

Family Transformation and Social Cohesion: Project Overview and Integrative Framework

Zenaida R. Ravanera

Revised, July 2000

A revised version of Ravanera, Z. R. and F. Rajulton, *Multiple Levels of Analysis: Prospects and Challenges for the Family Transformation and Social Cohesion Project*, a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Population Society in Edmonton, May 28-30, 2000 and at the First Workshop of the Family Transformation and Social Cohesion Project in Ottawa, June 9-10, 2000.

This paper outlines the research direction of the Family Transformation and Social Cohesion project. The first two sections present the recent changes within the family and the meaning of social cohesion based mostly on Canadian studies and selected literature relevant to the project. These are followed by a discussion of the links between families, communities, and the society, the types of studies planned for the project and an analytical framework to be used for integrating the various studies. As the integrating framework points to different levels of analysis that the project will pursue, the final sections describe the data sets that will be used, explain the need to append community-level information to survey data, and briefly discuss the recently developed statistical methodologies and software for multi-level analysis.

A. Family Transformation and Family Cohesion

Although demographic research has not explicitly addressed social cohesion, the study of the family transformations clearly impinges on the question of solidarity, social order and continuity. The following is a brief description of changes in the family and its relation mainly to intra-family cohesion.

Family Formation and Dissolution. Concern for within family cohesion starts with its formation. The family's beginning is no longer clear-cut with the increased popularity of common-law union (Marcil-Gratton and Le Bourdais, 1999, Marcil-Gratton, 1998, Ravanera, 1995). Cohabitation differentiates itself from marriage in that the bigger community is not involved in its launch. It is primarily a private arrangement, more readily dissolved if not a success. Although common-law unions formed are unstable, an increasing number of couples in these unions are opting to have children. The popularity of cohabitation together with high divorce and separation rates bring about changes in family structures with increases in the proportions of single-, step- and blended-families.

Effects of Family Changes on Children. Changes in family structures have great consequences for children. While some studies point to the resilience of children in the face of family breakdown (Haddad, 1998), several point to the adverse impacts of these changes not only in the short-term but in the long run as well. Analysis of the first wave of the National Survey of Children and Youth revealed that compared to children from intact families, a higher proportion living with lone parents have poorer outcomes in terms of health, behaviour, and school achievement (Lipman *et al.* 1998, Ross *et al.* 1998). The effect of family instability stretches to adulthood. Le Bourdais and Marcil-Gratton (1998) find that parental separation and divorce increases the female children's chances of cohabiting and of early and pre-marital childbearing and the male children's experience of union dissolution. McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) document a lower achievement in high school and beyond of children in lone parent families in the U.S. and attribute this to diminished social capital.

Home-Leaving of Children. Another children-related issue is the delayed home-leaving and the frequent returns of young adults to parental homes. Children from disrupted families are more likely to leave home at an early age (Zhao *et al.*, 1995), more likely to leave because of strained parent-child relations (Mitchell, 1994), and less likely to return home after the initial home-

leaving (Gee *et al*, 1995). Mitchell (1994) thinks that home-leaving before age 18 has long-term adverse consequences such as dropping out of high school and narrowed employment and life opportunities. But the more general trend is the prolonged stay of today's youth in parental homes (Boyd and Norris, 1999, Ravanera *et al*, 1998). One view about this delay is that today's young people have difficulties in making the successful transition to adult life. Côté and Allahar (1994) attribute this to the recent phase of industrial capitalism that no longer requires the labour of the youth, except in low-paying service industries. A family strategy of coping with labour market conditions is a longer stay in parental homes (Corak, 1998), which also permits greater transfers of resources to children.

Support and Care for the Elderly. An inter-generation issue is the care and financial support for the elderly. For a while, there was a concern that women boomers have become a 'sandwich generation' burdened with responsibilities for the caring of their own children and for their aging parents. However, a study by Dumas and Belanger (1994) finds that only a small proportion of adults are the prime care providers for the elderly. Nevertheless, with the budget cuts for health and social services, there is a perception that families are being asked to carry an unfair load of caring responsibilities (Luxton, 1998). Another issue is the public funding for the elderly, which has given rise to a concern that there may be societal cleavage across age groups (PRI, 1997). There is a perception that given the demographics and the pension system in place, working young adults are paying for old age pensions from which they may not benefit in their old age. The allocation of resources between those that heavily benefit the elderly (such as health service) and those that benefit the children and the young (such as education and children services) is also seen as a possible basis for age-based rifts. Complicating the issue is the question on measurement. Stone *et al.* (1998) argue that private exchanges between generations do rival or even exceed government transfers and that these flows favour the children.

Household Division of Labour. The changes (or the absence or slowness of change) in the division of labour among family members also have implications for family cohesion. Goldscheider and Waite (1991) point to two possible impacts: Many of the unmarried may avoid marriage, parenthood, or living in families if there are no changes in the division of domestic responsibilities. Among those already married, a weakened family relationship may arise as wives resent doing a double shift of employment and housework. A number of studies have shown that the traditional division of domestic tasks is changing but women still do more of the unpaid work at home (Le Bourdais and Sauriol, 1998, McQuillan and Belle, 1998). The issue is particularly important for child-care given the high participation of women with children in the labour force and the demands that child-caring responsibilities be broadly shared with businesses and governments by providing financial and other types of support (Luxton, 1998). Whether or not the movement toward more male involvement in domestic functions will continue and what the impact of egalitarian relationship will be on family cohesion are questions that need further study as the trends unfold. Bumpass (1993), for example, notes that it is companionate marriage involving greater gender equality that is associated with lower rates of parenting and with higher divorce rates.

Changing Family Values. Not only family-related behaviour but attitudes and values have

changed as well. In a 1984 survey, Balakrishnan *et al.* (1993) found that cohabitation and divorce have become socially acceptable and children are no longer considered as the focal point of women's life or a basis of a couple's relationship. Young couples in the 1990s, particularly those who have experienced cohabitation, assign less importance to children and to living as a couple, and marriage is no longer seen as a primary source of happiness (Lapierre-Adamcyk *et al.* (1999). According to Nevitte (1996), two shifts happened in the 1980s: there is greater preference for more egalitarian spousal relations, and parent-child relationship has become less hierarchical. He contends that these two shifts are part of the general trend toward less deference to authority also manifested in politics and in the workplace and that decline in deference happened not only in Canada but also in the US and Western Europe. Based on findings about the changed values, the trends in the high rates of cohabitation and divorce, and the low rates of marriage and fertility are not likely to be reversed in the near future (Balakrishnan *et al.* , 1993, Lesthaeghe and Moors, 1995).

