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Is blood still thicker than water? A life-course perspective on the transformation of family and friends' roles in personal networks

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FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES SOCIALES ET POLITIQUES
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Is blood still thicker than water?
A life-course perspective on the transformation of family and friends' roles in personal networks

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IMPRIMATUR

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- Eric D. WIDMER, co-directeur de thèse, Professeur à l'Université de Genève
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« Is blood still thicker than water ? A life course perspective on the transformation of family and friends' roles in personal networks »

Lausanne, le 28 janvier 2015

Le Doyen de la Faculté

Professeur
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Summary
This thesis addresses the issue of the moving boundaries between family and friends' roles in personal networks, adopting a life-course perspective and using Switzerland as a case study. In a period of major changes in personal life happening in contemporary Western societies, understanding the organization of personal networks intertwined with the unfolding of individual life courses is of prime importance in facing new challenges with regard to social integration.
The data stem from a representative national survey carried out in 2011 named *Family tiMes*, including 803 individuals born either in 1950-1955 or in 1970-1975. An innovative research design was adopted, combing cross-sectional ego-centered network data and retrospective longitudinal life-course data.
The results show continuing boundaries between family and friends' roles and that family keeps a prominent role in personal networks despite the notable importance of friendship ties. One relationship stands out above all, that with the partner, followed quite a few steps behind by those with children. Regarding life courses, de-standardization tendencies were found in family formation and also a persistent gendering of occupational trajectories. Two kinds of life trajectories are particularly intertwined with personal networks, co-residence and partnership trajectories, both related to the unfolding of family life. In particular, transition to parenthood functions as a turning point in individuals' lives, deeply transforming their sociability. Finally, a twofold pluralization process was identified, affecting simultaneously the organization of personal networks and the unfolding of individual life courses. This thesis contributes to the literature on the sociology of family and personal life, and to fruitful interlinkage between the network approach and the life-course perspective.
Keywords: *personal networks, family, friendship, personal life, life course, network analysis, sequence analysis, Switzerland*

Résumé
Cette thèse étudie les frontières mouvantes entre les rôles de la famille et des ami.e.s dans les réseaux personnels en adoptant une perspective du parcours de vie et en prenant la Suisse comme étude de cas. A une époque où la vie personnelle dans les sociétés occidentales contemporaines est affectée par des changements majeurs, comprendre l'organisation des réseaux personnels en lien avec le déroulement des parcours de vie individuels est d'une importance première pour faire face aux enjeux liés à l'intégration sociale.
Les données proviennent d'une étude nationale représentative qui s'est déroulée en 2011 intitulée *Family tiMes* et qui inclut 803 individus nés soit entre 1950-1955, soit entre 1970-1975. Une méthodologie de recherche innovante a été adoptée, combinant des données transversales sur des réseaux égo-centrés et des données longitudinales rétrospectives sur des parcours de vie.
Les résultats montrent que des frontières subsistent entre les rôles de la famille et des ami.e.s et que la famille garde un rôle prépondérant dans les réseaux personnels, malgré une importance notable des liens d'amitié. Une relation surpasse toutes les autres, le partenaire, suivi loin derrière par les enfants. Concernant les parcours de vie, des tendances à la dé-standardisation ont été mises en avant dans la formation de la famille ainsi qu'une structuration genrée persistante des trajectoires professionnelles. Deux sortes de trajectoires de vie sont particulièrement liées aux réseaux personnels, la trajectoire de cohabitation et celle de couple, toutes deux en lien avec le déroulement de la vie familiale. En particulier, la transition à la parentalité fonctionne comme un tournant dans les vies des individus transformant leur sociabilité en profondeur. Finalement, un double processus de pluralisation a été identifié, affectant simultanément l'organisation des réseaux personnels et le déroulement des parcours de vie individuels. Cette thèse contribue à la littérature sur le sociologie de la famille et de la vie personnelle ainsi que sur le lien très fécond entre l'approche réseau et la perspective du parcours de vie.
Mots-clé: réseaux personnels, famille, amitié, vie personnelle, parcours de vie, analyse de réseau, analyse de séquence, Suisse

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1 Introduction

Is blood still thicker than water in contemporary Western societies? The well known proverb *"Blood is thicker than water"* implies that the bonds of family are always more important that the bonds between non-relatives, such as friends. There is an endless list of sayings praising family and claiming its primacy. Nevertheless, friendship is also deeply valued for the free and spontaneous choice it implies illustrated in the saying *"You can choose your friends, but you can't choose your family"* or in the famous sentence of Montaigne *"Because it was him, because it was me"*.

In late modernity, the prevalence of kinship ties over non-kinship ties in personal networks has been questioned. Individuals are thought to be more elective in their choice of significant relationships, and more prone to favor non-kinship ties over kinship ties or, at least, treat them as equivalent. Therefore, one may wonder whether the boundaries between family and friends' roles are blurring. Nevertheless, as the symbolic and actual importance of kinship ties is deeply rooted in Western societies through blood and alliance principles, one may claim that clear boundaries remain. In fact, the very dichotomy between some ties being elective and chosen and other ties being ascribed and given is problematic, as it neglects the fact that all relationships need to be achieved and actualized through interactions, practices, and commitment. In that perspective, friends may fulfill family-like functions and family members friend-like functions.

Along with this questioning comes the fact that personal relationships evolve throughout the life course and, consequently, the respective importance of kin and non-kin may vary depending on previous experiences and on the position in the life course associated with different statuses and roles. The unfolding of life trajectories and the development of personal networks are indeed dynamic and intertwined processes. While some transitions, such as becoming parent, may put the focus on the family of procreation, other transitions, such as leaving the parental nest, may represent a shift away from the family of orientation.

Thinking in terms of life course also means replacing the unfolding of human lives in a global socio-historical context and in a specific welfare state regime which frame life trajectories. There are, on the one hand, processes of institutionalization and standardization which have contributed to make contemporary life courses more predictable and, on the other hand, contrary processes contributing to the individualization and the persistent gendering of life courses. Consequently, as contemporary life courses are thought to have become more pluralized since the last part of the 20th century, this pluralization may lead to more diversity in personal networks regarding not only the share of kin and non-kin, but also roles and underlying principles of sociability.

Drawing on those issues, this dissertation examines the boundaries between family and friends' roles in personal networks in a life-course perspective and in the light of the changes in personal life happening in contemporary Western societies, using Switzerland as a case study. We explore three key research questions: (1) whether the personal networks of people living in Switzerland are equally composed of kin and non-kin, and to what extent kin and non-kin fulfill similar roles and are sustained by the same principles of sociability; (2) what are the main patterns of contemporary life courses, and to what extent life courses have pluralized; (3) how personal networks are influenced by life trajectories, and what type of life transitions and stages better explain the development of personal networks. We are inspired by the life-course perspective and the network approach, and one field of research, the sociology of family and personal life, whose connections and specificities we briefly present. But, first of all, we introduce our empirical approach.

To answer our research questions, we use a representative sample of around 800 individuals living in Switzerland in 2011.[1] We adopt an innovative research design combining cross-sectional network data and retrospective longitudinal life-course data. We have two groups of individuals, one aged between 56 and 61 and born between 1950-1955 and the other aged between 36 and 41 and born between 1970-1975, representing two different life stages and socio-historical anchorages. Personal networks are collected through a first open and straightforward question: *"Who are the individuals who, over the past year, have been very important to you, even if you have not got along well with them?"* followed up by a set of questions about those significant alters and the network structure. Life trajectories are recorded regarding four key life domains: co-residence, partnership, occupation, and spatial mobility. We adopt a typological approach developing several typologies to account for sociability and the unfolding of life courses, followed up by logistic regression and multiple correspondence analyses. By doing so, we treat our data quantitatively, allowing for generalization at the Swiss population level, but we also recognize the diversity of individual situations.

1 Data stem from the *Family tiMes* survey, "Trajectoires familiales et réseaux sociaux: une perspective configurationnelle sur le parcours de vie [in English: Family trajectories and social networks: a configurational perspective on the life course]", financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF fond no. 100017_130343/1) and directed by J.-A. Gauthier and D. Joye (University of Lausanne), and E. D. Widmer (University of Geneva).

1.1 Personal networks across the life course

This dissertation is first about personal relationships and personal networks. When using the term "networks", people mostly think about on-line social networks such as Facebook or LinkedIn or large networks composed of close relatives as well as distant acquaintances. Here, we are concerned with more intimate relationships, impregnated with feelings of closeness, perceived as very important, qualified as strong ties, belonging to the first circle of sociability or, in other words, the core of personal networks. Looking at such relationships is relevant as they are major sources of support, identification, and self-realization. Among those personal relationships, there is a great variety of situations with regard to the inclusion or exclusion of friends, the characteristics of the alters. For instance, the parent-child as well as the conjugal relationships have been pointed out to be crucial in contemporary Western societies, more important than sibling relationships (C. L. Johnson, 2000; White, 2001).

Personal networks are mostly discussed in terms of resources and social capital, as relationships give access to a wide range of concrete and potential benefits (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1999). Nevertheless, personal networks also give rise to social control, conflicts, and ambivalences (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; Widmer & Lüscher, 2011). They also reproduce social stratification and inequalities, as individuals do not meet each other randomly and are more likely to get acquainted with other individuals sharing similar characteristics, mechanism known as homophily or homogamy for conjugality (Kalmijn, 1998; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). While some dimensions of personal networks such as the composition are often put under scrutiny, other dimensions such as the network structure are often neglected and need to be added to the global picture.

Societies are composed of multiple social fields. Individuals are simultaneously active in several social fields and therefore hold several statuses and roles. Throughout their life course, their statuses and roles change in accordance to experienced transitions and events. In this perspective, the life course is understood as a sequence of status profiles (Levy, 2013). Life courses are multidimensional as they are composed of a series of "parallel" trajectories such as family, co-residence, partnership, occupation, spatial mobility, health, etc. Consequently, life trajectories may constitute a generative mechanism of development of personal networks, as they imply social participation in multiple social fields and the opportunity to meet a wide array of persons who can be turned into significant alters. Family trajectories in particular are likely to impact various dimensions of personal relationships, but have to be understood in the light of other trajectories. Personal networks evolve throughout the life course. Broadly explained, children are first bound to

their family of orientation and teenagers progressively get acquainted with their peers. The period of studies is usually characterized by high sociability and friendship. Entry into the labor market, conjugality, and becoming a parent are transitions that significantly reorganize personal networks towards more selectivity. Whereas the impact of life transitions on personal networks is widely acknowledged with a focus being put on the impact of normative and non-normative transitions as well as critical events, less attention is paid to the impact of whole and multidimensional trajectories in a holistic way.

The life-course perspective and the network approach have much in common. First, they represented ontological turns in the social sciences by suggesting new and innovative ways to look at individuals within societies. Second, they have in common various principles. The idea of individual lives being linked with one another, wife and husband for instance (Elder, Kirkpatrick Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003), is echoed by the idea of interdependencies among individuals being connected with one another through personal networks, to exchange support for instance (Elias, 1978, 1983; Widmer & Jallinoja, 2008). Third, they pay close attention to resources available to individuals, available over the life course for the former and available through belonging to networks for the latter. Fourth, in both cases, life transitions are a main concern as they jeopardize previous equilibria and lead to changes involving new statuses and roles in the life course as well as new relationships in personal networks. They also have their specificities. The life-course perspective is much more concerned with dynamics over time – at a micro level the process of aging for instance, or at the macro level socio-historical changes. The network approach mostly studies static networks with some notable exceptions (Snijders, 2001), and rather puts the emphasis on power and influence dynamics within networks.

Social scientists concerned with the unfolding of individual lives and personal relationships assess how individuals live and relate to one another in present times, but they also want to uncover processes of transformation and account for past changes and new challenges. In the life-course perspective, a well identified process has been the process of institutionalization and standardization of the life course starting in the late 18th century and reaching its peak in the 1960s (Kohli, 1989, 2007), followed by de-standardization tendencies. In the network approach, the closely related process of individualization is often pointed out to account for new ways of connecting to one another. Some authors even suggest that contemporary Western societies are best characterized by person-to-person networked individualism (Wellman, 2007), meaning that the focal points are now individuals and their ego-centered networks rather than large communities.

1.2 Families and personal life

Contemporary Western societies are characterized by many changes jeopardizing the idealized white, nuclear heterosexual family of the 1950s studied by Parsons & Bales (1955). The increase of divorces, the rise of cohabiting unions, the augmentation of births outside marriage, the emergence of new reproductive technologies, the appearance of "new" family forms such as lone parenthood, stepfamilies, and same-sex families have created much confusion and relativity regarding what family may or may not encompass. In his keynote speech at the 7th Congress of the European Society on Family Relations (September 2014), Schneider addressed the issue concerning the convergences and divergences of families in Europe over the last twenty-five years. He pointed out two indicators, the increasing number of cohabiting couples and births outside wedlock, showing convergent trends across Europe. Despite convergences, since European countries follow different paces of change, there is an increasing diversity of family forms. He concluded by stating that families went from being preformed social institutions to individually designed pluralities of living arrangements. In that regard, Switzerland presents contrasted features as the divorce rate in 2011 was quite average (43.2%)[2] in European comparison, but the proportion of births outside marriage was very low (19.3%),[3] indicating that marriage remains the norm when it comes to childbearing. In reaction to those social changes, the field of family research went through a reconceptualization, switching from static definitions to more relational ones. Scholars started using "doing" and "displaying" family (in opposition to the essentialist "being", Finch, 2007; D. H. J. Morgan, 2011), relatedness (instead of family or kinship, Carsten, 2004), family configurations (instead of structure, Widmer & Jallinoja, 2008). Indeed, static definitions based on ascribed properties or on living arrangements do not encompass the variety of individuals' practices and their ways of making sense of their lives. Along with this reconceptualization of families, the boundaries of families have become more blurred. While some authors maintain that a process of suffusion between friendship and family roles is at stake (Pahl & Spencer, 2004), others believe that different principles still sustain them (Allan, 2008). Those changes have been associated with the so-called individualization process, transforming individuals' intimacy and relationships (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Giddens, 1991, 1992). However, in her book entitled *Personal Life*, Smart (2010) concluded by suggesting a new field of research named "personal life" and a new concept, "connectedness", to counterbalance "individualization". Connectedness is a very fruitful concept to

2 For divorce trends across Swiss cantons see Robert-Nicoud (2014) and for demographic behaviors of Swiss families see Swiss Federal Statistical Office (2009).

3 In 2012, the proportion of births outside marriage was 39.3% in the EU-28, with proportions above 50% for Iceland, Estonia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, and France. Source: Eurostat, 2014.

link life-course perspective and network approach and understand personal networks across individual lives.

To sum up, in the life-course perspective and in the network approach as well as in the sociology of family, relationships and connectedness are at the core. Thus, studying together life trajectories and personal networks is necessary in order to look at individuals' personal life in contemporary societies. The unfolding of individual life courses and the development of personal networks at a micro level are framed by socio-historical context, welfare state regime, social institutions, and social norms at a macro level (Mayer, 2001). Therefore, as we use Switzerland as a case study, we now present the main characteristics of the Swiss welfare regime which impact individuals' personal lives in a socio-historical perspective and in the light of the European context.

1.3 The Swiss welfare regime in a socio-historical perspective

Before describing the different welfare regimes prevailing in Europe, the very special position of Switzerland regarding the socio-historical and geopolitical events as well as the economic crises impacting Europe during the 20th century has to be briefly highlighted. First, despite its localization in the middle of continental Europe, Switzerland appeared as an island of peace during the 20th century, avoiding direct participation in the two world wars. Nevertheless, the experience of World War II left some scars, as it was marked by the fear of invasion, tensions between the different linguistic regions, and more recently criticisms about the country's contested neutrality and ambiguous role (Bouquet, 2005). Regarding the creation and development of the European Union, Switzerland remains an outsider in the middle of Europe, but has concluded many agreements which functionally link it to EU and also joined many international organizations, such as the United Nations in 2002. Politically, as in many European countries, right-wing parties, such as the Swiss People's party,[4] are gaining strength with topics such as insecurity, migration and fear of economic decline. Despite few notable national events and Switzerland's back-seat position, people living in Switzerland do feel embedded in and concerned by a more global context. In a survey across five birth cohorts interviewed in 2003-2004, the three socio-historical and geopolitical events which most marked the memories of people living in Switzerland were the September 11 attacks in 2001 (and the subsequent invasion of Iraq), World War II, and the end of

4 From 1959 to 2003, the Swiss Federal Council is based on the "magic formula", a formula based on an agreement for dividing the seven executive seats between the four ruling parties (two to the Social Democratic party (center-left), two to the Christian Democrat party (center-right), two to the Radical party (center-right), and one to the Swiss People's party (right)). In 2003, this balance was jeopardized in favor of the right (Swiss People's party) and to the detriment of the center-right (Christian Democrat party).

communism in Europe (often symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall), showing the international integration of Switzerland (Aeby, 2006; Lalive d'Epinay, Cavalli, & Aeby, 2008). Secondly, during the 20th century, Switzerland emerged as a financial center and one of the world's most stable economies. Economically, Switzerland first developed through its industrialization as well as its banking activity (Bouquet, 2005). In particular, the thirty years directly following World War II were a period of growth and wealth with the development of the tertiary sector. The oil crisis in the 1970s temporarily impacted Switzerland, but the situation improved in the 1980s. During the recent post-2008 financial crisis, the Swiss economy has suffered much less than its neighbors despite the recurrent problem of the Swiss franc being a safe-haven currency, which affects exports. Thus, while at the turn of the last century Swiss people left their country, Switzerland has become a land of immigration. In 2014, more than one quarter of Swiss residents were foreign born, the highest in the OECD after Luxembourg and more than double the OECD average of 12.6% (OECD, 2014a). Finally, even if the Swiss unemployment rate has stayed low in international comparison (2.8% in 2011, Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2014), the experience of unemployment is widespread in particular for younger and older adults. Despite its good economic conditions in comparison with other European countries and in terms of its superior level of GDP, Switzerland has very low spending levels in social policies and a low income equality (measured by the GINI index). In a special issue of the Swiss Journal of Sociology, an assessment of persistent social inequalities in Swiss society was made by several scholars (Tillmann & Voorpostel, 2012). Swiss society remains quite socially stratified with low social mobility (Falcon, 2013). This brief overview points to the fact that there is a social divide in Switzerland based on birth cohort (members of different cohorts did not grow up and grow old in the same living conditions, a phenomenon that creates inequalities among them, Chauvel, 1998) and based on social classes (presence of social stratification generating inequalities among individuals of the same birth cohorts).

After this brief overview of the socio-historical, geopolitical, and economic context, we return to the different welfare regimes prevailing in Europe. Life courses are framed by welfare states, since the impacts of current shared processes of de-industrialization and globalization on life courses depend on the social answers given within countries (Mayer, 2001). Therefore, characterizing welfare regimes is of prime importance. The pioneering work of Esping-Andersen (1990) has given rise to many criticisms, but the value of its ideal types as a means to explain, and not as an end in itself, is widely acknowledged (Arts & Gelissen, 2002). The original typology distinguished three worlds of welfare capitalism, the "Liberal", "Conservative", and "Social-democratic" types, based on two fundamental dimensions, the degree of "decommodification" and the kind of social stratification and solidarities. Given that labor is the individual's primary

commodity in the market, decommodification refers to the strength of social entitlements and citizens' degree of immunization from market dependency (mostly looking at unemployment benefits, sickness insurance, and pensions). A fourth type was added to account for the Mediterranean welfare states. This classification has been criticized,[5] in particular for its neglect of the gender dimension (Grönlund & Öun, 2010).

Those welfare states have distinct features which have consequences for the predominant life-course regimes concerning a wide array of issues (e.g., age at leaving the parental home, labor force participation of women, etc.) (Arts & Gelissen, 2002; Esping-Andersen, 1990; Mayer, 2001). *Liberal* welfare states are dominated by individualism and market primacy. There is little redistribution of incomes and social entitlements are limited. The level of decommodification is low (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Individuals are encouraged to subscribe to private insurances. Women actively participate in the labor force as their earnings are necessary to the household. Concerning education, the school system is not stratified and vocational training is neglected (Mayer, 2001). *Conservative* welfare states are characterized by social entitlements related to occupational status. The level of decommodification is moderate (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Those welfare states are historically shaped by corporatism and the Catholic church. Solidarity follows the principle of subsidiarity. Married women's participation in the labor force is discouraged, as their role within the family is perceived as having priority. In contrast to *Liberal* welfare states, schooling is institutionally stratified and selective with a well developed vocational training system (Mayer, 2001). *Social-democratic* welfare states have an universal system of redistribution which is not based on any individual contributions. The degree of decommodification is high (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The emphasis is put on solidarity and individual independence. The coverage for the risks of life is universal and the right to social protection is attributed on the basis of citizenship (Ferrera, 1996). Family services are excellent and women are encouraged to participate in the labor market. Concerning education, the school system is not stratified, but vocational training is provided within this system (Mayer, 2001). *Mediterranean* welfare states are characterized by strong familialism

5 In a state-of-the-art report, Arts and Gelissen (2002) reported the main criticisms addressed to the classification of Esping-Andersen and presented seven alternative typologies. The liberal type is also named Anglo-Saxon (Ferrera, 1996; Leibfried, 1992), Protestant liberal (Siaroff, 1994), British (Bonoli, 1997), Basic security (Korpi & Palme, 1998), and Liberal Market Economies (Mayer, 2001). The Conservative type is also named Bismarckian (Ferrera, 1996; Leibfried, 1992), Advanced Christian-democratic (Siaroff, 1994), Continental (Bonoli, 1997), Corporatist(Korpi & Palme, 1998), and Continental Conservative Welfare Societies (Mayer, 2001). The Social-democratic type is also named Scandinavian (Ferrera, 1996; Leibfried, 1992), Non-Right Hegemony (Castels & Mitchell, 1993), Protestant Social-democratic (Siaroff, 1994), Nordic (Bonoli, 1997), Encompassing (Korpi & Palme, 1998), and Scandinavian Social Democratic Welfare States (Mayer, 2001). This Mediterranean type is also named "Latin Rim" (Leibfried, 1992), "Late female Mobilization" (Siaroff, 1994), and "Southern" (Bonoli, 1997; Ferrera, 1996; Mayer, 2001). Some classifications have added a type which better accounts for the Antipodean welfare states' characteristics. This type had been named "Radical" by Castels and Mitchell (1993) and "Targeted" by Korpi and Palme (1998).

(Esping-Andersen, 1990), the lack of an articulated social minimum (save for pensions) and the lack of a right to welfare (Leibfried, 1992). There is no minimum social protection and there are high levels of clientelism (Ferrera, 1996). Schooling is stratified and vocational training is firm-based (Mayer, 2001).

Some countries are easily classified and consensually used as examples to illustrate those types, for instance the United Kingdom for *Liberal*, Germany for *Conservative*, Norway and Sweden for *Social-democratic*, Greece, Italy, and Spain for *Mediterranean* welfare states. Other countries are more problematic to classify, as they are hybrid, such as the Netherlands and Switzerland (Arts & Gelissen, 2002). Switzerland, our country of interest, has been qualified as *Liberal* or *Basic security* (Castles & Mitchell, 1993; Korpi & Palme, 1998), *Conservative* or *Bismarckian* (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Ferrera, 1996), and even *Late female Mobilization* (Siaroff, 1994). Moreover, many classifications simply do not address the Swiss case. Difficulties on classifying the Swiss welfare state can be traced back to its peculiar development compared to the rest of Europe.

In the history of Switzerland, 1848, the date of the adoption of the federal constitution, is retained as the beginning of the modern Swiss state (Bouquet, 2005). Swiss political institutions, particularly federalism and direct democracy, strongly impacted the development of the welfare state in Switzerland (Obinger, 1998). Although Switzerland is surrounded by countries characterized by the C*onservative* regime, the Swiss welfare state had a different and slower path. Four periods can be distinguished in the development of social policies: formation (1874-1945), Golden Age (1946-1975), consolidation (1976-1999) (Obinger, 1998), and the revival of the liberal trend (Cattacin, 2006).

The first period covers the period from 1874, the date of the complete revision of the original constitution of 1848, to 1945 and corresponds to formation. Only health (1914), accident (1918), and a kind of unemployment insurance (1925) were implemented. After World War II, the welfare state was concretely launched through a series of insurances.[6] Women's suffrage was also implemented during this period, more precisely in 1971, rather late in European comparison.[7] This development came to a temporary halt around 1975. Nevertheless, the two last decades of the 20th century were a period of consolidation to revise and expand social security (Bertozzi, Bonoli, & Gay-des-Combes, 2008). This period of consolidation was a move away from the liberal to the conservative welfare model. However, recent changes point out to a new shift back towards the

6 Old Age and Survivors' Insurance (AHV, 1948), family allowances for farmers (1953), invalidity insurance (IV, 1960) and supplementary benefits for people in need beneficiary from AHV or IV (1966).

7 Women's suffrage for the neighboring countries: Germany and Austria 1918; France 1944; Italy 1945; and Liechtenstein 1984.

liberal model. The tendency is to make aid beneficiaries more responsible by providing only the minimum regarding pensions, sickness insurance, social assistance, and unemployment benefits, and by encouraging the use of complementary private insurances and activating civil society (Cattacin, 2006). Obinger (1998) provides an interesting explanation of this Swiss exceptionalism: *"... the strength of federalism and the exceptional role of direct democracy, together with the long lasting majority of a liberal party, have been the major impediments of welfare state expansion in Switzerland"* (1998: 245). Federalism has at least four components which enhance the status quo and a liberal trajectory: distribution of power, policy inheritance, fiscal constraints, and institutional veto points. Direct democracy with its obligatory referendum, optional referendum, and constitutional initiative, works towards the status quo and a liberal trajectory as well. This historical development of the Swiss welfare state leads to a complex social system grounded both at the federal and at the cantonal levels. Some scholars have even suggested that, because of Swiss federalism, Swiss cantons should be studied as different welfare worlds (Armingeon, Bertozzi, & Bonoli, 2004).

Without being exhaustive, we would like to point out some features of the Swiss welfare regime which shape life-course patterns and personal networks in particular with regard to family policies. Wall and Escobedo (2013) identified seven types of leave policy models based on leave systems, early childhood services (under 3 years old) and couples' employment patterns.[8] Referring to this typology, Switzerland is characterized by a "Short-leave part-time mother" model. Women are entitled to 14 weeks' (3.5 months) paid maternity leave at 80% of their average income. In contrast to other countries characterized by this model (the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Ireland), Switzerland does not give short unpaid individual entitlement to parental leave. Nevertheless, it is a common practice for employers to grant their male employees one or two days of paid leave in the event of fatherhood. In addition, there are other leave arrangements granted through collective labor agreements, work contracts by public and private employers, and specific cantonal regulations (Valarino, 2014). Regarding female and male employment patterns, women and men are equally integrated into the labor market as long as they do not have dependent children.

8 The "One-year-leave gender-equality-oriented" model includes an initial short maternity leave followed by a longer period of well-paid parental leave (9-13 months) (Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, Slovenia). The "Parental-choice-oriented" model offers a long paid parental leave (2-3 years) complementary to children services (Belgium, France, Finland, Norway). The "Long-leave mother home-centered" model emphasizes the role of women as staying at home mothers when children are very young (Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland, Estonia). The "Balanced mother home-centered" model included a short well-paid leave followed by a long low-paid leave and encouragement for parental sharing of leave (Austria, Germany). The "Short-leave part-time mother" model is based on a short, non-transferable maternity leave that favors a combination of work and childcare by working part-time for women (United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Ireland, Switzerland). The "Short-leave modified male-breadwinner" model only offers short well-compensated leave for mothers and mostly supports the pattern of different roles for male (breadwinner) and female (home-carer) (Italy, Greece, Spain). The seventh and last model is "Early return to full-time work" and consists of a short well-compensated leave and a bonus period for gender sharing (Portugal).

