PSC Discussion Papers Series

Volume 15 | Issue 10   Article 1

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Discussion Paper no. 01-10

June 2002

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Introduction

At the best of times, the youth is a difficult stage. In addition to grappling with their identities, the young are expected to undergo several events to mark the transition to adulthood. But, the past decade and a half could hardly be described as the best of times for the young, mainly because they have inequitably borne the brunt of labour structuring. Unemployment rates have been consistently higher than for the older population, thereby making the transition to adulthood even more problematic. The re-structuring of social support with lower budget allocation for the young (through reduced funding for universities, for example) has aggravated the situation such that societal cleavage along age has become a concern (Policy Research Initiative,1999.). But, the young have been resourceful. They have employed coping strategies such as extended schooling, leaving the parental home at older ages, and delaying the entry into marriage (Corak,1998; Ravanera, 1995) . These strategies require reliance not merely on one's self, but also on family and community support.

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 also looks at their involvement in work and education, participation in organization activities, and sense of belonging to their community. The next two sections discuss the meaning of integration and its relation to social cohesion and social capital. These are followed by a description of the data - the General Social Surveys on Time Use in1986, 1992, and 1998, - and statistical methodologies employed. The results of the analysis form the bulk of the paper and 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. The concluding section sums up the major findings and discusses their implications for further research.

Dimensions of Social Cohesion and Integration

The Canadian Oxford Dictionary defines cohesion as "the act or condition of sticking together", which necessarily connotes an aggregation. "Social cohesion" itself is defined in a number of ways, one of which, for example is "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 reciprocity among all Canadians" (PRI,1997). This has an emotive appeal that can evoke patriotism and presents a good focal point for policy formulations. But, this and other definitions of social cohesion (Rossel, 1995; Jenson, 1998) are not comprehensive enough to cover the multi-dimensionality of the concept. Breaking down the concept into the following dimensions (O'Connor,1998; Jenson, 1998; Bernard, 1999) facilitates the operationalization of social cohesion for statistical analysis:

Dimensions of Social Cohesion		
	Formal	Substantial
Economic	Inclusion	Equality
Political	Legitimacy	Participation
Sociocultural	Recognition	Belonging

These dimensions are properties of an aggregation usually situated in a geographic space and measurable on levels higher than an individual, for example, family, community, or country. All these dimensions, except legitimacy, can be thought of at the individual-level, that is, an individual can be included or not, participating or not, belonging or not. *Legitimacy*, which refers to whether or not organizations (usually, political) duly represent their constituents, is inherently a group attribute and has no equivalent at the individual level. But, if the definition of legitimacy can be broadened to that of having a basic political right of citizenship with the attendant right to vote (or to select one's representative), this dimension too can have an individual-level counterpart.

To distinguish the dimensions of social cohesion (measured at an aggregate level) from these same dimensions measured at an individual-level, we use the concept of *integration*. To "integrate" is to "bring or come into equal participation in or membership of society" (Canadian Oxford Dictionary,1998), which indicates that the focal point is the individual and whether or not he/she comes to be a part of society[1].

While these dimensions may be used as measures of integration, the data available allow us to examine only three of them: inclusion, participation, and belonging. Given that the young usually have not as yet had the time to settle in well-paying and secure occupations, the *equality* dimension is not examined in as much detail as we would want. But gender differences, which inevitably brings the question of inequality to the fore, is dealt with briefly in this paper. As for *recognition*, this refers to tolerance of pluralism, where people of different beliefs and values peacefully co-exist (Berger, 1998). Measures that would have been appropriate are those relating to values, which were not, however, asked in the Time Use surveys.

Youth Integration and Social Capital

An explanation of social capital by one of its early proponents James Coleman (1990)   indicates that it is a group property. He states, for example, that "social organization constitutes social capital, facilitating the achievement of goals that could not be achieved in its absence or could be achieved only at a higher cost." However, Coleman also implies that social capital can be an individual attribute. While some forms of social capital that he suggests such as *obligations and expectations*, and *norms and sanctions* signify that it is a group attribute, another form, *authority relations* can be an individual property. He says, for example, that when a number of individuals transfer rights of control of certain action to one person, that *individual* acquires "an extensive body of social capital ...".

Since then, some economists and demographers (Aston et al.1999, Glaeser, 2001) have argued that social capital is an attribute of an individual, while others, particularly political scientists (Putnam,2000) have taken it as an attribute of a group, such as a country. Several other criticisms have been hurled at the vagueness of the concept of social capital, one of the more serious one being social capital confuses inputs with outcomes (Portes, 1998).

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[1]Strictly speaking, "integration" refers to a unit, not necessarily an individual. For example, minority group is a unit that could be integrated to a society consisting of a majority group and other minority groups.