Variations in Family Changes. As with any social change, the family transformation has not occurred uniformly in Canada. The pace and level of change vary among groups differentiated by social status (indicated mainly by education, income, occupation, and work participation), culture (mother tongue, migration status, ethnicity, religion), and opportunity structures (province or region of residence). The observation about fertility that in more recent times variations by ascribed characteristics (such as language, ethnicity, and religion) have attenuated whereas differences by achieved status (such as education, income, work status) have persisted (Balakrishnan, *et al.*, 1993) may be true for other family transformations as well.

B. Social Cohesion Defined

To relate the changes not only to family cohesion but to the bigger community's or society's cohesion requires a clearer understanding of the concept. Everyone seems to know what social cohesion is but finds it hard to define¹. Jenson (1998) notes that the term is treated as if "it goes without saying" and "usually mentioned when a set of problems is evoked."². The Canadian Policy Research Initiative Subcommittee on Social Cohesion (1997) came up with this definition that also seems to describe a goal: "the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope and

¹ In her paper "Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research", Jane Jenson (1998) found two definitions, one of which is that of PRI (quoted above) and the other is that of the working group of the Commissariat général du plan of the French government which states that "social cohesion is a set of social processes that help instill in individuals the sense of belonging to the same community and the feeling that they are recognised as members of that community."

²Jenson (1998) also notes that it is just one of the many theoretical approaches to understanding social order. The two others that she mentions are the classical liberalism theory ("Social order results from private behaviour in private institutions such as markets") and democracy theory ("Social order - and change - results from active democratic government guaranteeing a basic measure of economic equality and equity").

reciprocity among all Canadians.” A more general definition that the project could work with is that of S. Rosell (1995) which states that social cohesion “involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges and that they are members of the same community.”³ Bernard (1999) points out that the main difference between the two is that the first definition waters down the idea of “reducing disparities in wealth and income” to that of “developing ... equal opportunity”.

The common points among the definitions are that social cohesion is a process, and it involves shared values, and sense of belonging to a community. But, these do not encompass other features of social cohesion. A round table discussion organized by the Canadian Policy Research Network, for example, came up with 5 dimensions of social cohesion (O’Connor,1998). These were subsequently put in theoretical contexts and discussed in relation to the various definitions of social cohesion by Jenson (1998). And, Bernard (1999) added one more dimension, equality/inequality, all of which can be categorized by character of relation and spheres of activity as follows:

Character of the relation/ Spheres of activity	Formal	Substantial
Economic	Inclusion/Exclusion	Equality/Inequality
Political	Legitimacy/Illegitimacy	Participation/Passivity
Socio-cultural	Recognition/Rejection	Belonging/Isolation

The *inclusion/exclusion* and *equality/inequality* dimensions are related to the market forces and bring up the questions of who has opportunities to participate or who are marginalized from participation in the economy. *Legitimacy/illegitimacy* refers to how well institutions such as the government, political parties, and unions represent the people; and *participation/passivity* relates to people’s involvement in governance or in politics. *Recognition/rejection* acknowledges the virtue of pluralism; and *belonging/isolation* relates to shared values or sense of being part of a community (Jenson, 1998). One challenge to the project is to find means to connect family transformations to these dimensions.

Another way by which the relationship between family changes and social cohesion may be explored is by looking at the types of social cohesion. Durkheim distinguishes between two types of solidarity: *mechanical* solidarity is based on likenesses while *organic* solidarity is based on division of labour. On the basis of multiplicity and intensity of attachments, mechanical solidarity is less strong than organic solidarity; and, as society becomes ‘more civilized’, likenesses diminish and solidarity based on division of labour increases (Durkheim, 1933, pp.148-150).

³ This is the same definition used by J. Maxwell (1996) and referred to by Bernard (1999).

Beaujot (2000) thinks that these forms of solidarity could be applied to the family realm as well: “As societies have been increasingly held together by organic interdependence, families are being held together by mechanical solidarity. (p.32)” He speculates that reduction in the sexual specialization in the division of labour would enhance relationships based on common identity or emotional interdependence which is less durable .

In the interest of finding indicators, Thomas (1999) defines social cohesion as the force holding the members or parts of a society interacting overtime. He enumerates three types of social cohesion based on grounds for trust and cooperation among actors who do not necessarily know each other. *Affective* cohesion is one in which trust and cooperation is based on similarity of traits or on feelings of attachment; *normative* cohesion is based on common values or beliefs; and in *instrumental* cohesion, cooperation is based on mutual business interests. Incidentally, similar expressions are also used in discussions of family cohesion. Alice Rossi (1985, cited by Beaujot, 2000) categorizes two types of love: *expressive* is mainly adopted by women and involves emotional closeness, affection, and open communication, whereas *instrumental* love favoured by men means working well together and providing resources.

C. Families, Communities, and the Society

That there are commonalities between intra-family and society’s cohesion is not surprising given that both are aggregation of people. Beyond identifying commonalities however, the task for the project is to get a better understanding of how families affect and are affected by social cohesion. The project’s thrust is based on the recognition that a family, rather than occupying a separate private sphere, is “fully integrated into wider systems of economic and political power” (Ferre, 1990), and thus, changes in other social structures have consequences for families, and in turn, changes in families have bearing on the wider social structures such as communities and the country.

The link between family and society is best seen in the roles that children play. As Beaujot notes, children enhance social integration, not only within the family but also at the community level. Children provide contact with others in the neighbourhood, at school, and in the community. In “Why Do Americans Want Children”, Robert Schoen and his co-authors observe that people are more likely to intend to have another child when they attach importance to the social relationships created by children. This “social capital effect” is found to be strong across parity, union status, gender, and race. Primary group ties, along with affection, stimulation and fun, are intrinsic values of children (Schoen et al, 1997 as cited in Beaujot, 2000).

Because of the importance of children, the community and the larger society have a stake in and responsibility for the children’s growth and well being. Canada, as a society, does its share at the very least through the provision of publicly-funded health care and education. In recent years, there has been an increasing demand for more involvement of the larger society in the care of children. The governments and the private business sector are being asked to accommodate the family responsibilities of rearing children mainly because of the greater participation of mothers in the

labour force.

In the best of circumstances, society's support for health care and education may be adequate for families to sponsor the growth and development of children. But, as discussed above, there have been many changes in the families which have not been beneficial to children and have consequences that require greater involvement of society. Family dissolution, for example, necessitates policy considerations mainly about the care and custody of children. Beyond the legal questions, however, society needs to address the economic and social consequences of family disruption. In many instances, family dissolution has led to economic exclusion and increases in incidence of poverty particularly among lone parent families, and to diminution in investment of human and social capital on children.

