

Université de Montréal

Rôles sociaux et consommation d'alcool des femmes et des hommes au Canada :
une analyse située du rôle parental

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Cette thèse intitulée:

Rôles sociaux et consommation d'alcool des femmes et des hommes au Canada :
une analyse située du rôle parental

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RESUME

Cette thèse de doctorat a pour objectif d'examiner de quelles manières le rôle parental influence la consommation d'alcool des femmes et des hommes et plus précisément, si les relations dynamiques entre le rôle parental, les circonstances au sein desquelles il est mis en acte et les contextes immédiats de consommation permettent d'expliquer les différentes façons individuelles de consommer de l'alcool. Cette étude repose sur le constat qu'en alcoologie, il existe une tendance à considérer l'acteur et l'action comme étant détachés de leur cadre social immédiat. Conséquemment, il existe des limites importantes aux modèles permettant d'expliquer les mécanismes par lesquels les rôles sociaux influencent la consommation d'alcool.

Afin d'avoir une meilleure compréhension sociologique de la consommation d'alcool, cette thèse propose un cadre théorique qui insiste fortement sur la nécessité de tenir compte de la situation. L'acteur agit en fonction de certaines circonstances (perception de conflit de rôles) au sein desquelles son rôle est mis en acte. L'action de boire est dépendante du contexte (caractéristiques spatiales, temporelles, symboliques et relationnelles) au sein duquel l'action se déroule. L'hypothèse générale de recherche stipule que pour comprendre la relation entre les rôles et la consommation d'alcool, il faut situer à la fois l'acteur et l'action.

La validité empirique du cadre théorique a été testée à partir d'une analyse quantitative des données de l'enquête GENACIS Canada (GENder Alcohol and Culture: an International Study) ainsi que des données de l'Enquête sur les

Toxicomanies au Canada. La présentation des résultats des analyses prend la forme de trois articles soumis pour publication.

Les données analysées révèlent le bien-fondé du cadre de théorique proposé. Situer l'action a permis de constater que les contextes de consommation sont un médiateur de la relation entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool et plus spécifiquement, que les parents boivent moins fréquemment de façon excessive que les non-parents parce qu'ils boivent dans des lieux différents. Situer l'action a aussi révélé que les femmes et les hommes ont tendance à adopter des comportements de boire qui s'accordent au contexte immédiat, plutôt qu'à la position qu'ils occupent. Par contre, observer les circonstances individuelles au sein desquelles le rôle parental est mis en acte n'a pas permis d'améliorer notre compréhension de la relation à l'étude.

Les évidences scientifiques apportées par cette thèse de doctorat ouvrent la porte au développement de mesures préventives environnementales qui visent le contexte de l'action plutôt que l'acteur, pour limiter la consommation excessive d'alcool des femmes et des hommes.

Mots clés : consommation d'alcool, rôles sociaux, rôle parental, genre, situations, circonstances, contextes de consommation, modèles de médiation et de modération, sociologie, Canada

ABSTRACT

The objective of this doctoral thesis is to examine how the parental role influences women and men's alcohol consumption. More precisely, it explores whether the dynamic relationships between the parental role, the circumstances into which it is enacted and drinking contexts provide an explanation to the various individual manners to consume alcohol. This research is based on the observation that within the alcohol field, there is a tendency to treat social actor and the social action as if they were detached from their immediate social environment. Therefore, existing models that focus on the mechanisms through which social roles influence alcohol consumption are limited.

To achieve a better sociological understanding of alcohol consumption, this thesis proposes a theoretical framework that highlights the necessity to take into account the situation. A social actor behaves according to certain circumstances (between-role stressors) into which his/her role is enacted. Drinking depends on the contexts (spatial, temporal, symbolic and relational characteristics) in which it occurs. The general hypothesis of this research postulates that to understand the association between social roles and alcohol consumption, both the social actor and social action need to be situated.

The empirical validity of the theoretical framework has been tested from quantitative analyses of data from the GENACIS Canada (GENder Alcohol and Culture: an International Study) survey and data from the Canadian Addiction Survey. The results of these analyses are presented in three articles submitted for publication.

The analyses reveal the legitimacy of the proposed theoretical framework. Situating the act of drinking has allowed to observe that drinking contexts are mediators of the relationship between the parental role and alcohol consumption and more specifically, that parents report to less frequent abusive drinking than non-parents because they drink in different locations. Situating the act of drinking has also revealed that men and women tend to consume alcohol in accordance with the immediate drinking context rather than their positional role. However, observing the circumstances into which individual enact their parental role has not improved our understanding of the relationship under study.

The scientific evidences provided by this doctoral thesis open the door to the development of preventive environmental measures that focus on the immediate drinking context instead of the individual in order to reduce abusive drinking behaviors among both men and women.

Keywords : alcohol consumption, social roles, parental role, gender, situations, circumstances, drinking contexts, mediation and moderation models, sociology, Canada.

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GLOSSAIRE D'UNE SOCIOLOGIE DE L'ACTION SITUEE

- Circonstance** Particularité, élément secondaire qui accompagne, entoure, conditionne ou détermine les rôles sociaux. Les circonstances permettent de situer l'*acteur* social. *Un conflit de rôles entoure la mise en acte du rôle parental.*
- Contexte** Désigne l'ensemble des caractéristiques spatiales, temporelles, symboliques et relationnelles qui marquent une occasion particulière lors de laquelle un individu consomme de l'alcool. Les contextes permettent de situer l'*action* individuelle. *La consommation d'alcool se déroule lors d'un repas entre amis pour célébrer un anniversaire.*
- Situation** Renvoie conjointement aux circonstances et au contexte. Observer la situation dans laquelle une personne consomme de l'alcool, c'est à la fois observer les circonstances dans lesquelles elle évolue et le contexte immédiat dans laquelle elle boit. Tenir compte d'une situation, c'est donc situer l'*acteur* et l'*action*.

Je dédie cette thèse à mes filles adorées,
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This paper attempts to see how far one can go by treating fun seriously.

Erving Goffman

INTRODUCTION

Cette thèse de doctorat porte sur la consommation d'alcool des femmes et des hommes au Canada. Plus précisément cette étude vise à déterminer de quelles manières le rôle parental des femmes et des hommes influence leur consommation d'alcool. Les questions générales de recherche auxquelles nous souhaitons apporter une réponse sont les suivantes : *Quelle est l'association entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool ? Cette association est-elle la même chez les hommes et chez les femmes ? Quels sont les mécanismes qui permettent ces associations ?* Dans cette thèse, une approche sociologique de la consommation d'alcool est adoptée. Les manières de boire seront attentivement examinées comme un phénomène social qui, à la base, résulte d'une forme de différenciation sociale entre des groupes d'individus au sein de la population canadienne.

La consommation d'alcool est un facteur prépondérant en matière de santé. Au cours des 40 dernières années, un ensemble de travaux en épidémiologie ont permis d'établir que, chez les hommes de plus de 40 ans et chez les femmes ménopausées, une consommation régulière et modérée d'alcool a des effets bénéfiques sur la santé. Une ou deux consommations par jour permettrait, par exemple, de réduire les risques de maladies cardio-vasculaires (Klatsky et al., 1974; Standridge et al., 2004). Cependant, la communauté scientifique reconnaît depuis longtemps que consommer beaucoup d'alcool sur une période de temps prolongée risque d'endommager à peu près tous les organes du corps humain (Rehm et al., 2004). Les épisodes de consommation abusive, eux, sont la cause de blessures,

d'incidents et d'accidents (Arvers et al., 2003). D'où l'importance de mieux comprendre les déterminants sociaux de la consommation individuelle d'alcool.

Selon les données factuelles en alcoologie, la consommation d'alcool varie universellement selon le genre (Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Wilsnack, 2005). En comparaison des femmes, les hommes demeurent de plus grands consommateurs d'alcool : ils boivent plus fréquemment, ils consomment de plus grandes quantités par occasion et ils sont plus à risque de subir ou de causer des problèmes liés à leur consommation. Les plus récentes enquêtes populationnelles sur les toxicomanies révèlent que ce constat s'applique également au Canada (Adlaf et al., 2005; Santé Canada, 2008).

Dans une perspective sociologique de la consommation d'alcool, l'analyse des différentes façons qu'ont les hommes et les femmes de se comporter vis-à-vis de l'alcool convie à examiner les rôles sociaux. Historiquement, les rôles sociaux ont été une source de grande différenciation entre les hommes et les femmes (Harrison et Lynch, 2005). Comme le souligne Epstein (1999), ce qui permet de distinguer socialement les hommes des femmes n'est pas qu'ils vivent au sein de différentes collectivités, mais plutôt qu'ils sont assignés à différents domaines à l'intérieur de ces dernières. Or, ce modèle traditionnel dans lequel les hommes doivent être les principaux pourvoyeurs tandis que les femmes s'occupent des tâches ménagères et familiales s'érode (Lopota, 1999). Malgré tout, les différences entre les façons de boire des femmes et des hommes persistent.

Cette thèse s'inscrit dans un cadre social où les sociétés sont de plus en plus complexes et où, inévitablement, de plus grandes variations dans la distribution et la mise en œuvre des rôles sociaux s'observent (Lopota, 1999). Depuis la Deuxième

Guerre mondiale, la proportion de femmes actives au Canada a crû de façon soutenue (Luffman, 2006). Entre 1990 et 2005, le taux d'activité des femmes âgées entre 25 et 54 ans est passé de 75 % à 81 % (Roy, 2006). Il en résulte qu'en 2006, les femmes de 25 à 44 et celles de 45 à 54 ans représentaient 77% de l'ensemble des travailleurs, contre 50 % et 46 % en 1976. Chez les femmes ayant des enfants de moins de 16 ans, une hausse spectaculaire du taux d'emploi est également observée. En 2006, ce taux s'établissait à 73 % tandis qu'il n'était qu'à 39 % en 1976. Néanmoins, il demeure que les femmes sont toujours plus nombreuses que les hommes à occuper un emploi à temps partiel puisqu'actuellement les femmes représentent 68 % de l'ensemble des travailleurs temps partiel (Lindsay et Almey, 2006).

Parallèlement, les hommes contribuent de plus en plus aux tâches domestiques. Selon Lindsay (2008), le nombre moyen d'heures que les hommes de 25 à 54 ans consacrent aux tâches ménagères de base, y compris la cuisine, le nettoyage et l'entretien ménager, a augmenté de près d'une demi-heure par jour entre 1986 et 2005. Chez les femmes du même groupe d'âge, la proportion a diminué d'environ une demi-heure par jour. En termes de proportions, des données canadiennes de budget-temps montrent qu'entre 1992 et 1998 la participation quotidienne des hommes aux travaux domestiques et aux soins aux enfants a respectivement augmenté de 17 % (69 % contre 52 %) et 2 % (30 % contre 28 %). Les hommes s'impliquent donc de plus en plus auprès de leurs enfants et la proportion des pères qui s'absentent du travail et qui prennent un congé parental payé est passée de 3 % en 2000 à 20 % en 2006 et à 26,8 % en 2007 (Marshall, 2008).

Ces données illustrent qu'au Canada, comme dans la majorité des pays occidentaux, on assiste présentement à un phénomène de convergence des rôles

sociaux. La division du travail selon le genre est encore inégale, mais les hommes et les femmes se partagent beaucoup plus équitablement qu'auparavant les responsabilités financières, domestiques et familiales (Marshall, 2006; Pérusse, 2003; Roy, 2006). Cette conjoncture a amené des auteurs à formuler des hypothèses selon lesquelles la convergence des rôles sociaux devrait entraîner une convergence des manières de boire. Or, ces hypothèses n'ont que partiellement été confirmées ou ont clairement été réfutées (Bloomfield et al., 2001).

L'examen des travaux consacrés à cette question amène à penser que cette constatation est peut-être liée au fait que plusieurs études dont il sera question dans le premier chapitre comportent des lacunes au niveau théorique, limitant ainsi la compréhension des processus explicatifs quant à l'association entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool. Les études tendent souvent à surdéterminer la contribution des rôles sociaux comme facteur des manières de boire. De fait, ces études n'accordent pas assez de place à l'expérience qu'ont les femmes et les hommes des rôles sociaux qu'ils occupent. Par exemple, même si à l'instar des hommes la majorité des femmes occupent un emploi rémunéré, Marshall (2006) rappelle que les femmes se sentent encore les principales responsables de la planification et de l'organisation de tout ce que requière le soin des enfants. La convergence des rôles pour les femmes peut donc être une source de stress et d'insatisfaction qui rend le rôle parental encore plus exigeant.

À partir de ce qui précède, peut-on faire l'hypothèse qu'une des caractéristiques du cadre social actuel est que l'occupation des rôles selon le genre est de plus en plus semblable alors que ce sont les manières de mettre en acte ces rôles selon le genre qui se différencient et qui, finalement, expliquent l'influence des rôles

sociaux sur la consommation d'alcool ? Si en alcoologie la première partie de cette proposition a été considérée, la deuxième ne l'a pas été. C'est ce qui fera l'objet de cette thèse de doctorat.

Objectifs et organisation de la thèse

Le premier objectif de cette thèse est d'évaluer l'apport de l'analyse des rôles sociaux à la compréhension des différences entre la consommation d'alcool des femmes et celle des hommes. Plus spécifiquement, notre questionnement vise à comprendre en quoi la situation des hommes et des femmes permet de mieux comprendre leur consommation d'alcool. Ainsi, cette étude quantitative se distinguera en s'inscrivant dans une sociologie qui situera à la fois l'acteur et l'action. À cette fin, l'analyse de la consommation d'alcool des individus selon leurs rôles sociaux prendra en compte les circonstances au sein desquelles les hommes et les femmes mettent en acte leurs rôles ainsi que les contextes immédiats dans lesquels ils consomment de l'alcool.

Au plan de l'organisation de la thèse, le premier chapitre fait une présentation de l'état des connaissances scientifiques sur la consommation d'alcool selon les rôles sociaux et en dégage les limites. Le chapitre 2 propose une approche sociologique de la consommation d'alcool qui permette de tenir compte de l'expérience sociale qu'ont les femmes et les hommes de leurs rôles sociaux en observant leurs pratiques situées. Les grandes hypothèses de recherche sont présentées à la fin de ce deuxième chapitre. Bien que le cadre théorique proposé s'applique également aux rôles occupationnel et marital, empiriquement l'emphase sera mis sur le rôle parental. La présentation des résultats des analyses empiriques

prend la forme de trois articles regroupés en autant de chapitres. Ainsi, l'article 3 introduit les circonstances à l'analyse des rôles et de la consommation d'alcool, tandis que les articles des chapitres 4 et 5 introduisent les contextes de consommation à l'analyse. Finalement, le chapitre 6 présente une synthèse des résultats obtenus, en discute les limites et aborde la pertinence de l'approche théorique proposée pour l'analyse de la consommation individuelle d'alcool.

Cette étude devrait assurer des retombées scientifiques en alcoologie et en sociologie de la santé dans le sens d'une meilleure compréhension des processus menant à l'adoption de comportements reliés à la santé.

CHAPITRE 1

PROBLEMATIQUE DE LA CONSOMMATION D'ALCOOL SELON LES ROLES SOCIAUX : ETAT DES CONNAISSANCES

Ce premier chapitre fait le point sur les connaissances relatives à la consommation d'alcool selon les rôles sociaux et identifie les limites de cette documentation scientifique. Une première section sera consacrée aux études qui s'inscrivent dans une approche selon laquelle les rôles renvoient à des positions qui structurent et organisent la vie des gens. Les résultats probants des études portant sur l'association entre la consommation d'alcool et les positions parentales, conjugales et occupationnelles s'y retrouveront. Une deuxième partie sera consacrée aux études qui relèvent davantage de l'approche psychosociale et qui mettent l'emphase sur le stress et le bien-être associés aux rôles. En troisième lieu, ce chapitre abordera les limites des connaissances actuelles en alcoologie.

1.1 Consommation d'alcool et rôles positionnels

En sociologie, le concept de rôle est fondamental puisque c'est en ordonnant leurs actions sur la base de leurs rôles que les individus s'intègrent à la société. Les rôles sont le point de contact entre l'individu et la société, ils sont à l'intersection de ces deux entités (Dahrendorf, 1968).

Le concept de rôle a d'abord été introduit dans la sociologie américaine, notamment au sein des travaux Linton, Mead, Merton et Parsons (Linton et al., 1949; Mead, 1934; Merton, 1949; Parsons, 1951). Les sociologues de l'École de Chicago et, à partir des années 1960, les membres de l'École de Frankfort se sont aussi

intéressés aux questions de rôles (pour une synthèse voir : Winnubst et ter Heine, 1985). Aujourd'hui, le concept de rôle demeure l'un des plus utilisés en sciences sociales (Biddle, 1986; Chapuis et Thomas, 1995).

Les travaux sociologiques qui portent sur les rôles s'inscrivent dans diverses approches théoriques qui se différencient principalement quant au degré d'autonomie qu'elles accordent à l'individu. Certains auteurs considèrent que les rôles sont joués alors que d'autres considèrent plutôt qu'ils sont interprétés.

Dans l'ensemble, les sociologues s'intéressent au concept de rôles dans la mesure où ces derniers permettent de cerner des modèles d'action. Comme l'a écrit Rocher (1969), les rôles servent à orienter l'action des sujets qui occupent un statut ou une position donnée. Un rôle est donc un ensemble d'actions attendues et entreprises par le détenteur d'un statut ou d'une position quelconque. Si à chaque position appartient un rôle, il faut bien comprendre que position et rôle représentent respectivement les côtés statiques et dynamiques d'une même réalité (Schneider, 1994). Dans le domaine de l'alcoologie, qui est l'objet de notre réflexion, la majorité des études empiriques mettent généralement l'emphase sur la dimension statique des rôles.

Les spécialistes de la relation entre les rôles et la consommation d'alcool réfèrent généralement aux travaux Knibbe, Drop & Muijtjens (1987), puis Hajema & Knibbe (1998). Les travaux de ces auteurs s'inspirent de ceux de Gerhardt (1971, 1975, 1979) et s'inscrivent dans la tradition allemande de l'étude des rôles sociaux. Cette perspective permet notamment de faire des distinctions très claires entre certains types de rôles dont on attend des effets très différents sur les comportements.

De prime abord, cette perspective sous-tend qu'il ne faut pas confondre les rôles positionnels avec les rôles de statut qui, eux, réfèrent par exemple au genre, à l'origine ethnique, à l'âge, aux handicaps physiques et, jusque dans une certaine mesure, au niveau socio-économique. Alors que les rôles de statuts sont ascriptifs, c'est-à-dire imposés aux individus sans que ces derniers puissent les remettre en cause ou bien décider de les reconnaître ou non, les rôles positionnels, eux, sont généralement choisis et acquis (Knibbe et al., 1987; Sunstein, 1996) . De ce fait, les rôles positionnels renvoient principalement aux rôles conjugaux, parentaux et occupationnels puisque, généralement, une personne décide librement de vivre en couple, d'avoir des enfants ainsi que du type d'emploi qu'elle occupe.

1.1.1 L'hypothèse des opportunités

Dans la conception sociologique de l'alcoologie, l'étude des rôles familiaux et occupationnels est pertinente étant donné que ces rôles structurent la vie des gens en leur apportant diverses responsabilités, tâches et opportunités. Peu importe le sens et même l'importance qu'accorde une femme ou un homme au fait d'être un parent, un conjoint, un célibataire, un employé, un étudiant et tutti quanti, certaines tâches précises sont requises par ces rôles positionnels et devront inévitablement être accomplies. Les rôles familiaux et occupationnels forment des restrictions à la consommation d'alcool. Neve écrit : « positional role obligations prevent people from (heavy) drinking, unless all obligations are fulfilled and no new obligations are due » (Neve, 1998 : 16). De plus, les responsabilités associées à ces rôles influencent les conditions de vie dans lesquelles les individus évoluent ainsi que les expériences

sociales auxquelles ils sont exposés (Bloomfield et al., 2006; Gmel et al., 2000; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Kuntsche et al., 2006; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2004; Wilsnack et al., 2000).

Il s'ensuit qu'une hypothèse fréquemment posée en alcoologie est celle des opportunités. Cette hypothèse pose que les rôles les plus structurants, ceux qui organisent le plus la vie de tous les jours, pourraient agir comme facteurs de protection relativement à la consommation d'alcool puisqu'ils procurent moins d'opportunités de boire et engendrent des activités considérées incompatibles avec la consommation d'alcool. Tel que récemment résumé par Kuntsche et al., (2009 : 1264)

« the more everyday life is structured by social activities which the individual and others deem important, the more likely it is that he or she will take care that the time spent in drinking situations and/or behaviour changes due to drinking (e.g. drunkenness) does not interfere with their role obligations »

La consommation d'alcool est un construit multidimensionnel et en ce sens, les rôles sociaux pourraient aussi bien influencer la quantité usuelle de consommation, la fréquence de consommation, que le type de contextes de consommation fréquentés.

Les rôles positionnels sont une source de grande différenciation entre les hommes et les femmes à travers les époques, puisque le modèle dominant d'attribution de ces derniers a été dichotomique; les rôles occupationnels aux hommes et les rôles familiaux aux femmes. Au-delà d'un sexe (biologique), les hommes et les femmes ont un genre (social) et pour plusieurs, le genre se définit amplement sur la base des rôles positionnels (Bird et Rieker, 1999; Epstein, 1999; Kronenfeld, 2006; Lopota, 1999; Rieker et Bird, 2005; Spitzer, 2005). En lien avec ce constat, l'hypothèse des opportunités amène souvent des effets différents selon le

genre. On s'attend à ce que les hommes ressentent plus de responsabilités liées à leurs rôles occupationnels qu'à leurs rôles familiaux et que ce soit donc davantage en fonction de leur occupation que se définisse leur profil de consommation. À l'inverse, on s'attend à ce que les femmes perçoivent davantage de responsabilités liées à leurs rôles familiaux et que ce soit ces derniers qui influencent le plus leur façon de consommer de l'alcool.

1.1.1.1 Consommation d'alcool et rôle parental

Les recherches portant sur l'association entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool sont peu nombreuses et varient grandement dans leur méthodologie, notamment dans leur façon de mesurer le rôle parental, voire de tenir compte des différents types de parents. Quoi qu'il en soit, il ressort dans plusieurs études que la parentalité a des effets sur la consommation d'alcool des hommes et des femmes. Ainsi, les recherches qui ont porté sur l'association entre le rôle parental et les comportements de consommation ont démontré qu'être parent réduit la consommation d'alcool en général (Labouvie, 1996) et la fréquence hebdomadaire de six verres ou plus lors d'une même occasion (Hajema et Knibbe, 1998). Aux États-Unis, chez les hommes et les femmes de 35 ans, une étude a montré que les parents qui vivent avec leur(s) enfant(s) sont moins susceptibles que les autres, c'est-à-dire les non-parents et les parents qui n'ont pas la garde de leur(s) enfant(s), de rapporter avoir pris au moins 5 verres lors d'une même occasion dans les deux semaines ayant précédé l'enquête (Merline et al., 2004). D'autres études réalisées auprès de populations masculine (Paradis, Demers & Nadeau, 1999) et féminine (Cho & Crittenden, 2006) indiquent que vivre avec au moins un enfant à la maison est associé

à de plus bas niveaux de consommation d'alcool.

Il est intéressant de noter que, à la lumière de certaines recherches, les rôles parentaux influencent davantage les habitudes de consommation des femmes que celles des hommes. Par exemple, c'est ce qu'ont constaté Christie-Mizell et Peralta (2009) dans une étude longitudinale réalisée auprès d'Américains âgés entre 17 et 30 ans et qui montre que devenir parent et vivre avec un enfant à la maison réduit significativement la fréquence de consommation, mais uniquement chez les femmes. Aussi, à partir d'enquêtes provenant de huit pays d'Europe (Kuntsche et al., 2006), des chercheurs ayant analysé les pratiques de consommation d'hommes et des femmes âgés entre 25 et 49 ans en tenant compte de leurs rôles positionnels en arrivent à la même conclusion. Dans ce cas, ils ont conclu que c'est spécifiquement chez les femmes qu'avoir un enfant est communément associé à un moindre risque de consommer plus de 20 grammes d'alcool pur par jour¹. Le même constat a été établi par Ahlstrom et al. (2001) qui ont observé la consommation individuelle d'alcool dans neuf pays d'Europe. Ces derniers rapportent que, chez les hommes, les effets de la parentalité varient d'un pays à l'autre mais que, chez les femmes, avoir un enfant est systématiquement associé à une consommation mensuelle moins importante et à un moindre risque de consommer plus de 50 grammes d'alcool pur par jour. Une exception cependant confirme la règle : à partir des données de l'*Enquête sociale générale* du Canada, Avison et Davies (2005) ont analysé la consommation d'alcool des parents monoparentaux selon l'âge et le genre et ont observé que c'est uniquement chez les femmes qu'être monoparental est associé à une augmentation de

¹ Au Canada, un verre d'alcool standard contient 13,6 grammes d'alcool. En Europe, cela varie entre 6 et 17 grammes.

la fréquence annuelle d'au moins 5 verres lors d'une même occasion.

1.1.1.2 Consommation d'alcool et rôle conjugal

En ce qui a trait à la relation entre la consommation d'alcool et le rôle conjugal, les raisons pour lesquelles le mariage et, à l'inverse, un divorce ou une séparation transforment les pratiques de consommation des individus sont tellement nombreuses qu'il est difficile de considérer la prise en compte des rôles sociaux comme unique explication des changements de comportements. On comprendra, par exemple, que les rôles conjugaux impliquent deux adultes et, de facto, ce type de rôle renvoie à une perspective relationnelle où, pour comprendre les comportements d'Alter, il faut inévitablement considérés ceux d'Ego. Qui plus est, le mariage, du moins dans la plupart des cas en Occident, implique non seulement une harmonisation avec le conjoint mais très souvent aussi avec les pairs de ce dernier (Leonard & Muddar, 2003).

Néanmoins, on constate dans l'étiologie de la consommation d'alcool que la vie de couple constitue un facteur de protection. En effet, les gens mariés tendent à boire moins de façon abusive et à avoir moins de problèmes reliés à la consommation d'alcool que ceux qui sont célibataires ou divorcés/séparés (Bachman et al., 1997; Chilcoat et Breslau, 1996; Cho et Crittenden, 2006; Clark et Midanik, 1982; Gmel et al., 2000; Hajema et Knibbe, 1998; Kuntsche et al., 2006; Leonard et Rothbard, 1999; Neve et al., 1997). Bogart et al. (2005) ont montré que, peu importe l'âge auquel une femme se mariait, à 29 ans, les femmes célibataires rapportaient une plus grande consommation d'alcool, une plus grande fréquence de consommation abusive et davantage de problèmes reliés à leur consommation que les femmes déjà mariées.

Dans une synthèse portant sur les facteurs de risque associés à la consommation d'alcool, Nolen-Hoeksema (2004) rappelle une étude selon laquelle le mariage exerce un effet significatif sur la consommation d'alcool, au-delà même des facteurs de protection génétiques. En effet, dans leur étude réalisée à partir d'une population de jumelles, Heath et al. (1989) ont montré que les facteurs génétiques étaient moins fortement associés à la consommation d'alcool chez les femmes mariées que chez leurs sœurs jumelles non mariées. L'effet protecteur de l'union semble apparaître durant la période de fréquentation et se poursuivre jusque dans les premières années du mariage (Bachman et al., 1997; Miller-Tutzauer et al., 1991).

À l'inverse, chez les divorcés, des études ont mis en évidence une tendance à consommer de plus grandes quantités par occasion et à subir davantage de problèmes associés (Ahlstrom et al., 2001; Bachman et al., 1997; Horwitz et al., 1996; Temple et al., 1991) et ce, surtout dans les mois suivant la rupture avec le conjoint (Power et al., 1999). C'est ce constat que révèle la récente synthèse de Leonard et Eiden (2007) selon lesquels le mariage tend à réduire la consommation abusive et qu'à l'inverse, les ruptures engendrent l'augmentation de la consommation et des problèmes associés.

En ce qui a trait aux différents effets du mariage selon le genre, la synthèse de Robert & Leonard (1997) confirme les tendances révélées précédemment, tant chez les femmes et chez les hommes, mais cet effet serait plus marqué chez les hommes. Selon les résultats de l'étude de Kuntsche et al. (2006), c'est particulièrement chez les hommes que vivre en couple réduit le risque de consommer abusivement. De leur côté, Christie-Mizell et Peralta (2009) ont récemment constaté que le mariage réduisait la fréquence de consommation des femmes seulement, mais qu'être marié

réduisait la quantité consommée par occasion des femmes et des hommes. Les études portant sur l'harmonisation du boire au sein du couple (plutôt que celles portant sur des comparaisons d'individus ayant différents rôles conjugaux) ont fait ressortir que les conjoints influencent mutuellement leurs pratiques de consommation, mais que cette influence va habituellement dans le sens d'une augmentation de la consommation chez les femmes et d'une réduction chez les hommes (Demers et al., 1999; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Leonard et Mudar, 2003, 2004).

1.1.1.3 Consommation d'alcool et rôle occupationnel

La relation entre le rôle occupationnel et la consommation d'alcool n'est pas sans équivoque et des résultats contradictoires ne cessent d'être obtenus. D'une part, des auteurs ont montré que les individus sans emploi, surtout les hommes, boivent plus souvent et de façon plus abusive que ceux en emploi (Bobak et al., 1999; Crawford et al., 1987; Janlert et Hammarstrom, 1992; Johnson, 1982) et qu'ils sont aussi à risque d'adopter des pratiques dangereuses de consommation (Tomkins et al., 2007). Des études longitudinales ont mis en évidence que perdre un emploi et demeurer longtemps sans emploi seraient particulièrement néfastes (Dooley et al., 1992; Janlert & Hammarström, 1992; Knibbe, Drop et Muytjens, 1997; Paradis, Demers & Nadeau, 1999) et pouvaient être associés au développement de problèmes reliés à l'alcool (Wilsnack et al., 1991). Par contre, cette relation peut être inverse selon l'âge et le genre (Casswell, Pledger & Hooper, 2003; Temple et al., 1991).

D'autre part, certains auteurs ont noté que les gens en emploi buvaient plus souvent, le travail offrant un nombre accru d'occasions de boire. En effet, Pearson, (2004) rappelle que la consommation d'alcool est bien intégrée dans plusieurs

domaines du marché du travail moderne tels que, par exemple, le milieu politique, le milieu journalistique et celui des affaires. Le travail pourrait donc réduire le temps de loisir sans nécessairement réduire le nombre d'occasions de boire. Dans certain cas, avoir un emploi serait même une *ressource* facilitant la consommation d'alcool (Neve, 1998). Selon Christie-Mizell et Peralta (2009), chez les hommes seulement, ceux en emploi rapportent de plus grandes quantités usuelles que ceux sans emploi. Une récente analyse de Kuntsche et al. (2009) a montré qu'en Allemagne, en Suisse et aux États-Unis, les femmes en emploi sont plus susceptibles de rapporter un événement de consommation abusive que celle qui n'ont pas de travail rémunéré, qui sont aux études, à la maison ou considérées en incapacité de travail. Une étude réalisée auprès de 10 000 femmes américaines âgées entre 21 et 65 ans a montré que les femmes en emploi buvaient plus souvent que celles sans emploi, mais que, néanmoins, elles ne consommaient pas davantage par occasion (Cho & Crittenden, 2006). Une autre étude américaine a par ailleurs montré que, comparativement aux femmes sans emploi, celles en emploi rapportaient de moindres quantités usuelles que celles sans emploi (Christie-Mizell et Peralta, 2009).

De plus, nous pouvons aussi citer de récentes études comparatives internationales qui font clairement ressortir l'ambiguïté du lien entre le rôle occupationnel et la consommation d'alcool. L'étude de Ahlstrom et al. (2001), qui a porté sur les profils de consommation des hommes et des femmes selon leurs divers rôles positionnels dans neuf pays d'Europe, indique que l'effet du rôle occupationnel est intimement lié à l'âge. En effet, dans cette étude, les étudiants ne boivent pas aussi fréquemment que les gens en emploi. De plus, dans les pays où, de façon générale, la consommation diminue avec l'âge, les gens à la retraite consomment moins souvent,

rappellent de moindres quantités usuelles et ont une moindre prévalence à la consommation abusive que les gens en emploi. En ce qui a trait au fait spécifique d'être sans emploi, Ahlstrom et al. (2001) concluent qu'être sans emploi n'a pas les mêmes effets d'un pays à l'autre et que c'est uniquement en Finlande (chez les hommes et les femmes) et en Allemagne (uniquement chez les hommes) que les proportions de consommation abusive sont plus élevées chez les sans-emploi. Une autre étude comparative, celle de Kuntsche et al., (2006) n'a pas permis de dégager d'associations significatives entre le fait d'avoir un emploi et boire de façon abusive, ni chez les hommes ni chez les femmes. Dans cette étude, c'est uniquement en Allemagne qu'un effet significatif a pu être observé; les hommes sans emploi étant plus à risque de consommer de façon abusive que ceux en emploi. Finalement, selon Gmel et collègues (2000), les effets du rôle occupationnel ne sont pas les mêmes d'un pays à l'autre. En France et en Allemagne, le fait d'occuper un emploi à temps plein ou à temps partiel, en comparaison à être sans emploi, n'est pas associé au fait de consommer 20 grammes ou plus d'alcool par jour. En Suisse, occuper un emploi est positivement corrélé au fait de consommer 20 grammes ou plus d'alcool par jour, alors qu'en Finlande, c'est le contraire : les Finlandaises en emploi sont moins à risque de consommer 20 grammes ou plus d'alcool par jour que celles sans emploi.

En résumé, les études traitant de l'association entre le rôle occupationnel et la consommation d'alcool ne permettent pas de tirer une conclusion définitive sur le sujet. Les résultats de recherches sont plutôt contradictoires et tendent notamment à varier selon le genre, l'âge, le pays et les profils de consommation dominants dans une culture donnée.

1.1.1.4 Consommation d'alcool et combinaisons de rôles

En alcoologie, les combinaisons de rôles ont aussi fait l'objet de quelques études. Une des façons dont les effets des combinaisons de rôles ont été étudiés est subsidiaire à la théorie exposée ci-haut et s'inscrit clairement dans une perspective des opportunités. Comme le rappellent Cho & Crittenden (2006), la consommation d'alcool est une activité qui requiert du temps, de l'énergie ainsi que des ressources. La consommation d'alcool devient donc ainsi une activité qui rivalise avec toutes les autres activités à accomplir, d'où la formulation de l'hypothèse selon laquelle plus une personne occupe de rôles positionnels, plus sa vie sera structurée par des activités jugées importantes (meaningful), et moins elle aura d'opportunités pour consommer (Kuntsche et al., 2009). Comme les journées des femmes - responsables du deuxième et du troisième quart de travail – sont plus chargées que celles des hommes (Hochschild, 1989, 2001; Spitzer, 2005), cette hypothèse offre probablement une partie de l'explication au fait universel et relevé par Wilsnack (2005) que les femmes consomment moins d'alcool que les hommes, non seulement en quantité par occasion, mais aussi en fréquence.

