Family Transformation & Social Cohesion

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Family Transformation and Social Cohesion:
Brief statement of the public policy implications of our research

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Social cohesion in a globalizing era:

The strategic area of "Social Cohesion in a Globalizing Era" has been defined by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council, and by federal agencies with the help of the Policy Research Secretariate. Our grant on "Family Transformation and Social Cohesion" is one of seventeen funded projects, and the only one that places questions of family transformation at the centre of attention.

The researchers from the University of Western Ontario and the Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études Démographiques (Université de Montréal / Institut national de la recherche scientifique) are demographers who have a long standing interest in family change, and who have most recently written Family over the Life Course (Statistics Canada, 1995), Les familles canadiennes à l'approche de l'an 2000 (Statistics Canada, 1999) and Earning and Caring in Canadian Families (Broadview, 2000). The group also includes researchers from Statistics Canada and Vrje Universiteit Brussel, as well as partners from ten national and provincial agencies (see www.sscl.uwo.ca/sociology/ftsc).

What is social cohesion:

Social cohesion has been defined as an area of strategic concern by the federal government. It is difficult to define, but it includes shared values, reduced disparities, and sense of belonging to a common community. In Changing Maps: Governing in a World of Rapid Change, Rosell et al. (1995) define social cohesion as "involving 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". There are economic (inclusion, equality), political (legitimacy, participation) and socio-cultural (recognition, belonging) dimensions (Jenson, 1998; Bernard, 1999). At the macro level, major social changes like globalization put stress on social cohesion or require that societies establish new forms of cohesion. At the micro level, the family changes seen especially through the formation and dissolution of unions, affect both the cohesiveness of families and the way in which families play roles in people's belonging to a shared community.

That is, social cohesion may be disturbed by external and internal forces. The new external context is often thought of as globalization, which includes an expanded role for markets. A significant part of the new internal context is associated with family changes that bring a new kind of insecurity. That is, the insecurities associated with death, orphanhood and widowhood are replaced with insecurities in marital and parental relationships. Other characteristics of post-industrial societies are also related to families. For instance, Esping-Andersen (1999: 173) focuses on population aging, unstable families, women's economic independence, novel household forms, and reliance on services.

Purposes and methods of this project:

Our project is researching these questions, with a focus on the following:
(a) the impact of family changes on children's well-being,
(b) the changing relationship between men and women,
(c) the links between inter-generational support and family cohesion,
(d) the contribution of value orientations to the process of decision-making at the micro-level and to the alteration of social structure at the macro-level,
(e) the effects of community characteristics on integration of the youth and the elderly.

Except for the study which utilizes the World Values Surveys, these studies are being done mainly with survey data collected by Statistics Canada, especially the various General Social Surveys and the National Longitudinal Survey on Children and Youth (NLSCY). This has included an enhanced version of the General Social Surveys to which were appended data for enumeration areas derived from the1996 Census: the 1995 GSS on the Family, 1997 GSS on Social and Community Support, and 1998 GSS on Time Use.

Several studies have been completed by the research team (see attached Abstracts after this document). Some studies have academic significance though they may not have direct bearing on policies, such as the studies on value orientation and on measurement of social cohesion (Lesthaeghe and Moors, 2000, Rajulton, 2001). Other studies, such as those on intergenerational relations and the integration of the youth and the elderly could enrich discussion on planning and policies related to education, pension, and an aging population (Rajulton and Ravanera, 2001; Ravanera et al., 2001, Ravanera and Rajulton, 2001, Thomas, 2001). However, the present policy statement will focus on studies involving the relationships between men and women and the impact of family changes on the well-being of children.

A context for policy:

In coming to today's focus on public policy implications, besides the internal and external disturbances to social cohesion mentioned above, it is useful to consider three ways of handling risks: individual self-sufficiency, family support, and a social safety net (Beaujot, 2000: 315). Policy probably needs to support all three of these bases for security, but the key is to acknowledge the contradictions and to work out a welfare structure across these three domains that is appropriate in a post-industrial world. A central question is the sharing between families and the state in the care of people who are dependent because of age, disability, or health. In part, the

state seeks to encourage family support of dependents and to encourage self-reliance. But there are contradictions: the persons who look after dependents within families will have less ability to be themselves self-sufficient on the labour market. Given the three bases for support – individual, family, society – the state needs to support individuals and families in ways that also maximize self-reliance.

In seeking to establish a new coalition for welfare production in post-industrial societies, Esping-Andersen (1999: 182-184) proposes that two life-course problems stand out: (1) risks associated with marital instability and poverty in childhood, and (2) inadequate skills. Our research not only documents the importance of these two domains, but their interconnection through family questions. While there is debate about the relative importance of poverty and parental separations to the well-being of children, and how these interrelate with family functioning, there is no doubt that this set of questions pose significant risks for children (Kerr, 2001; Kerr and Beaujot 2001a, 2001b; Kerr and Bélanger, 2001). While the state, especially through the school system, has major responsibility for ensuring the adequacy of skills, families also play important roles. It is useful to observe in particular that over cohorts the inequalities of opportunity to education have disappeared across categories of gender, but they are only slightly attenuated across social class categories (Wanner, 1999). While the state and the education systems have had something to do with equal opportunities by gender, it is also parents who came to promote the education of both their sons and daughters. This strategy does not work with social class because the children are in different families, and poorer families are hampered in the transfer of financial, human, and social capital to their children.

