indicates a larger number of items are loading on component one, compared to the other components. Further, in this solution component one explains 32.3% of the item variance, which again gains more significance compared to the percentage of variance explained by the other components (for example, 14.9% of the item variance is explained by component two, less than half that of component one).

suspected there might be overlap in the factors underlying bounded solidarity. For example there could be overlap in terms of whether individuals identified with the group because they were Filipino, or because they had emigrated from the Philippines, or because they felt they were a marginalized group in society. When overlap between factors is suspected, then oblique rotation is preferable to orthogonal (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001)⁴⁹. For the solution to be successfully rotated via Direct Oblimin, it was necessary to remove two items (see below).

Removing 7a “The community supports new immigrants because few others will” resulted in a different nine item solution (Solution One), with Direct Oblimin rotation, producing a KMO of 0.666, a significant Bartlett’s coefficient, an R of 0.106, explaining 72.8% of the variance at four factors. Removing item 7o “The Filipino community needs to stick together” resulted in a nine item solution (Solution Two), with Direct Oblimin rotation, with a KMO of 0.681, a significant Bartlett’s coefficient, and an R of 0.079, explaining 63.0% of the variance at three factors. Statistically, both solutions are factorable, and conceptually several items posited as important aspects bounded solidarity were retained⁵⁰. Although Solution Two has a higher KMO statistic and larger

⁴⁸ The rotated component matrix produced by Varimax indicated after rotation, Thurstone’s criteria for simple structure was not met (see Pett et al., 2003:132). Quartimax rotation is generally used if the researcher suspects there is one “general factor with which most of the items are strongly correlated” (Pett et al., 2003:143). Though there are some early signs pointing to bounded solidarity as a potentially uni-dimensional concept, at this stage of the analysis, these kinds of assumptions could not be made with confidence, so there was no explicit reason to selecting this method of extraction specifically.

⁴⁹ Namely the perception of sharing a marginalized position, the expectation of solidaristic aid in the community, and shared identity.

⁵⁰ Like other tests, Promax rotation was conducted on the data, in the event it produced findings that were more useful than those produced by direct Oblimin rotation. Subsequent rotations did not indicate a statistical or conceptual basis for choosing Promax, the more complicated method of rotation. Again, the simplest method was selected.

percentage of variance explained at fewer factors than solution one, conceptually the two models are similar⁵¹.

Item 7w, "Filipinos are sometimes considered inferior", was removed from both solutions as it was the only item that loaded (quite highly) on its own factor. This item was conceptually anomalous as it was the only item remaining in these solutions that pertained to the experience of discrimination as an indicator of bounded solidarity. This could indicate the relationship between discrimination and bounded solidarity could be less important than Portes (1998) had originally believed. The item is still quite useful, as its persistent high loading on an independent factor indicates discrimination might be independent of, though still important to, the idea of bounded solidarity. This, and the relationship between discrimination and bounded solidarity, will be further discussed below. Removing this variable results in two eight item, two factor solutions. Solution One has a KMO of .633 explaining 54.4% of the variance in the dependent variable, and Solution Two has a KMO of .626 explaining 56.5% of the variance in the dependent variable.

One major difference between the two solutions is the respective inclusion/exclusion of two variables, 7a "The Filipino community provides support for new Filipino immigrants because few others will"⁵², and 7o "The Filipino community

⁵¹ The factor loadings for the items in each solution are commensurable, with the exception of 7x. In Solution One 7x loads on factor one, but the loadings between factor one and factor two are similar for this item. In Solution Two item 7x unequivocally loads on factor 1.

⁵² Included in solution 2, and removed from solution 1.

needs to stick together”⁵³, both measures of shared feelings of marginalization. At this stage of the analysis, reliability tests were run on both solutions, as a further consideration in selecting a “preferable” solution. Both items were retained, again due to the ambiguous conceptual make-up of bounded solidarity, the fledgling measures of bounded solidarity used in the study, and because this is an exploratory factor analysis.

Cronbach's Alpha Scores, Bounded Solidarity

Cronbach's alpha for Solution One is weak, ($\alpha=0.342$)⁵⁴ as are the Cronbach's for factor one ($\alpha=0.009$) and factor two ($\alpha=0.325$). Because items 7j and 7x had similar loading scores for factor one and factor two, reliability tests were conducted on permutations of these factor loadings.

The most successful permutation involved moving item 7j from factor two to factor one (contrary to the original loadings), while leaving 7x to load on factor one (in accordance with the original loadings). Cronbach's alpha for this version of factor one, now six items, increased from 0.009 to 0.191. Conversely, removing item 7j from factor two, now two items, resulted in a slightly decreased alpha, down from 0.325 to 0.308. It would also appear that item 7x is important to increase the reliability of factor one as an element of bounded solidarity.

⁵³ Included in solution 1 and removed from solution 2.

⁵⁴ Cronbach's alpha was also calculated for the 9 Item solutions, but the alpha was very low (.223 for The 9 item, three factor solution and .272 for the 9 item, four factor solution).

Cronbach's alpha for Solution Two is also weak ($\alpha=0.376$). Cronbach's alpha for factor one is extremely weak ($\alpha=0.059$), and Cronbach's alpha for factor two ($\alpha=0.657$) is stronger, though still unacceptably low.

Because the alpha scores are weak, the item-total statistics matrix was examined to identify items responsible for lowering the scores. In both solutions, removing item 7k would result in two 7 item, two factor solutions with stronger alpha scores⁵⁵.

Selecting an Ultimate Solution, Bounded Solidarity

At this point, the data have been reduced to two eight item, two factor solutions, and two seven item, two factor solutions. Choosing an ultimate solution is based on considerations of the statistical strength of the solution and how well it speaks to the concept of bounded solidarity. Based on these considerations the results from the 7 item/2 factor solutions are more useful and will be reported. These solutions are the strongest statistically, and the ways in which the items load on the factors makes substantive sense in terms of what the literature has identified as important characteristics of bounded solidarity⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ These solutions are identical to the eight item solutions, minus item 7k.

⁵⁶ Due to the small sample size, limitations inherent in the rotation and extraction methods employed, low factor alphas and exploratory nature of this analysis, the interpretation of the factor loadings and the conclusions drawn from them should be interpreted with caution.

Table 4.6 Factor Loadings From the Pattern Matrix, Bounded Solidarity Principal Component Analysis, Direct Oblimin Rotation Solution One, 8 Items			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
7k	There is not much support for new Filipino immigrants outside the community	-0.775	
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity	0.544	<u>0.511</u>
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity	0.609	
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos, it helps strengthen the community	0.705	
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos	0.680	
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like	<u>0.424</u>	0.471
7o	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity		0.569
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos		0.866

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors.
Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed.

Table 4.7 Factor Loadings From the Pattern Matrix, Bounded Solidarity Principal Component Analysis, Direct Oblimin Rotation Solution Two, 8 Items			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
7a	Filipino immigrants because few others will	0.603	
7k	There is not much support for new Filipino immigrants outside the community of their shared	-0.632	
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity	0.698	
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos, it helps strengthen the community	0.589	<u>0.440</u>
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos	0.713	
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like		0.602
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity		0.691
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos		0.923

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors.
Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed.

Interpretation of Factors, Bounded Solidarity

There is some debate in the literature over whether the structure matrix or the pattern matrix produced during oblique rotation should be used to interpret and name the factors. Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) recommend reporting on the pattern matrix, while Pett et al. (2003) recommend reporting on the structure matrix. Because this is an exploratory analysis, the pattern matrix will be the primary source used to interpret and

name the factors, as it most useful for providing an easily interpretable picture of the factor loadings for each item. However, the structure matrix is also provided in Appendix C for reference.