Empiriquement, il a été montré que le risque de consommation épisodique diminue en lien avec le nombre de rôles qu'une personne occupe (Kuntsche et al., 2009). Par ailleurs, Cho et Crittenden (2006) ont souligné l'importance de ne pas considérer la consommation d'alcool comme un construit unidimensionnel. Leur étude a révélé que les combinaisons de rôles influencent différemment diverses dimensions de la consommation d'alcool. D'une part, parmi les femmes sans emploi et sans conjoint, être une mère augmente le risque d'être un buveur, mais diminue le volume de consommation au cours des 30 jours précédant l'enquête de celles qui

boivent. D'autre part, parmi les femmes en emploi et sans conjoint, être une mère n'a pas d'effet sur le risque d'être un buveur ou non, mais diminue le volume de consommation de celles qui boivent.

Bref, l'hypothèse des opportunités tient compte de l'effet cumulatif des rôles, mais néglige probablement trop le caractère synergique de cette constellation de variables. Selon Wilsnack et Wilsnack (1997), il est improbable que le seul fait d'additionner des variables causales en une combinaison linéaire permette d'expliquer adéquatement les différences relatives à la consommation d'alcool. Lorsqu'il est question de consommation d'alcool, le tout risque d'*être plus grand que la somme des parties*.

1.2 Consommation d'alcool et rôles sociaux: une question de bien-être ou de détresse

L'approche psychosociale, notamment le modèle du stress, est une autre manière d'aborder le lien entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool. Cette approche pose que, peu importe leurs rôles positionnels, les individus qui mettent en acte leur rôles dans des circonstances perçues dérangeantes ou inquiétantes, et qui n'ont ni moyens ni ressources pour y remédier, ressentiront du stress qui, en retour, est reconnu pour être responsable d'une myriade de désordres aigus et chroniques (Bird et Rieker, 2008; Kronenfeld, 2006). Le stress pourrait donc médiatiser la relation entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool.

En alcoologie, au sein de quelques recherches portant sur les rôles sociaux, la consommation d'alcool s'inscrit dans une telle approche puisque la prise d'alcool est considérée comme une réponse apportée à une condition dérangeante causée par un

rôle. Par exemple, d'après l'étude de Metcalfe et al. (2003), plus les hommes et les femmes changent souvent d'emploi, plus ils sont à risque de rapporter une consommation hebdomadaire abusive. Ainsi, le stress lié à l'insécurité et l'instabilité du rôle occupationnel serait à la source du lien entre ce rôle et la consommation abusive. Aussi, les travaux de Frone ont montré une association positive entre la consommation d'alcool des hommes et des femmes et le niveau de conflit entre les rôles familiaux et le rôle occupationnel. Cela suggère que la façon dont sont vécus les rôles serait en jeu dans la relation entre rôle et consommation d'alcool (pour un résumé voir : Frone, 1999). Concernant le rôle conjugal, Leonard et Eiden (2007) relèvent que les problèmes conjugaux peuvent causer du stress, ce qui est susceptible de provoquer une augmentation de la fréquence de consommation abusive et des troubles reliés à l'alcool. Kearns-Bodkin et Leonard (2005), de leur côté, se sont interrogés afin de voir si le fait de vivre en couple pouvait engendrer une diminution de la consommation d'alcool. Ce qu'ils ont découvert, c'est plutôt que c'est la qualité de la dite relation de couple qui est significativement associée à la fréquence de consommation abusive d'alcool.

Finalement, il apparaît que ce sont dans les études portant sur les combinaisons de rôles et la consommation d'alcool que les idées sous-jacentes à l'approche psychosociale sont les plus présentes. Ces idées se traduisent par l'une ou l'autre des deux hypothèses opposées et décrites ultérieurement que sont celles du cumul des rôles et du conflit des rôles. Il est à noter que les recherches portant sur les combinaisons de rôles ont en très grande partie été réalisées auprès de populations féminines et ceci favorise certainement le constat fait par certains que les femmes

cumulent davantage les rôles que les hommes (Hochschild, 1989, 2001; Spitzer, 2005).

1.2.1 L'hypothèse de l'accumulation des rôles

Comme nous l'avons mentionné précédemment, il est possible d'analyser l'influence des combinaisons de rôles sur la consommation d'alcool en termes d'opportunités. Par ailleurs, l'hypothèse de l'accumulation des rôles (e.g. Sieber, 1974), stipule que les rôles positionnels apportent une signification à l'existence des individus et peuvent donc affecter positivement sa santé psychologique. Cette perspective laisse entrevoir que détenir plusieurs rôles permet à un individu de se sentir intégré dans sa communauté, réduisant ainsi sa probabilité de souffrir de détresse psychologique et, particulièrement, de stress associé à l'aliénation, à l'isolement et à la solitude (Sachs-Ericsson & Ciarlo, 2000). Tel que le rappellent Helson et al. (1990 : 609) « for women, employment brings independence, marriage brings intimacy, and children bring generativity. [...] [w]omen's primary social roles buffer against unhappiness ».

Le même phénomène a été observé chez les hommes. Par exemple, dans leur étude portant sur un large échantillon de près de 5 000 participants américains, Sachs-Ericsson et Ciarlo (2000) ont montré que le pourcentage d'individus rapportant un désordre psychiatrique à l'axe 1 du DSM III passait de 27 % à 21 % à 18 % et à 10 % selon qu'une personne occupe entre zéro et trois rôles et cette relation linéaire ne variait pas selon le genre.

L'utilité de cette perspective en alcoologie est attribuable à l'association causale selon laquelle les individus qui détiennent plusieurs rôles améliorent leur santé psychologique en réduisant les sentiments d'anxiété et de désespoir ce qui, par conséquent, réduirait leur risque de consommer de façon abusive. À cet effet, il a été montré que les femmes détenant plusieurs rôles souffrent moins de dépression et d'anxiété et que, parmi les non-abstinentes, celles qui détiennent plusieurs rôles consomment moins fréquemment et rapportent moins de problèmes reliés à leur consommation (Cho et Crittenden, 2006). Les mêmes types de résultats ont précédemment été obtenus par Wilsnack et Cheloha (1987) dans une étude portant sur des femmes américaines âgées de 65 ans et moins.

1.2.2 L'hypothèse de la surcharge des rôles

Par ailleurs, une autre hypothèse, celle de la surcharge des rôles, propose des effets totalement contraires. Selon cette hypothèse initialement formulée par Goode (1960), puisque différents rôles proposent différents objectifs, les individus qui cumulent les rôles sont obligés de vaquer à des tâches vraisemblablement incompatibles, ce qui peut leur causer des tensions, du stress et éventuellement des problèmes de santé mentale. Certaines combinaisons de rôles sont néfastes car elles requièrent trop de temps et trop d'énergie (Sachs-Ericsson et Ciarlo, 2000).

L'application de cette hypothèse à l'alcoologie suggère que les individus qui détiennent plusieurs rôles peuvent être submergés, angoissés, voire en moins bonne santé mentale, ce qui les expose à un plus grand risque de consommation abusive (Dawson et al., 2005; Fillmore, 1984; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005). Selon un état des

connaissances des études publiées entre 1973 et 1993, les femmes qui sont à la fois des conjointes, des mères et qui occupent un emploi sont plus à risque de consommer fréquemment de façon abusive ou de développer des problèmes liés à l'alcool que celles qui détiennent un moins grand nombre de rôles (Cho et Crittenden, 2006).

On comprendra qu'en raison de l'inégalité des genres qui perdure toujours quant au partage des responsabilités familiales (Marshall, 2006), l'hypothèse de la surcharge des rôles est habituellement formulée dans les études réalisées auprès des femmes. Tel que soulevé par certains (Bernstein, 2001; Whitehead et al., 2000), l'idée du « *the more the better* » ne s'applique pas aussi justement aux femmes puisque, pour elles, occuper simultanément plusieurs rôles joue généralement en leur défaveur.

1.3 Les limites aux connaissances en alcoologie

À la lumière de la documentation scientifique, il n'apparaît pas possible de tirer une conclusion satisfaisante quant à l'association entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation d'alcool selon le genre. En effet, les résultats de recherches portant sur le rôle occupationnel et la consommation d'alcool sont contradictoires, varient notamment selon le genre, l'âge, le pays et les profils de consommation dominants dans une culture donnée. Au surplus, même dans les cas des rôles parentaux et conjugaux où l'association semble plus évidente, l'utilité des résultats nous apparaît minimale du point de vue de la sociologie de la santé. En effet, bon nombre d'études postulent implicitement que la façon de vivre et de concilier les rôles est invariante et que ces rôles sont constamment mis en acte, dans tous les contextes. Ceci nous invite

à aborder les limites des connaissances actuelles en alcoologie, que nous considérons être de trois ordres.

Premièrement, les études exposant la présence d'une association statistique entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool n'expliquent aucunement *pourquoi* une telle association existe ou n'existe pas. En fait, en analysant l'influence des rôles positionnels sur la consommation d'alcool, la majorité des recherches s'inscrivent dans une perspective d'épidémiologie sociale. Or, en tant que discipline, l'épidémiologie sociale reste trop attachée à une philosophie empiriste qui cherche à formuler des généralisations empiriques qui accentuent le déterminisme et dépossèdent les individus de leur autonomie et de leur créativité (Zielhuis et Kiemeney, 2001). Tel que l'ont d'ailleurs déjà remarqué Denton et Walters (1999), relativement à la littérature sur les disparités en santé selon le genre, la littérature est trop souvent un amalgame de résultats descriptifs où très peu de place est faite aux mécanismes explicatifs. Tel que l'observent plusieurs auteurs, dans le domaine de la santé, il y aurait une réticence à réfléchir en termes de processus sociaux (Kaufman et Cooper, 1999; Kunitz, 2007; Muntaner, 1999; Zielhuis et Kiemeney, 2001).

Jusqu'à présent, la relation entre les rôles et la consommation d'alcool n'a donc pas été « expliquée » et plusieurs études ne font que formuler ce que Jon Elster (2007b) nomme des déclarations de corrélations (*statements about correlations*). Par exemple, si l'étude de Kuntsche et al. (2009) montre une relation linéaire négative entre le nombre de rôles et la consommation abusive d'alcool dans plusieurs pays industrialisés, cette description ne permet pas d'identifier formellement les processus selon lesquels occuper plusieurs rôles réduit la consommation abusive. La description est évidemment nécessaire, mais elle est insuffisante. Il faut aussi pouvoir répondre

au *pourquoi* de l'association entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool. Il faut fournir des explications qui, comme le rappelle Boudon (1998, 2004), ne sont pas des boîtes noires qui débouchent sur des questions additionnelles du type « *et pourquoi donc ?* » Et pourquoi donc les gens mariés consomment-ils de moins grandes quantités d'alcool ? Et pourquoi donc les parents boivent-ils moins fréquemment ? Bref, il est nécessaire de saisir les mécanismes qui génèrent ces associations et qui introduisent les différences quant à la relation entre les variables à l'étude (Adler et Ostrove, 1999; Coleman, 1986; Sørensen, 1998).

Deuxièmement, quoiqu'il existe certaines études selon lesquelles le stress, la dépression et l'anxiété associés à certains rôles sociaux expliqueraient le lien entre ces rôles et la consommation d'alcool, l'utilisation qui est faite de l'approche psychosociale dans ces études paraît incomplète pour deux raisons majeures.

D'une part, les études ne permettent pas d'attribuer un état psychologique donné à un rôle spécifique, elles ne permettent que de l'inférer à posteriori (Cho et Crittenden, 2006). En fait, dans la plupart de ces études, l'approche psychosociale est utilisée pour interpréter des données plutôt que pour conceptualiser la recherche. Lorsque des individus cumulent des rôles et ne consomment pas abusivement, l'hypothèse de l'accumulation des rôles est acceptée et, à l'inverse, s'ils consomment abusivement, c'est l'hypothèse de la surcharge des rôles qui l'est. En ce sens, plusieurs études en alcoologie sont marquées par ce que Martuccelli (2002a) considère une faute grave, soit celle d'imposer, en toute impunité interprétative, un « sens » à la conduite des autres.

D'autre part, parmi les éléments psychosociaux qui peuvent intervenir dans la relation entre rôles sociaux et consommation d'alcool, les seuls à être généralement

considérés sont ceux de nature dépressive ou anxieuse. Or, au-delà de ces états, plusieurs autres éléments psychosociaux liés aux rôles pourraient intervenir dans la relation entre les rôles et la consommation d'alcool.

Du reste, il faut mentionner que tant l'hypothèse de l'accumulation des rôles que celle de la surcharge des rôles supposent que, relativement à l'alcool, les personnes consomment abusivement lorsqu'elles recherchent la réduction de stress. Conséquemment, la stratégie de boire qui est observée dans la population sous étude renvoie à un style d'évitement ayant pour but la réduction des tensions. Ce processus explicatif apparaît problématique dans la mesure où ce sont surtout dans des études portant sur les femmes qui sont mises en cause alors que plusieurs études signalent que ce sont les hommes qui tendent à rechercher les effets anesthésiques de l'alcool (e.g. Bird et Rieker, 2008; Goldstein, 2006; Hussong, 2003). Les femmes, pour leur part, optent davantage pour des stratégies actives mettant l'emphase sur le problème ou les émotions (Bird et Rieker, 2008; Britton, 2004) et, même lorsqu'elles optent pour l'évitement, c'est bien souvent sous la forme de la rumination qui est reconnue pour être associé à la dépression plutôt qu'à la consommation abusive (Goldstein, 2006). Bref, probablement pour des raisons socioculturelles, même dans des circonstances stressantes ou lorsqu'elles utilisent une stratégie d'évitement, la consommation abusive d'alcool ne serait pas une réponse généralisée chez les femmes de la population générale. En effet, au-delà de leur personnalité, des circonstances particulières ou de leur génétique, les individus se comportent en fonction des normes sociales qui, quoique trop souvent passées sous silence, sont essentielles à la compréhension de l'effet des rôles positionnels sur la consommation d'alcool. Un tel constat permet d'affirmer que les études en alcoologie,

particulièrement les études populationnelles, n'ont jusqu'à présent pas assez accordé d'importance aux contextes de consommation et ceci constitue la troisième limite importante des recherches existantes.

La consommation d'alcool est un comportement social et, par conséquent, cette pratique est régie par des normes auxquelles les individus doivent se conformer s'ils veulent éviter de s'exposer au jugement social (Gusfield, 1996; Vogeltanz-Holm et al., 2004). On voit, par exemple, que la menace de sanctions sociales exerce tout autant sinon plus d'influences sur la consommation individuelle d'alcool que plusieurs formes de contrôle judiciaire auxquelles sont associées des sanctions légales (The Social Issues Research Centre, 2000). Des études américaines, réalisées auprès de populations étudiantes, ont révélé que la simple perception des normes de consommation prédit invariablement les pratiques de consommation des étudiants et, dans une moindre mesure, les problèmes liés à leur consommation (pour une synthèse voir : Borsari et Carey, 2001; Perkins et al., 2005).

La prise en compte des normes apparaît d'autant plus nécessaire que l'étude des rôles sociaux implique de facto l'observation de la variable de genre. La consommation d'alcool et les épisodes d'abus sont emblématiques du rôle de genre masculin. Consommer de l'alcool représente un privilège que les hommes ont traditionnellement refusé aux femmes (Nolen-Hoeksema et Hilt, 2006; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2004; Wilsnack, 2005). À l'exception d'une récente étude réalisée auprès de populations adultes dans 18 pays et dans laquelle, comparativement aux femmes, les hommes ressentent plus de pression informelle à moins boire (Holmila et al., 2009), plusieurs autres études soulignent que les femmes rapportent une plus grande sévérité quant au jugement que l'on porte en relation avec leur consommation

d'alcool (Bouvet de la Maisonneuve, 2010; Greenfield et Room, 1997; Knupfer, 1987; Robbins et Martin, 1993; Vogelanz-Holm et al., 2004; Wilsnack, 1996).

Finalement, un ensemble de recherches a démontré que les normes qui régissent la consommation d'alcool varient d'un contexte à l'autre. Les travaux de Harford, un des pionniers de l'étude des contextes de consommation, ont révélé la pertinence d'observer *pourquoi, quand, avec qui* et *où* l'alcool est consommé si on veut bien comprendre les profils de consommation (Harford et al., 1976, 1983; Harford et Gaines, 1982; Harford, 1978).

Au cours des dernières années, plusieurs études sont venues confirmer cette idée en montrant par exemple que le risque de consommation abusive était plus élevé dans certains endroits (Clapp et al., 2006; Cospers et al., 1987; Single et Wortley, 1993; Snow et Landrum, 1986), avec certains partenaires (Demers, 1997; Hennessy et Saltz, 1993; Orcutt, 1991; Sykes et al., 1993), lors de certaines occasions (Simpura, 1983, 1987; Single, 1993) et à certains moments (Demers et al., 2002a; Demers, 1997). La quantité d'alcool consommé est donc le produit d'une combinaison de caractéristiques spatiales, temporelles, symboliques et relationnelles.

Ainsi, à la lumière de ces considérations, il nous apparaît utopique de chercher à déterminer quels pourraient être les effets des rôles sociaux sans tenir compte que, selon le contexte de consommation, l'influence des rôles pourrait certainement varier. Selon Kunitz (2007), comme causes déterminantes, les rôles sociaux sont certainement mieux compris au sein de contextes particuliers qu'en tant que variables ayant leur vie propre. En fait, dès 1956, le sociologue Frederick Bates soulignait à quel point une infime différence quant aux caractéristiques d'un contexte donné pouvait complètement modifier le comportement d'une personne et influencer sa

décision d'agir sur la base d'un rôle en particulier plutôt qu'un autre. Selon Bates (1956), toute étude portant sur les rôles doit tenir compte des caractéristiques du contexte en termes d'endroit physique, du moment et de la structure du groupe au sein duquel l'action se déroule.

Conséquemment, il apparaît que les études sociologiques qui portent sur les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool sont teintées, particulièrement dans leur conceptualisation, d'une trop grande exigence de déterminisme. De ce fait, la grande limite des études en alcoologie est celle que déjà, en 1961, Erving Goffman formulait à l'endroit des études portant sur les rôles sociaux. Celui-ci déplorait alors la tendance à focaliser sur des modèles qui procèdent de la différenciation des positions et, par conséquent, d'utiliser les positions plutôt que l'individu en tant qu'unité centrale d'analyse (Goffman, 1961). Goffman nous incite plutôt à développer des modèles qui n'auraient pas en leur sein ce souci de l'explication positionnelle qui mène trop souvent à la formulation de causalités strictes, presque linéaires, qui nous apparaissent aujourd'hui désuètes. En ce début de XXI^e siècle, les domaines sociaux se différencient à outrance et les parcours personnels ont une autonomie croissante – l'heure est à la complexité. Dès lors, l'observation des comportements de boire requiert une approche théorique qui admet que les rôles positionnels n'ont plus une forme définie, mais qu'elles existent en tant qu'entités flexibles et mouvantes.

À notre avis, la compréhension des profils de consommation selon le genre nécessite le recours à un modèle théorique selon lequel « la vie sociale prend en son sein des épaisseurs diverses selon les contextes d'action, en fonction des situations » (Martuccelli, 2002a : 37). Dans un tel modèle, les rôles positionnels opèrent toujours comme un ensemble d'obligations, d'impositions, voire de contraintes, mais leur

caractère varie en fonction de ces situations. La question de recherche devient donc : en quoi la situation des hommes et des femmes, voire leurs positions circonstanciées et contextualisées, permet de mieux comprendre leur consommation d'alcool ? En ce sens, le cadre théorique de cette thèse s'appuiera sur une sociologie des situations qui semble garante d'une analyse contemporaine à la fois originale et profitable des données quantitatives qui nous utiliserons dans le cadre cette recherche.

CHAPITRE 2

CONSOMMATION D'ALCOOL ET ROLES SOCIAUX : UNE QUESTION DE SITUATIONS

Dans le chapitre précédent, nous avons conclu qu'il existe des limites importantes aux modèles permettant d'expliquer la consommation d'alcool des individus selon leurs rôles positionnels. En effet, nous avons pu constater une tendance, et ce, dans plusieurs études, à considérer l'acteur et l'action comme étant détachés de leur cadre social immédiat. Conséquemment, il ressort des études actuelles une absence d'explication quant à la relation entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation et ce vide représente pour nous une limite majeure. Aussi, nous constatons deux autres limites d'importance : on s'attarde peu aux contextes de l'action et on fait peu de chose des circonstances auxquelles sont confrontés les acteurs.

Ces limites nous invitent à penser que, dans le cadre d'une recherche sociologique où l'action à l'étude est la consommation d'alcool, il est nécessaire de *situer* la relation entre l'acteur et l'action. En d'autres termes, nous estimons qu'une vision réaliste de la consommation d'alcool se doit d'observer le lien entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool à travers une observation précise, attentive aux détails et une description rigoureuse de la situation.

Ce chapitre comprend quatre parties. Nous présenterons d'abord la consommation d'alcool comme une conduite individuelle qui s'inscrit de façon générale dans un modèle sociologique des choix rationnels. En deuxième lieu, nous proposerons le cadre théorique de l'action située qui sert de référence au présent travail. Troisièmement, les trois hypothèses de recherche seront formulées.

Finalement, nous présenterons le problème empirique à l'étude pour tester ces hypothèses de recherche.

2.1. Le modèle sociologique des choix rationnels

Dans cette thèse, la consommation d'alcool est considérée comme étant une action qui résulte d'un choix individuel. Au Canada, nul n'est obligé de consommer de l'alcool et les individus qui en consomment le font parce qu'ils le souhaitent. De même, c'est aux individus que reviennent les choix de boire beaucoup ou peu; abusivement ou modérément; fréquemment ou rarement.

Dans la tradition sociologique, ces choix ne sont pourtant pas le simple résultat d'une balance des coûts et des bénéfices. Contrairement à ce que les penseurs issus de la tradition économiste proposent, les individus ne peuvent pas tout simplement choisir l'action qui leur apparaît la plus avantageuse (p.ex. Friedman, 1953). Au cœur de l'analyse sociologique se trouve plutôt un individu relativement rationnel qui se conduit comme un stratège dans un contexte social défini en termes de concurrence et de ressources (Dubet, 2005).

La perspective sociologique des choix rationnels propose que les acteurs sociaux agissent à l'intérieur d'un contexte social qui fournit un cadre à leurs actions tout en les circonscrivant. À la source de notre thèse, il y a donc une inspiration qui provient de cette perspective et selon laquelle la question des conduites individuelles peut être abordée ainsi :

« [I]n its broader interpretation, rational choice theory invites us to understand individual actors as acting [...] in a manner such that they can be deemed to be doing the best they can for themselves given their objectives, resources and circumstances, as they see them » (Abell, 1996 : 252).

Conformément à cette pensée, une attention toute particulière doit être portée aux désirs et aux opportunités des acteurs qui, selon Elster (1989, 2007a, 2008), constituent les deux principaux filtres sur la base desquels s'ordonne les conduites.

L'action choisie par un acteur dépend d'abord de ses opportunités, c-à-d. de l'ensemble des contraintes avec lesquelles il doit composer. Tout individu rationnel doit nécessairement sélectionner et analyser les conditions de son action à l'intérieur d'un environnement, ainsi qu'en fonction des contraintes – économique, environnementale, temporelle, physique, psychologique – sur la base desquelles il ordonne ses agissements (Fornel et Quere, 2000).

Prenons l'exemple d'un individu qui souhaite se détendre. En vue d'atteindre ce but, des options telles qu'écouter la télévision, lire un roman, manger au restaurant, faire du sport ou prendre un verre s'offrent à lui. Alors qu'une personne sans enfants pourra certainement quitter la maison pour aller manger au restaurant ou faire du sport, une personne monoparentale avec un jeune enfant à charge pourra plus difficilement choisir ces options. Dans cet exemple précis, les positions sociales sont des contraintes qui, selon Elster, constituent le premier filtre sur la base duquel les conduites devront s'organiser.

Cependant, contrairement aux explications sociologiques comme celle de Bourdieu qui fait appel au concept d'habitus, le modèle des choix rationnels exclut l'idée que les contraintes réduisent à néant le choix d'action des individus. Selon Boudon (2009), un individu agit de telle ou telle manière parce qu'il en a *décidé*

ainsi, sur la base d'une *raison forte*². Il s'agit du deuxième filtre auquel sont assujetties les actions individuelles qui renvoient aux préférences de l'acteur étant donné le but qu'il veut atteindre (Elster, 2007a). Une mère monoparentale choisit de lire un roman plutôt que de regarder la télévision. Bref, les actions individuelles sont ordonnées en fonction de ce qu'un individu peut faire (opportunités) et de ce qu'il veut faire (désir).

Alors que la consommation d'alcool peut-être considérée une conduite individuelle choisie, le modèle sociologique des choix rationnels pose néanmoins que préférer une conduite à une autre est un choix possiblement aussi instable que les situations qui l'engendrent. « Opportunities and desires jointly are the proximate causes of action, but at a further remove, only opportunities matter since they also shape desires » affirme Elster, (2007a : 175). Par exemple, un individu qui choisit de prendre un repas au restaurant pour se détendre pourrait, une fois rendu sur place, plutôt décider de prendre quelques verres pour atteindre son but. D'une autre façon, un individu qui souhaite consommer de l'alcool de façon modérée pourrait stratégiquement refuser de se rendre dans un bar, une brasserie ou une discothèque, tous des lieux reconnus pour favoriser la consommation abusive d'alcool. Autrement dit, il est possible que le premier filtre détermine le deuxième. Cette idée d'interdépendance nous convie à développer le cadre de l'action située pour tenter d'expliquer le lien entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool.

² Selon le modèle cognitiviste de la théorie du choix rationnel de Boudon, les acteurs ont une rationalité cognitive. Les individus peuvent, selon les cas, faire des choix qui à première vue peuvent sembler contraires à leurs intérêts et à l'objectif qu'il poursuit. Or, ce n'est pas parce qu'une action est contraire aux intérêts de l'acteur qu'elle n'est pas rationnelle. Si l'acteur a des raisons de croire que son action est rationnelle, elle l'est. En ce sens, Boudon (Boudon, 2003) invite à ne pas confondre rationalité et efficacité.

2.2 Le cadre théorique de l'action située

Souhaitant se distancer d'une perspective d'analyse de la consommation d'alcool en fonction des rôles positionnels qui limitent la logique de l'action à une logique déterministe, nous estimons que l'approche trans-actionnelle, comme l'a nommé Emirbayer (1997), répond aux objectifs poursuivis par cette étude. À l'origine, la singularité de cette perspective est de ne pas accorder d'attribution finale « aux éléments, ou autres entités présomptivement indépendantes ». En réalité, cette perspective nous invite plutôt à s'attarder aux relations entre ces éléments (Dewey et Bentley, 1949; Emirbayer, 1997). La trans-action désigne en fait spécifiquement ce processus, cette relation dynamique qui se produit entre les éléments à l'étude où l'action sociale devient une production (p.ex. Garfinkel, 1967; West et Fenstermaker, 1995; West et Zimmerman, 1987). Ce type de perspective selon laquelle les éléments ne peuvent pas être détachés de leur contexte (Emirbayer, 1997) engendre une *logique des situations* (Barwise, 1989) où l'action devient « un influx de pertinence, une exigence de la situation elle-même » (Joseph et Quéré, 1994).

Une telle perspective de l'action individuelle s'inscrit aussi plus largement dans une sociologie pragmatique de l'action telle que développée par George Herbert Mead, puis par John Dewey, et enfin par Erving Goffman. Pour ces théoriciens, l'acteur social souhaite ajuster ses agissements de manière à être coordonné avec la situation dans laquelle il interagit. L'emphase est alors mise sur *ce qui se passe* (Cohen, 1996; Goffman, 1974) ou, plus spécifiquement, sur les cadres dans lesquels l'action est mise en acte, prend forme et se produit (Joas, 1997). Selon cette approche théorique, les actions individuelles doivent être considérées comme étant insérées (« *embedded* ») dans des situations qui proposent un ensemble de comportements

possibles (Joas, 1997). La prémisses de base est que les actions concrètes sont mises en acte en fonction des régulations d'un ordre social. Il y a des ajustements, voire une recherche d'équilibre, entre les situations et les conduites individuelles.

Ce désir d'ajustements se traduit aussi par la possibilité que la situation dans laquelle l'action est mise en acte transforme les désirs des acteurs et, éventuellement, les conduites qui seront favorisées. Comme nous l'avons mentionné précédemment, ce qu'un acteur souhaite poser comme geste pour atteindre son but n'est pas indépendant de ses opportunités (Elster, 1989, 2007a). En fait, selon Joas, même les buts à atteindre se transforment au gré des situations. Dans une entrevue, Joas dit :

« [t]he rational action approach assumes that human action is the pursuit of clear, preset goals. We have to find the appropriate means, technically and economically, for the pursuit of such goals. Even within this framework the question is, don't we also invent certain goals in the process of the rational pursuit of interest? One has to discover such possibilities. Rather than just choosing which one is the most appropriate, you might have to find a completely new apparatus, a strategy, and even a goal. So even within the rationalist framework one needs a dose of creativity » (Joas, 1999).

Cohen (1996) rappelle que les pragmatistes accordent aux acteurs un droit d'improviser des conduites qui rompent avec la routine. Dans le domaine de l'alcoologie, c'est une idée qui se retrouve dans les écrits de Knibbe et al. (1987), selon qui les conduites individuelles peuvent être déterminées par des rôles situationnels qui ne structurent pas la vie des gens de façon générale, mais qui leur permettent d'être cohérent dans un contexte immédiat. Ces auteurs écrivent : « from a sociological point of view, an important aspect [...] is that positional roles are superseded by situational roles which offer immediate satisfaction » (Knibbe et al., 1987 : 464). Bref, selon Joas (1997, 1999), une sociologie de l'action qui se veut

réaliste doit pouvoir admettre une certaine créativité humaine, notamment des réponses inhabituelles dans un contexte immédiat.

Une telle approche nous paraît garante d'une contribution scientifique dans le domaine de l'alcoologie. En effet, dans le cadre d'une recherche sociologique où l'action à l'étude est la consommation d'alcool, il nous apparaît nécessaire de tenir compte de la situation. L'acteur agit en fonction de certaines circonstances au sein desquelles sa position sociale est mise en acte. L'action de boire est dépendante du contexte au sein duquel l'action se déroule. Autrement dit, pour comprendre la relation entre les rôles et la consommation d'alcool, il faut situer à la fois l'acteur et l'action.

2.2.1 Circonstancier l'acteur

Dans sa forme la plus actuelle, la sociologie pragmatique s'intéresse à la question individualiste et ne cesse de révéler la singularisation de trajectoires individuelles (le Galant, 2006). C'est cette perspective théorique qui nous incite à situer l'acteur en relation aux rôles positionnels, c.-à.-d. à observer dans quelles circonstances les hommes et les femmes mettent en acte les positions qu'ils détiennent.

Si, à première vue, cette proposition apparaît contradictoire avec l'idée que les positions sont influentes, rien n'est tel. Goffman (p.ex. Goffman, 1961, 1966) est sans équivoque à l'effet que les rôles positionnels sont une unité de base de la socialisation qui engagent un certain déterminisme social dont on ne peut ignorer l'influence. L'idée que les rôles positionnels opèrent toujours comme un faisceau de contraintes

est partagée par d'autres, y compris Martuccelli qui soutient pourtant que la sociologie moderne doit octroyer un rôle majeur à l'individu. À l'examen, on comprend que le cadre de l'action située convie non pas à rejeter, mais plutôt à bonifier l'observation des rôles positionnels en les qualifiant davantage afin qu'elle reflète le plus possible ce que vit une personne.

Une telle approche comporte l'avantage de prendre en compte l'hétérogénéité d'une population comme celle du Canada au sein de laquelle cohabite un amalgame d'individus et d'état sociaux qui ne cessent de se différencier et dans laquelle les rôles positionnels ne sont plus « cet imposant principe d'unité pratique de la vie sociale » (Martuccelli, 2002b). Autrement dit, l'approche est pertinente car elle permet de prendre en compte l'augmentation du nombre de manières différentes d'habiter les rôles.

Outre la question de l'hétérogénéité de la société canadienne actuelle, il faut également prendre en compte ce que Martuccelli décrit comme le rôle *empêché*. Alors que certains individus incarnent tout à fait leurs rôles – ces individus sont ce qu'ils font et vice-versa – d'autres observent une distance vis-à-vis de leurs rôles. Parfois, diverses circonstances font en sorte que « les individus ont le sentiment de ne pas pouvoir s'acquitter de leurs rôles [...] et que tout en sachant ce qu'ils doivent faire, ils font l'expérience de leur impossibilité » (Martuccelli, 2002a : 144).

Ainsi, alors que l'hypothèse des opportunités pose que les comportements de boire sont une réponse apportée à l'occupation d'un rôle quelconque, le cadre de l'action située amène à considérer que l'effet d'un rôle positionnel peut varier selon son degré d'incarnation. Certaines circonstances peuvent empêcher ou, au contraire, favoriser la mise en acte d'un rôle.

On en conclue que situer l'acteur veut dire faire appel à la psychosociologie, soit intercaler des facteurs psychologiques à titre de variables intermédiaires entre les conditionnements objectifs et les conduites des acteurs. L'association entre la consommation d'alcool et les rôles positionnels ne se produit pas de façon purement mécanique, mais vraisemblablement à travers la signification que prend la position pour l'acteur. Or, cette signification peut-être liée à des motivations différentes selon l'expérience qui est faite de la position.

Pour illustrer notre propos, prenons l'exemple du Canada. D'un côté, les hommes et les femmes se partagent beaucoup plus équitablement qu'auparavant les responsabilités financières, domestiques et familiales (Marshall, 2006; Pérusse, 2003; Roy, 2006). Néanmoins, les femmes sont encore largement responsables de l'anticipation, de la planification et de l'organisation de ce qui doit être fait sur le plan domestique et par conséquent, pour elles, la convergence des rôles peut être une source de stress et d'insatisfaction (Marshall, 1993, 2006). Nous voyons donc que, même lorsque des individus occupent le même rôle positionnel, l'expérience de ce rôle peut être différente. Une récente étude a montré que, contrairement à la croyance selon laquelle l'effet du mariage serait universellement bénéfique pour la santé, ce serait plutôt la satisfaction et le soutien associés à la relation de couple qui le seraient (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2008). La nature et le degré de satisfaction, de contentement, de stress et de tension qu'une personne éprouve à l'égard des rôles positionnels qu'elle occupe pourraient largement influencer la relation entre ces rôles et la consommation d'alcool.

Une explication à la relation à l'étude nécessite probablement la prise en compte des modalités de la vie quotidienne. En accord avec une approche dite

réaliste, nous croyons nécessaire d'être attentif aux expériences pratiques qu'ont les individus de leurs rôles positionnels. Il faut situer l'acteur et donc examiner les circonstances dans lesquelles il vit.