After giving birth, women are encouraged to combine work and childcare by working part-time. Employed women in Switzerland often work part-time (57.3% in 2009) contra 12.9% of men.[9] This pattern of female employment conditioned by the presence of children in the household is also well shown in a study based on retrospective longitudinal data of occupational trajectories (Levy, Gauthier, & Widmer, 2006; Levy & Widmer, 2013). This gendered way of reconciling work and family duties leads to the one-and-a-half-earner model with men retaining the main breadwinner role and women the home-carer role. Since the corollary of the home-carer role is the role of kin-keeper (Adams, 1970; Hagestad, 1992), this gendered specialization may favor the persistent prominent role of women in personal networks. This gender role-set also has implications for women's fertility decisions, in the context of a low level of fertility in Switzerland (1.52 in 2011) as well as in many other European countries (Bernardi, Ryser & Le Goff, 2013). In addition to the concept of decommodification, Korpi (2000) took into account the concept of "defamilialization" of social policies – i.e. relieving families of their obligations to provide care – and suggested three types of "gender policy models": dual-earner (prevailing in *Social-democratic* regimes), traditional family (prevailing in *Conservative* regimes), and market-oriented models (prevailing in *Liberal* regimes). Those models are defined in terms of the level of public care services provided and the level of family support through transfers. In Korpi's typology, Switzerland is characterized by a market-oriented gender policy model. In childcare, the family and the market are the main care providers and the state intervenes to a minimal extent in family matters, considering them to be the responsibility of parents and, by extension, of mothers. Expenditures on childcare and pre-primary schooling are very low in European comparison (OECD, 2009).[10] Consequently, childcare and pre-primary facilities previous to compulsory primary school are not considered a universal right and therefore are charged for (only partially subsidized) and not numerous enough to grant every child a place. In 2006, only 43.8% of children between age 3 and the compulsory school age were in formal childcare, again very low in European comparison (Wall et al., 2009). The topic of work and family reconciliation regularly reappears on the policy agenda, but with very low success up to now (Valarino, 2014; Valarino & Bernardi, 2010). In 2013 (March 3), Swiss citizens refused a text promoting a better reconciliation of work and family life aiming at intensifying childcare facilities. It confirms that family life is still seen as a private issue rather than a public one.

In addition to leave systems, other institutional trends point out to a gendered and traditional perspective on family issues despite recent changes. Starting from July 2014, voluntary

9 Part-time work is defined as an activity at less than 90% of occupation rate. In the OECD, only the Netherlands has a higher share of part-time work among women (OECD, 2014a).

10 Total public spending on childcare and early education is over 1.0% of GDP in France, the Nordic countries and the United Kingdom, while it is below 0.3% of GDP in Greece and Switzerland (OECD, 2014b).

parental authority is finally recognized to both parents regardless of their legal civil status, a fact that better recognizes fathers' rights and overall equality between parents.[11] Nevertheless, at present, women remain the primary custodians of children and joint custody after a divorce is not yet the norm. Another change concerns the free choice of one single family name implemented in January 2013 and aimed at granting equal rights to spouses following marriage.[12] The consequences of this policy towards more gender equality are not well known yet. In 2012, there were around one fifth of the women who chose the double family name option (husband's name followed by their own). First results comparing 2012 and 2013 show that the percentage of women who kept their own name increased from 5.4% to 23.6%. Nevertheless, the proportion of women who took their husband's name also slightly increased from 68.4% to 71.1% (BEVNAT, 2015). In conclusion, most women still opt for their husband's name, consequences that highlight how family matters are still impregnated with traditional values.

After this overview on family policies related to normative gender roles which frame life trajectories with regard to employment and family decisions as well as personal networks, we present a few more aspects of the schooling system that have consequences for the transition to adulthood in a life-course perspective and for the forms of sociability. Referring to the typology of welfare state regimes, Switzerland follows the conservative model in its schooling system, as schooling is institutionally stratified and selective with a well developed vocational training system. At the end of compulsory school, around age 15, adolescents are oriented according to their performance, skills and interests. Vocational training is the main pattern and leads to an early entry into the labor market in comparison with individuals following upper secondary and tertiary education. The fact that there is a specialized schooling system implies a diversity of ages at leaving school and of occupational trajectories, whereas in other countries universal schooling without institutionalized vocational training favors a median and fairly standardized school leaving age (Mayer, 2001). In 2013, only one third of individuals of the same age obtained a Swiss *Maturité* diploma, necessary to enter university (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2015). As studies are a major context of sociability (Bidart & Lavenu, 2005), this early specialized schooling system may increase homophily in personal networks. The legal age of citizenship is fixed at age 18. However, for several issues, the period from age 18 to 25 is still a kind of limbo. The federal law on family allowances implemented a family allowance of at least 200 CHF for children until age 16 and an

11 Non-married parents have to make a joint declaration to have joint parental authority (in addition to the recognition of the child by the father). When non-married parents have joint parental authority, they can give the family name of the father to their child instead of the family name of the mother (automatically given otherwise) within one year, before a civil registrar.

12 The double family name was introduced in 1988.

education allowance of at least 250 CHF for children from 16 to 25 (LAFam, since the 1st of January 2009). It should be noted that some cantons give a higher allowance. This amount of money clearly does not cover children's costs and parents have to provide for their dependent children when they are in education or training until age 25. There is no universal student allowance or loan. When parents have low income, students can apply for a scholarship conditional on their parents earnings. Some social policies also target this period of age, which is particularly difficult for young people with low qualifications and for all young people in general with regard to entry into the labor market in a context of increasing youth unemployment (Nada, 2014).

In summary, the social policies of the welfare state regime provide a structure of constrains and opportunities that limit and enable individual agency. Switzerland, our country of interest, has developed a welfare regime with conservative and liberal components ensuring individual entitlements to a reasonable, but limited extent. Therefore, women and men, individuals with higher and lower levels of education, citizens and foreigners, individuals aged 60 and individuals aged 40, do not follow similar life trajectories and do not have the same forms of sociability. By investigating personal networks in the light of the life course, we uncover the ways in which people experience their sociability today in Swiss society.

1.4 Research questions and outline

This dissertation is organized around three main research questions. The first tackles the suffusion process between friendship and family roles. Referring to authors arguing for either increasing blurriness (Pahl & Spencer, 2004) or remaining boundaries (Allan, 2008), we investigate the share of kin and non-kin in personal networks and the extent to which they fulfill similar roles and are sustained by the same principles of sociability. As ties belonging to core personal networks are supposed to hold a set of features such as strength (Granovetter, 1973), closeness (Kahn & Antonucci, 1980), trust (De Carlo & Widmer 2011), and homogeneity (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), we wonder whether there is diversity between and among kin and non-kin. Personal networks are said to provide essential resources and, in particular, social capital of two kinds, bonding and bridging social capitals, related to the network structure (Burt, 1995, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Widmer, 2006, 2010). We explore to what extent bonding is more prominent in kin networks and bridging in non-kin networks. Besides support, we also pay attention to conflicts and ambivalences (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; Widmer & Lüscher 2011) arising in personal networks and investigate among which individuals, kin and non-kin, they are more likely to emerge. By looking at those various network dimensions, we give an extended overview of the roles friendship and family may play and conclude by discussing distinct intelligible profiles of relational integration combing those dimensions.

The second research question is devoted to the debate about standardization versus individualization of the life course (Kohli, 2007; Levy & Widmer, 2013; Widmer, Levy, Pollien, Hammer, & Gauthier, 2003) and the gendering of life course (Krüger & Levy, 2001). As separation or divorce are more widespread (Amato, 2010) and as the transition to adulthood has become more complex (Galland, 1991, 2003; Bidart, 2005; 2008), we investigate the period of childhood and the period of young adulthood across two birth cohorts considering life trajectories in four domains – co-residence, partnership, spatial mobility, and occupation – and examine whether pluralization has increased over time. Looking at life-stage effects, we investigate their main characteristics and the different statuses and roles associated with them for the period from 1991 to 2011. As Swiss society has a one-and-a-half-earner and marked-oriented gender policy model (Korpi, 2000), we discuss to what extent the concept of master status related to the reconciliation between work and family – women as “home-carer” and men as “breadwinner”(Krüger & Levy, 2001) – may be applied to the Swiss case. By looking at those various life trajectories, we give an extended overview of the unfolding of individual lives and conclude by discussing distinct intelligible profiles of life course.

The third research question is devoted to the influence of life trajectories on personal networks. Over the life course, the importance of key relationships may vary, usually switching the focus from the family of orientation to the family of procreation (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; White, 2001) with varied roles attributed to friends often competing with the partner (Kalmijn, 2003). Instead of focusing on specific transitions, we are interested in whole and multidimensional trajectories in a holistic way. As co-residence and partnership trajectories reveal changes in personal life, we wonder whether they have a greater influence on personal networks than spatial mobility and occupational trajectories. We conclude by discussing the intertwining between the unfolding of individual lives and the development of personal networks and, by combining both, suggesting distinct intelligible profiles of connected ways of life.

Those three main research questions correspond to three chapters: Personal networks (3), Life courses (4), and Intertwining between life courses and personal networks (5). Each chapter is divided into several sections. Each section has a theoretical part introducing the issues at stake and an empirical part presenting the analyses and the results. Beforehand, we present the survey and our methods for network and life-course data (2). Finally, in the last chapter (6), we conclude by returning to the strengths and limits of our empirical approach, by discussing our main results regarding the importance of family ties, the suffusion process between family and friendship roles, the limited pluralization of life courses and the dynamic intertwining between life trajectories and personal networks, and by suggesting some social implications of our findings for Swiss society.

2 Data and methods

2.1 The *Family tiMes* survey

The *Family tiMes* survey, "Family trajectories and social networks: a configurational perspective on the life course",[13] aims at understanding the family trajectories and social networks of two birth cohorts in Switzerland. It is a project financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF fond no. 100017_130343/1) and directed by Jacques-Antoine Gauthier (University of Lausanne), Dominique Joye (University of Lausanne) and Eric D. Widmer (University of Geneva). *Family tiMes* is part of an international partnership with two other teams from the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal (Wall, 2006), and the Mykolas Romeris University in Lithuania (Kanopienė, Mikulionienė, & Česnuitytė, 2011) in order to compare results in the light of national European contexts.

The survey was carried out in Switzerland between March and October 2011. It was based on a representative sample of 803 individuals living in Switzerland. The recruitment was made through the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) to select 2,000 random individuals representative of all three major linguistic regions of Switzerland (German-speaking region, French-speaking region and Italian-speaking region) and having been born either between 1950 and 1955 or between 1970 and 1975. It was the first year that the Swiss Federal Statistical Office was able to provide an individual-based sample instead of a household-based sample. It is a great improvement for the representativeness of surveys in Switzerland. Because of the Swiss linguistic situation, the questionnaire was translated into three languages, French (see Annex 9.1), German, and Italian.

The recruitment was then carried out by a survey institute.[14] A letter was sent to the selected individuals to inform them and announce the visit of an interviewer. Prepaid incentives of 10 or 20 Swiss francs were paid to enhance participation in the survey. A few days after sending the letter, the interviewers directly showed up at the door to get in touch with the potential participants. Previous studies have shown that phone calls are no longer the best way to contact people since 15% of the population does not have a fixed phone line and it is easier to refuse an interview on the phone than in face-to-face contact (Pollien & Joye, 2014). The response rate was 55%[15]. Face-to-face interviews of about an hour and a half, using the "Computer-assisted personal interviewing"

13 Original title in French: "Trajectoires familiales et réseaux sociaux: une perspective configurationnelle sur le parcours de vie"

14 M.I.S Trend, Economic and social research institute

15 As computed by the survey institute.

method, were conducted at the home of the respondents. Except for the life trajectories recorded with paper and pencil, the answers were directly registered in a laptop computer.

The *Family tiMes* sample was composed of 50.6% women (n=406) and 49.4% men (n=397). 52.4% of the respondents belonged to the 1950-1955 birth cohort (n=421) and 47.6% belonged to the 1970-1975 birth cohort (n=382). 73.2% of the respondents lived in the German-speaking region (n=588), 22.3% in the French-speaking region (n=179), and 4.5% in the Italian-speaking region (n=36). 82.1% were Swiss citizens and 17.9% had a foreign nationality. Considering the country of birth, three quarters of the respondents were born in Switzerland and one quarter outside (see Table 1). More precisely, one fifth of the respondents were born in Europe. The rest of them were born elsewhere. In 2013, 36% of the permanent resident population aged 15 or over had an immigration background (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2015).[16] A third of them had Swiss citizenship.

As mentioned above, the *Family tiMes* sample of 803 respondents was drawn from a sample of 2,000 individuals selected by the SFSO. We systematically compared our sample with the SFSO sample regarding sex of the respondents, birth cohort, linguistic region, nationality, and country of birth. No significant difference was found save for nationality. In the SFSO sample, there were 73.5% of Swiss citizens for 26.5% of foreigners. This means that foreigners were underrepresented in our sample. It should be noted that under-representation of foreign minorities is quite common in Swiss surveys (Lipps, Laganà, Pollien, & Gianettoni, 2013).

16 In Swiss statistics, the definition of immigration background is quite broad. Immigration background includes foreign citizens who immigrated to Switzerland and their direct descendants born in Switzerland, and Swiss citizens who acquired Swiss citizenship by birth or by naturalization and who either immigrated to Switzerland or who have at least one parent born abroad. In addition, it should be noted that since 2010 there has been a new definition of the permanent resident population, which also includes asylum seekers with a total length of stay of at least 12 months.

Table 1: Country of birth of the respondents (n=802)

	n	%
Switzerland	593	73.9
Europe	156	19.5
Southern Europe	*83*	*10.3*
Western Europe	*54*	*6.7*
Eastern Europe	*10*	*1.2*
Northern Europe	*9*	*1.1*
Asia	26	3.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	11	1.4
Africa	10	1.2
North America	5	0.6
Oceania	1	0.1
Total	802[17]	100

The level of education of all respondents was codified using the 23-level scale used in the European Social Survey (ESS), ranging from 1 (primary school not completed) to 23 (PhD) (see Table 69 in Annex). Regarding level of education, 64% of the respondents had a vocational education, 19% a tertiary education, 11% lower secondary education and 7% upper secondary education.

Regarding occupational status, 48.5% of the respondents were employed full-time (80-100%), 21.9% were employed part-time (less than 80%), 15% were self-employed, 7.9% stayed at home and 6.7% were in other situations.[18]

The occupational activity of all respondents was transcribed during the interviews and recoded using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). We had information for 608 respondents.[19] The distribution was 26.7% clerical workers, 21.8% production workers, transport equipment operators and laborers, 16.8% administrative and managerial workers, 13% service workers, 10.2% sales workers, 8.1% professional and technical workers, and 3.5% agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters. Based on the ISCO

17 This table is based on the classification by geographical region and composition proposed by the United Nations Statistics Division (11.02.2013). The country of birth was retrieved from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office information. Information was missing for 18 individuals. Using the retrospective life history calendar, we could complete the data for 17 individuals. For one individual, information is missing in both sources.

18 Occupational status: 16 missing data.

19 Among the 147 other respondents, sixty were housewives or housemen, nineteen received the invalidity insurance (AI), 9 were unemployed, 4 were students, 4 were ill or taking care of a sick person, 3 were retired and 1 was on unpaid leave. Information was incomplete or missing for 47 cases.

classification, we computed the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) (Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992). This index aims at minimizing the direct effect of education on earnings and maximizing the indirect, or mediated, effect of education on earnings via occupation. We used the first level of ISCO classification (3 digits) including 6 scores (see Table 2). The ISEI score was computed for the 608 respondents who had an ISCO code. 24.8% had an ISEI score of 0.67, 10.2% of 0.51, 26.7% of 0.49, 13% of 0.38, 21.8% of 0.34, and 3.5% of 0.25.

Table 2: Correspondence ISCO-ISEI (n=608)

ISCO Labels	**Distribution (%)**	**ISEI Score**	**Distribution (%)**
Professional, technical and related workers (0/100)	8.1	0.67	24.8
Administrative and managerial workers (200)	16.8		
Clerical and related workers (300)	26.7	0.49	26.7
Sales workers (400)	10.2	0.51	10.2
Service workers (500)	13.0	0.38	13.0
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters (600)	3.5	0.25	3.5
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers (7/8/900)	21.8	0.34	21.8
Total	100		100

Finally, we consider income as it represents economic capital. The income was based on the monthly income scale used in the European Social Survey 2010 and divided into four categories: low income (13.3% of the individuals earning less than 3,500 CHF if living alone or less than 6,400 CHF if not living alone), medium income (40.2% of the individuals earning between 3,500 CHF and 7,000 CHF if living alone or between 6,400 CHF and 12,000 CHF if not living alone), high income (31.5% of the individuals earning more than 7,000 CHF if living alone or more than 12,000 CHF if not living alone), and unknown income (14.9%).

The Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) registers the legal civil status of Swiss residents. This civil status included five categories: single, married, in a registered partnership, divorced, and widowed. Concerning the civil status of the respondents as registered in the SFSO in 2011, 71.6% were married, 14.4% single, 11.7% divorced, 1.9% widowed, and 0.4% in a registered partnership. Nevertheless, the legal civil status does not always reflect the actual family situation, which is often more complex. Drawing from the SFSO, one could conclude by adding together married individuals and individuals in a registered partnership that the number of individuals in a couple relationship is 72%, whereas 84.8% of the respondents reported having a partner, either

married or not, cohabiting or not. We computed an indicator accounting for the diversity of family arrangements. This indicator is not based on households or on living arrangements, but on the presence of a partner and of children and stepchildren. It should be noted that four fifths of the respondents had children, either biological or adopted (78.6%). We distinguished five family situations: 54.8% of the respondents were in a first-time couple with children,[20] 11.8% in a couple without children, 9.6% solo without children, 18.3% in a stepfamily,[21] and 5.6% solo with children. More precisely, 6.4% of the respondents were said to be in a stepfamily because they had at least one child from a previous union, 6% because their current partner had at least one child from a previous union (stepchild), and 5.9% because both partners had children from previous unions. Table 3 shows the table of legal civil status by family situation. For instance, the majority of divorced respondents were actually involved in a relationship.

Table 3: Legal civil status by family situation (percentage) (n=803)

Civil status	***Family situation***							
	Couple	Couple with children	Solo with children	Solo without children	Stepfamily (both)	Stepfamily (ego)	Stepfamily (partner)	***Total***
Married	9.2	74.4	2.3	1.4	3.1	5.2	4.3	100
Single	29.6	8.6	4.3	37.9	5.2	2.6	12.1	100
Divorced	4.3	2.1	24.5	18.1	23.4	18.1	9.6	100
Widowed	6.7	0	26.7	53.3	6.7	6.7	0	100
In a registered partnership	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Total	11.8	54.8	5.6	9.6	5.9	6.4	6.0	100

20 First-time couple with children means that children were the biological or adopted children of both the respondent and her/his partner. The respondent or her/his partner had no other children from previous relationships.

21 Usually, in its definition *ad minima,* a stepfamily or blended family is formed by the cohabitation of two individuals (married or not), when one or both have at least one child from a previous relationship living part-time or full-time in the household.

2.2 Social network analysis and ego-centered networks

Network analysis offers the opportunity to think about relations among individuals and to go beyond individualistic approaches to society. Nevertheless, adopting a network approach raises a number of epistemic and practical challenges. This section is divided into two sub-sections, one devoted to theoretical and methodological issues raised by network analysis in general and one to network measures based on ego-centered networks composed of people perceived as "very important". Firstly, we introduce the increasing importance of network analysis and distinguish ego-centered networks from other types of networks. We discuss how to generate ego-centered networks comparing position, resource as well as name generators, and pointing out some frequent biases related to network data collection. Secondly, we present two sets of measures, one related to network composition and one related to network structure. Network composition refers to the type of tie which bounds the respondents to their significant alters and to the characteristics of the relationship and the alters. Network structure refers to dyadic relationships (here: contact and instrumental support) and to structural interdependencies among network members (here: interaction, emotional support, and conflict).

2.2.1 Theoretical and methodological issues

Social network analysis brings a more relational thinking into the social sciences (Elias, 1978, 1983; Emirbayer, 1997). Individuals are not seen as independent isolated units, but as interdependent and interconnected. An individual action only makes sense when related to other individual actions influencing its course. Two disciplinary areas are accountable for the development in network thinking: social network analysis and social anthropology (Knox, Savage, & Harvey, 2006). Social network analysis has emerged as a counter to individualistic approaches.

Social network analysis can be applied to many types of networks. Researchers commonly distinguish two main types, complete or whole networks and personal or ego-centered networks. Complete or whole networks refer to networks delimited geographically or by a common activity. They are sometimes called "sociometric" or "sociocentric". Many studies have used this holistic approach to study a wide array of topics, such as law firms (Lazega, 2001), Swiss elites (Kriesi & Jegen, 2001), historical elites in Italy (Padgett & Ansell, 1993), adolescent romantic and sexual networks in a mid-sized town in the US (Bearman, Moody, & Stovel, 2002). It is a revealing way to understand underlying processes and group dynamics (leadership, prestige, power,

influence). Nevertheless, this approach has two drawbacks, a methodological one and a theoretical one. At the methodological level, such a study design implies exhaustivity and is therefore time-consuming and costly. It is necessary to define and characterize all persons included in a given network and to document all existing ties. At the theoretical level, it assumes that the phenomenon under scrutiny is best understood within the network boundaries. However, individuals have a multifocal social participation and their relationships extend far beyond one geographic area or one specific activity. Wellman has even suggested using the concept of "person-to-person networked individualism" to emphasize that individuals have become the primary units of connectivity (Wellman, 1999; Wellman & Hogan, 2006). Therefore, the second approach starts from the standpoint of focal persons and studies personal or ego-centered networks. They are also sometimes called "egocentric". There are several major surveys using ego-centered networks, such as the GSS initiated in the United States (*General Social Survey*) (Davis, Smith, & Marsden, 2009), the survey SHARE in Europe (*Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe*) (Börsch-Supan, Brandt, Litwin, & Weber, 2013), the personal communities of East Yorkers in Canada (Wellman, 1999, 2007). Ego-centered networks have several advantages. They do not assume predefined boundaries and they account for individual sociability and ways of connecting. In addition, it is possible to turn ego-centered networks into small sociometric networks by asking the respondents (the "egos") to report on the ties among their network members (the "alters"). They also have drawbacks and, in particular, the fact that the collection of the network relies on the perception of only one person. Finally, it should be noted that there are other network-inspired approaches like the study of relational chains that reconstructs the mobilizations of social relations in processes for accessing resources or networking with people (Grossetti, Barthe, & Chauvac, 2011; Lee, 1969; Travers & Milgram, 1969).

Ego-centered networks need to be generated by questions referred to as network generators. There are several types of network generators and, consequently, the choice of the right network generator depends on the research question. The choice of the network generator further constrains the type of analyses. Three main types of generators are presented: position, resource, and name generators.[22]

The position generator has been used to collect access-type social capital as it measures access through network members to occupations (range of accessed prestige, highest accessed prestige, and number of different positions accessed) (Lin, 1999; Lin, Fu, & Hsung, 2001). The main idea is to list a number of occupations (positions) and respondents have to indicate whether they know someone working in them. Accessibility to a wide array of diverse positions is related to

22 There are other types of generators, such as role generators, or event-related generators.

a high social position. Two limits should be noted. First, there is little specific information about social resources and the diversity of this collection and, secondly, the focus on job prestige or other position-related dimensions limits the scope (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005).

The resource generator was introduced by Van Der Gaag and Snijders (2005). This generator asks about access to a fixed list of resources representing a subcollection of social capital covering several domains of life. The availability of each of these resources is checked by measuring the tie strength through which the resources are accessed, indicated by the role of these ties (family members, friends, or acquaintance) (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). The list of resources comprised resources such as having persons from whom to borrow money, seek help for finding a job, etc. Concerning limits, the resource generator may overestimate the presence of resources.

The name generator consists of generating a list of persons linked to the respondent. Based on this initial list, it generally includes a few questions about the relationship (e.g., frequency of contact, duration, etc.) and the alters, who they are and what are their characteristics (network composition). It also encompasses questions about the relations among alters (network structure). It has been widely used (McCallister & Fischer, 1978). However, according to some scholars, the name generator is unsatisfactory for measuring social capital because of the burden associated with data collection, the non-comparability of findings, the redundancy (many alters giving access to same resources), the variety of non-standardized measures of social capital, and the focus on the structure of the social relationships rather than the resources (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). Despite these limits, the name generator is very useful because of this very focus on the structure of the social relationships. Thus, we can recreate the complete structure of the network and treat it as a sociometric network (similar to complete networks) and compute the network measures associated with it. It should be noted that some studies using name generators only focus on the network composition and, by doing so, fail to get sociometric networks and to measure structural interdependencies.

The choice of the name generator has different implications, since it delimits the list of potential alters. The literature has extensively discussed the effects of name generators on collected data (Campbell & Lee, 1991; Marin, 2004; Marsden, 2011). We review five types of name generators: known people, family members, close people, discussion partners, and important people.[23] Some studies adopt a broad perspective and include all people respondents may know. The number of meaningful ties has been shown to reach 300 for the average North American (McCarty,

23 There are other derived name generators such as the contextual name generator which draws up an exhaustive list of people known by respondents in each sociability context (Bidart & Charbonneau, 2011).

Killworth, Bernard, Johnsen, & Shelley, 2001). However, most studies ask for fewer people. An application called EgoNet has been developed to collect such large ego-centered networks; the requested number of alters is around 30 (EgoNet Development Team, 2009; Lozares Colina et al., 2011; McCarty, Molina, Aguilar, & Rota, 2007). Other studies take the opposite stand and ask for specific types of relationships. Many scholars are interested in family networks, as family is often considered as the primary source of solidarity (Bonvalet & Ortalda, 2007; Kempeneers & Van Pevenage, 2011; Lelièvre & Vivier, 2001). The Family Network Method (FNM) is a useful instrument to systematically collect such family networks (Widmer, Aeby, & Sapin, 2013; Widmer & La Farga, 2000). Respondents are asked to provide a list of all individuals whom they consider to be important family members in their life during the past year. It is also possible to specify the quality of the relationship, for instance closeness. Some researchers have used a system of concentric circles to measure the degree of closeness with a method known as the "Antonnucci social network circle" (Phillipson, Bernard, Phillips, & Ogg, 2007). Respondents are invited to generate a list of close people and to distinguish different degrees of closeness by placing these people on a map made up of a series of concentric circles, the closest persons being located in the first circle. The name generator based on discussion partners refers to the people with whom respondents discuss important matters. It was developed by Burt (Burt, 1984) and implemented in the 1985, 2004 and 2010 GSS in the US (Marsden, 1987; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Brashears, 2006), in other countries, as well as in the Swiss survey MOSAiCH (*Measures and Sociological Observation of Attitudes in Switzerland*).[24] The opening question is *"From time to time, most people discuss important matters with other people. Looking back over the last six months, who are the people with whom you discussed matters important to you?"* Finally, there is another, often used name generator based on important people. This name generator has the advantage of not restricting the list to a single matter and letting respondents evaluate what "important" means to them. We used this last name generator in the *Family tiMes* survey and present it in more detail shortly.