The sharing of responsibilities between the families and the society is again brought to the fore as grown children move on to work or to post-secondary schooling. Since the 1980s, both pathways have not been wide open to young adults because of the slowdown in economic growth, the impact of which were more severe on the youth, and the government cut-backs on funding for higher education. As mentioned earlier, among the coping strategies resorted to by the young were financial and other types of support from their parents and delayed formation of their own families. Those unable to find family support need to have 'social support' (in the broader sense of the term, including both the public and private sectors) or otherwise face alienation and market exclusion that have possibilities of being carried over to adult life.

The community or neighbourhood's role in children-rearing is less explicit than that of the larger society. The advent of nuclear families and establishment of welfare system have eliminated or reduced the expectation for distant kin, relatives, friends, or neighbors to provide for basic necessities to families in need, except perhaps in emergency cases. But, there still seem to be a role for communities in providing a safe neighbourhood, social contacts, and provision of social capital for children. The latter consists of relations within the community which engenders trust and obligations, information potential, and normative expectations and intentional organizations aimed at promoting a common good.

Work is another aspect of family life that interfaces with the larger society. In the traditional view of the family with men as the providers and women as the homemakers, men are seen as the link to the economy and the politics of the larger society while women connected to the community, mainly through informal interactions and volunteer work. This specialization by gender (in the home and in society), perhaps most widely practiced only around the 1950s⁴, has been changing,

⁴Ferree (1990) notes, for example, that from a gender's perspective, the view of men as the provider is largely a myth: "women have always contributed significantly to the household economy, including through paid employment in and out of the home".

not the least because of the taking over of many of the family functions by the larger society⁵. Some of these functions such as the education of children through public schooling, and support for the elderly through the pension system became the public's responsibility early on. The market took over a number of functions as well. Commodification and availability of household appliances have reduced the number of hours spent within the household for provision of food, clothing and shelter. The clamor for more facilities for child-care is another move towards the reduction of functions performed within the household.

This reduction of family functions seem to have a number of related effects on societal and intra-family cohesion. Certainly, the off-loading of family functions has contributed to the expansion of bureaucracies and the market, and hence, an increasing basis for instrumental cohesion of the larger society. Apart from this however, the change in women's roles brought about by changes in family functions has increased women's economic inclusion and paved the way for greater political participation. But, for some women, paid work is mainly a continuation of work done at home and this move to the market has not changed the 'gendered' nature of the work (Ferree, 1990). Service-related occupations such as day care and nursing services, food services, clothing manufacture are generally women's jobs. It may therefore be that inequality that may have existed in households has simply been transferred to the market.

On the family level, the entry of more women into the labour force may have changed the basis for cohesion from instrumental to mechanical as noted by Beaujot (2000). Employment may also have shifted relation from dependence of wives to economic inter-dependence between couples.

On the community-level, Putnam (1995) suggests that in the United States, the employment of women has reduced volunteering in activities necessary for accumulating social capital. This may be true for Canada but it may well be that a reduction of participation in family-related or community-based organizations may have been compensated for by involvement in other types of associations such as those that are work-related or single-purpose organizations.

For many adults, the relation with community and society shifts yet again at retirement. The transition to non-active economic life may be relatively smooth for many particularly for those who have been in the labour force for most of their working life. They and their spouses may have been part of the pension system and may have other accumulated resources not only to meet their needs but also for informal giving and formal donations. They may also have more time not just for leisure but for helping relationship with their families, friends, kin, and neighbors, and for

⁵ Talcott Parsons' (1949) conception of a society as a system being made up of interdependent sub-systems is of relevance here. The family is one such sub-system or structure whose functions have been increasingly taken over by other structures in the society. Coleman (1990) has an updated version of the relation between the family and the larger society with his distinction between *primordial* structures based on derivatives from the family such as family, neighborhood, and religious groups; and *purposive* corporate structures consisting of economic organizations, single-purpose voluntary associations and governments. He too makes the point that many functions of primordial structures have been taken over by purposive structures.

volunteering through organizations. And, they may have a long healthy life with no activity limitations, but when they do need caring, they may have family members to turn to for support in addition to what society may provide through the health care and the social system.

Even for those in enviable position, however, government cut-backs to health care and social services brings about the questions of responsibility sharing between families and the society. This responsibility-sharing becomes even more salient in cases when individuals, who through their own choice or through circumstances not within their control, may have been excluded from the market earlier in life and thus may have limited resources to rely on. This may also be true for those who may not have families or have severed their ties to families and kin.

D. Studies on Family Transformation and Social Cohesion

While we may know the general contours of the relations among the families, the communities, and the society, much still need to be learned. As shown in the checklist (Table 1), studies on family changes, types, and attributes along with studies on family values and on measurement, and how they all relate to intra-family and social cohesion will be conducted along the following themes outlined in the proposal.

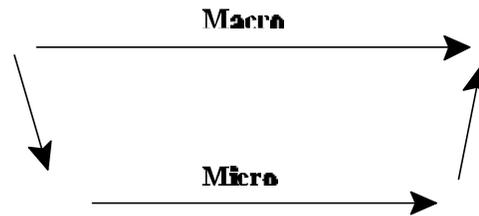
1.	Changing Relationship Between Men and Women, and Social Cohesion
2.	Changing Relationship Between Parents and Children, and Social Cohesion
3.	Inter-generational Transmissions and Acquisition of Human and Social Capital
4.	Family Type, Household Sharing and Social Capital
5.	Family Related Values and Social Cohesion
6.	Measurement: Indicators of Family Change Relevant to Social Cohesion

These themes were developed to highlight the significant changes that families have recently undergone (as discussed in section A). Another way of viewing the various studies is through life course stages of childhood, youth, working adulthood, and old age to approximate the different links among individuals, families, communities, and society at different stages of life, some of which were discussed in section C. The checklist shows the life course stages on which each study focuses. The operationalization of these various studies require data at different levels of analysis which are best understood through an analytical framework.

E. Analytical Framework

Coleman’s Metatheory: Explanation in Social Science. A useful framework in which to view family changes and social cohesion is the one proposed by James Coleman (1990). While pointing out that there is a widening gap between theory and research because: “(s)ocial theory continues to be about the functioning of social system of behavior, but empirical research is often concerned

with explaining individual behavior” (p.1), he proposes a mode of explaining the behaviour of a social system by examining the processes involving the units below the system, illustrated as follows:



An example that Coleman cites is the ‘frustration theory’ of revolution which attempts to explain why revolutions often seem to occur when conditions are generally improving (a macro-level proposition). Proponents of this theory argue that improving conditions create frustration among individual members leading to aggression (a micro-level relation) and on to revolution (by simple aggregation of individual aggression)⁶.

This macro-micro framework is relevant because social cohesion is a behaviour or attribute of a macro system (community or eventually, the country) and the families (and/or individuals) can be thought of as units comprising the system⁷.