2.2.2 Contextualiser l'action

En alcoologie, tel que souligné dans le chapitre précédent, l'influence des contextes sur la consommation d'alcool est bien reconnue. Des études ont récemment montré que 50 % de la variance dans les comportements de consommation pouvait être expliquée par le contexte de consommation (Demers et al., 2002b; Kairouz et Greenfield, 2007). Une étude portant sur l'harmonisation du boire au sein du couple a également été révélatrice. Celle-ci concluait que, s'il y a davantage d'harmonisation quant à la fréquence de consommation et aux quantités consommées par occasion, c'est probablement parce que la principale influence entre les conjoints résulte d'appels contextuels à boire (« *cues to drink* »), telle une invitation conjointe à prendre un verre (Demers et al., 1999). En plus, les contextes sont influents dans la mesure où les motivations et les raisons de boire ont aussi de l'influence (Palluy, 1997) et que ces raisons s'accommodent davantage de certains contextes que d'autres.

En outre, étant donné notre intérêt annoncé pour les rôles positionnels, accorder de l'importance aux contextes semble d'autant plus indiqué. Une sociologie de l'action située amène inévitablement un renouvellement quant à la façon d'analyser l'influence des rôles positionnels, notamment une reconnaissance que c'est de façon trans-actionnelle, au sens employé plus haut, que les rôles occupationnels,

conjugaux et parentaux influencent la consommation d'alcool. Plusieurs travaux permettent d'articuler cette relation.

Dans le cadre d'une étude portant sur le jeu de cartes, Goffman (1961) a démontré que le contexte du jeu – comme tout autre contexte au sein duquel se déroule une activité particulière – est un monde en soi qui n'est pas celui de la vie ordinaire. Les spécialistes des normes qui ont participé au développement de la théorie de l'emphase (« *focus theory* ») notent pour leur part qu'un individu confronté aux normes contradictoires de différents rôles aura vraisemblablement tendance à agir en fonction des normes présentement imminentes, même si d'autres normes qui sont moins présentes dictent des actions contraires (Cialdini et al., 1991; Pechman et Wang, 2006). Pour la présente recherche, les mots de Goffman s'avèrent à la fois éloquents et utiles.

« Typical role must of course be distinguished from the actual role performance of a concrete individual in a given position. Between typical response and actual response we can usually expect some differences, if only because the position of an individual [...] will depend on how he perceives and defines his situation » (Goffman, 1966 : 93).

La notion amenée par Goffman dans cette citation, c.-à-d. celle du rôle *actuel*, nous semble d'ailleurs très pertinente en ce qui a trait à la consommation d'alcool et aux rôles. Si nous prenons l'exemple du Canada, où consommer de l'alcool est normal, il demeure cependant que, pour la majorité des hommes, et surtout des femmes, boire n'est pas une activité quotidienne. Parmi les Canadiens qui consomment de l'alcool, la catégorie de fréquence la plus commune est une à deux fois par semaine chez les hommes et moins d'une fois par mois chez les femmes (Demers et Poulin, 2005). Par conséquent, il faut s'interroger s'il est opportun

d'uniquement utiliser les rôles *typiques* pour tenter d'expliquer un comportement qui, pour la majorité des gens, ne s'inscrit pas dans la vie quotidienne.

Lorsque la population canadienne est considérée dans son ensemble, il ressort que les Canadiens consomment rarement et consomment dans des occasions particulières où l'alcool revêt généralement une signification de *time-out* (Cheung et Erickson, 1995). Il s'ensuit alors que l'explication du boire passe possiblement mieux par l'observation du rôle *actuel* que par celle du rôle *typique*. La consommation d'alcool s'explique peut-être mieux en fonction des rôles situationnels qui, comme le rappellent Knibbe et al. (1987), facilitent les comportements sociaux dans des contextes de courte durée.

2.3 Hypothèses de recherche

En définitive, le cadre de l'action située oblige à reconnaître deux grandes façons selon lesquelles la relation entre la consommation d'alcool et les rôles positionnels puisse s'énoncer.

Premièrement, la relation entre la consommation d'alcool et les rôles positionnels doit être *circonscrite*. À la lumière du cadre de l'action située, évaluer l'effet des rôles positionnels sur la consommation d'alcool requiert que l'on tienne compte synchroniquement des rôles qu'occupent les individus et des circonstances au sein desquelles ils les mettent en acte. L'étude des rôles positionnels ne doit pas se faire de manière à annihiler les expériences individuelles. Prendre en considération les circonstances signifie, par exemple, observer les conditions récurrentes de la vie quotidienne au sein desquelles les individus doivent mettre en acte leurs positions. Il en découle la formulation d'une première hypothèse qui est :

1) Les circonstances sont des modérateurs de la relation entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation d'alcool.

Deuxièmement, cette relation doit être *contextualisée*. En effet, la consommation d'alcool est une action qui, essentiellement, s'inscrit et se construit dans des contextes particuliers. Le terme *contexte*, on l'a dit, renvoie à l'ensemble des caractéristiques spatiales, temporelles, symboliques et relationnelles qui marquent les occasions de consommation. Prendre en considération le contexte de consommation signifie, par exemple, observer avec qui, lors de quelle occasion, où et à quel moment la consommation d'alcool a lieu. S'il est vrai que, d'une part, les rôles positionnels structurent les opportunités de consommer; d'autre part, le contexte de consommation est une scène où la relation entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation est mise en acte, c'est-à-dire où les rôles positionnels s'actualisent ou non pour moduler la consommation. Il en découle la formulation de deux hypothèses complémentaires qui sont :

2) Les contextes de consommation sont des médiateurs de la relation entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation d'alcool.

3) Les contextes de consommation sont des modérateurs de la relation entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation d'alcool.

2.4 De la théorie à l'empirie : L'association entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool

Les analyses à réaliser dans le cadre de cette thèse sont nécessairement déterminées par la question générale de recherche à laquelle nous voulons répondre, à savoir de quelles manières les rôles sociaux influencent la consommation d'alcool. Bien que le cadre théorique qui vient d'être présenté s'applique à l'ensemble des différents rôles positionnels, il demeure qu'empiriquement, il est difficile tester globalement cette théorie. En effet, les hypothèses formulées requièrent des données relatives aux rôles positionnels, mais aussi aux circonstances au sein desquelles sont actualisés les rôles et aux contextes où se déroule l'action. Les analyses à effectuer sont limitées par le type et la nature des données disponibles. Dans les banques de données disponibles pour la rédaction de cette thèse, ce sont les données relatives à la position parentale qui remplissent ces conditions et permettent le mieux de vérifier la validité de notre modèle théorique. Par conséquent, le cadre théorique de l'action située sera opérationnalisé à travers l'exemple de l'association entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool au sein de la population adulte canadienne.

Cette thèse prend sa source dans la théorie des rôles sociaux telle que proposée en alcoologie et selon laquelle, un rôle influence les conduites en vertu des responsabilités, des tâches et des opportunités attachées à une position sociale. De ce fait, ce ne sont pas tous les hommes géniteurs et toutes les femmes ayant procréé un enfant que nous considérons des parents mais plutôt, parmi ces derniers, tous ceux qui ont la charge d'un enfant. Nous considérons « parent » tous ceux et celles qui, dans les enquêtes, ont indiqué vivre à la maison avec au moins un enfant à charge et qui, en principe, assument la responsabilité de ce(s) dernier(s) de façon continue. De

cette façon, les parents adoptifs et les parents par alliance ont tous été considérés des parents dans la mesure où ils ont indiqué vivre avec l'enfant. Bien qu'au Canada les enfants habitent de plus en plus longtemps avec leurs parents (Turcotte, 2006), la nature de nos données nous a obligée à limiter l'attribution de la position parentale à ceux et celles dont l'enfant à charge avait 18 ans ou moins au moment de l'enquête.

La vérification empirique de notre modèle théorique prend la forme suivante. Le premier article testera l'hypothèse selon laquelle les circonstances sont des modérateurs de la relation entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation d'alcool. Plus précisément, cet article permettra de déterminer si c'est lorsque la position parentale est mise en acte dans des circonstances marquées par un conflit de rôle que des différences de consommation en fonction de la position parentale apparaissent. Selon le Conseil canadien de développement social (1999), les familles d'aujourd'hui sont stressées en raison de la pression exercée par les exigences du travail, de la famille et de la collectivité. L'analyse simultanée de l'étendue du stress ressenti quant à la conciliation famille-travail, de la position parentale et de la consommation d'alcool nous permettra de vérifier si c'est en fonction des circonstances au sein desquelles les individus font l'expérience de leur position parentale que s'explique son lien à la consommation d'alcool.

Pour tester la deuxième hypothèse selon laquelle les contextes de consommation sont des médiateurs de la relation entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation d'alcool, notre attention se porte sur les liens entre la position parentale des individus, la fréquence de leur consommation abusive et la dimension spatiale des contextes de consommation, à savoir leurs lieux habituels de consommation. Dans la mesure où la position parentale marque un certain style de

vie, il est concevable que l'association entre la position parentale et la consommation d'alcool s'explique par les contextes, à savoir les endroits où les parents consomment habituellement de l'alcool comparativement aux non-parents. Le deuxième article vise à démontrer l'existence d'un tel processus en analysant si la position parentale est associée aux lieux habituels de consommation et si, en retour, ceux-ci sont associés à la fréquence individuelle de consommation abusive.

Finalement, le troisième article testera l'hypothèse selon laquelle les contextes de consommation sont des modérateurs de la relation entre les rôles positionnels et la consommation d'alcool. Plus précisément, l'objectif est de déterminer si c'est dans des contextes marqués par des caractéristiques spatiales, temporelles, symboliques et relationnelles, qui favorisent la consommation abusive, que des différences de consommation en fonction de la position parentale apparaissent. À cette fin, nous observerons la consommation d'alcool des parents et des non-parents lors des trois dernières occasions au sein desquelles les répondants ont indiqué avoir bu de l'alcool. En rétablissant des acteurs sociaux au sein de contextes particuliers, cette étude permettra d'évaluer dans quelle mesure la mise en acte d'une position est dynamique, c'est-à-dire si l'association entre la position parentale et la consommation d'alcool est dépendante du contexte de consommation.

Les résultats des analyses sont présentés dans les trois chapitres suivants.

CHAPITRE 3

ARTICLE 1 – THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE PARENTAL ROLE AND ALCOHOL USE. DO BETWEEN-ROLE STRESSORS MATTER? ³

Abstract

Aim: The goal of this study is to assess whether between-role stressors moderate the association between parenthood and alcohol consumption among a Canadian population of adults workers. **Method:** Using the GENACIS Canada study (GENder Alcohol and Culture: an International Study), the analytical sample includes 6,689 current drinkers (3,403 women and 3,295 men) aged between 18 and 55 and whose daily occupation was “working for pay” at the time they were surveyed. Hierarchical regression analyses were performed to test a moderation hypothesis. **Results:** The main findings can be summarized as follows: i) parenthood is negatively associated to alcohol use; ii) between-role stressors are not associated to men’s alcohol use and marginally associated to women’s alcohol use; iii) between-role stressors do not moderate the association between the parental role and alcohol use. **Conclusion.** Future research may investigate the specific processes through which parenthood in itself structures alcohol use. It would also be worthwhile to verify whether the effect of parenthood on alcohol use is intensified within specific drinking contexts where heavy drinking is most likely to occur.

³ Cet article a été soumis pour évaluation à la revue *Addiction Research & Theory*. J’en suis l’auteure principale et il a été co-signé par Andrée Demers, Louise Nadeau et Elyse Picard.

INTRODUCTION

Being a parent is a significant experience that, for many, is associated with behavioral change. The presence of children often requires parents to substantially modify habits towards the consumption of alcohol and, in some cases, to become less self-indulgent. Numerous studies have reported that compared to individuals who do not have children, those who do report less alcohol use in general and less heavy drinking in particular (for a review see: Leonard & Eiden, 2007). Nevertheless, the causality between parenthood and alcohol consumption is not universal and this has left researchers wondering *for whom or under which circumstances* is this association the most significant. The current study addresses this issue by evaluating whether between-role stressors moderate the association between parenthood and alcohol consumption among a Canadian population of male and female adult workers.

Within the alcohol field, studies that have identified the specific contribution of parenthood to drinking behaviors have shown effects for both genders. As much for men as women, being a parent is associated with lower levels of alcohol consumption (Cho & Crittenden, 2006; Paradis et al., 1999), less heavy drinking (Labouvie, 1996; Hajema & Knibbe, 1998; Merline et al., 2004; Kuntsche et al., 2006) and less work-related drinking (Shore, 1997). In a recently published review on the influences of family roles on alcohol consumption, (Leonard & Eiden, 2007) concluded that being a parent is associated to a decrease in excessive drinking for men and women, but that the effect is strongest close to the transition from being childless to being a parent. However, Avison & Davies (2005) found that for women, but not for men, single parenthood is associated with increased alcohol consumption. Recent work undertaken by Kuntsche and colleagues (2009) provided evidence that

the association between social roles and alcohol use differs given the macro context into which roles are performed, i.e. that it was specifically in countries which facilitate the combination of being a mother and a employee that holding multiple roles was negatively associated to alcohol use.

A growing number of sociologist make the case that in the context of modern life, social structures do not dominate human beings anymore and social conducts need to be considered as an impulse of relevance and as a requirement of the general situation that human experience (Joas, 1997; Fornel & Quere, 2000; Martuccelli, 2002). Heterogeneous forms of social experience need to be taken into account to reveal significant associations between roles and behaviors (Martuccelli, 2002; Bird & Rieker, 2008). For instance, Gove et al. (2006) found that the daily experience of parenthood may be critical in understanding how parenthood impacts mothers' mental health differently than it does fathers' mental health.

Chronic stressors -- those every day, commonplace events that permeate individuals' daily life -- can influence chronic health conditions, well-being, distress as well as health-related behaviors such as alcohol consumption (Lepore, 1997; Serido et al., 2004; Denton et al., 2004; Wang, 2006; Melchior et al., 2007; Frone, 2008; Wang et al., 2008). Among workers, the strain associated with the conditions encountered in carrying out the responsibility of the occupational position can translate into "within the work-role stressors" (e.g. work demands, job insecurity, job stress) and "between-role stressors" (e.g. work to family conflict) (Frone, 1999). We focus on the latter. Thus, we assess the influence of specific subjective circumstances -- between-role stressors -- on the parental role and alcohol consumption.

A few empirical studies have documented the influence of between-role

stressors on alcohol use. Evidence show that work-family conflict is positively related to daily alcohol consumption (Bromet et al., 1990), heavy drinking (Frone et al., 1996; Frone et al., 1997) and to a diagnose of alcohol and other drugs dependence (Frone, 2000). While the research suggests that sources of stress, related to the integration of work and family roles culminates in increased alcohol use among both men and women (Frone, 1999), the possible moderating influence of between-role stressors on social roles remains virtually unexplored.

Work role stressors, in general, and between-role stressors, in particular, place individuals at increased risk to alcohol abuse or protect them from it. Hence, the direction and the strength of the relationship between the parental role and alcohol use may differ as a function of perceived between-role stressors. This study makes the hypothesis that given the stress-related circumstances into which parenthood is enacted, the effect of the parental role on alcohol consumption will vary. The hypothesized statistical effect is an interaction between the parental role and between-role stressors on alcohol consumption.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The data for this study were derived from the GENACIS Canada project (Graham, Demers, Nadeau, Rehm, Poulin, Dell, et al., 2003), which was part of a large international collaboration (GENder Alcohol and Culture: an International Study) that collected information about the influence of social and cultural variation and gender differences on alcohol use and alcohol-related problems. Between January 2004 and January 2005, a representative sample of 14,067 Canadian residents (6,012

males and 8,054 females) aged 18 to 76 years, and from the 10 provinces was surveyed on a variety of alcohol-related topics, including consumption and its consequences, drinking contexts, reasons for drinking, as well as on their psychological and physical health. Details of the sampling design were previously described (Paradis et al., 2009).

The analytical sample consists of individuals aged between 18 and 55 whose daily occupation was “working for pay” at the time they were surveyed and who reported alcohol consumption at least once during the last 12 months. The final sample consists of 3403 women and 3295 men.

Measures

Independent Variables

Parental role

Respondents were asked “*How many children are currently living in your household?*” and “*How many of these children are under the age of 18?*”. On the basis of the two questions, a “parental role” variable was created. Mothers and fathers were identified as those reporting to have children, with at least one child under the age of 18 currently living in the household. Hence, the independent variable is a dummy variable that differentiates respondents with one child under 18 years old living at home (i) from those who do not (0).

Between-role stressors

Three questions specifically addressed “between-role stressors”. Respondents were asked on a four-points continuous scale if they (i) never, (ii) rarely,

(iii) sometimes, or (iv) often feel that a) the demands of their job interfere with their home and family life (work to home interference); b) things they want to do at home do not get done because of the demands their job puts on them (work to home spillover); c) their job produces strain that makes it difficult to fulfill their family duties (work to family strain).

Control variables

Three control variables –occupational socio-economic status, marital status, and age –were introduced in the analyses. The measure of occupational socio-economic status was developed by (Goyder & Frank, 2007). The status is based on respondents' occupation measured by a four-digit occupational code, provided by the National Occupational Classification (NOC) 2001 (Canada, 2001). The classification is synthesized into 26 NOC major groups, based on their within-group homogeneity in reference to dimensions of occupational skill level and skill type sector. For each of the 26 NOC major groups, a prestige score derived from the Scale of Occupational Prestige (SOP) was assigned. The SOP scores were validated in a representative sample of Canadian workers who were requested to provide a normative evaluation of the social standing attached to major occupational groups (« Imagine a ladder with nine rungs and rate the groups according to their social standing”). The instrument showed good predictive validity with other objective, census-based indicators of occupational socioeconomic status.

The marital status is a dummy variable that distinguishes respondents who are cohabiting with a spouse/partner/romantic partner (1) from those who are not (0). Analyses were also controlled for age as a continuous variable ranging from 18 to 55.

Dependent variables

Present analyses were performed on three measures of drinking: the annual frequency of drinking, the annual frequency of binge drinking (5 drinks or more per occasion) and the usual daily quantity. For the annual frequency, respondents were asked: “*During the last 12 months, how often did you usually have any kind of drink containing alcohol?*” For the frequency of binge drinking, they were asked: “*How often did you usually have 5 drinks or more on one occasion?*” Possible responses to these two questions were: (0) never; (i) less than once a month; (ii) one to three days a month; (iii) once or twice a week; (iv) three or four days a week; (v) five or six days a week or; (vi) every day. For the frequency of drinking, the last two categories were collapsed into a single category of “five to seven days a week”, due to the small number of drinkers reporting daily drinking. The “never” category was canceled because as indicated above, the analytical sample focuses on current drinkers. For the frequency of binge drinking, the last four categories were collapsed into a single category of “at least once a week” given the small number of drinkers reporting to binge drink on a daily basis.

For the usual daily quantity, respondents were asked the following question: *One drink, means one 12 oz. regular beer, 5 oz. of wine, 3 oz of Port, Sherry or Vermouth, one and a half oz. of hard liquor or liquor, or one 12 oz. of cooler. In the past 12 months, on those days when you had any kind of beverage containing alcohol, how many drinks did you usually have?* Respondents’ responses ranged from 1 drink to 30. In order to correct for the positive skewed distribution of this variable, it was truncated at 10 drinks per day.

Analysis

Following the widely used moderation test outlined by (Baron & Kenny, 1986) and articulated further by (Frazier et al., 2004), hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to evaluate whether between-role stressors (moderator variables) alter the relationship between the parental role (independent variable) and their drinking behaviors, including annual frequency of drinking, annual frequency of heavy drinking and usual daily quantity (dependent variables). In order to reduce high correlations between the predictor, moderator variables and the interaction terms created from them, moderators were centered, i.e. put into deviation units by subtracting their sample means to produce revised sample means of zero (c.f. (Frazier et al., 2004). Variance inflation factors and tolerance statistics revealed no problem of multicollinearity between predictors.

Variables were entered into the regression equations through three successive steps. In order to control for their effects on the remaining variables in the model, the socio-economic status, marital status and age were entered at step 1. Step 2 introduced the parental role (independent variable - X) and between-role stressors (centered moderator variables - M) with control variables held constant. In order to specifically test whether between-role stressors moderate the effect of the parental role, step 3 introduced two-way product terms (XM) between the independent and the centered moderator variables and a backward stepwise selection strategy on all possible interactions was applied to identify the significant ones. A graphic representation of the models to be tested is presented in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 here

The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS 16.0) was used for computing descriptive statistics, correlations and hierarchical regressions analyses. Table 1 presents univariate descriptive statistics for study variables by parental role, for women and men separately.

Insert Table 1 here

RESULTS

Table 2 presents regression results for women's annual frequency of drinking, annual frequency of heavy drinking and usual daily quantity as a function of between-role stressors and the parental role controlling for age, socio-economic status and marital status. Examination of parameter estimates for control variables revealed that older women and women with higher socio-economic status drink more frequently while younger women and those with a lower socio-economic status take 5 drinks or more in one occasion more frequently and usually consume greater daily quantity. Women living with a spouse/partner report less frequent heavy drinking and lower usual quantity. When the independent and moderators variables are entered in the model at step 2, results show the parental role to be uniquely associated with two dimensions of alcohol use: mothers with at least one child under 18 years old living at home report less frequent alcohol use ($b = -0.098$; $p \leq 0.01$) and less frequent heavy alcohol use ($b = -0.108$; $p \leq 0.001$). Being a mother has a negative impact on the usual daily quantity but this result did not reach statistical significance. Moreover, analyses show between-role interference to be uniquely associated to women's frequency of drinking ($b = 0.115$; $p \leq 0.001$) and usual daily quantity ($b = -0.080$; $p \leq$

0.001). On one hand, interference between job demands and home and family life relates to more frequent drinking but on the other hand, it is negatively associated with the usual daily quantity. All in all, the inclusion of the independent and the moderator variables marginally increased the explained variance from the first to the second models, but those increases were nonetheless significant with regards to the frequency of drinking and heavy drinking. In addition to the main effects of the parental role and between-role stressors, their interactions were included in the third model. Not a single interaction came out significant from the backward selection method in this model. Hence, for each outcome, interactions could be removed from the model without having a substantial effect on how well the model fit the observed data.

Insert Table 2 here

Regression results for men's drinking behaviors as a function of the parental role and between-role stressors controlling for age, socio-economic status and marital status are presented in Table 3. Among men, living with a spouse/partner is negatively associated to all drinking behaviors, while men's age and socio-economic status are negatively associated to the frequency of binge drinking and the usual daily quantity. At step 2, when the parental and and between-role stressors are introduced in the mode, results clearly show the parental role to be uniquely associated with less frequent drinking ($b = -0.172$; $p \leq 0.001$), less frequent heavy drinking ($b = -0.178$; $p \leq 0.001$) and smaller usual quantity ($b = -0.302$; $p \leq 0.001$). However, neither

between-role interference, spillover nor strain add to our understanding of working men's alcohol use. At step 3, the interactions between the parental role and between-role stressors were entered and just like it was the case for women, there was a consistent lack of significant moderating effect across drinking measures.

Insert Table 3 here

DISCUSSION

The findings of our study are consistent with the preponderance of research identifying parenthood to be negatively associated with alcohol use (Labouvie, 1996; Shore, 1997; Hajema & Knibbe, 1998; Paradis et al., 1999; Merline et al., 2004; Cho & Crittenden, 2006; Kuntsche et al., 2006; Leonard & Eiden, 2007). Moreover, our study significantly complements knowledge on the subject by evaluating the potential moderating effects of between-role stressors. Although previous research found that between-role stressors influence alcohol consumption in the sense that alcohol use represent a means of regulating negative emotions (Bromet et al., 1990; Frone et al., 1993; Frone et al., 1996; Frone et al., 1997; Frone, 2000), we only found marginal evidence of an association relating between-role stressors to women's alcohol use when the effect of being a parent is held constant. Among men, neither between-role interference and spillover nor strain was found to influence alcohol use among men over and above the effect of parenthood. In terms of the overall goal of this study, we did not find evidence that the effect of being a parent on alcohol use varies according to the perceived level of between-role stressors into which mothers/fathers enact parenthood.

Among women, between-role interference was found to be uniquely associated to the frequency of drinking and the usual daily quantity but in opposite directions. Put otherwise, between-role interference was positively associated to the frequency of drinking and negatively associated to the usual daily quantity. Perhaps women who often feel that the demands of their job interfere with their home and family life are women whose job is set in a “wet” work culture in which, for example, work-related communications frequently take place on drinking occasions after working hours (wherefore the interference). Women who evolve in such environments may therefore drink more often, but overall, may report lower usual daily quantity given that their drinking is rather dictated by duty than fun and that it occurs in a professional context where alcohol abuse would be highly disapproved of.

Overall, this study’s main finding has to be that the parental role structures drinking behaviors regardless of the way it is experienced. Present analyses revealed that being a parent has a homogenous influence even if it is enacted in heterogeneous circumstances. Over and above between-role stressors, the parental role in itself is structuring. This result is consistent with the structural approach (e.g. Annandale, 1998; Prus & Gee, 2003; Denton et al., 2004; Bird & Rieker, 2008) and further support what many before us have suggested, i.e. that by virtue of the tasks and responsibilities associated to parenthood, the parental role structures people’s living conditions, social experiences and for that reason, their drinking (Gmel et al., 2000; Wilsnack et al., 2000; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2004; Holmila & Raitasalo, 2005; Bloomfield et al., 2006; Kuntsche et al., 2006). Nevertheless, this result should be considered with caution given the relatively small contribution the parental role had

on explaining the variance in the various alcohol use outcomes. A reason to this could be that parenthood does not shape alcohol use in general, but in specific occasions.

Other research might focus on the context into which the drinking act is performed when estimating the influence of the parental role on alcohol use. As Knibbe and colleagues (1987) suggested, well-adapted individuals will not allow their drinking to interfere with an adequate performance of a their role. Since heavy drinking is more likely to interfere with the enactment of the parental role than light drinking, differences between parents and non-parents may only arise in occasions that favor heavy drinking. The strength of the relationship between parenthood and alcohol consumption could increase with the “we tness” of a drinking occasion. As the late sociologist Fred Bates once wrote, the enactment of a role is dynamic and as such, the characteristics of a situation may determine the extent to which a role becomes “active” (Bates, 1956). Perhaps contextual factors, rather than psychological factors, moderate the parenthood-alcohol use relationship at the populational level. Future research may test whether drinking occasions moderate this relationship.

Contrary to our expectations, we found no evidence that between-role stressors act as moderator between parenthood and alcohol use. These findings may be attributable to several factors. A first explanation for our results may be that within the Canadian population, parenthood and between-role stressors interact to influence certain health-related behaviors but do not affect alcohol consumption. Some researchers claim that social roles and chronic stressors interact to cause depression, not alcohol consumption (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2004; Nolen-Hoeksema & Hilt, 2006). Others maintain that between-role stressors could undermine adopting healthy behaviors, such as sleep and exercise, but may not necessarily trigger the adoption of

unhealthy behaviors. (Bird & Rieker, 2008). Future research could extend the present study by focusing on various health-related outcomes and looking at the way parenthood and between-role stressors interact to produce health in general.

Secondly, in our study, the only type of stressors to be analyzed were between-role stressors – work to home conflicts in particular – but other types of chronic stressors may moderate the relationship. For example, in one community sample it was found that, compared to work-family conflicts, family-work conflicts had a greater effect on heavy alcohol use (Frone et al., 1996). So we still do not know which chronic stressors are the strongest and most consistent causes of alcohol use. Additional research on the subject is necessary. (Frone, 2008). In the same line, this study only analyzed *perceived* measures of between-role stressors and so, our results may have been tainted by differing individual perceptions of experiences on between-role conflict. Future studies may test whether the relationship between parenthood and alcohol use is moderated by *actual* measures of between-role stressors. To achieve that, data from time use surveys that provide rich information about the amount of time spent on activities such as household duties, caring for children, leisure, sports, work and sleep could be used.

The present study has some limitations that should be noted. While our survey response rate is low (52,9%), it reflects the general trend of response rates of large-scale studies that have been declining throughout the developed world (Curtin et al., 2005; Rogers, 2006) because of cynicism, declining civic participation as well as concerns with privacy, confidentiality and abuse of personal information (Hansen, 2007; Johnson & Owens, 2003). Nevertheless, those most likely to have refused to participate to this study's survey may be those who most often feel work to home

interference, spillover and strain. Indeed, Health Canada recently concluded that high levels of role overload have become systemic within the population (Duxbury & Higgins, 2003) but in this study, overall distributions of between-role stressors showed more respondents in the lower categories of work to home conflicts than in the higher ones. Because men and women who experience between-role conflicts most often may be those who have the least free time, they may be the least likely to participate to a survey. While those who often experience between-role conflicts may have been underrepresented in this study, respondents in general and women in particular may have underreported between-role conflicts due to social desirability. In Canada, the myth of the superwoman is very much alive and successful perfection is the impossible possibility that face a majority of women (Whitty, 2001). Female respondents may have been embarrassed to report they were not perfectly and consistently coping. A social desirability bias could partly explain that in this study, between-role stressors were not found to significantly moderate the parenthood – drinking relationship.

In conclusion and as a response to this study's general research question: men and women living at home with children under 18 years old drink less than people not living with children, regardless of how much work-to-home interference, spillover or strain they experience. It is not under particular between-role stressors that the effect of parenthood on alcohol use is the most significant, at least within the Canadian general population. Future research may investigate the specific processes through which parenthood in itself structures drinking. It would also be worthwhile to verify whether it is within specific drinking contexts where heavy drinking is most likely to occur that the effect of parenthood on alcohol use is the strongest.

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Table 1

Means and standard deviation by parental role for women and men separately

Variable	Women						Men					
	Parents			Non-parents			Parents			Non-parents		
	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N
Age	39,57	6,57	1554	39,49	11,31	1839	40,48	7,21	1431	36,19	11,80	1853
Socio-economic status	66,15	8,57	1539	65,95	8,63	1809	66,19	6,99	1414	64,57	7,35	1824
Marital status	0,76	0,43	1553	0,53	0,49	1833	0,94	0,23	1431	0,48	0,49	1852
Between-role interference	2,26	0,99	1550	2,08	0,98	1832	2,39	0,98	1428	2,05	1,03	1840
Between-role spillover	2,35	1,03	1551	2,18	1,05	1834	2,33	1,00	1420	2,11	1,03	1847
Between-role strain	2,02	0,97	1551	1,76	0,94	1829	1,99	0,96	1427	1,69	0,91	1838
Frequency of drinking	2,23	1,10	1532	2,30	1,11	1810	2,66	1,13	1417	2,82	1,15	1839
Frequency of heavy drinking	0,53	0,76	1541	0,68	0,87	1818	1,04	0,99	1407	1,41	1,12	1840
Usual daily quantity	2,17	1,35	1519	2,31	1,49	1798	2,96	2,08	1400	3,69	2,48	1817

Note – marital status was coded: 0 = not cohabiting with a spouse/partner/romantic partner; 1 = cohabiting with a spouse/partner/romantic partner. Between-role interference, spillover and strain were coded: 1 = never; 2 – rarely; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often. Frequency of drinking was coded: 1 = less than once a month; 2 = 1-3 times a month; 3 = 1-2 times a week; 4 = 3-4 times a week; 5 = at least 5 times a week. Frequency of binge drinking was coded: 0 = never; 1 = less than once a month; 2 = 1-3 times a month; 3 = at least once a week. Usual daily quantity was coded: 1 to 10 drinks daily.

Table 2

Parental role, between-role stressors and their interactions (unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors) as predictors of women's alcohol use (frequency of drinking; frequency of heavy drinking; usual daily quantity) controlling for age, socio economic status and marital status.

Variable	Freq. of drinking		Freq. of heavy drinking		Usual daily quantity	
	Beta	S.E.	Beta	S.E.	Beta	S.E.
Step 1						
Constant	1.536	0.167	2.064	0.118	5.114	0.206
Age	0.006***	0.002	-0.020***	0.001	-0.038***	0.003
Socio economic status	0.008***	0.002	-0.009***	0.002	-0.018***	0.003
Marital role	-0.023	0.041	-0.181***	0.029	-0.3***	0.05
R ²	.006		.08		.095	
Step 2						
Constant	1.762	0.172	2.108	0.122	5.094	0.212
Parental role	-0.098**	0.040	-0.108***	0.029	-0.074	0.050
Between role interference	0.115***	0.027	-0.001	0.019	-0.080*	0.033
Between role spillover	-0.006	0.026	-0.014	0.019	0.018	0.033
Between role strain	-0.011	0.028	0.026	0.020	0.064	0.035
R ²	.016		.084		.098	
ΔR ²	.010***		.004**		.003	

*P ≤ 0.05 ; **P ≤ 0.01 ; ***P ≤ 0.001

Table 3

Parental role, between-role stressors and their interactions (unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors) as predictors of men's alcohol use (frequency of drinking; frequency of heavy drinking; usual daily quantity) controlling for age, socio economic status and marital status.

Variable	Freq. of drinking		Freq. of heavy drinking		Usual daily quantity	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Step 1 Constant	2.460	0.191	3.268	0.172	8.427	0.372
Age	0.003	0.002	-0.023***	0.002	-0.053***	0.004
Socio economic status	0.004	0.003	-0.015***	0.003	-0.042***	0.006
Marital role	-0.118*	0.049	-0.236***	0.044	-0.395***	0.096
R ²	.002		.098		.107	
Step 2 Constant	2.492	0.194	3.225	0.174	8.310	0.377
Parental role	-0.172***	0.047	-0.178***	0.042	-0.302***	0.091
Between role interference	0.020	0.028	-0.016	0.025	0.031	0.054
Between role spillover	-0.010	0.028	-0.042	0.026	-0.102	0.055
Between role strain	0.014	0.029	0.034	0.026	-0.047	0.057
R ²	.007		0.105		.113	
ΔR^2	.005**		0.007***		.006***	

*P ≤ 0.05 ; **P ≤ 0.01 ; ***P ≤ 0.001

CHAPITRE 4

ARTICLE 2 – PARENTHOOD, DRINKING LOCATIONS AND HEAVY DRINKING⁴

Abstract

Purpose: This study tests the hypothesis that the relationship between parenthood and heavy drinking is mediated by drinking locations. **Methods:** The analysis is based on a random sample of 4180 female and 3630 male Canadian drinkers aged between 18 and 55 years old. A multiple mediator model is tested. **Findings:** The parental role may cause variation in where people drink, and where people drink may cause variation in heavy drinking. For women, parenthood exerts an effect on heavy drinking by decreasing the ratio of drinking occasions that occur at bars and restaurants. For men, the effect of parenthood on heavy drinking is mediated by increasing the ratio of drinking occasions that occur at friends' homes and decreasing the ratio of drinking occasions that occur at bars. **Conclusion:** The results of this study correspond with a refined version of the opportunity perspective. Given the nature of the processes by which parenthood influences heavy drinking, alcohol consumption needs to be understood through a perspective that includes both individual and contextual factors.