The literature has paid great attention to the effects of name generators on collected data (Campbell & Lee, 1991; Marin, 2004; Marsden, 2011). In comparison with self-administrated modes of data collection, collecting network data in face-to-face interviews is the most reliable mode (Matzat & Snijders, 2010; Vehovar, Lozar Manfreda, Koren, & Hlebec, 2008). Computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI) offer advantages compared to face-to-face interviews on paper. Some software have been especially developed to collect such data in an interactive way as the respondent is able to visualize her/his network at the end of the collection task (Lozares Colina et

24 MOSAiCH is a national survey funded by the SNSF, which aims at capturing attitudes and behaviors of the Swiss population towards political and social institutions as well as towards current social themes, defined by the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP).

al., 2011; McCarty et al., 2007). Whereas free recall of network data has been found to present good scores of reliability and validity (Ferligoj & Hlebec, 1999), the wording of the questions, their order, and the complexity of the tasks may impair them (Marsden, 2011). For instance, the inclusion of interviewers' instructions to probe "anyone else" if only few members are cited might change the network size (Marsden, 2003). Regarding the Family Network Method (FNM), its reliability over time has been addressed. A sample of students filled out the FNM twice with a month's interval in between and their responses indicated stability regarding composition and other network measures (Monney, 2007).

Network size is often used as a rough measure of social capital. Individuals with small networks are considered as socially isolated and individuals with large networks as socially integrated. Whereas in a complete network study the network size is the population size, in ego-centered networks, the network size may widely vary. Therefore, it is possible to restrain the range, either by asking for a specific number of alters, or by limiting the total number of alters. In large surveys, the number of alters is often strictly limited. For instance, respondents could mention up to five names in the GSS, up to four names in MOSAiCH, up to seven in SHARE. Network size has to be carefully considered, as it is easily influenced by external factors such as the interviewers' instructions (Marsden, 2003). Scholars using the results of GSS pointed out an increasing social isolation in the US, comparing network size in 1985 and in 2004 (McPherson et al., 2006), a result which was then contested (Fischer, 2009) and rather explained by interviewer effects (Paik & Sanchagrin, 2013).

Besides network size, another major question is the stability of the answers or, in other words, whether the alters remain the same or change over time according to the name generator. Some scholars have found that there is a difference between the core and the periphery; network members at the core are likely to be named repeatedly, whereas network members at the periphery are not (D. L. Morgan, Neal, & Carder, 1997). The consistency of answers has also been successfully checked by repeating the same task twice over a four-week interval (Bass & Stein, 1997). Generally, durable ties tend to be with intimates who have provided social support, are in frequent telephone contact, or are kin (Marsden, 1990; Wellman, Wong, Tindall, & Nazer, 1997). In contrast, weak ties are more easily forgotten. Delineation criteria focusing on "important people" or "discussion partners" have little effect on the core of reported egocentric networks (Straits, 2000). In summary, the reliability is satisfactory, but careful attention has to be paid to the numerous sources of errors (Marsden, 2011), as is the case for all survey questions (Alwin, 2007).

2.2.2 Network measures

Network data were cross-sectional, meaning that we collected the state of the network in 2011. Based on the sample of 803 individuals, we initially eliminated seventeen questionnaires for the analysis of networks. These questionnaires were all administered by the same investigator and were excluded because of poor data collection quality. We obtain a sample of 786 valid networks whose size varies from 0 to 17. Among the 786 valid networks, thirty-one were empty or, in other words, respondents did not mention any significant alter. For some analyses, those networks have to be put aside, since they do not include any relationship. The complete functional dataset for network data has 755 respondents.

2.2.2.1 Measures for network composition

A free-listing technique was used in order to delineate the significant personal context of the respondents. This technique has been used in several surveys devoted to family interdependencies through the Family Network Method (FNM) instrument (Widmer, 1999a; Widmer et al., 2013; Widmer & La Farga, 2000). Using the identification of significant alters as a starting point to understand personal dynamics has also been used in cognitive anthropology and social psychology (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1994; Levin, 1993; Levin & Trost, 1992). Individuals were asked to provide a list of important individuals in their current life.

"Who are the individuals who, over the past year, have been very important to you, even if you have not got along well with them?"

As it is a trilingual questionnaire, the question had to be translated. We asked in German about *"Menschen, die Ihnen sehr wichtig waren"*, in French about *"les personnes qui ont été très importantes pour vous"*, and in Italian *"le persone che sono state molto importanti per lei"*. "Important" refers to people who have played a significant role in the respondent's life. The emphasis is put on "very important", as the goal was to elicit the network core. However, the term "important" was deliberately left undefined in order to allow for respondents' own understanding of importance. The question also emphasizes both positive and negative roles. Indeed personal relationships include not only feelings of love and friendship, but also conflicts and tensions. The time framing over the past year was specified to limit the network to current relationships. Over the life course, personal relationships are likely to change. Moreover the list was restricted to living individuals. Respondents were instructed to mention as many *important* people as they wanted. However, we included an automatic limit of 20 individuals. None reached this limit as the maximum amount of alters was 17.

Socio-demographic information was collected on alters regarding their sex, age, level of education, occupational activity and country of residence. Information about the relationship was collected as well, such as the type of tie, duration of the relationship, perception of the relationship as "family-like", co-residence history (being a former or present co-resident), and the degree of trust.

Table 4 shows the data entry form of the FNM indicating the list of alters for one respondent. As previously mentioned, data collection was directly performed using a laptop computer. However, we present the paper version of the FNM to explain how this instrument concretely works. The respondent, Patricia,[25] is a women aged 37 (birth cohort 1970-1975). She has three children, a first boy aged 7, a second boy aged 6, and a girl aged 1. She mentioned five important alters in her life: her partner, her mother, and three female friends. She did not include her children in her personal configuration. All her significant alters lived in Switzerland and had a vocational education.

25 Fictitious name.

Table 4: Example of a data entry form of the FNM indicating the list of the network members

Person	1. Who are the very important individuals to you?	2. Sex	3. What is the tie with the respondent?	4. Age	5. How old were you when you met that person?	6. Where does that person live (municipality or country)?	7. Level of education achieved	8. Occupational activity	9. How often do you see that person face-to-face?	10. How often do you have contact with that person by other means?	11. Have you ever lived together?	12. Do you consider that person as a family member?
1	Ego	F	-	37	-	Switzerland	Vocational education (12)	Nursing associate professional	-	-	-	-
2	Reto*	M	Partner	42	26	Switzerland	Vocational education (16)	Construction worker	Every day	Several times a week	yes	yes
3	Anna*	F	Mother	65	Birth	Switzerland	Vocational education (12)	Clerk	Several times a week	Several times a week	yes	yes
4	Karen*	F	Female friend	36	19	Switzerland	Vocational education (12)	Medical assistant	Several times per year	Once a week	yes	yes
5	Isabel*	F	Female friend	38	30	Switzerland	Vocational education (12)	Childcare worker and adult trainer	Several times a week	Several times a week	yes	yes
6	Manuela*	F	Female friend	41	27	Switzerland	Vocational education (12)	Childcare worker and adult trainer	Once a week	Once a week	yes	yes

** Fictitious names*

Regarding the type of tie, a showcard with an extensive list of 51 personal ties was presented to the respondents. 41 terms were cited at least once (see Table 5); ten terms were not used at all, namely grandfather, great-grandfather and great-grandmother, great-grandson and great-granddaughter, son of stepparent, great-nephew and great-niece, goddaughter, and guest.

We carried out a two-step recoding. We made a first recoding of the terms putting together the ones which were similar (for instance same family structural position such as father-in-law and mother-in-law or same kind of ties such as "step"). Similarly colleagues, employees and employers were put together, since they belong to the occupational sphere. We ended up with 20 terms: partners, ex-partners, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, grandparents, parents-in-law, grandchildren, stepfamily members, children-in-law, siblings-in-law, collaterals, fictive kin, male friends, female friends, colleagues, other non-kin members (see Table 6).

Table 5: Exhaustive list of all ties cited by the respondents, 41 categories (n=755)

Type of tie cited	n	%
Partners (married or not)	548	72.58
Daughters	245	32.45
Sons	240	31.79
Female friends	225	29.80
Mothers	208	27.55
Male friends	189	25.03
Sisters	151	20.00
Fathers	126	16.69
Brothers	112	14.83
Colleagues	55	7.28
Partners of siblings (of Ego or of her/his partner)	24	3.18
Ex-partners (married or not)	28	3.71
Mothers-in-law	20	2.65
Nieces	19	2.52
Aunts	14	1.85
Employers	13	1.72
Father-in-law	12	1.59
Sisters-in-law	12	1.59
Granddaughter s	9	1.19
Daughters-in-law	9	1.19
Female cousins	9	1.19
Nephews	9	1.19
Male cousins	7	0.93
Grandsons	6	0.79
Stepmothers	5	0.66
Stepdaughters	5	0.66
Godfathers	5	0.66
Sons-in-law	4	0.53
Brothers-in-law	4	0.53
Grandmothers	4	0.53
Stepfathers	3	0.40
Daughters of stepparents	3	0.40
Stepsons	3	0.40
Godsons	3	0.40
Half-brothers	2	0.26
Half-sisters	2	0.26
Uncles	1	0.13
Godmothers	1	0.13
Employees (domestic)	1	0.13
Landlords	1	0.13
Other persons	36	4.77

We then carried out a second recoding, keeping only categories above 4%. We dropped ex-partner, parents-in-law, stepfamily members, grandchildren, children-in-law, fictive kin, and grandparents and put them into the residual category "Others" (12.45%).

Table 6: Recoding of ties in 20 categories (n=755)

Type of tie	***Initial categories***	nn	%
Partners	*Partners*	548	72.58
Daughters	*Daughters*	245	32.45
Sons	*Sons*	240	31.79
Female friends	*Female friends*	225	29.80
Mothers	*Mothers*	208	27.55
Male friends	*Male friends*	189	25.03
Sisters	*Sisters*	151	20.00
Fathers	*Fathers*	126	16.69
Brothers	*Brothers*	112	14.83
Colleagues	*Colleagues, employees, and employers*	68	9.01
Collaterals	*Aunts, uncles, female cousins, male cousins, nieces, and nephews*	50	6.62
Other non-kin members	*Landlords and other persons*	37	4.90
Siblings-in-law	*Partners of Ego or her/his partner, sisters-in-law, and brothers-in-law*	36	4.77
Ex-partners	*Ex-partner*	28	3.71
Parents-in-law	*Mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law*	23	3.05
Stepfamily members	*Stepmothers, stepfathers, daughters of stepparents, stepdaughters, stepsons, half-sisters, and half-brothers*	22	2.91
Grandchildren	*Granddaughters and grandsons*	11	1.46
Children-in-law	*Daughters-in-law and sons-in-law*	11	1.46
Fictive kin	*Godmothers, godfathers and godsons*	9	1.19
Grandparents	*Grandmothers*	4	0.53

2.2.2.2 Measures for Network Structure

With regard to dyadic relationships, respondents were asked about contact and instrumental support with their significant alters. Dyadic relationships refer to relationships between two individuals, here the respondent and each of her/his alters taken separately. Contact was either face-to-face or by other means such as those provided through phone and Internet services. Finally, instrumental support encompassed three kinds of support, financial, material and care. Those instrumental exchanges could involve reciprocity or be unidirectional.

Structural interdependencies refer to relationships involving all network members, i.e. ego and her/his alters taken together. As in other cognitive network studies (Krackhardt, 1987), participants not only estimate their own relationships with their network members, but also the relationships existing among all members. Based on the list of significant alters provided by each respondent, respondents were asked about three kinds of relationships among their significant alters and themselves: interaction, emotional support, and conflict. The first kind of relationships is interacting. Interacting involves seeing each other and is therefore a reciprocal action (undirected or symmetric). However, it does not inform us about the actual content of the relationship. The second kind of relationships is exchanging emotional support. Such exchanges are more intimate and may involve a fewer number of persons. Furthermore, exchanges are not always reciprocal, as one individual may give emotional support to another individual without receiving any in return, such as parents supporting their children without expecting similar investment from them. Therefore, exchanges of emotional support are said to be asymmetric or directed. The third kind of relationships is conflict or, more precisely, feelings of annoyance towards each other. Similarly, it is not always reciprocal, even if, in the situation of an open conflict, this is probably the case. It should be noted that, as we consider several kinds of relationships, namely interaction, emotional support, and conflict, we have multiplex ties. The questions were the following:

(1) Among the persons you have just mentioned, who do you see on a regular basis? And what about the first person you mentioned? Who does she/he see on a regular basis (the respondent included)? etc.

(2) Among the persons you have just mentioned, who could give you emotional support if needed? And what about the first person you mentioned? Who could give her/him emotional support if needed (the respondent included)? etc.

(3) *Everyone has conflicts and tensions with other individuals. Among the persons you have just mentioned, who could anger you (annoy you)? And what about the first person you mentioned? Who could anger her/him (annoy her/him) (the respondent included)? etc.*

In Table 7, relationships between Patricia and her alters are indicated for each dimension. She met and gave emotional support to all her significant alters. Her partner was the only one with whom she could have conflict.

Table 7: Example of a data entry form of the FNM indicating the relationships between the network members

Person X	13. Among the persons you have just mentioned, who do you see on a regular basis? etc.	14. Among the persons you have just mentioned, who could give you emotional support if needed? etc.	15. Among the persons you have just mentioned, who could anger you (annoy you)? etc.
1.Ego	2,3,4,5,6,	2,3,4,5,6,	2,
2. Partner	1,3,5,6,	1,6,	1,3,5,
3. Mother	1,2,	1,4,	1,
4. Female friend	1,	1,	2,
5. Female friend	1,2,6,	1,2,6,	6,
6. Female friend	1,2,5,	1,2,5,	5,

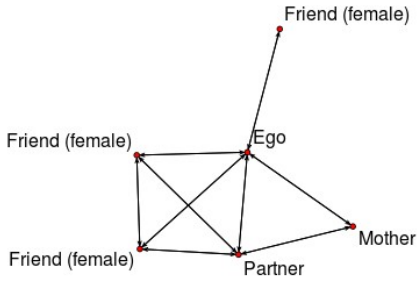
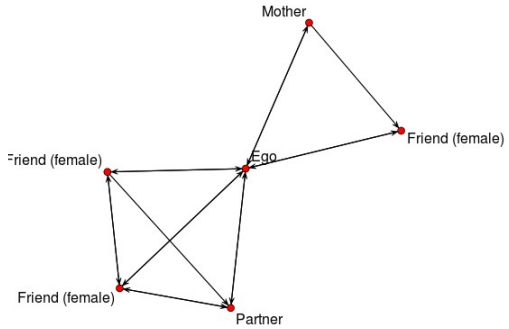
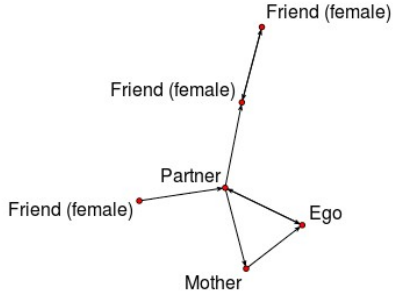
It is possible to summarize the information contained in Table 7 into adjacency matrices such as the matrix of emotional support shown in Table 8. 0 means no relationship and 1 indicates the presence of a relationship.

Table 8: Example of an adjacency matrix of emotional support relationships

	Ego	Partner	Mother	Female friend	Female friend	Female friend
Ego	0	1	1	1	1	1
Partner	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mother	1	0	0	1	0	0
Female friend	1	0	0	0	0	0
Female friend	1	1	0	0	0	1
Female friend	1	1	0	0	1	0

The FNM further makes it possible to visualize exchanges occurring in personal configurations in sociograms (see Figure 1), which provide a simple and revealing way of representing a large amount of relational information concerning personal configurations.

Figure 1: Example of sociograms depicting the relationships among network members

A. Perceived interaction	*B. Perceived emotional support*	*C. Perceived conflict*
		
Full network Size: 6 Density: 0.60 Transitivity: 0.65 Weak components: 1 Betweenness centrality of Ego: 0.50 Betweenness centralization: 0.48	***Full network*** Size: 6 Density: 0.53 Transitivity: 0.58 Weak components: 1 Betweenness centrality of Ego: 0.68 Betweenness centralization: 0.67 ***In-neighborhood*** In-degree centrality: 6 Density: 0.53 ***Out-neighborhood*** Out-degree centrality: 6 Density: 0.53	***Full network*** Size: 6 Density: 0.27 Transitivity: 0.12 Weak components: 1 Betweenness centrality of Ego: 0.15 Betweenness centralization: 0.38 ***In-neighborhood*** In-degree centrality: 3 Density: 0.67 ***Out-neighborhood*** Out-degree centrality: 2 Density: 1

Three overlapping sets of significant alters were considered. The first set was defined as the respondent's *full network (or personal configuration)* because it included all individuals who were considered to be important. The second set is technically known as the respondent's *in-neighborhood*, and the third set as the respondent's *out-neighborhood*. Graphically, a respondent's in-neighborhood is represented by an arrow pointing towards the respondent and, in a respondent's out-neighborhood, the arrow points away from the respondent towards the support providers. In the network of interactions, all ties are bidirectional. Emotional support in-neighborhood referred to the set of people who received support from the respondents and emotional support out-neighborhood referred to the set of people who gave support to the respondents. Conflict in-neighborhood referred to the set of people who were annoyed by the respondents and conflict out-neighborhood referred to the set of people who annoyed the respondents.

Following previous validation studies (Widmer, 2006, 2007), several network measures were applied to investigate structural interdependencies in personal configurations: size, density, weak components, betweenness centralization, betweenness centrality, and transitivity (Burt, 1995, 2002; Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994).[26]

Size indicates the number of alters (with or without ego) included in the full network and in the neighborhoods. The size of the in-neighborhood corresponds to the in-degree centrality and the size of the out-neighborhood to the out-degree centrality. Some measures refer to the connectivity of networks, such as density and transitivity. *Density* is the number of existing connections divided by the number of pairs of significant alters cited by the respondent. *Transitivity* refers to properties of a group of three actors (triads). Triads are transitive when i => j and j=> k, then i => k. This means that when individual i gives emotional support to individual j and individual j gives emotional support to individual k, in transitive triads, individual i will also give emotional support to individual k. Transitivity is likely in most personal networks as individuals tend to balance their relationships (Heider, 1958; Killworth & Bernard, 1976; Kumbasar, Rommey, & Batchelder, 1994). For each triad, there exist sixteen possible configurations among whom only four are transitive (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 244). A *weak component* is a subset of individuals who are disconnected from the full network; the number of weak components indicates the extent to which the network is disconnected. Some other measures refer to the centrality of specific individuals within the network. *Betweenness centralization* indicates the average difference in how central the most central individual is in relation to how central all the other individuals are. Closely related to betweenness centralization, *betweenness centrality* captures the proportion of connections

26 In Annexe 9.2, we included a table with all the R functions used to compute those measures (see Table 70).

involving a specific individual like the respondent. All scales were standardized by the network size and vary from 0 (low) to 1 (high).

In Figure 1, we show the sociograms of the same female respondent, Patricia, and indicate the different network measures. The full network had a size of six (Ego and her five alters). The density varied for the different kinds of relationships. The highest density was found for interaction (0.60) and the lowest density for conflict (0.27). The density of emotional support (0.53) indicated that exchanges of emotional support often occurred in this personal configuration. However, the respondent was very central (0.68) in mediating the flow of emotional support. Graphically, we can see that there were two groups of alters, one composed of her mother and a friend, and the other composed of her partner and two other friends. The respondent was a broker between those two groups. We can explain the position of this friend, who was on her mother's side, by going back to Table 4. Patricia met her friend Karen when she was younger, aged 19, seven years before she met her partner Reto. Her mother met Karen and could receive emotional support from her, but the others were not connected to Karen at all. At the time of the survey, she saw her a few times per year, much less than the others. Concerning her conflict in-neighborhood, the respondent was a source of annoyance for her partner and her mother. Therefore, three individuals (including the respondent) composed this conflict in-neighborhood (in-degree: 3). The density in-neighborhood was then computed among these three individuals. Concerning her conflict out-neighborhood, the respondent was only annoyed by her partner (out-degree: 2). As they both sometimes got on each other's nerves, the out-neighborhood density was 1.

Those measures inform us on the structural interdependencies among network members, regarding interaction, emotional support, and conflict. Moreover, structural interdependencies of emotional support are used to measure social capital in personal configurations. High density and high transitivity of emotional support indicate tight interconnections and, therefore, bonding social capital. High centralization, high centrality, and a great number of weak components of emotional support reveal more centralized networks and, therefore, bridging social capital (Widmer, 2006, 2007).

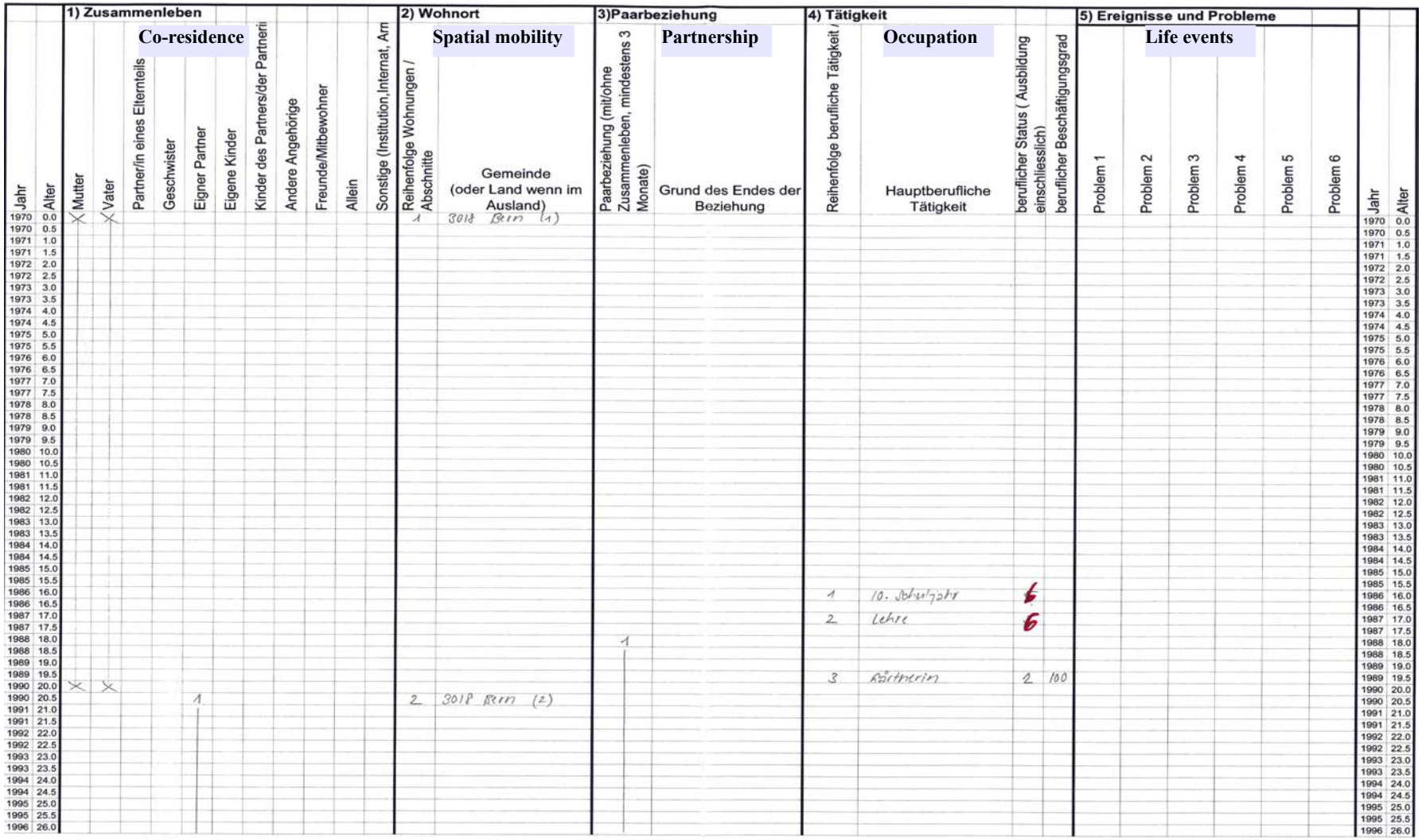
2.3 Life-course analysis and life trajectories

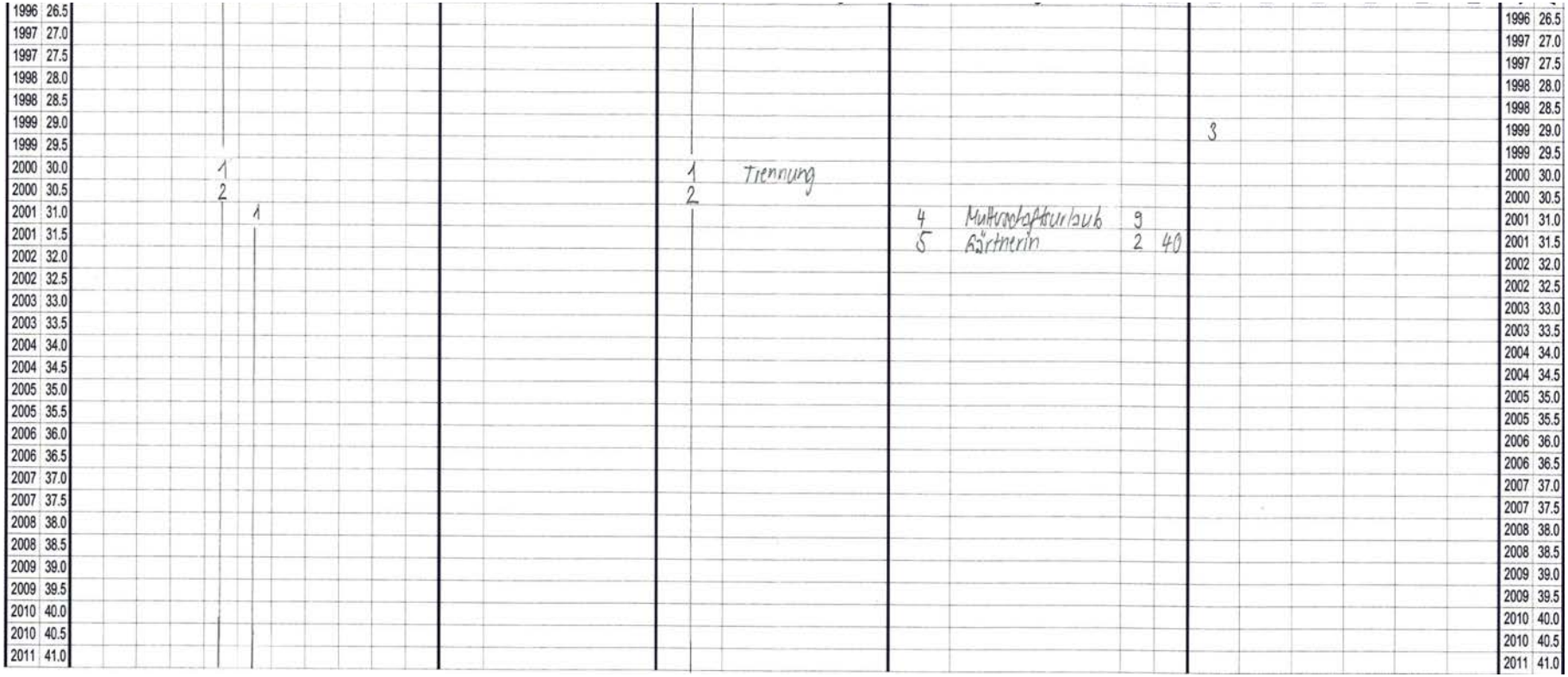
In this section, we introduce the life history calendar and the four kinds of life trajectories studied in this dissertation, i.e. co-residence, spatial mobility, partnership, and occupation. Secondly, we specify the implications of a birth cohort design for the study of personal networks differentiating between cohort and life-stage effects. Thirdly, we describe our methodological approach to life-course patterns, which is based on sequence and cluster analyses.