If we are seeking to establish a policy context that would reduce these risks of child poverty and inadequate skills, how is this to be done across the three bases for support: individual self-reliance, family support, social safety net? In particular, how is the state to support individuals and families in ways that maximize self-sufficiency? Esping-Anderson (1999) observes that different sets of countries have put their social policies together with different anchoring points. In particular, we can speak of (1) a Scandinavian model of social democracy and comprehensive welfare states, (2) a continental Europe and East-Asia model of familism and corporatist social insurance, and (3) an Anglo-Saxon model of targeted assistance and maximum markets. While each model includes the three elements – individual, family, society – the first relies heavily on the society, the second on the family and the third on the individual. In arguing for reform that would bring a recombination of these elements, Esping-Anderson observes that in their current formulation, each is inadequate in the globalized post-industrial world. While the theory says that unrestrained markets produce the most self-reliance and the greatest good, in fact free markets everywhere increase inequality. The Scandinavian model is also good in theory but very expensive in practice, including its own inefficiencies. The family model is strained by families that are not intact and by the very interest of women to reduce risks by increasing their own self-sufficiency.

Family changes:

Our research has especially observed the family changes that need to be taken into account in the reformulation of public policy. Families have been de-institutionalized with greater flexibility in the entry and exit from relationships (Péron et al., 1999; Beaujot and Ravanera, 2001). This new

flexibility in conjugal life has especially affected children; while most are born in marital-type relationships, the likelihood of their experiencing the separation of their parents is much higher when these relationships are less formal (Marcil-Gratton, 1998: 14, 18). This, in turn, often leads to the loss of contact between fathers and their children, and to lower financial support which reduces children's well-being (Marcil-Gratton et al., 2000; Le Bourdais et al., 2001). Not only have children experienced their parent's separation more often and at younger ages, they also live more and more often in step or blended families, a complex situation that may involve a redefinition of parent-child relationships and of parent's responsibility (Juby et al., 2001). Moreover, as adults, children who have experienced parental separation are more likely to leave home earlier, and to have earlier and less stable relationships (Le Bourdais and Marcil-Gratton, 1998).

Another important demographic dimension of family change has been the generalized delay in home leaving, in entry into relationships and especially in childbearing (Ravanera et al., 1998; Beaupré and Le Bourdais, 2001). These changes imply more mature parents and they are more likely to benefit children. Some authors have viewed these changes as a longer period of adolescence for a "generation on hold" (Côté and Allahar, 1994). From a life course perspective, the delay may be seen as enabling both men and women to invest longer in themselves before they invest in reproduction. This enables higher human resource transfers to children.

A significant family change that has occurred in Canada and other Western countries is the decline in fertility with rates that are close to or below replacement level. Several factors have contributed to the decline in fertility, some of which are related to other family changes such as delay in family formation, higher incidence of cohabitation, shift in perception of the value of children, and increased labour force participation of women. The impact of some of these factors (such as cohabitation and participation of women in the labour force) are dependent on the cost of raising children, which are in turn affected by children-related policies. There is need for policy attention to the issues of low fertility, significant population aging, including an aging labour force and an increase in the ratio of retired persons to labour force.

Family models have clearly changed, though incompletely, in the direction of the two-worker model. When familism is the cornerstone of social security, as it probably has been for most of human history, it has essentially been based on a division of labour where men have taken greater responsibility for providing and women have taken greater responsibility in the care of dependents. This model, based on complementary roles, is a high risk model when family relationships are insecure (Oppenheimer, 1997). Various concepts have been used for the alternative where earning and caring is more equally shared (Beaujot and Liu, 2001a). Nock (2001) speaks of "marriages of equally dependent spouses", Risman (1998) speaks of "post-gender marriages," while Goldscheider and Waite (1991) simply speak of "new families." Another useful concept is that of a "collaborative model," or collaborating in earning and caring; when there are children this means co-providing and co-parenting. No doubt that such new relationships are hard to establish. There is the problem of the "stalled revolution" associated with the de-linking of gender and caring. Women are much more likely to work part-time, and to take the major responsibility for the interface of earning and caring over the family life cycle (Kempeneers, 1992). This starts early in the life course with young women spending less time on

paid work even though they spend as much time on education as the men (Ravanera et al., 2001). Income differences by sex are the lowest at the youngest ages, and they increase until age 65, and are then reduced due to social security programs linked with age (Statistics Canada, 1998: 105). This means that women are most vulnerable at ages 55-64. This is probably a cohort rather than a life course effect, since these women are precisely those who have lost the benefits of the complementary roles model without having gained the benefits of the two-worker model.