⁴ Cet article a été soumis pour évaluation à la revue Social Science & Medicine.

La version ici présentée est la deuxième, soit celle qui a été transmise de nouveau à l'éditeur, pour une seconde ronde d'évaluation, après avoir reçu les commentaires de trois réviseurs. Mes réponses aux modifications demandées par les réviseurs sont présentées à l'annexe 1. Je suis l'auteure principale de cet article.

Introduction

The influence of parenthood on health-related behavior has previously been investigated (e.g. Artazcoz, Borrell, & Benach, 2001; Artazcoz, Artieda, Borrell, Cortes, Benach & Garcia, 2004). In particular, numerous studies have called attention to an association between parenthood and decreased alcohol use (for a review see: Leonard & Eiden, 2007). Nevertheless, very few studies have been designed with the express purpose of explaining the processes by which parenthood and alcohol use are related. The current study aims to provide such an explanation for this phenomenon by testing whether drinking locations might mediate the relationship between parenthood and alcohol use.

Research exploring the relationship between parenthood and drinking behavior has shown effects for parents of both genders. For both men and women, becoming a parent decreases the weekly frequency of drinking six units or more for one occasion (Hajema & Knibbe, 1998), overall alcohol use (Labouvie, 1996) and work-related drinking (Shore, 1997). Among American men and women 35 years of age, it was found that parents living with children were less likely than either non-parents or noncustodial parents to report having consumed five or more drinks in one sitting at least once in the past two weeks (Merline, O'Malley, Schulenberg, Bachman, & Johnston, 2004). Studies using both male samples (Paradis, Demers & Nadeau, 1999) and female samples (Cho & Crittenden, 2006) have indicated that being a parent is associated with lower drinking levels. Cho & Crittenden (2006) also found that mothers were less likely than other women to experience problem drinking. Interestingly, several studies have shown that parenthood has a greater influence on drinking in women than in men. For example, Knutsche, Gmel, Knibbe,

Kuendig, Bloomfield, Kramer et al. (2006) found that, specifically for women, being a parent is associated with a decreased risk of drinking more than 20 grams of pure ethanol a day.

A number of processes have been proposed to account for the relationship between parenthood and reduced alcohol consumption. Specifically, the role overload and the role accumulation perspectives suggest that psychological distress/well-being related to parenthood influences drinking behavior (for a review: Cho & Crittenden, 2006). Alternatively, sociological studies tend to refer to the opportunity perspective that was introduced to the alcohol field by Knibbe, Drop, & Muytjens (1987) who drew their inspiration from earlier work by Gerhardt (1971) on classical role theory. This perspective posits that « *the greater the number of social roles a person holds, the more his or her life is structured by meaningful activities that others expect one to engage in and (...) the less likely he or she is to engage in heavy-volume drinking or risky single occasion drinking* » (Kuntsche, Knibbe, & Gmel, 2009). This perspective contends that because of the tasks and responsibilities associated with childcare, parents may find it difficult to allocate time and resources to drinking (Knibbe et al., 1987; Hajema & Knibbe, 1998; Gmel, Bloomfield, Ahlstrom, Choquet, & Lecomte, 2000; Wilsnack, Vogeltanz, Wilsnack, Harris, Ahlstrom, Bondy, et al., 2000; Ahlstrom, Bloomfield, & Knibbe, 2001; Holmila & Raitasalo, 2005; Bloomfield, Gmel, & Wilsnack, 2006; Kuntsche et al., 2006). Hence, different lifestyles could explain differences in alcohol use between parents and non-parents. The sociological perspective treats drinking behaviors as a function of contextual factors rather than psychological ones (Cho & Crittenden, 2006), arguing that the situations and settings

people find themselves in could be an important pathway through which the parental role relates to drinking in general and to heavy drinking in particular.

The fact that the act of drinking is grounded in specific contexts is well-known. Research undertaken by Harford and colleagues (Harford, Dorman, & Feinhandler, 1976; Harford, 1979; Harford & Gaines, 1982; Harford, Wechsler, & Rohman, 1983) illuminated the relevance of considering *why*, *when*, *with whom* and *where* drinking occurs for understanding alcohol consumption patterns. Multilevel analyses have revealed that a great deal of the variability in alcohol consumption arises from two concurrent sources of influences: drinking settings and individual differences (Demers, Kairouz, Adlaf, Gliksman, Newton-Taylor, Marchand, 2002; Kairouz & Greenfield, 2007).

While it is not possible to precisely delineate which settings favor heavier alcohol consumption, it is well documented that heavy drinking does not happen “just anywhere” (SIRC, 2000). A recent American study observed where people do most of their drinking, identified three contextual drinking "types" across six gender-by-ethnicity groups and further showed that these types have different overall drinking patterns (Nyaronga, Greenfield, & McDaniel, 2009). In recent decades, many reports have shown that when individuals drink in places such as bars, discos or taverns, the probability of heavy drinking is generally higher than when drinking occurs in a restaurant or at home (Snow & Landrum, 1986; Cosper, Okraru, & Neuman, 1987; Single & Wortley, 1993; Clapp, Reed, Holmes, Lange, & Voas, 2006). In the United States, black men may be an exception, with their heaviest drinking occurring in the home (Nyaronga et al., 2009). Other studies have shown that drinking in multiple locations in the course of an evening is associated with increased alcohol

consumption (Hughes, Anderson, Morleo, & Bellis, 2008). Within a population of university students, Kypri and colleagues (2007) found that intoxication is most likely to occur in pubs, bars, or nightclubs and in residential halls. Paschall & Saltz, (2007) showed that the highest number of drinks was consumed at off-campus parties, followed by residence hall and fraternity or sorority parties. All in all, consuming alcohol is ritualistic in nature, and location plays an important role in the ritual. Scientists have claimed that an understanding heavy drinking relies upon observing drinking locations (Heath, 2000; Wolburg & Treise, 2003).

Hence, it may not be peoples' parental roles that explain their drinking so much as the settings within which they gather to drink, given those parental roles. Following Erwing Goffman's proposition that social actors tend to select scenes that are attuned with their roles (Goffman, 1974), parents should select settings that are compatible with acting out the parenthood role. With regards to alcohol use, parents may find that children restrict their choices of drinking settings to private ones, while people without children may choose a wider range of drinking settings that include both private locations and public locations, where the presence of children tends to be less appropriated or prohibited. It can be further argued that adults with children living at home do not necessarily abstain from partying, but that parents may be less prone to party in locations where partying involves heavy drinking.

A role-based selection of drinking locations may be particularly at play among women. Indeed, motherhood is governed by stricter social norms than fatherhood (Hochschild, 1989; Lopota, 2006; Marshall, 2006). Close to the transition to parenthood, women may feel more pressure to alter their drinking, given the prevailing social norms that condemn alcohol consumption for mothers in the interest

of their social and reproductive roles (Holmila & Raitasalo, 2005). This social pressure may extend well beyond the transition period, given the contemporary cultural belief that mothers should always be “on call” for their children (Correll, Bernard, & Paik, 2007). Hence, the range of socially available drinking locations may be even more limited for mothers than for fathers, and this may explain why the parental role has a greater effect on women’s drinking than on men’s drinking. Mothers may feel a sense of disapproval in locations where heavy drinking is likely to occur and interfere with acting out parenthood roles.

Taken as a whole, the available research suggests that the association between the parental role and heavy drinking is the product of two successive asymmetric effects. Namely, where people drink causes variation in heavy drinking, and where people drink is influenced by the parental role. To the best of our knowledge, this type of mediational model has never been directly tested. To broaden our understanding of alcohol use patterns, this study verifies whether being a parent is negatively associated with the frequency of heavy drinking; whether being a parent is related to where people drink and whether where people drink is related to the frequency of heavy drinking. Ultimately, this research will test the hypothesis that it is through the locations where people drink that parenthood exerts an effect on the frequency of heavy drinking.

Methods

PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

The data for this study were derived from the GENACIS Canada project (Graham, Demers, Nadeau, Rehm, Poulin, Dell, et al., 2003), which was part of a

large international collaboration (GENder Alcohol and Culture: an International Study) that collected information about the influence of social and cultural variation and gender differences on alcohol use and alcohol-related problems. Between January 2004 and January 2005, a representative sample of 14,067 Canadian residents (6,012 males and 8,054 females) aged 18 to 76 years from all 10 provinces was surveyed on a number of topics, including alcohol consumption and consequences, drinking contexts, reasons for drinking and psychological and physical health. A 2-stage sampling design was used. First, households were selected using random digit dialing (RDD). Second, in households with more than one eligible adult, the adult whose birthday fell closest to the survey date was selected as the survey respondent, thereby ensuring a random selection of respondents within households. Interviews were conducted using computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). To maximize the response rate, at least 14 call attempts were made during the day and in the evening on both weekdays and weekend days, with more than 14 calls made if additional call attempts were judged likely to lead to a completed interview. The response rate was 53%. This rate reflects the general trend that the response rate of large-scale studies have been declining throughout the developed world (Curtin, Singer & Presser, 2005; Rogers, 2006) due to factors such as cynicism, declining civic participation, and concerns with privacy, confidentiality as well as abuse of personal information (Hansen, 2007; Johnson & Owens, 2003). Most refusals were made at the time of the initial household contact. When an eligible respondent was reached, the participation rate was 85.4%. The average interview time was 25.64 minutes (SD = 7.46).

In this study, the analytical sample included individuals aged between 18 and 55 years who reported consuming alcohol at least once during the last 12 months. Respondents aged over 55 were excluded from the study because an insufficient number reported having a child less than 18 years of age living at home. The final sample consists of 4,180 women and 3,630 men.

MEASURES

Dependent variable

The outcome under study is the annual frequency of heavy drinking (5 drinks or more on one occasion). Respondents were asked: *During the last 12 months, how often did you usually have 5 drinks or more on one occasion ?* Possible responses to this question were: (0) never; (1) less than once a month; (2) one to three days a month; (3) once or twice a week; (4) three or four days a week; (5) five or six days a week or; (6) every day. The last four categories were collapsed into a single category of “at least once a week” given the small number of drinkers reporting to binge drink more than once a week. Thus, the outcome is treated as a continuous variable ranging from (0) never to (4) at least once a week.

Independent variable

Respondents were asked “*How many children are currently living in your household ?*” and “*How many of these children are under the age of 18 ?*”. On the basis of the two questions, a “parental role” variable was created. Mothers and fathers were identified as those reporting to have children, with at least one child under the age of 18 currently living in the household. Hence, the independent variable is a

dummy variable that differentiates respondents who have one child less than 18 years of age living at home from those who do not .

Mediators

The ratios of drinking occasions occurring 1) at home, 2) at a friend's home, 3) at a bar/pub/disco or 4) at a restaurant were considered as putative mediators. Using ratios guaranteed that present analyses did not assess the influence of drinking frequency but the influence of regular drinking in a given location.

Ratios were assessed by examining respondents' frequency of drinking in each of these four drinking locations (*During the past 12 months, how often did you consume alcohol in your own home/at a friend's home/in a bar, pub, disco, nightclub/ in a restaurant?*) and comparing it to their overall annual frequency of drinking. (*During the last 12 months, how often did you consume alcohol?*). For all of these questions, respondents could answer: (0) never; (1) less than once a month; (2) one to three days a month; (3) once or twice a week; (4) three or four days a week; (5) at least 5 days a week.

Following these comparisons, four new variables were created (one for each location) that measured the ratio of annual frequency of drinking in a given location as a fraction of the overall annual frequency of drinking. Because the original data were measured at the ordinal level, we created likert scale ratios. Each new variable was recoded into four categories: (1) never, (2) seldom, (3) often and (4) almost always. When there was a difference of only one category between the overall drinking frequency and the drinking frequency in a given location, respondents were assigned to the "often" category (ex: if a respondent's drinking frequency was three

to four times a week and his drinking frequency in a bar was once or twice a week.). When there was a difference of at least two categories, respondents were assigned to the “seldom” category. When respondents gave the same answer to the overall drinking frequency and the frequency of drinking in a given location, there were assigned to the “almost always” category. Finally, when a drinker reported to never drink in a given location, this respondent was assigned to the “never” category. Because the likert scale ratios had more than three categories, they were treated as continuous variables ranging from 1 to 4.

Control variables

The analysis in this study controlled for marital status, which is a dummy variable that distinguishes respondents who are cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner (1) from those who are not (0). Age is a second control, measured as a continuous variable ranging from 18 to 55. Moreover, to control for socio-economic status, the analysis included a measure for educational level, a categorical variable with seven possible responses ranging from (1) less than high school degree to (7) university graduate studies.

STATISTICAL ANALYSES

The multiple mediation model requires that researchers make distinctions between various effects and their corresponding parameters. Roelofs and colleagues (2008) clearly describe that the total effect (c) of an independent variable (IV) on a dependent variable (DV) is composed of a direct effect (c') of the IV on the DV and indirect effects ($a_{i-j}b_{i-j}$) of the IV on the DV through putative mediators (M_{i-j}). In such

a model, a_{i-j} represent relationships between the IV and M_{i-j} , whereas b_{i-j} represent relationships between M_{i-j} and the DV, when the direct relationship between the IV and the DV (c') is controlled for. Multiple mediator models permit the researcher to estimate total indirect effects ($a_1b_1 + a_2b_2 + \dots a_kb_k$) and specific indirect effects ($a_1b_1, a_2b_2, \dots, a_kb_k$). Figure 1 presents a graphic representation of the model. For a detailed discussion on multiple mediation models, see MacKinnon (2008).

Insert Figure 1 about here

Paths a_{1-4} , b_{1-4} and c' are estimated by multiple regression. Non-standardized coefficients and their associated standard error are provided for each of these paths. To assess total indirect effects ($\sum(a_{1-4}b_{1-4})$) and each specific indirect effect ($a_{1-4}b_{1-4}$), the current study employed the non-parametric bootstrapping procedure developed by Preacher & Hayes (2008) and further discussed by Hayes (2009). This innovative procedure is advantageous because it does not impose the assumption of normality of the sampling distribution. Moreover, this strategy allows the researcher to specify and test multiple mediation hypotheses in a single step and thereby determine the extent to which specific mediators transmit the relationship between the IV and the DV, conditional on the inclusion of the other mediators in the model. This procedure is particularly useful in cases like the present one, in which *the mediators are almost necessarily correlated by virtue of their mutual reliance on a common cause* (Preacher & Hayes, 2008: 882). For the total indirect effect and each specific indirect effect, bootstrapping provides point estimates and 95% confidence intervals. Point

estimates are considered significant when zero is not contained within the 95% bias-corrected and accelerated (BCa) confidence interval.

A separate analysis was conducted for respondents of each gender. These analyses were performed with SPSS 16.0 using the INDIRECT macro set (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The analyses controlled for age, marital status and education level. All analyses met the essential steps in establishing mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986) i.e. paths *a*, *b* and *c* were nonzero coefficients.

Prior to performing mediation analyses, bivariate analyses were conducted to examine relationship between parenthood and the other study variables for women and men separately. For continuous and categorical variables, statistical significance was assessed with independent sample t-tests and chi-squared analyses, respectively

RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSES

Women

Women's individual characteristics are presented in Table 1. Women who have at least one child at home do not differentiate themselves from women who do not with regard to age and education, but mothers are significantly more likely than non-mothers to have a spouse (76% versus 49%). Regarding the drinking behaviors, our data indicate that women who have at least one child at home consume significantly less often five drinks or more in one occasion than women without children at home (0.53 versus 0.88). Moreover, compared to non-mothers, mothers report a significant higher ratio of drinking occasions at home (2.34

versus 2.21), but a significant lower ratio of drinking occasions at a bar (1.07 versus 1.42) and at a restaurant (1.49 versus 1.62).

Men

Fathers and non-fathers are quite different with regard to both their individual characteristics and their drinking behaviors. Men who do have a child at home are more likely than those who do not to be married (93% versus 42%), they are significantly older (40.3 years old versus 34.1 years old) and their level of education is higher (3.93 versus 3.57). With regard to drinking, fathers consume less often five drinks or more in one occasion than non-fathers (1.03 versus 1.44). Men who live with at least one child at home also report a significant higher ratio of drinking occasions at home (2.34 versus 2.12). However, compared to non-fathers, fathers report a significant lower ratio of drinking occasions at a friend's house (1.82 versus 1.92), at a bar (1.17 versus 1.65) and at a restaurant (1.17 versus 1.36).

Insert Table 1 about here.

MULTIPLE MEDIATION ANALYSES

Women

The results of the analysis focusing on women are presented in Table 2. The sign of the total effect (c) is consistent with the interpretation that being a mother reduces heavy drinking. Women with a child under 18 living at home are less likely than other women to consume 5 drinks or more on a single occasion (-0.107 ; $p \leq$

0.001). An examination of a_{1-4} indicates that being a mother has a significant negative effect on the ratios of drinking occasions that occur in bars (-0.22; $p \leq 0.001$) and restaurants (-0.11; $p \leq 0.01$). In regards to the effects of the mediators on heavy drinking (b_{1-4}), it appears that a greater ratio of drinking occasions that occur either at home (0.04; $p \leq 0.001$) or at bars (0.12; $p \leq 0.001$) has a positive impact on the frequency of heavy drinking. In contrast, a greater ratio of drinking occasions that occur at restaurants reduces the frequency of heavy drinking (-0.06; $p \leq 0.001$).

Insert Table 2 about here

The present results provide support for the intervening variables hypothesis. The total effect (c) and the direct effect (c') of being a mother on the frequency of heavy drinking are -0.107 and -0.089, respectively. The difference between these two effects represents the total indirect effect that is mediated through the four types of drinking locations. For the frequency of heavy drinking, the total indirect effect has a point estimate of -0.018 and a 95% BCa bootstrap CI that does not include zero, which means that the difference between the total and the direct effect of being a mother on the frequency of heavy drinking is significantly different from zero. Hence, taken as a set, the ratios of drinking occasions that occur in different locations do act as mediators in explaining the effect of being a mother on the annual frequency of heavy drinking.

Further examination of the specific indirect effects reveals that the ratios of drinking occasions occurring at a bar (-0.026) and at a restaurant (0.007) are significant mediators of the relationship between parenthood and the frequency of

heavy drinking in women. On the one hand, through a decreased ratio of drinking occasions that occur at a bar, parenthood decreases the frequency of heavy drinking. On the other hand, through a decreased ratio of drinking occasions that occur at restaurants, parenthood increases the frequency of heavy drinking. The ratios of drinking occasions that occur either at home or at a friend's home have no significant indirect effects on heavy drinking.

Men

The results of the analysis focusing on men are presented in Table 3. Parenthood significantly decreases the annual frequency of heavy drinking in men (-0.194; $p \leq 0.001$). Furthermore, being a father is negatively associated with the ratio of drinking occasions that occur at bars (-0.13; $p \leq 0.01$). Having a child under 18 living at home does not affect the ratios for drinking occasions that occur at home, at a friend's home or at a restaurant. In regards to the effects of the mediators on drinking behaviors (b_{1-4}), the greater ratios of drinking occasions that occur at home (0.09; $p \leq 0.001$) and at bars (0.10; $p \leq 0.001$) positively impact the frequency of heavy drinking, while the greater ratio of drinking occasions that occur at restaurants (-0.11; $p \leq 0.001$) negatively impacts this dimension of alcohol use.

Insert Table 3 about here

In regards to the frequency of heavy drinking, the present results support the mediation hypothesis. The difference between the total and the direct effect of being a

father on the frequency of heavy drinking has a point estimate of -0.088 and a 95% BCa bootstrap CI that does not include zero. Considered together, the ratios of drinking occasions in various locations mediate the association between parenthood and the frequency of heavy drinking. Further examination of the specific indirect effects indicates that only the ratios of drinking occasions that occur at a friend's home (-0.003) and at bars (-0.013) are mediators. It is through an increased ratio of drinking occasions that occur at a friend's home and a decreased ratio of drinking occasions that occur at a bar that parenthood decreases the frequency of heavy drinking in men.

Discussion

The current study aimed to investigate whether it is through drinking locations that parenthood exerts an effect on the frequency of heavy drinking. In line with the expectations of this study, the results show that parenthood relates to the frequency of heavy drinking, that parenthood relates to the ratio of drinking occasions that occur in various settings and that heavy drinking relates to the ratio of drinking occasions that occur at various locations. Regarding the main hypothesis of this study, the mediation analyses provide evidence that parenthood exerts an effect on heavy drinking and that this effect is mediated through the ratios of drinking occasions that occur in different locations. Overall, among women, the ratios of drinking occasions that occur at bars and restaurants emerged as significant mediators in relation to the frequency of heavy drinking. Among men, the ratios of drinking occasions that occur at bars and friends' homes were appeared as significant mediators by which parenthood reduces heavy drinking. Hence, it may not be the

parental role in itself that structures drinking behaviors but rather the locations where men and women drink, given their parental roles.

The present results expose important pathways through which parenthood may transmit its effect on heavy drinking. A primary result of this study is that mothers and fathers may report less frequent heavy drinking because less of their drinking occurs in bars, discos and pubs. This finding is largely consistent with sociological perspectives on alcohol use, namely the opportunity perspective. While this perspective asserts that parents may have problems finding the time and resources to drink, the present results raise the possibility that, more specifically, they have problems finding their way to a bar. In other words, mothers and fathers may not report less heavy drinking because they care for children but because caring for children leads them to abandon the bar as a usual drinking location. This finding is not surprising. The bar is a social scene that is incompatible with acting out parenthood, regardless of the type of drinking that goes on there. It is a location where children are not allowed and it generally functions during late hours. More importantly, as Gusfield (1996) points out, bars are places to drink but they are also places in which to talk, look for sex and gain friendship. As such, bars are *creators of intimacy*. Intimacy is something parents may be less looking for than non-parents. Hence, for various reasons, unrelated to drinking per se, parents may abandon the bar as a favored drinking location. Ultimately, this effect on favored drinking location results in parenthood being associated with less frequent heavy drinking.

In parallel, the results of this study reveal that men with children at home may report less frequent heavy drinking because of a greater ratio of drinking occasions that occur at friends' houses. Perhaps for fathers, friends' homes become a

more comfortable drinking setting – a replacement for the bar – where it is possible to socialize, grab a bite, talk with friends and watch sports while not giving up the parental role. In this environment, men may be offered a drink but drinking is probably not the main priority. A previous study on Canadians' drinking behaviors across eleven settings showed that drinking at a friend's home is associated with a relatively moderate level of alcohol consumption (Single & Wortley, 1994). Hence, compared to non-fathers, fathers are more likely to be at a friend's home when they drink, and therefore parenthood is related to less frequent heavy drinking.

Surprisingly, the present analyses also revealed that, in one respect, parenthood indirectly increases the frequency of heavy drinking among mothers due to a decreased ratio of drinking occasions that occur at restaurants. This phenomenon is the product of two successive asymmetric effects according to which a) drinking at a restaurant is more typical of women who do not have children compared to those who do and b) restaurants are locations that curtail heavy drinking. This finding is consistent with other studies (Kairouz & Greenfield, 2007; Single & Wortley, 1994) according to which the restaurant is a setting where the lowest levels of drinking are observed. Although there are various plausible interpretations to this result, it would be speculative to attempt an explanation of this finding based upon the cross-sectional data of this study. This mediation finding begs larger questions to be investigated in further research regarding the processes by which parenthood influences women's frequency of heavy drinking.

As anticipated, the fact that parenthood influences drinking through a reduced presence in public locations is particularly salient for women. The results of this study show that parenthood exerts an effect on women's frequency of heavy

drinking by reducing access to bars, discos and pubs as well as restaurants. Drinking alcohol is a privilege that has traditionally been reserved for men (Wilsnack, 2005; Nolen-Hoeksema & Hilt, 2006), and while this is no longer true, women in general and mothers in particular are still subject to more severe social attitudes related to alcohol consumption (Wilsnack, 1996; Greenfield & Room, 1997; Vogeltanz-Holm et al., 2004). A possible interpretation to present results is that there may be social pressure for women to always be “on call” for their children. As such, mothers may tend to feel guilty about going out for drinks. The drinking act is evidently governed by social norms. Therefore, alcohol consumption ought to be studied through sociological perspectives that recognize that, first and foremost, drinking is a social behavior.

Finally, given the nature of the processes through which parenthood influences heavy drinking, it is clear that earlier studies may have overlooked the magnitude of the effect of parenthood on alcohol consumption. In the present study, the analysis focusing on women showed that the total effect of parenthood on heavy drinking could be transmitted through drinking locations whose effects can go in opposite directions. Being a mother is related to a decreased ratio of drinking occasions that occur at bars, which then decreases heavy drinking; while simultaneously being related to a decreased ratio of drinking occasions that occur at restaurants, which then increases heavy drinking. These two effects, operating together, actually cancel each other out in the estimation of the total effect parenthood exerts on heavy drinking. As a result, ignoring the context in which the drinking act is performed when estimating the influence of the parental role on alcohol consumption may lead to an underestimation of this role’s impact on drinking.

Limitations

According to this study, the effect of parenthood on heavy drinking is best understood as a rearrangement of drinking locations rather than a change in drinking habits by themselves. However, a limitation of this research is that given the cross-sectional nature of the data, it was impossible to infer with certitude the causal links between the variables under study. The present data showed a mechanism by which parenthood influences heavy drinking at a given point in time, but it is a possibility that in reality, Y is the mediator of the X to M relationship. Therefore, present results should be treated as descriptive information and it should be considered that the latter may or may not reflect the true underlying causal mediation relation. Alternative models cannot be ruled out. As MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz (2007) report, in order to validate the mediation processes, qualitative information would be required and ultimately, a program of research that sequentially tests predictor of the mediator theory would provide the most convincing evidence for mediation.

Another limitation of this study may be that the analysis did not take into account the age of children at home. Strong multicollinearity between the age of respondents and the age of respondents' children made it impossible to analyze both variables in a single model. However, given the amount of evidence confirming a significant association between the drinker's age and heavy drinking in Canada (Demers & Poulin, 2005; Stockwell, Zhao, & Thomas, 2009; Paradis, Demers, Picard, & Graham, 2009), it was decided to control for the age variable rather than the children's age. Indeed, the influence of children's age is not as well documented and results on the subject are mixed. According to Leonard & Eiden (2007) being a

parent is associated with a decrease in excessive drinking, but the effect is strongest close to the transition from being childless to becoming a parent. Conversely, the influence of parenthood on alcohol consumption may be at play among all parents, regardless of children's age. Recent work showed that while childcare direct time drops as children age, the loss of parental time in rest and leisure remains constant as children grow and continues well past the children's infancy (Craig, 2007). Each age comes with its own set of challenges so overall, the demands upon parents' lives remain relatively similar regardless of children age (Craig & Sawrikar, 2008). In the future, researchers may want to investigate whether children's age influences the mediational process between parenthood, drinking locations and alcohol consumption.

A third limitation of this study is that no specific attention was paid to defining mediational process between parenthood, drinking locations and alcohol consumption for different types of parents. In Canada, variations in family structure and parent type are plentiful. Some men and women care for children within a nuclear family while others do so as single parent, parent-in-law, adoptive parent or foster parent. In this regard, Avison & Davies (2005) showed that for Canadian women, parenthood's influence on the frequency of having 5 drinks or more on one occasion may be different for single mothers compared to mothers in a two parents household. While present analyses kept the marital status constant, no direct attention was given to this issue. This is an interesting topic that should be addressed in future research.

Conclusion

The act of drinking is a social behavior that cannot be disentangled from the social frame in which it is enacted. Drinking is the product of individual contextual factors, and alcohol studies therefore need to be careful about apprehending the drinking act as an epidemiological object, stable and bared of its immediate social environment. Consistent with other research (e.g. Demers et al., 2002; Kairouz, Glikzman, Demers, & Adlaf, 2002), this study concludes that alcohol consumption needs to be understood through a perspective that includes both individual and contextual factors. Future studies should directly examine how alcohol use is shaped by parenthood in specific drinking settings. Future studies might also investigate whether drinking contexts not only mediate but also moderate the relationship between parenthood and heavy drinking.

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Figure 1.

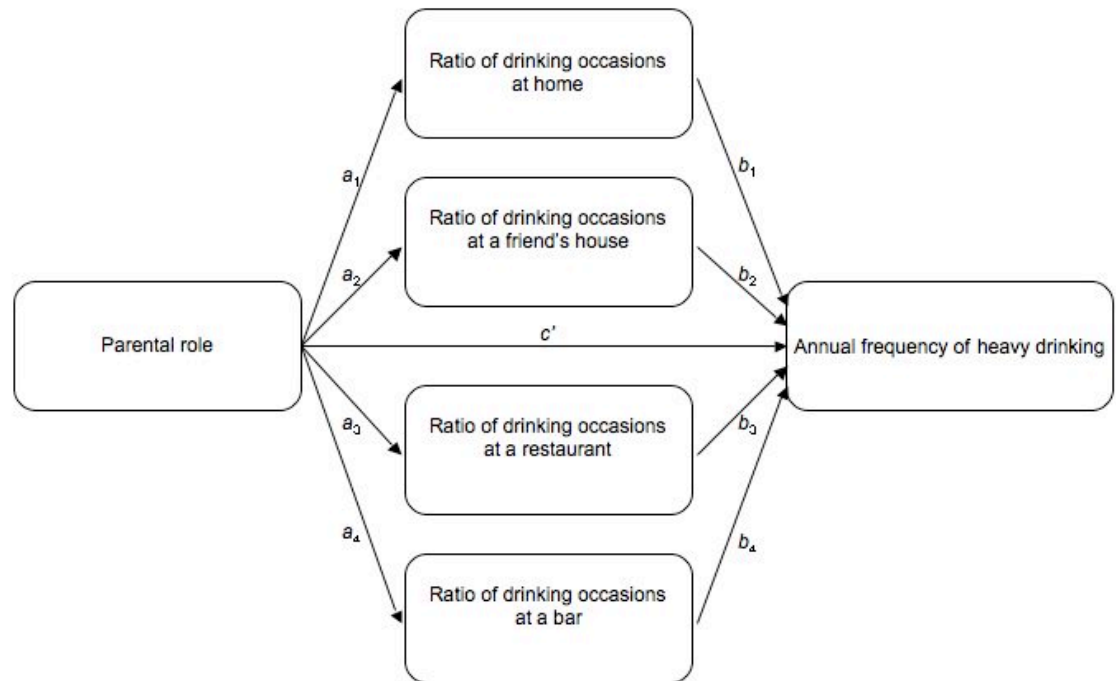


Figure 1. Graphic representation of a multiple mediator model. The total effect (c) is composed of the direct effect (c') and the indirect effects ($a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, b_1, b_2, b_3, b_4$).

Table 1.

Means and proportions by parental role for women and men separately

Variables	Women				Signif.	Men				
	Parents (n=1926)		Non-parents (n=2254)			Parents (n=1406)		Non-parents (n=2224)		Signif.
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Frequency of heavy drinking	0.53	0.76	0.70	0.88	**	1.03	0.98	1.44	1.11	
Ratio of drinking occasions at home	2.34	1.02	2.21	1.08	**	2.34	0.94	2.12	1.05	**
Ratio of drinking occasions at a friend's home	1.96	1.08	1.98	1.05		1.82	1.00	1.92	0.98	*
Ratio of drinking occasions at a bar	1.07	1.19	1.42	1.23	**	1.17	1.09	1.65	1.12	**
Ratio of drinking occasions at a restaurant	1.49	1.13	1.62	1.13	**	1.17	1.09	1.36	1.06	**
Age	38.72	6.91	38.12	12.11		40.28	7.40	34.10	12.02	**
Education level	3.92	1.79	4.00	1.83		3.93	1.88	3.57	1.84	**
Married/spouse/partner % (vs. not)	76%		49%		**	94%		42%		**

* $P \leq 0.01$; ** $P \leq 0.001$

Note – The ratio of drinking occasions at home, at a friend's home, at a bar or at a restaurant was coded: 0 = never; 1 = seldom; 2 = often; 3 = always, respectively. Frequency of binge drinking was coded: 0 = never; 1 = less than once a month; 2 = 1-3 times a month; 3 = at least once a week. Marital status was coded: 0 = not cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner; 1 = cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner.

Table 2.

Women's results of multiple mediator analyses for the annual frequency of heavy drinking, controlling for age, education level and marital status (5000 bootstrap samples).

		Total effect (c)	Effect of IV on M (a)	Effect of M on DV (b)	Direct effect (c')	Total Indirect effect	Specific Indirect effects (ab)
		B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	Pt. est. (se)	Pt. est. (se)
• Frequency of heavy drinking	• Home	-	.04 (.03)	.04 (.01)**	-	-	.002 (.01)
	• Friend's	-	.01 (.03)	-.03 (.01)	-	-	-.001 (.001)
	• Bar	-	-.22 (.04)**	.12 (.01)**	-	-	-.026 (.005) ^a
	• Restaurant	-	-.11 (.04)*	-.06 (.01)**	-	-	.007 (.003) ^a
			-.107 (.026)**			-.089 (.025)**	-.018 (.005) ^a

* $P \leq 0.01$; ** $P \leq 0.001$

^a BCa bootstrapping confidence interval of the point estimate does not include zero.

Table 3.

Men's results of multiple mediator analyses for the annual frequency of heavy drinking, controlling for age, education level and marital status (5000 bootstrap samples).

		Total effect (c)	Effect of IV on M (a)	Effect of M on DV (b)	Direct effect (c')	Total Indirect effect	Specific Indirect effects (ab)
		B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	Pt. est. (se)	Pt. est. (se)
• Frequency of heavy drinking	• Home	-	.04 (.04)	.09 (.02)**	-	-	.004 (.003)
	• Friend's	-	.08 (.04)	-.04 (.02)	-	-	-.003 (.003) ^a
	• Bar	-	-.13 (.04)*	.10 (.02)**	-	-	-.013 (.005) ^a
	• Restaurant	-	-.03 (.04)	-.11 (.02)**	-	-	-.003 (.005)
		-.194 (.042)**			-.177 (.042)**	-.016 (.007) ^a	

* $P \leq 0.01$; ** $P \leq 0.001$

^a BCa bootstrapping confidence interval of the point estimate does not include zero.

CHAPITRE 5**ARTICLE 3 – PARENTHOOD, ALCOHOL INTAKE AND DRINKING CONTEXTS : OCCASIO FUREM FACIT^{5,6}**

Abstract

Objective: The aim of this study is to assess whether the effect of parenthood on alcohol intake varies according to the context in which the drinking act occurs.