Given the conceptual confusion and the added criticism that social capital is too business- or commercially-oriented to be of much use for analysis of social phenomena, might it not be better to dump the concept of "social capital"? If we do so however, we do not seem to have another as intuitively appealing and as useful a concept as social capital to replace it with. Therefore, rather than abandon it, we should assume that social capital does in fact exist at the individual level and at several other levels of aggregation (including the family, the community, and the country) and that it assumes different forms at different levels. Going back to Coleman's original proposition, "social capital" can be thought of in conjunction with financial and human capital. Appendix Table 1 presents the types of capital by levels. In strict business terms, these types of "capital" are "assets" possessed by persons, families, communities, or countries. These assets become "capital" when invested with the expectations of "returns" or "profit". Translated in the language of social research, this means that these attributes are "capital" when they are taken as explanatory variables in the examination of certain social phenomena as in this paper, the levels of inclusion, participation, and belonging. The list is not exhaustive; it merely illustrates the kind of capital in each category. Thus, on the individual-level, *financial capital* can be liquid assets (cash, stocks, bonds) and real properties (house, land), *human capital* includes one's skills and talents (usually measured by levels of education), and *social capital*, the person's social skills (as proposed by Glaeser, 2001), social traits and values and attitudes. Another form of personal social capital can be the number of networks (with the family, work-mates, friends, neighbors) the intensity and strength of relationships, and the resources made available through the individual's networks (Astone et al., 1999).

These types of capital are duplicated in the family, community, and country level. Physical or financial capital are readily distinguishable at whatever levels. Human capital and social capital can be confounded with each other. One's family members are one's "human" capital by their mere presence. The inter-action and relationships among each member are the social capital. The family networks with those outside of the family can be a form of social capital. So are family traditions, social background, and values although on a practical level, the individual's values may be indistinguishable from those of the family's. In the same manner, neighbours are human capital by merely being resident of the community, but particularly so when they become role models. The relationship among neighbours - the type, intensity, regularity of communication, etc. - is a form of social capital. Other forms of social capital are community traditions, norms, and regulations. As the community is a higher order aggregation, other forms of social capital can exist with no equivalence at the lower levels. For example, peace and order condition in the community does not have an equivalent at the individual level. This becomes even more apparent when one thinks in terms of social capital of a country, where such things as social policies, political systems, etc. are forms of social capital that have no individual-level counterpart.

Youth integration into society is an outcome of investments at various levels. In a general sense, the effects of physical/financial, human, and social capital are obvious: the higher the investments at the individual, family, and community levels, the higher the probabilities of being included, participating, and feeling a sense of belonging. But, examination of these effects are not straight forward mainly because of the issue of measurement particularly of human and social capital. Unlike in business where capital investment and profits (the bottom line) are all measured by a common currency (money), measurement of capital and their effects on the outcome are more

complicated. The measurement of these capitals with variables available from the surveys is dealt with in the next section.

Data and Methodology

The General Social Survey in 1986, 1992, and 1998 collected data on the time allocation of the respondents into various types of activities. These were done with the respondent recording in a diary the time spent on paid work, education, domestic work, entertainment, organization work, etc. over a period of 24 hours. The surveys also collected social and demographic information about each respondent. Since the analysis focuses on the youth, only those aged 15-29 are included in the analysis: for 1986 - a total of 3,253 respondents, 1992 - 2,556, and 1998 - 2,365.

From the time allocation portion of the surveys, the indicators used are: for inclusion - the average number of hours spent in paid work and education, and for participation - the average number of hours volunteering for organizations. To get a fuller picture of the gender and age differences, the number of hours spent for domestic work and on entertainment activities is also included. These are done for the three surveys by age groups 15-19, 20-24, and 25-29.

To examine the effects of the various forms of capital on the integration of young Canadians, other sets of questions asked of the respondents were utilized from the 1998 survey:

> Inclusion - whether or not the respondent has a full time job, is a full-time student, or a student with part-time job.

> Participation - whether or not the respondent volunteered in the past year.

> Belonging - whether or not the respondent feels a strong sense of belonging to the community.

These indicators were used as dependent variables in binary logistic regression[2] on a set of independent variables. These variables are classified as to "types of capital" (see Appendix Table 1) at three levels: individual, family, and community. (See column1 of Table 3 for the measurement of each of these variables) While it would have been ideal to have variables in each of the cells, variables for these types of capital are not available from the survey. Conspicuously absent, for example, are measures of physical/financial capital at both the individual and family levels. Personal income of young adults would not be of much use because many would not have had a regular job as of the survey date. And, too many missing cases prevented the use of the household income as well.

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[2]The use of binary logistic random effect regression models (multi-level analysis) was considered (using the MLWin package). However, the use of random effects models in one of our study (Ravanera, Rajulton, and Burch, 2001) proved that the additional gain over the fixed effects models is minimal. This is probably because the number of respondents in each cluster (family or community) is normally only one (family cluster) or at best, very few (community cluster).

Types of Assets (or Capital) / Levels	Physical (Financial)	Human	Social
Individual		Age Sex Education	Marital Status Immigration Status Religion Religious Attendance
Family			Living Arrangement (whether living with parents or not)
Community	Urban/Rural	Percent with Post-Secondary Education Percent of Population Less than Age 29	Percent Separated/ Divorced Percent Immigrants

An advantage of this analysis is the availability of community-level variables. These were derived from the 1996 census data for each enumeration area, which were then appended to the survey data.