Labor market changes and the family:

Moreover, research has shown that the two-worker model is affected by changes related to the labor market itself, including a greater predominance of non-standard work (Presser, 1999). Increasing number of precarious jobs and of jobs with irregular working hours exert a pressure on the family where both parents are at work: family time seems to be the victim of the competition between work, family and economic well-being (Rapoport and Le Bourdais, 2001). Some results also suggest that women who are in a couple where one member works at irregular hours, even when controlling for income, are more likely to suffer from depression (Lapierre-Adamcyk et al., 2001).

Changes in the patterns of entry in a conjugal union have also been associated with labor force changes. For instance, the greater precariousness of jobs and difficulty for young men to access the labor force are related to the postponement of first unions and to the choice of cohabitation rather than marriage. On the other hand, highly educated women can more easily integrate into the labour force although at a later age; in recent cohorts, these women also tend to marry more often than less educated women. These trends confirm the idea that it has become increasingly necessary for both partners to be in the labor force before they consider marriage (Mongeau et al., 2001). Important changes have also occurred in the dissolution of unions, female employment being one of the factors related to higher rate of separation; maybe more importantly, it is noteworthy that "a change of status, from student to worker, could well lead to changing expectations and, thus, increase the risk of separation" among young couples (Le Bourdais et al., 2000).

Social cohesion problems?:

We take the view that families need to be part of the policy considerations when looking at social cohesion. Specifically, it is useful to observe what is left out of the social cohesion picture with the departure of traditional families, and with the arrival especially of two-worker families and lone-parent families. What are the functions that the family previously provided that need to be established or delivered in other ways? Also, how can policy encourage supportive families in this "new family" context. We start from the value premise that there is interest not only in the cohesion of each individual to the total society (individualized cohesion) but also cohesion through institutions like the family. There will always be conflict between these two approaches. The individualized cohesion is expensive, thus we want other institutions including families, but these present problems (trade-offs), especially the already noted difficulty of equal opportunity by gender if women are carrying the burden of integrating children and elderly.

Several issues need to be addressed. One is the extent to which families act as intermediate institutions through which individuals belong to society: how can these transformed families act as intermediate institutions while also ensuring the cohesion of individuals who lack a belonging to families. Another issue involves the well-being of children in particular. That is, much of the project concerns family transformation, social cohesion and the well-being of Canada's children. For instance, how to support children regardless of family type, especially in the context that adults find their basis of cohesion through other means besides the family into which their children were born. As a specific example, how to promote the involvement of both partners in the lives of children, except if they are incompetent or dangerous to the child.

Policy areas:

Various policy areas are relevant, but it is useful to observe how family transformation is affecting women, men and children in different ways. The greater looseness in "marital" arrangements, as implied by changed means of entry (cohabitation) and exit (separation) from relationships, produces the outcome that women are less likely than men to be living in relationships, and that men are less likely than women to be living with children (Péron et al., 1999; Juby and Le Bourdais, 1998). Women suffer the disadvantages of not having a partner and the costs of caring for children. Men suffer the disadvantages of weaker relationships with children, the difficulties of establishing "parental" links with their partner's children, and the lack of stable life-long inter-generational relationships (Le Bourdais et al., 1998). Children can suffer from the disadvantages from both sides, that is the economic disadvantage of living with one parent, and the difficulties of profiting from the social links that the other parent could provide.

In preliminary discussions, the following more specific policy areas are being considered: (1) How to support children regardless of family type, for both poor families and all families, especially in the context that adults find their basis of cohesion through work and other means besides family. (2) How to modernize the family so that it is not based on dependent gender relationships. (3) How to promote the involvement of both parents in lives of children, except if they are incompetent or dangerous to child. (4) How to support reproduction at levels that are closer to replacement.

To help formulate research questions that will speak more specifically to these policy areas, some preliminary ideas are discussed below. Specifically, research should seek to determine if given policy actions are likely to result in given desirable outcomes.

Supporting children regardless of family type:

We start from the view that there is social responsibility for children. In Canada this is mostly defined in terms of education and health. The social responsibility should go further, to include more of the costs of children, especially costs that derive from a context where parents are also workers. The child tax benefit provides an efficient structure for social transfers. While these are appropriately targeted to low income families, having at least small transfers to all families would provide an important symbolic value, and would increase the transfer from households without children to households with children (Henripin, 2000).

In the case of children living in lone parent families, there are of course the transfers related to low income families, including the higher replacement rate in employment insurance and higher access to subsidized child care, along with the provisions to police child support payments, but Canada has relatively few provisions that are targeted at lone parent families. The main Canadian provision is the "equivalent to married" income tax deduction where the first child in a lone parent family is treated as a dependent spouse. There are stronger provisions in many other countries. France and New Zealand have specific welfare provisions for lone parents (Allocation Soutien Familial, Allocation de Parent Isolé, Domestic Purposes Benefit). These may be means-tested but they are available only to lone parents. In Norway, lone parents receive family allowance for one more child than their actual number. Another arrangement is advance maintenance payments where the state pays the child support payments then seeks to collect from the absent parent, as occurs in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, with somewhat lesser provisions in France and Germany. Contrary to child support payments that increase according to a formula based on the absent parent's income, advance maintenance needs to be set at a basic floor. As would be expected, there is evidence that countries with greater provisions for lone parents have lower levels of child poverty in lone parent families (Beaujot and Liu, 2001b).