Solution One

The pattern matrix for Solution One indicates factor one and factor two have a roughly equivalent number of items loading on them, and several items have comparable loadings on both factors⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ The loadings for the pattern matrix are commensurate in terms of the items that load on each factor, and the values of their loadings. The major difference is in the pattern matrix items 7j and 7x load only on factor one, and in the structure matrix they load highest on factor one, but also load highly on factor two (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Factor Loadings From the Pattern Matrix, Bounded Solidarity Principal Component Analysis, Direct Oblimin Rotation Solution One, 8 Items			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like	0.533	
7o	The Filipino community needs to stick together	0.446	
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos	0.900	
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity	0.617	<u>0.511</u>
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity		0.76
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos it helps strengthen the community	0.456	0.603
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos		-0.729

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors

Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed

Values lower than .4 were suppressed in this analysis and do not appear in the table

In Solution One, the items that load on factor one pertain to the idea of *Shared Identity*, which is what this factor will be named. This is commensurate with the literature, which states shared identity is an important element of bounded solidarity. Solidarity exists in the community because members recognize others are in a similar position to them, or to a position they were once in. Item 7j measures the extent to which respondents feel a connection to others in the community due to their shared experience of migration, 7x measures the degree to which individuals in the community feel

connected to each other due to their shared ethnicity, and 7o measures the degree to which bounded solidarity in a community involves recognizing the others in the community share a similar, marginalized position as yourself.

Item 7r was originally devised to measure the importance of solidarity within the community. In retrospect, the meaning of this item is somewhat ambiguous. It is reasonable to re-interpret this item as one that pertains to shared identity based on the experience of marginalization. Its wording is quite similar to item 7o, and it follows that if the community 'needs' to stick together, it is therefore 'best' for community members to be connected to each other. It is also reasonable to assume respondents might have interpreted this question in terms of marginalization rather than expectation.

Three items load on factor two, and are indicators of the *Expectation of Solidarity*, which is what this factor will be named. Item 7y is an explicit indicator of the expectation of solidarity within the group. Item 7t pertains to the expectation of solidarity because it is reasonable to assume behaviours that are seen by the community as beneficial for the community would be expected in the community. Item 7p is a bit of a substantive anomaly in this factor. Here 7p was originally intended to measure the extent of shared (ethnic) identity within the group, and so in theory should be loading on factor one with the other measure of shared ethnic identity. Instead, this item loads on factor two. There are two ways of dealing with this apparent anomaly. The first would be to disregard this item on substantive grounds, because at first glance it does not appear to fit with the other items loading on factor two. The second would be to reinterpret that

which 7p indicates. Item 7p does differ from the other item measuring shared ethnic identity, because rather than identifying the *presence* of shared identity, item 7p explicitly measures the *extent* of shared ethnic identity in the community. It stands to reason that responses to this question would correlate with responses to the expectation of help; the greater the sense of connection in the community, the more solidarity and appropriable resources would be expected. Although data produced from a larger sample size would provide a more conclusive answer, reinterpreting this factor seems reasonable, especially given its high and persistent loading with the items on factor two.

Table 4.9 Factor Loadings From the Pattern Matrix, Bounded Solidarity Principal Component Analysis, Direct Oblimin Rotation Solution Two, 7 Items			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like	0.624	
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos	0.906	
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity	0.714	
7a	The community provides support for new Filipino immigrants because few others will		0.517
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity		0.726
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos it helps strengthen the community	0.484	0.552
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos		0.722

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors

Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed

Values lower than .4 were suppressed in this analysis and do not appear in the table

Solution Two

The interpretation and naming of factors in Solution Two is slightly more complex⁵⁸. Factor one appears to represent the *Shared identity* underlying bounded solidarity, and this will be how it will be named. Three items load highest on *Shared identity*. These items are intended to be indicators of the sense of 'sameness' in the community owing to a common identity. Item 7j pertains to a sense of sameness based

⁵⁸ It should be noted, however, the alpha scores for this solution and the factor alphas are higher than in solution one, despite solution one's relative theoretical clarity. Although conclusions at this point must be tentative, it is possible the factors in solution two are poorly defined.

on the shared experience of migration, and item 7x measures shared identity based on ethnicity. Item 7r is an indicator of shared identity based on marginalization felt by the community, evidenced by the perceived necessity within the community to stick together.

Factor two is more difficult to label. The items loading on factor two are essentially measurements of the same components of bounded solidarity as are loading in *Shared identity*, indicating some potential ambiguity in bounded solidarity's conceptualization. Item 7p does not load with the other items measuring shared (ethnic) identity, but rather loads on a separate factor. Item 7a also measures shared identity, around the shared experience of marginalization. 7t and 7y measure the expectation of solidarity, or the community as an appropriable source of resources. Unfortunately, it is difficult to attach a discrete label to this factor, as it is too similar to factor one in its conceptual make-up. In these instances, not uncommon in exploratory factor analyses, Hair et al., (1995) suggest the factor remain 'undefined', and instead labeled simply as Factor 2. Future analyses might consider eliminating this factor, if similar results are produced.

Discussion of Results, Bounded Solidarity

In exploratory analyses, it is not uncommon for factor loadings to be ambiguous. That this was the case for this analysis is not surprising because social capital itself is ambiguous, and bounded solidarity, while a potentially important aspect of social capital in immigrant communities, is a nebulous and vaguely defined concept. This would mean

the factors, at this very initial stage of the research, are also likely to be nebulous and vaguely defined. The overlap in terms of items, their meanings and their factor loadings could have a number of implications.

First, the components, or factors comprising bounded solidarity could be poorly defined in the literature, which would explain why items do not load discretely on individual factors. Second, the overlap in items, the dynamics of which they are indicators and their factor loadings, could be further evidence of bounded solidarity as a uni-dimensional concept. The limitations of this project preclude such bold conclusions about the nature of bounded solidarity, however, future research would ideally be able to shed more light on this possibility.

Interestingly, the two solutions evidence a dissonant relationship between their conceptual and statistical strength. Solution One, whose factors are most clearly interpretable, suffers from low alpha scores, a statistical indicator of subscales that are internally incoherent. Though Solution Two produces a stronger alpha score, the conceptual interpretation of the factors is not as clear. Regardless, both solutions offer tentative findings that to a certain degree fit the expected conceptual underpinnings of bounded solidarity, and several surprising findings. It should be mentioned that low alpha scores means the findings and conclusions in this discussion should be interpreted with caution.

In the two solutions, items best representing the factors underlying bounded solidarity deal with shared identity and the expectation of solidarity (and the community as a means to appropriable resources) in the group. "Shared identity" was postulated from the outset as one of the key components of bounded solidarity. This finding is particularly evident in Solution One. Here the items loading on factor one are all indicators the shared identity underpinning bounded solidarity, based on ethnic identity, and the experiences of immigration and marginalization.

Though there were several items in the survey measuring sameness based on shared ethnic identity, 7p⁵⁹, which measured the extent of ethnic solidarity within the community, did not load on the same factor as the other items. It could be that item 7p, as a measure of the degree of shared ethnic identification in the community, is better suited to load with items measuring the expectation of solidarity within the group. In terms of Portes' conceptualization of bounded solidarity, the two factors are not necessarily independent of one another. The group represents an embodiment of 'self', realized through members' identification with the group, and the group therefore becomes appropriable as a resource, because individuals act in accordance with their allegiance to the group. It would make sense that an item measuring the extent of identification with the group (around ethnicity) could load on a different factor, if the *extent* of shared identity in the group was related to the expectation of togetherness. This possibility is important to investigate further, as it points towards one potentially negative aspect of social capital related to community identification, namely excessive

⁵⁹ Item 7p reads, "The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity".

demands/strain put on group members and downward levelling norms (Portes, 1998; Portes and Zhou, 1993).