A section below discusses the effects revealed by the analysis on inclusion, participation, and belonging. But first, the general trend of youth integration are examined over the period 1986 to 1998 through allocation of time among major types of activities. The trends by age and sex of youth integration in 1998 is then discussed to pave the way for the discussion of the effects of human and social capital.

Youth Integration: Variations in Time Allocation Over Period, By Age and By Sex

 Integration Through Inclusion: It's a Man's World, From an Early Age and Onwards

The average number of hours spent in paid work and education of those aged 15-29 have changed very little over the past twelve years. Young men spent about 6 hours and women, 5 hours. (Last row of Table 1, panel 1). But, a breakdown by age groups tells a different story. For females aged 15-19, the number of hours spent on paid work and education decreased from 6.5 in 1986 to 4.9 in 1998. For men, the decrease is from 6.2 to 5.3 hours. Table 1 also shows that the big decrease has been in hours spent in education rather than on paid work. For men aged 15-19, hours spent in education decreased from 4.4 to 3.3, and for women from 5.0 to 3.7 hours.

The picture for those in older age groups, starting from 20-24 for women and 25-29 for men is better. In general, average hours spent in both education and work increased between 1986 and 1998.

For men, there is a slight improvement in the level of inclusion as they grow older, which approximates the cohort effect. Those aged 15-19 in 1986 who would be about age 25-29 by 1998, experienced an increase in hours of inclusion from 6.3 to 6.7 hours (see figures in the diagonals), and as would be expected, the increase occurred in the number of hours spent on paid work (from

1.9 to 6.1). This is not generally true for women - they get less included as they grow older (6.5 down to 4.6 hours). For men and women, education plays less role as they grow older but while paid work also increased for women, the increases were not big enough to make up for the reduction of the time spent in education.

Inclusion and Gender: Home Becomes a Young Woman's Domain

A more complete picture of gender differences is revealed when unpaid work is examined (Beaujot, 2000). At all age groups, young women spent more time on domestic work which includes child care (Table 1, Panel 2). And at older ages, the gender differences in the number of hours spent for domestic work are higher. In 1998 for example, at age 15-19 the difference in total domestic work is 0.7 of an hour (0.9 for men and 1.6 for women), but at age 25-29, this goes up to 1.5 hours (1.5 and 3.0 respectively.) This indicates that as young adults move on to form their own families, young women take on greater responsibilities for the home (and for children, if any). The smaller number of hours spent by women in work/education inclusion can be mainly accounted for by the greater number of hours devoted to domestic work.

But the situation seems to be changing: between 1986 and 1998, though the increase was not dramatic, young men spent more time on unpaid domestic work. And, compared to 1992, young women spent less time in 1998.

Integration through Participation: Volunteering, a Woman's Domain as Well?

Women have traditionally spent more time volunteering than men. Whether or not this is true for the period 1986 to 1998 cannot be verified from the data on time allocation from the surveys. This is because the average number of hours per day devoted to volunteering with organization is very small, ranging from only 0.1 to 0.4 of an hour. (See Table 1, panel 2). The trends by sex and over the period 1986 to 1998 are not clear. The number of hours spent volunteering for organizations by both men and women aged 15-29 seem to be about the same. But, another measure taken from the 1998 GSS confirms that women do more volunteer work than men (see below).

Does Time Spent in Entertainment Matter to Integration?

This question should be asked given that among the young, a considerable amount of time is spent on entertainment activities (Table 1, panel 3). Between 1986 and 1998, both young men and women increased the average hours spent in entertainment by half an hour: from 5.7 to 6.2 (men) and from 4.8 to 5.3 (women). Among those aged 15-19, the increase from 1986 to 1998 is even greater: 1.2 hours for men and 1.7 hours for women. Entertainment includes such activities as sports, movies, concerts, and socializing, which are most likely done with others and require networking. However, activities that may be done on one's own such as reading and watching TV are also considered entertainment. While hours spent on entertainment may be relevant for integration, this is a topic that needs to be studied more carefully and will not be further discussed in this paper.

Youth Integration through Inclusion, Participation, and Belonging in 1998

As explained above, apart from time allocation, integration is also measured by the labour force status, volunteering in the past year, and sense of belonging to the community.

Compared to the trend measured by time allocation (discussed above), the trend by age as measured by whether a young person is a student / employed full-time (included) or is unemployed / employed part-time (excluded) is more marked particularly among women. The proportion of women aged 15-19 who are included are about 20% more than the women aged 25-29 (Table 2).

And, the gender difference in inclusion stands out more clearly in Table 2 than in Table 1 (on time allocation). In 1998, the percentage of men included in each age group is higher and men's advantage increased with age: the gender difference among those aged 15-19 is 5% but at age 24-29, it is 26%.