As a society we have found means of accommodating for the death of parents, through orphanhood benefits, life insurance and adoption, and for the economic incapacity of parents if that incapacity occurs at work, through worker's compensation, employment insurance, and the disability provisions of the Canada Pension Plan. However, we have not found means to accommodate when the incapacity occurred in other circumstances. The provisions for low income families solve part of this problem, but advance maintenance has the advantage of state support regardless of the circumstance that makes the absent parent unable or unwilling to provide. The ultimate goal should be to have absent parents meet their responsibilities towards their children, and to ensure a social safety net when this is not possible.

Modernizing the family in the direction of a two-worker model:

We start from the view that adults are to be self-reliant workers who would mostly want to also have children. In order to establish women's economic independence, and the ability of both parents to provide for families, there is need to support both the inter-phase of family and work, and the de-gendering of caring activities. Policies that induce women into the labour force include pay equity and employment equity. The inter-phase of family and work includes the need for work leaves and child care. A problem with parental leaves is that they are largely taken by women, which contributes to the gendering of caring. Sweden has provisions requiring that each parent take part of the leave, if they are to receive the full benefit. When Canada extended its leave from a half- year to a full-year, we missed the opportunity to give the other half year to the other parent.

We have other tax and pension provisions that are based on a breadwinner model, in particular the tax deduction for a dependent spouse, along with pension provisions associated with separation and widowhood. These provisions are based on a breadwinner who needs to provide for the dependent spouse's pension even if he leaves or dies. They may also encourage dependency rather than the two-worker model. Sweden has never had pension-splitting and it has abolished widowhood benefits for persons who married after 1989.

These matters are complex because there are various family models in existence and one must especially not suddenly undermine those who have lived their lives under a different model. For pensions, the Swedish grandparenting is a solution: adopt the new provisions only for marriages that take place after a given date. For child care, Norway provides extra funds to stay-at-home mothers who do not benefit from publicly funded child care. The tax deductions for a dependent spouse could be converted to a deduction for the first child in any family, which would then be based on the dependency of children rather than that of stay-at-home women.

Cohesion between children and parents:

Family law gives parents equal and continuing responsibility for their children. However, this is not always achieved, due either to incapacity or unwillingness on the part of one of the parents. Child support policy has further involved the state in ensuring support from the absent parent, through establishing formulas and policing its collection. There is some evidence that other avenues, besides custody by one parent and access by the other parent, can better establish a continuing relationship with both parents. For instance, there are better transfers to children when joint custody has been established than if there is custody on the part of only one parent. There are also better transfers when no custody arrangement is in place. Having no custody arrangement may effectively imply joint custody because the parents have worked out an arrangement without having to make reference to the courts (Marcil-Gratton and Le Bourdais, 1999). There are probably other situations where no custody arrangement is necessary because the custodial arrangement is clear and the other parent is out of the picture. It would be important to better identify this heterogeneity.

Other countries, like Australia, France and New Zealand, have developed two concepts: guardianship and custody. They have also defined joint-guardianship as the default condition affecting the overall responsibility for the child's well-being and education. Custody, which may also be joint, then refers to the day-to-day living arrangements of the child. Other countries, like Belgium, Finland, Norway and Sweden have used only the one concept of custody, but have established joint-custody as the default situation. Although parents have joint custody, the child may still live mostly with one of the parents. There is some evidence that the level of child poverty in lone parent families is lower in countries where joint arrangements are the default condition (Beaujot and Liu, 2001b). It may be that the normative understanding of a continued relationship with the child, defined as more than child support and access, ensures better transfers from absent parents.

Sustaining reproduction:

Another problem with anchoring social security in a family strategy, as occurs especially in Southern Europe and Japan, is that it forces women into trade-offs between careers and children (McDonald, 1997, Chesnais, 1996). One conclusion of a recent workshop on low fertility, sponsored by the International Union For the Scientific Study of Population, is that societies are in less danger of particularly low fertility if there is state support for families and for gender equality, if families are modernized toward the de-gendering of caring, and if families of various types are accepted (Beaujot and Bélanger, 2001).

It would appear that societies that constrain people in the direction of only one model are at higher risk of low fertility. This occurs in Japan where there are strong constraints against births outside of marriage. This may also apply to Italy and Spain where the model is for young people to live with their mothers until they get married. In contrast, fertility is higher in societies that are more open to cohabitation, and to births in cohabiting relationships, as in the Nordic countries and France. It would appear that post-modern family conditions pose fewer risks of particularly low fertility.

Another element of flexibility, as indicated by the contrast between southern and northern Europe, is the opportunities for part-time work. When the alternatives are full-time work or no work, there may not be adequate basis for childbearing unless there is a strong income on the part of a breadwinner. But part-time work, when it comes with strong benefits as in the case of Nordic countries, proves a flexibility in terms of accommodating children. It is better for women's economic independence than no work and it can facilitate the return to full-time work once the family situation changes with less need for time in child care (Sundstrom, 1991). Best, of course, if this part-time work were better shared by gender.