Other items in the survey, in addition to the indicators of negative social capital, were also removed from the solution. Among these are the questions pertaining to negative social capital, which held little explanatory power for the elements of bounded solidarity in this analysis. This is not to say negative social capital does not influence bounded solidarity, rather, in this project, the items measuring the negative side of social capital did not cluster with other aspects of bounded solidarity to form a clear factor. As in the case discussed above, future research should be directed towards further investigation of negative social capital.

This leads to a discussion of other items, which in this analysis were not clear indicators of bounded solidarity. Twenty of the 27 original survey items were dropped from the analysis (refer back to Table 4.4). One particularly interesting finding is the rejection of the experience of discrimination as a prominent aspect of bounded solidarity. Portes emphasizes the degree to which the experience of discrimination fosters a sense of sameness and recognition among ethnic community members, and this should be an important indicator of bounded solidarity. In this analysis, none of the items measuring the impact of discrimination were retained for the ultimate solution.

It might be possible Portes has given too much weight to discrimination as an indicator of bounded solidarity. Perhaps bounded solidarity can exist without the distinct experience of feeling like an oppressed minority. Rather feeling like a minority might be more relevant. According to Pett et al. (2003), items that are supposedly central to a concept but do not cluster with other variables in a factor analysis should be measured as separate subscales in future research. Five questions measuring discrimination were correlated with the factor solutions for bounded solidarity, and a correlation between discrimination and bounded solidarity was not found. While this analysis does not preclude the possibility that discrimination is related to bounded solidarity, it does seem to indicate discrimination is a concept separate from bounded solidarity.

Norm of Reciprocity, Bounded Solidarity and Social Capital

Now that the indicators of reciprocity and bounded solidarity have been identified, as component parts of the larger concept social capital, the next logical step in this research is to understand the relationship of these components with each other, addressing the assumption mentioned in Chapter 3 that the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity are two separate elements constituting in part the concept of social capital. To get a sense of how the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity relate to each other in the larger concept of social capital, a factor analysis was conducted including all 54 items pertaining to each concept, which was not factorable given the small sample size (ratio of sample size to number of survey items). However, the initial factor loadings on the component matrix support the assertion that the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity are separate components of social capital. Items

pertaining to the norm of reciprocity load on factor one, and for bounded solidarity on factor two.

To confirm this further a second, 9 item factor analysis was conducted on the items selected for the ultimate solution of each dependent variable⁶⁰ (see Table 4.10). This analysis confirms the items pertaining to the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity load discretely from each other, and predominately on the first two factors even though this solution is not factorable at this time. As components of social capital, this analysis supports the assertion that the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity are independent from each other, but not much can be said beyond this.

⁶⁰ Because the 8 item bounded solidarity indices were not ideal, but still promising, the additional item 7w "Filipinos are sometimes considered inferior" was re-inserted into this analysis. The items comprising solution one and solution two were entered; therefore the total number of items in the factor analysis for this analysis is 9.

Table 4.10
Items Included in the 17 Item Factor Analysis
The Norm of Reciprocity and Bounded Solidarity

The Norm of Reciprocity	
16a	In the Filipino community, members expect the favours they do will be returned
16d	People in the community do each other favours because they know the favour will be returned
16g	Filipinos know that when you receive a favour from the community, you are supposed to repay it
16k	Some Filipinos take more than they give back to the community
16o	A person's reputation for returning favours can effect whether they can get help within the community
16h	Members of the Filipino community can be trusted to repay favours more than non-members
16i	It is good for Filipinos to do each other favours because it increases the number of people they can call on for help
Bounded Solidarity	
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like
7o	The Filipino community need to stick together
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos it helps strengthen the community
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos
7a	The community provides support for new Filipino immigrants because few others will
7w	Filipinos are sometimes considered inferior

Social Capital and Winnipeg's Filipino Community

As a simple test of construct validity, a series of cross-tabulations were conducted between the norm of reciprocity, bounded solidarity, and several demographic variables. Based on literature and the researcher's knowledge of past sociological research, a series of hypotheses were developed to predict which members of a group might score higher or lower in their responses to the dependent variables. If significance testing on the cross-

tabulated data were to confirm these hypotheses, it would be an initial indicator of the validity of these indices. Scores for respondents on the individual index for each dependent variable were divided into two categories, 'high' (1) and 'low' (2), based on the midpoint of the sample's responses. For the norm of reciprocity the midpoint was a score of 21, for bounded solidarity the midpoint was a score of 13. Table 4.11 provides the frequency distribution for the dependent variables. Age, sex, marital status, income, years in Canada, and ethnic identity (self-defined) were the main independent variables included. Significance testing for dichotomous demographic variables used the Student's t-distribution, and ANOVA was used for the remaining variables.

Table 4.11 Frequency Distribution Norm of Reciprocity		
N of R	N	%
10	1	2
12	1	2
13	2	4
14	3	6
15	2	4
16	4	8
17	2	2
18	5	10
19	1	2
20	4	8
21	2	4
22	6	12
23	1	2
24	5	10
25	1	2
26	2	4
27	2	4
28	2	4
29	2	4
30	1	2
34	1	2
Total	50	100

Table 4.12 Frequency Distribution Bounded Solidarity		
Bd.Sol.	N	%
7	1	2
9	2	4
10	7	14
11	8	16
12	3	6
13	7	14
14	6	12
15	7	14
16	3	6
17	2	4
18	3	6
23	1	2
Total	50	100

Several hypotheses can be put forward in terms of demographic variables that might have a significant relationship with the dependent variables. Arguably younger respondents might be more likely to score high on the norm of reciprocity, because of the higher potential for them to require assistance from the community. Younger immigrants might be more reliant on the community for aid (thus entering into a reciprocal “agreement”) because they might be less likely to be materially or financially secure, on average, than older individuals who might be more established. Similarly, younger respondents might be more likely to score ‘high’ on the indices measuring bounded solidarity because their relative newness to Canada could make the cultural, visual, and linguistic distinctions between Filipinos and white Canadians more apparent. Therefore, the sense of shared identity (especially around the experience of migration) underlying bounded solidarity might be stronger in younger, more recent immigrants (Isajiw, 1999).

For similar reasons, there might be a positive relationship between income and responses to the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity. Less affluent individuals might be more reliant on others within the community for assistance, and so would score higher on responses to the norm of reciprocity. In terms of bounded solidarity, the community could provide affirmation to individuals who are economically marginalized. These respondents might find identification within the community combats potential hopelessness or disappointment experienced by those who immigrate to Canada and experience economic hardship, particularly citing the economic motivation behind some migration decisions (Beiser and Edwards, 1994).

Years in Canada would be positively related to the norm of reciprocity, because of the potential for newer immigrants to rely on their community for assistance (Ebaugh, 2000). Like younger immigrants, these individuals could also score higher on bounded solidarity because of the potential impact of experiencing marginalization, and also because the differences between themselves and native-born Canadians might be more apparent. Similarly, those who are likely to identify their ethnicity as 'Filipino' versus 'Filipino-Canadian' will likely score higher on the norm of reciprocity due to their potential entrenchment in the community, and also on bounded solidarity. Through their way they identify themselves ethnically, they are already demonstrating a potentially important component of bounded solidarity, namely shared identity.