Method: The data are drawn from the Canadian Addiction Survey, a national telephone survey conducted in 2004. The analytical sample included 1,079 drinking occasions nested in 498 female drinkers and 926 drinking occasions nested in 403 male drinkers aged between 18 and 55 years. A multilevel linear statistical model was used to estimate the variance related to the drinking occasion (level 1) and to the parental role (level 2). **Results:** Parenthood is not associated with alcohol intake per occasion; drinking context variables bring great explanatory power to the study of alcohol intake, but overall the effect of parenthood on alcohol intake does not vary according to the context in which drinking occurs. Only one interaction between the parental role and contextual characteristics was found significant. **Conclusion:** Men's and women's drinking is more likely to be influenced by the immediate context in which drinking occurs than by their parental role. The explanation for alcohol

⁵ Cet article a été soumis pour évaluation à la revue Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs. La version ici présentée est la deuxième, soit celle qui a été transmise de nouveau à l'éditeur, pour une seconde ronde d'évaluation, après avoir reçu les commentaires de deux réviseurs. Mes réponses aux modifications demandées par les réviseurs sont présentées à l'annexe 2. Je suis l'auteure principale de cet article qui a été co-signé par Andrée Demers, Louise Nadeau et Elyse Picard.

⁶ Veuillez noter que dans cet article, le terme anglais « circumstance » n'est pas une traduction du concept de circonstance qui a précédemment été défini. Dans cet article, « circumstance » désigne un type d'occasion où un individu a consommé de l'alcool.

behaviors within the general Canadian population may lie as much in the situation as in the person.

Introduction

Numerous studies have described the association between the parental role and alcohol use (for a review, see Leonard and Eiden, 2007). While trends have been observed, the part of variance in alcohol use that is explained by the parental role is generally small within the general population (Hajema and Knibbe, 1998). A reason for this could be that many empirical studies have ignored the context in which people drink when estimating the influence of the parental role on alcohol intake. In fact, no research has hitherto examined whether the association between parenthood and drinking behaviors is invariant across situations. The aim of this study is to assess whether the influence of parenthood on alcohol intake varies according to the context in which the drinking act occurs.

Among social roles, the parental is the one whose relationship with alcohol behaviors is the least documented. Thus far, the results of the few studies on this topic show that men and women who become a parent tend to decrease their overall alcohol use (Labouvie, 1996), their weekly frequency of drinking six units or more on one occasion (Hajema and Knibbe, 1998), as well as their work-related drinking (Shore, 1997). Among American men and women 35 years of age, it was found that parents who live with children are less likely than either non-parents or noncustodial parents to report having consumed five or more drinks in one sitting at least once in the past two weeks (Merline et al., 2004). Studies using both male (Paradis et al.,

1999) and female samples (Cho and Crittenden, 2006) have indicated that being a parent is associated with lower drinking levels. According to Cho and Crittenden (2006), mothers are also less likely than non-mothers to experience drinking problems. Recent studies have shown that parenthood has a greater influence on drinking in women than in men. For example, Kuntsche et al. (2006) found that, specifically for women, being a parent is associated with a decreased risk of drinking more than 20 grams of pure ethanol a day. According to Leonard and Eiden's review (2007) on the influences of family transition on alcohol consumption, being a parent is associated with a decrease in the frequency of drinking and excessive drinking for men and women alike, and the effect is strongest close to the transition from being childless to becoming a parent.

Most sociological studies on the relationship between parenthood and alcohol consumption tend to refer to the opportunity perspective that was introduced to the alcohol field by (Knibbe et al., 1987) who brought to light different pathways through which the parental role may influence alcohol consumption. This perspective contends that because of the tasks and responsibilities associated with childcare, parents may find it difficult to allocate time and resources to drinking (Knibbe et al., 1987; Hajema et Knibbe, 1998; Gmel et al., 2000; Wilsnack et al., 2000; Ahlstrom et al., 2001; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Bloomfield et al., 2006; Kuntsche et al., 2006). Parents may also avoid drinking situations with characteristics conducive to increased drinking that is likely to interfere with acting out parenthood (Paradis, 2010). All in all, the perspective posits that “the more [a person's] life is structured by meaningful activities that others expect one to engage in and [...] the less likely he or she is to engage in heavy-volume drinking or risky single occasion drinking” (Kuntsche et al.,

2009: 1264).

However, within sociology, some argue that the study of social conduct should focus on *what's going on* (Cohen, 1996; Elster, 2007; Goffman, 1966). Pragmatists insist that rational social actors select and analyze conditions on the basis of which they order their actions. Social conducts often are no more than an impulse of relevance, a requirement of the immediate situation (de Fornel and Quéré, 2000; Joas, 1997). As Elster puts it, “a behavior is often no more stable than the situations that shape it” (Elster, 2007: 185). Hence, a limitation of the alcohol studies cited above is their focus on overall drinking patterns and the implicit presumption that because of different lifestyles, parents and non-parents will drink differently. Such studies neglect the fact that, regardless of lifestyle, drinking situations are not invariant among individuals. Individuals drink in a variety of situations that are normatively marked and that influence alcohol consumption accordingly (Kairouz and Greenfield, 2007). As Hartford (1978: 289) points out, “the consumption of alcoholic beverages is situationally specific, rather than a trans-situational property of specific individuals”. Through different studies, a group of researchers has shown that a great deal of the variability in alcohol intake is the product of contextual influences (Demers et al., 2002b; Kairouz et al., 2002; Kairouz and Greenfield, 2007). Hence, the predictive value of individual characteristics may be situationally dependent.

The fact that the drinking act is grounded in specific situations is well documented. Research has brought to light the fact that alcohol is consumed under a combination of locational, relational, circumstantial and temporal conditions (Demers, 1997; Harford, 1979; Harford et al., 1976; Harford and Gaines, 1982;

Harford et al., 1983; Simpura, 1991). For example, the probability of heavy drinking is generally higher in places such as bars, discos or taverns than in a restaurant or at home (Clapp et al., 2006; Cosper et al., 1987; Single and Wortley, 1993; Snow and Landrum, 1986). Other studies have shown that drinking in multiple locations in the course of an evening is associated with increased alcohol consumption (Hughes et al., 2008; Pedersen and Labrie, 2007). Among students, some found heavy drinking to be most likely to occur in pubs, bars, nightclubs and residential halls (Kypri et al., 2007; Paschall and Saltz, 2007), but others found it most likely to occur in private homes (Demers et al., 2002b). Individuals' drinking behaviors are also indissociable from individuals' drinking companions (Demers, 1997; Orcutt, 1991). While university students consume more alcohol per occasion with larger groups (Demers et al., 2002b), studies on drinking in licensed establishments (Hennessy et Saltz, 1993; Sykes et al., 1993) have shown that the larger the group, the more alcohol is consumed but that mixed-gender groups tend to have a moderation effect on the consumption. Special circumstances such as parties, weddings and social gatherings imply heavier drinking than everyday life contexts like having a meal (Simpura, 1987; Simpura, 1983; Single, 1993). In terms of temporal characteristics, drinking during weekends is usually associated with heavier intake than drinking during the week (Demers, 1997; Demers et al., 2002a). All in all, studies point to drinking contexts having a rather robust influence on individuals' alcohol intake per occasion.

From our perspective, examining the occasions in which drinking occurs could shed light on a pathway in which being a parent structures alcohol intake. The enactment of a role is dynamic and one implication of this is that the characteristics of a situation may determine the extent to which a role becomes “active” (Bates,

1956; Goffman, 1961). While previous alcohol studies have focused on the relationship between parenthood and overall drinking measures, it remains unverified whether parenthood also shapes alcohol on specific occasions, namely on occasions where the drinking norms facilitate heavy drinking, i.e., a drinking style that is incompatible with parenthood.. In these situations, the effect of the parental role should be significant because well-adapted individuals will not allow “their participation in short-term situations which offer immediate satisfaction to interfere with an adequate performance of their [...] role” (Knibbe et al., 1987: 464). Conversely, in situations that promote light/moderate drinking, like a meal at a restaurant, the parental role should not matter given that light/moderate drinking is not likely to interfere with acting out parenthood.

The extent to which being a parent relates to alcohol consumption in heavy drinking contexts could be greater for women. As Correll and colleagues (2007) report, there is a contemporary cultural belief that mothers should always be “on call” for their children. Hence, it may be less acceptable for mothers than for fathers to fulfill a desire to “fit in” an immediate situation and drink according to the specific context in which alcohol consumption occurs. Even within the current pluri-cultural and multi-ethnic Canadian society, where Canadians exhibit considerable heterogeneity in their behaviors, mothers in general may still be more cautious than fathers about letting their participation in short-term situations interfere with their parental role.

To broaden our understanding of the association between the parental role and alcohol consumption, this study will explore one possible pathway in which parenthood may influence drinking, i.e. whether the effect of parenthood on alcohol

intake varies according to the context in which drinking occurs. To our knowledge, this moderator effect model of contexts has not been tested before. Ultimately, the main hypothesis of this research is that significant differences between parents' and non-parents' alcohol intake will arise when drinking occurs in a context that is normatively associated with heavy drinking.

Methods

DATA SOURCE

Data were derived from The Canadian Addiction Survey 2004 (CAS), a collaborative initiative, sponsored by Health Canada, the Canadian Executive Council on Addictions and three provinces, to gauge Canadians' attitudes toward, beliefs about and personal use of alcohol and other drugs. A two-stage sampling design was used. First, within each of the 21 strata defined by Statistics Canada's Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) versus non-CMA areas within each province, a random sample of telephone numbers was selected with equal probability. Then, within selected households with more than one eligible adult, one member of the household who could complete the interview in English or French was selected according to the most recent birthday of all household members. Interviews were conducted using computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) from December 16 to December 23, 2003, and from January 9 to April 19, 2004. To maximize the response rate, at least 12 call attempts were made to unanswered numbers, and all households that refused to participate on the first attempt were contacted again. The response rate was 43% of all eligible households. While this rate is low, it is similar to that of other populational health surveys, and it reflects the general trend that the response rate for

large-scale studies have been declining throughout the developed world (Curtin, Singer and Presser, 2005; Rogers, 2006). The weighted CAS distribution compares favourably to the Census data, although the CAS sample tends to overrepresent respondents who were married and had a university degree. Such differences are common to telephone survey (Trewin et Lee, 1988). The median interview time was 23 minutes. Specific details on the research design and methods can be found in the CAS detailed report (Adlaf et al., 2005) and the Canadian Addiction Survey 2004: Microdata eGuide (CCSA, 2007).

The CAS, a representative sample of the Canadian population, consisted of 13,909 respondents (8,188 females and 5,721 males) over 15 years of age from all 10 provinces. However, to increase participation and reduce survey time, a three-panel design was implemented. Each respondent was randomly assigned to one of three panels, and each panel focused on specific items of interest in the CAS. Items about drinking occasions were asked to 40% of the respondents within the third panel ($n = 1,872$). These respondents were invited to provide information for up to three drinking occasions, defined as the three most recent occasions over the past 12 months. For our study, only individuals who reported alcohol consumption at least once during the last 12 months and who were aged between 18 and 55 were considered ($n = 1,026$). After excluding cases with missing data, 901 drinkers and 2005 drinking occasions remained in the analyses (on average, 2.2 occasions per drinker). The final sample was composed of 1,079 drinking occasions nested in 498 female drinkers and 926 drinking occasions nested in 403 male drinkers.

MEASURES

Dependent variable

The outcome variable is the alcohol intake per occasion. Respondents were asked to think back to the last three occasions on which they drank alcohol over the past 12 months, and for each of the occasions, they were asked: “How many drinks did you have?”. This variable was logarithmically transformed to correct for the skewed distribution.

Contextual variables (level 1)

The drinking situation encompassed five contextual characteristics. For each drinking occasion, respondents were asked to specify the following: the circumstance under which drinking occurred (a party, a get-together, daily life circumstance, other circumstance); the location where the drinking took place (respondent’s home, someone else’s home, a restaurant, a bar/disco/nightclub); the group size (alone, dyad, 3 to 5 people, 6 to 10 people, more than 10 people); whether drinking occurred during the weekend or not; whether it was during a meal or not.

Individual variables (level 2)

The independent variable is the parental role. Respondents were asked: “How many children under 18 years are dependent on you for their well-being and welfare, regardless of whether they live with you?”. To determine whether parents lived with their child or not, we also observed respondents’ answer to two other questions: “Including yourself, how many people are currently living in your household?” and “What is your current marital status?”. On the basis of these three

questions, we were able to create a dummy variable that differentiated respondents who have at least one child under 18 years old living at home (0) from those who do not (1).

Analyses were controlled for age as a continuous variable ranging from 18 to 55. To control for socio-economic status, analyses included educational level, an ordinal variable with seven possible responses ranging from (1) less than a high school degree to (7) university graduate studies. Moreover, given the known protective effect of marriage on alcohol use, analyses were also controlled for marital status, a dummy variable that distinguished respondents who are married/common-law spouse (0) from those who are not (1).

STATISTICAL ANALYSES

The goal of our analyses was to examine whether there is an additive or a conditional relationship between the parental role and drinking occasions to explain women and men's alcohol intake. Given the hierarchical structure of our data where drinking occasions (level 1) are nested within individuals (level 2), a multilevel linear regression model was used to estimate the variance deriving from the drinking occasion and the individual and to assess the manner in which contextual characteristics and parenthood influence alcohol intake (Bryk and Raudenbush, 1992; Goldstein, 1986; 1995, Goldstein and McDonald, 1988; Hox and Kreft, 1994). Analyses were controlled for age, marital status and educational level.

Parameter estimation was done with Iterative Generalized Least Square (IGLS) (Goldstein and Rasbash, 1992; Goldstein, 2002) using MLn 2.02 software (Rasbash et al., 2004). IGLS views the likelihood function as depending on random

coefficients and fixed regression coefficients; the latter are treated as known quantities when computing the random parameters. Fixed coefficients are tested with normal deviate two-tailed significance reported at $p < 0.05$. Wald tests were used to assess statistical significance of categorical variables. For variance parameters, likelihood ratio tests are applied, and halved p -values were used (Snijders and Bosker, 1999). The proportion of variance explained for both level 1 and level 2 variables is calculated using Snijders and Bosker formulas (Snijders and Bosker, 1994).

Regression models were fitted for the alcohol intake per occasion. Model 1 includes no independent variables to estimate the distribution of the variance between contextual (level 1) and individual variables (level 2). Model 2 adds the parental role variable. The three control variables are then added to model 3. Model 4 is a full conditional model including both individual (level 2) and contextual (level 1) variables. This model allows us to evaluate the extent to which drinking context and individual variables act as additive factors to alcohol intake. Then, to specifically test the moderation hypothesis, two-way interactions between parenthood and contextual characteristic were tested one by one. Thus, the last model includes the main effects of the variables and the significant interactions with the parental role variable.

Prior to performing multilevel analyses, bivariate analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between parenthood and the other study variables for women and men separately. For continuous and categorical variables, statistical significance was assessed with independent sample t -tests and chi-squared analyses, respectively.

Results

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSES

Women

Women's individual characteristics are presented in Table 1. Women who have at least one child at home do not differentiate themselves from women who do not with regard to age and education, but mothers are significantly more likely than non-mothers to have a spouse (72.6% versus 56.3%). Regarding drinking occasions, our data indicate that women who have at least one child at home consume alcohol within similar drinking contexts to those of women without children at home. Indeed, comparing the last three drinking occasions of Canadian women, the only significant difference is that mothers are significantly less likely to report drinking during the weekdays than non-mothers (28.0% versus 38.3%). However, data indicate that overall, within their last three drinking occasions, women who have at least one child at home drank significantly less than women who are not living with a child at home (2.8 versus 3.2 drinks).

Men

Interestingly, fathers and non-fathers are quite different with regard to both their individual characteristics and the drinking contexts where they consume alcohol. Men who do have a child at home are about twice as likely as those who do not to be married (87.1% versus 43.2%) and are significantly older (38.8 years old versus 35.5 years old). With regard to their last three drinking occasions, fathers are significantly more likely than non-fathers to drink in a daily life circumstance (34% versus 25.5%), with a meal (67.7% versus 60.6%), at home

(49% versus 35.4%) and in a dyad (19.4% versus 11.1%). Fathers are also significantly less likely than non-fathers to have drunk at someone else's home (23.8% versus 31.3%) and at a bar/disco/nightclub (13.9% versus 20.6%). Overall, in their last drinking occasions, fathers reported a smaller alcohol intake than men without children at home (3.4 drinks versus 4.3 drinks).

Insert Table 1 about here.

MULTILEVEL REGRESSION ANALYSES

Women

Women's results in the multilevel analyses are presented in Table 2. Women's null model (model 1) indicates an overall mean alcohol intake per occasion (log) of 0.844, i.e., 2.3 drinks per occasion in the original unit, and finds sizeable variance for both contextual and individual characteristics. The interclass correlation shows that 60.3% [$0.290 / (0.290 + 0.191)$] of the variance is at the individual level (level 2) while 39.7% is at the contextual level (level 1).

The effect of parenthood was estimated in the second model, leaving parents as the reference category. The results show that being a mother is not a significant predictor of alcohol intake per occasion. In the third model, age, education and marital status were added to the equation. While the effect of parenthood remained insignificant, results show that as women's age and education increase, alcohol intake decreases. Being married is also negatively associated with alcohol intake. Control variables significantly add to the prediction of women's alcohol intake per

occasion ($\chi^2 = 71.399$; $df = 4$; $p \leq 0.0001$). Together, individual variables explain 11% of the variance between occasions and 14% of the variance between women.

In the fourth model, all contextual variables were added to the analyses. The circumstance, the moment, the location and the group size are significantly related to alcohol intake per occasion, but whether drinking occurred during a meal is not. Together, contextual variables significantly add to the prediction of women's alcohol intake per occasion ($\chi^2 = 187.288$; $df = 12$; $p \leq 0.0001$). Women drink more during a party ($B = 0.338$) and a get-together ($B = 0.182$) (as opposed to a daily life circumstance), on Friday or Saturday ($B = 0.145$) (as opposed to other days of the week), in a bar/disco/nightclub ($B = 0.263$), at home ($B = 0.126$) and at someone else's home ($B = 0.118$) (as opposed to at a restaurant) and in a large- ($B = 0.274$) or a medium-size group ($B = 0.210$) (as opposed to in a dyad). With the inclusion of contextual variables, the parental role remains non-significant. This model accounts for 26% of the variance between occasions and 29% of the variance between women.

Insert Table 2 about here.

Finally, the extent to which women's parental role interacts with contextual variables was tested. No significant interactions were found, so none are reported here. However, it should be mentioned that the parental role and location interaction nearly attained statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 6.033$; $df = 3$; $p = 0.11$).

Men

Men's overall alcohol intake per occasion is 2.9 drinks per occasion (i.e., log value = 1.054); and the interclass correlation shows that 61.3% of the variance is situated at the individual level, while 38.7% is situated at the contextual level. Hence, as much for men as for women, nearly two-thirds of the variance in alcohol intake is owing to the individual, while over one-third is owing to the drinking occasion.

Based on the second model, men's parental role is a significant predictor of alcohol intake per occasion. Compared to fathers, non-fathers report more alcohol intake ($B = 0.150$). However, when control variables were added to the third model, the parental role became non-significant. Men's marital status is neither related to alcohol intake per occasion but as age and education increase, the alcohol consumption per occasion significantly decreases. Control variables improve the fit of the previous model ($\chi^2 = 1.147$; $df = 1$; $p=0.284$). Together, individual variables explain 9% of the variance between occasions and 12% of the variance between individuals.

Contextual variables were added to the analyses in the fourth model. The parental role remained non-significant, but the prediction of men's alcohol intake was significantly improved ($\chi^2 = 1872.453$; $df = 12$; $p \leq 0.0001$). With the exception of whether drinking occurred during a meal or not, every contextual variable is related to men's alcohol intake per occasion. Men report greater alcohol intake during a party ($B = 0.495$), at a get-together ($B = 0.316$) or under any other circumstances ($B = 0.320$) than in a daily life circumstance. When drinking occurs on Friday or Saturday ($B = 0.185$), alcohol intake is greater than if drinking occurs on any other day. Men drink more in a bar/disco/nightclub ($B = 0.278$) and at home ($B = 0.207$) than at a

restaurant. Finally, men drink more in a large group ($B = 0.353$) or in a medium size group ($B = 0.190$) than they do in a dyad but less when they drink alone ($B = -0.174$). This full model accounts for 21% of the variance between occasions and 21% of the variance between individuals.

Insert Table 3 about here.

Finally, the possibility that men's parental role interacts with contextual variables was tested. Interactions were first tested separately, and all significant effects were kept. From this final model, one interaction was found and is presented in graph 1. The circumstance into which drinking occurs is a significant moderator of parenthood on alcohol intake among men. Indeed, while fathers and non-fathers do not report statistically different alcohol intake when drinking occurs in a party, a daily life circumstance or another type of circumstance, at a get-together fathers consume significantly more alcohol than non-fathers ($B_{\text{parenthood*get together}} = -0.233$; $\chi^2 = 9.862$; $df = 3$; $p=0.02$). It should be added that the parental role and group size interaction was just about significant ($\chi^2 = 7.051$; $df = 4$; $p=0.13$).

Insert Graph 1 about here.

Discussion

This study makes a contribution to research on the relation between parenthood, drinking contexts and alcohol intake. After analyzing the data, a central

result in this sample is that overall, when age, education level and marital status are controlled for, parenthood is neither directly, nor conditionally, associated with alcohol intake per occasion. While authors have previously pointed out that social roles have a conservative effect on overall drinking patterns (Celentano and McQueen, 1984; Paradis et al., 1999; Parker et al., 1980; Temple et al., 1991), our study indicates that for both men and women, being the parent of a child under the age of 18 living at home is not significantly related to alcohol intake per occasion. More to the point in this study, it was found that drinking contexts significantly influence alcohol intake per occasion, but results of multilevel analyses provide very limited support for a moderator role for drinking contexts on the parenthood and alcohol intake relationship. Of the 10 possible interactions that were tested between parenthood and contextual variables across gender categories, only one reached statistical significance, and it was not in the predicted direction.

The nature of the interaction between men's parental role and circumstances is intriguing. The results show that non-fathers drink more than fathers in every type of circumstance except in get-togethers, where, surprisingly, it is fathers who drink the most. No explanation can be offered for this result, unless it is that this circumstance has a different meaning that is related to different acceptable behaviors for fathers and non-fathers. For fathers, the get-together could be a true time-out, unconnected to other parts of the day (life) and subject to different rules (Gusfield, 1963) Indeed, unlike non-fathers, who may consider a get-together to be a common situation, fathers may experience this particular drinking circumstance as an out-of-the-ordinary occasion where boys meet boys, in a context that does not condemn, and perhaps supports, greater alcohol intake. Hence, fathers and non-fathers experiencing

a given circumstance differently could explain this finding.

Besides this counter-intuitive result, the general failure to find context differences in the magnitude of the relationship between parenthood and alcohol intake brings something new to sociological perspectives on alcohol use like the opportunity perspective (cf. Knibbe et al., 1987). In view of present results, parents are not continuously constrained and so a role perspective on alcohol use should be wary of putting too much emphasis on restrictions and responsibilities. Mothers and fathers may not always limit their alcohol intake but may, during certain occasions, decide to drink more than usual and later hope to be excused for imperiling their parental role. More than a case where parental responsibilities limit alcohol intake, it may be that drinking provides an excuse to lapse in parental responsibilities. As Gusfield (1996: 64) points out, alcohol is the object that allows an individual to transform himself or herself from “a socially bound and limited player of roles into someone of self-expression”.

In this study, we hypothesized a high level of cross-situational consistency among parents. We expected that in every drinking contexts, even those with characteristics conducive to increased drinking, mothers and fathers would drink in such a way as to not interfere with parental duties, In point of fact, our results rather reaffirmed what has been previously observed in studies from the drinking context literature, i.e. the robust influence of drinking contexts. Contextual characteristics explain variation between occasions, as well as between individuals on alcohol intake per occasion. This study's hierarchical design showed that, regardless of their individual characteristics, drinking in a bar, with a large group, during the weekend and under a circumstance other than a daily one is significantly related to increased

alcohol intake. Thus the positive impact of these characteristics on alcohol intake cannot exclusively be the result of an auto-selection bias that makes a certain type of individual more likely to encounter these contexts; rather, it is due to the sole effect that these contextual characteristics have on alcohol consumption. We, like others (Demers et al., 2002b; Kairouz et al., 2002; Kairouz and Greenfield, 2007), draw attention to the great explanatory power that contextual characteristics bring to the study of drinking behaviors. Situational forces are such that, once in a context that normatively supports heavy drinking, persons will drink more than in a context that does not. In short, this study clearly points to the power of situations: *Occasio furem facit*.

Finally, we found that when other socio-demographic variables are controlled for, the extent to which parenthood relates to alcohol intake is significant among neither men nor women, even in heavy drinking contexts. Alcohol consumption is indissociable from the social environment (SIRC, 2000; Wells et al., 2005). Women and men alike feel that in certain situations they can take a time-out and drink more than usual. Nevertheless, further studies might want to investigate whether this gender-neutral effect remains true across various sub-populations within the Canadian society.

Limitations

Some methodological limitations may have affected the present results. The first is the relatively basic way in which the parental role was treated in the CAS, i.e., with no regard to the qualitative aspects of the parental role, the level of commitment and responsibilities experienced by parents. Taking into account these aspects may

have revealed a different picture, but present data did not allow for such a complex description of the parental role. Likewise, no specific attention was paid to the moderator effect model of contexts for different types of parents. In this regard, Avison & Davies (2005) showed that for Canadian women, parenthood's association with the frequency of having 5 drinks or more on one occasion may be different for single mothers compared to mothers in a two parents household. Present analyses kept the marital status constant, but no direct attention was given to this issue. This is an interesting topic that should be addressed in future research. Thirdly, present data did not allow us to control for the age of children living at home. However, this may not have had a significant effect on our results since recent work has shown that while time directly spent on childcare decreases as children age, the loss of parental time in rest and leisure remains constant as children grow (Craig, 2007). Each age comes with its own set of challenges, so overall the demands upon parents' lives remain relatively even regardless of children's age (Craig et Sawrikar, 2008).

Finally, in the CAS, respondents were asked about their last three drinking occasions only. Although this gave us large samples ($N_s = 1,079$ among women and 926 among men) with enough power to detect interactions, moderator effects are difficult to detect in field studies (McClelland and Judd, 1993). Perhaps if respondents had been asked about five drinking occasions, as has been done in other surveys (for details see Demers, 1997; Demers et al., 2002b), the present sample would have been larger and a greater number of interactions may have come out significant. It also is possible that an increase in the variety of drinking occasions reported by respondents may have generated a more systematic and stronger association between parenthood and overall alcohol intake per occasion.

On a different note, our findings might be result of epistemological limitations in a quantitative alcohol research context. To date, most researchers have worked with the assumption that, in regard to social roles and alcohol consumption, an instrumental causality prevails. Although this may be partially true, the intentional causality might be important as well; and so sociologists should try to understand the logic beneath men's and women's behaviors by more attentively studying their expectations and their intentions instead of taking them for granted.

Conclusion

In our attempt through populational data to reinstate social actors within situations, our analysis of the effect of being a parent on alcohol intake across various drinking context shows the parental role to be a poor predictor of alcohol intake across different types of contexts for men and women alike. Concurrently, the present results reveal the robust influence of contextual characteristics to explain individuals' alcohol intake per occasion. Given that the explanation of alcohol behaviors within the general Canadian population may lie as much in the situation as in the person, those responsible for alcohol prevention may want to implement environmental services and policies such as bans on low-price alcohol promotions in drinking outlets, year-round safe ride home service or mandatory server intervention training.

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Table 1.

Individual and contextual descriptions by parental role for women and men separately

	WOMEN			MEN		
	Parents	Non-parents	Stat. Signif.	Parents	Non-parents	Stat. Signif.
<i>Contextual characteristics</i>	<i>N = 453</i>	<i>N = 626</i>		<i>N = 294</i>	<i>N = 632</i>	
Circumstance %						
Party	22,1	24,1		16,7	22,2	
Get together	42,6	42,0		36,1	40,5	
Daily life circumstance	22,5	24,3		34,0	25,5	**
Other circumstance	12,8	9,6		12,3	11,0	
With a meal % (vs. w/o a meal)	68,7	72,7		67,7	60,6	*
Weekdays % (vs. Friday – Saturday)	28,0	38,3	***	41,2	37,0	
Location %						
Home	40,0	37,2		49,0	35,4	***
Someone else's home	28,5	29,6		23,8	31,3	*
Restaurant	15,7	13,9		13,3	12,7	
Bar/Disco/Nightclub	15,9	19,3		13,9	20,6	*
Number of drinking partners %						
None	9,7	9,6		11,6	13,8	
1 partner	15,0	15,5		19,4	11,1	***
2 – 4 partners	28,5	28,3		27,9	29,0	
5 – 9 partners	22,1	23,6		24,1	26,9	
10 partners or more	24,7	23,0		17,0	19,3	
Alcohol intake (Mean, S.D.)	2,8 (2,0)	3,2 (2,6)	***	3,4 (2,8)	4,3 (4,6)	***
<i>Individual characteristics</i>	<i>N = 212</i>	<i>N = 286</i>		<i>N = 132</i>	<i>N = 271</i>	
Married/common law spouse % (vs. not)	72,6	56,3	***	87,1	43,2	***
Age (Mean, S.D.)	36,1 (7,7)	37,3 (12,3)		38,8 (7,5)	35,5 (12,1)	***
Education level (Mean, S.D.)	3,75 (1,8)	3,9 (1,9)		3,8 (1,9)	3,6 (1,9)	

* $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 2. Multilevel linear regression for women's alcohol intake per occasion
(logarithmic transformation)

		Null Model	Individual- Level Control Model	Individual- Level Model	Full Main Effects Model
		Param.	Param.	Param.	Param.
	Constant	0.844***	0.809***	1.538***	0.692***
	Circumstance • Party				0.338***
	• A get together				0.182***
	• Daily life circumstances				Ref.
	• Other circumstances				0.030
	Meal • During a meal				Ref.
	• Not during a meal				0.083*
Level 1	Moment • Weekend				0.145***
	• Weekdays				Ref.
	Location • Your home				0.126*
	• Someone else home				0.118*
	• Restaurant				Ref.
	• Bar/disco/nightclub				0.263***
	Group size • Alone				-0.019
	• Dyad				Ref.
	• Between 3 and 5 people				0.060
	• Between 6 and 10 people				0.210**
	• More than 10 people				0.274***
	Marital role • Not Married			0.129*	0.112*
	• Married			Ref.	Ref.
Level 2	Age			-0.017***	-0.010***
	Education level			-0.041**	-0.026*
	Parental role • Non-Parent		0.061	0.064	0.064
	• Parent		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
	Random part				
	$\sigma^2\varepsilon$ (level 1)	0.191	0.191	0.191	0.162
	$\sigma^2\mu$ (level 2)	0.290	0.288	0.237	0.195
	Statistics				
	-2-log likelihood	1974.374	1973.227	1902.975	1715.687
	X ²		1.147	71.399	258.687
	Degrees of freedom		1	4	16
	P		0.2842	<0.0001	<0.0001
	R ² of level 1 variables		0.4%	11%	26%
	R ² of level 2 variables		1%	14%	29%

* $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$

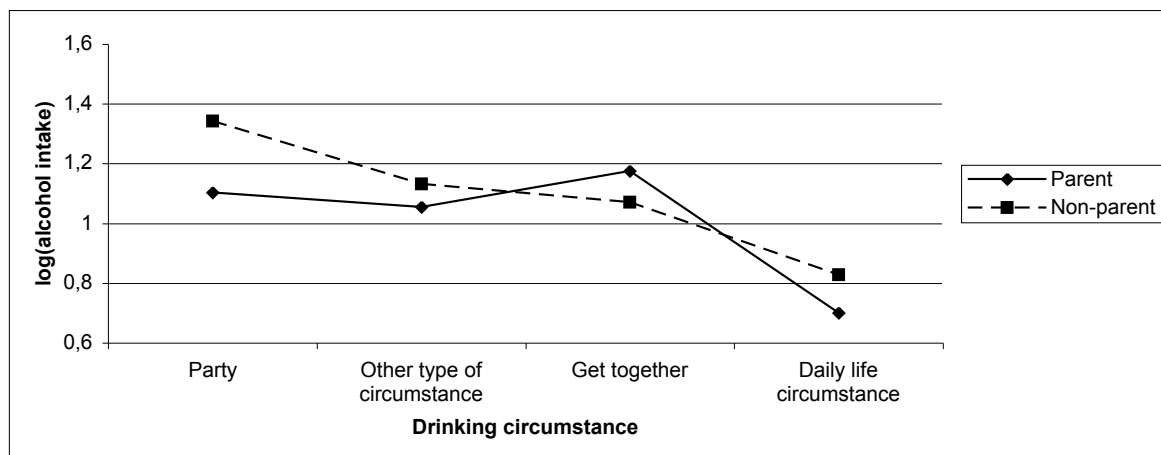
Table 3. Multilevel linear regression for men's alcohol intake per occasion
(logarithmic transformation)

		Null Model	Individual-Level Control Model	Individual-Level Model	Full Main Model	Final Main Effects and Interactions Model		
		Param.	Param.	Param.	Param.	Main effects	Interaction * parental role	
Level 1	Constant	1.054***	0.952***	1.812***	0.916***	0.860***		
	Circumstance	• Party				0.495***	0.404***	0.110
		• A get together				0.316***	0.475***	-0.233*
		• Daily life circumstances				Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
		• Other circumstances				0.320***	0.354**	-0.051
	Meal	• During a meal				Ref.	Ref.	
		• Not during a meal				-0.078	-0.080	
	Moment	• Weekend				0.185***	0.179***	
		• Weekdays				Ref.	Ref.	
	Location	• Your home				0.207**	0.206**	
• Someone else home					0.056	0.060		
• Restaurant					Ref.	Ref.		
• Bar/disco/nightclub					0.278***	0.275***		
Group size	• Alone				-0.174*	-0.177*		
	• Dyad				Ref.	Ref.		
	• Between 3 and 5 people				0.068	0.069		
	• Between 6 and 10 people				0.190*	0.186*		
	• More than 10 people				0.353***	0.344***		
Marital role	• Not Married			0.030	0.035	0.042		
	• Married			Ref.	Ref.	Ref.		
Level 2	Age			-0.016***	-0.009**	-0.009**		
	Education level			-0.065***	-0.053**	-0.052**		
Parental role	• Non-Parent		0.150*	0.075	0.056	0.129		
	• Parent		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.		
Random part								
$\sigma^2\epsilon$ (level 1)		0.247	0.387	0.248	0.192	0.190		
$\sigma^2\mu$ (level 2)		0.391	0.247	0.332	0.309	0.305		
Statistics								
-2-log likelihood		1933.295	1929.403	1886.806	1704.353	1694.545		
X^2			3.892	46.489	228.942	238.750		
Degrees of freedom			1	4	16	19		
P			<0.05	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001		
R^2 of level 1 variables			1%	9%	21%	22%		
R^2 of level 2 variables			1%	12%	21%	22%		

* $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$

Graph 1.