We once thought that the only way to go back to higher fertility was to constrain women to be housewives once again. On the contrary, the modern societies where women's domestic roles are more traditional have particularly low fertility, largely because women are not interested in absorbing so much of the cost of children if they have opportunities for equality in the market economy, at school and at work. In these circumstances, childlessness is the easiest route to equality. Modernizing the family will reduce women's share of the cost of children.

The examples of Norway and France suggest that policies which support families also make a difference. The specific type of policy seems to matter less than the supportiveness of the set of policies that give parents and prospective parents a sense that the society will carry some of the cost of children (Rosen, 2001). Conversely, the examples of Sweden and Eastern Europe suggest that movements in the direction of less family policy are particularly problematic in terms of low fertility. Downsizing creates a fear of not knowing how far the benefits will be further reduced.

Conclusion:

Let us return to the three anchors of individual self-sufficiency, family and society. We would agree with Esping-Andersen (1999) that we should move toward a new balance that would (1) give less emphasis on security through families without setting the family avenue aside, (2) give greater role to societal level provisions while paying attention to their costs, and (3) continue to promote self-sufficiency knowing that this includes inequality. On the latter, he suggests reducing certain inequalities while paying less attention to others, and focussing especially on inequalities in skills. In terms of the costs of social provisions, he suggests a negative income tax model, not unlike that proposed by the MacDonald Commission (Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, 1985), which we already have for the elderly and for children. However, some of the existing provisions, for the elderly in particular, need to be reduced in order to achieve better transfers to the young. We missed an opportunity to transform Old Age Security and Guarenteed Income Supplement into a super GIS that would provide at least

as much benefits to the poor elderly, while introducing possibilities to further support other disadvantaged groups in society.

In summary, many existing policies are based on assumptions of economic dependency (breadwinner model) while they should support a collaborative model (co-providing and co-parenting). When there are children, women make much more of the accommodations in labour market terms. Policies that would support a more symmetrical arrangement would seek to establish more gender equity in terms of leaves and part-time work. Other countries have used joint-custody as the default condition upon separation, to better link children to fathers and establish the continuing role of fathers in their children's lives. When one parent is unwilling to parent and has economic incapacity to support former children, some states establish more security for lone-parents through advance maintenance payments. More support for childcare and family-friendly work would also permit parents, and mothers in particular, to suffer less of the tension between family and work. Such policies that would reduce women's share of the cost of children would probably also work against particularly low fertility.

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Family Transformation and Social Cohesion
Abstracts of FTSC Papers as of February, 2002

Unless otherwise noted, papers are available through the Papers and Publications page of the FTSC Website
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A. Changes in the Family and the Relationship Between Men and Women:

Beaujot, R. and J. Liu. 2001. Models of Earning and Caring: Evidence from Canadian Time-Use Data.
Adopting the common metric of time-use to study both paid and unpaid work, the Canadian national surveys of 1986, 1992, and 1998 show that the traditional or neo-traditional models remain the most common, and the "double burden" is the second most frequent, but there is some evidence of change in the direction of more symmetric arrangements, especially for younger couples with children, when both are employed full-time. Patterns over the life course clearly indicate that women carry much more of the burden in terms of accommodating the meshing that needs to occur between productive and reproductive activities. Polices that would modernize families are discussed, including those that would reduce dependency in relationships.

Beaujot, R. and Z. R. Ravanera. 2001. An Interpretation of Family Change, With Implications for Social Cohesion.
Data on family change point to a greater flexibility in the entry and exit from relationships, a delay in the timing of family events, and a diversity of family forms. These changes have undermined the complementary-roles model as women gained equal opportunities in a variety of domains. Children have been affected such that their interests are no longer paramount in the structuring of adult lives. On the whole, the family has been de-institutionalized with less function and less power. An interpretation of the changes suggests that the family has shifted from a unit of survival in which relations were based on division of labour to a unit of solidarity based on a sense of common identity and expressive relationships. Policies that would further push families in the direction of a collaborative model would promote new kinds of cohesion within families and at the societal level.

Beaujot, R. and A. Belanger. 2001. Perspectives on Below Replacement Fertility in Canada: Trends, Desires, and Accommodations
This paper describes the Canadian case in below replacement fertility, including the proximate determinants of union formation and contraception. The largely stable cohort and period rates of the past 20 years are put into two explanatory contexts: (1) perceived trade-offs in terms of the value and cost of children, and (2) the accommodations between paid and unpaid work. While there is no guarantee, the evidence points to stability of these trade-offs and accommodations. However, early childbearing continues to be undermined, and there is the possibility of further frustrations in achieving anticipated childbearing in the narrowed window of the late 20s and early 30s, especially in the context of unstable marital relationships.