Because women are more likely to be in 'providing' roles within communities (Mayoux, 2001), they might be more likely to score high on the norm of reciprocity. This providing role can operate in terms of the expectation for women to help those in need, but also the potential for women to be disproportionately expected to seek help for themselves and their families (Ochoa, 2000; Molyneux, 2002; Silvey and Elmhirst, 2003). Some studies find women are to a certain extent more entrenched in the community than men, and find a sense of sameness and security there (Westermeyer, Bouafuely, and Vange, 1984; Beiser and Edwards, 1994)⁶¹. Subsequently, one would expect women to score higher also on bounded solidarity.

⁶¹ It should be noted that this research is often based on studying immigrant and refugee populations. In the case of Filipino migration, women spend much of their time working outside the community, but still find comfort and sameness within their ethnic community (Parrenas, 2001).

Unfortunately, these tests did not find a significant relationship between the demographic variables and the dependent factors. One exception is the relationship between income and bounded solidarity (sig=0.069), whereby individuals in higher income categories are more likely to have high rates of bounded solidarity, a relationship that is significant at 0.10⁶². The nature of this relationship is somewhat surprising. Because marginalization is theoretically a central element of bounded solidarity, broadly speaking one would expect economic marginalization to also contribute to higher scores on bounded solidarity. Explanations for why the relationship is not in the expected direction can only be speculative at this point, future research is required to deconstruct this relationship further.

<p>Table 4.13 Income by Bounded Solidarity Index</p>						
	Bounded Solidarity					
	High		Low		Total	
Income	N	%	N	%	N	%
\$10,000-39,999	12	66	6	33	18	100
\$40,000-69,999	8	38	13	62	21	100
\$70,000-99,999	5	83	1	17	6	100
Total	25	55	20	44	45	100

Sig=0.069

p<0.10

Future research is also necessary before conclusions of non-significant relationships between demographic variables and social capital can be made with any confidence. Since tests of significance are highly sensitive to sample size, the small number of respondents in this study means that significance is not likely to be found with

⁶² This is a high p value, but acceptable for small sample sizes. See Wilkinson, 2002.

this particular study. Future research should be devoted to understanding how social capital can be differentially experienced and understood, according to age, class, gender, length of time in Canada, ethnic identity, and other characteristics. To be able to determine this, future research should correct for this limitation of the thesis by obtaining a larger sample size.

Conclusion

These analyses provide indicators of underlying dynamics of the norm of reciprocity, and of bounded solidarity, and are therefore useful for further refining our understanding of how these aspects of social capital can be statistically measured. Survey items that serve as indicators of these dynamics can be used to identify communities where the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity are present, and therefore to identify communities that are likely to serve as a source of social capital. It should be noted that the analysis on the norm of reciprocity was relatively straightforward, whereas the analysis of bounded solidarity was more complex and the findings less straightforward. Due to limitations of sample size and the ambiguous nature of the concepts discussed, the findings from this analysis should be interpreted with caution.

The findings from the factor analysis on the norm of reciprocity were able to confirm some of its elements theorized in chapter two. This analysis finds two dynamics in particular, 1) the expectation of reciprocal aid, and, 2) in-group trust are important

components of the norm of reciprocity. Several indicators of the norm that were originally theorized as potentially important were not supported by the data, namely the 'terms' of reciprocity. This analysis seems to support the notion of return being more important than the terms of the repayment, though future research should be directed towards examining this further, along with how one's experience of the norm of reciprocity can vary within a community.

The findings from the factor analysis on bounded solidarity were somewhat disappointing. The analysis generally supports Portes' assertion that shared identity is a central component of bounded solidarity, as is the expectation of solidarity within the group. However, the survey items, what they were intended to measure, and their factor loadings evidence considerable overlap. In this way, the analysis was not able to provide a clear picture of the underlying components of bounded solidarity and their statistical indicators. There are several possible explanations for this, one of which being the possibility that bounded solidarity is a uni-dimensional concept, involving shared identity and the expectation of loyalty to the group. Another explanation is that bounded solidarity requires further research to elucidate its theoretical dimensions, before it can become operationally useful as a sociological concept.

In Chapter 5 the major findings of this thesis will be summarized, with specific attention paid to questions raised by several results of the analysis. Suggestions for future research, and the ways in which this thesis may be expanded into a larger research

project on social capital in immigrant communities will also be provided in this final chapter.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Although social capital is a term frequently used in the social sciences, its utility as an analytical concept is problematic given its imprecise meaning, both conceptually and operationally. This thesis has attempted to bring more precision to this term by closely examining two important elements that constitute, in part, the definition of social capital, the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity. The main research question was concerned with identifying the important elements of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity, by using the existing literature and testing it quantitatively through survey questions and factor analysis. How well the thesis addressed the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity components of social capital is mixed.

Analysis of the norm of reciprocity resulted in the most promising findings; the items retained in the final factor solution confirm the definition of reciprocity put forward in this thesis, indicating conceptually and statistically that several relevant components of the norm of reciprocity have been identified. This is an important contribution to the study of social capital in immigrant communities, and if these findings can be applied to the study of social capital in other social milieus, this will be an important contribution for the social sciences in general.

The analysis of bounded solidarity was not as straightforward. Although there is some indication of the relevant factors underlying bounded solidarity, they are difficult to interpret and do not provide a reliable picture of this ambiguous concept. This is not to say bounded solidarity is not a relevant concept for immigrant communities, or to the

study of social capital. The importance of solidarity in ethnic communities has been demonstrated in the research literature, particularly by qualitative studies, but rarely in quantitative studies. Admittedly, the theoretical base from which these indicators were hypothesized was too narrow. Although some indicators of bounded solidarity have been identified in the factor analysis, there are not enough indicators to warrant strong conclusions at this point. It might be best to re-review the literature on bounded solidarity and related concepts, and make a second attempt at developing relevant survey questions. Ideally this will help determine whether bounded solidarity is in actuality a distinct concept, and/or relevant to the study of social capital.

More research is required to confirm these findings before any definitive conclusions can be made on the best way to quantitatively measure the norm of reciprocity and especially bounded solidarity in immigrant communities. The survey measurements developed in this analysis should be tested on a larger sample that will also allow comparisons of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity across immigrant/ethnic groups. It is important to understand the degree to which the dynamics of these concepts differ within and between communities, to refine the measures accordingly. Therefore, validation and refinement of the findings based on a larger sample is required before we can confidently state these indices are free of type one and type two errors. However, this thesis provides some important initial indicators of the norm of reciprocity and to a certain extent of bounded solidarity.

Findings from the Statistical Analyses: The Norm of Reciprocity

The factor analysis of the norm of reciprocity results in an eight item, two factor solution. The findings indicate there are two important components underlying the norm of reciprocity. The first component is the *expectation of return*, in this case the return of aid received. The second component is the *In-group trust*, or confidence, placed in community members specifically. In this regard, the findings support some of the existing literature (Gouldner, 1960; Becker, 1986; Milbank, 2001), and largely support its conceptual definition developed here.

The norm of reciprocity can be measured by discerning whether there exists in communities an active expectation that members return favours they receive. This thesis supports the idea that there is a conscious expectation on the part of those extending the aid that people whom they help will return the favour in the future, combined with a tacit understanding on the part of those who receive aid within the community that they are expected to fulfill their reciprocal obligations. This expectation is also indicated by the presence of an informal sanction within the community for those who do not behave in the expected way, namely that non-reciprocation of aid can affect a community member's chances of receiving aid in the future.