2.3.1 Life history calendar

Life trajectories were constructed using a retrospective life history calendar inspired by the "AGEVEN" record (Antoine, Bry, & Diouf, 1987; Courgeau & Lelièvre, 1989; Lelièvre & Vivier, 2001). Retrospective life history calendars are often used to collect longitudinal data in a cross-sectional survey. While longitudinal panel surveys are the best means to study the life course as a process (Bidart, 2012), the life history calendar allows us to reconstruct retrospectively this process. The core idea is to simultaneously visualize several kinds of life trajectories so as to enhance collection processes. The juxtaposition of four kinds of life trajectories efficiently helps respondents to remember life events and transitions (Auriat, 1996). In the *Family tiMes* survey, this life history calendar encompassed four kinds of life trajectories and critical life events (not analyzed in this dissertation). While networks were directly collected through computer, life history calendars were printed on large sheets of paper (size A3) and filled out with pencil. For each respondent, an individual calendar was printed, starting from the year of her/his birth. Figure 2 shows the calendar of Julia. Julia was born in 1970. Calendars were both year- and age-graded on both sides. From the left side to the right, there were five columns: co-residence, spatial mobility, partnership, and occupational trajectories and critical life events. All changes were carefully recorded on the paper and eventually in a database. After this brief overview, we now describe in more detail how the calendar was completed and how each kind of trajectory was measured.

Figure 2: Example of a life history calendar




1996 26.5
1997 27.0
1997 27.5
1998 28.0
1998 28.5
1999 29.0
1999 29.5
2000 30.0
2000 30.5
2001 31.0
2001 31.5
2002 32.0
2002 32.5
2003 33.0
2003 33.5
2004 34.0
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2005 35.0
2005 35.5
2006 36.0
2006 36.5
2007 37.0
2007 37.5
2008 38.0
2008 38.5
2009 39.0
2009 39.5
2010 40.0
2010 40.5
2011 41.0
1
2
1
1
2
Trennung
3
4 Mutterschaftsurlaub 9
5 Gärtnerin 2 40

2.3.1.1 Co-residence trajectories

Co-residence trajectories were introduced with the following question: *"To begin with, I would like to know with whom you have lived throughout your life. Please consider only periods of six months at least."*[27]

Then, using the first column of the calendar, eleven persons, group of persons or co-residence situations were pointed out to the respondent: mother, father, stepparent(s), siblings, partners, children, stepchildren, relatives, roommates, living alone, living in other situations. Respondents were asked whether they had ever lived with their mother and, if applicable, when. The same was asked for their father and so on. In Figure 2, we see that Julia lived with her mother and her father from birth until age 20. She did not have siblings. For partners, respondents noted Partner no. 1, Partner no. 2, etc. Julia left the parental home to live with her first partner and stayed with him until age 30. She then left him and directly after the separation started cohabiting with her second partner. For groups of persons such as siblings, respondents indicated the number of siblings for each period. Julia had her first child at age 31 in 2001 and had not conceived a second child by 2011.

Co-residence trajectories are a means to describe the variation of the household composition over time and, consequently, a proxy for family trajectories. They allow capturing the major family life transitions such as leaving the parental home, cohabiting with a partner, becoming a parent. Co-residence trajectories can be divided into two stages: childhood and adulthood. With regard to family life the first period refers to the family of orientation (parents and siblings) and the period of primary socialization, while the second period refers to the family of procreation (partner and own children). During the first period, children are subjected to parents' choices, while in the second period adults become the main actors, making life decisions which impact their own trajectories.

2.3.1.2 Spatial mobility trajectories

To capture the spatial dimension we asked the following question: *"Now, I would like to know where you have lived throughout your life. Please consider only periods of six months at least."*[28]

27 Original version in French: *"Pour commencer, j'aimerais savoir avec qui vous avez habité au cours de votre vie. Considérez seulement les périodes de 6 mois au minimum."*

28 Original version in French: *"Maintenant, j'aimerais savoir où vous avez habité au cours de votre vie. Considérez seulement les périodes de 6 mois au minimum."*

Spatial mobility trajectories include all residential moves from birth to the time of the interview. Looking at the second column of the calendar, we see that Julia was born in Bern and lived in the same place until she left the parental home (aged 20). She stayed in the same city, Bern, and in the same housing until at least 2011. That additional information indicates that she kept the housing after her separation from her first partner, and into it she then brought a new partner and their child. Like to co-residence trajectories, spatial mobility trajectories can be divided into two periods: childhood and adulthood. We made this distinction because residential moves in childhood are imposed and depend upon the parents, whereas residential moves in adulthood are chosen by the respondents themselves or at least negotiated with a partner, for instance. Spatial mobility trajectories encompassed two dimensions, the number of residential moves and the location (country and/or municipality).

2.3.1.3 Partnership trajectories

Partnership trajectories were approached with the following question: *"Now, I would like to talk about the persons with whom you have formed a couple (without necessarily living together); that is to say persons with whom you had a romantic relationship. Please consider only relationships which lasted three months at least."*[29] This definition is quite broad and partnership trajectories include any love relationships which lasted three months and more, with or without cohabitation, either married or not. Beside those criteria, respondents subjectively define a romantic relationship. Partnership trajectories were recoded from the first relationship onwards and the age at first relationship therefore varies from person to person. When creating partnership trajectories, we decided to start with age 16 which corresponds to the legal sexual majority (Swiss Criminal Code: 187(1)).[30] Nevertheless, we did not specify whether romantic relationships included sexual intercourse. Julia started her first romantic relationship at age 18, two years and half before moving in with her first partner. Her separation and her second romantic relationship at age 30 did not coincide with residential changes, as Julia stayed, while her first partner moved out and her second partner moved in.

29 Original version in French: *"Maintenant, j'aimerais parler des personnes avec lesquelles vous avez formé un couple (sans forcément que vous habitiez ensemble); c'est-à-dire des personnes avec lesquels vous avez eu une relation amoureuse. Considérez seulement les relations qui ont duré au moins 3 mois."*

30 In France, Bozon (2009) found that the mean age at first sexual intercourse is around 17 years old for both women and men born at the end of the 80s.

2.3.1.4 Occupational trajectories

Finally, occupational trajectories were captured with the following question: *"Now could you indicate to us all periods of education/training and/or paid work that you have experienced from the age of 16 up to now, as well as the periods during which you have not practiced any of these activities. Please consider only periods of six months at least."*[31]

Occupational trajectories encompassed each change in occupational status, paid activity (recoded in ISCO), and activity percentage. At age 16, Julia was at school. One year later, she started a 2-year training course to become a childcare worker. She met her first partner while she was studying. She started working full-time at age 19, one year before leaving the parental home. She worked full-time for slightly more than 10 years until her pregnancy leave. After the birth of her child, she permanently reduced her working hours to 40%. To build up occupational trajectories, we did not consider the ISCO code, but conjointly status and activity percentage from age 18 onwards.

In summary, those four kinds of life trajectories provide useful information in a diachronic and systemic perspective. Some similarities and differences between them should be underlined. For co-residence, spatial mobility, and occupation, we asked respondents to consider periods of six months, while for romantic relationships, we asked respondents to consider periods of three months and let them subjectively define a romantic relationship. Regarding the life scope, we only recorded life-long trajectories for co-residence and spatial mobility. Up to 16 we assume that respondents were in the schooling system (for occupational trajectories) and, for partnership trajectories, we started with the first relationship. Nevertheless, when building the trajectories, we started at age 18 for occupational trajectories because most respondents were in the education/training stage before (not enough variability) and with age 16 for partnership.

2.3.2 Birth cohort design

Cohorts refer to the socio-historical anchorage of a group of individuals born in the same period. Birth cohort more specifically comprised individuals born in the same year. It is sometimes used as an equivalent to generation. Nevertheless, those two concepts should be kept apart (Chauvel, 1998). Generations refer either to family field (lineage, transmission, etc.) or to a group of individuals born in the same period and sharing a common socio-historical destiny (Mannheim, 2005). A generation in that second meaning is always a cohort, but the opposite does

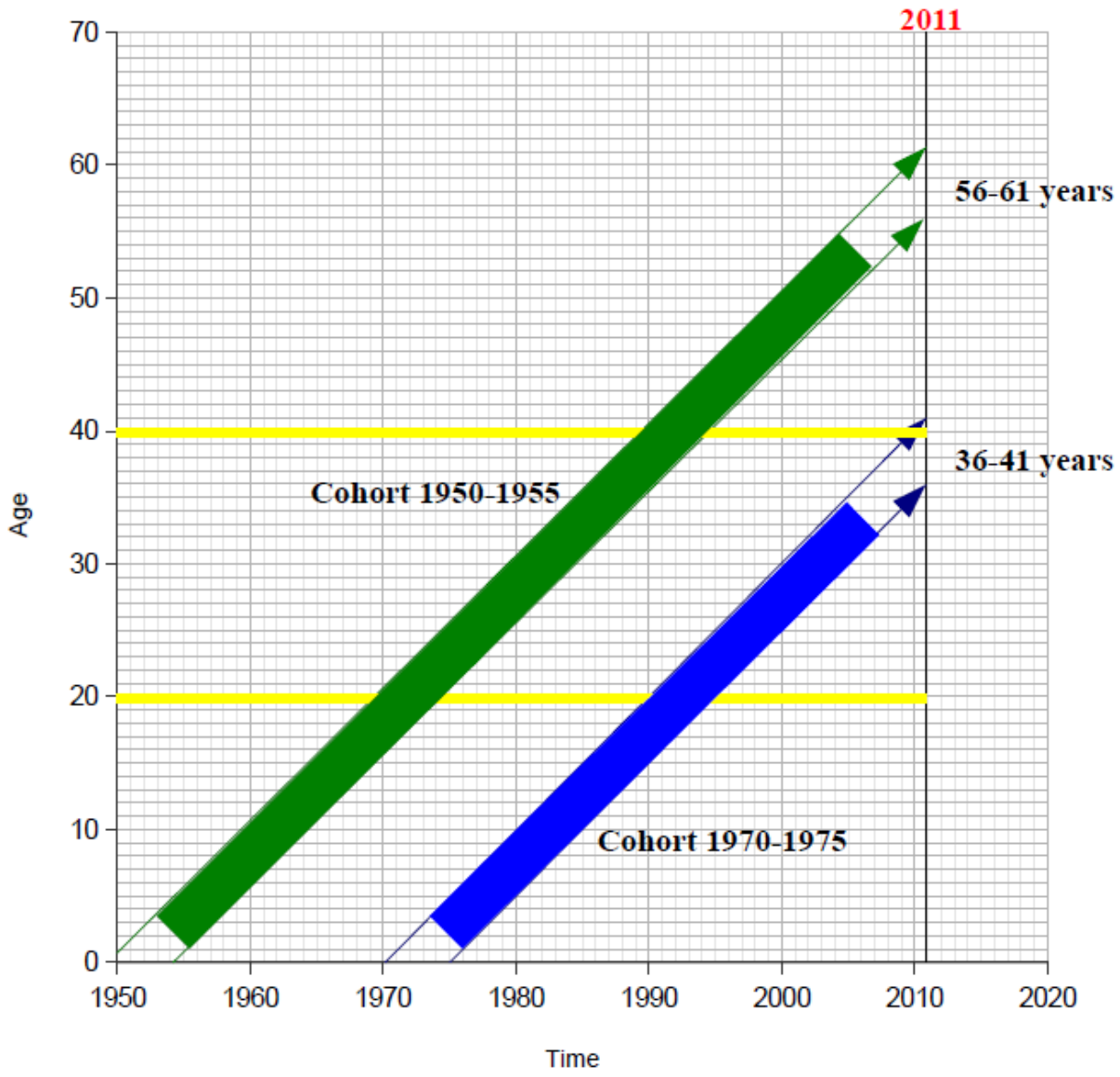
31 Original version in French: *"Maintenant, pourriez-vous nous indiquer toutes les périodes de formation et/ou d'activité rémunérée que vous avez connues depuis l'âge de 16 ans jusqu'à maintenant, ainsi que les éventuelles périodes où vous n'avez exercé aucune de ces activités. Considérez seulement les périodes de 6 mois au minimum."*

not hold true. We speak about the generation of May 1968, about the baby-boom generation, or even about the children of the great depression (Elder, 1974) to emphasize that they experienced common socio-historical events which influence their future life experiences throughout their life course.

Logically, the length of the life trajectories differs from one cohort to the other. Individuals born between 1970 and 1975 were aged between 36 and 41 at the time of the interview in 2011 (in blue), while individuals born between 1950 and 1955 were aged between 56 and 61 (in green) (see Figure 3). Therefore, we adopted a two-step approach to investigate separately those two windows of time. First, we put the focus on age and considered trajectories from 0 to 40 for both cohorts. For co-residence and spatial mobility, we distinguished two periods, from 0 to 20 and from 20 to 40 (encompassed between the two yellow lines in Figure 3), to differentiate primary socialization process and adulthood. For occupation and partnership, we investigated the period from 16-18 to 40. Trajectories from 16-20 to 40 inform on critical years in life domains such as family (leaving parental nest, transition to parenthood) and occupation (completing one's studies, entry into the labor market). Considering two cohorts which are embedded in different socio-historical times sheds light on changes in life-course patterns over twenty years. We can assess the pluralization of life courses and the new ways of entering adulthood in various life domains.

Secondly, we put the focus on the last twenty years from 1991 to 2011. Individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 birth cohort were aged 16-21 in 1991 and 36-41 in 2011, while individuals belonging to the 1950-1955 birth cohort were 36-41 in 1991 and 56-61 in 2011. For individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 birth cohort, we have a clear overlap between these two approaches. In contrast, for individuals belonging to the 1950-1955 birth cohort, the information is not redundant, but complementary. Considering the last twenty years from 1991 to 2011 sheds light on life-course stages. Moreover, as we are also interested in personal networks at the time of the interview in 2011 and in their link with preceding trajectories, it is meaningful to investigate the impact of the years directly preceding the reporting of the networks.

Figure 3: Lexis diagram: birth cohort design



2.3.3 Sequence analysis

Our methodological approach was largely inspired by the Pavie approach to life-course analysis (Gauthier, Bühlmann, & Blanchard, 2014; Levy & Widmer, 2013) and Abbott's concept of narratives (Abbott, 2001). Techniques of sequence analysis are constantly developping and enriching the life-course research (Aisenbrey & Fasang, 2010). The first step consists of optimal matching[32] using the TraMineR package of the R software (Gabadinho, Ritschard, Müller, & Studer, 2011), and the second step of cluster analysis (Gauthier, 2013). Individual life courses are considered as sequences of states marked by events leading from one state to another. The emphasis is put on the duration of those states. Two types of sequences are often distinguished: stage processes for temporal successions of unique states and careers where specific states can occur several times. In the second case, this means that there is possible reversion and the absence of a strict order. In individual life courses, we mostly deal with careers as individuals may encounter several stages of unemployment or marry twice (marry, divorce, and remarry) for instance. Abbot suggested expressing life courses as unilinear sequences of states or events being characterized by three properties: enchainment, order, and convergence (1992, 2001). Therefore, for all life trajectories, we defined a finite, predefined alphabet with a limited number of statuses. Choosing the meaningful number of statuses has theoretical and methodological implications. For instance, when modeling co-residence trajectories, it is possible to distinguish between living in a two-parent household and not, with or without considering the presence of siblings in the household. Depending on the research question (e.g., types of family structures or sibling relationships), the choice of alphabet will be different.

The following empirical example is drawn from co-residence trajectories between ages 20 and 40 for six individuals, three female and three male respondents (see Table 9). We chose an alphabet composed of nine co-residence statuses: (1) Living with two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) Solo, (4) With a partner, (5) With a partner and children, (6) With children only, (7) With relatives, (8) With roommates, and (9) Other. The first individual, Jules, stayed with his two parents until his thirties and only then moved in with a partner. Flora stayed with her two parents until age 25, then lived alone for a year and a half and, at age 27, she moved in with a partner. Audrey went directly from the parental home to living with her partner at age 24 and, after a year and a half, they had a child. In contrast, Lise came from a one-parent family which she left at age 23 to live with her partner. They were together for six years before having their first child. At age 20, Tom had already

32 For a basic description of the method, see Macindoe & Abbott (Gauthier, Bühlmann, & Blanchard, 2014; Macindoe & Abbott, 2004).

left the parental home and lived alone. At age 21, he had a roommate for a year and a half and then moved in with his partner. After six years together, they had their first child. Like Jules, David stayed in the same co-residence status throughout his twenties but, in his case, it was living independently alone. At age 31, he finally moved in with a partner. At age 40, four out of six lived in a nuclear family structure.

Table 9: Example of sequences of co-residence states for six individuals aged 20-40

	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40
Jules*	1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-2-2-2-4-4-4-4-4-4-5-5-5-5-5-5-5										
Flora	1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-3-3-3-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-3-3-3-4-4-4-4-3-4-4-4-4-4										
Audrey	1-1-1-1-1-1-1-4-4-4-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5										
Lise	2-2-2-2-2-2-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-9-9-9										
Tom	3-3-8-8-8-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5										
David	3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3-4-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5-5										

** All fictitious names*

When modeling data following this approach, life courses or careers can be systematically compared and grouped by (dis)similarity. The main idea of sequence comparison is to obtain the minimal or optimal difference that exists between two sequences (Kruskal, 1983; Levenshtein, 1966). The operations which have to be mathematically performed are substitution and insertion or deletion (INDEL). *"In other words, the distance between two sequences corresponds to the (weighted) value of the total number of substitutions, insertions and deletions used to transform the source sequence into the target sequence"* (Gauthier, 2013, p. 44). As these operations are so crucial, determining the costs has implications. We chose to have constant costs meaning that the substitution costs are the same for all the states, with a default value of 2 (see Table 10). Indeed previous studies have shown that different strategies fairly often reach the same solution (Gauthier, 2007, 2013).

Table 10: The substitution costs matrix (costs of 2)

	1* ->	2 ->	3 ->	4 ->	5 ->	6 ->	7 ->	8 ->	9 ->
1* ->	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2 ->	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3 ->	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	2
4 ->	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	2
5 ->	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	2
6 ->	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	2
7 ->	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2
8 ->	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2
9 ->	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0

** (1) Living with two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) Solo, (4) With a partner, (5) With a partner and children, (6) With children only, (7) With relatives, (8) With roommates, and (9) Other.*

The next table presents the matrix of pairwise distances of the co-residence trajectories for the same six individuals (see Table 11). We can see that the two closest trajectories are the trajectories of Lise and Tom (distance 18). Indeed, between age 23 until age 38, they had almost the exact same trajectory (first living with a partner until around age 29 and then living with a partner and child(ren)). The two most different trajectories were those of Jules and Tom (distance 64), as they were in the same status only during the last four years of the observed period.

Table 11: Example of a matrix of pairwise distances of the co-residence trajectories between ages 20-40 for six individuals

	Jules	Flora	Audrey	Lise	Tom	David
Jules	0	46	44	48	54	64
Flora	46	0	60	58	54	66
Audrey	44	60	0	36	28	46
Lise	48	58	36	0	18	46
Tom	54	54	28	18	0	42
David	64	66	46	46	42	0

Based on a matrix of distances obtained by the sequence analysis, we then perform cluster analysis to determine the best number of groups. The Silhouette width measure helped us to choose the best solution (Rousseeuw, 1987). In Chapter 4, devoted to life courses, we systematically chose cluster solutions based on this test. The few exceptions to this rule are justified in the text and respond to theoretical considerations or the lack of clear cuts in the Silhouette width. To follow up

on our example, Jules's co-residence trajectory between 20 and 40 years was categorized as *Nestalgic*, Flora as *Conjugal*, Audrey's as *Early parenthood*, Lise's and Tom's as *Parenthood* and David's as *Early bird*. This typology is described in detail in Section 4.2.

As we were also interested in aligning nested sequences referring to several kinds of life trajectories, we also used MCSA "Multi-Channel Sequence Analysis" (Gauthier, Widmer, Bucher, & Notredame, 2010) to study simultaneously two kinds of life trajectories, for instance co-residence and occupation.

Creating typologies of life trajectories is an efficient and revealing way to look at the diversity of individual lives summarized in a few meaningful patterns. One challenge is the choice of the best number of types. The number has to be low enough to ensure interpretability and high enough to adequately account for the diversity of the sample. Moreover, as we typologize in order to reflect on processes of standardization and individualization, the risk is of obtaining findings reflecting methodological shortcomings rather than actual tendencies. Therefore, the choice of the number of types has to take account of these aspects. In most cases, the typologization process results in a number of well-defined patterns and an additional mix type for the other less well-defined cases. It is therefore very important to study this mix type in more detail before moving to more complex analyses and to keep in mind its potential heterogeneity.

2.4 Recoding and statistical analyses

Considerable work was done on the formatting and coding of the data since this dissertation is directly based on the raw data of the *Family tiMes* survey obtained in November 2011. Control and coding of all basic indicators were therefore necessary. Moreover, both network and life-course data are complex to handle, as they require a specific format in order to compute the various indicators through network and sequence analyses. For networks, there are several potential formats such as the one used in this dissertation, the adjacency matrix. Furthermore, there are commonly two datasets, one for the respondents and one for the alters and their attributes. For life courses, aligned sequences of states were necessary. The coding of specific indicators is explained in the sections in which they are introduced and, in addition, there is a codebook in Annex 9.3 (see Table 71). We would like here to acknowledge the work of Jacques-Antoine Gauthier who pre-formatted the calendar raw data and Pierre-Alain Roch who patiently coded the occupational activity (open question) into the ISCO code of all respondents and their alters.

We made systematic use of logistic regressions throughout the research. Logistic regressions are used to predict models with binary categorical variables as dependent variables.

They assess the association between a categorical dependent variable and a set of independent variables, measured by odds ratios. The odds ratio is the ratio of the odds of an event occurring in one group to the odds of it occurring in another group and it ranges between 0 and infinity. In logistic regressions, we systematically reported the Akaike information criterion (AIC) and the pseudo R-Squared Nagelkerke[33] which are used to measure the quality of the statistical models. We systematically considered a set of independent variables, namely sex (male and female), birth cohort (1955-1955 and 1970-1975) or age group (56-61 and 36-41), education (divided into four levels of education: lower secondary, upper secondary, vocational, tertiary), and nationality (Swiss or foreign). Those factors, which we call "social structure" factors, are structuring societies regarding the division of power and generate inequality among individuals. Sex, or gender as a social construct, indicates that different roles are attributed to women and men. For instance, women are often described as the kin-keepers to underline their prominent role in fostering kinship relationships. Level of education positions individuals in a hierarchically stratified society in which high positions are more advantageous and prestigious, while low positions are precarious and disdained. Nationality also relates to socio-economic position, as rights and duties do not apply equally to citizens and foreigners. Finally, birth cohorts or age groups anchor individuals in socio-historical time and to a specific life stage.

We did not conduct analyses at the canton level, for three main reasons. First of all, while a sample of 803 individuals is a reasonable size for representativeness at the Swiss level, numbers become very small when considering cantons, which makes statistical analysis difficult. For half of the cantons (13), subsamples were composed of fewer than 20 respondents and for nine cantons fewer than 10 respondents (see Table 72 in Annex 9.4). Secondly, even if the canton level is interesting in a federal state like Switzerland, cantons do not completely represent distinct worlds of welfare, as it is socio-economic and not politico-institutional factors that have had the strongest imprint on the overall structure of cantonal welfare regimes (Armingeon et al., 2004). Thirdly, as the *Family tiMes* survey is part of an international project with, at the moment, Portugal and Lithuania, the first goal was to produce results at the country level in order to conduct international comparisons.

We also performed multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) to build up bi-dimensional maps taking into account simultaneously various variables without assuming causal direction. MCA is an analysis technique for nominal categorical data (Greenacre & Blasius, 2006; Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004). It is an extension of correspondence analysis, as it allows us to analyze simultaneously several variables instead of just two. It is as a generalization to categorical data of

33 R package "fmsb", function "NagelkerkeR2" (Minato, 2014).

the principal component analysis which is used for quantitative data. The objective is to analyze the pattern of relationships of several variables and, by doing so, to represent the underlying structures in a dataset. The MCA is performed on an indicator matrix (complete disjunctive table) or a Burt table. The indicator matrix is an individuals x variables matrix, where the rows represent individuals and the columns are dummy variables representing categories of the variables. With multiple correspondence analysis, we obtain a bi-dimensional map on which it is possible to represent the individuals as points in a geometric space and to visualize proximities between variables. The variables used to perform the MCA and create the map are said to be active, while the other variables only projected on the map are said to be passive (Lê, Josse, & Husson, 2008). The contributions of the active variables to the map are indicated as well as the v-tests indicating whether a variable contributes significantly to the definition of the axes; a score under -2 or above 2 means that the variable contributes and the sign indicates the direction of the contribution (Lebart, Morineau, & Piron, 2002). For the passive variables, there is information on their coordinates and the v-tests indicating whether a variable is significantly associated with the axes; a score under -2 or above 2 means that the variable is associated and the sign indicates the direction of the association. MCA is best known for its application by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1979).

We opted for those two types of analyses, logistic regressions and multiple correspondence analyses, as they are complementary. Logistic regression allows us to statistically model the relationship between a dependent variable to explain (outcome) and a set of independent variables (predictor). It allow for the assessment of whether an independent variable (such as life trajectories) is positively or negatively associated with a dependent variable (such as personal networks) while controlling for the outcome's overlapping associations with other variables (such as social structure factors). Nevertheless, assuming that personal networks are the dependent variable is somewhat unsatisfactory, as life trajectories and personal networks are dynamically intertwined over the life course. Therefore, we also made use of multiple correspondence analysis which shows the interdependencies among variables in a more open way. Interpretations are then made drawing from both sources. Finally, in our last section (5.2), we also portray eight individual cases by making a qualitative reading of the survey data in order to illustrate and give more consistency and substance to our previous findings drawn from quantitative analyses.

All computations were made using the R statistical environment (R Development Core Team, 2011). Sequence analysis is based on the package "TraMineR" (Gabadinho et al., 2011), network analysis on the package "statnet" (Handcock, Hunter, Butts, Goodreau, & Morris, 2008), and multiple correspondence analysis on the package "FactoMineR" (Lê et al., 2008).

3 Personal networks

Individuals are involved in different social fields encompassing a wide arena of people from close relatives, to friends, colleagues, and acquaintances of all kinds. Some of those latent relationships can be turned into meaningful relationships and compose personal networks. They serve as major relational resources for individuals, providing emotional and instrumental supports for instance. These personal relationships vary in frequency of contact, intensity, and content. The core of personal networks is composed of the closest people or, in other words, the significant alters. While the core has often been associated with family ties, other meaningful relationships belonging to friendship or other social fields beyond family are important for one's self-identity as well.

Several previous studies conducted in Switzerland have adopted an ego-centered network approach.[34] Widmer and his colleagues conducted a number of studies based on the Family Network Method: a longitudinal study on individuals undergoing psychotherapy in West Switzerland (Widmer, Kempf-Constantin, Robert-Tissot, Lanzi, & Carminati, 2008; Widmer et al., 2008; Widmer & Sapin, 2008), a study on university students (Widmer, 2006), a study comparing first-time and stepfamilies in the canton of Geneva (Aeby, Widmer, & Carlo, 2014; Widmer, Favez, Aeby, De Carlo, & Doan, 2012), a study on old people's living conditions in five cantons (Oris, Nicolet, Guichard, Monnot, & Joye, forthcoming). At the national level, a network module mainly based on the GSS name generator about discussion partners was implemented in the 2005-MOSAiCH survey administered to a representative sample of more than 1,000 adults. This survey highlighted the association between network dimensions and geographic mobility (Ohnmacht, 2009; Viry, 2012). The SHARE survey was also administrated in Switzerland (Börsch-Supan et al., 2013). Another line of studies opened up networks to all types of significant alters beyond families, by asking about "important" people. Those studies encompassed various topics such as the transition to parenthood (Le Goff & Levy, 2011; Widmer & Sapin, forthcoming), sexuality (Bianchi-Demicheli, Favez, Van der Linden, Ortigue, & Widmer, 2009), and the occupational aspirations and orientations of teenagers (Guilley et al., 2014). All those studies paid close attention to relationships that actually matter for individuals and, when accurate, we compare our results with theirs in the next sections. It should be noted that other network studies have been conducted in Switzerland, but mostly focused on complete networks (Bühlmann, David, & Mach, 2012; Kriesi & Jegen, 2001).