Beaujot, R. 2001. Earning and Caring: Demographic Change and Policy Implications.
Seeking to define families as groups of people who share earning and caring activities, we contrast theoretical orientations that see advantages to a division of labour or complementary roles, in comparison to orientations that see less risk and greater companionship in a collaborative model based on sharing paid and unpaid work, or co-providing and co-parenting.
It is important to look both inside and outside of families, or at the changing gendered links between earning and caring, to understand change both in families and in the work world. It is proposed that equal opportunity by gender has advanced further in the public sphere associated with education and work, than in the private family sphere associated with everyday life. Policies are discussed that would reduce the dependency between spouses, and encourage a greater common ground between men and women in earning and caring.

Turcotte, Pierre. 2001. The Incidence and Determinants of Lone Parenthood in Canada.
For women aged 55+ in the 1995 GSS, 9% experienced lone parenthood by age 34, compared to 26% among women aged 15-34. For those aged 35-54 the probability of becoming a lone parent due to births outside of unions does not increase after age 25. The determinants include demographic characteristics (more recent cohorts, starting with a cohabitation rather than a direct marriage, early entry in union), family background (growing up in other than an intact family), socio-economic (education is not significant, lowest risk are for those who are studying only or neither working nor studying), and cultural characteristics (less religious, but birthplace outside of Canada is not significant). Separation is still the leading cause of lone parenthood. But, type of union is also a strong determinant: non-marital cohabitation significantly increases the risks of experiencing a lone parent episode. There is evidence in support of human capital theory: Women with more resources (active and highly educated) are more likely to become lone parents after separation, whereas, women with less resources (neither working nor studying) are more likely to give birth outside union. And, there are signs of intergenerational transmission of behaviour, that is, having lived in a long-parent family increases risks of becoming lone parent.
Please contact the author for information about the paper: pierre.turcotte@statcan.ca.

***Meilleur, Nancy. 2001. Lone Mothers's Labour Force Participation**
The employment of lone mothers in Alberta, Quebec and Ontario is analysed in terms of determinants and related policies. The dependent variable considers as members of the labour force those who worked or looked for work in the reference week before the 1996 census. Relative to the participation rate of married mothers, lone mothers mostly have higher participation in Alberta but lower in the other two provinces. After introducing a series of predictors (education, region of residence, income from alimony, number and age of children), the differences remain significant between Quebec and Alberta, and between Quebec and Ontario at ages 15-24. It would appear that Alberta has the best system for child support since 1997. There are various axes of cohesion, labour force participating of young mothers is one of these. The kind of labour force participation should be analysed further.

***Simard, Micha. 2001. Income and Immigrant Families**
This thesis considers family income determinants through a comparison between Canadian-born and immigrant families in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver in two-parent families from the 1996 census. A typology is developed according to the place of birth of each spouse. Family type is much reduced as an important variable once period of immigration is included. Controlling for various characteristics, family income remains significantly lower for immigrant families from Asia in Montreal and Vancouver, and also for the "other" immigrant families in Montreal. There is probably two-way causality: being in a family helps in coming to Canada; those with low income are less likely to be able to form families. Length of residence and knowledge of official languages are key to integration. The cohort effect, that is cohort of arrival, can be measuring the mix of areas of origin at given times, as would be the case for length of time in Canada.
* Papers based on MA thesis. For further information please contact Prof. Lapierre-Adamcyk, the thesis supervisor: evelyne.lapierre-adamcyk@umontreal.ca.

Evelyne Lapierre-Adamcyk, Celine Le Bourdais, and Nicole Marcil-Gratton. 2001. Time for Work and Time for Family: Mothers' and Fathers' Behaviours in a Changing Economy
At the dawn of the 21st Century, economic activity is based on growing equivalence in the participation of men and women in the labour force. This is reflected in the rapid increase in families with both parents employed outside the home. Within this context, mothers and fathers are redefining patterns of sharing of household tasks and childcare activities. On the one hand, this presentation will examine the relationship between parents' employment patterns (measured in terms of numbers of hours worked, work schedule, employment sector, and income level) and the time families are able to spend together. On the other hand, the question of household task and childcare sharing will be analysed with respect to parents' employment schedules, not only distinguishing between the share of responsibilities assumed by mothers and fathers, but also highlighting differences in the way they make use of the "parental time" spent with their children. The analysis is based on data from two Statistics Canada surveys: the National Longitudinal Surveys of Children and Youth (Cycle 1, 1994-95) and the General Social Survey of Time Use (1998).
Please contact the first author for information about the paper: evelyne.lapierre-adamcyk@umontreal.ca.

B. Impact of Family Change on Children's Well-being:

Kerr, D. 2001. Family Transformations and the Well-being of Children: Recent Evidence from Canadian Longitudinal Data
This paper uses longitudinal data to examine negative child outcomes among young children in Canada. In following a cohort of children as they move through their early elementary school years, a slight decline in hyperactivity is documented, as is a slight increase in internalizing difficulties. After introducing a longitudinal dimension to our analysis, both family structure and income poverty are found to have a weaker effect on child outcomes than was initially anticipated. The current analysis also demonstrates the utility of LISREL's "weighted least squares" estimation procedure in the development of structural equation models while working with ordinal and/or censored variables.