Contrary to some theoretical work on the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960; Becker, 1986; Portes, 1998), the analyses did not support the idea that this norm involves a distinct component of self-interest, namely that normative reciprocity involves individuals extending aid because they expect they will receive something in the future.

While the two measures originally intended to measure self-interest⁶³ did remain in the analysis, these items did not load on the same factor. One loaded with items measuring the expectation of return, and the other loaded with an item measuring in-group trust. While self-interest as an aspect of the norm of reciprocity should not be ruled out, in this analysis it did not appear as prominently as current theory predicts and its relationship to the norm of reciprocity was not clearly defined. There are several ways in which this can be explained.

First, sociology understands that norms shape human behaviour, but the process of internalizing social rules as norms inhibits our awareness of the various other reasons why we behave in the ways we do. In terms of the norm of reciprocity, individuals might expect a return of aid and feel the expectation to return aid because it is 'what is done' in the community, rather than something that, if done, would be in their own best interest. Therefore, it could be that the normative nature of reciprocity may obscure the instrumental locus of the norm. Second, it is possible that respondents are reluctant to speak of self-interest in the community, due to a social desirability bias. However this seems less likely, citing the retention in the final factor solution of the survey item most explicitly framing reciprocity as a matter of self-interest. In these examples, self-interest is a part of the norm of reciprocity, but more survey measurements of each need to be developed to determine their relationship to each other. There are other items pertaining to self interest that are retained in the solution, but because they load on separate factors,

⁶³ Item 16d "People do each other favours because they know the favour will be returned", and item 16i "It is good for Filipinos to do each other favours, because it increases the number of people they can call on for help".

it is possible the measures of self-interest require some refinement. Regardless, further testing on other populations is required before this solution could be considered firm.

It would be useful to have a more precise understanding of the relationship between reciprocity and self-interest. One way in which the norm of reciprocity could involve self-interest that was not investigated in this study was in terms of whether self-interest could be more an explicit concern for those expected to repay a debt. It could be that the social pressures to repay, and the social sanctions for not repaying, are such that to act reciprocally is to act in one's self-interest. This is indicated by the presence of one item measuring negative social capital, which looks at "free riders" (Portes, 1998)⁶⁴. If there is widespread awareness within the community of 'defaulters', then social pressure to repay might make it clear to those in a situation of social debt that their self-interest, be it for future aid or their reputation more generally, might be compromised if they do not act appropriately. If so, future studies seeking to identify this norm in communities should examine it not in terms of self-interest, but in terms of its normative manifestation, i.e., the expectation of appropriate behaviour, in this case the act of reciprocation.

At the same time, the problem of "free riders" as an indicator of self-interest underlying the norm of reciprocity could be explained differently. This interpretation would argue that if free riders are a problem in the community, it could be that they are considered a problem *for* the community. The wording of this question states "Some individuals take more than they give back *to the community*". Interpreted in this way, and the wording of the question would support the idea that self-interest as an element of

⁶⁴ Item 16k, "Some Filipinos take more than they give back to the community".

the norm of reciprocity has less to do with individuals acting for their personal gain. Rather, in this interpretation self is defined in terms of the community, and self-interest becomes equated with community interest. Future research might address this possibility by examining the relationship between instrumentality and the norm of reciprocity as a way of advancing group, rather than self, interest. At this stage, the exact nature of the relationship between “free-riders” and self-interest is not clear. Findings to this effect would also help to refine how we understand “free-riders as it might relate to negative social capital. Are “free-riders”, a problem for individuals in the community, the community itself, or both? In any event, regardless of the way in which “self” is framed, it remains that the relationship(s) between self/community-interest, the expectation of return, and trust, need to be investigated further.

The analysis indicates examining the trust individuals have that others will repay favours done for them can also provide an indicator of the norm of reciprocity. In other words, in communities where the norm of reciprocity is in place, members will trust each other to repay debts, compared to those outside the community. The survey includes only two questions on trust specific to the in group but only one item, 16h remained in the analysis⁶⁵. It would appear that although members of the community (where the norm is in place) can be trusted to reciprocate aid more than individuals outside the community, being a member of an ethnic group is not enough. It is possible that some personal knowledge of an individual, in addition to their being a member of the community, is necessary for individuals to trust they will reciprocate aid. If this research were to be

⁶⁵ Item 16h, “Members of the Filipino community can be trusted to repay favours more than non-Filipinos”, was retained for the final factor solution while item 16q, “People in the community trust other Filipinos to return a favour, even if they do not know them personally”, was not.

replicated in a larger study, more questions on trust and the specific nature of trust should be included in the survey. This would enable future research to examine the lines along which trust in reciprocity run within a community, for example whether community members more likely to trust friends or family to reciprocate.

Findings from the Statistical Analyses: Bounded Solidarity

The analysis of bounded solidarity is less decisive than for the norm of reciprocity, resulting in two separate solutions. The difference between these two solutions is the respective inclusion and exclusion of two variables, item 7o (retained for Solution One) and item 7a (retained for Solution Two). Solution One results in a seven item, two factor solution and Solution Two also results in a seven item, two factor solution. Despite the ambiguity of these findings, there is some support for the idea that there are two important components underlying bounded solidarity.

In Solution One, the first factor pertains to solidarity owing to *shared identity*. In this case, common identity revolves around the shared experience of migration, ethnicity and the shared experience of marginalization. The second factor identified in Solution One is the *expectation of solidarity* within the community, indicated by survey items measuring the expectation of solidarity and the benefits solidarity gives to the community. This solution is more conceptually sound while the second solution is more statistically sound.

While Solution Two is more statistically sound, it is more ambiguous to interpret conceptually, and its factors more difficult to name. While factor one represents *shared identity*, the second factor contains items indicating shared identity and the expectation of solidarity. Because of this overlap, this component is simply named Factor Two. Two final factor solutions have been selected for bounded solidarity, because this is an ambiguous concept and probably because a larger sample size would be needed to select one conceptually and statistically sound solution.

These difficulties point to potential problems with the quantitative study of bounded solidarity, for which there could be several reasons. If the components of bounded solidarity are poorly theorized, this might explain the ambiguity in loadings for the items in the factor solution. At this point there is some evidence to support only one part of the definition of bounded solidarity put forward in this thesis, namely the importance of shared identity in generating bounded solidarity. While solidarity within the community is likely a characteristic of social capital, the specific lines around which solidarity lie must be delineated further. This analysis of bounded solidarity appears somewhat useful for studying immigrant or ethnic minority populations, as the indicators retained in the analysis pertain to shared identity as immigrants and shared identity as members of an ethnic group. However, this limits the possibility of using these items to identify bounded solidarity in communities whose members are neither immigrant nor of a specific ethnic group. If one were to administer the survey items retained in this analysis of bounded solidarity to members of a union and receive negative responses, it would not be accurate to conclude on this basis there is no bounded solidarity in this

union or workplace. Instead, additional bases on which shared identity rests need to be delineated in order to identify bounded solidarity across a range of associations and organizations. While theoretically a useful and relevant concept, to be studied quantitatively bounded solidarity requires more refinement.

Finally, to determine whether the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity actually form a cohesive concept called social capital, a factor analysis containing all 54 survey items measuring the dependent variables was attempted. Unfortunately, this solution was not factorable. A second factor analysis was conducted containing only the items retained for the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity. Nine items pertained to bounded solidarity, and 8 items pertaining to the norm of reciprocity were retained in this solution. The survey items pertaining to the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity loaded discretely from each other. This supports the idea that the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity are discrete elements, but part of a larger concept we call social capital. Again, more research is needed to create better indicators for each concept and to highlight other elements of social capital not considered by the present research, and to confirm its findings.