This chapter is divided into six sections. In the first section (3.1), we question the relative importance of kin and non-kin in personal networks. We discuss the embeddedness of

34 In Annex 9.3, Table Erreur : source de la référence non trouvée presents a summary list of the surveys including an ego-centered network approach in Switzerland and their main specificities.

personal relationships in social fields by questioning the concepts of foci (Feld, 1981), social circles (Simmel, 2010), personal communities (Pahl & Spencer, 2004; Wellman & Hogan, 2006), and personal configurations (Elias, 1978, 1983; Widmer & Jallinoja, 2008). We develop a typology of personal configurations based on the type of tie. In the second section (3.2), we put under scrutiny the characteristics of the relationships considered "significant" and discuss the dimensions of closeness, tie strength, frequency of contact. In the third section (3.3), we investigate the characteristics of the significant alters and discuss the concepts of homophily and heterophily in personal networks. In the fourth section (3.4), we look at instrumental and emotional resources stemming from dyadic relationships and from structural interdependencies among network members. We introduce the concept of bonding and bridging social capitals and discuss to what extent significant alters, kin and non-kin, are sources of them. In the fifth section (3.5), we move beyond resources to question conflict in intimate relationships and personal networks. We discuss ambivalences arising from the simultaneous presence of conflict and support. Finally, in the sixth and last section of this chapter (3.6), we combine the previous network dimensions and discuss the challenges created by the lack of relational resources and social integration. We suggest several profiles of relational integration accounting for the diversity present in personal networks.

Each section can be read separately as it constitutes a whole with theoretical background and research hypotheses, empirical analyses and results, and a discussion. However, it is best to read them in order, as they draw on each other. For instance, the typology of personal configurations developed in Section 3.1 is then used in the next sections. Similarly, the findings about support presented in Section 3.4 are then contrasted with conflict in Section 3.5.

3.1 Ties that matter: personal configurations

This first section is devoted to the ties that matter the most in individuals' personal life. We investigate the share of kin and non-kin in personal networks and deepen this distinction to investigate in greater detail the prominence of specific significant ties. We begin by presenting a theoretical overview, first defining social participation and under what circumstances individuals interact and, secondly, highlighting the specificity of kin and non-kin ties as well as their seemingly common and contradictory features. We then present our results, observing the salience of specific ties, developing a typology of personal configurations and assessing the demographic constraints weighing on the development of significant relationships.

Social participation may explain why some relationships become more significant in individuals' life. Some studies may focus on one aspect of social participation and its consequences, such as associative participation (Putnam, 2000), work relationships, school interactions (Thorne, 1993), neighborhood sociability, political strategies (Padgett & Ansell, 1993), etc. Personal relationships do not happen in a social vacuum, but take place within a stratified social structure. Individuals take part in society mainly by participating in more or less institutionalized fields of social interaction. Social fields are principally structured by the power relations that develop around its major good or "stake" (Bourdieu, 1980). There are very institutionalized fields, and informal fields, such as networks of kin and of friends. As individuals simultaneously participate in several social fields, social participation can generally be defined by status and role sets (Levy, 2013). Besides social fields, other concepts have been used to understand how social participation takes place. Social ties have been seen as organized around foci (Feld, 1981). A focus can be, among other things, a group, a place or an activity which bring individuals to interact together. There is variation among foci according to the extent of constrained interaction which they imply and their size. In Feld's perspective, families are foci where everyone is forced to interact much and often; consequently all individuals associated with that focus, family, will be tied to one another. Two individuals sharing a tie will tend to find and develop new foci around which they organize their joint activity. The focus theory stresses that the social context has a focused organization rather than an organization based on similarities of individual characteristics. Personal networks which are organized around many foci are less likely to be dense, since individuals drawn from different foci are less likely to know one another. Multifaceted exchange relationships – which are not considered

distinct foci – involve a large amount of time, effort and emotion. Multifaceted exchange relationships have been analyzed under the concept of multiplexity. The concept of social circles (Simmel, 2010) also helps to understand how individuals connect to one another through their social participation. Individuals move in a number of different social circles as they participate in separated activities, for instance occupational, associative, leisure, religious activities, etc. Therefore, each individual occupies a distinct position in the intersection of many social circles. According to Simmel (2010), the number of social circles has increased since individuals in pre-modern societies typically lived in a very limited number of relatively small and linked concentric social circles.

Moving beyond specific fields of social participation, some authors propose to take individuals as starting points. Indeed, individuals develop meaningful relationships with kin and non-kin, with local and non-local people. Wellman (Wellman, 1999; Wellman & Hogan, 2006; Wellman et al., 1997) explained that neighborhood communities have transmuted into fragmented multiple social networks connected only by a single individual at the center. The individual is the primary unit of connectivity and Western societies are therefore characterized by person-to-person networked individualism (Wellman, 2007). There is a theoretical shift in perspective from a solidarity to a network view. The concept of personal community networks may therefore be used to describe ego-centered networks and understand communities in contemporary Western societies. Personal communities are defined as *"networks of interpersonal ties that provide sociability, support, information, a sense of belonging and social identity"* (Wellman, 2001, p. 228). In this perspective personal communities and personal networks are synonymous and interchangeable. Pahl and Spencer (2004) also advocate the use of the concept of personal communities, but not with the same meaning as Wellman as they reject the word "network" because not all the relationships are necessarily interlocking. They also underline the fact that "personal" does not refer to the process of individualization, but to the fact that these communities are focused on a given individual. *"Our contention is that personal communities are the closest we can get to postmodern community life"* (2004, p. 205). They distinguished five types of personal communities based on the prominence of specific relationships: *family based*, *friend based*, *neighbor based*, *partner based*, and *professional based*. In the Swiss survey MOSAiCH, four types of networks were distinguished, namely *family of procreation* (18%), *friendship* (17%), *family of orientation* (10%) and *professional* (9%), respectively characterized by the over-representation of children, friends, parents and colleagues (Viry, 2012). In both cases, kin and non-kin ties coexist.

In the same line of thinking, other authors have proposed the concept of configuration (Déchaux, 1995; Elias, 1978, 1983; Widmer & Jallinoja, 2008). The concept of configuration refers

to a structure of interdependencies between different parts, either groups or individuals (Déchaux, 1995; Elias, 1978, 1983). Families have been conceptualized as *configurations* (Widmer, 2007, 2010). This perspective assumes that families are best defined as chains of interdependencies rather than as small cohesive groups with obvious boundaries (Widmer, 1999a). Four key assumptions underline this theoretical perspective (Widmer & Jallinoja, 2008). First, families are not defined mainly by institutional criteria such as "belonging to a household" or "being part of a socially recognized partnership", but by the actualized relationships. Second, instead of focusing on specific dyads (e.g., the conjugal relationship or the relationship between a stepparent and a stepchild) as independent and separate entities, the configurational perspective takes into consideration the larger set of relationships in which the dyads are embedded. Third, individuals and group structures are interconnected. Fourth, a configurational perspective on the family emphasizes its temporal nature as all social configurations evolve through time. The concept of configurations need not be confined to family relationships, but can successfully be applied to all personal relationships as well.

Family relationships are said to be ascribed or given by blood and alliance principles (Allan, 2008; Déchaux, 2009; Godelier, 2010), while other relationships, such as those based on friendship, are said to be achieved, chosen or elective (Weeks, Heaphy, & Donovan, 2001). Family is often considered the primary source of solidarity; family ties are supposed to be of first importance on a daily basis or in case of need. Moreover, the focus was for a long time put on the nuclear family of procreation consisting of a married heterosexual couple and their dependent children living in the same household. However, it is no longer possible to restrict family boundaries to the nuclear family, as one person and one-parent households increase in number as well as new family forms such as stepfamilies (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1994; Ganong & Coleman, 2004) and same sex families (Weeks et al., 2001; Weston, 1997). There is a demographic reservoir or, in other words, a latent web of kinship linkages, that provides the potential for activating and intensifying close family relationships (Attias-Donfut, 1995; Josette Coenen-Huther et al., 1994; Riley, 1983). However, this demographic reservoir does not automatically correspond to the active family network (De Carlo, Aeby, & Widmer, 2014). The demographic reservoir encompasses the extended family or, in other words, the whole kinship system which potentially includes four types of relationships: lineal relationships formed by intergenerational linkages, collateral relationships linked through siblings, in-law relationships created through alliance, and even fictive kin created out of non-kinship relationships, such as godchildren or foster children (C. L. Johnson, 2000). Western contemporary families tend to have a lineal organization mostly organized around the bond between partners and based on parents-children relationships (C. L. Johnson, 2000; Sudarkasa,

1997). Therefore, the weakening of marriage destabilizes families. The rise of alternative family forms, through marital change and homosexual unions for instance, creates new family organization such as the ego-centered kinship networks described by Johnson (2000). While the family has been described as socially institutionalized, remarriage has been considered incompletely institutionalized, as roles are more ambiguous in stepfamilies (Cherlin, 1978). Overall, boundaries of contemporary families are more ambiguous (Aeby et al., 2014; Carroll, Olson, & Buckmiller, 2007; Pasley, 1987; Pill, 1990; Stewart, 2005).

Several scholars have argued that families are not social institutions, but made by everyday practices (Carsten, 2004; Finch, 2007; D. H. J. Morgan, 1996, 2011; D. M. Schneider, 1980). This new perspective created a shift in ways of analyzing families. Morgan (1996, 2011) developed the concept of "doing" family; individuals constitute certain actions and activities as family practices and thus create their own understanding of their families in their own social world. Another concept, "displaying", complements the idea of "doing" family. *"Display is the process by which individuals, and groups of individuals, convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain of their actions constitute 'doing family things' and thereby confirm that these relationships are 'family' relationships'"* (Finch, 2007, p. 67). Display requires direct interactions between family members (similar to doing) and the direct and indirect acknowledgment (recognition) of the family-like nature of relationships. Finch used the case of a divorced father to show how important the approval of his former mother-in-law was to him as it confirmed his good father-like practices. In all family contexts, practices need to be acknowledged, and doing and displaying therefore go together. Because of the transformation of families and the de-institutionalization process (Cherlin, 2004, 2009), display is as an activity which characterizes contemporary families since families need to be displayed as well as done. All those studies point to the fact that static definitions, such as family structure, membership or household composition, are not adequate to define contemporary families.

Within the family realm, some relationships are more invested than others in Western contemporary societies. The central relationship is the couple as it is at the heart of intimacy and the development of adult personality (de Singly, 1996). Parent-children relationships are also strongly invested throughout the life course. Transfers go more from the parent generation to the children generation even in adulthood (Bonvalet & Ogg, 2007). In contrast siblings are not automatically considered significant relationships; despite their having lived together in childhood, those relationships are more voluntary-based (Cicirelli, 1995; White, 2001; Widmer, 1999b). The relationships to grandparents (Hummel, 2008; Hummel & Perrenoud, 2009) and to other family members such as uncles and aunts (Milardo, 2010) are not always invested, but can also be

important. Family disruptions such as divorce introduce new ties which are less institutionalized (Cherlin, 1978). For instance, the role of stepparent, whose lack of institutionalization is very ambiguous regarding associated rights and duties (Graham, 2010; Schrodt, 2011). Cohabitation and marriage between the new partners increase the probability of being recognized as a family member and even as a parent by the stepchildren (Schmeeckle, Giarrusso, Feng, & Bengtson, 2006). Step-siblings rarely perceive each other as belonging to the same family (Furstenberg, 1987).

Ascribed ties are often opposed to achieved ties and supposed to be more stable and supportive. This distinction between ascribed and achieved ties neglects the fact that friends are not randomly chosen, but met in socially stratified sociability contexts. It also overshadows the fact that family relationships also need to be achieved to become meaningful. Friendship is the ideal type of achieved ties. Indeed, in contrast to relatives and to other ascribed statuses such as neighbors, workmates and colleagues, friendship ties imply electivity, meaning the free choice of engaging in selected relationships. In the life of single people, they can be a source of emotional, social, material and economic support and, in some cases, substitute for the traditional family (Bellotti, 2008). Although friends often provide emotional support and help, when examining the degree to which the domains of family and friendship are merging, Allan (2008) concludes that, despite increased flexibility in personal life, clear boundaries exist such as different principles of solidarity and exchange.

In contrast to Allan (2008), other scholars maintain that there is a process of suffusion going on between friends and family roles, meaning the merging or blurring of kin and non-kin within personal networks (Pahl & Spencer, 2004; Wall & Gouveia, 2014). Individuals have a set of relationships which are likely to vary in commitment and givenness; friends and family may play similar roles – friends as playing family-like roles and family as playing friend-like roles – or retain some specialized roles (Pahl & Spencer, 2004). While some values are commonly associated with family, obligation and hierarchy, and other values to friends, choice and equality, the process of suffusion indicates a fusion between those two sets of values. Friends are sometimes referred to as chosen family to underline their importance (Weeks et al., 2001; Weston, 1997; Widmer, 2007). They can also be made part of the family by giving them the role of godparents; they are then referred to as fictive or spiritual family (Muraco, 2006). Pahl and Spencer (2010) have further discussed the fact that there is a mismatch between individuals' perception of personal relationships – using the concept of "PRISM" for "personal relationships in the social mind" – and their actual practices. Some models of perception ("models-in-the-mind") are obsolete and do not reflect the reality of everyday lived experience. Therefore research should move away from formal distinctions such as family structure, membership, or household composition and investigate activities,

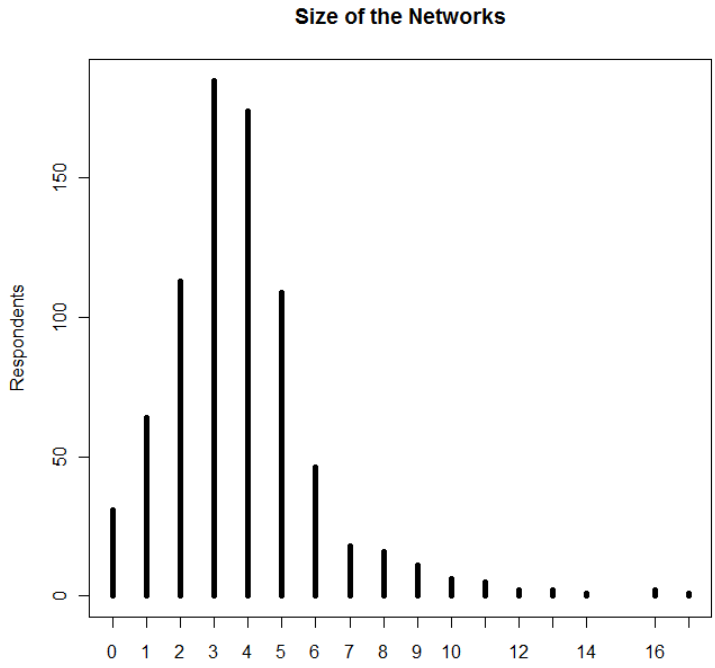
interactions, and identity. In order to delineate the significant social context of individuals, it is important to move beyond the distinction between ascribed and achieved ties and to investigate how individuals bring together in their day-to-day lives a wide range of relationships (Widmer, 2010). Personal relationships are first about people who matter.

In summary, this literature review highlights that relationships related to the family of procreation (partners and children) and to the family of orientation (parents and siblings) are very invested in Western contemporary societies. Therefore, we expect them to be mentioned in first positions. Nevertheless, friendship is gaining in importance and roles are blurring. As personal relationships have become more voluntary-based, all relationships need to be achieved through interaction and commitment. Therefore, we expect friends to be often mentioned. Consequently, networks of significant alters will be composed of both kin and non-kin with a special emphasis on friendship. Electivity should not conceal the demographic constraints faced by individuals. Although, the demographic reservoir limits the availability of kinship ties, it will only partially explain the salience of significant alters.

Empirical results

Respondents could name up to 20 significant alters. Despite this large potential amount, the number of significant alters mentioned was largely under this limit. Among the 786 valid cases (see Section 2.2), respondents mentioned 2,943 significant alters. Thirty-one did not mention any significant alter and their networks were therefore qualified as empty networks (3.9%). Putting aside those empty networks, the networks' size ranged from 1 to 17 with a mean of 3.9 and a standard deviation of 2.15 (see Figure 4). In the MOSAiCH study on discussion partners, there were even more individuals who did not cite anyone (12%) or only one alter (28%). Overall, personal networks were rather small with some notable exceptions. Including the respondents, four sizes of networks were distinguished: very small networks of size 2-3 (23.4%), small networks of size 4 (24.5%), average networks of size 5 (23%), and large networks of size 6 and more (29%).

Figure 4: Distribution of the number of significant alters mentioned



The type of tie that bound the respondents to their alters was assessed using a number of predefined categories in a list of terms. In cognitive anthropology, there are two indices of saliency available in listing data: the percent of individuals who mention the term (frequency) and the position of a term in the list (rank) (D'Andrade, 1995; Romney & D'Andrade, 1964). Table 12 presents the distribution of the types of ties by order of importance.[35] Partners were mentioned as significant by seventy-three percent of the respondents. After partners, friends and children were mentioned by slightly less than half of the respondents. Friends barely overtook children (45.3% contra 44.6%). More precisely, 29.8% of the respondents mentioned at least one female friend and 25% at least one male friend. Regarding children, daughters were mentioned by around one third of the respondents (32.5%), as sons were too (31.8%). After the family of procreation and friends, came the family of orientation, parents (32.8%) and siblings (29.8%). Respondents mentioned their mothers more frequently (27.6%) than their fathers (16.7%), and their sisters more frequently(20%) than their brothers (14.8%). Regarding members of the extended kinship, collaterals were mentioned by 7% of the respondents, siblings-in-law by 5%. Finally, colleagues were perceived as important by 9% of the respondents and other non-kin individuals by 5%. This centering on the

35 The first and second columns indicate respectively the number and the percentage of respondents who mentioned this type of tie among the 755 respondents who had at least one alter in their networks. The columns do not sum up, as each line is based on a total of 755 respondents. We do not consider here the number of ties, but whether respondents mentioned them at least once. For instance, if a respondent mentioned one female friend and two male friends, it means that s/he mentioned at least one friend (aggregated category), at least one female friend, and at least one male friend.

family of procreation highlights how important partners and children are in Switzerland as in other Western societies. The couple especially stands above all relationships. Thirty-two individuals only mentioned their partner as significant (4%).[36] Parents, and particularly mothers, also occupy a key position, a result that sustains the lineal organization of Western families (C. L. Johnson, 2000). The prominence of friends is worth pointing out. Following Pahl and Spencer (2004), a process of suffusion seems indeed to be going on.

Table 12: Distribution of the most frequent types of ties (n=755)

Type of tie	**n**	**%**
Partners	548	72.6
Friends	342	45.3
Female friends	*225*	*29.8*
Male friends	*189*	*25.0*
Children	337	44.6
Daughters	*245*	*32.5*
Sons	*240*	*31.8*
Parents	248	32.8
Mothers	*208*	*27.6*
Fathers	*126*	*16.7*
Siblings	225	29.8
Sisters	*151*	*20.0*
Brothers	*112*	*14.8*
Colleagues	68	9.0
Collaterals	50	6.6
Other non-kin members	37	4.9
Siblings-in-law	36	4.8
Others (residual category)	94	12.5

Beside the global number of citations, the rank provides complementary information underlining the salience of distinct relationships. Table 13 lists the types of ties in the rank order of their mean position in the list. Partners were mostly mentioned in first rank, confirming their key position. Children appeared in second or third ranks. Friends generally occupied lower ranks. A hierarchy of relationships is brought out with the ranking, emphasizing the primacy of the family of procreation over other ties and, in particular, over friends.

36 They were then classified in the configuration named *Partner and buddies-oriented*.

Table 13: Rank of citation of the 14 types of ties (percentage) (n=2,943)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th
Partners	60.0	4.8	6.1	5.3	1.4	1.8	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Daughters	5.6	18.7	19.2	11.2	6.4	5.5	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sons	3.6	19.5	16.8	12.2	8.7	7.3	4.7	4.3	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Female friends	7.3	11.3	11.6	11.7	17.4	17.3	28.1	28.3	30.0	31.6	23.1	50.0	50.0	50.0	33.3	66.7	0.0
Mothers	4.5	6.9	8.3	11.5	6.8	7.3	3.1	13.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Male friends	4.9	9.7	11.6	13.2	14.2	10.9	10.9	13.0	13.3	15.8	30.8	37.5	50.0	25.0	66.7	33.3	100.0
Sisters	3.2	6.4	5.7	7.9	7.8	10.0	14.1	6.5	10.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fathers	1.6	5.8	5.2	5.3	6.4	1.8	9.4	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Brothers	2.0	5.5	3.8	5.3	9.6	10.9	4.7	4.3	10.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Colleagues	0.9	3.5	3.3	3.1	4.6	7.3	3.1	4.3	10.0	10.5	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Collaterals	1.2	2.3	1.7	3.3	3.2	8.2	6.2	4.3	0.0	5.3	15.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other non-kin members	1.5	2.0	1.0	1.5	1.4	1.8	1.6	8.7	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Siblings-in-law	0.5	0.9	1.6	2.3	2.3	3.6	3.1	0.0	0.0	15.8	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	3.3	2.7	4.2	6.1	10	6.4	7.8	10.9	13.3	5.3	7.7	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Based on the type of ties, we then created a typology of personal configurations in order to account for the diversity of ties. We considered fourteen categories, thirteen categories which were conceptually meaningful and mentioned by above 4% of the respondents plus a residual category (see Section 2.2): partners, female friends, male friends, daughters, sons, mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, colleagues, collaterals, other non-kin members, siblings-in-law, others (residual). We used cluster analysis to create distinct and intelligible clusters based on similarity within the same cluster (high intra-class similarity) and dissimilarity between clusters (low inter-class similarity). Following standard exploratory multivariate statistics (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996) as applied to textual data, principal components analysis with a varimax rotation was used to extract the initial factors. Seven factors that explained 62% of variance were retained to reach around two thirds of the explained variance. The seven factor scores were inputted in a hierarchical clustering analysis based on a measure of the Euclidean distance between individuals and on the Ward clustering algorithm (Ward, 1963). Solutions from 2 to 12 clusters were examined and a seven-cluster solution was chosen because of its balance of interpretability and statistical efficiency related with the sample size (Borgen & Barnett, 1987; Everitt, Landau, Leese, & Stahl, 2011). Thirty-one individuals did not mention any significant alter and we therefore created an eighth personal configuration to include them. We finally ended up with eight personal configurations, by order of importance: *Female friends and children-oriented* (23.9%), *Nuclear-oriented* (22.1%),

Parents-based (12.5%), *Siblings-based* (11.8%), *Partner and buddies-oriented* (10.4%), *Kinship-based* (8.3%), *Professional and non-kin-oriented* (7%), and *Alone* (3.9%).

Table 14 presents the average number of citations for each type of tie by personal configurations. *Nuclear-oriented* configurations were centered around the partner (1) and the children (2.13), daughters (1.1) and sons (1.03). In each of these 174 configurations, the partner was cited. Mothers were sometimes mentioned as important (0.20), but other ties were neglected. Individuals in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations did not seek significant relationships outside the nuclear family nest. These personal configurations were mostly based on the household until the children left the parental home.

Parents-based configurations included the parents (1.64), mothers (0.87) and fathers (0.78). We said that they are based on parents because at least one parent was included in each of these 98 configurations. They often included the partner (0.95) as well, but no often children. In a few cases, another person, either a sibling or a friend, was perceived as important. Individuals in *Parents-based* configurations were still strongly oriented towards their parents, who played a key role in their lives whether it be giving advice and comfort or providing resources. With the exception of the partner, no other tie really competed with parental figures.

Siblings-based configurations were characterized by the presence of siblings (1.75), sisters (0.95) and brothers (0.81). We said that they are based on siblings because at least one sibling was included in each of these ninety-three configurations. Partners were often nominated as important (0.62) and, in many fewer cases, mothers as well (0.19). Friendship also emerged as a somewhat important component with the presence of female (0.45) and male (0.30) friends. Individuals in *Siblings-based* configurations invested in horizontal ties creating a kind of collateral organization.

Partner and buddies-oriented configurations included the partner (1) and mostly male friends (1.22). In each of these eighty-two configurations, the partner was cited. The *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations were the smallest ones (2.73). Individuals embedded in them were very selective and strongly invested in their partner and, possibly, one or two other friends to the exclusion of other ties. No other tie mattered. The total absence of children may also sustain a sociability anchored in the conjugal bond and away from other family bonds.

Female friends and children-oriented configurations often did not include the partner (0.36) and focused mostly on friends (1.49) and, in particular, on female friends (1.1) as well as on children (0.84), daughters (0.42) and sons (0.41). Besides the absence of partners, *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations differentiated themselves from *Partner and buddies-oriented*

configurations in which friendship is prominent as well by the presence of children. Other family members, in particular mothers (0.25), were sometimes mentioned as important as well. One should note the importance of the residual category (0.41) indicating the presence of diversified ties. Individuals in *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations strongly relied on friendship and children, but not to the exclusion of other ties. In some cases, the simultaneous presence of children and absence of partners may indicate a one-parent family situation. Indeed, when verifying with the family situation (see Section 2.1), 62.2% of the cases of solo with children had a *Female friends and children-oriented* configuration.

Professional and non-kin-oriented configurations were centered around colleagues (1.04) and other non-kin individuals (0.65). Friends (0.68) who are also non-kin were often mentioned. Children (0.71) were also likely to be mentioned and, to a lesser extent, partners (0.58). Individuals in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations were work-oriented and cultivated ties outside family bonds. Some of them also integrated children.

Kinship-based configurations were the largest ones (5.08). *Kinship-based* configurations included collaterals (0.94), and siblings-in-law (0.6). In addition to collaterals and siblings-in-law, the residual category (0.55) including many other family ties was also well represented. These configurations are said to be based on kinship since they always included at least one kin tie outside the family of procreation (partners and children) and the family of orientation (parents and siblings). Other types of ties were also mentioned, but in lower proportions. Individuals in *Kinship-based* configurations were very inclusive and they were involved in many meaningful kinship relationships. Although they sometimes had friends (0.68), kinship definitely came first.