Men's predicted alcohol intake by parental role and drinking circumstances



CHAPITRE 6

PRINCIPAUX RESULTATS ET CONCLUSION

Ce chapitre contient cinq sections distinctes. Dans les paragraphes qui suivent, nous rappellerons d'abord la problématique de cette thèse. Cette première section sera suivie par la synthèse des principaux résultats des analyses empiriques. En troisième lieu, les résultats seront commentés sur la base de l'approche théorique privilégiée dans cette thèse. Cela permettra ensuite d'évoquer ce qui, dans cette étude, aurait pu être fait autrement. Dans la cinquième section, des recommandations seront formulées.

6.1. Les rôles et la consommation d'alcool dans la société moderne

Depuis ses origines, un des desseins de la sociologie est d'observer les grandes tendances structurelles et d'en extraire les conséquences pour l'individu. Dans le champ de l'alcoologie, une des traductions de ce projet sociologique est l'exploration de l'association entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool. En effet, parce que longtemps les hommes se sont appropriés la sphère occupationnelle et les femmes ont été confinées à la sphère domestique, il a semblé pertinent de vérifier dans quelle mesure les rôles positionnels, notamment le rôle parental, permet de rendre compte des différentes façons qu'ont les hommes et les femmes de se comporter en relation à l'alcool.

Par ailleurs, force est d'admettre que ce modèle culturel des rôles positionnels qui a longtemps été hégémonique ne l'est plus au Canada. Les sociétés occidentales sont de plus en plus complexes, tant au niveau de leur composition que de leurs sous-

cultures et inévitablement, il en résulte de plus grandes variations relatives aux rôles sociaux (Lopota, 1999). La tâche du sociologue est alors forcément compliquée. Au vu du nombre croissant de manières d'occuper les rôles sociaux, il faut repenser les façons traditionnelles d'analyser l'influence possible de ce type de déterminant sur les comportements individuels.

À cette fin, nous croyons qu'il convient désormais de se demander si ce ne serait pas plutôt l'expérience qu'ont les femmes et les hommes de leurs positions sociales qui permettrait d'expliquer leur consommation individuelle d'alcool. C'est à cette tâche qu'a été consacrée la présente thèse de doctorat. Par ailleurs, étant donné la nature des données disponibles, l'emphase de cette thèse a été mise sur la position parentale. Plus précisément, le but de cette thèse a été de vérifier si les relations dynamiques entre la position parentale, les circonstances et les contextes immédiats permettent d'expliquer les différentes façons qu'ont les hommes et les femmes de consommer de l'alcool.

C'est pour répondre à cette question spécifique de recherche que les trois articles présentés dans les chapitres précédents ont été écrits. Le premier article a été consacré à la relation dynamique entre le rôle parental et les circonstances au sein desquelles ce rôle est quotidiennement vécue. L'hypothèse que l'ampleur du conflit de rôles vécus par les répondants est un modérateur de la relation entre la position parentale et la fréquence de consommation, la fréquence de consommation abusive ainsi que la quantité usuelle d'alcool consommé par occasion a été testée. Les deux articles suivants ont observé les manières de boire des hommes et des femmes en fonction de la relation entre le rôle parental et les contextes de consommation d'alcool. Le deuxième article a testé l'hypothèse que les lieux usuels de

consommation sont un médiateur de la relation entre le rôle parental et la fréquence de consommation abusive, alors que le troisième article a testé l'hypothèse que les contextes de consommation sont un modérateur de la relation entre le rôle parental et la quantité d'alcool consommée par occasion. On peut retenir les principaux résultats suivants.

6.2 Principaux résultats

6.2.1 Le rôle parental est associé aux fréquences de consommation

De prime à bord, nos résultats annoncent la confirmation de ce que d'autres ont soutenu avant nous, à savoir que le rôle parental structure la consommation individuelle d'alcool (Bloomfield et al., 2006; Gmel et al., 2000; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Kuntsche et al., 2006; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2004; Wilsnack et al., 2000). Être un parent, c.-à-d. vivre avec au moins un enfant à charge de 18 ans ou moins, influence les manières de boire. Par ailleurs, la constellation des résultats obtenus dans les trois articles amène à constater que ce sont spécifiquement les fréquences de consommation d'alcool que le rôle parental structure.

Tableau 1. Sommaire des résultats : Rôle parental et consommation d'alcool

	<i>Article 1</i>		<i>Articles 1 et 2</i>		<i>Article 3</i>			
	Fréquence de consommation	Quantité usuelle consommée par occasion	Fréquence de consommation excessive	Quantité consommée par occasion (trois dernières occasions)	Femmes	Hommes		
	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes		
Rôle parental	-	-	ns	-	-	-	ns	ns

- : association négative; + : association positive; ns : association non significative

Les résultats des articles 1 et 2 indiquent que, dans la population adulte canadienne, comparativement aux non-parents, les parents tendent à boire moins fréquemment (article 1) et à boire moins fréquemment de façon excessive (article 1 et 2). Qui plus est, ce premier résultat est observable tant chez les femmes que chez les hommes. Les analyses des données de l'enquête GENACIS ont permis de faire ressortir que les parents, aussi bien les mères que les pères, rapportent des fréquences annuelles de consommation et des fréquences annuelles de consommation d'au moins cinq verres lors d'une même occasion inférieures à celles qui sont rapportées par les autres adultes canadiens de 55 ans ou moins qui n'ont pas d'enfants à charge.

En contrepartie, les résultats des articles 1 et 3 révèlent un résultat fort intéressant. Le rôle parental n'influence que de façon marginale la quantité d'alcool consommé par occasion et, étonnamment, cela semble être d'autant plus vrai chez les femmes que chez les hommes.

D'abord, chez les hommes, les analyses des données de l'enquête GENACIS portant sur la quantité usuelle de consommation (article 1) révèlent qu'usuellement, les hommes sans enfants à charge consomment plus d'alcool par occasion que les pères. Néanmoins, les analyses de l'article 3 portant sur la quantité d'alcool consommé lors des trois plus récentes occasions de consommation montrent que le rôle parental n'est pas un facteur significatif de la quantité d'alcool consommé par les hommes lors d'une occasion donnée. Selon les données du CAS, lorsque les hommes consomment de l'alcool, les pères et les non-pères ne rapportent pas des quantités par occasion qui soient significativement différentes.

Chez les femmes, être une mère ne semble pas avoir d'influence sur les quantités d'alcool consommé par occasion. Aussi bien les analyses de l'article 3,

portant sur la consommation d'alcool lors des trois plus récentes occasions, que celles de l'article 1, portant sur la quantité usuelle de consommation par occasion, énoncent clairement que les quantités d'alcool consommé par occasion ne varient pas selon le rôle parentale. Usuellement (article 1) et lors des plus récentes occasions de consommation (article 3), les mères et les non-mères consomment des quantités d'alcool qui ne se différencient pas sur la base du critère statistique.

Bref, dans cette thèse, quatre tests statistiques ont porté sur la quantité d'alcool consommé par occasion et, trois fois sur quatre, il résulte que la position parentale n'a pas d'influence sur la quantité d'alcool consommé par occasion.

Ainsi, pris dans leur ensemble, nos résultats indiquent que si, dans la société actuelle, le rôle parental opère toujours comme un faisceau de contraintes sur la consommation d'alcool, cette position semble plutôt limiter les occasions de boire que les quantités consommées. Alors qu'en alcoologie, il va du sens commun que fondamentalement, le rôle parentale structure les manières de boire, nos diverses analyses réalisées sur deux bases de données populationnelles révèlent que ce sont les *invitations* et les *appels* à boire que cette position spécifie. De façon imagée, les présents résultats témoignent que vivre avec un enfant à charge exerce une résistance à déboucher la bouteille, mais que cette influence disparaît une fois la bouteille ouverte. Cela étant dit, nous nous devons de mettre un bémol sur cet état de choses, puisque la part de la variance des fréquences de boire expliquée par le rôle parental, quoique statistiquement significative, est somme toute marginale.

6.2.2 L'association entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool est relativement stable

Conformément à l'approche théorique développée, nous nous attendions à ce que les résultats présentés ci-haut ne soient pas fixes et qu'ils varient selon la situation. Dans le cas qui nous préoccupe, nous nous attendions à ce que ces résultats varient selon les circonstances individuelles et les contextes immédiats de consommation. Or, les analyses empiriques réalisées dans les articles 1 et 3 nous obligent à réfuter ces hypothèses de modération. Chez les répondants de cette enquête, ni les circonstances ni les contextes de consommation ne modèrent la relation entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool.

Les analyses de l'article 1 portant sur les adultes canadiens en emploi ont dévoilé le phénomène suivant. Le degré d'interférence, de débordement et d'épuisement relié à l'occupation des rôles ne modère pas la relation entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool. Cela s'observe aussi bien chez les hommes que chez les femmes. Plus précisément, l'association négative entre la fréquence de consommation et le fait d'être parent et l'association négative entre la fréquence de consommation excessive et le fait d'être parent ne varient pas, peu importe l'ampleur du conflit de rôles vécu par les répondants. En plus, aucune interaction entre le rôle parental et l'ampleur du conflit de rôles ne s'est avérée significative au regard de la quantité usuelle de consommation. Chez les femmes, être une mère n'influence pas la quantité usuelle par occasion et cela ne change pas selon le niveau de conflit de rôles au sein duquel le rôle parental est mise en acte. Chez les hommes, les pères

rapportent une quantité usuelle de consommation par occasion inférieure à celle que rapportent les autres hommes, peu importe l'ampleur des conflits de rôles rapportés.

Au total, afin de tester si les manières de boire des hommes et des femmes s'expliquent en fonction de la relation entre le rôle parental et des circonstances individuelles, 18 interactions ont été testées; neuf chez les femmes et neuf chez les hommes. Aucune n'a atteint le seuil de signification statistique.

Il faut bien souligner que, chez les femmes, le degré d'interférence entre les rôles a une influence négative sur la fréquence de consommation et une influence positive sur la quantité usuelle par occasion, mais ce type de circonstance n'aboutit pas à modifier la relation entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool.

De même, les analyses de l'article 3 énoncent clairement que, peu importe le contexte au sein duquel l'alcool est consommé, les quantités d'alcool que consomment les parents et les non-parents ne sont pas différentes sur la base du critère statistique. Dans cette étude, dix interactions possibles entre le rôle parental et des caractéristiques du contexte immédiat de consommation ont été testées et une seule s'est avérée significative. Chez les hommes, lors des fêtes (*party*), d'évènements de la vie courante, ou toute autre occasion, les pères et les hommes qui n'ont pas d'enfants à charge rapportent consommer des quantités d'alcool similaires, mais lors des rencontres entre amis (*get-together*), les pères rapportent de plus grandes quantités que les autres hommes.

Tout compte fait, les analyses menées dans le cadre de cette étude doctorale révèlent que, chez les femmes et les hommes adultes de la population générale canadienne, l'influence de le rôle parental sur la consommation d'alcool est stable et ne varie pas selon les circonstances au sein desquelles l'acteur évolue, ou le contexte

de consommation au sein duquel l'action de boire se déroule. La relation entre le rôle parental et les fréquences de consommation est négative, peu importe les circonstances au sein desquelles le rôle parental est vécue. En plus, les analyses montrent que la relation entre le rôle parental et les quantités usuelles de consommation est invariable, peu importe les circonstances ou les contextes immédiats de consommation.

6.2.3 Boire est indissociable des contextes de consommation

Relativement aux contextes de consommation, nous attendions que la consommation individuelle d'alcool par occasion soit influencée par le rôle parental au sein de contextes incompatibles avec la mise en acte de cette position. Comme nous venons tout juste de le mentionner, cette hypothèse n'a pas été vérifiée.

Cependant, les analyses ont permis de faire ressortir qu'une fois les individus engagés dans un contexte donné, l'influence contextuelle est à ce point marquante qu'elle réduit la force d'influence des facteurs de nature individuelle sur la quantité d'alcool consommé (article 3). Les analyses de muti-niveaux de l'article 3 montrent clairement que la consommation d'alcool lors d'une occasion quelconque est intimement associée aux caractéristiques spatiales, temporelles, symboliques et relationnelles qui marquent les occasions de consommation. Une fois qu'un individu est installé dans un contexte donné, c'est l'influence de ce contexte qui prédomine. Pour les femmes et pour les hommes, boire dans un party; boire un vendredi soir ou un samedi; boire dans un bar; boire avec plusieurs amis sont des facteurs associés à un plus grand nombre de consommations lors d'une occasion donnée. Chez les

femmes, consommer de l'alcool sans que cela accompagne un repas est aussi associé à un plus grand nombre de consommations lors d'une occasion donnée. En matière de consommation d'alcool, il semble que le contexte de consommation exerce une influence exceptionnelle sur les pratiques individuelles.

L'importance des contextes pour comprendre la consommation d'alcool ressort aussi clairement de nos analyses de médiation (article 2). En effet, les analyses de l'article 2 énoncent un mécanisme important par lequel le rôle parental des femmes et des hommes est négativement associée à la fréquence de consommation abusive : la relation entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool s'explique par le rôle médiateur des lieux de consommation. Autrement dit, que les parents rapportent une fréquence de consommation abusive inférieure à celle des non-parents est relié au constat que les parents et les non-parents ne privilégient pas les mêmes lieux pour consommer de l'alcool. Globalement, ce mécanisme s'observe aussi bien chez les femmes que chez les hommes, mais l'analyse des effets spécifiques a montré que, dans le détail, le mécanisme varie selon le genre.

Chez les femmes, si la fréquence de consommation abusive des mères est inférieure à celle des autres femmes, c'est possiblement parce que, lorsque les mères consomment de l'alcool, elles privilégient moins les lieux publics que les femmes qui n'ont pas d'enfants à charge. Chez les hommes, la fréquence de consommation abusive des pères est inférieure à celle des autres hommes dans la mesure où, lorsque les pères consomment de l'alcool, ils privilégient la maison de leurs amis et ils délaissent les bars. Par conséquent, l'article 2 est une contribution à la démonstration que ce n'est pas le rôle parental en soi qui structure les manières de boire, mais que ce sont plutôt les lieux où les individus consomment, étant donné leur rôle parental.

En définitive, aussi bien les résultats de l'article 2 que ceux de l'article 3 confirment l'idée introduite par d'autres (p.ex. Demers et al., 2002; 2002b; Kairouz et al., 2002), à savoir que, dans la compréhension des comportements de boire, il est nécessaire d'observer à la fois des facteurs individuels et contextuels. Sans la prise en compte des contextes de consommation, la compréhension du phénomène de la consommation d'alcool est limitée. Ces résultats nous engagent à abonder dans le sens de Jon Elster (2007), à savoir que les comportements individuels ne sont probablement pas plus stables que les occasions qui les façonnent. Non seulement l'occasion fait-elle le larron, mais le fameux proverbe semble refléter aussi bien la réalité des femmes que celles des hommes. Cette constatation, qui est un apport de cette thèse, vient établir l'importance égale des contextes pour les deux genres alors que les écarts constants entre les modèles de consommation masculin et féminin auraient amené à attribuer les différences aux contraintes de rôle et à la biologie.

6.3. La pertinence du cadre théorique de l'action située

Au total, les principaux résultats des analyses empiriques réalisées dans le cadre de cette thèse de doctorat nous invitent à formuler les conclusions suivantes. Chez les femmes et les hommes, âgés entre 18 et 55 ans, de la population générale canadienne :

- Le rôle parental influence la consommation d'alcool, c'est systématique dans le cas des fréquences de consommation.
- La relation entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool passe par des différences quant aux lieux usuels de consommation.

- La consommation d'alcool est indissociable des contextes de consommation.

Le cadre théorique de l'action située a été utilisé comme perspective théorique au présent travail. Bien que cette thèse n'ait pas été destinée à tester la validité de cette perspective, la combinaison de la réflexion théorique et des analyses empiriques donne lieu à des retombées originales relativement à l'avancement des connaissances en matière de consommation d'alcool.

Dans les travaux qui constituent cette thèse, le but était d'expliquer plutôt que décrire la relation entre la consommation d'alcool et les rôles positionnels. À cette fin, nous avons proposé un modèle théorique qui insiste fortement sur la nécessité d'observer la situation et donc, notamment, les contextes de consommation au sein desquels l'action de boire se produit. Les résultats des analyses empiriques rapportées dans la section précédente ont révélé le bien-fondé de cette proposition.

En effet, nos résultats montrent que les contextes immédiats ont une influence directe sur la consommation d'alcool des femmes et des hommes. Cela établit que dans l'étude de la consommation d'alcool, spécifiquement de la quantité consommée par occasion, ce sont les rôles actuels (Goffman, 1966) ; les rôles situationnels (Knibbe et al., 1987) qui se révèlent les facteurs les plus opérants. Les travaux qui constituent cette thèse démontrent que, dans la compréhension des quantités d'alcool consommé par occasion, le rôle positionnel relié au fait d'être parent ne serait pas aussi influent que le rôle situationnel que l'on peut définir ainsi :

« Situational roles are described in terms of the social expectations which facilitate social behaviour in those short-term situations in which people pursue and achieve specific objectives [...]. Situational roles enable the individual to make relevant choices in specific social situations. They do not structure the behaviour of an individual over a long period of time » (Knibbe et al., 1987 : 464).

Un contexte de boire est un monde en soi dont les normes en vigueur ne sont pas nécessairement celles de la vie ordinaire. Or il semble que, confrontés à des normes contradictoires, les acteurs choisissent d'agir en fonction des normes présentement imminentes. Les hommes et les femmes adoptent le rôle qui s'accorde au contexte immédiat, plutôt qu'à la position qu'ils occupent. Le cadre de l'action située a permis de faire la démonstration empirique de ce phénomène.

Ce résultat révèle avec force qu'en alcoologie, la compréhension des comportements de boire et éventuellement, la prévention des comportements à risque, passe par une prise en compte de l'environnement immédiat au sein duquel les gens boivent. Situer l'action nous a permis d'observer que les rôles sociaux sont plutôt interprétés que joués et, par conséquent, que l'analyse des conduites alcooliques doit pouvoir permettre aux acteurs de révéler leur créativité. Contrairement aux travaux épidémiologiques, notre analyse sociologique du phénomène permet de prendre conscience qu'en tant que stratège, l'homo sociologicus est très attentif à *ce qui se passe*. Autrement dit, les travaux de cette thèse corroborent cette idée proposée par les sociologiques de l'action rationnelle selon laquelle les opportunités immédiates agissent sur la *raison forte*, voire les *désirs* des acteurs.

Le fait que les conduites s'organisent sur la base des contextes immédiats est peut-être d'autant plus certain que la conduite à l'étude engage la consommation d'une substance psychoactive qui, une fois absorbée, modifie les perceptions sensorielles, les sensations et l'humeur. S'il est vrai qu'un contexte particulier peut modifier les désirs, chaque verre consommé comporte la propriété d'en faire autant. Reprenons l'exemple d'une personne qui se rend au restaurant pour se détendre et qui, à cette fin, choisie de prendre un verre. Après un verre, son humeur s'est

transformée et cette personne souhaite maintenant faire la fête. Elle décide alors de prendre un deuxième verre, puis un troisième. Légèrement intoxiquée, cette personne a maintenant envie d'approcher une autre personne et, pour ce faire, elle décide de prendre un quatrième verre pour se donner le courage nécessaire pour l'aborder. Bref, au-delà du contexte immédiat, l'ingestion de l'alcool peut, de par sa nature, modifier les désirs et les objectifs visés. Somme toute, l'acteur est un être *créatif* et, vraisemblablement, cela est particulièrement vrai lorsqu'il est intoxiqué. Si les contextes peuvent agir sur les désirs, l'alcool a aussi ce potentiel. Il est probable que des facteurs qui débordent d'une réflexion sociologique soient opérants et cette possibilité interroge d'autres disciplines comme la psychologie et la biologie par exemple. Afin de bien saisir l'interaction entre les contextes immédiats, les rôles et la consommation d'alcool, les prochaines études gagneraient à adopter une approche multidisciplinaire qui permettrait de tenir compte de cette complexité, difficile à étudier mais pourtant bien réelle.

Situer l'action, spécifiquement tenir compte des lieux où les individus rapportent habituellement boire, a également permis d'expliquer pourquoi une association existe entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool. Alors que les études épidémiologiques permettent de révéler avec justesse le lien entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool, elles ne permettent pas de l'expliquer. Ces études qui surdéterminent l'influence des rôles dépouillent le concept de rôle de son contenu, de son sens pour l'individu. Or, notre modèle, qui n'accorde pas d'attribution finale aux variables, permet d'obtenir une structure explicative qui expose un mécanisme d'association entre le rôle parental et la consommation d'alcool. Spécifiquement, on a constaté que les lieux de consommation sont un

médiateur du lien entre le rôle parental et la fréquence de consommation excessive. Pourquoi les parents boivent-ils moins souvent de façon excessive que les non-parents ? Parce que, entre autres choses, ils boivent dans des endroits différents. Les effets du rôle parental sur la consommation d'alcool sont donc indirects, ce qui était rendu invisible, ou brouillé, avec une conceptualisation et des analyses plus traditionnelles.

Ce résultat est une contribution nouvelle et utile au domaine de l'alcoologie. Il illustre bien que, lorsque le phénomène à l'étude est social, la relation entre explanans et explanandum passe par l'observation de l'interaction entre plusieurs facteurs. Par conséquent, l'approche déterministe mise de l'avant en sciences de la nature arrive à ses limites. Aussi, ce résultat permet de présenter avec encore plus de force que, dans la compréhension de la consommation d'alcool, la prise en compte des contextes est essentielle.

Dans notre conception de cette étude, l'observation de ce qui se passe nécessite aussi que soient prises en compte les manières qu'ont les hommes et les femmes d'occuper leurs rôles positionnels. Notre modèle théorique engage à ce que l'acteur soit lui aussi situé. Pourtant, ce qui en théorie semblait plausible n'a pas pu être vérifié en empirie. Observer les circonstances au sein desquelles les individus mettent en acte leur position parentale n'a pas permis d'améliorer notre compréhension du phénomène à l'étude. Sur une base populationnelle, situer l'acteur ne permet pas de mieux comprendre la consommation individuelle d'alcool des hommes et des femmes. Ainsi, les résultats réels ne vont pas dans le sens des résultats attendus et c'est lié soit à la réalité sociale soit à la méthode. Ces constatations nous invitent à aborder les limites de cette étude.

6.4. Limites

Des résultats différents auraient pu être obtenus si les études avaient été menées autrement. Certainement, des données plus riches quant à l'expérience qu'ont les individus de leurs positions auraient mieux permis de situer l'acteur. Prendre en compte les circonstances au sein desquelles les individus mettent en acte leurs rôles renvoie à une réalité autrement plus vaste que la simple et unique prise en compte d'une mesure subjective de conflits de rôles.

Par exemple, il aurait été intéressant d'analyser si la relation entre la position parentale et la consommation d'alcool varie en fonction du degré d'implication auprès des enfants. À cet effet, le nombre d'heures consacrées aux diverses tâches quotidiennes aurait donné une idée plus juste de l'expérience qu'ont les parents de leurs rôles. Puisque la consommation d'alcool est une activité sociale qui rivalise avec les autres activités à accomplir, il serait profitable que les enquêtes populationnelles sur l'alcool contiennent un journal des activités qui permette de récolter notamment des données détaillées sur le temps consacré au travail rémunéré, aux loisirs, aux études, aux activités domestiques, aux soins apportés aux enfants ou à d'autres personnes à charge.

Des données de budget-temps auraient aussi certainement amélioré notre compréhension des effets des rôles selon le genre. Dans une perspective de genre, la portée de nos résultats est limitée car, malgré notre observation que la position parentale réduit la consommation d'alcool chez les femmes et chez les hommes, rien ne nous permet de savoir si ces effets s'observent à contribution égale de temps consacré aux tâches parentales.

Au-delà du manque de détails relativement à l'expérience des positions dans les enquêtes populationnelles, une autre limite importante a pour objet que les enquêtes ne s'intéressent qu'à une position sociale sur deux. En effet, la majorité des banques de données existantes posent des questions relatives aux positions acquises, mais rarement pose-t-on des questions relativement aux positions de base. Autrement dit, s'il est fréquent de demander aux répondants s'ils sont satisfaits, heureux, comblés par leur rôle de parent, de conjoint ou occupationnel, à notre connaissance, il est inaccoutumé que l'on demande aux célibataires, aux non-parents ou même aux gens sans emploi si leur position est une expérience positive ou non. Pourtant, il va de soi que, pour certains, être sans enfants, sans conjoint et même sans emploi est une conjoncture choisie et valorisée tandis que, pour d'autres, c'est une conjoncture malheureuse et frustrante. En fait, quoique les rôles soient souvent étudiés comme des variables dichotomiques, dans la réalité des enquêtes, une des deux facettes des rôles n'existe tout simplement pas. Les enquêtes populationnelles sont construites de manière à recueillir de l'information auprès de ceux qui *obtiennent* quelque chose : un enfant; un conjoint; un travail, tandis que l'on se désintéresse de ceux qui n'ont rien *acquis* au fil des ans.

Il est surprenant de constater que, malgré l'enthousiasme des sociologues à étudier les rôles positionnels, les enquêtes populationnelles sont construites d'une manière où finalement, on étudie attentivement qu'une seule moitié du phénomène. Comment peut-on prétendre véritablement étudier les rôles sociaux alors que les enquêtes populationnelles sont aveugles à la réalité du grand nombre d'individus qui n'ont pas de conjoint, n'ont pas d'enfants et n'occupent pas d'emploi rémunéré ? Les effets de la parentalité, du mariage et du travail sont analysés sans que soit étudiée

l'expérience des *Autres*. En définitive, de la même manière que pendant longtemps, les enquêtes ont négligé la réalité des femmes, force est de constater qu'aujourd'hui, la réalité de ceux qui ne suivent pas la trajectoire *normale* de la vie en société est elle aussi ignorée.

Dans les prochaines études, par exemple, il serait intéressant de pouvoir analyser l'effet du rôle parental selon la satisfaction associée à ce rôle chez l'*ensemble* des adultes. Autrement dit, il serait intéressant que les parents soient sondés quant à leur degré de satisfaction par rapport au fait d'avoir des enfants et que les non-parents soient sondés quant à leur degré de satisfaction par rapport au fait de ne pas avoir d'enfants. Cela permettrait d'évaluer de façon beaucoup plus complète la relation entre les rôles sociaux et la consommation d'alcool.

Ce type de problème n'apparaît pas lorsqu'il est question d'analyser la relation du rôle parental sur la consommation d'alcool en fonction des contextes de consommation puisque c'est à l'ensemble des buveurs que des questions relatives aux contextes immédiats de consommation ont été posées. Par ailleurs, il faut souligner que dans cette thèse, l'étude portant sur les effets modérateurs des contextes de consommation a uniquement mis en cause les trois derniers contextes de consommation.

Il serait intéressant de tester à nouveau l'hypothèse de modération dans le cadre d'une recherche où un plus grand nombre de contextes seraient étudiés. Éventuellement, au cours d'une même année, des répondants pourraient être contactés à plusieurs reprises. Lors de chaque rappel, de l'information pourrait être recueillie quant aux cinq derniers contextes de consommation d'alcool. Une plus grande variété dans les contextes de consommation pourrait révéler des résultats

différents. En effet, nous avons formulé l'hypothèse que c'est dans les contextes qui favorisent la consommation abusive que des différences entre la consommation des parents et des non-parents devraient apparaître. Cela n'a pas été confirmé par nos analyses, mais il demeure possible qu'un effet de modération existe entre la position parentale et certains contextes bien particuliers que l'enquête du CAS n'a pas permis de saisir.

Néanmoins, il faut mentionner que même si ce ne sont que trois contextes de consommation qui ont été analysés, l'enquête du CAS a été menée durant la période des fêtes de Noël et cela a certainement permis d'obtenir des renseignements sur des fêtes; des célébrations et non pas seulement des occasions de la vie quotidienne. Autrement dit, le moment de l'année durant lequel l'enquête s'est déroulée a probablement permis de recueillir de l'information relative à des contextes qui sont reconnus pour favoriser la consommation abusive et donc, au sein desquels des différences entre parents et non-parents auraient pu apparaître.

Par ailleurs, il serait intéressant que les prochaines études de contextes incorporent les motivations, les raisons, les désirs des acteurs. Nous avons précédemment énoncé la possibilité que les contextes immédiats modifient les désirs, voire même les objectifs des acteurs. Dorénavant, il serait donc pertinent que les études de contextes s'attardent à ce phénomène en questionnant davantage les acteurs par rapport à leurs raisons immédiates de boire. En définitive, il serait intéressant que les spécialistes des contextes, à l'aide de données qualitatives, mènent de la recherche inductive qui viserait à explorer et générer des hypothèses, plutôt qu'à tester des hypothèses. Une épistémologie plus constructiviste permettrait probablement de révéler d'autres mécanismes sous-jacents aux relations à l'étude.

6.5. Conclusion

Nous avons proposé un modèle plus sociologique de la consommation d'alcool où la relation entre la consommation d'alcool et un rôle, voire le rôle parental, n'est pas une simple association, mais plutôt un processus qui met en cause la situation où l'acteur évolue et où l'action se produit. Dans une telle perspective, le rôle social ne détermine pas directement la consommation d'alcool puisque la relation entre ces deux éléments se produit de façon trans-actionnelle. Dans l'ensemble, les études que nous avons menées nous portent à conclure que le cadre de l'action située, spécialement cette proposition de situer l'action, s'avère être une approche profitable. Plus précisément, elle rend davantage compte de la complexité mise en cause dans la consommation d'alcool des parents.

En fait, ce qui est novateur dans cette thèse, c'est l'introduction de l'importance explicative des contextes. Cela a été rendu possible grâce à des techniques d'analyses innovatrices qui ont permis de ramener les actions des acteurs en contextes. Cette façon de faire pourrait être importée à d'autres champs de recherche, notamment le domaine des autres conduites addictives. La compréhension des comportements associés aux jeux de hasard et d'argent de même que les troubles du comportement alimentaire pourrait être enrichie par le cadre théorique proposé dans cette thèse.

En terminant, prenant la liberté de spéculer quant aux retombées possibles en santé publique, on peut considérer que de tels résultats signalent la nécessité de développer des mesures préventives environnementales qui visent le contexte de l'action plutôt que les acteurs. À la lumière des conclusions de cette thèse, pour limiter la consommation excessive des hommes et des femmes, il serait utile de

bannir les promotions des boissons alcooliques par des rabais et de rendre obligatoire la formation des serveurs des établissements licenciés afin qu'ils puissent mieux intervenir dans les divers contextes de risque. La même logique environnementale pourrait guider la mise en marché des jeux de hasard et d'argent. Bref, comme le contexte se révèle à nouveau comme le facteur le plus déterminant de la consommation, c'est une opportunité pour la santé publique, pas seulement pour l'industrie de l'alcool.

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ANNEXE 1

**REPONSES AUX MODIFICATIONS DEMANDEES PAR LES REVISEURS DE LA REVUE
SOCIAL SCIENCE & MEDICINE**

May 17th, 2010

Dr. Sarah Curtis
Social Science & Medicine
Senior Editor, Medical Geography, Social Science and Medicine

Re: SSM-D-09-02773. A mediational model of the relationship between the parental role and heavy drinking among Canadian adult drinkers: the influence of drinking locations.

Dear Dr. Curtis,

Thank you for your letter dated February 18th, 2010. I was pleased to know that my manuscript was rated as potentially acceptable for publication in Social Science and Medicine, subject to adequate revision and response to the comments raised by the reviewers. Please find enclosed this revised manuscript.

In accordance with your suggestion, significant modifications were made to every section of the manuscript. This revised version is longer given that the methods are explained in greater details and an important section is now devoted to descriptive results. More importantly, in the light of the comments made by all three reviewers, a more restrained tone has been adopted throughout the paper. Statements that imply causation have been systematically avoided. While the consideration of an intermediate variable may appear simple at first, three-variable systems can be very complicated. The revised version acknowledges that there are many alternative explanations of observed relation. This is now discussed more clearly in the limitation section of the study. Enclosed please find a point-by-point response to the specific comments raised by the reviewers.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to the reviewers for the numerous thoughtful and well-articulated comments. I would like also to thank you for allowing me to resubmit a revised copy of the manuscript.

I hope that the revised manuscript is accepted for publication in Social Science and Medicine.

Sincerely,

REVIEWER #1

- **Authors present a thoughtful review of research findings relevant to their study hypotheses. However, presenting classical role theory more prominently in the introduction, to frame hypotheses would serve to better integrate the intro, hypotheses and discussion. Presently, I believe the authors comment on Goffman's work to introduce classical role theory indirectly, but the theory is not addressed prominently until the discussion.**

ANSWER:

To improve this, two changes were made. Firstly, in the introduction, we now describe in more details the opportunity perspective. While the opportunity perspective draws upon earlier work on classical role theory, we realize it would be inappropriate to say that our paper is framed within the classical role theory. Accordingly, to avoid any confusion, we removed the term “classical role theory” from the abstract and page 15. Instead, throughout the study, we now specifically refer to the opportunity perspective.

OLD VERSION:**In the introduction**

Alternatively, sociological studies tend to refer to the opportunity perspective, according to which non-parents drink more than parents because of a less structured everyday life (Knibbe, Drop, & Muytjens, 1987). This perspective contends that because of the tasks and responsibilities associated with childcare, parents find it difficult to allocate time and resources to drinking (Knibbe et al., 1987; Hajema & Knibbe, 1998; Gmel, Bloomfield, Ahlstrom, Choquet, & Lecomte, 2000; Wilsnack et al., 2000; Ahlstrom, Bloomfield, & Knibbe, 2001; Holmila & Raitasalo, 2005; Bloomfield, Gmel, & Wilsnack, 2006; Kuntsche et al., 2006). Hence, different lifestyles could explain differences in alcohol use between parents and non-parents. The sociological perspective treats drinking behaviors as a function of contextual factors rather than psychological ones (Cho & Crittenden, 2006), arguing that the

situations and settings people find themselves in could be an important pathway through which the parental role relates to drinking in general and to heavy drinking in particular.

REVISED VERSION:

In the introduction – p.2-3

Alternatively, sociological studies tend to refer to the opportunity perspective that was introduced to the alcohol field by Knibbe, Drop, & Muytjens (1987) who drew their inspiration from earlier work by Gerhardt (1971) on classical role theory. This perspective posits that « *the greater the number of social roles a person holds, the more his or her life is structured by meaningful activities that others expect one to engage in and (...) the less likely he or she is to engage in heavy-volume drinking or risky single occasion drinking* » (Kuntsche, Knibbe, & Gmel, 2009). This perspective contends that because of the tasks and responsibilities associated with childcare, parents may find it difficult to allocate time and resources to drinking (Knibbe et al., 1987; Hajema & Knibbe, 1998; Gmel, Bloomfield, Ahlstrom, Choquet, & Lecomte, 2000; Wilsnack, Vogeltanz, Wilsnack, Harris, Ahlstrom, Bondy, et al., 2000; Ahlstrom, Bloomfield, & Knibbe, 2001; Holmila & Raitasalo, 2005; Bloomfield, Gmel, & Wilsnack, 2006; Kuntsche et al., 2006). Hence, different lifestyles could explain differences in alcohol use between parents and non-parents. The sociological perspective treats drinking behaviors as a function of contextual factors rather than psychological ones (Cho & Crittenden, 2006), arguing that the situations and settings people find themselves in could be an important pathway through which the parental role relates to drinking in general and to heavy drinking in particular.