Table 2 also shows that 30% of young men and 38% of women have volunteered over the past year. An avenue that women take towards integration is through unpaid volunteering work. However, volunteering decreases with age. Among 15-19 year old women, 46% volunteered , 35% among those aged 20-24, and only 33% of the 25-29 age group. This trend holds for young men as well. Findings from the 1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering, and Participating (Hall et al., 1998) point to a similar trend.

The sense of belonging among young Canadians is strong - 57% of men and women aged 15-29 say that they feel a strong or somewhat strong sense of belonging to their communities. But, sense of belonging decreases with age with as many as 60 to 70% of the 15-19 having a strong sense of belonging but only about 53-55% among those aged 25-29. This is probably a life course effect, that is, children and very young adults feel part of family and community. But as the young move on towards transition to adulthood, ties to communities become loose. Changes could involve different schools, venues of work, or circles of friends, kin, and neighbors.

On the average, there is no gender difference in the level of sense of belonging among those aged 15-29 (Table 2). This gender balance in sense of belonging probably reflects the contrasting trend in inclusion and participation. More young men than women are economically included, but young women participate more. Using the 1998 data, a partial correlation controlling for age and sex shows that indeed the three measures of integration - inclusion, participation, and belonging are all positively correlated. However, there is a stronger correlation between participation and belonging (a coefficient of 0.0924; p = .000) than between inclusion and belonging (0.0243; p=.234). Volunteering and having a job or being a student generate a sense of belonging, though volunteering seems to have the stronger effect. But, participation and inclusion are also correlated (0.0408; p=.046)), that is, those who are included are also more likely to participate.

While there may be a correlation between all three, a better understanding of the determinants can be obtained through the analysis of effects of social and human capital.

Effects of Human and Social Capital on Integration

As mentioned above, we classified the explanatory variables mainly into human and social capital, there being no variables that captured the financial capital at personal and family levels. The type of community (whether urban or rural) is classified under physical/financial capital but as discussed below, this variable probably captures social capital as well. The process of classification helps in clarifying what is being measured by the variable, in particular, whether the *social capital content* is significant enough to make the variable a social rather than plain human capital. To determine what constitutes social capital content, we used the following criterion: does the variable capture social skills, social relations or network, or attitudes and values (and, in the case of family or community, traditions and norms)? The effects revealed by the analysis are discussed in the light of the human or social capital content of the variables.

Individual and Family Level

Age, gender, and education are all considered human capital. Age captures the life course stage and it is taken for granted that we integrate into society in different ways at each stage of life[3] and the manner of integration differs between men and women. Glaeser (2001) proposes that education is a human capital as well as a social capital. Social skills that are used for networking are taught or learned in school. But whether social or human capital, level of schooling has similar impact, that is, the higher the level, the greater the probability of inclusion and participation.

As shown in Table 3, being young is an enviable stage when it comes to integration: they are more included, they participate more in organizations, and they feel a strong sense of belonging. [Note that Table 3 shows both coefficients and its exponential, which is the likelihood of the dependent variable's occurrence relative to the reference category.] The strongest effect of age is in the inclusion, which captures involvement in school. This probably indicates too that it is easier to be included through education particularly among those who are very young, than to be included through work, the means of inclusion among the older ones.

The gender variable confirms the effect on integration discussed above: men are more likely to be included but women are more likely to participate. There is no significant gender difference in the sense of belonging.

The coefficients for levels of education provides additional evidence to what is commonly known, that is, those with college or university education are more likely to be included and to participate than those with high school or lower level of schooling (Hall et al., 1998). But, education does not seem to have any significant effect on sense of belonging.

Of the four variables classified as social capital, one captures the 'values' form of social capital

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[3]As children, integration is through family, school, and play-groups in the neighbourhood; the youth stage is transitional and thus integration is still through school and family but that the process of getting integrated through work is started; as adults, the most likely means of integration is through work but as we have shown earlier, this is mainly true for men. Many women's means of integration is through the family and children. Finally at retirement stage, integration changes again from one which is work-oriented to one that is possibly, leisure-oriented or for some, community-oriented through volunteering.

(religion), while the three others (marital status, immigration status, religious attendance) capture the "network" form of social capital. It is unclear what particular values are being captured by the religion variable so that even though it has significant effects on inclusion, no definitive explanation are offered.

The distinction between "bonding" and "bridging" social capital (Gittell and Vidal, 1998, Woolcock, 2001, Granovetter, 1995) is useful in explaining the effects of marital status and frequency of religious attendance. Those who are in a relationship (common-law or married) and those who frequently attend religious services are less likely to be included (through work and education) (negative coefficients in Table 3). They may have bonded with others but these may be of exclusive nature, that is, the person may be confining himself/herself to a limited number of individuals. The bridging social capital may be weaker, and hence, the lower probability of inclusion.

Bonding social capital should generally have a strong impact on participation and belonging, if only because there is a group to which services can be volunteered and this seems to be the case among those who are frequent attendees of religious services. Marital status does not seem to have that effect most likely because the variable captures bonding among even smaller numbers of individuals - the immediate family, rather than a community. Presence of children would probably make a difference in participation and belonging but this will come only at a later stage of these young people's life course.