Table 14: Cluster of types of ties (average number of citations for each tie, by personal configuration) (n=755)*

	Nuclear-oriented	Parents-based	Siblings-based	Partner and buddies-oriented	Female friends and children-oriented	Professional and non-kin oriented	Kinship-based
n	174	98	93	82	188	55	65
Network size	3.89	4.11	3.76	2.73	3.85	4.31	5.08
Partner	1.00	0.95	0.62	1.00	0.36	0.58	0.63
Parents	*0.23*	*1.64*	*0.25*	*0.13*	*0.38*	*0.15*	*0.32*
Father	0.03	0.78	0.05	0.04	0.13	0.09	0.14
Mother	0.20	0.87	0.19	0.10	0.25	0.05	0.18
Children	*2.13*	*0.43*	*0.31*	*0.07*	*0.84*	*0.67*	*0.71*
Son	1.03	0.23	0.14	0.02	0.41	0.42	0.34
Daughter	1.10	0.19	0.17	0.05	0.42	0.25	0.37
Siblings	*0.16*	*0.39*	*1.75*	*0.01*	*0.23*	*0.13*	*0.54*
Brother	0.07	0.15	0.81	0.00	0.10	0.13	0.15
Sister	0.08	0.23	0.95	0.01	0.13	0.00	0.38
Siblings-in-law	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.60
Collaterals	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.04	0.94
Friends	*0.31*	*0.50*	*0.75*	*1.48*	*1.49*	*0.84*	*0.68*
Male friend	0.18	0.21	0.30	1.22	0.40	0.40	0.35
Female friend	0.13	0.29	0.45	0.26	1.10	0.44	0.32
Colleague	0.02	0.10	0.01	0.00	0.10	1.04	0.03
Other non-kin	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.65	0.08
Others	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.41	0.18	0.55

** The number of citations can vary between 0 and 1 for terms such as partner, mother and father, and from 0 to a small number of individuals for other terms such as children, siblings, friends, etc.*

In his study on the family configurations of university students, Widmer (2006) found seven types of family configurations: *Beanpole,* which included family members of several generations, *Friendship*, *Post-divorce,* which included stepfamily members, *Conjugal*, *Mother-oriented*, *Father-oriented* and *Sibling* family configurations. In his study on first-time and stepfamilies, Widmer and his colleagues (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer et al., 2012) found no less than nine ways of defining family boundaries. Seven family configurations were represented in both family structures (*Friend*, *In-law*, *Brother*, *Sister*, *Kinship*, *Beanpole*, *Nuclear)* and two family configurations were only representative of the stepfamily structure (*Without partner,* which included the former partner and excluded the current partner, and *Post-divorce,* which included the former partner, the current partner, and their relatives). In this study on personal configurations, we also found *Nuclear-oriented*, *Parents-based*, *Siblings-based* and *Kinship-based* configurations. We also obtained two types with a high proportion of friendship ties, *Partner and buddies-oriented* and

Female friends and children-oriented configurations. Nevertheless, the *Beanpole* type was missing in our typology, as grandparents and grandchildren were seldom mentioned. In contrast, we have another type based on non-kin ties outside friendship, *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. In the MOSAiCH study devoted to discussion partners, one type also encompassed the work sphere and, accordingly, was named *Professional* (Viry, 2012). Similarly in Pahl and Spencer's typology (2004), one type was named *Professional based.* In summary, friendship and kinship ties are very significant in family and personal configurations, especially partners, children, parents, and siblings, whereas other non-kinship ties, especially related to work, are only prominent in personal configurations.

After having introduced the most cited ties and the related typology of personal configurations, we have to assess to what extent the likelihood of citing a specific tie depends on its availability in the demographic reservoir. For instance, some individuals may not be able to cite their parents because they are deceased, while others may choose not to cite them. The demographic reservoir refers to the kinship ties which are given by blood and alliance principles. It provides a latent web of kinship linkages. Mortality and birth rates, marriage and divorce rates directly influence this demographic reservoir. For instance, the coexistence of several cohorts is a recent phenomenon due to the human lifespan lengthening. The demographic reservoir was created by collecting demographic information on the respondents' kinship linkages. Questions were asked to assess the presence of partners, children, parents, siblings, grandchildren as well as stepchildren and ex-partners, and, when accurate, the number of such ties. For instance, respondents had to answer whether their mothers were still alive and to indicate the number of sisters if any. Regarding stepfamily ties, it was asked whether the children were born within the current union or whether they had another biological parent (mother or father) to measure the presence of ex-partners,[37] and whether the current partner had children from previous unions to measure the presence of stepchildren. Dummy variables were then created to measure whether respondents had those ties available (e.g., having a mother alive: yes or no; having at least one sister: yes or no; etc.).

Table 15 shows the demographic reservoir. Eighty-five percent of the respondents currently had a partner, either married or not, cohabiting or not. Seventy-eight percent of the respondents had children; 58% had at least one daughter and 57% had at least one son. In 64% of the cases the mothers were still alive, while the fathers were still alive in fewer cases (47%). Ninety percent of the respondents had siblings; 68% had at least one sister and 66% had at least one brother. Regarding grandchildren, only 18% of the respondents had any. Finally, regarding

37 Only the information on the first child was used to assess the presence of an ex-partner.

stepfamily ties, 18% of the respondents had an ex-partner who was the mother or the father of at least their first child and 12% had stepchildren from their current relationships.

The demographic reservoir is related to the birth cohort. Indeed having parents alive strongly depended on the birth cohort. Only two fifths of the respondents of the older cohort still had a mother and only one fifth a father, whereas 89% of respondents of the younger cohort still had a mother and 80% a father. Grandchildren were almost exclusively to be found in the older birth cohort. Finally, more respondents of the older birth cohort had an ex-partner than respondents of the younger birth cohort.

Table 15: Distribution of individuals having specific kin ties in their demographic reservoir in the full sample (frequency and percentage) and by birth cohort (percentage and χ2-tests) (n=786)

	Total		1950-1955	1970-1975	χ2
	n	%	%	%	
Having a partner	668	85.0	81.6	88.7	7.1**
Having at least one child	611	77.7	79.5	75.8	n.s.
Having at least one daughter	454	57.8	61.6	53.5	4.9*
Having at least one son	447	56.9	57.2	56.5	n.s.
Having at least a parent	557	71.2	48.4	96.7	219.7***
Having a mother	503	64.1	41.8	88.9	187.0***
Having a father	363	46.8	17.8	79.7	294.6***
Having at least a sibling	718	91.7	91.3	92.1	n.s.
Having at least one sister	519	66.2	67.6	64.6	n.s.
Having at least one brother	533	68.0	70.0	65.7	n.s.
Having at least one grandchild	139	17.7	32.9	0.8	136.0***
Having an ex-partner	142	18.3	23.5	12.5	15.1***
Having at least one stepchild	94	12.0	13.8	9.9	n.s.

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05 ; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Having a demographic reservoir does not automatically mean that those relationships are perceived as significant. Table 16 shows for the respondents who had those kinship ties available in their demographic reservoir the percentage of respondents citing and not citing them as significant. Dummy variables were created to measure whether respondents mentioned those ties (e.g., mentioning a mother: yes or no; mentioning at least one sister: yes or no; etc.). Eighty-two percent of the respondents who were in a couple mentioned their partner. Nevertheless one fifth did not consider the partner a significant person. Slightly more than one half of the respondents who had children mentioned them (55%), while slightly less than one half did not (45%). The fact that

children came in second position after partners is worth highlighting. Indeed, we would expect children to be mentioned in the first place as it is a tie created by blood. In contrast, alliance between partners often terminates as divorce rate indicates it. Two explanations may shed light on this result. First, there may be a difference in the perception of young children and adult children. Individuals may rather choose adults as significant alters, meaning that young children would be less mentioned than adult children. Second, cohabiting in the same household creates functional interdependencies, and co-resident individuals are likely to become significant alters. In Switzerland, as in many other European countries, the welfare state enhances individuals' autonomy and decreases the need for family functional solidarity. When adult children move out from the family nest and gain their own functional autonomy, they may become less directly significant in everyday interactions and are therefore not automatically considered significant alters.

After the family of procreation (partners and children), the family of orientation (parents and siblings) was unequally mentioned. Mothers were mentioned by two fifths of the respondents and fathers by one third. Sisters (28.9%) and brothers (21%) were often considered as significant alters. Grandchildren were not perceived as very important (8%). Finally, ex-partners were mentioned by only 8% of the respondents. In a study especially devoted to stepfamilies, female respondents mentioned their ex-partner (the biological father of at least one child) in only 42% of the cases when asked about their significant family members (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer et al., 2012). Despite a different name generator, our result shows the precarious position of ex-partners.

Table 16: Distribution of the kinship ties cited among the respondents who have them available in their demographic reservoir (percentage) (n=786)

	Cited	Not cited	Total
Having a partner (n=668)	82.0	18.0	100
Having at least one child (n=611)	55.0	45.0	100
Having at least one daughter (n=454)	53.3	46.7	100
Having at least one son (n=447)	53.2	46.8	100
Having at least a parent (n=557)	44.3	55.7	100
Having a mother (n=503)	40.8	59.2	100
Having a father (n=363)	34.2	65.8	100
Having at least a sibling (n=718)	31.2	68.8	100
Having at least one sister (n=519)	28.9	71.1	100
Having at least one brother (n=533)	21.0	79.0	100
Having at least one grandchild (n=139)	7.9	92.1	100
Having an ex-partner (n=142)	7.7	92.3	100
Having at least one stepchild (n=94)[38]	11.7	88.3	100

Logistic regressions were then performed to measure the impact of birth cohort, sex, level of education and nationality on the chances of citing each of those kinship ties for respondents who had them available in their demographic reservoir (see Table 17). Respondents belonging to the younger birth cohort were more likely to mention their partner and their mother, less their children. The lower tendency to mention children may be due to the younger age of the children as we previously hypothesized it. Women were less likely to mention their partner and brothers, more their children, especially daughters, and more their mother and sisters. The fact that women feel closer to other female family members, mothers, sisters or daughters, highlights the prominent role of women in family relationships. Level of education and nationality globally did not impact the chances of mentioning family members.

38 For respondents who had at least one stepchild, we actually look at the likelihood of citing at least one stepfamily member, as we used the coding in 20 categories (see Section 2.2).

Table 17: Impact of the social structure variables on citing specific kinship ties among the respondents who have them available in their demographic reservoir, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Partner	Daughter	Son	Mother	Father	Sister	Brother	Stepchild	Grandchild	Ex-partner
(Intercept)	*5.151****	*1.231*	*1.353†*	*0.368****	*0.381***	*0.261****	*0.334****	*0.131****	*0.055****	*0.020****
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-1955)										
1970-1975	1.603*	0.460***	0.547**	1.582*	1.181	1.064	1.228	1.368	0.000	1.903
Gender (ref: men)										
Women	0.641*	1.797**	1.472†	1.608*	1.304	2.470***	0.577*	0.800	1.587	4.634
Level of education (ref: vocational school)										
Lower secondary	0.617	0.795	0.758	0.979	0.850	0.571†	0.894	0.000	1.214	1.432
Upper secondary	1.060	0.418*	0.814	1.447	2.017†	0.861	1.896	0.867	1.565	3.053
Tertiary	1.014	0.865	0.865	1.409	1.454	1.140	0.629	0.272	3.854	0.000
Nationality (ref. Swiss)										
Foreigner	0.722	1.271	0.896	0.794	0.630	0.824	0.948	3.742	0.575	0.568
AIC	627.7	609.1	614.6	670.3	466.5	610.2	548.0	74.5	88.0	76.3
R2	0.034	0.075	0.040	0.041	0.031	0.059	0.035	0.147	0.046	0.166

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05 ; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

We assess the impact of demographic and social structure constraints on personal configurations by including the demographic reservoir as well as the social structure variables in a set of logistic regressions (see Table 18). Having children, daughters and sons, was more associated with *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and less with *Parents-based* configurations. Having parents, mothers and fathers, was more associated with *Parents-based* configurations and less with *Siblings-based* configurations, while having sisters and brothers was more associated with *Siblings-based* configurations. Furthermore, having a partner was associated with *Parents-based* configurations. Therefore, we can acknowledge the constraints imposed by demographic reservoirs. Nevertheless, personal configurations go beyond demographic constraints, since they are not a simple reproduction of them.

Beside the demographic reservoir, other socio-demographic factors had an impact on the personal configurations. Birth cohort only had an impact on the chances of developing two types of configurations. Belonging to the younger birth cohort was associated with *Parents-based* configurations, whereas belonging to the older birth cohort was associated with *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. Women were more likely to develop *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations and men *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations. Men were also slightly more numerous to be found in *Alone* configurations. Regarding the level of education, individuals with a lower secondary education were slightly less associated with *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations and slightly more associated with *Alone* configurations. In contrast individuals with a tertiary education developed more *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations and less *Kinship-based* configurations. Finally, having a foreign nationality was negatively associated with *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations.

Table 18: Impact of the demographic reservoir and social structure variables on personal configurations, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Female friends and children-oriented	Partner and buddies-oriented	Parents-based	Siblings-based	Nuclear-oriented	Kinship-based	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Alone
(Intercept)	*0.383**	*0.000*	*0.005****	*0.132****	*0.000*	*0.379†*	*0.214**	*0.149**
Demographic reservoir (having the following kinship ties available)								
Daughters	1.126	0.821	0.571*	0.861	2.079***	0.832	0.727	1.036
Sons	1.169	0.746	0.595*	0.513*	2.136***	0.513*	1.961*	1.356
Mother	1.252	1.151	4.848**	0.551*	1.205	0.430*	0.760	0.925
Father	1.159	0.969	3.238**	0.463*	0.697	1.192	1.340	0.504
Sisters	0.706†	1.060	0.772	3.071***	1.325	0.904	0.842	0.392*
Brothers	1.101	0.565*	0.755	2.599**	1.508†	0.549*	0.867	0.521
Partner	0.203***	16394830.963	6.252**	0.558†	31364799.905	0.806	0.509	1.053
Grandchildren	1.434	1.519	1.138	0.599	0.849	0.855	0.568	1.507
Stepchildren	1.142	0.670	1.076	1.576	1.068	1.078	0.365	1.106
Ex-partner	1.427	1.770	0.942	0.466†	0.877	0.759	1.207	1.100
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-1955)								
1970-1975	0.946	0.838	2.150*	2.309*	0.786	0.986	0.302**	0.938
Gender (ref: men)								
Women	3.097***	0.135***	1.216	1.082	0.772	1.468	0.624	0.472†
Level of education (ref: vocational school)								
Lower secondary	0.536†	1.069	0.520	0.655	1.322	1.258	2.265	2.886†
Upper secondary	1.212	0.851	0.975	1.028	0.717	0.775	1.476	1.721
Tertiary	1.388	1.188	1.098	0.392*	0.836	0.398*	4.082***	0.000
Nationality (ref. Swiss)								
Foreign	1.463	1.654	1.019	0.653	0.806	1.076	0.236*	1.029
AIC	756.5	451.2	479.8	517.5	729.2	438.3	369.1	254.3
R2	0.187	0.219	0.289	0.175	0.204	0.087	0.157	0.146

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Main findings and discussion

Personal relationships are relationships that matter. Individuals through their social participation are embedded in many social fields and interact with a wide range of people. However, when considering significant alters, we reach the core of personal life. We are interested in meaningful relationships which contribute to individual identity and sense of belonging. Personal relationships are composed of both kinship and non-kinship ties. Considering first kinship ties given by the demographic reservoir, it is to be noted that some kinship relationships are more invested than others in Western contemporary societies. One relationship is above all others, the couple. In contemporary Swiss society the couple is the most invested relationship. Correlatively, the family of procreation is significantly invested as children are also pointed out to be major components of personal networks. It confirms the importance of the lineal organization of contemporary Western societies (C. L. Johnson, 2000) as well as the centrality of the conjugal bond (de Singly, 1996). Other relationships matter less, for instance siblings. Indeed, relationships to siblings are voluntary-based and only few individuals really rely on them (Cicirelli, 1995; White, 2001; Widmer, 1999b). Family and kinship roles are often carried out by women who play a key role in maintaining and fostering family ties. Female respondents were more likely to mention daughters, mothers and sisters. Women are often considered as the main kin-keepers (Adams, 1970; Hagestad, 1992). The fact that even ascribed ties are differentially invested and need to be "achieved" through meaningful interactions confirm that personal networks are not the exact translation of the demographic reservoir, as other studies also demonstrated it (De Carlo et al., 2014). However, it is important to take into account the demographic constraints set by this latent web of kinship linkages as older birth cohorts are less likely to have parents alive and more likely to have independent adult children.

Personal relationships are not limited to kinship as friends have become more important in contemporary Western societies and sometimes even endorse "family-like" roles because of the suffusion process (Pahl & Spencer, 2004). Friends represent a good share of personal relationships. They came in third position, after partners and children, in similar proportion to mothers. They were ahead of fathers and siblings. Nevertheless, when looking at the rank, they occupied lower ranks.

Seven types of personal configurations based on the type of tie were found, the eighth type being composed of empty networks. Configurations including kin ties were prominent. Nevertheless two configurations were strongly based on non-kin ties, one on friends and the other on colleagues. Furthermore one configuration, *Partner and buddies-oriented*, was clearly based on both types of ties. The partner does belong immediately to kinship even if, depending on the process of institutionalization of the couple (Cherlin, 1978, 2004), partners may be more or less integrated

in the kinship circle. Similar results were found in other Swiss surveys based on the same instrument. No matter the main orientation of the configuration, partners were always central figures. In addition, there was always a small group of individuals emphasizing friendship and mostly organizing their sociability around them. Even in strictly family configurations, there were configurations oriented towards friends, the *Friendship* type for 6% of the university students (Widmer, 2006), and the *Friend* type for 12% in the study on first-time and stepfamilies (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer et al., 2012). The professional type in contrast only appeared in surveys based on personal configurations in general, such as the *Professional* type for 9% in MOSAiCH (Viry, 2012). In conclusion, there is a diversity of personal configurations, but this diversity is somewhat limited as it can be reduced to eight meaningful personal configurations.

3.2 Characteristics of significant relationships

In this section, we investigate the specificities of the relationships linking the respondents and their significant alters regarding a series of characteristics and consider whether and to what extent they vary between kin and non-kin. We theoretically discuss subjective and objective dimensions of the relationships such as degree of closeness, tie strength, and frequency of contact. We then present our results for six relationship characteristics related to definition of family membership, degree of trust, duration, co-residence history, frequency of dyadic contact, and interaction among network members.

In the previous section, we investigated the type of tie and underlined that partners were mentioned in first position, closely followed by children. In this section, we put under scrutiny the characteristics of the relationships linking egos and their significant alters. Those relationships have subjective as well as objective characteristics. In the very definition of the network members there was already a subjective criterion as the term "important" was subjected to the respondents' own perception. However, it is possible to introduce further subjective criteria, such as the degree of closeness. The degree of closeness or even the meaning of closeness is difficult to assess (Ben-Ari, 2012). The degree of closeness has been studied with concentric circles. Thus, respondents had to place their alters in three different concentric circles according to their degree of closeness, the most important persons being located in the inner circle (Kahn & Antonucci, 1980). In a survey on the family and community life of older people in England, alters located in the inner circle were found to be mostly kin and especially children (Phillipson, Bernard, Phillips, & Ogg, 1998).

The degree of trust is another indicator of the quality of the relationship. Overall, trust has been shown to be a very important component of social relationships as it enhances information sharing, security feelings, well-being, civic participation, etc. (De Carlo, 2014; Putnam, 2000). The degree of trust is often high in personal networks, as they are composed of the significant alters. In a survey on first-time and stepfamilies in Switzerland, the mean degree of trust was found to be very elevated, between high and absolute trust (Widmer et al., 2012). Nevertheless, the degree of trust varies according to various dimensions, such as the type of tie, the frequency of contact or reciprocity (De Carlo & Widmer, 2011). Parents, friends and partners were considered the most trustworthy in the same survey (Widmer et al., 2012).

The relationship between the egos and their alters may differ in terms of *tie strength* (Granovetter, 1973). Tie strength is defined by four dimensions: amount of time, emotional

intensity, intimacy, and reciprocal services. Those dimensions allow us to distinguish stronger ties from weaker ties. Relationships to colleagues are more likely to be emotionally distant, whereas relationships to kin are more likely to be emotionally close. Nevertheless, according to this perspective, the relationship is best defined by the strength of the tie and not by the type of tie. Social influence is exerted through four mechanisms, social learning, social pressure, social contagion, and social support, but its actual impact, for instance on family formation, specifically depends on tie strength (Keim, Klärner, & Bernardi, 2013). The amount of time may refer to the duration of the relationship as well as the frequency of contact. Most significant relationships are likely to be based on long-lasting and regular contact. Similarly, in Canada, four dimensions were found to describe personal communities, namely immediate kinship or friendship, contact, range, and intimacy (Wellman, 1999). All those dimensions refer to some extent to past and present shared experiences which have made those relationships become significant. Concerning this idea of shared experiences, another dimension is worth mentioning, the co-residence history, as co-residence creates functional dependency.

Finally, considering a person as family goes beyond objective definitions based on blood and alliance principles. As discussed in the previous section, kin and non-kin roles are to some extent blurring (Pahl & Spencer, 2004) and this process goes along with more flexible definitions of family membership. Therefore, considering someone as family may indicate a feeling of closeness rather than an objective family bond. In a survey on first-time and stepfamilies in Switzerland, Widmer and his colleagues found that many friends were considered as family and fully included in family configurations (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer et al., 2012). In Portugal, family membership was also attributed to various non-kin, highlighting the changing meanings of family definition and personal relationships (Wall & Gouveia, 2014).

The definition of closeness, as well as of significance, importance, intimacy or proximity, relies on subjective feelings and one may wonder to what extent their definition varies from person to person. Other more objective criteria can counterbalance them, such as the frequency of contact, or the actual exchanges of services or goods. Nevertheless, objective dimensions may overestimate casual daily interactions with neighbors and colleagues and overshadow meaningful but less frequent relationships with a friend who has moved to another city for instance. In most cases, subjective and objective dimensions reinforce each other and therefore often coincide.

In summary, as the definition of family membership has a subjective dimension, some non-kin relationships such as friends will be perceived as family, whereas some kin relationships

will not. Secondly, the dimensions of the relationships will vary depending on the type of tie. High degree of trust, short relationship duration, co-residence history, frequent contacts, and high density of interaction among network members will be more common in personal configurations based on partners and children in comparison with personal configurations based on more distant kinship members, friends, and colleagues.

Empirical results

As we want to understand the specificities of relationships regarded as significant, we considered six characteristics, two more subjective, the definition of the relationship as family-like as well as the degree of trust, and four more objective, the relationship duration, the co-residence history (being a former or present co-resident), the frequency of dyadic contact between respondents and alters, either face-to-face or by other means, and interaction among network members. We systematically computed indicators for each of the 755 configurations, representing the average characteristic of their alters. For instance, if someone had three alters in her/his network, known for respectively 20, 30 and 40 years, the relationship duration for her/his network was 30 years.

In the previous section, we discussed the fact that the boundaries between family and friendship relationships are become more blurred for some individuals. Therefore, we systematically asked the respondents whether they considered each alter they mentioned as family or not. 69% of the alters were perceived as family members. Table 19 indicates the distribution of alters by type of tie and the percentage of ties which were considered as family members and not. Partners, when mentioned as significant, were systematically considered as family members (98.4%). Children were most of the time considered as family members, respectively 89.1 % of sons and 86.5% of daughters. Siblings were considered as family members in similar proportion, 86.2% of brothers and 84.7% of sisters. Surprisingly, one fifth of the parents were not considered family members. We believe that respondents who excluded them had a very narrow definition of their family, limiting it to either their partner or to the nuclear family and the household. Other kin ties were often perceived as family members, with the lowest proportion for grandchildren, children-in-law, and siblings-in-law and the highest proportion for collaterals. For those individuals, family boundaries were broader and encompassed ties belonging to the extended kinship as long as they were perceived as significant. Finally, friendship ties were sometimes perceived as family. Female friends were more often considered as family members (25.8%) than male friends (12%). As female friends were more often mentioned by women, it indicates that women had a more

inclusive definition of family membership, easily including their closest friends. That could be explained by the fact that friendship has been shown to play different roles for women and men, women being oriented towards intimacy and men towards joint activities (Aukett, Ritchie, & Mill, 1988). Colleagues were clearly excluded from the family definition (4.4%). This diversity in the definition of family boundaries stretching from a focus on the partner to the inclusion of friends reflects other findings. A survey on first-time and stepfamilies showed a wide array of definitions going far beyond family structures (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer et al., 2012).

It should be noted that we also coded the ties as either kin when there was a blood or alliance connection or non-kin for other cases[39] to investigate whether scientific coding matched individuals' subjective definition of family membership. Based on our coding, 71.7% of the alters were defined as kin. Mismatch appeared at two levels. In 11.8% of the cases, we assumed a kin tie, while respondents did not, whereas in 20.3% of the cases the opposite happened. This mismatch between scientific coding and subjective definition of family membership underlines the importance of avoiding pre-constructed categories when investigating personal life. It also highlights that subjective definition is more inclusive and goes beyond blood or alliance principles.

39 "Non-kin" for ex-partners, godparents, godchildren, friends, employees, colleagues, employers, landlords, and other persons (cf. Table 5).

Table 19: Distribution of alters by type of tie (frequency and percentage) and distribution of alters perceived as family members by type of tie (percentage)

	Total		Perceived as family members (%)			
Type of tie	n	%	Yes	No	NA	Total
Partners	548	18.6	98.4	1.6	0.0	100
Daughters	348	11.8	86.5	13.5	0.0	100
Sons	340	11.6	89.1	10.9	0.0	100
Female friends	364	12.4	25.8	73.6	0.5	100
Mothers	208	7.1	81.7	18.3	0.0	100
Male friends	301	10.2	12.0	87.7	0.3	100
Sisters	176	6.0	84.7	15.3	0.0	100
Fathers	127	4.3	78.7	21.3	0.0	100
Brothers	138	4.7	86.2	13.8	0.0	100
Colleagues	91	3.1	4.4	95.6	0.0	100
Collaterals	73	2.5	94.5	5.5	0.0	100
Others non-kin	48	1.6	25.0	75.0	0.0	100
Siblings-in-law	43	1.5	69.8	30.2	0.0	100
Ex-partners	30	1.0	76.7	23.3	0.0	100
Parents-in-law	32	1.1	75.0	25.0	0.0	100
Stepfamily members	25	0.8	84.0	16.0	0.0	100
Grandchildren	18	0.6	61.1	38.9	0.0	100
Children-in-law	17	0.6	64.7	35.3	0.0	100
Fictive kin	10	0.3	70.0	30.0	0.0	100
Grandparents	6	0.2	100.0	0.0	0.0	100
Total	2943	100.0				

The degree of trust is an indicator to investigate to what extent relationships to significant alters are based on feelings of trust. Some authors consider trust an indicator of social capital (Putnam, 2000). Respondents could indicate the degree of trust on a scale from 1 (no trust at all) to 5 (absolute trust) for all their significant alters aged over six.[40] The mean of trust by network was very high, 4.51 and there were very few respondents having low trust (0.4%), medium degree of trust (0.8%) or even high degree of trust (9.4%). Most respondents had either absolute trust (42.4%) or very high trust (46.9%).

40 We had information on trust for 2833 alters (110 missing answers or not applicable).

We measured the mean relationship duration by network.[41] It ranged from 0 (a few months) to 61 years with a mean of 30.2 and a standard deviation of 10.3. The scope was quite large. Some alters were known from birth, while others had just been met, for instance a new friend or a newborn. Nevertheless, the mean was high, indicating the importance of duration in fostering significant relationships. Interestingly, we only had seven respondents having a mean relationship duration under 10 years, among them one male respondent only mentioning his partner whom had less than one year earlier (mean relationship duration of 0). It underlines that significant alters are more often selected among long-term relationships which have been tested over the long run.

We computed the proportion of former and present co-residents by network.[42] The respondents mostly indicated significant alters with whom they currently lived or had previously lived with (65%). More than one third of the networks were composed only of former and present co-residents, a fact that underlines the importance of having lived together.

The frequency of dyadic contact indicates whether significant relationships rely on regular and sustained interaction. We measured how much contact the respondents had on average with their significant alters, either face-to-face or by other means (i.e. phone calls, chats, mails, Skype, etc.). Therefore, using a scale ranging from 0 (no contact) to 5 (every day),[43] we summed up the results and divided the sum by the size of the network to obtain the mean frequency of dyadic contact by network. The mean of face-to-face contact, 3.36, was quite high. The mean of contact by other means reached 2.89. Most respondents had on average weekly face-to-face contact with their significant alters (54%) (see Table 20). However, while 14% of the respondents had daily contact, 8.2% of them almost never met them.