OLD VERSION:

In the discussion

The present results expose important pathways through which parenthood transmits its effect on heavy drinking. A primary result of this study is that mothers and fathers report less frequent heavy drinking because less of their drinking occurs in bars, discos and pubs. This finding is largely consistent with sociological perspectives on

alcohol use, namely classic role theory (c.f. Knibbe et al., 1987). While the opportunity perspective asserts that parents may have problems finding the time and resources to drink, the present results show that, more specifically, they have problems finding their way to a bar.

REVISED VERSION:

In the discussion – p.15

The present results expose important pathways through which parenthood may transmit its effect on heavy drinking. A primary result of this study is that mothers and fathers may report less frequent heavy drinking because less of their drinking occurs in bars, discos and pubs. This finding is largely consistent with sociological perspectives on alcohol use, namely the opportunity perspective. While this perspective asserts that parents may have problems finding the time and resources to drink, the present results raise the possibility that, more specifically, they have problems finding their way to a bar.

- **Methods : Explanation of your mediator is key for this study and not clear. Authors should provide the response anchors for the original question asked of respondents "During the past 12 months, how often did you consume alcohol in your own home/at a friend's home/in a bar, pub, disco, nightclub/ in a restaurant?". Were the response anchors of this question the same as the response anchors of your ratio denominator question (i.e. ..How often did you have 5 or more drinks in one occasion during the past year?)?**

ANSWER:

Response anchors for the original questions are now provided in the revised version

OLD VERSION:

These ratios were assessed by examining respondents' frequency of drinking in each

of these four drinking locations (During the past 12 months, how often did you consume alcohol in your own home/at a friend's home/in a bar, pub, disco, nightclub/ in a restaurant?) and comparing it to their overall annual frequency of drinking (During the last 12 months, how often did you consume alcohol?).

REVISED VERSION, P.8:

Ratios were assessed by examining respondents' frequency of drinking in each of these four drinking locations (*During the past 12 months, how often did you consume alcohol in your own home/at a friend's home/in a bar, pub, disco, nightclub/ in a restaurant?*) and comparing it to their overall annual frequency of drinking. (*During the last 12 months, how often did you consume alcohol?*). For all of these questions, respondents could answer: (0) never; (1) less than once a month; (2) one to three days a month; (3) once or twice a week; (4) three or four days a week; (5) at least 5 days a week.

- **Also, how were ratio scores transformed into the likert-type scale that was used in final analyses? More importantly, please explain further why it was necessary to use the likert scale that you devised rather than ratio scores? The explanation provided is not clear. On page 8, the explanation is given "Creating these variables guaranteed that present analyses did not assess the influence of drinking frequency but the influence of regular drinking in a given location." But, it seems that by using a ratio the authors would be accounting for differences in drinking frequency and as a result, the ratio would reflect frequency of drinking in a particular location relative to overall drinking. Perhaps authors can clarify their points by providing full information on the transformations used to ascertain the likert-type categories and the meaning of "regular drinking" in a particular location.**

ANSWER:

There are a number of ways to characterize the difference between drinking in a

given location and overall drinking frequency. The benefits and disadvantages of these were discussed in our research team prior to choosing the likert scale ratio as the primary approach to the analyses. Likert scale ratio was chosen because the level of measurement of the original variables was ordinal. Creating ratio score for ordinal would produce a situation where respondents with rather different drinking patterns would get the same score and so, the ratio scores would not be a good reflection of individuals' drinking patterns. Let us take the example of the following 2 respondents: Respondent #1 drinks in a bar less than once a month (score 1) while his overall drinking frequency is one to three days a month (score 2). Respondent #2 drinks in a bar one to three days a month (score 2) while is overall drinking frequency is three to four days a week (score. 4). In this situation, both respondents would get a pure ratio score of 0.50 when in fact, their ratio of drinking in a bar is rather different. To avoid this situation, we created a contingency table template and we used the following rule. When there was a difference of only one category between the overall drinking frequency and the drinking frequency in a given location, respondents were assigned to the "Often" category (ex: if a respondent's drinking frequency was three to four times a week and his drinking frequency in a bar was once or twice a week.). When there was a difference of at least two categories, respondents were assigned to the "Seldom" category. When respondents gave the same answer to the overall drinking frequency and the frequency of drinking in a given location, there were assigned to the "Always" category. Finally, when a drinker reported to never drink in a given location, this respondent was assigned to the "Never" category. Part of this explanation is now provided in the revised version.

OLD VERSION:

Following these comparisons, four new variables were created (one for each location) that measured the ratio of annual frequency of drinking in a given location as a fraction of the overall annual frequency of drinking. Each new variable was recoded into four categories: (1) never, (2) seldom, (3) often and (4) almost always. Creating these variables guaranteed that present analyses did not assess the influence of drinking frequency but the influence of regular drinking in a given

location.

REVISED VERSION, P.8-9:

Following these comparisons, four new variables were created (one for each location) that measured the ratio of annual frequency of drinking in a given location as a fraction of the overall annual frequency of drinking. Because the original data were measured at the ordinal level, we created likert scale ratios. Each new variable was recoded into four categories: (1) never, (2) seldom, (3) often and (4) always. When there was a difference of only one category between the overall drinking frequency and the drinking frequency in a given location, respondents were assigned to the “often” category. When there was a difference of at least two categories, respondents were assigned to the “seldom” category. When respondents gave the same answer to the overall drinking frequency and the frequency of drinking in a given location, there were assigned to the “always” category. Respondent who reported to never drink in a given location were assigned to the “never” category. Because the likert scale ratios had more than three categories, they were treated as continuous variables ranging from 1 to 4.

- **Table 1 presents ratio scores across mediators for groups of interests. However, the measures section suggests that these ratios were transformed into a likert-type scale. What were the likert-type results? Also, it would be particularly relevant, given authors' study hypotheses to present univariate differences on outcomes and mediators for men/women/parents/non-parents, etc.**

ANSWER:

As it is now clearly stated in the revised version, the likert scale ratios were treated as continuous variables. That is why average means were presented.

Following this reviewer as well as reviewer #3 suggestion, significance tests for comparisons of means were added to table 1.

OLD VERSION:

Table 1.

Means and proportions by parental role and gender.

Variables	Women				Men			
	Parents (n=1926)		Non-parents (n=2254)		Parents (n=1406)		Non-parents (n=2224)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Frequency of heavy drinking	0.53	0.76	0.70	0.88	1.03	0.98	1.44	1.11
Ratio of drinking occasions at home	2.34	1.02	2.21	1.08	2.34	0.94	2.12	1.05
Ratio of drinking occasions at a friend's home	1.96	1.08	1.98	1.05	1.82	1.00	1.92	0.98
Ratio of drinking occasions at a bar	1.49	1.13	1.62	1.13	1.17	1.09	1.36	1.06
Ratio of drinking occasions at a restaurant	38.72	6.91	38.12	12.11	40.28	7.40	34.10	12.02
Age	0.77	0.42	0.49	0.50	0.94	0.24	0.42	0.49
Marital status	3.92	1.79	4.00	1.83	3.93	1.88	3.57	1.84
Education level								

Note – The ratio of drinking occasions at home, at a friend's home, at a bar or at a restaurant was coded: 0 = never; 1 = rarely; 2 = often; 3 = always, respectively. Frequency of binge drinking was coded: 0 = never; 1 = less than once a month; 2 = 1-3 times a month; 3 = at least once a week. Marital status was coded: 0 = not cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner; 1 = cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner.

REVISED VERSION:

Table 1.

Variables	Women				Signif.	Men				
	Parents		Non-parents			Parents		Non-parents		
	(n=1926)		(n=2254)			(n=1406)		(n=2224)		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Frequency of heavy drinking	0.53	0.76	0.70	0.88	**	1.03	0.98	1.44	1.11	**
Ratio of drk. occ. at home	2.34	1.02	2.21	1.08	**	2.34	0.94	2.12	1.05	**
Ratio of drk. occ. at a friend's home	1.96	1.08	1.98	1.05		1.82	1.00	1.92	0.98	*
Ratio of drk. occ. at a bar	1.07	1.19	1.42	1.23	**	1.17	1.09	1.65	1.12	**
Ratio of drk. Occ. at a restaurant	1.49	1.13	1.62	1.13	**	1.17	1.09	1.36	1.06	**
Age	38.72	6.91	38.12	12.11		40.28	7.40	34.10	12.02	**
Education level	3.92	1.79	4.00	1.83		3.93	1.88	3.57	1.84	**
Married/spouse/partner % (vs. not)	76%		49%		**	94%		42%		**

* $P \leq 0.01$; ** $P \leq 0.001$

Note – The ratio of drinking occasions at home, at a friend's home, at a bar or at a restaurant was coded: 0 = never; 1 = seldom; 2 = often; 3 = always, respectively. Frequency of binge drinking was coded: 0 = never; 1 = less than once a month; 2 = 1-3 times a month; 3 = at least once a week. Marital status was coded: 0 = not cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner; 1 = cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner.

- **The titlings of Tables 2 and 3 are unclear given its explanation in the text. It is currently labeled "Results for the annual frequency of heavy drinking among women, controlling for age, education level and marital status". According to the results section, however, Table 2 summarizes results of mediation analyses.**

ANSWER:

The titlings of table 2 and 3 were changed.

OLD VERSION:

Table 2. Results for the annual frequency of heavy drinking among women, controlling for age, education level and marital status"

Table 3. Results for the annual frequency of heavy drinking among men, controlling for age, education level and marital status"

REVISED VERSION:

Table 2. Women's results of multiple mediator analyses for the annual frequency of heavy drinking, controlling for age, education level and marital status (5000 bootstrap samples).

Table 3. Men's results of multiple mediator analyses for the annual frequency of heavy drinking, controlling for age, education level and marital status (5000 bootstrap samples).

- **Further, presenting direct effect results for mediation analyses using graphical approach would be helpful. For example, replicating the theoretical graphic of Figure 1 and inserting beta weights would aid in the readers' quick comprehension of study findings.**

ANSWER:

With regards to the presentation, we decided not to present our results through a graphical approach. The multiple mediator model produces both total and direct effects as well as paths a_{1-4} and b_{1-4} . A graphical approach that included all those beta weights was messy and did not allow for a quick comprehension of study findings. Therefore, like other researchers before us who have used the Preacher & Hayes (2008) procedure (e.g. Roelofs, Huibers, Peeters, Arntz, & van Os, 2008; Danaher, Smolkowski, Seeley, & Severson, 2008; Barnhofer & Chittka, 2010), a table presentation of results was chosen.

- **Because authors' data is cross-sectional and they are using a variable-centered approach, there are some limitations of their results as presented that either should be noted, or addressed with additional analyses. As an example, authors state about the female sample "through**

a decreased ratio of drinking occasions that occur at restaurants, parenthood increases the frequency of heavy drinking". Given the fact that nonmothers show higher levels of binge drinking overall, this mediation finding begs larger questions. For example, is this finding best explained by the fact that non-mothers who drink primarily at restaurants are far less likely to drink frequently in general and this marker of minimal drinking is not true for mothers because they attend restaurants far less often? Second, if parenthood reduces visits to restaurants, does this mean that mothers who formerly visited restaurants to drink are now drinking at home and are therefore more likely to drink to excess at home? Indeed, the results don't necessarily support this second assumption given that the ratio of drinking at home did not mediate links between motherhood and frequency of binge drinking. This creates questions about where moms are drinking if they are less likely to drink at bars or restaurants than non-parents, and not necessarily more likely to drink at home. Potentially, authors could use a person-centered approach to consider the predominant drink location profile of frequent binge drinkers, moderate binge drinkers and infrequent binge drinkers in parent and non-parent samples. This would enable them to better establish if the profile of choosing restaurants over bars among non-parents is protective and whether mothers reduced drinking at restaurants is also related to compensatory drinking at home (i.e. are moms who predominantly drink at home and not at restaurants more likely to drink more frequently?). Ideally, using longitudinal data, authors could examine whether females reduce their drinking at restaurants after becoming parents and whether this change is related to increased drinking at home.

- The discussion would benefit from a stronger statement of the limitations of the cross-sectional mediation hypotheses presented. As mentioned above, without a longitudinal or perhaps person centered approach, inferences are far from clear. At a minimum, this should be stated more

strongly in the discussion.

ANSWER:

Please read the answer given to Reviewer # 4 on pages 13-14 of this document

- **Also, the authors suggest that classical role theory provides a better explanation than opportunity theories to explain their findings. In this context, they state "While the opportunity perspective asserts that parents may have problems finding the time and resources to drink, the present results show that, more specifically, they have problems finding their way to a bar. In other words, mothers and fathers do not report less heavy drinking because they care for children but because caring for children leads them to abandon the bar as a usual drinking location." This statement made me wonder whether, in fact, the opportunity and role theory perspectives on this point are far from mutually exclusive. Given that people drink more at bars and to do so, spend many hours at bars and also spend hours recovering from their bar binges, it is likely that parents are not attending bars and restaurants as non-parents because they have less opportunity and time to spend on their own bar entertainment than non-parents. Parents may very well factor in time and money lost for child care duties when making decisions between bar hopping versus a quiet dinner and wine at home or with friends. Perhaps further analyses that includes parents' perspectives on their entertainment choices would be helpful to tease apart hypotheses supporting role versus opportunity theories.**

ANSWER:

We certainly agree that the role theory and the opportunity perspective are not mutually exclusive. We made an effort for this to be clearer in the new introduction where we now clearly state that the opportunity perspective draws upon work from the role theory.

REVIEWER #3

- **In the introduction, the authors review research on the relation between parental role and drinking. They include in this review the finding from study that single parenthood is associated with increased drinking (paragraph 2, page 2). This particular finding does not seem to fit with the rest of the paragraph, where all other findings suggest a positive association between parenting and drinking. This particular finding indicates a need for research assessing the relation between parenting and drinking for different marital status groups. Thus, I expected a test of the mediation model for cohabiting versus non-cohabiting parents. This was not done. Therefore, I suggest the authors do one of the following: 1) re-do the analyses separately for cohabiting versus non-cohabiting parents or 2) drop this reference from the lit review. Perhaps it could be placed in the discussion where the authors might suggest directions for future research (i.e., assess the influence of drinking locations for single parents as compared to parents in two-parent households).**

ANSWER:

This study recognizes that the effect of parenthood on alcohol consumption might vary across marital status groups. Therefore, analyses controlled for marital status – a dummy variable that distinguishes respondents who are cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner (1) from those who are not (0).

Nevertheless, to avoid any confusion regarding the precise goal of this study, the reference to the study by Avison & Davies (2005) was removed from the literature review. Instead, a paragraph was added in the limitations section of the paper to suggest that future research might investigate whether the mediational process between parenthood, drinking locations and alcohol consumption is the same across different types of parents.

REVISED VERSION, P.19:

A third limitation of this study is that no specific attention was paid to defining mediational process between parenthood, drinking locations and alcohol consumption for different types of parents. In Canada, variations in family structure and parent type are plentiful. Some men and women care for children within a nuclear family while others do so as single parent, parent-in-law, adoptive parent or foster parent. In this regard, Avison & Davies (2005) showed that for Canadian women, parenthood's influence on the frequency of having 5 drinks or more on one occasion may be different for single mothers compared to mothers in a two parents household. While present analyses kept the marital status constant, no direct attention was given to this issue. This is an interesting topic that should be addressed in future research.

- **Citing Leonard & Eiden (2007) the authors note at the bottom of page 2 that a reduction in excessive drinking may occur close to the transition to becoming a parent. However, on Page 5 they argue that the influence of parenthood on consumption may not vary by age. This is confusing. The authors need to combine these arguments into one section and perhaps point out that research findings are mixed. These sections also imply that the present study will address this question as to whether age of child influences the relation between parenting and drinking by parents. However, the authors do not address this question. Therefore, this section might be moved to the discussion in a section on future research.**

ANSWER:

We decided to implement this reviewer's last suggestion, i.e. to move the section on parenthood, age of children and alcohol consumption to the discussion part of the article. This new part combines the arguments of Leonard & Eiden (2007), Craig, (2007) and Craig & Sawrikar (2008) to highlight that research finding in this area are mixed and that while it was not the focus of the present research, it might be an interesting topic to investigate in a future study

REVISED VERSION, P.18:

Another limitation of this study may be that the analysis did not take into account the age of children at home. Strong multicollinearity between the age of respondents and the age of respondents' children made it impossible to analyze both variables in a single model. However, given the amount of evidence confirming a significant association between the drinker's age and heavy drinking in Canada (Demers & Poulin, 2005; Stockwell, Zhao, & Thomas, 2009; Paradis, Demers, Picard, & Graham, 2009), it was decided to control for the age variable rather than the children's age. Indeed, the influence of children's age is not as well documented and results on the subject are mixed. According to Leonard & Eiden (2007) being a parent is associated with a decrease in excessive drinking, but the effect is strongest close to the transition from being childless to becoming a parent. Conversely, the influence of parenthood on alcohol consumption may be at play among all parents, regardless of children's age. Recent work showed that while childcare direct time drops as children age, the loss of parental time in rest and leisure remains constant as children grow and continues well past the children's infancy (Craig, 2007). Each age comes with its own set of challenges so overall, the demands upon parents' lives remain relatively similar regardless of children age (Craig & Sawrikar, 2008). In the future, researchers may want to investigate whether children's age influences the mediational process between parenthood, drinking locations and alcohol consumption.

- **On page 5 of the introduction the authors imply that mechanisms may be different for men and women. This section deserves its own paragraph, as the authors address this question in the analyses by testing models separately for men and women.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was implemented.

- **Methods/Analyses/Results: Table 1 might be improved by adding significance tests for comparisons of means.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. Two sentences to this effect were added in the analyses section. Moreover, two paragraphs presenting descriptive analyses were added to the results section.

OLD VERSION:

Table 1 presents univariate descriptive statistics for the study variables by parental role, for women and men separately.

REVISED VERSION, P.10-11:

Prior to performing multiple mediation analyses, bivariate analyses were conducted to examine relationship between parenthood and the other study variables for women and men separately. For continuous and categorical variables, statistical significance was assessed with independent sample t-tests and chi-squared analyses, respectively

Results

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSES

Women

Women's individual characteristics are presented in Table 1. Women who have at least one child at home do not differentiate themselves from women who do not with regard to age and education, but mothers are significantly more likely than non-mothers to have a spouse (76% versus 49%). Regarding the drinking behaviors, our data indicate that women who have at least one child at home consume significantly less often five drinks or more in one occasion than women without children at home (0.53 versus 0.88). Moreover, compared to non-mothers, mothers report a significant higher ratio of drinking occasions at home (2.34 versus 2.21), but a significant lower ratio of drinking occasions at a bar (1.07 versus 1.42) and at a restaurant (1.49 versus 1.62).

Men

Interestingly, fathers and non-fathers are quite different with regard to both their individual characteristics and their drinking behaviors. Men who do have a child at home are more likely than those who do not to be married (93% versus 42%), they are significantly older (40.3 years old versus 34.1 years old) and their level of education is higher (3.93 versus 3.57). With regard to drinking, fathers consume less often five drinks or more in one occasion than non-fathers (1.03 versus 1.44). Men who live with at least one child at home also report a significant higher ratio of drinking occasions at home (2.34 versus 2.12). However, compared to non-fathers, fathers report a significant lower ratio of drinking occasions at a friend's house (1.82 versus 1.92), at a bar (1.17 versus 1.65) and at a restaurant (1.17 versus 1.36).

Insert Table 1 about here.

- **Tables 2 and 3 could be improved by adding standard errors of estimates.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented.

OLD VERSION:

		Total effect (c)	Effect of IV on M (a)	Effect of M on DV (b)	Direct effect (c')	Total Indirect effect	Specific Indirect effects (ab)
		B coeff.	B coeff.	B coeff.	B coeff.	Point est.	Point est.
• Frequency of heavy drinking	• Home	-	0.04	0.04**	-	-	0.002
	• Friend's	-	0.01	-0.03	-	-	-0.001
	• Bar	-	-0.22**	0.12**	-	-	-0.026 ^a
	• Restaurant	-	-0.11*	-0.06**	-	-	0.007 ^a
		-0.107**			-0.089**	-0.018 ^a	

* $p \leq 0.01$; ** $p \leq 0.001$;

^a BCa bootstrapping confidence interval of the point estimate does not include zero.

REVISED VERSION:

		Total effect (c)	Effect of IV on M (a)	Effect of M on DV (b)	Direct effect (c')	Total Indirect effect	Specific Indirect effects (ab)
		B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	B coeff. (se)	Pt. est. (se)	Pt. est. (se)
• Frequency of heavy drinking	• Home	-	.04 (.03)	.04 (.01)**	-	-	.002 (.01)
	• Friend's	-	.01 (.03)	-.03 (.01)	-	-	-.001 (.001)
	• Bar	-	-.22 (.04)**	.12 (.01)**	-	-	-.026 (.005) ^a
	• Restaurant	-	-.11 (.04)*	-.06 (.01)**	-	-	.007 (.003) ^a
			-.107 (.026)**			-.089 (.025)**	-.018 (.005) ^a

* $P \leq 0.01$; ** $P \leq 0.001$

^a BCa bootstrapping confidence interval of the point estimate does not include zero.

- **It is important when assessing mediation to at least mention the criteria of mediation described by Baron & Kenny (1986) and to establish whether these criteria are satisfied.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented.

OLD VERSION:

A separate analysis was conducted for respondents of each gender. These analyses were performed with SPSS 16.0 using the INDIRECT macro set (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The analyses controlled for age, marital status and education level.

REVISED VERSION, P.10:

A separate analysis was conducted for respondents of each gender. These analyses were performed with SPSS 16.0 using the INDIRECT macro set (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The analyses controlled for age, marital status and education level. All analyses met the essential steps in establishing mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986) i.e. paths *a*, *b* and *c* were nonzero coefficients.

- On page 14 the authors discuss the mediating effect of drinking in restaurants on the link between parenting and heavy episodic drinking for women. The following argument is unconvincing: that women without children drink more often at restaurants which in turn makes them less likely to engage in heavy drinking because of the limits on drinking in restaurants. This finding may reflect a selection effect, in that women who choose to drink in restaurants may prefer to drink alcohol for its taste and with meals rather than for the purpose of getting drunk. Drinking in restaurants may also reflect higher income, which may not be fully controlled for with the education variable.
- At the bottom of page 14 the authors state "the fact that parenthood influences drinking through a reduced presence in public locations is particularly salient for women." The authors then go on to argue that the mediating mechanism found for women is suggestive of women's conformity to social pressure to reduce drinking and bar-going activities when parenting. This is an interesting speculation, but it seems to be a bit of a stretch given that the authors have no data on this. The authors might consider toning down the language, noting this as a possible explanation rather than using statements that imply causation "e.g., the present results point to social pressure."
- Most notably, as noted by the authors, the cross-sectional nature of the data limits one's ability to draw conclusions about the directionality of associations. In fact, I would argue that parenting influences drinking which in turn influences the locations in which people drink. That is, different types of drinkers select the locations in which they drink to suit their drinking styles. The authors need to be much more cautious throughout the paper regarding the mediating mechanism tested.

ANSWER:

Please read the answer given to Reviewer # 4 on the next pages of this document

REVIEWER #4:

- **This study is cross-sectional and all data were obtained at the same point in time. This results in a number of problems with this manuscript: Although you can statistically conduct mediational analysis using cross-sectional data, it is unclear whether the independent variable, mediator, or dependent variable occurs first or last. For instance, changes in where someone drinks could occur prior to becoming a parent, or changes in drinking behavior could also occur prior to becoming a parent. The direction of effects is unclear in this study, and could just as easily be in the opposite direction as the direction suggested by the authors. It unclear if there actually were any changes in either drinking behavior or location of drinking. It is possible that those individuals who were parents drank less at all points in time, both prior to and after becoming parents. The same could be said about location of drinking. Since data were collected at only one point in time, the authors as well as the readers have no idea whether anyone made any changes across time-the results only indicate that those individuals who are parents drink less and in different locations than those individuals who are not parents. Due to the nature of the data, the research question is not answered in this study. It is not clear what occurred when or if changes even occurred.**

ANSWER:

We would like to thank all reviewers for pointing at this issue and obligating us to be more wary with the interpretation of our results. We recognize that in order to validate the mediation processes, qualitative information would be required and ultimately, a program of research that sequentially tests predictor of the mediator theory would provide the most convincing evidence for mediation (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007). However, even longitudinal data may not be sufficient to validate a mediation model. According to Gelfand, Mensinger, & Tenhave (2009),

even when longitudinal data are available, they may not be sufficient to validate a model since an event that occurs before a second event does not necessarily cause it. Longitudinal data cannot test with certainty whether there is evidence for one of the important conditions of temporal precedence.

That being said, in the revised version, it is now acknowledged that X, M and Y were measured simultaneously and therefore, that other models could have explained the data equally well. As one reviewer pointed out “it is a possibility that in reality, parenting influences drinking which in turn influences the locations in which people drink”, e.g. that Y is the mediator of the X to M relationship. This possibility clearly illustrates that with cross sectional data, “*evidence must come from outside the data and alternative models cannot generally be ruled out*” (Gelfand et al., 2009) : 160). Therefore, this revised version is now in line with others’ advise to be careful and to “*treat the results of the mediation analyses as descriptive information that may not reflect the true underlying causal mediation relation, especially for the M to Y relation*” (MacKinnon et al., 2007: 608).

It should be pointed out that in our model, for the “X to M” and for the “X to Y” relations, the direction of these effects was less of an issue. Indeed, it is very unlikely that the frequency of taking at least five drinks in one occasion (Y) causes parenthood (X), or that favored drinking locations (M) causes parenthood (X). Hence, our study is not different from a majority of mediation studies in the sense that it is with regards to the interpretation of the M to Y relation that extra caution needs to be taken.

Although cross-sectional data offer the least information about temporal order, we firmly believe that the model presented in our study has some merit. Our results point to plausible interesting processes which highlight that alcohol consumption needs to be understood through a perspective that includes both individual and contextual factors. Moreover, present results certainly raises interesting research questions that others may want to study. Nevertheless, throughout the revised version, a more restrained tone has been adopted and statements that imply causation have been

avoided. While the consideration of an intermediate variable may appear simple at first, three-variable systems can be very complicated. The revised version acknowledges that there are many alternative explanations of observed relations.

OLD VERSION:

According to this study, the effect of parenthood on heavy drinking is best understood as a rearrangement of drinking locations rather than a change in drinking habits by themselves. However, a limitation of this research is that given the cross-sectional nature of the data, it was impossible to infer with certitude the causal links between the variables under study. The present data showed the mechanism by which parenthood influences heavy drinking at a given point in time, but it did not enable us to determine what happens over time as adults and children become older

REVISED VERSION, P.17-18:

According to this study, the effect of parenthood on heavy drinking is best understood as a rearrangement of drinking locations rather than a change in drinking habits by themselves. However, a limitation of this research is that given the cross-sectional nature of the data, it was impossible to infer with certitude the causal links between the variables under study. The present data showed the mechanism by which parenthood influences heavy drinking at a given point in time, but it is a possibility that in reality, Y is the mediator of the X to M relationship. Therefore, present results should be treated as descriptive information and it should be considered that the latter may or may not reflect the true underlying causal mediation relation. Alternative models cannot be ruled out. As (MacKinnon et al., 2007) report, in order to validate the mediation processes, qualitative information would be required and ultimately, a program of research that sequentially tests predictor of the mediator theory would provide the most convincing evidence for mediation.

- **I would suggest that the authors report their results as an examination of the differences between parents and non-parents in their drinking behaviors and locations rather than attempting to fit a mediational**

model on cross-sectional data. In addition, it would be interesting if the authors have data on the age of the child to include a comparison across time of differences in these variables for parents whose children are different ages.

ANSWER:

Although we kept the mediation analyses in the revised version, descriptive analyses with significance tests for comparisons of means and proportions were added to table 1. Moreover, two paragraphs presenting descriptive analyses were added to the results section.

For more details, see the answer given to reviewer #3 on page 11 of this document.

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ANNEXE 2

**REPONSES AUX MODIFICATIONS DEMANDEES PAR LES REVISEURS DE LA REVUE
JOURNAL OF STUDIES ON ALCOHOL AND DRUGS**

August 17th, 2010

Dr. John E. Helzer,
Associate Editor
Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs

Re: Ms. JSAD-D-10-00016.
Parenthood, alcohol intake and drinking contexts: Occasio furem facit

Dear Dr. Helzer,

Thank you for your letter dated May 3rd, 2010. We were pleased to know that our manuscript was rated as potentially acceptable for publication in Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs, subject to adequate revision and response to the comments raised by the two anonymous reviewers. Please find enclosed this revised manuscript.

Important modifications were made to every section of the manuscript. Specifically, in the light of the comments made by both reviewers, especially reviewer #2, a more modest tone has been adopted throughout the paper. In both the introduction and the discussion, it now clearly comes out that our study does not test every possible pathways in which the role theory suggests that parenthood may influence alcohol intake. Our study focuses on a single possible pathway, i.e. it tests if the association between parenthood and alcohol intake varies according to the context in which drinking occurs. Enclosed please find a point-by-point response to the specific comments raised by the reviewers.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to the two reviewers for critically reading the manuscript and for their useful comments. We would like also to thank you for allowing us to resubmit a revised copy of our study.

We hope that the revised manuscript is accepted for publication in Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs.

Sincerely,

REVIEWER #1

- 1. The referenced study (Avison and Davies, 2005) in the Introduction (p. 2 top) offers some contrast to the other citations and merits a bit more discussion regarding its implications.**

ANSWER:

We agree that Avison & Davies's (2005) finding does not seem to fit with the rest of the paragraph, where all other findings suggest a positive association between parenting and drinking. In fact, this particular finding indicates a need for research assessing the relation between parenting and drinking for different marital status group. To fix this, the reference to the study by Avison & Davies (2005) was removed from the literature review. Instead, a paragraph was added in the limitations section of the paper to suggest that future research might investigate whether the moderation process between parenthood, drinking contexts and alcohol consumption is the same across different types of parents. (This solution also provides an answer to comment #6)

REVISED VERSION, P. 16:

Likewise, no specific attention was paid to the moderator effect model of contexts for different types of parents. In this regard, Avison & Davies (2005) showed that for Canadian women, parenthood's association with the frequency of having 5 drinks or more on one occasion may be different for single mothers compared to mothers in a two parents household. Present analyses kept the marital status constant, but no direct attention was given to this issue. This is an interesting topic that should be addressed in future research.

- 2. The section on age of children in the Introduction (first 3 sentences on p. 4, see excerpt below), while of relevance, seems to intrude on the theoretical focus and would seem to relate more appropriately to methodological aspects of the measurement of parenthood (see study**

limitations on p. 16). The fourth sentence in that paragraph (dropping 'However') maintains the continuity of the prior paragraph (i.e., "However, the extent to which being a parent relates to alcohol consumption in heavy drinking contexts could be greater for women..

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. The section on parenthood, age of children and alcohol consumption was moved to the limitations part of the article.

REVISED VERSION, P. 17:

Thirdly, present data did not allow us to control for the age of children living at home. However, this may not have had a significant effect on our results since recent work has shown that while time directly spent on childcare decreases as children age, the loss of parental time in rest and leisure remains constant as children grow (Craig, 2007). Each age comes with its own set of challenges, so overall the demands upon parents' lives remain relatively even regardless of children's age (Craig et Sawrikar, 2008).

3. **Under specific analytic objectives, the second study aim "whether drinking context variables add to the prediction of alcohol intake per occasion" (top p. 5) has been confirmed in prior publications by the authors and others and distracts from the primary objectives (aims 1 and 3) related to parenthood.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. We agree that verifying whether drinking context variables add to the prediction of alcohol intake per occasion is not the principal aim of our study. In fact, we are in agreement with both reviewers that the specific objective of our study is to investigate one possible pathway in which parenthood and alcohol intake may relate and that this should be stated more clearly. Therefore, the last paragraph of the introduction was rewritten and by doing so, the

second aim was removed from this paragraph.

REVISED VERSION, P. 5:

To broaden our understanding of the association between the parental role and alcohol consumption, this study will explore one possible pathway in which parenthood may influence drinking, i.e. whether the effect of parenthood on alcohol intake varies according to the context in which drinking occurs. To our knowledge, this moderator effect model of contexts has not been tested before. Ultimately, the main hypothesis of this research is that significant differences between parents' and non-parents' alcohol intake will arise when drinking occurs in a context that is normatively associated with heavy drinking

- 4. Regarding the specific study hypothesis "significant differences between parents' and non-parents' alcohol intake will arise when drinking occurs in a context that is normatively associated with heavy drinking" (p. 5), the authors might make more explicit the theoretical implications for different outcomes in the Introduction (e.g., sociological opportunity perspective, robust influence of drinking contexts, auto-selection bias, etc.). Some of the sections in the Discussion (p 14) could be included here. The authors make a plausible interpretation for the absence of support for the study hypothesis in the Discussion (pp. 15-16). Based on the drinking context literature cited in the Introduction, this outcome has some theoretical justification. By making it more explicit under study objectives, the discussion on pp. 15-16 has less of an ad hoc interpretation for negative findings.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. Some sentences from the context-related sections were moved from the discussion part of the manuscript to the introduction. Moreover, in the discussion, we rephrased some sentences so that the discussion appears less like an ad hoc interpretation for our study's findings.

REVISED VERSION, P. 2-4:

However, within sociology, some argue that the study of social conduct should focus on what's going on (Cohen, 1996; Elster, 2007; Goffman, 1966). Pragmatists insist that rational social actors select and analyze conditions on the basis of which they order their actions. Social conducts often are no more than an impulse of relevance, a requirement of the immediate situation (Fornel et Quere, 2000; Joas, 1997). As Elster puts it, "a behavior is often no more stable than the situations that shape it" (Elster, 2007:185).

(...)

All in all, studies point to drinking contexts having a rather robust influence on individuals' alcohol intake per occasion.

p. 15:

In this study, we hypothesized a high level of cross-situational consistency among parents. We expected that in every drinking contexts, even those with characteristics conducive to increased drinking, mothers and fathers would drink in such a way as to not interfere with parental duties, In point of fact, our results rather reaffirmed what has been previously observed in studies from the drinking context literature, i.e. the robust influence of drinking contexts.

- 5. Regarding selection bias, the authors could expand upon the section on drinking situations (pp. 2-3) to include both selective exposure to drinking settings and situational drinking norms, parenthood may relate to differential exposure (auto-selection, they drink less because they avoid heavy drinking settings) or interact with situational drinking norms (as hypothesized). In fact, the authors address this issue in Table 1 and in descriptive sections in the results and discussion.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. Based on both reviewers' comments, we now make it more explicit that the role theory allows for rather different pathways in

which parenthood may influence alcohol. The entire paragraph on role theory and more specifically on the opportunity perspective was expanded and rewritten. The fact that a mediation process could be at play is now clearly stated.