Suggestions for Future Research

There are a number of directions in which future research can be taken. The first would be to replicate this study with a larger sample size, and by comparing different immigrant communities. This would give some validation to the present study, due to its limitations of one ethnic group and small sample size. If the findings from such a study

were to validate the findings here, the statements made about the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity could be made with more confidence. It may also result in a more definitive solution for bounded solidarity in particular. This would be an important step in terms of being able to use the indices developed in this thesis in larger studies on immigration and resettlement. These indices could be used to identify those immigrants who have access to social capital, for example if they live in a community with an active norm of reciprocity, and to include these variables in studies that seek to explain and predict the course of their resettlement. It would also be useful to determine whether the survey items could be used as indicators of social capital outside immigrant groups, as well. If so, these indices would become very useful for a wide variety of social research.

Future research should also be concerned with identifying and making measurable other elements of social capital, for example value introjection and enforceable trust, two other 'sources' of social capital that Portes identifies, and the potential for obligation and trust to be separate, independent components of social capital. Because only the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity has been dealt with in this thesis, these indices cannot be used to identify the potential for social capital in communities in which the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity might be small, or nonexistent aspects. Neither can these findings be used to measure the remaining aspects of social capital.

In addition, more attention can be paid to refining our understanding of the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity. The findings leave some important questions unanswered. For example, although the analysis finds trust to be an important

component of the norm of reciprocity, the nature of this trust needs to be dissected further. Is in-group status sufficient to generate the trust involved in the norm of reciprocity? If not, what can create or damage this trust? In addition, this analysis supported the idea that the reciprocal act itself, and not the nature of the aid returned, defines the norm of reciprocity. Before such conclusions can be made with strong confidence, more research is necessary to confirm if this is the case. Also, research comparing the norm of reciprocity across ethnic groups will refine our understanding of both concepts, and avoid making erroneous conclusions about the uniformity of these dynamics across communities. If the norm of reciprocity can be identified in other ways, owing to the nature of the community involved, these indicators should be developed.

Future research should also investigate the possibility of bounded solidarity as a unidimensional (one factor solution) concept, and to understand the more general basis on which solidarity may rest. One way this could be accomplished is to examine the extent to which there is an 'us' versus 'them' mentality in the community, simply by inserting more relevant survey questions. Another way would be to replicate this survey in a study with a large sample size, and to investigate the factor loadings. Ideally with a larger sample size, findings of unidimensionality could be stated with more confidence. In a similar vein, the relationship between discrimination and bounded solidarity must be investigated further. Although Portes sees the experience of discrimination as necessary for bounded solidarity to occur, the findings from this analysis indicate discrimination might be a separate, but related factor to social capital. It is important for researchers to know whether the experience of discrimination is or is not an important indication of

communities in which bounded solidarity is present. It is possible that Portes has overstated the importance of discrimination for bounded solidarity, and that the experience of discrimination is not actually necessary for bounded solidarity to be in place. Again, comparisons across ethnic communities would be important to delineate the different ways in which bounded solidarity can manifest.

There were questions the data in this project could not address. For the most part, research compares social capital across communities, specifically in terms of communities that have social capital and communities that do not (Putnam, 1995). While important, this research (this study included) has only so much utility for critically analyzing social capital because it tends to focus on one community as an undifferentiated whole. To engage in a more detailed analysis of social capital, future research should examine how social capital can be differently expressed within communities. In this study, the items measuring negative social capital did not feature prominently in the final factor solutions. However, the potential for community to exert a negative influence on resettlement needs to be studied to inform social policy and services designed to help immigrants resettle in Canada. So, for example, if women in a community are in a disadvantaged position in that they are disproportionately expected to provide aid to community members, are limited in the types of aid they receive, or if they are unable to access community resources, government services cannot assume that just because immigrant women belong to a community evidencing social capital this community will look after their needs or act in their best interests. It would also be unwise to direct funding and services blanketly to the development of social capital in

immigrant communities if it can work to the detriment of some members. Similarly, in allocating resources to immigrant communities and serving agencies, governments should not operate from the perspective that communities with high levels of reciprocity and solidarity require fewer government services, *ibso facto*. It is certainly possible that some communities with these elements of social capital could require less federally funded services, or would be less interested in receiving government aid. However, at this point it can only be presumed that the potential resources such a community would offer to its members would be equally accessible by all, and no segment of the community is negatively impacted by these elements. Before funding decisions can be made on the basis of social capital, we must further develop our knowledge of the ways in which social capital can operate in immigrant communities.

It is, therefore, important for future research to refine further the definition of social capital and to discover how the experience of social capital in ethnic communities can vary for immigrants to Canada, based on the intersection of individual members' statuses. This can include considerations of gender, social class, and immigrant class (for example business class versus family sponsored admissions). Such knowledge will provide the means to critically re-interpret how we understand social capital and immigrant resettlement in the Canadian context. Future research should be guided in particular by feminist theory, which provides a framework for understanding how women experience community differently than men, something that remains understudied in the social capital literature.

The first stage of such a research project should consist of structured interviews similar to those completed for this study, and administered to women and men who have recently immigrated to Canada. These results could be compared to those from the Filipino sample interviewed in Winnipeg and used to verify the indices created in this work. The second stage of the research should involve in-depth, unstructured interviews in which respondents can articulate the different ways, positive and negative, they come to understand life within their ethnic community. This multimethod, qualitative approach may provide a greater understanding of the subjective complexities of social capital. Because the research participants will have an opportunity to voice their experiences within and outside their ethnic community, there is also the potential for other elements of social capital to be discovered that has not yet been identified by *a priori* research.

Social capital remains a useful concept for the social sciences, especially for immigration and resettlement studies. However, more work is required before social capital can be measured more reliably and uniformly across communities and research projects. This thesis is an important contribution in the theoretical and quantitative study of social capital. As a theoretical contribution, a new definition of social capital has been forwarded, building on past theory and research, which attempts to correct for some of the difficulties these other theories have encountered. Statistically, promising measures of social capital have been created with the idea that they will be refined further in future studies. These indices can help researchers identify the types of communities that are likely to serve as a source of social capital for their members.

Undoubtedly social capital can exert an influence on the lives of any person involved in community. There are a myriad number of lines along which a sense of community can be built, perpetuated and rebuilt, and there is no evidence to suggest that homogeneity in terms of ethnicity and country of origin is necessary for social capital to exist. Nor is there evidence to suggest the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity can exist only in immigrant communities. Ideally, these indices will be useful in identifying the norm of reciprocity and bounded solidarity in non-immigrant, non-dominant communities, or in communities in which there is a mixture of ethnicities, immigrants and the native-born. But understanding social capital as an analytic concept is particularly important for immigration research. Increasingly, as human capital theories are unable to account for the resettlement experience of new immigrants, research is demonstrating the determining influence of social context. Future studies will be better able to explain and predict the resettlement outcomes of immigrants if it is able to include considerations of this social context.