Social capital in the form of wider network is what is expected to be captured by immigration status, that is, immigrants are less likely to be included than those born in Canada because they have smaller networks. However, the analysis shows that the recent immigrants are more likely to be included than those born in Canada and earlier immigrants. A further check on the profiles of recent immigrants showed that they have higher education, and have higher proportions of males and in single status than the other two groups. The higher likelihood of inclusion among recent immigrants may therefore be a reflection of human capital rather than a social capital effect. That immigration status captures also a social capital investment is shown by the higher participation and the stronger sense of belonging of those who are Canada-born. In the case of earlier immigrants' highest likelihood of participation, they may be making up for their low probability of inclusion. Among the young, there is a perception that volunteering enhances their chances of future employment (Hall, et al., 1998).

Only one variable about the family is available from the survey, which is the living arrangement of the young. As far as social capital is concerned, the contrast should be between those living with one parent and those living with both parents. Those who are no longer living with parents are possibly a selected group in that they may have become independent at younger than average age. The negative coefficient in Table 3 for both inclusion and participation of those living with a lone parent indicates the effect of smaller social capital (most likely, smaller network) than those living with both parents. Because no other variable on the family level is included in the analysis, it is possible that the lone parent category captures also the fewer human capital (one less parent), and the lower financial capital available to the child. One positive note however is that living with a lone parent does not seem to have a negative impact on the sense of belonging.

Community Level

As a general observation, community characteristics have the greatest impact on sense of belonging rather than on inclusion and participation. Or, stated conversely, the individual and family level variables do not have as much impact on sense of belonging as the community level variables. This is seen from the greater number of statistically significant coefficients for sense of belonging (Table 3, continued). That sense of belonging is more a function of community traits rather than of individual or family properties should not come as a surprise. It is nevertheless re-assuring that a statistical study such as this confirms this common-sense knowledge.

Two community-level variables can be taken as indicators of human capital, the percent of population less than aged 29, and the percent of population with post secondary education. Inclusion is more likely in communities where there are less number of young persons themselves. Assuming that the larger community which encompasses school and work has the same age profile as the enumeration area in which respondents reside, this could mean that less competition leads to better chances for inclusion. The likelihood of belonging, on the other hand, is greater in more age-heterogenous communities, that is, where the young are neither too many nor too few.

The proportion of those with post-secondary education in the communities affect both inclusion and participation. The lower likelihood of being included in poorer communities (negative coefficient for community with lowest proportion with post-secondary education) may be attributed to low human capital, for example, through lack of role models, but could also reflect lack of opportunities in the community. That the young are less likely to participate in communities where there is a medium proportion of people with post-secondary education is probably a reflection of the less need for volunteers than in poorer communities. But, in communities with high percentage of post-secondary educated persons, a kind of "bandwagon effect" may be taking place - where there are already many volunteers, the likelihood of others joining in is greater.

That the type of community (rural or urban) captures social capital rather than physical capital is shown by the finding that young people are more likely to feel a strong sense of belonging in rural communities, but neither their inclusion nor participation is affected. Social capital in varied forms may be captured by this variable, for example, networking in rural communities may be more intensive, and the norms governing relationships may be different from those in the urban areas (less formal, emotive rather than rational).

The positive coefficients of nil or low proportions of immigrants for belonging but negative ones for inclusion is probably an indication that different forms of social capital may be captured by the percent of immigrants in a community. Communities with hardly any immigrant has possibly strong bonding type of social capital and therefore young people living in these communities have greater likelihood of feeling a strong sense of belonging. However, the bridging social capital, that is, the networking with the 'wider' world may be lacking in these communities, hence, the lower likelihood for the young to be included.

The form of social capital measured by percentage separated or divorced in the community may be that of social values or norms. Communities with very low proportion of divorces and separated may have strong norms supportive of traditional families which in turn may be conducive for the

young to feel a strong sense of belonging.

Summary and Conclusion:

On general trend of integration and effects of individual and family-level variables:

Young Canadians aged 15-29 are as *included* into the society in 1998 as they were in 1986. This is indicated by the number of hours allocated to education and paid work which has remained virtually unchanged. For the very young (15-19), however, there seems to have been a shift of time allocation in the 1990's from education to other activities, most likely, to entertainment. While this might be a measurement issue (for example, in the classification of hours spent with the internet), the shift could also be real. Could it be possible that reduced resource allocation to schools is affecting the number of hours spent in education? Could this be a life-style choice facilitated by parental resources? (Those 15-19 in 1998 are the *echo* or children of the baby boomers.) Answers would require a more detailed and careful examination of data on the time allocation for entertainment and education activities of the young and its relation to financial and physical capital investment by the family and the state.

Gendering of time allocation starts early with young men spending more time in education and paid work and young women in domestic work. This is an indication that the traditional gender division of labour persists and would likely continue for some time. That sense of belonging seems to be similar for men and women is an indication that gendering may not be an immediate concern for the young. However, the adverse consequences of women's lower level of inclusion not only for themselves but their children can come later in life (Beaujot and Ravanera, 2001 and citations therein). Related to this is the finding that inclusion is less likely among those who are in union and those who have lower levels of education. Encouragement of the young, particularly women, to stay longer in school, to delay family formation and to enter the work force seems to be in order.