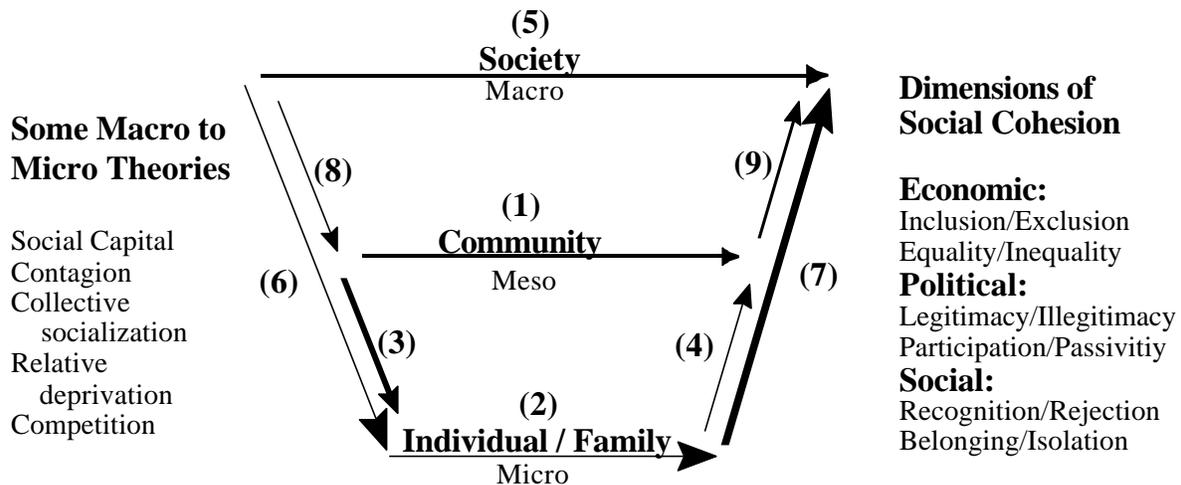
Using this macro-micro framework, one can think of a proposition at the macro-level, for example, that increasing globalization weakens social cohesion in Canada, a proposition that seems to be implied in the theme of the SSHRC Strategic Grant: Exploring Social Cohesion in a Globalizing Era. One can then come up with a hypothesis on how globalization affects the families leading to behaviours that have impacts on social cohesion. As a simple example, one can think of globalization as leading to family economic insecurity that leads in turn to stressful life styles, and to low participation in community life. But globalization has many facets and social cohesion itself, as explained above, has several dimensions. On a broad level therefore, the challenges for the project are many: to define macro-level relations leading to societal cohesion, the macro-to-micro transitions that describe effects of, say, communities on family or individual behaviours, the micro-level relations explaining individual-level actions or outcomes, and finally, the micro-to-macro transitions that explain how individual actions relate to social cohesion. These would require hypotheses about the various relations and testing them with data that are available.

⁶Though this is an example that seems to nicely fit the framework, Coleman points to its ill-defined micro-to-macro transition -- that is, revolution is more than just an aggregation of individual aggression as it involves organization and inter-play among the actors.

⁷By Coleman’s definition, we could also conceive of the family as a social system whose functioning can be explained by the functioning of individual family members but for the sake of simplicity, these two are taken as micro-level entities and communities (or country) as macro-level entity.

An Expanded Framework of Analysis. Building on the links among families, communities, and society, the various project studies (see checklist) may be situated in an expanded version of Coleman’s framework. The community level is referred to here as a “meso” or “in-between” level, which may be a “macro” relative to the individual/family level but a “micro” relative to the societal level. The diagonal arrows on the left refer to the macro-to-micro transitions, which for the project could reflect the effects of economic, political, and social situations (8, 6) and the communities’ impacts on families and individuals (3). Studies on the latter have been explained through various macro-to-micro theories. The right side diagonal arrows refer to the micro-to-macro transitions the outcomes of which may be described in terms of the various dimensions of social cohesion on the community (4) and societal levels (9, 7).

Realistically, all these relations may not be covered by one study or even by an entire project, however, the framework can still be useful in classifying the various studies, that is, by taking one “arrow” at a time (in reference to the illustration above) and using it as a tool for synthesizing and putting the various studies into a cohesive whole. The following types of studies illustrate how the studies can be located within the framework: (The names mentioned are co-investigators of the project. Refer to checklist.)



1. Meso-level study (1) - One study, for example, is economic rationalization, social cohesion and the ecology of suicide and divorce in Canada, a study being done by D. Thomas with the hypothesis that “the growth of market individualism and economic rationalization can be disruptive of social integration”. The units of analysis are communities and will make use of vital statistics and census data at different points in time.

2. Micro-level studies **(2)** - This type is the most common using individuals as units of analysis and several studies within the project will be done using survey data - both longitudinal and cross-sectional. Some examples are Work Patterns and Quality of Family Life by E. Lappiere-Adamcyk *et al.*, Division of Labour and Intra-Family Cohesion by K. McQuillan, Determinants of Lone Parenthood by P. Turcotte and C. LeBourdais, and Reproduction and Caring by R. Beaujot.

3. Macro-to-micro studies **(3,6)** - This would examine the community effects on individuals and presupposes that the environment (or the social context) affects individual actions and outcomes. Among the theories that have been used to explain the way communities affect families and individuals, particularly children, are contagion, role model, relative deprivation, and competition theories, and the concept of social capital⁸ (Boyle and Lipman, 1998, Kohen et al, 1998, Mitchell, 1994, McLanahan and Sandefur, 1996, Coleman, 1990). This type of analysis requires data on both the communities and on families or individuals and thus, whether or not this type of analysis can be done for the project is dependent on availability of data (see discussion below). A study of this type that is planned for the project is that of Beaujot *et al.* on child development outcomes on non-intact families. Studies that examine the effect of separation and divorce on children such as those of Lappierre-Adamcyk *et al.* while utilizing individual-level data touch on policies relating to custody of children, which in effect, deal with macro-to-micro relations **(6)**.

4. Micro-to-macro studies **(4,7)** - The search for theories or explanations of how inter-related individual actions lead to community cohesion is a challenge that the project faces. One study that would touch on this micro-to-macro relation is that of Lesthaeghe and Moors, which will examine family attitudes and values and how they relate to dimensions of social cohesion indicated, for example, by membership and involvement in voluntary organizations. They will use data from the World Values Surveys in 1981, 1990, and 1999 and their macro-level units will be countries in Europe, the United States and Canada **(7)**. Ravanera's study of Canadian youth will examine individual and family attributes affecting patterns of volunteering and participating **(4)**.