Table 20: Distribution of face-to-face contact and contact by other means by network (percentage)

	Daily	More than once weekly	Once weekly	Monthly	Yearly-Never	Total
Face-to-face contact	14.0	21.2	32.8	23.7	8.2	100
Contact by other means	6.4	17.5	29.0	28.1	19.1	100

41 Duration of the relationship was indicated for 2,933 alters (10 missing answers). Among the 2,943 alters, the relationship duration ranged from 0 (a few months) to 61 years with a mean of 30.7 and a standard deviation of 14.7.

42 Co-residence was indicated for 2,942 alters (1 missing answer). Among the 2,942 alters, 62.2% of them were former or present co-residents.

43 Scale: 0 - no contact, 1 - several times per year, 2 - several times per month, 3 - once a week, 4 - several times a week, 5 - every day. Among the 2,943 alters, we had 8 missing answers for face-to-face contact and 38 for contact by other means.

After this overview of the main features of the significant relationships, we further investigated those five characteristics across personal configurations (see Table 21). The shortest duration of relationship was found in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. The highest mean proportion of alters who were present or former co-residents and of alters perceived as family members was found in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and the lowest in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. *Nuclear-oriented* configurations were, not surprisingly, the ones with the highest mean of face-to-face contact, whereas *Siblings-based* configurations had the lowest mean. Trust was high in configurations implying the partner (*Partner and buddies-oriented*) and low in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. Those results emphasize how much *Nuclear-oriented* configurations are based upon daily interaction in a shared household.

Table 21: Characteristics of the relationships across personal configurations – Mean by personal configurations, F-tests

	Female friends and children-oriented	Partner and buddies-oriented	Kinship-based	Parents-based	Nuclear-oriented	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Siblings-based	Mean	F-test
Duration	31.18	28.32	31.12	32.29	25.03	35.41	39.22	30.89	27.03***
Prop. of co-residents	0.51	0.65	0.46	0.76	0.86	0.37	0.74	0.65	38.35***
Prop. of as family members	0.62	0.66	0.80	0.77	0.86	0.41	0.75	0.71	20.98***
Face-to-face contact	3.05	3.81	3.02	3.21	4.07	3.14	2.76	3.29	28.65***
Contact by other means	2.89	3.17	2.67	2.95	2.94	2.62	2.77	2.86	1.83†
Trust	4.40	4.70	4.37	4.64	4.61	4.12	4.54	4.48	9.82***

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Logistic regressions were performed to analyze to what extent personal configurations along with social structure variables have an impact on the relationship characteristics (see Table 22). Since the distribution was not normal, but squeezed to the right, indicators were dichotomized in order to yield two contrasted and equivalent subgroups.[44] *Nuclear-oriented* configurations were used as the reference category as they represented the well-known type of the family of procreation. In comparison with other personal configurations, *Nuclear-oriented* configurations were more likely to be composed of alters who were present or former co-residents, and who were perceived as

44 They were dichotomized by the mean, save the degree of trust by network dichotomized between 1 (absolute trust) and 0 (other degrees of trust).

family members. The duration of the relationship was more likely to be shorter in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations than in other personal configurations. All configurations were less associated with face-to-face contact in comparison with *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. The duration of the relationship was especially long in *Siblings-based* configurations. *Kinship-based* configurations were less associated with contact. Trust feelings were lower in *Professional and non-kin-oriented*, *Female friends and children-oriented* and *Kinship-based* configurations.

Obviously, individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort had a shorter duration of relationship. They also had more face-to-face contact than their elders. The level of education also appeared to matter, since respondents with a high education (upper secondary and tertiary) were less involved in face-to-face contact with their alters. Individuals with lower levels of education were more likely to develop networks composed of alters perceived as family members. Respondents with lower secondary education show a higher degree of trust than respondents with a vocational education. Regarding contact by other means, women were more associated with it than men. Maintaining and fostering family relationships is a role that is often carried out by women. Calling or writing for instance are means to "do" family and are privileged by women, as this result indicates. Finally, foreigners living in Switzerland tended to mention alters who were present or former co-residents.

Table 22: Impact of personal configurations on the relationships' characteristics, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Long duration	High proportion of co-residents	High proportion of family members	Frequent contact face-to-face	Frequent contact by other means	Absolute trust
(Intercept)	*0.647 **	*4.462 ****	*3.091 ****	*3.492 ****	*1.031*	*1.076*
Personal configurations (ref: Nuclear-oriented)						
Female friends and children-oriented	4.314 ***	0.093 ***	0.235 ***	0.135 ***	0.830	0.480 **
Partner and buddies-oriented	1.316	0.155 ***	0.257 ***	0.413 **	1.471	1.257
Kinship-based	2.395 **	0.070 ***	0.527 †	0.154 ***	0.503 *	0.587 †
Parents-based	14.793 ***	0.625	0.482 *	0.121 ***	0.964	0.880
Professional and non-kin-oriented	4.743 ***	0.052 ***	0.042 ***	0.220 ***	0.578 †	0.142 ***
Siblings-based	23.595 ***	0.403 **	0.385 **	0.080 ***	0.637 †	0.838
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-1955)						
1970-1975	0.124 ***	1.172	1.014	2.388 ***	1.012	0.879
Gender (ref: men)						
Women	0.909	1.061	1.264	1.034	1.398 *	0.931
Level of education (ref: vocational school)						
Lower secondary	0.999	1.565	2.042 *	0.980	1.287	2.330 **
Upper secondary	1.074	0.885	0.524 *	0.460 *	1.068	0.736
Tertiary	0.858	0.932	0.954	0.506 **	0.977	0.892
Nationality (ref. Swiss)						
Foreign	1.323	1.756 *	1.371	0.759	1.366	1.164
AIC	837.8	867.5	934.4	918.0	1036.9	987.3
R2	0.345	0.294	0.186	0.235	0.041	0.100

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

In addition to the frequency of dyadic contact measured between the respondents and her/his alters, considered separately, we are interested in the interaction among all network members, respondents included. It is a move beyond dyadic relationships to encompass structural interdependencies.

Regarding interaction, the mean density was quite high (0.73). The most densely connected personal configurations were the *Nuclear-oriented* configurations (see Table 23). It should be remembered that *Nuclear-oriented* configurations also had the highest mean of dyadic face-to-face contact. Centralization and centrality showed opposite tendencies as their means (0.24) were much lower than the mean density. Two configurations were quite centralized, globally and

around the respondents, the *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations (0.38 and 0.37) and the *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations (0.33 and 0.34). In fact these were the two configurations with non-kin members involved. Transitivity was at its highest in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and lowest in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. The mean of weak components was 1.31, the smaller number being attained by *Nuclear-oriented* configurations (1.18) and the greater number by *Siblings-based* configurations.

Table 23: Structural interdependencies of interaction – Mean by personal configurations, F-tests

	Female friends	Partner and buddies	Kinship -based	Parents-based	Nuclear-oriented	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Siblings -based	Mean	F-test
Network Size (with ego)	*4.85*	*3.73*	*6.08*	*5.11*	*4.89*	*5.31*	*4.76*	*4.96*	*8.28****
Density	0.69	0.80	0.74	0.72	0.84	0.67	0.66	0.73	7.78***
Centralization	0.33	0.20	0.21	0.18	0.14	0.38	0.25	0.24	7.85***
Centrality of Ego	0.34	0.18	0.21	0.18	0.13	0.38	0.24	0.24	9.35***
Transitivity	0.71	0.85	0.79	0.83	0.87	0.69	0.72	0.78	6.74***
Weak components	1.29	1.24	1.34	1.38	1.18	1.22	1.53	1.31	2.36*

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Main findings and discussion

Regarding the subjective definition of family membership, the couple was at the heart of the family definition, as partners, when mentioned as significant, were always considered family members. Among kin, with the exception of the partner, most ties were not systematically qualified as family-like. We believe that some individuals strictly limited their definition of family membership to the nuclear family. Nevertheless, this narrow definition was not the norm, as other individuals had a more inclusive definition. For instance, respondents who mentioned collaterals as significant alters certainly did so because they considered them family. Interestingly, some respondents were even more inclusive in their definition, as they qualified as family-like some significant alters not related by blood and alliance. Among non-kin, female friends were the most frequently included in the family unit, while this was almost never the case for professional ties. The importance of female friends for women has also been pointed out in a study on first-time and stepfamilies (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer et al., 2012). Nevertheless, in most cases, friendship was not assimilated to family. This is worth pointing out since, in Portugal, friends, when mentioned as significant, were frequently assimilated to family (Wall & Gouveia, 2014). Those findings confirm the first hypothesis about the subjective dimension of family definition.

Networks of significant alters were composed of trustworthy members, known for a long time, often former or present co-resident, and with a high frequency of dyadic contact as well as high density of interaction in the configurations. Those results highlight the fact that those relationships were actually strong ties (Granovetter, 1973). They also underscore the importance of shared experiences and contact over time and until now. In spite of the overall high scores, these tendencies varied among kin and non-kin. Personal configurations oriented towards the nuclear family presented particularly high scores on all dimensions as they fulfilled both expressive and instrumental functions, related to sharing the same household. At the opposite end of the spectrum, personal configurations oriented towards the work sphere presented low scores. The second hypothesis is confirmed, as the type of tie induces significant variation.

3.3 Alters' characteristics: between homogeneity and heterogeneity

This section is concerned with homophilous mechanisms which underlie and shape social relationships leading to mostly homogeneous networks. Nevertheless, for some dimensions, heterophilous mechanisms compete with homophilous mechanisms, leading to more diversity. Indeed, there is variation, in particular according to the type of tie. After a theoretical overview, we investigate alters' demographic information and relate it to the egos in order to assess the degree of homogeneity versus heterogeneity regarding various characteristics. We are especially interested in social proximity based on education and socio-economic position. We also pay attention to dissimilarities and to the differences between kin and non-kin.

Individuals tend to have homophilous relationships. Homophily refers to the principle that "birds of a feather flock together" and means that individuals have a preference for associating with individuals sharing similar characteristics (Bidart, Degenne, & Grossetti, 2011; Blau, 1977; Lozares Colina et al., 2011; McPherson et al., 2001). This mechanism leads to social networks with high degrees of homogeneity. Two types of homophily are generally distinguished: value homophily and status homophily (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). Value homophily includes the wide variety of internal states presumed to shape our orientation towards future behavior. Status homophily encompasses the major socio-demographic dimensions that stratify society. There are ascribed characteristics such as ethnicity (or "race" in the American literature), sex, and age and acquired characteristics such as religion, education, occupation, and behavior patterns. Besides homophily, other mechanisms may explain network homogeneity. There is the segregation of everyday lives into different domains, which reduces opportunities to meet individuals sharing dissimilar characteristics in the first place. Moreover, there is a tendency to reciprocate friendships (reciprocity) or to befriend the friends of friends (triadic closure or transitivity) which function as balancing mechanisms amplifying the homogeneity effects of homophily (Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). Ethnicity is the biggest divide in social networks in the United States for instance (McPherson et al., 2001). However, when disentangling the effects of homophily based on ethnic characteristics (i.e. "racial homophily" in American literature), mechanisms of balancing, like propinquity based on co-residence, and homophily regarding other categories (such as having the same "elite" background or coming from the same states) have been revealed to influence the tie formation process (Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). Therefore, the causes of network homogeneity are various. McPherson et al. (2001) point out five: geographical proximity, family ties, organizational foci – such as school, work and voluntary associations (Feld, 1981) –, isomorphic sources, and cognitive processes.

Homophily has been studied in all types of relationships, from very close to more distant ones. With regard to personal relationships, a tendency towards homophily has been revealed for the confidants with whom "important matters are discussed" (Marsden, 1987, 1988). Considering homophily, family ties have several interesting characteristics as they sometimes promote homophilous relationships on some dimensions and heterophilous relationships on others. Marriage or partnership between heterosexual individuals creates heterophilous sex ties. The presence of several generations enhances heterophilous age ties, since parents and adult children are likely to be close to each other. Because education achievement varies from cohort to cohort, kinship ties tend to introduce educational and class heterogeneity, whereas marriages and partnerships are mostly homophilous on these dimensions (Kalmijn, 1998). On other dimensions, such as ethnicity and religion family ties favor homophily.

In summary, significant alters will be chosen based on similarity regarding geographical and social proximity and, to a lesser extent, regarding "ethnic" proximity. However, similarity does not apply to sex and age. Indeed, family relationships are based upon the balance between women and men and upon intergenerational relationships. Concerning occupational, educational and "ethnic" homogeneity, respondents will rather choose alters sharing same characteristics. As kin ties enhance heterophily, personal configurations composed of kin ties will be more heterogeneous, while personal configurations composed mostly of non-kin ties will be more homogeneous. As partners are mostly chosen based on homophily, personal configurations centered on the partner will be more homogeneous as well.

Empirical results

In the previous section, we concluded that some ties were more prominent, namely partners, children, friends, parents, and siblings, and that significant relationships were generally perceived as family, even for some friends, lasted for a long time, often included co-residence history, and were sustained by frequent contact and a high degree of trust. We also noted that personal configurations were rather small with a mean size of 3.9. Nevertheless, considering all alters together, they were no fewer than 2,943. Individuals tend to have relationships with other individuals sharing similar characteristics, which we refer to as the tendency towards homophily. In this section, we characterize the alters regarding various socio-demographic indicators and relate them to personal configurations. We collected information about the following socio-demographic characteristics: sex, country of residence, age, level of education, and occupational activity. It is

important to pay close attention to alters' characteristics as they are potential assets when they possess cultural and economic capital for instance.

Among the 2,943 alters, there were 1,347 men (45.8%) and 1,596 women (54.2%). More than ninety percent of the alters lived in Switzerland (92.01%).[45] The age of the alters[46] ranged from 0 (a few months old) to 97 with a mean of 44.66 and a standard deviation of 19.61. The level of education was calculated for alters aged 25 and above.[47] The educational level of all network members were codified using the 23-level scale used in the European Social Survey (ESS) (see Section 2.1). The mean level of education of alters was 12.73 and the median 12, which is equivalent to vocational training on a scale ranging from 1 (primary school not achieved) to 23 (PhD). Using the same four-point scale as for the respondents, 63.83% of alters had a vocational education, 19.04% tertiary education, 9.85% low secondary education, and 7.28% upper secondary education. The high percentage of alters with a vocational education is consistent with the distribution of the level of education of the respondents (64% of the respondents having a vocational education). The occupational activity of all network members was coded using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). Based on the ISCO classification, we computed the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) (Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992). We used the first level of ISCO classification (3 digits) including only 6 ISEI scores (0.25, 0.34, 0.38, 0.49, 0.51, 0.67);[48] the higher the score the better the socio-economic position. The mean ISEI of the alters was 0.49 with a standard deviation of 0.13.[49]

Drawing on those characteristics, we further assessed to what extent respondents had similar alters regarding occupation, education and "ethnicity". Indeed, individuals have a tendency to choose similar significant alters. Drawing upon the work of Lozares and his collaborators (2011), we show tendencies towards homophily and heterophily using contingency tables in which homophily corresponds to being associated with alters belonging to the same group, while heterophily corresponds to being associated with alters belonging to other groups.

45 The information was missing for 51 alters. Among the 231 alters who were not living in Switzerland, 45.89% were living in neighboring countries (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, or Lichtenstein).

46 Age was indicated for 2,924 alters (19 missing answers). The minimum was 0, 1st quartile 32, median 43, mean 44.66, 3rd quartile 60 and maximum 97.

47 Education was indicated for 2,604 alters (339 missing answers or not applicable). We additionally dropped the 199 alters aged under 25 and ended up with information on education for 2,405 alters aged at least 25.

48 ISEI score 0.67 (Professional, technical and related workers, Administrative and managerial workers); ISEI score 0.51 (sales workers); ISEI score 0.49 (Clerical and related workers); ISEI score 0.38 (Service workers); ISEI score 0.34 (Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers); ISEI score 0.25 (Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters).

49 The ISEI score was calculated for 2250 alters with available data (693 missing answers or not applicable). The minimum was 0.25, 1st quartile 0.38, median 0.49, mean 0.49, 3rd quartile 0.67 and maximum 0.67.

Concerning occupation, we considered all the alters divided into six groups according to their ISEI scores (in rows) and the egos similarly divided into six groups (in columns) (see Table 24). The columns indicate the number of cases, the percentage, the adjusted percentage, and the residuals for each group of alters by each group of egos. The total of each column is 100%. The percentages seen in the rows represent the distribution of a specific group of alters (the group indicated in a given row) by each group of egos. The total of each row does not sum up to 100%. The last column indicated the total number of each group of alters and its total is 100%. The adjusted percentage are obtained by subtracting from the cell percentage the total row percentage in order to make fairer comparisons between groups with different distributions. Residuals indicate whether a category is under- or over-represented, statistically estimating the difference between the empirical value and an estimated value (based on the $\chi 2$-test). Residuals lower than -2 indicate under-representation and higher than 2 over-representation.

Most respondents were associated with alters having the same ISEI score; the diagonal (in bold) was highly significant, indicating homophily with the exception of the group of egos having a ISEI score of 0.51. This group was not associated with any particular group of alters and therefore did not indicate either homophily or heterophily. The two other groups of egos with high ISEI score (0.67 and 0.49) were particularly homophilous. The group with the highest ISEI score was even significantly not associated with most of the other groups emphasizing its impermeability. In contrast, the three groups with lower ISEI scores (0.25, 0.34, and 0.38) were heterophilous as well, since they were also associated with other groups. For instance egos with a ISEI score of 0.25 were also associated with alters having a ISEI score of 0.51, egos with a ISEI score of 0.34 were also associated with alters having a ISEI score of 0.38, and egos with a ISEI score of 0.38 were also associated with alters having a ISEI score of 0.51.

Table 24: Occupational homophily based on ISEI scores between egos and alters, frequency, percentage, adjusted percentage, and residuals (n=1856)

Alters		***Egos***						
		0.25	0.34	0.38	0.49	0.51	0.67	Total
Score 0.25 *(Agricultural workers)*	n	21	16	14	9	6	17	83
	%	26.2	4.5	6.4	1.9	3.3	3.2	4.5
	adj. %	21.7	0.0	1.9	-2.6	-1.2	-1.3	
	res	**9.2**	0.0	1.4	-2.7	-0.7	-1.4	
Score 0.34 *(Production workers)*	n	14	121	45	67	31	46	324
	%	17.5	33.8	20.6	13.8	17.1	8.6	17.5
	adj. %	0	16.3	3.1	-3.7	-0.4	-8.9	
	res	0.0	**7.4**	1.1	-1.9	-0.1	-4.9	
Score 0.38 *(Service workers)*	n	10	64	54	53	29	53	263
	%	12.5	17.9	24.8	10.9	16	9.9	14.2
	adj. %	-1.7	**3.7**	10.6	-3.3	1.8	-4.3	
	res	-0.4	1.9	**4.2**	-1.9	0.7	-2.6	
Score 0.49 *(Clerical workers)*	n	8	68	43	162	44	138	463
	%	10.0	19.0	19.7	33.3	24.3	25.9	24.9
	adj. %	-14.9	-5.9	-5.2	8.4	-0.6	1.0	
	res	-2.7	-2.3	-1.5	**3.7**	-0.2	0.4	
Score 0.51 *(sales workers)*	n	17	38	32	55	30	48	220
	%	21.2	10.6	14.7	11.3	16.6	9.0	11.9
	adj. %	9.3	-1.3	2.8	-0.6	4.7	-2.9	
	res	2.4	-0.7	1.2	-0.3	**1.8**	-1.9	
Score 0.67 *(Professional and managerial workers)*	n	10	51	30	140	41	231	503
	%	12.5	14.2	13.8	28.8	22.7	43.3	27.1
	adj. %	-14.6	-12.9	-13.3	1.7	-4.4	16.2	
	res	-2.5	-4.7	-3.8	0.7	-1.2	**7.2**	
Total	n	80	358	218	486	181	533	1856
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	**100**

We replicated the same procedure concerning the level of education for alters aged 25 and over. We considered all the alters divided into four groups according to their level of education (in rows) and the egos similarly divided into four groups (in columns). Table 25 shows the number of cases, the percentage, the adjusted percentage, and the residuals. Respondents were associated with alters having the same level of education, as the diagonal (in bold) was highly significant indicating homophily. The group of egos with a tertiary education was associated to a lower extent with the group of alters with an upper secondary education. No other group showed heterophilous tendencies. Homophily was stronger when considering education than occupation.

Table 25: Educational homophily based on level of education between egos and alters, frequency, percentage, adjusted percentage, and residuals (n=2390)

Alters		***Egos***				
		1-Lower Secondary	2-Upper secondary	3-Vocational	4-Tertiary	Total
1-Lower Secondary	n	65	22	132	20	239
	%	31.7	12.9	8.8	3.9	10
	adj. %	21.7	2.9	-1.2	-6.1	
	res	**9.8**	1.2	-1.5	-4.5	
2-Upper secondary	n	10	24	89	52	175
	%	4.9	14.1	5.9	10.1	7.3
	adj. %	-2.4	6.8	-1.4	2.8	
	res	-1.3	**3.3**	-2.0	2.3	
3-Vocational	n	118	86	1134	184	1522
	%	57.6	50.6	75.5	35.8	63.7
	adj. %	-6.1	-13.1	11.8	-27.9	
	res	-1.1	-2.1	**5.8**	-7.9	
4-Tertiary	n	12	38	146	258	454
	%	5.9	22.4	9.7	50.2	19
	adj. %	-13.1	3.4	-9.3	31.2	
	res	-4.3	1.0	-8.2	**16.2**	
Total	n	205	170	1501	514	2390
	%	100	100	100	100	**100**

Concerning “ethnic” homophily, we did not ask about the country of origin of the alters, but about the country of present residence. Nevertheless, the country of residence of the alters provides useful information. We have already pointed out that 92.01% of the alters lived in Switzerland and that egos with foreign nationality had a lower proportion of alters living in Switzerland in their networks. It is therefore interesting to further investigate whether the foreign background of egos matched the country of residence of their alters. Instead of using foreign nationality, we used egos’ country of birth to contrast it with alters’ country of residence. We considered all the alters divided into ten geographic regions (in rows) and the egos similarly divided into ten geographic regions (in columns). Table 26 shows the number of cases, the percentage, the adjusted percentage, and the residuals. As for occupation and education, the diagonal was quite significant. With the exception of Oceania, egos tended to have alters living in their country of origin. As stated, unfortunately, we did not have information on the country of birth of the alters and we therefore could not further document to what extent egos chose alters who lived in Switzerland, but who shared the same origin. Other Swiss studies have investigated how communities integrate

into Swiss society and sometimes function as small islands. Our findings also confirm a tendency towards “ethnic” homophily.

Table 26: “Ethnic” homophily based on country of birth of egos and alters, frequency, percentage, adjusted percentage, and residuals (n=2881)

Alters		***Egos***										
		Switzerland	Southern Europe	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Northern Europe	Asia	Latin America and the Caribbean	Africa	North America	Oceania	Total
Switzerland	n	2136	202	120	23	18	79	33	22	20	4	2657
	%	97.2	85.2	63.8	67.6	52.9	84.0	80.5	78.6	87.0	100.0	92.2
	adj. %	5.0	-7.0	-28.4	-24.6	-39.3	-8.2	-11.7	-13.6	-5.2	7.8	
	res	**2.4**	-1.1	-4.1	-1.5	-2.4	-0.8	-0.8	-0.8	-0.3	0.2	
Southern Europe	n	17	27	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	48
	%	0.8	11.4	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	7.1	0.0	0.0	1.7
	adj. %	-0.9	9.7	-1.2	-1.7	-1.7	-1.7	0.7	5.4	-1.7	-1.7	
	res	-3.2	**11.6**	-1.2	-0.8	-0.8	-1.3	0.4	2.3	-0.6	-0.3	
Western Europe	n	23	7	59	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	95
	%	1.0	3.0	31.4	5.9	5.9	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3
	adj. %	-2.3	-0.3	28.1	2.6	2.6	-1.2	-3.3	-3.3	-3.3	-3.3	
	res	-5.8	-0.3	**21.2**	0.8	0.8	-0.6	-1.2	-2.0	-0.9	-0.4	
Eastern Europe	n	1	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
	adj. %	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	23.2	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	
	res	-2.2	-0.9	-0.8	**24.2**	-0.3	-0.5	-0.4	-0.3	-0.3	-0.1	
Northern Europe	n	4	0	2	1	13	1	0	0	0	0	21
	%	0.2	0.0	1.1	2.9	38.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
	adj. %	-0.5	-0.7	0.4	2.2	37.5	0.4	-0.7	-0.7	-0.7	-0.7	
	res	-3.0	-1.3	0.5	1.5	**25.6**	0.4	-0.6	-0.5	-0.4	-0.2	
Asia	n	5	0	2	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	17
	%	0.2	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	10.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
	adj. %	-0.4	-0.6	0.5	-0.6	-0.6	10.0	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6	
	res	-2.2	-1.2	0.9	-0.5	-0.5	**12.7**	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.2	
Latin America and the Caribbean	n	3	1	0	0	1	1	7	0	0	0	13
	%	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	2.9	1.1	17.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
	adj. %	-0.4	-0.1	-0.5	-0.5	2.4	0.6	16.6	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	
	res	-2.2	-0.1	-0.9	-0.4	2.2	0.9	**15.9**	-0.4	-0.3	-0.1	
Africa	n	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	7

	%	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.2
	adj. %	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	14.1	-0.2	-0.2	
	res	-1.0	-0.8	-0.7	-0.3	-0.3	-0.5	-0.3	**15.1**	-0.2	-0.1	
North America	n	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	10
	%	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	13	0.0	0.3
	adj. %	-0.1	-0.3	0.2	-0.3	-0.3	0.8	-0.3	-0.3	12.7	-0.3	
	res	-1.0	-0.9	0.4	-0.3	-0.3	1.2	-0.4	-0.3	**10.3**	-0.1	
Oceania	n	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	%	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	adj. %	-0.1	-0.1	1.5	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	
	res	-1.2	-0.6	5.4	-0.2	-0.2	-0.4	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	**-0.1**	
Total	n	2198	237	188	34	34	94	41	28	23	4	2881
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	**100**

After this focus on the characteristics of 2,943 alters, we come back to the network level. We computed a single indicator for each of the 755 configurations, representing the average characteristic of their alters. For instance, if someone has four alters in her/his network, three women and a man, all living in Switzerland, the proportion of women in her/his network is 75% and the proportion of alters living in Switzerland is 100%.

On average, personal networks were composed of 56% women members (see Table 27). 13.9% of the networks were composed uniquely of women, while 5.6% uniquely of men, meaning that one fifth (19.5%) of the networks were gendered-focused. Another quarter (21.3%) had exactly the same proportion of female and male significant alters. On average, personal networks had 92% of their members living in Switzerland. Less than one percent of the networks was composed only of people living outside Switzerland.