The greater likelihood of inclusion among the recent immigrants might be an indication that they are not discriminated against. One strong point to their advantage however is that they seem to have greater human capital. Their likelihood for participation (and hopefully, their sense of belonging as well) might be augmented as the duration of their stay in the country lengthens.

The effects on integration of the frequency of religious attendance provide an example of how strong bonds with like-minded individuals have both an advantage and a disadvantage: individuals who often attend religious functions feel a strong sense of belonging to their community but they seem to have less likelihood of being included through work and education. This seems to confirm the distinct consequences of bonding and bridging types of social capital.

Lone parenthood has adverse consequences not only for children but for young adults as well. Those living with lone parents are less likely to be included and to participate though they seem to feel as strong a sense of belonging to their community as any other. A number of studies on lone parenthood, its incidence, determinants, and consequences have been or are being conducted in Canada (Turcotte et al., 2001; Kerr and Beaujot, 2001) and their findings should be of relevance to policies affecting the youth.

On the effects of community-level variables:

Examining the impact of community-level variables has enriched the analysis of integration, particularly for the sense of belonging which seems to be more greatly affected by community traits rather than by personal-level properties. This shows that it is worthwhile to include community-level variables in the analysis of individual's attitudes or behaviours.

There is a greater likelihood of inclusion in communities where the proportion of the young is low, which probably means that the less competition, the better the condition. But, they are more likely to feel a strong sense of belonging in communities where there are a heterogenous mix of age groups. Though not a definitive proof, this may be an indication that there is not much basis to the concern that there is a growing cleavage between the young and the old.

The finding that the young from poorer communities are less likely to be included is one more evidence that neighbourhood affluence does have an impact on individuals. (For studies on neighbourhood effects, see for example, Kohen et al, 1998; Jencks and Mayer, 1990).

Young people are less likely to participate in middle-class communities. The need for volunteers in these communities may be less in comparison to the lower-class communities. And in comparison to higher class communities, middle-class neighbourhoods may be short on band-wagon effect, that is, where there are already a big number of volunteers, many more may be tempted to join in.

A more intensive (or emotive) pattern of relationships and traditional family values may be factors behind the greater likelihood of feeling a strong sense of belonging in rural communities and in communities where the proportion of divorced and separated are low. It is interesting to note though that there is no significant difference in levels of inclusion and participation of the young people living in rural and those living in urban communities.

That the young feel a strong sense of belonging in communities that are homogenous (that is, with low proportion of immigrants) is somewhat disturbing. As Glaeser (2001) notes "it presents us with the unpleasant suggestion that homogeneous communities may have some advantages" (p.40). But there is a disadvantage to homogeneous communities - the likelihood of inclusion among the young is lower. Such communities may lack the dynamism that foster inclusion in communities that have higher levels of immigrants.

This study has focused on young Canadians with interesting results. Would similar findings be revealed by the analysis of the same data sets for those of older Canadians?

Appendix Table 1: Types of Assets (or Capital) by Analytical Levels

Types of Assets (or Capital) / Levels	Physical (Financial)	Human	Social
Person (Individual)	Liquid Assets (cash, stocks, bonds) Properties (house, land)	Physical features (beauty, height) Skills, talents and abilities	Network (family, friends, work mates, membership, Values and beliefs
Family	Liquid Assets (cash, stocks, bonds) Properties (house, land)	Family members and Relatives	Network (extent, power) Relationship (closeness, supportiveness) Traditions, Values and Beliefs
Community	Facilities (schools, swimming pools, libraries) Size and location	Friends Neighbours Citizens	Order Cohesion (various dimensions) Norms Regulations
Country	Economic resources Natural resources (land, water, minerals)	Citizens	Order Cohesion (various dimensions) Norms Policies & Laws Culture Systems

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Table 1: Time Allocation Among Major Activities
Canadians Aged 15-29, By Age and Sex
General Social Survey on Time Use: 1986, 1992, and 1998

Panel 1: Average Hours of Paid Work and Education

	Males			Females		
	1986	**1992**	**1998**	**1986**	**1992**	**1998**
Paid Work						
15-19	1.86	1.62	1.95	1.47	1.47	1.16
20-24	4.49	4.67	4.40	3.42	4.42	3.94
25-29	5.45	6.06	6.14	3.76	3.63	4.07
15-29	4.06	4.25	4.19	2.97	3.24	3.09
Education						
15-19	4.39	3.24	3.33	4.98	4.34	3.74
20-24	2.02	2.08	1.75	1.49	1.06	2.00
25-29	0.55	0.33	0.52	0.40	0.32	0.54
15-29	2.19	1.78	1.85	2.12	1.76	2.05
Total Paid Work & Educ						
15-19	6.25	4.85	5.28	6.45	5.82	4.90
20-24	6.51	6.75	6.15	4.92	5.48	5.95
25-29	6.00	6.39	6.66	4.17	3.95	4.61
15-29	6.25	6.04	6.04	5.10	5.00	5.14