The project covers some types of analysis more comprehensively than others. For instance, there is no study that would examine the relation between communities and the larger society **(8, 9)** because this is not within the project's domain In contrast, there are several studies on the micro-

⁸Social capital is often referred to in discussions of social cohesion and in explanation of the effects of the environment or social context on individual behaviour or outcome. But, like 'social cohesion', the meaning of 'social capital' is not precise. For Robert Putnam (1995), for example, social capital is an attribute of a macro structure such as the community or even a country measured by such indicators as voter turnout, union membership, participation in parent-teacher organizations, and memberships in civic and fraternal organizations. But, for Nan Marie Astone *et al* (1999), social capital is an attribute of an individual with dimensions such as the number and strength of a person's relations, and the resources that can be made available by the relations. And, for others like McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) and Mitchell (1994), social capital belongs to families and is destroyed or made unavailable to children when families break up.

level, one reason for which is that most of the data sets we plan on using (see below) are predominantly on individuals with information on families. This however does not preclude the investigators from examining how findings on the individual level can have implications for the macro-levels, in particular, for social cohesion. And indeed, an aim of the project is to explicitly explore connections to social cohesion at whatever level of analysis.

F. Data Requirement and Availability

As seen in the checklist, the studies within the project will utilize the following different types of data collected through surveys (longitudinal and cross-sectional) and censuses and vital statistics.

A. Surveys

1. Longitudinal Surveys:

- (a) National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, 1994 and 1996;
- (b) Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics.

2. National Cross-sectional Surveys:

- (a) General Social Surveys on Family and Friends, 1990 and 1995;
- (b) General Social Surveys on Time Use, 1986, 1992, and 1998;
- (c) General Social Surveys on Social and Community Support, 1990 and 1996;
- (d) National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, 1987 and 1997;
- (e) Work Accommodation Survey

3. World Values Survey, 1981, 1990, 1999;

4. Survey on Reproduction and Caring in London, Ontario

B. Other Data

1. Census Data, 1986, 1991, 1996

2. Vital Registration Data on Suicide, Homicide, and Divorce, 1986, 1991, 1996

The above list shows that there is an abundance of data for the micro-level type of analysis as the survey respondents are individuals. In the case of a macro-level type where communities are the units of analysis, the data are from censuses and vital statistics and are also available.

The problem arises with multi-level analysis when one combines community characteristics with individual characteristics and behaviours. A suggestion of Peters (1996) is that efforts be made to collect basic community characteristics through the census and other administrative systems. Given the need for information for policy-making purposes, the suggestion makes sense and is worth considering. Other sources could be community surveys done on sub-national scale and information gathered on the history of communities through interviews of key informants. Both these types of data can be most useful when formulating hypotheses that could then be tested on a national level. But, even in the absence of extensive community-level data, multi-level studies have been done in the United States and Canada. In the study about lone parenthood and its effects on children's achievement in the United States, for example, McLanahan and Sandefur (1994)

made use of multi-level analysis with individual-level data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) and census tract characteristics (such as percent of families who are poor, percent of families who receive welfare, and percent of men not working) which were appended to each household record. A more recent multi-level study in the United States, is the assortative mating study of Lewis and Oppenheimer (2000) which made use of individual data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Men and Women to which were attached community descriptors aggregated from census micro-data.

In Canada, Corak and Heisz (1998) used the first 3 digits of the postal code to derive neighborhood characteristics from the income tax file to study income mobility of a young Canadian men and women⁹. And, two multi-level studies made use of the first wave of National Survey of Children and Youth conducted in 1994-95, to which were attached 1996 census data¹⁰ aggregated by enumeration areas (Kohen, *et al.*, 1998, Boyle and Lipman, 1998). This provided information about the places of residence (defined by the boundaries of the enumeration areas) and allowed the use of community variables such as proportion of families who are poor, mean household income, rate of unemployment, percent of total neighbourhood income from government transfer payments, and proportion of households headed by single females.

One concern about the use of administrative boundaries such as census enumeration areas is that they may not in fact correspond to the neighbourhoods or communities of the individuals. As Boyle and Lipman (1998, citing Moon, 1990) note, place is a geographical construct whereas a neighbourhood is a sociological construct defined by functions that space fulfils. But, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to define the actual neighbourhood of each respondent of a survey and to gather information about them for a country-wide study. An advantage of using administrative boundaries of places is the large amount of socio-demographic data that can be made available for them (Boyle and Lipman, 1998).

Appending community descriptors from census data to individual records obtained from longitudinal surveys is facilitated by the information on the place of residence of the respondents, even though this place of residence may change from one wave to another. In contrast, cross-sectional surveys do not make follow-up surveys of the same respondents and therefore more specific information on the place of residence is not of high importance. However, the questionnaires of general social surveys include asking the address of the respondents: the street and number, the city, town or municipality and the province. It may thus be possible to attach aggregated census data to cross-sectional survey individual-level data. Surveys such as the General Social Surveys on Social and Community Support, the National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, and General Social Survey on Time Use are particularly in need of

⁹One study that matched census data with longitudinal administrative data was that of Knighton et al. (1998). The matching was done not for a multi-level study but to make use of individual level data in the censuses that were not available in the administrative source of data.

¹⁰Now that the second and third waves of the National Survey of Children and Youth have been conducted in 1996 and 1998, it may be more reasonable to match the 1996 census data with the 1996 NLSCY, and perhaps take the 1991 census data to match with the 1994 NLSCY.

data on communities as performance of activities are most likely shaped or conditioned by situation in the communities.

If for certain studies community descriptors based on aggregated data on census enumeration areas cannot be appended to individual records from surveys, or if the procedure will be too costly, the project may have to make do with what can be made available in the surveys themselves. The public use micro-data files of the surveys will be of no use for multi-level analysis because only the province of residence is made available. But, if other detailed information such as the CMAs/non-CMA (census metropolitan areas) and the urban/rural information, which are suppressed for the sake of protecting the respondents' privacy, are made available to the project there may still be a way of trying out multi-level type of studies. The National Survey on Giving, Volunteering and Participating, for example, shows a total of 71 CMAs. The rest of the respondents (about half of the total) live in non-CMAs and could be cross-classified by province and urban/rural categories for an additional 18 more "communities". ("Communities" in this case will be even more different from the actual neighbourhood of the respondents.) Thus, some 89 macro-level units may be used and "community-level" variables may be derived from the individual-level survey data (such as proportion of households with income below \$20,000, proportion unemployed and proportion with university degree). This is not recommended as for some contexts, the number of respondents may not be large enough to obtain reliable estimates of community characteristics. It may therefore be worthwhile to obtain information from other sources, such as the census, and append them to the 89 macro-levels identified. Clearly, the small number of macro units make this less than an ideal way of doing a multi-level analysis and should only be used if attaching aggregated data from the census to cross-sectional survey data is not possible.

G. Statistical Methodology and Software

The studies within the project on the macro and micro levels will utilize well-known statistical techniques like ordinary least square regression, analysis of variance, and proportional hazards models. For multi-level analysis similar techniques could be used but with formulations adopted for dealing with different levels (Goldstein, 1999; Hox, 1995). Assuming that data will be available, this section outlines an approach to deal with multilevel data with the software that are readily available to researchers.