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APPENDIX A

**Understanding Social Capital: A Preliminary Analysis of The
Norm of Reciprocity and Bounded Solidarity**

QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire Number:

Respondent Name: _____

Respondent Number: _____

Interview Start Time:

Interview End Time:

Date: _____

Questionnaire Number:

Respondent Number:

Screening Questions: To be used at Telephone Contact (verified at beginning of interview)

I'd like to begin the survey by asking you a few questions about yourself

1. Where were you born? (IF IN CANADA, TERMINATE INTERVIEW)

2. What is your date of birth? (IF UNDER 18, ASK TO SPEAK TO SOMEONE IN THE HOUSE BORN IN THE PHILIPPINES WHO IS OVER 18. IF NOT, TERMINATE INTERVIEW)

_____ (day,month,year)

3. What year did you arrive in Canada? (IF OVER 15YEARS, TERMINATE INTERVIEW)

4. What year did you arrive in Winnipeg? _____ (IF OVER 15 YEARS, TERMINATE INTERVIEW)

5. Are both your parents Filipino? (IF NEITHER ARE FILIPINO, TERMINATE INTERVIEW. INTERVIEWER , RECORD ALL)

6. How would you describe your ethnic **identity**? For example, would you describe yourself as Filipino, Filipino Canadian, Canadian?

I would like to begin with a few questions about your community

Bounded Solidarity

7. First, I would like to ask you a few questions about the Filipino community in Winnipeg. For each of these questions, please answer on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means "*strongly agree*" and 5 means "*strongly disagree*". This card has the response options on it for your reference [INTERVIEWER HAND RESPONDENT CARD A]

	S.A	A	N	D	S.D	N/A	D.K	N.R.
a. The Filipino community provides support for new Filipino immigrants because few others will	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
b. Being from a different cultural group makes it difficult to feel at home with other Canadians	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
c. Filipinos should try as much as possible to blend into Canadian society and not form separate communities	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
d. In this community, people would not help someone out just because that person is Filipino	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
e. I feel a lot of pressure to participate in the Filipino community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
f. The community helps new immigrants from the Philippines because they are sometimes treated unfairly	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
g. Within the community, I feel more of a connection with other (sex of respondent)	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
h. Other communities are just as trust- worthy as the Filipino community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

	S.A	A	N	D	S.D	N/A	D.K	N.R.
i. The Filipino community is more welcoming to Filipinos than to non-Filipinos	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
j. The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
k. There is not much support for new Filipino immigrants outside the community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
l. Individuals in this community who don't help new immigrants from the Philippines are not good citizens.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
m. It is difficult to say "no" when the community asks you to do something	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
n. Within the Filipino community, I feel most at home with people who are about my age	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
o. The Filipino community needs to stick together	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
p. The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
q. The Filipino community is more or less closed to non-Filipinos	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
r. It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
s. I feel that at times the Filipino community asks too much	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

	S.A	A	N	D	S.D	N/A	D.K	N.R.
t. When Filipinos help other Filipinos it helps strengthen the community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
u. Filipinos in Winnipeg do not feel they are treated any worse than other people	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
v. The community can be closed minded	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
w. Filipinos are sometimes considered inferior	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
x. Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
y. Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
z. There is pressure to devote yourself to the community, even if it means turning down opportunities elsewhere	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
aa. Members of the community are not as connected to those who are much richer, or much poorer than they are.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

The Experience of Discrimination

8. I'd like to know whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about the experience of immigrating from the Philippines, and resettling in Winnipeg. Again, please answer on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means "*strongly agree*" and 5 means "*strongly disagree*". [INTERVIEWER HAND RESPONDENT CARD A]

	S.A	A	N	D	S.D	N/A	D.K	N.R.
a. I feel more comfortable when I interact in the Filipino community, than when I interact outside of it	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	99
b. I am more aware of my ethnicity when I interact with other Canadians	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	99
c. I do not feel like I am a 'real' Canadian	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	99
d. I don't feel like I belong when I'm outside the Filipino community	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	99
e. There is more discrimination in Canada than people realize	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	99

For this next question, I'd like you to answer in your own words

9. If you could choose one way to describe yourself to someone, what would you choose?
-

Now, I have some questions about your family and friends

10. Do you have other Filipino relatives or friends in Winnipeg?

Yes1
No.....2 [Go to Q. 12]
D.K.....8
N.R.....9

11. How close is your relationship with your relatives and friends in general?

- Very close1
 Moderately close.....2
 Not very close3
 Not at all close4
 D.K.....8
 N.R.....9

Ethnic Composition of Interpersonal Relationships and Social Activities

12. I'm going to ask you a few questions about who you spend your time with. Please let me know if the best answer is "*Filipinos*", or "*Non-Filipinos*" [INTERVIEWER: **MARK ALL THAT APPLY**].

	Filipinos	Non-Filipinos	N.A	D.K.	N.R.
a. At work, I spend the majority of my time with	1	2	7	8	9
b. During my leisure time, I spend the majority of my time with	1	2	7	8	9
c. When I volunteer, I spend the majority of my time volunteering with	1	2	7	8	9
d. In my religious or spiritual activities, I spend the majority of my time with	1	2	7	8	9
e. My close friends are mostly	1	2	7	8	9

13. How often do you do the following? [INTERVIEWER HAND RESPONDENT CARD B]

	Frequently	Fairly Often	Sometimes	Very Rarely	Never	N/A	D.K	N.R
a. Attend Filipino dances, parties or informal social gatherings	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
b. Listen to Filipino radio or watch Filipino television (Including broadcasts in English)	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

	Frequently	Fairly	Sometimes	Very	Never	N/A	D.K	N.R
	Often			Rarely				
c. Read any Filipino newspapers, magazines, or other material (Including those published in English)	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
d. Volunteer in the Filipino community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
e. Volunteer in other non-Filipino Activities	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
f. Other:	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
<hr/> (please specify)								

Institutional Completeness

The next questions refer to the services you may receive within the Filipino community. By services I mean things like medical services, shopping needs, etc.

14. Do you think there should be services in Winnipeg that are specifically Filipino? By services I'm referring to things like shops, media, restaurants, etc.

Yes1
 No.....2
 D.N.....7
 N.R.....8

The next questions refer to how many services you may receive, or services you **WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE** within the Filipino community. I'd like you to answer on a four point scale, where 1 means "*all of the time*", and 4 means "*never*". You can also indicate if you'd use the services if they were available. I'll read the responses to you, but here is a card with the options, if you'd also like to read them
[INTERVIEWER HAND RESPONDENT CARD C]

15. Do you prefer to use the following services when they are available from the Filipino community? (If these services are not available, would you like to see them offered in Winnipeg?)

	Yes	No		All of the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	Never	Would use if available	N/A.	D.N.	N.R.
a. Doctor	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
b. Dentist	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
c. Restau- rants	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
d. Banking	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
e. Radio	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
f. News- paper	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
g. Music	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
h. Church or other religious gatherings	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
i. Television	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
j. Cult.Cts	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
k. Grocery	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
l. Educ. Inst.	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
m. Trans. svcs	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
n. Tagolog trng.	1	2	___	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

Interviewer prompt: Are there any more services I have not mentioned that you'd like to see in the city? (INTERVIEWER, COLLECT INFORMATION ON HOW OFTEN RESPONDENT WOULD USE THESE SERVICES)

		All of the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	Never	Would use if available	N/A.	D.N.	N.R.
o.	_____	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

p.	_____	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

q.	_____	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

The Norm of Reciprocity

16. I would like to continue asking you questions about the Filipino community in Winnipeg. Please answer using the "agree-disagree" responses on the card we used earlier. [INTERVIEWER HAND RESPONDENT CARD A]

	S.A	A	N	D	S.D	N/A	D.K	N.R.
a. In the Filipino community, members expect the favours they do will be returned	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
b. People who are active in the Filipino community are more likely to get aid from other Filipinos	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
c. It is good enough if community members return a favour by helping out the giver's family or friends	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
d. People in the community do each other favours because they know the favour will be returned	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
e. Some people put more into the community than they get out of it	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
f. The time it takes for community members to return a favour is not important	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
g. Filipinos know that when you receive a favour from the community, you are supposed to repay it	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