Rapoport, B. et C. Le Bourdais. 2001. Parental Time, Family Structure and Work Schedules
Previous studies of time-use have focussed on the distribution of individual time and on the division of activities among the members of a household. The 1998 GSS on time-use permits a fuller understanding of family organization, not only by describing the use of time of members of the household, but also through the time spent doing things together. In this article, we take advantage of the systematic determination of whether the children of the household were present in the same room when given activities were being done. This kind of parental time with children 15 or under is analysed according to various characteristics of respondents. In particular, we look at time with children aged 15 or under, in the context of six activities. It would appear that fathers are spending more time with children, but the mothers are generally also there when the fathers are with children. There is little difference between intact and step families, nor between cohabitations and marriages.

Juby, H. C. Le Bourdais and N. Marcil-Gratton. 2001. A Step Further: Parenthood in Blended Families.
This research focuses on the "blended family" (the term generally employed to describe stepfamilies with a common child). After a brief discussion of the terms used, the paper first analyzes the transition from stepfamily to blended family, looking at whether the factors affecting stepfamily fertility are the same as those influencing fertility in intact families. The second analysis examines the impact that being born into a blended family has on children's subsequent family life, exploring the influence of stepfamily characteristics, and comparing it with the experience of children born into intact families.

Le Bourdais, C., H. Juby and N. Marcil-Gratton. 2001. Keeping Contact with Children: Assessing the Father/Child Post-Separation Relationship from the Male Perspective.
This report, undertaken for the Child Support Team of the Department of Justice Canada, focuses on the variations of father/child contact following parental separation. Using data from the General Social Survey of the Family (1995), the authors adopt a father-centered approach, taking into consideration men's attitudes towards, and perceptions of, their parental role. The report includes a profile of separated fathers according to the frequency of contact with their children; a comparison of statements made by separated mothers and fathers regarding their expectations for their children's care (type of custody, frequency of contact, child support); an analysis of the factors likely to increase the amount of contact between fathers and children.
Please contact Heather Juby for information: jubyh@magellan.umontreal.ca

Kerr, D. and R. Beaujot. 2001. Family Relations, Low Income and Child Outcomes: A Comparison of Canadian Children in Intact, Step, and Lone Parent Families.
This paper analyzes conditions that are more likely to lead to positive or negative child outcomes in intact, female lone parent and reconstituted families. Family type is found to be more important than low income in predicting a set of behavioural, emotional and psychological difficulties. Multiple group analysis using structural equation modelling shows that the explanatory factors also operate differently in the various family settings. Low income has a significant impact on childhood difficulties in lone parent and step-families, but not in intact families. Family functioning has less impact on children's outcomes in step-families than in intact or lone parent families, and larger

family size predicts negative child outcomes only in non-intact families.

Kerr, D. and R. Beaujot. 2001. Child Poverty and Family Structure in Canada, 1981-1997.
The authors examine the relationship between family structure and child poverty in Canada over the 1981-1997 period. Two alternate indicators are used, Statistics Canada's official low income cut-offs, and an alternate indicator of "deep poverty". Using the Survey of Consumer Finances (1981, 1989 and 1997), trends in low income are considered, along with concurrent changes in the structure of Canadian families with children. Particular attention is paid to trends in the incidence of lone parenthood, the number of children per family, and the age of parents. Overall, these changes are found to have offsetting effects on the incidence of child poverty, such that irrespective of a substantial growth in the incidence of lone parenthood, the overall impact of changes in family composition have been relatively modest.

Roderic Beaujot and Jianye Liu. 2001. Children, Social Assistance and Outcomes: Cross-national Comparisons
Poverty levels of children, especially of children in lone parent families, vary considerably across countries. This paper considers five sets of hypotheses that may explain this variability of child poverty across countries. The tentative conclusion from this analysis in 20 countries is that reducing child poverty, and in lone parent families in particular, requires several approaches. Provisions that would discourage teenage childbearing would have their importance, as would opportunities for lone mothers to work. More important is the generosity of social expenditure applying to individuals and especially to families with low income. Besides, this analysis makes a case for provisions such as joint custody that encourage involvement on the part of the absent parent, and particular arrangements like advance maintenance when the absent parent is incapacitated.
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Marcil-Gratton, N., C. Le Bourdais, E. Lapierre-Adamcyk. 2000. The Implications of Parents' Conjugal Histories for Children.
A growing number of Canadians are choosing cohabitation, as opposed to formal marriage, as a way of entering conjugal life and starting a family. This affects the likelihood that children will experience parental separation. There are also differences in the way in which cohabiting and married couples settle custody and child support matters when they break up. This deinstitutionalization of conjugal life also appears to have implications with regard to the frequency of contact that children maintain with the non-custodial parent, i.e., their father in most cases. The analysis provides a unique and innovative understanding of how the rise of cohabitation is influencing parenting and, in particular, fatherhood.