From the 1960s, suggestions for "contextual analysis" were proposed on the basis that human behaviour is affected also by social structures (Lazarsfeld and Menzel, 1961; Blau, 1960). Even in those times, analysts were aware of the fact that "the structure of a group differs from the aggregate of its members ... by those properties that cannot be used to describe individual members because they characterize relations or combinations of members and hence describe the group as a whole" (Blau, 1981, p. 9). Thus, the term "structure" stood, not simply for aggregates but for relationships between aggregates or *relative positions* between individuals and aggregates. The term "structure" was also used to denote the hierarchy of levels that somehow introduce stratification or differentiation in a society as well as inequality and heterogeneity resulting therefrom. The latter was implicit in the use of structures because individuals occupy a

(relative) position in the structure and act and behave accordingly. Thus, the high rates of unemployment were not only the concern of the unemployed but also of the employed, since they affect both of them; high rates of unemployment make the employed also jittery about the security of their jobs. The discussions on social (and family) cohesion in the earlier sections fall in line with this line of thinking that was introduced by Lazarsfeld and Blau.

The seminal ideas were there even in the 60s, but data were not. For lack of specific information on contexts and structures, analyses in the 70s and 80s were done as “contextual analysis” using the summary values derived from individual-level data (see for example Boyd and Iversen, 1979) and the usual estimation technique such as Ordinary Least Squares (OLS). Usual estimation techniques have been found as inadequate mainly because of the issue of “correlated observations”, that is, individuals in the same context share common experiences and are thus similar. Thus, the usual assumption of independent observations rarely hold in contextual analysis.

Problems in multi-level analysis were only recently addressed by formulating the regression equations as **random coefficients model**. Formulating the equations as consisting of random effects calls for possible correlations between intercepts and slopes. The equation of the model is expressed as the sum of a fixed part and a random part and differs from the standard regression model with the presence of more than one residual term.

The OLS technique is not adequate to estimate the coefficients of the random coefficient model, although it can be used for building separate equations for each context. The estimation of the fixed part is no problem, but that of random parts needs special procedures. In place of OLS, various estimation procedures are used for this model such as Iterative Generalized Least Squares (IGLS), Restricted Maximum Likelihood (REML), Empirical Bayes Maximum Likelihood (EB/ML), and Expectation Maximization (EM). Different procedures use different assumptions regarding the distributions of the random variables.

The random coefficient model can be used for any number of levels and for any number of explanatory variables referred to as hierarchical nested models. A practical question, however, is how many levels to introduce in a study? Although there is no theoretical restriction to the number of levels, most packages at disposal cannot handle more than three or four (which itself becomes cumbersome both technically and substantively).

Software packages differ in their capabilities as well as the type of analysis that they can do. Some packages available to researchers for multilevel analysis are MLwiN (which can allow a maximum of 15 levels), HLM5 (up to 3 levels), VARCL (2 or 3 levels), and MIXREG or MIXOR (only 2 levels)¹¹. Thus, should data be available, there are statistical techniques and available software to use.

¹¹ MIXREG and MIXOR are free and downloadable at www.uic.edu/~hedeker/.

H. Concluding Remarks

“Social cohesion” is described as a vague concept and its meaning is still a current topic of discourse. But in order to explore social cohesion’s relation to changes in the families, it seems reasonable to take as starting point the definitions and dimensions of social cohesion that have already emerged from the earlier efforts, which for Canada, have been well documented in discussion papers of the Canadian Policy Research Network and in reports of the Sub-committee on Social Cohesion of the Policy Research Network.

Given the multiplicity of types and dimensions of social cohesion and the numerous changes in the families in the recent times, there is a need for integrative lens through which to view the various studies planned for the project. The six themes of the project aptly capture the most significant family transformations with possible links to social cohesion. In addition, a broad contour of the interfaces between the families, communities, and society indicates that the life course may be a good integrative tool as well. But, from the technical and analytical point of view, a good way of putting together the various studies seem to be a framework of analysis based on Coleman’s metatheory explanation in the social science that takes into account different levels of analysis. The expanded framework includes the society, communities, and individual/families as levels of analysis and the relations between levels. Each study within the project can be located within the framework according to the research questions that the study will address and the level at which the analysis will be done. In reference to the framework as an integrative tool, a checklist presents each study as to the theme to which the topic relates, the life course at which the study focuses, and the levels of analysis that will be performed.

The project will utilize several data sets, most of which are from large national surveys – longitudinal and cross-sectional – conducted by Statistics Canada in recent years. These are rich sources and in themselves can serve the purpose of the project. However, to make the available data even more useful, we propose that community descriptors from censuses be appended to the survey data to allow multi-level analysis connecting individuals and families to communities that they inhabit. Should appropriate multi-level data become available to the project investigators, there are recently developed methodologies supported by a number of statistical packages that the project can utilize.

Policy implications of the studies are the desirable outcomes of the project. Findings of studies would hopefully be found useful by policy communities at various levels of government. Among the family-related policies could be those on child custody, child care, and child support; human resources policies including employment insurance, worker’s compensation, parental leaves, pension plans, other life insurance provisions, and welfare policies; and those related to provision of education and health care. The involvement of the project partners at various stages of the project through face to face meetings (in setting direction, mid-project consultations, and results dissemination) and through electronic means will keep the research in line with policy development. Beyond immediate policy considerations however, we hope that the studies within the project can contribute towards a better understanding of the functioning of the modern Canadian society.

References:

- Astone, N.M, C.A. Nathanson, R. Schoen, and Y.J. Kim.1999. Family Demography, Social Theory, and Investment in Social Capital. *Population and Development Review* 25(1):1-31.
- Balakrishnan, T.R., E.Lapierre-Adamcyk, and K. J. Krotki. 1993. *Family and Childbearing in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 329 pp.
- Beaujot, R. 2000. *Earning and Caring in Canadian Families*. Peterborough: Broadview
- Bernard, P. 1999. Social Cohesion: A Critique. CPRN Discussion Paper No. F-09.
- Blau, P.M. 1960. Structural Effects. *American Sociological Review* XXV:178-193.
- Blau, P. M. 1981. Diverse Views of Social Structure and Their Common Denominator. In P.M Blau and R.K. Merton (eds) *Continuities in Structural Enquiry*. London: Sage. Pp. 1-23.
- Boyd, L.H. and G.R. Iversen. 1979. *Contextual Analysis: Concepts and Statistical Techniques*. Belmont:Wadsworth.
- Boyd, M. and D. Norris. 1998. Changes in the Nest: Young Canadian Adults Living with Parents, 1981-1996. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Population Society, Ottawa.
- Boyle, M. H. and E. L. Lipman. 1998. Do Places Matter? A Multilevel Analysis of Geographic Variations in Child Behaviour in Canada. Applied Research Branch Strategic Policy, HRDC Working Paper W-98-16E. 41 Pp.
- Bumpass, L. 1993. Review of New Families, No Families?. *Population and Development Review* 19(1): 193-198.
- Coleman, J.S.1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Corak, M. (ed). 1998. *Labour Markets, Social Institutions and the Future of Canada's Children*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, cat. no. 89-553.
- Corak, M. and A. Heisz. 1998. How to Get Ahead in Life: Some Correlates of Intergenerational Income Mobility in Canada. In Corak, M. (ed) *Labour Markets, Social Institutions and the Future of Canada's Children*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, cat. no. 89-553: 65- 89.
- Côté, J.E. and A. L. Allahar. 1994. *Generation on Hold: Coming of Age in the Late Twentieth Century*. Toronto: Stoddart.
- Dumas, J. and A. Belanger. 1994. Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1994, and The