Panel 2: Average Hours of Domestic and Volunteer Work

	Males			Females		
	1986	**1992**	**1998**	**1986**	**1992**	**1998**
Domestic Work						
15-19	0.78	0.88	0.89	1.47	1.46	1.64
20-24	1.16	1.29	1.35	2.80	2.82	2.93
25-29	1.96	2.06	2.15	4.56	4.82	4.18
15-29	1.33	1.45	1.47	3.03	3.17	2.95
Volunteer Work						
15-19	0.14	0.18	0.31	0.20	0.45	0.20
20-24	0.11	0.39	0.18	0.10	0.31	0.19
25-29	0.21	0.32	0.22	0.16	0.29	0.27
15-29	0.16	0.30	0.24	0.15	0.34	0.22
Total Unpaid Work						
15-19	0.93	1.07	1.20	1.67	1.91	1.84
20-24	1.28	1.67	1.53	2.90	3.13	3.13
25-29	2.17	2.39	2.36	4.71	5.11	4.45
15-29	1.49	1.75	1.71	3.19	3.51	3.18

Panel 3: Average Hours of Entertainment Activities

15-19	5.79	7.15	7.03	4.72	5.56	6.38
20-24	5.89	5.68	6.32	5.10	4.95	4.62
25-29	5.42	5.29	5.32	4.58	4.11	4.83
15-29	5.70	5.98	6.21	4.80	4.82	5.26

Table 2: Percent of Included, Volunteering, and with Strong Sense of Belonging Canadians Aged 15-29, By Age and Sex, 1998 General Social Survey

Age Groups	Employed /Students		Volunteered		Sense of belonging	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15 - 19	89.3	84.4	38.0	46.0	70.5	60.4
20 - 24	84.5	72.7	24.6	35.1	44.9	57.5
25 - 29	89.9	64.1	29.5	32.6	54.9	52.5
15 - 29	87.9	73.5	30.8	37.8	57.0	56.7

Percent Employed and/or Students

Percent Who Volunteered in Past Year

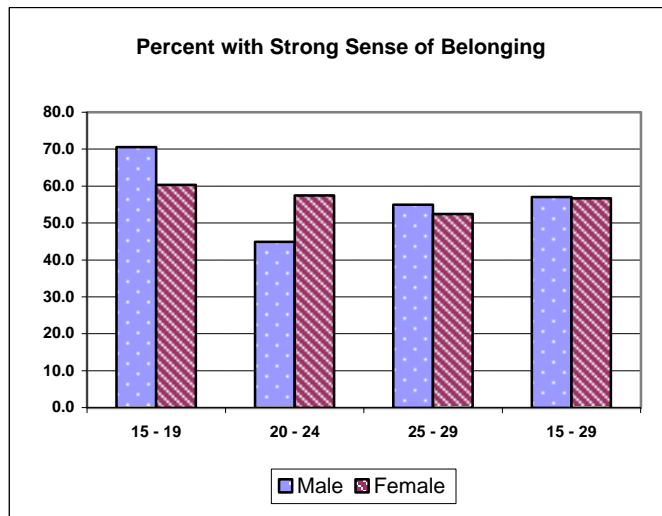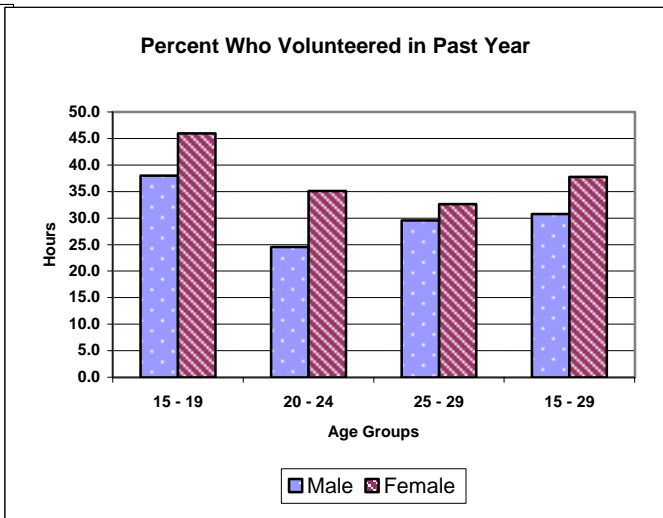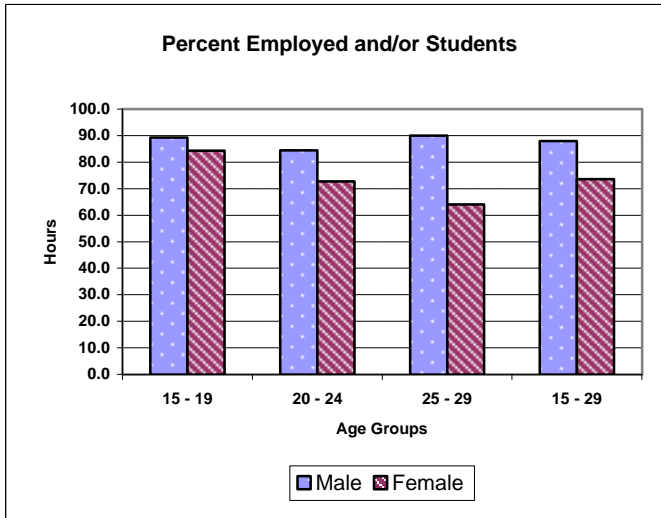Percent with Strong Sense of Belonging