	S.A	A	N	D	S.D	N/A	D.K	N.R.
h. Members of the Filipino community can be trusted to repay favours more than non-Filipinos	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
i. It is good for Filipinos to do each other favours, because it increases the number of people they can call on for help	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
j. When members of the community do someone a favour, they expect the favour will be returned	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
k. Some Filipinos take more than they give back to the community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
l. The community will give loans to Filipinos who can repay their debt in some other way	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
m. Individuals who do not return favours will be less likely to get help from the community in the future	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
n. When community members help each other out, <i>who</i> repays the favour is not as important as returning the favour	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
o. A person's reputation for returning favours can effect whether they can get help within the community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
p. When community members help each other out, <i>the way</i> the favour is repaid is not important	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
q. People in the community trust other Filipinos to return a favour, even if they do not know them personally	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
r. Community members are required to pay back loans in money form only	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

	S.A	A	N	D	S.D	N/A	D.K	N.R.
s. Individuals who do not repay favours gain a bad reputation in the community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
t. It is common for the community to help its members without thinking the favour will be returned	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
u. There is more pressure to repay favours to members of the Filipino community, than to non-members	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
v. In the community, you must repay favours in the same form as what you received	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
w. Community members should repay favours by giving something or doing something in equal value to what was received	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
x. Filipinos in this community are obliged to help out other members of the community	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
y. In the Filipino community, it is important to consider a person's reputation for repayment before you do them a favour	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
z. I would feel I must help a non-Filipino if they had once helped me	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
aa. Someone who did not pay back favours could be excluded from community events	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

For this next question, I would like you to answer in your own words

17. How would the community react to a member who did not return the favours done for them?

For this next question, I would like you to respond 'yes', or 'no'

18. Does the Filipino community help some people more than others?

Yes1

No.....2 [Go to Q.21]

D.K.....8

N.R.....9

19. Can you tell me some of the characteristics of who would be *more likely* to receive help? (INTERVIEWER PROBE: i.e. your family, friends, neighbours)

20. Are there some characteristics of someone who *would be less likely* to receive favours?

I'm going to ask you some questions about your own experience with immigrating to Canada

Immigration Experience

21. Did you come to Canada by yourself?

Yes.....1

No.....2

D.K.....8

N.R.....9

22. Why did you choose to come to Winnipeg? (INTERVIEWER NOTE: IF RESPONDENT INDICATES FAMILY OR OTHER SOCIAL TIES, NO NEED TO ASK THEM NEXT QUESTION, FILL IN 'YES')

23. When you immigrated to Winnipeg, did you already know people here?

Yes.....1

No.....2 (Go to **Q.25**)

D.N.....8

N.R.....9

24. (If yes) What was their relationship(s) to you?

Demographic Questions

Now I'm going to ask you about some other parts of your life that we haven't discussed yet. We need this information for statistical purposes.

25. What is your highest level of education?

26. What is your current marital status?

- Married.....1
- Common-Law2
- Separated.....3
- Divorced.....4
- Widowed.....5
- Never married6
- Dating someone7
- D.K.....8
- N.R.....9

Now I'd like to ask you some standard questions about your current experiences with employment in Canada

27. Are you currently employed?

- Yes1
- No.....2 (Go to **Q. 29**)
- D.N.....7
- N.R.....8

28. What is your current job?

This next question is about your annual household (not individual), income. I'm going to hand you a card with a list of incomes, along with number. [INTERVIEWER HAND RESPONDENT CARD D]. Please tell me which number represents your annual income.

29. What is your annual *household* income?

Category Number: _____

[AFTER INTERVIEW, FILL IN CORRESPONDING INCOME]

30. Respondent income: _____

That completes the survey. I would like to thank you for taking the time to participate in this study, your answers will be very helpful to our research. While I am speaking to you, do you know of any other Filipino immigrants who would be interested in completing our study, and who I could contact?

NAME: _____

CONTACT INFO:

INTERVIEWER COMPLETE SECTION AFTER INTERVIEW

31. Sex of Respondent

Female.....1
Male2

32. English Ability, Comprehension

Very good.....1
Good.....2
Average3
Poor4
Very Poor5

33. English Ability, Spoken

Very good.....	1
Good.....	2
Average.....	3
Poor.....	4
Very Poor.....	5

34. How was the respondent's participation obtained?

Interviewer Notes:

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

APPENDIX B

CARD A

Strongly Agree..... 1
Agree..... 2
Neither Agree Nor Disagree..... 3
Disagree..... 4
Strongly Disagree 5

CARD B

Frequently1
Fairly Often2
Sometimes3
Very Rarely4
Never5

CARD C

All of the time.....1
Most of the time2
Some of the time.....3
Never.....4
Would use if available5

CARD D

\$0-9,999..... 1	\$60,000-69,999 7
\$10,000-19,999..... 2	\$70,000-79,999 8
\$20,000-29,999..... 3	\$80,000-89,999 9
\$30,000-39,999..... 4	\$90,000-99,999..... 10
\$40,000-49,999..... 5	\$100,000+ 11
\$50,000-59,999..... 6	

APPENDIX C

Factor Loadings From the Structure Matrix, Bounded Solidarity Principal Component Analysis, Direct Oblimin Rotation Solution One, 8 Items			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
7k	There is not much support for new Filipino immigrants outside the community	-0.773	
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity	0.604	<u>0.575</u>
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity	0.593	
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos, it helps strengthen the community	0.75	0.458
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos	0.657	
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like	<u>0.479</u>	0.521
7o	The Filipino community needs to stick together		0.542
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos		0.865

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors.

Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed.

Factor Loadings From the Structure Matrix, Bounded Solidarity Principal Component Analysis, Direct Oblimin Rotation Solution Two, 8 Items			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
7a	Filipino immigrants because few others will	0.645	
7k	There is not much support for new Filipino immigrants outside the community of their shared ethnicity	-0.694	-0.406
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity	0.649	
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos, it helps strengthen the community	0.699	<u>0.586</u>
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos	0.69	
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like	0.408	0.666
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity	0.753	
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos		0.843

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors.
Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed.

Factor Loadings From the Structure Matrix, Bounded Solidarity Principal Component Analysis, Direct Oblimin Rotation Solution One, 7 Items			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like	0.589	<u>-0.447</u>
7o	The Filipino community needs to stick together	0.429	
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos	0.865	
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity	0.675	<u>-0.474</u>
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity		-0.744
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos it helps strengthen the community	<u>0.548</u>	0.672
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos		-0.712

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors.

Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed.

Values lower than .4 were suppressed in this analysis and do not appear in the table (Pett et al., 2003:235)

Factor Loadings From the Structure Matrix, Bounded Solidarity Principal Component Analysis, Direct Oblimin Rotation Solution Two 7 Items			
<i>Items</i>		<i>Factors</i>	
		1	2
7j	The people in this community support Filipino immigrants because they especially understand what the experience is like	0.686	0.408
7r	It's best for community members to be connected to other Filipinos	0.819	
7x	Filipinos in Winnipeg feel a sense of connection with other Filipinos because of their shared ethnicity	0.754	
7a	The community provides support for new Filipino		0.562
7p	The Filipino community has a strong sense of ethnic identity		0.698
7t	When Filipinos help other Filipinos it helps strengthen the community	<u>0.614</u>	0.666
7y	Filipinos are not expected to help other Filipinos		0.713

Note: Underlined values indicate a double loading on two factors. Loadings highlighted in bold indicate the factor on which the item was placed. Values lower than .4 were suppressed in this analysis and do not appear in the table (Pett et al., 2003:235)