- Sandwich Generation: Myths and Reality. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, cat. no. 91-209E.
- Durkheim, E. 1933. *The Division of Labor in Society*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Ferree, M. M. 1990. Beyond Separate Spheres: Feminism and Family Research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52(4): 866-884.
- Gee, E.M., B.A. Mitchell, A.V. Wister. 1995. Returning to the Parental "Nest": Exploring a Changing Canadian Life Course. *Canadian Studies in Population* 22(2): 121-144.
- Goldscheider, F. and L.J. Waite. 1991. *New Families, No Families?* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goldstein, H. 1999. *Multilevel Statistical Models*. London: Edward Arnold, NY; Wiley. (The Internet Edition of the same book was published in 1995).
- Haddad, T. 1998. Do Children in Post-Divorce Custody Have More Problems Than Those in Intact Families?. A paper presented at the *Investing in Children: A National Research Conference*, Ottawa, October 1998.
- Hox, J.J. 1995. *Applied Multilevel Analysis*. Amsterdam: TT Publikaties.
- Human Resources Development Canada, Applied Research. 1998. The Longitudinal Research Framework for the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth.
- Iversen, G.R. 1991. *Contextual Analysis*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Jenson, J. 1998. Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Network: Study No. F-03.
- Kohen, D.E., C. Hetzman, J. Brooks-Gunn. 1998. Neighbourhood Influences on Children's School readiness. HRDC Applied Research Branch Working Paper Series W-98-15E.
- Lapierre-Adamcyk, É., C. Le Bourdais and N. Marcil-Gratton. 1999. Vivre en couple pour la première fois. La signification du choix de l'union libre au Québec et en Ontario, *Cahiers québécois de démographie* 28(1-2): 199-227.
- Lazarsfeld, P.F. and H. Menzel. 1961. On the Relation Between Individual and Collective Properties. In A. Etzioni (ed) *A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations*. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Pp. 499-516.
- Le Bourdais, C. and N. Marcil-Gratton. 1998. The Impact of Family Disruption in Childhood on Demographic Outcomes in Young Adulthood, in M. Corak (ed), *Labour Markets, Social Institutions and the Future of Canada's Children*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada and Human Resources and Development Canada, p. 91-105.

Le Bourdais, C. and A. Sauriol. 1998. *La part des pères dans la division du travail domestique au sein des familles canadiennes*, Montréal, INRS-Urbanisation, *Études et Documents*, 55 p.

Lesthaeghe, R. and G. Moors. 1995. Is there a new conservatism that will bring back the old family? Ideational trends and stages of family formation in Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1981-1990. Paper prepared for the European Population Conference, Milan. IPD Working Paper 1995-1.

Lewis, S.K. and V. Oppenheimer. 2000. Educational Assortative Mating Across Marriage Markets: Non-Hispanic Whites in the United States. *Demography* 37(1). Pp. 29-40.

Lipman, E.L., M.H. Boyle, M.D. Dooley, D.R. Offord. 1998. What About Children In Lone Mother Families?. A paper presented at the *Investing in Children: A National Research Conference*, Ottawa, October 1998.

Luxton, M. 1998. Families and the Labour Market: Coping Strategies from a Sociological Perspective. In *How Families Cope and Why Policymakers Need to Know*. CPRN Study No. F-02.

Marcil-Gratton, N. and C. Le Bourdais, 1999. *Custody, Access and Child Support. Findings from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children*, Research Report CSR-1999-3E. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada. 37 pp.

Marcil-Gratton, N. 1998. Growing Up With Mom and Dad? Children and Family Instability. A paper presented at the *Investing in Children: A National Research Conference*, Ottawa, October 1998.

Maxwell, J. 1996, Social Dimensions of Economic Growth, Eric John Hanson Memorial Lecture Series, Vol VIII, University of Alberta.

McLanahan, S. and G. Sandefur. 1994. *Growing Up With a Single Parent: What Helps, What Hurts*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

McQuillan, K. and M. Belle. 1998. Who Does What? Gender and the Division of Labour in Canadian Households. in J. Curtis, E. Grabb, and N. Guppy, (eds.), *Social Inequality in Canada*, 3rd edition, Scarborough: Prentice-Hall. Pp. 186-198.

Mitchell, B.A. 1994. Family Structure and Leaving the Nest: A Social Resource Perspective. *Sociological Perspectives* 37(4): 651-671.

Moon, G. 1990. Conceptions of Space and Community in British Health Policy. *Social Science and Medicine*, 53:185-204

Nevitte, N. 1996. *The Decline of Deference*. Peterborough: Broadview.

O'Connor, P. 1998. Mapping Social Cohesion. Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN) Discussion Paper No. F-01.

Parsons, T. 1949. The Social Structure of the Family. In R. Anshen (ed) *The Family: Its Functions and Destiny*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Peters, S. 1996. Examining the Concept of Transactions as the Basis for Studying the Social and Economic Dynamics of Families. Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN) Working Paper No. F01.

Policy Research Initiative . 1997. Social Cohesion Research Workplan. March 1997.

Putnam, R. 1995. Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy* 6:65-78.

Ravanera, Z. R. 1995. A Portrait of the Family Life of Young Adults. In J. Dumas (ed), *Family Over the Life Course*. Current Demographic Analysis Series, Statistics Canada (Cat. No. 91-543E). Ottawa: 7-35.

Ravanera, Z. R., F. Rajulton, and T.K. Burch. 1998. Early Life Transitions of Canadian Women: A Cohort Analysis of Timing, Sequences, and Variations. *European Journal of Population* 14: 179-204

Rosell, S. A. *et al.* 1995. *Changing Maps: Governing in a World of Rapid Change*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Ross, D.P., P.A. Roberts, and K. Scott. 1998. How Do Lone Parent Children Differ From All Children. A paper presented at the *Investing in Children: A National Research Conference*, Ottawa, October 1998.