Table 3: Coefficients of Binary Logistic Regression of Indicators of Inclusion, Participation, and Belonging, Canadians Aged 15-29, 1998 General Social Survey on Time Use

	Inclusion		Participation		Belonging	
	B Coeff	Exp(B)	B Coeff	Exp(B)	B Coeff	Exp(B)
Individual Characteristics						
Age Groups						
15-17	1.55 ***	4.71	1.13 ***	3.10	0.41 **	1.51
18-19	0.42 *	1.52	0.58 ***	1.78	0.18	1.20
20-24	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	-0.16	0.86
25-29 (R)						
Sex						
Male	0.95 ***	2.57	-0.34 ***	0.72	0.03	1.03
Female (R)						
Respondent's Education						
Some High School or lower	-0.73 ***	0.48	-0.91 ***	0.40	0.03	1.03
High School Graduate	-0.64 ***	0.53	-0.89 ***	0.41	-0.02	0.98
Some College	-0.10	0.91	0.03	1.03	0.01	1.01
College/University Graduate (R)						
Marital Status						
Common-Law	-0.57 ***	0.57	-0.33 *	0.72	-0.11	0.89
Married	-0.61 ***	0.55	0.14	1.15	0.06	1.06
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	-0.36	0.70	0.08	1.09	0.08	1.08
Single (R)						
Immigration Status						
Born in Canada	-0.42 *	0.66	0.72 ***	2.06	0.28 *	1.33
Immigrated before 1985	-0.62 *	0.54	1.03 ***	2.79	0.08	1.08
Immigrated in 1986-1998 (R)						
Religion						
No Religion	-0.65 *	0.52	-0.08	0.93	-0.29	0.75
Roman Catholic	-0.39	0.67	-0.31	0.73	-0.24	0.79
Protestant	-0.63 **	0.53	0.02	1.02	-0.22	0.80
Others (R)						
Religious Attendance						
At Least Once a Week	-0.49 **	0.61	0.81 ***	2.26	0.86 ***	2.35
At Least Once a Month	-0.17	0.85	0.62 ***	1.86	0.14	1.14
A Few Times a Year	0.30	1.34	0.36 **	1.43	0.27 *	1.31
At Least Once a Year	0.25	1.28	0.30 *	1.35	0.00	1.00
Not at All (R)						
Family Charcteristics						
Living Arrangement						
Not Living with Parents	0.30 *	1.35	-0.17	0.85	0.02	1.02
Living with One Parent	-0.52 ***	0.60	-0.46 ***	0.63	0.08	1.08
Living with Both Parents (R)						

Table 3 (Cont'd): Coefficients of Binary Logistic Regression of Indicators of Inclusion, Participation, and Belonging, Canadians Aged 15-29, 1998 General Social Survey on Time Use

	Inclusion		Participation		Belonging	
	B Coeff	**Exp(B)**	**B Coeff**	**Exp(B)**	**B Coeff**	**Exp(B)**
Community Characteristics						
Percent of Population Less than 29						
0-30%	0.55 **	1.74	0.18	1.20	0.24	1.27
31-40%	0.36 **	1.43	0.13	1.13	0.23 **	1.26
41-45%	0.12	1.13	0.06	1.06	0.37 ***	1.44
46% or higher (R)						
Percent with Post-Secondary Educ						
0-40%	-0.35 **	0.71	-0.12	0.88	0.10	1.10
41-60%	0.01	1.01	-0.39 ***	0.68	-0.04	0.96
61% or higher (R)						
Size and Location						
Rural	0.16	1.18	0.21	1.24	0.25 *	1.29
Urban < 1000 - 99999	0.26	1.29	-0.05	0.96	0.10	1.10
Urban 100000 or more (R)						
Percent Immigrants						
0%	-0.81 ***	0.44	0.12	1.13	0.39 *	1.48
1-5%	-0.28	0.76	-0.15	0.86	0.26 *	1.30
6-14%	-0.24	0.79	0.07	1.07	0.25 **	1.29
15% or higher (R)						
Percent Separated/Divorced						
0-3%	0.18	1.19	-0.03	0.97	0.53 ***	1.69
4-8%	0.07	1.07	0.03	1.03	0.37 ***	1.44
9% or higher (R)						
Constant	1.93 ***	6.88	-1.05 ***	0.35	-0.72 **	0.49
Number of Weighted Cases	2171		2190		2144	
R Squared	15.1%		12.0%		9.0%	

Levels of Significance: *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10%