OLD VERSION

Most sociological studies on the relationship between parenthood and alcohol tend to refer to the opportunity perspective, according to which parents would drink less than non-parents because of a more structured everyday life (Knibbe et al., 1987). This perspective contends that by virtue of the tasks and the responsibilities associated with childcare, parents have difficulty finding the time and resources to drink (Ahlstrom et al., 2001; Bloomfield et al., 2006; Gmel et al., 2000; Hajema et Knibbe, 1998; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Knibbe et al., 1987; Kuntsche et al., 2006; Wilsnack et al., 2000).

REVISED VERSION, P.2 :

Most sociological studies on the relationship between parenthood and alcohol consumption tend to refer to the opportunity perspective that was introduced to the alcohol field by (Knibbe et al., 1987) who brought to light different pathways through which the parental role may influence alcohol consumption. This perspective contends that because of the tasks and responsibilities associated with childcare, parents may find it difficult to allocate time and resources to drinking (Ahlstrom et al., 2001; Bloomfield et al., 2006; Gmel et al., 2000; Hajema et Knibbe, 1998; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Knibbe et al., 1987; Kuntsche et al., 2006; Wilsnack et al., 2000). Parents may also avoid drinking situations with characteristics conducive to increased drinking that is likely to interfere with acting out parenthood (Paradis, 2010). All in all, the perspective posits that « the more [a person's] life is structured by meaningful activities that others expect one to engage in and (...) the less likely he or she is to engage in heavy-volume drinking or risky single occasion drinking » (Kuntsche et al., 2009: 1264).

6. Under sample selection (p. 6), the authors might include reasons for the inclusion of non-married respondents, even though marital status is adjusted in the analysis. Extrapolated from Table 1, approximately 60% of the drinking occasions are based on married respondents, so there should be sufficient power for analysis. In view of the small numbers available for unmarried parents (124 female and 38 males), it is unlikely they would affect the results. I am not suggesting that the present analytic model should be replaced, just a curiosity on my part as to whether there are any surprises in the sub-sample analysis, which could be reported in text.

ANSWER:

This study recognizes that the effect of parenthood on alcohol consumption might vary across marital status groups. Therefore, analyses controlled for marital status – a dummy variable that distinguishes respondents who are cohabiting with a spouse, partner or romantic partner from those who are not. Nevertheless, in case other readers would also be curious about any possible effects in sub-samples, a paragraph was added in the limitations section of the paper to suggest that future research might investigate whether the moderation model between parenthood, drinking contexts and alcohol consumption is the same across different types of parents.

REVISED VERSION, P. 16:

Likewise, no specific attention was paid to the moderator effect model of contexts for different types of parents. In this regard, Avison & Davies (2005) showed that for Canadian women, parenthood's association with the frequency of having 5 drinks or more on one occasion may be different for single mothers compared to mothers in a two parents household. Present analyses kept the marital status constant, but no direct attention was given to this issue. This is an interesting topic that should be addressed in future research.

- 7. Should the authors decide to provide more emphasis to selective exposure (see comment #5), the section on statistical analyses (pp. 8-9) should begin with the preliminary descriptive analyses, consistent with order of presentation in the results.**

ANSWER:

We have decided not to provide more emphasis to selective exposure. We would like to bring to the attention of Reviewer 1 that the mediation pathway is the sole subject of another article for which we are awaiting the Editor's decision.

- 8. Under statistical analysis (pp. 8-9) might consider reversing the model sequence between 2 and 3, since parenthood is the "exposure" variable, thereby showing that parenthood is related to alcohol intake in the multilevel model (as reported in text p. 10 and in Table 1), though the association is not significant with covariates.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. In the revised version of our manuscript, Model 2 only includes the exposure variable (parental role). Model 3 adds the three control variables. While reversing the model sequence did not change the results, the results presentation on p. 11 and 12 as well as in tables 2 and 3 was slightly modified.

OLD VERSION, P. 8-9:

Regression models were fitted for the alcohol intake per occasion. Model 1 includes no independent variables to estimate the distribution of the variance between contextual (level 1) and individual variables (level 2). The three control variables are then added to model 2. Model 3 includes the parental role, keeping the control variables constant.

OLD VERSION, P. 11 :

In the second model, age, education and marital status were added to the equation.

As women's age and education increase, alcohol intake decreases. Being married is also negatively associated with alcohol intake. Together, control variables explain 11% of the variance between occasions and 14% of the variance between women.

OLD VERSION, P. 12 :

The second model shows that men's marital status is not related to alcohol intake per occasion but that as age and education increase, the alcohol consumption per occasion significantly decreases. Together, these control variables explain 9% of the variance between occasions and 12% of the variance between individuals. Based on the third model, men's parental role is not a significant predictor of alcohol intake per occasion.

REVISED VERSION, P. 9:

Regression models were fitted for the alcohol intake per occasion. Model 1 includes no independent variables to estimate the distribution of the variance between contextual (level 1) and individual variables (level 2). Model 2 adds the parental role variable. The three control variables are then added to model 3.

REVISED VERSION, P. 11:

The effect of parenthood was estimated in the second model, leaving parents as the reference category. The results show that being a mother is not a significant predictor of alcohol intake per occasion. In the third model, age, education and marital status were added to the equation. While the effect of parenthood remained insignificant, results show that as women's age and education increase, alcohol intake decreases. Being married is also negatively associated with alcohol intake.. Control variables significantly add to the prediction of women's alcohol intake per occasion ($\chi^2 = 71.399$; $df = 4$; $p \leq 0.0001$). Together, individual variables explain 11% of the variance between occasions and 14% of the variance between women.

REVISED VERSION, P. 12:

Based on the second model, men's parental role is a significant predictor of alcohol intake per occasion. Compared to fathers, non-fathers report more alcohol intake ($B = 0.150$). However, when control variables were added to the third model, the parental role became non-significant. Men's marital status is neither related to alcohol intake per occasion but as age and education increase, the alcohol consumption per occasion significantly decreases. Control variables improve the fit of the previous model ($\chi^2 = 1.147$; $df = 1$; $p = 0.284$). Together, individual variables explain 9% of the variance between occasions and 12% of the variance between individuals.

- 9. The first section of the Discussion (pp. 13-14, see excerpt below) provides a well-written summary of the study findings, but, as is typical in reports for negative findings, it raises the issue of the possibility of methodical problems in the assessment of the major exposure variable "parenthood" as an alternative explanation. Two possible solutions come to mind. The first has been suggested in comment #4. While this may appear as a "slight of hand", the Introduction does provide support for this alternative and, based on the Discussion, the finding comes as no surprise to the authors. The second possibility is to include some comments/limitations for the measurement earlier in the discussion.**

ANSWER:

See the answer to comment #4. Moreover, a sentence was added to highlight that in accordance with the drinking context literature, our results show that drinking contexts significantly influence alcohol intake per occasion

REVISED VERSION, P. 14:

More to the point in this study, it was found that drinking contexts significantly influence alcohol intake per occasion, but results of multilevel analyses provide very limited support for a moderator role for drinking contexts on the parenthood and

alcohol intake relationship. Of the 10 possible interactions that were tested between parenthood and contextual variables across gender categories, only one reached statistical significance, and it was not in the predicted direction.

10. A similar issue relates to the interpretation that the absence of findings associated with parenthood is reflective of increasing gender equality in Canadian society (pp. 15-16, see excerpt below). Are there any studies which could be cited in support of this interpretation? One or two sentences for future studies would be appropriate (i.e., variations in transformation by subpopulations). The authors might consider examining interaction terms with education level or even conduct a multilevel analysis by level of education (dichotomized) across and within gender groups.

ANSWER:

Given Reviewer 2's strong opposition to this explanation ("the argument [...] is nonsense"), the argument of increased gender equality was deleted from this paragraph. Rather, in the revised manuscript, the emphasis was put, once again, on the strong influence of situations. We also added a sentence pointing out to the possibility that different results for men and women could be obtained in subpopulations.

OLD VERSION

Finally, we found that the extent to which parenthood relates to alcohol intake is significant among neither men nor women, even in heavy drinking contexts. In our view, this is indicative of the significant transformation that has occurred within Canadian society over the last decades and of the current state of gender differences in alcohol consumption. From a sociological point of view, alcohol consumption is indissociable from the social environment (SIRC, 2000; Wells et al., 2005), and therefore our result showing that both men and women's alcohol intake is influenced by contextual characteristics is conceivably a sign that, on the whole, Canadian

society is increasingly supporting gender equality. The social sanctions associated with taking a break from caring duties may not be, like before, more severe for mothers than fathers. At the turn of the new millennium, just like men, women may feel that in certain situations they, too, can take a time-out and drink more than usual.

REVISED VERSION, P. 16:

Finally, we found that when other socio-demographic variables are controlled for, the extent to which parenthood relates to alcohol intake is significant among neither men nor women, even in heavy drinking contexts. Alcohol consumption is indissociable from the social environment (SIRC, 2000; Wells et al., 2005). Women and men alike feel that in certain situations they can take a time-out and drink more than usual. Nevertheless, further studies might want to investigate whether this gender-neutral effect remains true across various sub-populations within the Canadian society.

- 11. References need copy-editing (e.g., spelling, double citation for Single, E. and Wortley, S. (1993)).**

ANSWER:

Copy editing was done.

REVIEWER #2:**Major issues:**

1. **The data set contains for the 3 most recent occasions detailed information. One of the major questions is whether parenthood determines the consumption within occasions and the answer is clear: it does not. However, 3 drinking occasions per respondent is only a very limited variety of all types of drinking occasions in a year. A conclusion such as presented in the abstract: "Men's and women's drinking is more likely to be influenced by the immediate context in which drinking occurs than by their parental role" does not at all acknowledge that an increase in the variety of drinking occasions covered may have lead to a more systematic and stronger relation with parenthood. In the text as it is now the number of occasions is mentioned as a limitation in the discussion, however, there is no reflection added about what this may mean for one of their main outcomes. This should be added explicitly.**

ANSWER:

In accordance with other studies that have shown parenthood to be significantly associated with general measures of drinking, we are in agreement that an increase in the variety variety of drinking occasions covered may have lead to a more systematic and stronger relation with parenthood. While our previous manuscript acknowledged the fact that covering only three drinking occasion may have had an impact on the conditional association between parenthood and alcohol intake, the revised manuscript now acknowledges that covering only three occasions may also have influenced the direct association between parenthood and alcohol intake.

OLD VERSION

Finally, in the CAS, respondents were asked about their last three drinking occasions only. Although this gave us large samples ($N_s = 1,079$ among women and 926 among

men) with enough power to detect interactions, moderator effects are difficult to detect in field studies (McClelland et Judd, 1993). Perhaps if respondents had been asked about five drinking occasions, as has been done in other surveys (for details see : Demers et al., 2002; Demers, 1997), the present sample would have been larger and a greater number of interactions may have come out significant.

REVISED VERSION, P. 6:

Finally, in the CAS, respondents were asked about their last three drinking occasions only. Although this gave us large samples (Ns = 1,079 among women and 926 among men) with enough power to detect interactions, moderator effects are difficult to detect in field studies (McClelland et Judd, 1993). Perhaps if respondents had been asked about five drinking occasions, as has been done in other surveys (for details see: Demers et al., 2002; Demers, 1997), the present sample would have been larger and a greater number of interactions may have come out significant. It also is possible that an increase in the variety of drinking occasions reported by respondents may have generated a more systematic and stronger association between parenthood and overall alcohol intake per occasion.

2. **The other limitation is on the conceptual level. The theory which the authors use to articulate the (potential) relevance of the parental role, is a theory which has been tested on more general measures of drinking e.g. level of consumption and rate of heavy episodic drinking. However, the theory does not explicitly state that all differences in drinking between parents and non-parents should be attributed to parents drinking less in each type of context. Actually the theory allows for three rather different pathways in which roles (among which parenthood) may influence consumption: by the number of drinking occasions (frequency of drinking), by the distribution of drinking over occasions differing in characteristics (e.g. type of drinking occasion; weekday or weekend/ location/ group size) and by nr. of drinks per occasion. There is one sentence in the introduction which illustrates how the authors simplify**

too much the point of how parenthood may influence drinking: "Parenthood may not shape alcohol intake in general, but it may do so on specific occasions where the drinking norm facilitates heavy drinking,?" (p4). I would argue on the basis of the literature on roles and drinking that the argument should follow quite another line: the influence of parenthood has been shown only for more general measures of drinking. In this paper one of the 3 possible pathways in which parenthood may influence drinking is explored. To sum up this point, the article should be more modest in stating in the introduction that only a limited number of pathways by which parenthood may influence drinking will be tested in this study. One of these pathways is moderation and is now explicitly mentioned in the study. Another possible pathways is mediation or parents selecting drinking situations with characteristics conducive to lower consumption (e.g. drinking in smaller groups; drinking more often on weekdays; etc.). This pathways is not mentioned explicitly, however it is possible to test this with these data and it should, in my opinion more explicitly articulated in the introduction, when presenting the results and in the discussion. Finally parents and non-parents may differ in how often they drink (frequency). This cannot be tested with this data set and should therefore be mentioned as a limitation both in the introduction and discussion.

ANSWER:

Thank you for pointing out the lack of reserve in the way we initially described and conceptualized our study. This specific criticism has been addressed in extensive editing of the manuscript. In particular, the entire paragraph on role theory was expanded and rewritten (see the excerpt below). The fact that a mediation process could be at play is now also clearly stated. The current manuscript has been rewritten to clearly explain our focus: whether the effect of parenthood on alcohol intake varies according to the context in which drinking occurs. We believe this is an important research question and we have identified a theoretical basis for the expected

influences. In both the Introduction and the Discussion, it now clearly comes out that our study focuses on a single possible pathway in which parenthood may influence alcohol intake. (Other possible pathways are the subjects of separate articles for which we are awaiting Editors' decisions.)

OLD VERSION, P. 2:

Most sociological studies on the relationship between parenthood and alcohol tend to refer to the opportunity perspective, according to which parents would drink less than non-parents because of a more structured everyday life (Knibbe et al., 1987). This perspective contends that by virtue of the tasks and the responsibilities associated with childcare, parents have difficulty finding the time and resources to drink (Ahlstrom et al., 2001; Bloomfield et al., 2006; Gmel et al., 2000; Hajema et Knibbe, 1998; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Knibbe et al., 1987; Kuntsche et al., 2006; Wilsnack et al., 2000).

REVISED VERSION, P. 2:

Most sociological studies on the relationship between parenthood and alcohol consumption tend to refer to the opportunity perspective that was introduced to the alcohol field by (Knibbe et al., 1987) who brought to light different pathways through which the parental role may influence alcohol consumption. This perspective contends that because of the tasks and responsibilities associated with childcare, parents may find it difficult to allocate time and resources to drinking (Ahlstrom et al., 2001; Bloomfield et al., 2006; Gmel et al., 2000; Hajema et Knibbe, 1998; Holmila et Raitasalo, 2005; Knibbe et al., 1987; Kuntsche et al., 2006; Wilsnack et al., 2000). Parents may also avoid drinking situations with characteristics conducive to increased drinking that is likely to interfere with acting out parenthood (Paradis, 2010). All in all, the perspective posits that « the more [a person's] life is structured by meaningful activities that others expect one to engage in and (...) the less likely he or she is to engage in heavy-volume drinking or risky single occasion drinking » (Kuntsche et al., 2009).

3. **A more limited point of attention is the interrelation between being married and being a parent. From a theoretical point of view it is as interesting whether the lower consumption of unmarried people (significant for women in this study) is due to a lower number of drinks per occasion. Another point at present not sufficiently covered concerns the interrelationship between being married and being a parent. I assume this correlation to be high. This means that, once controlling for being married, the power to detect differences between those with and without children is rather limited, especially in a sample with about 500 men or women. The fact that in table 1 the difference in alcohol consumption between parents and non parents is highly significant , while there is no such difference any more in table 2 and 3 in the individual level model, suggest strongly that other individual characteristic, and possibly being married, take away too much of the variation for being a parent to reach statistical significance.**

ANSWER:

Following the suggestion of Reviewer 1 (comment # 8), we have reversed the model sequence between Model 2 and Model 3 in the multilevel analyses. By doing so, it became evident that being a parent is correlated with a combination of variables, namely the education level, age and the marital status. Among men, once control variables are entered in the model, the effect of parenthood disappears. This is now reported in the Results section of the paper.

In line with the issue of interrelation between being married and being a parent, we have added a couple of sentences on parent types in the Limitation section of the revised manuscript (see the answer given to Reviewer 1; comment #6). We now specify that while present analyses kept the marital status constant, no direct attention was given to the issue of parent types. In Canada, variations in family structure and parent type are plentiful. Some men and women care for children within a nuclear family while others do so as single parent, parent-in-law, adoptive parent or foster

parent. This is an interesting topic that should be addressed in future research.

Minor issues:

1. **page 3: the references to Hennessy and Salz and Sykes et al are not included in the references at the end.**

ANSWER:

This reference was added

2. **p4: "the enactment of a role is dynamic...incompatible with parenthood'. The dynamic of enactment of a role includes not only the characteristics of a situation but also how often a person selects a (drinking-) situation to participate in.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. To highlight that there might other pathways in which the enactment of a role is dynamic, this sentence was rewritten differently.

REVISED VERSION, P. 4:

From our perspective, examining the occasions in which drinking occurs could shed light on a pathway in which being a parent structures alcohol intake. The enactment of a role is dynamic and one implication of this is that the characteristics of a situation may determine the extent to which a role becomes "active" (Bates, 1956; Goffman, 1961).

3. **P4: demands upon parents' lives remain relatively neutral?". I did not understand here the word 'neutral'. I would expect a qualification like 'similar' or as 'demanding', however, English is not my native tongue.**

ANSWER:

The term “neutral” was replaced by “constant”. Please also note that this sentence was moved to the limitation section of the manuscript (see answer given to Reviewer 1; comment # 2)

4. **P5/6 The response rate is 43 % and the authors point out that, while it is low, it 'reflects the general trend?'. This is true, although it would be more informative if not a trend would be mentioned but non-response in similar Canadian surveys. More important is that the substantial point, whether the response might be selective is not mentioned at all. The authors could at least indicate whether the non response is selective according to CMA vs non-CMA for which they stratified. They could also indicate to which extent their sample in terms of age, marital state, ethnic group etc differ from census data (if available) or other sources providing reliable information about the distribution of the population on background characteristics.**

ANSWER:

According to the CAS 2004 Microdata eGuide (CCSA, 2007), the non-response rate is not selective according to CMA vs non-CMA. With regards to other demographic characteristics of the sample, we agree with the reviewer that to strengthen the confidence in these data, it is important to show that key demographic characteristics and the CAS sample are similar to the Canadian population. Therefore, we added a sentence to highlight that the weighted CAS distribution compares favourably to the Canadian Census data, although the CAS sample tends to underrepresent respondents who were never married and had some post-secondary education and overrepresent respondents who were married and had a university degree. As mention by (Trewin et Lee, 1988), these differences are common to telephone surveys

OLD VERSION

The response rate was 43% of all eligible households. While this rate is low, it is

similar to that of other populational health surveys, and it reflects the general trend that the response rate for large-scale studies have been declining throughout the developed world (Curtin, Singer and Presser, 2005; Rogers, 2006) due to factors such as cynicism, declining civic participation and concerns with privacy, confidentiality and abuse of personal information (Hansen, 2007; Johnson and Owens, 2003). The median interview time was 23 minutes. Specific details on the research design and methods can be found in the CAS detailed report (Adlaf et al., 2005) and the Canadian Addiction Survey 2004: Microdata eGuide (CCSA, 2007).

REVISED VERSION, P. 6:

The response rate was 43% of all eligible households. While this rate is low, it is similar to that of other populational health surveys, and it reflects the general trend that the response rate for large-scale studies have been declining throughout the developed world (Curtin, Singer and Presser, 2005; Rogers, 2006). The weighted CAS distribution compares favourably to the Census data, although the CAS sample tends to overrepresent respondents who were married and had a university degree. Such differences are common to telephone survey (Trewin et Lee, 1988). The median interview time was 23 minutes. Specific details on the research design and methods can be found in the CAS detailed report (Adlaf et al., 2005) and the Canadian Addiction Survey 2004: Microdata eGuide (CCSA, 2007).

- 5. p 6: "Items about drinking occasions were asked to 40% of the respondents within the third panel." How was this 40% selected out of the third panel. The criterion used should be specified.**

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. Our revised manuscript now mentions that panels were independent random sub-samples.

REVISED VERSION, P. 6:

Panels were independent random sub-samples and each panel focused on specific

items of interest in the CAS.

- 6. P6: only 1026 of the selected 1872 respondents appeared to have 1 or more drinking occasion in the last year. This means that about 45% of the selected respondents were abstainers in the last year. This seems to me a very high percentage of abstainers for a population aged between 18-55. In fact, I do not know of any north American general population study coming up with such high figures for 12 month abstention in this age group. It would be informative to compare the figure for 12 month abstention with other figures from Canadian surveys to indicate to which extent this is a selective sample with respect to drinking in the last 12 month.**

ANSWER:

While the initial sample included everybody aged 15 and up, the second sample solely focused on those aged between 18 and 55. Hence the fact that the analytical sample includes 1026 respondents does not mean that 45% of the population were abstainers in the last year. Many respondents were not included in the analytical sample because of their age.

- 7. Also, the average number of occasions per drinker (2.2) seems to me very low. It means that quite a substantial part of the last 12 month drinkers have fewer than 3 drinking occasions in the last 12 month.**

ANSWER:

For each drinking context, respondents were asked, to specify 5 contextual characteristics. However, MLn 2.0 cannot retain missing values. Therefore, when a respondent failed to fully characterize a drinking context, this particular drinking context had to be removed from the analyses. That is why the average number of occasions per drinker is only 2.2. If cases with missing data had been retained, the average would have been 2.5. Moreover this does not necessarily mean that, on

average, respondents had 2.5 drinking occasions during the last 12 months but that, on average, respondents *recalled* 2.5 drinking occasions that occurred during the last 12 months. In the revised manuscript, it is now mentioned that the average of 2.2 occasions per drinker is obtained after excluding cases with missing data.

REVISED VERSION, P. 6:

After excluding cases with missing data, 901 drinkers and 2005 drinking occasions remained in the analyses (on average, 2.2 occasions per drinker). The final sample was composed of 1,079 drinking occasions nested in 498 female drinkers and 926 drinking occasions nested in 403 male drinkers.

- 8. from the result section it becomes clear that $p < 0.10$ is defined as significant at least with respect to interaction terms. The statistical paragraph should specify explicitly at what level relations are considered significant.**

ANSWER:

Throughout our study, three levels of significance were reported: $p \leq 0.001$; $p \leq 0.01$ and $p \leq 0.05$. For both main effects and interaction effects, the minimal level on significance was set at 0.05. This information is included in the statistical section on page 8: “*Fixed coefficients are tested with normal deviate two-tailed significance reported at $p < 0.05$.*” as well as at the bottom of each table (* $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$). To add precision, on page 13, the revised manuscript now also includes the interaction chi-square value and its associated p-value.

OLD VERSION

*Indeed, while fathers and non-fathers do not report statistically different alcohol intake when drinking occurs in a party, a daily life circumstance or another type of circumstance, at a get-together fathers consume significantly more alcohol than non-fathers ($B_{\text{parenthood*get together}} = -0.233$).*

REVISED VERSION, P. 13:

*Indeed, while fathers and non-fathers do not report statistically different alcohol intake when drinking occurs in a party, a daily life circumstance or another type of circumstance, at a get-together fathers consume significantly more alcohol than non-fathers ($B_{parenthood*get\ together} = -0.233$; $\chi^2 = 9.862$; $df = 3$; $p=0.02$).*

- 9. P13: "The circumstance into which drinking occurs is a significant moderator of the effect of parenthood on alcohol intake among men'. The authors continue to specify that when for each of circumstances separately the nr of glasses is tested, only the 'get together' nr of drinks is significant. However, the graph shows a far more clear and consistent picture: non-parents drink in all circumstances more, except in 'get togethers'. The point that for get together the difference of about 0.1 glass (this about one sip only!!!) is significant is probably due to the far larger statistical power for this circumstance (see table 1) than for the other circumstances. I am pretty sure that if one would use a categorization of circumstances in get together vs. all other circumstances, one would find a significant higher consumption for non parents in all other circumstances than get togethers. Considering the theoretical perspective of this study, in which systematic differences between parents and non parents in nr of glasses over different context is at issue, such a test would be more informative and, as important, allow a conclusion that lies in line with the theoretical perspective: non-parents tend to drink more in all types of situations, except in get-togethers. Seen from this point is questionable whether such an awkward interpretation of why parents drink more in get together should get so much attention (p14) instead of the other outcome that in most situations parents tend to drink less than non parents.**

ANSWER:

We certainly agree with Reviewer 2 that a main outcome *appears* to be that in most

situations, parents tend to drink less than non-parents. However, we cannot report this fact since our statistical analyses reveal that the alcohol intake of parents and non-parents is not different in every circumstances, except in “get-together”. We agree that visually, it appears that non-parents drink more than parents, but graphs are often misleading and in the present case, these differences are not statistically significant. We would also like to point out that in “get-together”, the alcohol intake difference between parents and non-parents is a third of drink per occasion (i.e., log value difference= 0.129). It is not much, but it is more than a sip.

Reviewer 2 suggests, that to get a more accurate picture of the reality, we could use a categorization of circumstances in “get together” vs. “all other circumstances”. We have decided not to implement this suggestion for two reasons. Firstly, it is very rare to have detailed contextual data. Therefore, we are reluctant to merge three categories together and throw out some information. Secondly, it is very unlikely that using a categorization of circumstances in “get together” vs. “all other circumstances” would produce the results anticipated by Reviewer 2. Certainly, by grouping together “party”; “daily life circumstances” and “other circumstances”, we would have more occasions and so, more precision to find significant effects between parents and non-parents. However, this would also introduce much more variance and therefore, it would greatly reduce the likelihood of finding significant difference between fathers and non-fathers’ alcohol intake. This is especially true given the fact that this procedure would merge together the circumstance that is conducive of the highest alcohol intake (party) with the circumstance that is conducive of the lowest alcohol intake (daily life circumstance).

For all these reasons, we have decided to leave this paragraph as it was. We hope that its content will spark other researchers’ curiosity and that in return, this will lead to more studies in the field of social roles, drinking contexts and alcohol intake.

10. P14: the paragraph starting with "besides this counter-intuitive result, player of roles into someone of self-expression" contains rather too many

interpretations not warranted by the outcomes or scope of the paper. As mentioned above, rather than being counter intuitive, the one result confirming moderation is largely in line with the theory presented in the introduction. The other point is that the relevance of the role theory should not be measured only against the lack of results indicating moderation (see before). Generally, the authors fail to express somehow in this paragraph that they test only one of more possible pathways by which parenthood may influence alcohol consumption.

ANSWER:

Thank you for pointing out that in its original version, this paragraph gave the impression that we were taking our results as evidence to invalidate the opportunity perspective. This is not what we meant. Hence, the paragraph was rewritten to make clear that our study tests one possible pathway and that as such, our findings bring something new to sociological perspectives on social roles and alcohol use.

OLD VERSION

Besides this counter-intuitive result, the general failure to find context differences in the magnitude of the relationship between parenthood and alcohol intake is somewhat inconsistent with sociological perspectives on alcohol use like the opportunity perspective (cf. Knibbe et al., 1987). In view of present results, parents are not as constrained as this theoretical model supposes, and so a role perspective exclusively based on restrictions and responsibilities may be too perfectly consistent a model to fit our imperfect, heterogeneous world. Mothers and fathers may not always limit their alcohol intake but may, during certain occasions, decide to drink more than usual and later hope to be excused for imperiling their parental role. More than a case where parental responsibilities limit alcohol intake, it may be that drinking provides an excuse to lapse in parental responsibilities. As Gusfield (1996: 64) points out, alcohol is the object that allows an individual to transform himself or herself from “a socially bound and limited player of roles into someone of self-expression”.

REVISED VERSION, P. 15:

Besides this counter-intuitive result, the general failure to find context differences in the magnitude of the relationship between parenthood and alcohol intake brings something new to sociological perspectives on alcohol use like the opportunity perspective (cf. Knibbe et al., 1987). In view of present results, parents are not continuously constrained and so a role perspective on alcohol use should be wary of putting too much emphasis on restrictions and responsibilities. Mothers and fathers may not always limit their alcohol intake but may, during certain occasions, decide to drink more than usual and later hope to be excused for imperiling their parental role. More than a case where parental responsibilities limit alcohol intake, it may be that drinking provides an excuse to lapse in parental responsibilities. As Gusfield (1996: 64) points out, alcohol is the object that allows an individual to transform himself or herself from “a socially bound and limited player of roles into someone of self-expression”.

11. P 15: "Based on the existing literature?". I think the authors attribute a too simplistic view to those who looked into the effect of roles, among which the parental roles, on drinking. Most authors that I know publishing on this subject, do concentrate on more summary aspects of drinking like level of consumption or rate of heavy episodic drinking. However, that does not mean that these authors assume that if such differences are found, these differences are solely due to cross-situational consistency among parents (or non parents).

ANSWER:

The first sentence of this paragraph was rewritten in accordance with both reviewers' suggestions (see answer to Reviewer 1; comment #4)

OLD VERSION

Based on the existing literature, we expected a high level of cross-situational

consistency among parents. Put differently, we expected that regardless of the nature of the drinking context, mothers and fathers would always drink in such a way as to not interfere with parental duties. In point of fact, our results rather revealed the robust influence of drinking contexts or, as Elster puts it, that “a behavior is often no more stable than the situations that shape it” (Elster, 2007): 185).

REVISED VERSION, P. 15:

In this study, we hypothesized a high level of cross-situational consistency among parents. We expected that in every drinking contexts, even those with characteristics conducive to increased drinking, mothers and fathers would drink in such a way as to not interfere with parental duties, In point of fact, our results rather reaffirmed what has been previously observed in studies from the drinking context literature, i.e. the robust influence of drinking contexts.

12. P15-16: "Finally we found?.time out and drink more than usual". The argument that, the combination of parenthood being of no influence among men and women and the outcome that both men's and women's consumption is influenced by contextual characteristic as a sign that on the whole Canadian society is increasingly supporting gender equality is nonsense. Firstly, the authors ignore that among women being married is significant. Does this mean that in Canadian society gender equality is only supported among parents and not among those married? Secondly, why take variation in drinking over occasions as indication of 'increasing gender equality'. One only would have to read the 196h or 20th century novels (not many empirical studies available) to see that also in those times men's and women's drinking differed per type of occasion and that, despite this difference there was and is a gender difference in drinking (as also table 1 shows). Finally, it is sheer speculation that social sanctions associated with taking a break from caring duties' are not any more 'like before' more severe for mothers than fathers. The most recent studies on being criticized because of drinking shows for a selection of more than 15

countries that (different than these authors seem to assume) men are more likely to be criticized because of their drinking, even when controlling for level of consumption and rate of heavy episodic drinking (e.g. Holmilla et al, 2009; Joosten et al, 2009. In Contemporary Drug Problems; spring summer 2009).

ANSWER:

Given Reviewer 2's strong opposition to this explanation (the argument [...] is nonsense), the argument of increased gender equality was deleted from this paragraph. Rather, in the revised manuscript, the emphasis was put, once again, on the strong influence of situations.

OLD VERSION

Finally, we found that the extent to which parenthood relates to alcohol intake is significant among neither men nor women, even in heavy drinking contexts. In our view, this is indicative of the significant transformation that has occurred within Canadian society over the last decades and of the current state of gender differences in alcohol consumption. From a sociological point of view, alcohol consumption is indissociable from the social environment (SIRC, 2000; Wells et al., 2005), and therefore our result showing that both men and women's alcohol intake is influenced by contextual characteristics is conceivably a sign that, on the whole, Canadian society is increasingly supporting gender equality. The social sanctions associated with taking a break from caring duties may not be, like before, more severe for mothers than fathers. At the turn of the new millennium, just like men, women may feel that in certain situations they, too, can take a time-out and drink more than usual.

REVISED VERSION, P. 16:

Finally, we found that when other socio-demographic variables are controlled for, the extent to which parenthood relates to alcohol intake is significant among neither men nor women, even in heavy drinking contexts. Alcohol consumption is

indissociable from the social environment (SIRC, 2000; Wells et al., 2005). Women and men alike feel that in certain situations they can take a time-out and drink more than usual. Nevertheless, further studies might want to investigate whether this gender-neutral effect remains true across various sub-populations within the Canadian society.

13. P17: paragraph starting with "On a different note": The authors seem to imply that all quantitative studies suffer from epistemological limitations leading them to a instrumental rather than heuristic perspective and/or presenting variables rather than actors at the heart of the analysis. I agree with the authors that quantitative studies are more likely than qualitative studies to suffer from these faults (and qualitative studies tend to suffer from different mistakes), but it adds in my opinion nothing to the paper to mention such things in such general terms in the discussion of a paper presenting a quantitative study focusing on the effect of parenthood on nr. of drinks within specific situations.

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. The last part of this paragraph was removed from the manuscript.

OLD VERSION

On a different note, our findings might be result of epistemological limitations in a quantitative alcohol research context. To date, most researchers have worked with the assumption that, in regard to social roles and alcohol consumption, an instrumental causality prevails. Although this may be partially true, the intentional causality might be important as well; and so sociologists should try to understand the logic beneath men's and women's behaviors by more attentively studying their expectations and their intentions instead of taking them for granted. As such, our understanding of the manners in which social roles relate to alcohol intake could be improved if studies were conducted from a heuristic perspective instead of an

instrumental one (Bernard, 1993). Variables are not actors, and that is why it might be fruitful to place social actors at the heart of future analyses.

REVISED VERSION, P. 17:

On a different note, our findings might be result of epistemological limitations in a quantitative alcohol research context. To date, most researchers have worked with the assumption that, in regard to social roles and alcohol consumption, an instrumental causality prevails. Although this may be partially true, the intentional causality might be important as well; and so sociologists should try to understand the logic beneath men's and women's behaviors by more attentively studying their expectations and their intentions instead of taking them for granted.

14. p17: I rather dislike generalities like: this finding could have implications with regard to public health' Why do the authors not make the effort to specify which specific implications their findings may have with regard to public health?

ANSWER:

This suggestion was fully implemented. A sentence was added to detail which specific implications our findings may have with regards to public health?

OLD VERSION

Hence, the explanation of alcohol behaviors within the general Canadian population may lie as much in the situation as in the person and this finding could have implications with regard to public health.

REVISED VERSION, P. 18:

Given that the explanation of alcohol behaviors within the general Canadian population may lie as much in the situation as in the person, those responsible for alcohol prevention may want to implement environmental services and policies such

as bans on low-price alcohol promotions in drinking outlets, year-round safe ride home service or mandatory server intervention training.

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