Rossi, A. 1985. *Gender and the Life Course*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Schoen, R., Y.J. Kim, C.A. Nathanson, J. Fields, and N.M. Astone. 1997. Why Do Americans Want Children? *Population and Development Review* 23(2): 333-58.

Stone, L.O., C. Rosenthal, and I. Connidis. 1998. *Parent-Child Exchanges of Supports and Intergenerational Equity*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, cat. no. 89-557.

Thomas, D. 1999. Indicators of Social Cohesion. Statistics Canada.

Zhao, J., F. Rajulton, and Z. R. Ravanera. 1995. Leaving Parental Homes in Canada: Effects of Family Structures, Gender and Culture; *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 20(1): 31-50

Table 1
Family Transformation and Social Cohesion Research Topics: A Checklist

Investigators/ Research Working Title	Themes						Life Course Stages				Level of Cohesion		Level of Analysis		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	C	Y	WA	OA	Family	C'munity	Micro	Macro	Multi
R. Beaujot															
1. Giving & Social Cohesion (w/ Z.Ravanera) Analyze patterns of giving, volunteering, and participating by types of families and communities, controlling for other factors.			X					x	x	x	x	X	(7)		
2. Child Development Outcomes in Non-Intact Families (w/ Z. Ravanera & F. Rajulton) Using NLSCY, examine outcomes for children by parental factors, and interactions among parents, schools, and communities.		X					X		x		X		(2)		(3)
3. Reproduction & Caring over the Life Course Develop a qualitative research instrument to determine norms for relationships, childbearing, and caring.	X	X	X	X			X	x	X	x	X		(2)		
4. Children Custody & Outcomes: Some Cross-Cultural Comparisons Compare across countries the outcomes for children by various modes of custody after marital or union breakup.		X	X				X		x		X			(5)	
T. Burch & D. Belanger															
1. Household Cohesion, Distance from Kin, and Marginality from Kin Networks Identify and describe sub-groups who by some measure or another are isolated, marginal, or at odds with society.						X		x	x	x	X	X			(1)

Themes: 1- Men & Women Relations; 2 - Parents & Children; 3 - Intergenerational Transmission; 4 - Time & Household Sharing;

5 - Values; 6 - Measurement. **Life Course Stages:** C- Children, Y - Youth, WA - Working Age Adult, OA - Old Age.

Level of Analysis: Number refers to arrow in framework - see text.

Investigators/ Research Working Title	Themes						Life Course Stages				Level of Cohesion		Level of Analysis		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	C	Y	WA	OA	Family	C'munity	Micro	Macro	Multi
D. Kerr 1. Family Changes and Transfers to Children: A Focus on Children with Lone Parents, 1971-96 Analyze the various economic and social characteristics of families in relation to the likelihood that children will have low income status.			X				X		X		X		(2)		
E. Lapierre-Adamcyk, C. Le Bourdais, & N. Marcil-Gratton 1. Work Patterns & The Quality of Family Life Analyze the relationship between the complexity of the working patterns and the levels of stress in the family using NLSCY. 2. Parental Separation and Children's Well-Being This item includes (a) The Impact of Children's Well-being after Parental Separation (completed with NLSCY1), (b) Keeping in Contact with Children after Separation: The Father's Point of View (completed with GSS95), and (c) Socio-Demographic Changing Conditions of Separating Parents and Their Impact on Children's Economic Well-Being (to be developed based on NLSCY2&3 with L. Savage & P. Turcotte) 3. Intergenerational Transmission of Socio-Demographic Behaviours (with P. Turcotte) To be developed as a master's thesis using GSS95.	X	X		X			X		X		X		(2)		
	X	X					X		X		X		(2)		
		X	X					X			X		(2)		

Themes: 1- Men & Women Relations; 2 - Parents & Children; 3 - Intergenerational Transmission; 4 - Time & Household Sharing; 5 - Values; 6 - Measurement. **Life Course Stages:** C- Children, Y - Youth, WA - Working Age Adult, OA - Old Age. **Level of Analysis:** Number refers to arrow in framework - see text.

Investigators/ Research Working Title	Themes						Life Course Stages				Level of Cohesion		Level of Analysis			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	C	Y	WA	OA	Family	C'munity	Micro	Macro	Multi	
R. Lesthaeghe & Guy Moors 1. The World Values Surveys: Relationships Between Values and Dimensions of Social Cohesion This will focus on defining social cohesion (on c'nity and family levels), on how dimensions of social cohesion relate to family-related values, and will use comparative and longitudinal approach.	x	x			X			x	x	x		X	X	(2)	(5)	(7)
K. McQuillan 1. The Division of Labour and Intra-Family Cohesion Examine the relative proportion and the absolute amount of work done by various actors in all types of households using the 3 cycles of GSS on time use. 2. Family Living and Entry of Children into the Work Force Explore the impact of rising costs of higher education and its consequences for entry into the labour market and occupational achievement among children from intact and disrupted families.	X			X					X			X		(2)		
F. Rajulton 1. Indicators of Family Change & Social Coh. Develop linkages between indicators of family change and indicators of social cohesion. 2. Social Cohesion Across Generations Identify bases for social cohesion across generations, eg, how parental investment in children leads to mutuality between generations.						X									(1)	
			X						x	X		X		(2)		

Themes: 1- Men & Women Relations; 2 - Parents & Children; 3 - Intergenerational Transmission; 4 - Time & Household Sharing;

5 - Values; 6 - Measurement. **Life Course Stages:** C- Children, Y - Youth, WA - Working Age Adult, OA - Old Age.

Level of Analysis: Number refers to arrow in framework - see text.

Investigators/ Research Working Title	Themes						Life Course Stages				Level of Cohesion		Level of Analysis		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	C	Y	WA	OA	Family	C'munity	Micro	Macro	Multi
Z. Ravanera 1. Youth & Social Cohesion: Values, Time Use, Giving, and Transitions Examine the integration of youth into the family and community using data from various GSS surveys and SLID.		x	X	x	X			X			X	X	(2)		(4)
D. Thomas 1. Economic Rationalization, Social Cohesion, and the Ecology of Suicide and Divorce in Canada Identify any relationship between the level of economic rationalization or change and the level of social disintegration as measured by divorce, homicide and suicide at the community level.						X						X		(1)	
P. Turcotte & C. Le Bourdais 1. Determinants of Lone Parenthood		X					X		X		X		(2)		

Themes: 1- Men & Women Relations; 2 - Parents & Children; 3 - Intergenerational Transmission; 4 - Time & Household Sharing; 5 - Values; 6 - Measurement. **Life Course Stages:** C- Children, Y - Youth, WA - Working Age Adult, OA - Old Age.
Level of Analysis: Number refers to arrow in framework - see text.