Kerr, D. and A. Bélanger. 2000. Family/Demographic Change and the Economic Well-Being of Preschool Age Children in Canada, 1981-1997
Over the last few decades in Canada, the familial circumstances of couples with young children have changed substantially. Changes in the number and timing of children, the formation and dissolution of unions, and an increase in the labor force participation of women, all have had an impact on the family life and economic conditions faced by Canadian children. The current study examines the importance of these changes to the economic conditions faced by children, for the

period 1981 through to 1997. In examining the evolving economic conditions faced by children, the current study places particular emphasis on families with preschool age children.

C. Social Cohesion and the Youth and the Elderly

Ravanera, Z.R., F. Rajulton, and P. Turcotte. 2001. Youth Integration, Social Cohesion, and Social Capital: An Analysis of the General Social Surveys on Time Use.
This paper examines the integration of the young into society through the analysis of data on the allocation of their time into various activities. It looks at their involvement in work and education, participation in organization activities, and sense of belonging to their community. Two sections discuss the meaning of integration and its relation to social cohesion and social capital. The results of the analysis include a discussion of youth integration over time, by age groups, and by sex; and the relation of human and social capital at the individual, family, and community levels to the indicators of youth integration.

Thomas, Derrick. 2001. Economic Rationalization, Social Cohesion, and the Ecology of Youth Suicide.
According to Durkheim and other early social scientists, the development of extensive networks in the form of markets and associated bureaucracies fundamentally change human relationships from an affective to an instrumental basis. The rationalization process has uprooted past institutions with nothing put in their place. Suicide is inversely related with the degree of integration of individuals into social groups. This hypothesis is examined through a comparison of suicide rates and measures of economic rationalization and social disintegration across Census Divisions in Canada. The analysis here is based on 288 census districts, using the 1986-1997 average.
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Ravanera, Z. and F. Rajulton. 2001. Integration at Late Life: Inclusion, Participation, and Belonging among the Elderly.
Integration of the elderly is affected by individual characteristics, structural changes, and community factors. Using the General Social Surveys on Time Use in 1986, 1992, and 1998, the paper examines the labour force participation (or economic inclusion), volunteering (or political participation), and sense of belonging (or socio-cultural integration) of Canadians aged 55 and older. While there is indeed disengagement at old age, there are many who choose to be engaged. A good proportion of the elderly are economically included and politically active. It seems reasonable to expect that productive aging will increase in the coming years. Some of the factors that may help bring this about are the changing nature of work, labour force shortage, higher education and better health of the elderly, and transformation of families. The study also highlights the importance of communities particularly for the socio-cultural dimension of integration.

D. Intergenerational Relationship and Social Cohesion

Rajulton, F. and Z.R. Ravanera. 2001. Intergenerational Support and Family Cohesion
This paper focuses on "intergenerational solidarity" in the context of the larger theme of relationships between family transformations and social cohesion. It seeks to answer two related

sets of questions: First, how can we measure intergenerational support? How can we examine the validity of the various hypotheses on the impact of the recent changes, either in individual behaviour or in social recognition of certain types of behaviour? Second, how can we connect intergenerational support and family cohesion? Is it possible to find a measure of family cohesion through the information on intergenerational support? Data from the 1996 General Social Survey on Social and Community Support are used to provide answers to these questions.

E. Values and Social Cohesion

Lesthaeghe, R. and G. Moors. 2000. Life Course Transitions and Value Orientations: Selection and Adaptation.
This paper contains four sections: (1) A brief overview of the place of value orientations in a number of social science paradigms. (2) A sketch of how and why various strands of sociology and demography came to give value orientations a more prominent place. (3) A recursive model in which (i) value orientations contribute at the micro-level to making choices and at the macro-level to altering social structure, and (ii) are themselves subject to adaptation given earlier choices or structural transformations. (4) And, an empirical section in which the recursive model is used to help detect the footprints of selection and adaptation in a dataset produced by repeated cross-sectional surveys. This documents how not only specific attitudes focussing on family issues are related to the choices regarding household formation, but more importantly, how much broader ideational or "meaning giving" dimensions in the spheres of religion, ethics, politics and work are equally part and parcel of the same recursive process.

F. Measurement of Social Cohesion

Fernando, Rajulton. 2001. Measurement Issues: Indicators of Social Cohesion
The concept of cohesion has two basic components. One refers to the psychological identification of members within a collectivity (*ideational* component). The other refers to the observed relationships among members (*relational* component). These two components can be looked at from various “levels” such as individuals, small groups, large groups, communities, urban-rural residence, province, and nationhood. Using these components and the six dimensions of social cohesion, there can be many measures at various levels. Some of these measures are those relating to: **cultural diversity,** the **presence of public institutions** in a community or neighbourhood, the notion of **social interactions**, and the inclusion of individuals into recognized domains of economic activity. An important consequence of having indicators of different dimensions at different levels is the challenge to link data from different sources in order to provide a holistic picture of social cohesion. The final goal is to provide reliable measures of social cohesion at a reasonable level of geographic boundary that would not be either too large or too small. The project has an additional challenge of finding links between family transformations and social cohesion.
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