Table 27: Proportion of female alters and alters living in Switzerland by network (n=755)

	0%	1-49%	50%	51-99%	100%	Total
Proportion of female alters *(0 NA)*	5.6	26.2	21.3	33.0	13.9	100
Proportion of alters living in Switzerland *(5 NA)*	0.9	3.2	4.7	9.2	82.0	100

On average, personal networks had a mean age of 44.84 with a standard deviation of 12.85 (2 NA), underlining that significant alters were more often selected among adults. On average, personal networks had a mean education level of 12.44 with a standard deviation of 4.13

(19 NA), corresponding to vocational school. When recoding the mean level of education in four categories, we obtained: vocational school 61.3%, upper secondary education 20.2%, tertiary education 13.6%, and lower secondary education 4.9%. The proportion of networks only reaching a low secondary education is thus quite low. Finally, on average, personal networks had a mean ISEI of 0.49 with a standard deviation of 0.10.[50]

The characteristics of the alters by network were then investigated across personal configurations (see Table 28). The highest mean proportion of alters living in Switzerland was found in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and the lowest in *Parents-based* configurations, certainly indicating parents living abroad in the country of origin for migrant respondents. The lowest mean age of the alters was found in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and the highest in *Parents-based* configurations. This difference is easily explained since, in the first case, children's age decreased the mean, while, in the second case, parents' age increased the mean. The highest mean level of education and the highest mean ISEI score were found in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations, showing that individuals who were highly educated and held a good socio-economic position selected alters sharing similar educational background and socio-economic positions. In contrast, the lowest mean level of education and mean ISEI were found in *Siblings-based* configurations, closely followed by *Kinship-based* configurations, emphasizing that different criteria prevail for kin.

Table 28: Characteristics of the alters by networks across personal configurations – Mean by personal configurations, F-tests

	Female friends and children-oriented	Partner and buddies-oriented	Kinship -based	Parents-based	Nuclear-oriented	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Siblings-based	Mean	F-test
Prop. of female alters	0.59	0.55	0.59	0.51	0.54	0.52	0.58	0.56	3.283**
Prop. of alters living in Switzerland	0.90	0.93	0.90	0.88	0.97	0.94	0.91	0.92	3.506**
Age	44.65	48.64	46.16	51.98	35.05	50.01	48.75	44.84	32.695***
Education	12.86	12.87	11.79	12.23	11.99	14.26	11.77	12.44	3.283**
ISEI	0.50	0.48	0.46	0.51	0.48	0.52	0.45	0.49	4.098***

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

50 25 NA

Logistic regressions were performed to analyze to what extent personal configurations along with social structure variables have on impact on the characteristics of alters. Since the distribution was not normal, but squeezed to the right, indicators were dichotomized by the mean in order to yield two contrasted and equivalent subgroups. Personal configurations were associated with characteristics of alters (see Table 29). *Nuclear-oriented* configurations were used as the reference category as they represented the well-known type of the family of procreation.

In comparison with other personal configurations, *Nuclear-oriented* configurations were more likely to be composed of younger alters who lived in Switzerland. Age was especially high in *Parents-based* configurations due to the presence of intergenerational ties. *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations were less associated with a high proportion of women and more associated with a high level of education than *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. Individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort had networks composed of younger alters. Women were more likely to have networks composed of older alters and more highly educated alters. Women were not associated with a higher proportion of female alters and men with a lower one as one could expect. As we previously mentioned it, family relationships enhance heterophily with regard to gender (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). Individuals with lower levels of education had alters with a lower level of education and a lower ISEI score, whereas alters of more highly educated individuals had on average a higher level of education and a higher ISEI score. Finally foreigners living in Switzerland had fewer alters living in Switzerland.

Table 29: Impact of personal configurations on alters by networks, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	High proportion of women	High proportion of alters living in Switzerland	Older (age)	High level of education	High ISEI Score
(Intercept)	*0.944*	*27.616 ****	*0.336 ****	*0.388 ****	*1.013*
Personal configurations (ref: Nuclear-oriented)					
Female friends and children-oriented	1.423	0.531 †	5.090 ***	1.477	0.951
Partner and buddies-oriented	0.600 †	0.488	10.925 ***	1.318	0.925
Kinship-based	1.445	0.226 **	3.728 ***	0.952	0.633
Parents-based	0.713	0.274 **	61.537 ***	1.228	1.132
Professional and non-kin-oriented	0.494 *	0.223 **	5.638 ***	2.154 *	1.106
Siblings-based	1.143	0.262 **	10.783 ***	1.013	0.487 *
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-1955)					
1970-1975	0.791	1.211	0.107 ***	0.862	0.772
Gender (ref: men)					
Women	0.920	0.809	2.010 ***	1.491 *	1.178
Level of education (ref: vocational school)					
Lower secondary	1.221	1.068	0.714	0.162 ***	0.253 ***
Upper secondary	0.695	0.469 †	1.304	1.247	2.878 **
Tertiary	1.620 *	0.454 **	1.816 *	4.580 ***	6.357 ***
Nationality (ref. Swiss)					
Foreign	0.969	0.097 ***	0.686	1.187	1.362
AIC	1030.6	590.6	787.8	895.5	892.8
R2	0.051	0.270	0.408	0.197	0.219

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Drawing on those characteristics, we further assessed in more detail to what extent personal configurations were homogeneous or heterogeneous regarding occupation and education. We computed two dichotomous indicators revealing homogeneity or heterogeneity within personal configurations. Concerning occupation, we first computed six variables based on the ISEI scores indicating whether the respondents had at least one alter with each of these six scores.[51] Second, when all alters had the same ISEI score and when there were only two different scores which were directly following each other (0.67 and 0.51 or 0.34 and 0.25 for instance), the network was defined as homogeneous. In other cases, characterized by more diversity, the network was defined as

51 The distribution was the following: 47.5% respondents had at least one alter with a score of 0.67, 28.4% with a score of 0.51, 47.2% with a score of 0.49, 32.5% with a score of 0.38, 36.3% with a score of 0.34, and 9.5% with a score of 0.25.

heterogeneous. Considering valid cases (n=730), we obtained two groups: 43.7% of the networks were occupationally homogeneous and 56.3% of them were occupationally heterogeneous.

We recoded the level of education into seven categories.[52] We first computed seven variables based on this categorization indicating whether the respondents had at least one alter with each of these seven levels of education.[53] Second, when all networks members belonged to the same category, the network was defined as homogeneous. In other cases characterized by at least two different levels of education, the network was defined as heterogeneous. Considering valid cases (n=755), we obtained two groups: 42.5% of the networks were educationally homogeneous and 57.5% of them were educationally heterogeneous.

We then observed the distribution by personal configurations (see Table 30). *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations were much more homogeneous than other configurations regarding both occupation and education. *Parents-based* configurations were particularly heterogeneous regarding education.

Table 30: Occupational and educational homo-/heterogeneity in personal configurations

	Occupational Homogeneity (n=730)	Educational Homogeneity (n=755)
Personal Configurations	%	%
Female friends and children-oriented	44.1	42.6
Partner and buddies-oriented	60.0	68.3
Kinship-based	32.8	41.5
Parents-based	37.8	22.4
Nuclear-oriented	51.5	40.8
Professional and non-kin-oriented	36.5	40.0
Siblings-based	31.5	46.2
	$\chi 2$: 23.3995***	$\chi 2$: 39.3431***

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

52 Recoding: primary education (1-2), low secondary education (3-4), medium secondary education (5), upper secondary education (6-10), vocational education (11-16), applied tertiary education (17-18), and university tertiary education (19-23). It should be noted that alters are considered without any filter by age.

53 The distribution was the following: 27.1% of the respondents had at least one alter with a university tertiary education, 11.3% with an applied tertiary education, 84.8% with a vocational education, 17.1% with upper secondary education, 4.7% with a medium secondary education, 18.6% with a low secondary education and 13.4% with a primary education.

Main findings and discussion

The hypotheses regarding the consequences of homophilous and heterophilous mechanisms and how they vary according to the type of personal configurations were confirmed. The development of networks is the result of multiple social mechanisms and, in particular, homophily (Bidart et al., 2011; Blau, 1977; Lozares Colina et al., 2011; McPherson et al., 2001). The characteristics of the significant alters show that they are chosen on the basis of similarity regarding geographical proximity (living in Switzerland), social proximity (similar education levels and ISEI scores) and, to a lesser extent, "ethnic" proximity. Indeed, individuals are more likely to be bound with other individuals holding similar socio-economic positions. Education in particular is a strong structuring factor of relationships. Our results on "ethnic" proximity have limited scope, as they were based on the country of residence of alters, because the survey did not include a question on the country of origin of the alters. Contrary to the United States, for instance, where ethnicity is a hot topic and has been qualified as the biggest divide in that society and in personal networks (McPherson et al., 2001), this issue is less present in the Swiss political debate. Nevertheless, more attention should be paid to it, as there are many foreign communities in Switzerland and their integration is a growing concern. In studies concerned with this issue, segregation, at least partial and temporary, is often pointed out (Lozares Colina et al., 2011; Lubbers et al., 2010).

Educational and occupational homogeneity within configurations was found to be particularly high in configurations based on partners and friends and heterogeneity particularly high in configurations based on parents. Partners and friends are met in specific social settings gathering people mostly sharing similar characteristics (leisure activities vary according to the social position) and are chosen on the basis of similar tastes, values, style, and opinions – characteristics also related to social position (Bourdieu, 1979). It leads to homogamy among partners (Kalmijn, 1998) and homophily among friends and, consequently, homogeneity in personal networks. In that regard, personal networks may be a source of support, comfort, and well-being, but do not magically give access to all sorts of diversified resources. However, in kinship relationships, there are also mechanisms promoting heterophily such as partnering (gender heterophily), the coexistence of generations (age heterophily), etc. (Kalmijn, 1998). Indeed, as predicted, similarity was not found for sex and age.

3.4 Instrumental support, emotional support and social capital

This section is devoted to the issue of resources produced by personal networks such as instrumental and emotional supports. The concept of social capital is discussed and two kinds of social capital, bonding and bridging, are introduced. Empirically, we present the dyadic exchanges of instrumental support between the respondents and their alters as well as the exchanges of emotional support among all network members. We examine to what extent the mechanisms of exchanges vary according to the type of personal configurations.

There are various types of capitals that increase or decrease over the life course. Different classifications have been suggested to define the most relevant types of capitals. Bourdieu (1979) distinguished three types, economic, cultural, and social, as well as a fourth type, the symbolic capital related to social recognition. Individuals are socially positioned according to the quantity of the three types of capital they possess. However, depending on the social fields, the most valued capital differs and, with it, individuals' social position. For instance, in academia, cultural capital is highly valued, while, in business, economic capital prevails. O'Rand (2006) has suggested four other types: human, social, health, and personal capitals. The capital in common with Bourdieu's typology is social capital. Social capital is widely necessary, as it is used in all social fields. Some authors are more specific, suggesting the use of more specific concepts such as marital capital which is a kind of social capital stemming from joint networks of couples (Kalmijn, 2003). Thus, we are interested in social capital as personal networks produce such social resources. Nevertheless, the focus on social capital should not conceal the importance of economic and cultural capitals, as individuals are socially positioned by the possession of them and, as discussed in the previous section, further interact with similar individuals, emphasizing the effects of the possession or, in contrast, the lack of economic and cultural capitals.

Social capital has been conceptualized in various sometimes contradictory ways and it has become difficult to understand what this concept actually means and how to use it (Portes, 2000). In particular, Putnam (2000) made an extensive use of this concept, making it possible to speak of the "stock" of social capital possessed by communities and even nations. Thus, social capital became an umbrella concept encompassing distinct behaviors such as civicness, social integration, trust, participation, etc. (Portes, 2000). However, coming back to its original meaning, social capital remains a fruitful concept. Indeed, Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) focused on the benefits accruing to individuals or small groups such as families by virtue of their social ties

with others. Bourdieu (1986) conceptualized social capital as resources stemming from the possession of a durable social network of mutual acquaintance or recognition. Personal relationships embedded in personal networks provide necessary resources to individuals. The resources directly or indirectly embedded in social networks (such as information, influence, status, emotional comfort and instrumental support) serve as social capital which the individual may further invest in or draw on when needed (Lin, 1999). However, the concept of social capital is not equivalent to the concept of social resources, as it is also a source of social control through network closure for instance (Coleman, 1988).

Social capital embedded in networks of personal relationships depends on the network's structure or, in other words, on the presence or absence of relationships between network members. In ego-centered networks, it is possible to collect information on dyadic support (support exchanged between egos and their alters taken separately) or to reconstruct all the exchanges of support among network members (egos included) in a sociometric perspective as has been done in communities and groups (Kriesi & Jegen, 2001; Padgett & Ansell, 1993). Some individuals may develop well connected networks in which everyone knows everyone and exchanges support. Other individuals may rather develop separated and independent subgroups, the exchange of support mostly taking place within those subgroups. Those two different relational structures have implications for the social capital which is being developed. Social capital stemming from the network structure has been conceptualized as twofold, bonding and bridging social capitals, by scientists inspired by the network approach (Burt, 1995, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973; Widmer, 2006, 2010).[54] Bonding social capital stems from dense networks composed of strong ties which are defined as long-lasting, intimate, multi-task connections with a high frequency of contacts among the persons involved (Granovetter, 1973). Strong ties tend to create dense networks in which most if not all individuals are interconnected. This situation enhances expectations, claims, obligations, and trust among them because of the increase in the collective nature of normative control (Coleman, 1988). If any network member fails to conform to the others' expectations, s/he is likely to have several other network members jointly react against this situation. Bridging social capital stems from brokerage opportunities within the network structure. The weaker connections between subgroups of a network create relational holes in the structure which provide some persons – brokers – with opportunities to mediate the flow of information between group members and hence control the projects that bring them together (Burt, 2002). Some individuals benefit from holes in networks in

54 This distinction between bonding and bridging social capitals is different from that suggested by Putnam (2000), who distinguishes between two forms of social capital: bonding (or exclusive) capital, which is more inward-looking and has a tendency to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups, and bridging (inclusive) capital, which is more outward-looking and encompasses people from different groups.

being intermediaries between other, otherwise unconnected, individuals. Burt (1995) argues that inclusion in dense networks of strong ties may be detrimental to individuals, as they are associated with a lack of autonomy due to the collective interference of network members, a pressure towards conformity due to redundant sources of information and social homogeneity, and therefore an inability to adapt to the changing conditions of modern life. We must note, however, that bridging social capital requires a personal investment in time, energy and sociability necessary to create and maintain discrepant personal connections. Bonding and bridging social capitals do not develop equally, depending on family contexts. For instance, family configurations including friends, stepfamily ties and in-laws are associated with bridging social capital, while family configurations based on conjugal and blood ties are associated with bonding social capital (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer et al., 2012). Therefore composition of the personal networks on one hand and social capital produced by the relationships within the personal networks on the other hand are of major concern to understand social integration in contemporary societies.

Several principles and mechanisms underlie exchanges and the enactment of social capital. Reciprocity is certainly the most important principle. Favors, such as services, goods, advice, are freely given without any direct payment, but need to be returned in the form of other favors. Anthropologists have studied the mechanisms of gift exchange, emphasizing the act of free donation creating a social bond between giver and receiver and a moral obligation to reciprocate (Mauss, 2007 [1923-24]). Those exchanges are outside the formal market with prices in money, but are governed by culturally grounded informal norms. The principle of reciprocity implies not only exchanges of goods, but exchanges of services. Welfare states have decreased the need for some types of exchanges by providing various facilities, for instance in the field of care. Nevertheless, even when facing institutionalized help, recipients may feel the need to reciprocate and give small gifts to the social workers, as researchers interested in the assistance system have revealed (Ossipow, Lambelet, & Csupor, 2008). Reciprocity happens over time and sometimes a favor will be returned much later in another form. This is the case for intergenerational solidarity. Reciprocity is mostly unspoken, but normatively expected, and individuals who fail to comply may be excluded from further exchanges. Thus, reciprocity tends to be high in personal networks. Another mechanism is transitivity. As introduced in Section 2.2, transitivity implies that my friends' friends are likely to become my friends because individuals tend to balance their relationships (Heider, 1958; Killworth & Bernard, 1976; Kumbasar, Rommey, & Batchelder, 1994). The tendency of networks to develop by progressively including their friends' friends lead to personal networks characterized by high transitivity.

To sum up, first, dyadic exchanges of instrumental support between the respondents and their alters will follow norms of reciprocity. Intergenerational exchanges between parents and adult children will be particularly likely. Secondly, concerning personal configurations, exchanges of emotional support among network members will be widespread and follow norms of reciprocity and transitivity leading to many interconnections. Personal configurations composed of kin ties will develop more bonding social capital, while personal configurations composed of non-kin ties will develop more bridging social capital.

Empirical results

Dyadic instrumental support was investigated through three kinds of support: financial, material and care supports. Financial support encompasses lending or giving money, inheritance or donation, offering partnership or passing on a business, giving a house or land. Material support encompasses giving clothes and food, helping to buy furniture and appliances, helping with housing (hosting or lending a house). Care support encompasses helping with the housework, helping in situations of illness, taking care of people, errands, helping in small repairs at the house, transport of people. It was asked whether the respondents received or gave those three kinds of support to their network members. Partners and children aged under 25 were excluded because such exchanges are linked to the simple fact of sharing a common household. Therefore, in order to measure such exchanges, it was necessary to eliminate cases which did not meet this criterion. Table 31 shows the distribution of the alters outside and inside the nuclear family. Four fifths of the respondents had at least one alter outside the nuclear family. The last fifth was divided into respondents with partner and children aged 25 years and above (5.7%), with partner and children under 25 (5.8%), with only partner (4.2%), with only children aged 25 years and above (1.6%) and with only children under 25 (0.9%). We kept all respondents who had at least one network member outside the nuclear family, and, regarding respondents entirely focused on the nuclear family, we kept those who had at least one child aged 25 or above. Around one tenth of the networks was then removed.

Table 31: Distribution of the alters outside and inside the nuclear family (n=755)

	n	%
Categories included		
At least one alter outside the nuclear family	617	81.7
Nuclear family with children >= 25	43	5.7
Only children >= 25	12	1.6
Categories excluded		
Only partner	32	4.2
Nuclear family with children < 25	44	5.8
Only children < 25	7	0.9
Total	755	100.0

Receiving instrumental support and giving instrumental support followed similar patterns (see Table 32). Overall one third of the respondents were involved in receiving or giving at least one of the three kinds of support to their alters. Care support was the most common, whereas financial and material support were more exceptionally received and given.

Table 32: Distribution of dyadic instrumental support among those who actually could receive or give it (n=672)

	n	%
Receiving at least one of the three	213	31.7
Receiving financial support	69	10.3
Receiving material support	77	11.5
Receiving care support	176	26.2
Giving at least one of the three	227	33.8
Giving financial support	78	11.6
Giving material support	101	15.0
Giving care support	188	28.0

The concept of reciprocity implies that individuals who give support also receive support at some point and individuals who receive support also give support at some point. Giving and receiving do not need to be simultaneous, but reciprocity occurs over time. In other words, personal relationships tend to be reciprocal rather than unidirectional. Indeed, among the 272 respondents involved in such instrumental exchanges, 61.8% were indeed involved in reciprocal exchanges, while 21.7% were only support providers and 16.5% only support recipients (see Table 33), showing that reciprocity was prominent. When investigating within each kind of exchanges, other patterns emerged. Reciprocity was very low for financial support (13.1%), medium low for

material support (32.6%), and high for care support (65.5%). Giving or receiving financial support implies that the recipient is in a situation of need without the possibility of returning the same kind of support. Consequently some reciprocity is less expected, but reciprocity can take place in other kinds of support as the general pattern of reciprocity indicates.

Table 33: Distribution of reciprocity among those who actually exchanged dyadic instrumental support

	n	%
Exchanges overall	272	100
Reciprocity overall	168	61.8
Provider overall	59	21.7
Recipient overall	45	16.5
Exchanges in financial support	130	100
Reciprocity in financial support	17	13.1
Provider of financial support	61	46.9
Recipient of financial support	52	40.0
Exchanges in material support	135	100
Reciprocity in material support	44	32.6
Provider of material support	58	43.0
Recipient of material support	33	24.4
Exchanges in care support	220	100
Reciprocity in care support	144	65.5
Provider of care support	44	20.0
Recipient of care support	32	14.5

While looking at the distribution of instrumental support across the personal configurations, several results can be pointed out (see Table 34). Receiving and giving care support are quite common across all configurations. Receiving and giving instrumental support overall was especially high in *Parents-based* configurations. This tendency was especially true for receiving financial support, but not for giving financial support. The configurations with the highest mean of giving financial support were the *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. These facts are congruent with other findings pointing out that economic transfers mostly go from the parent generation to the adult children generation (Bonvalet & Ogg, 2007). Configurations exclusively composed of non-kin ties, *Professional and non-kin-oriented* and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations, were involved in instrumental support. While financial support was less common, it did happen, indicating that non-kin ties may be mobilized if needed under certain circumstances. The process of suffusion has not equally penetrated all kinds of instrumental support, confirming Allan's claim

about the remaining specificity of kin ties (2008), care being the most widespread kind of instrumental support.

Table 34: Indicators of instrumental support – Mean by personal configurations, F-tests

	Female Friends	Partner and buddies	Kinship-based	Parents-based	Nuclear-oriented	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Siblings-based	Mean	F-test
Receiving at least one of the three	0.32	0.20	0.37	0.54	0.19	0.31	0.28	0.32	6.39***
Receiving financial support	0.10	0.06	0.11	0.27	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.10	6.37***
Receiving material support	0.13	0.08	0.18	0.23	0.05	0.04	0.06	0.11	4.87***
Receiving care support	0.28	0.16	0.31	0.39	0.16	0.31	0.24	0.26	3.28**
Giving at least one of the three	0.32	0.20	0.37	0.54	0.19	0.31	0.28	0.32	6.39***
Giving financial support	0.13	0.02	0.12	0.06	0.18	0.09	0.13	0.10	2.15*
Giving material support	0.16	0.08	0.17	0.13	0.20	0.16	0.10	0.14	1.20
Giving care support	0.25	0.14	0.34	0.39	0.27	0.38	0.20	0.28	3.01**

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

We performed a set of logistic regressions on receiving and giving instrumental support (see Table 35). In *Parents-based* configurations receiving and giving support overall was higher than in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. Money, goods and services were very frequently received by individuals in such configurations, showing intergenerational solidarity, downward and upward as well. *Kinship-based* configurations were also associated with receiving support (overall, material and care) and with giving support overall. Those kinship members considered as significant have proved their support. *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations showed similar tendencies like *Kinship-based* configurations, including for financial support. The younger birth cohort was positively associated with receiving material support and negatively with giving financial and material support. This aspect underlines that intergenerational solidarity tends to be more downward at younger ages. Finally, respondents with a foreign nationality were slightly less associated with receiving and giving overall support than Swiss respondents.

Table 35: Impact of personal configurations on instrumental support, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Receiving support	Receiving financial	Receiving material	Receiving care	Giving support	Giving financial	Giving material	Giving care
(Intercept)	*0.227***	*0.048***	*0.042***	*0.168***	*0.227***	*0.212***	*0.239***	*0.355***
Personal configurations (ref: Nuclear-oriented)								
Female friends and children-oriented	1.913*	2.318†	2.348†	1.859*	1.913*	0.691	0.765	0.906
Partner and buddies-oriented	1.020	1.013	1.163	0.981	1.020	0.115*	0.415	0.514
Kinship-based	2.439*	2.494	3.990**	2.258*	2.439*	0.661	0.796	1.354
Parents-based	4.329***	6.238***	3.433*	2.803**	4.329***	0.509	0.801	1.848†
Professional and non-kin-oriented	1.665	0.833	0.606	2.01†	1.665	0.444	0.659	1.498
Siblings-based	1.584	1.341	1.107	1.582	1.584	0.737	0.465†	0.705
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-1955)								
1970-1975	1.232	1.616	2.403**	1.221	1.232	0.313***	0.559*	0.818
Gender (ref: men)								
Women	1.083	0.628†	0.792	1.192	1.083	1.305	1.368	1.443†
Level of education (ref: vocational education)								
Lower secondary	0.936	1.220	1.470	1.101	0.936	1.361	1.363	1.094
Upper secondary	0.797	1.340	1.020	0.666	0.797	1.046	0.543	0.501†
Tertiary	1.266	0.898	1.607	1.479	1.266	1.435	1.302	1.254
Nationality (ref. Swiss)								
Foreign	0.644†	1.223	0.722	0.681	0.644†	1.577	1.066	0.552*
AIC	816.9	426.3	459.8	764.6	816.9	468.1	570.5	783.1
R2	0.082	0.117	0.112	0.056	0.082	0.099	0.048	0.066

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Besides dyadic exchanges of instrumental support, emotional support is often received and given in personal networks. Perceived emotional support has often been used as a measure of social capital (Lochner, Kawachi & Kennedy, 1999). It refers to the ability to provide guidance and moral comfort. The structural interdependencies measure the ways in which respondents and alters are connected to each other and the presence of bonding and bridging social capital. Several indicators are used to describe those structural interdependencies: size, density, centralization, centrality, transitivity, and weak components. High density and high transitivity indicate the presence of bonding social capital, while high centralization, high centrality, and a great number of weak components indicate the presence of bridging social capital. Those measures were presented in Section 2.2. Table 36 shows those measures for emotional support in the full network and the in- and out-neighborhoods across the personal configurations. As a reminder, emotional support in-

neighborhoods refer to the set of people who received support from the respondents and emotional support out-neighborhoods refer to the set of people who gave support to the respondents.

The network size henceforth included the respondents because they are part of the interdependencies. The larger personal configurations were the *Kinship-based* configurations (6.08) and the smaller the *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations (3.73). In between, there were *Professional and non-kin-oriented* (5.31), *Parents-based* (5.11), *Nuclear-oriented* (4.89), *Female friends and children-oriented* (4.85), and *Siblings-based* (4.76) configurations.

Regarding emotional support in the full networks, the mean density of emotional support (0.60) was not as high as the mean density of interaction (see Section 3.2). *Partner and buddies-oriented* as well as *Nuclear-oriented* configurations had a high mean density (reciprocally 0.70 and 0.68), whereas *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations had the lowest mean density (0.42). The mean centralization (0.31) and the mean centrality of emotional support (0.30) were higher than those of interaction. Three personal configurations had particularly high scores, *Female friends and children-oriented*, *Partner and buddies-oriented* and *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. Transitivity was again higher in *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and lower in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. The mean of weak components was 1.26 with the maximum being represented by *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations (1.60) and the minimum by *Parents-based* and *Nuclear-oriented* configurations (1.09). It is interesting to note that the size of the emotional support in-neighborhood was greater than the size of the emotional support out-neighborhood, indicating that the respondents perceived themselves as being more frequently support providers than receivers. Similarly, in dyadic instrumental exchanges, respondents more frequently perceived themselves as providers. Moreover, it is interesting to note that *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations which occupied the second position in terms of the global network size (5.31), occupied the sixth position when it came to emotional support, either given (4.22) or received (3.45). Density of emotional support in in- and out-neighborhoods followed same patterns as in the full networks. Weak components of emotional support in in-neighborhood also showed same tendencies, a great number for *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations (1.75) and a small number for *Nuclear-oriented* configurations (1.32).

In summary, *Nuclear-oriented* and *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations develop bonding social capital to a greater extent than the other personal configurations. *Kinship-based*, *Parents-based*, *Siblings-based*, and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations develop bonding social capital to a medium extent in comparison with the other personal configurations. *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations do not develop bonding social capital in comparison with the other personal configurations. *Professional and non-kin-oriented* and *Female*

friends and children-oriented configurations develop bridging social capital to a greater extent than the other personal configurations. *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations develop bridging social capital to a medium extent in comparison with the other personal configurations. *Nuclear-oriented*, *Kinship-based*, *Parents-based* and *Siblings-based* configurations do not develop bridging social capital in comparison with the other personal configurations. Our results about the bonding and bridging social capitals being unequally developed depending on the type of configuration is in line with previous findings (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer, 2006, 2010).

Table 36: Structural interdependencies of emotional support – Mean by personal configurations, F-tests

	Female friends	Partner and buddies-oriented	Kinship-based	Parents-based	Nuclear-oriented	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Siblings-based	Mean	F-test
Network Size (with ego)	*4.85*	*3.73*	*6.08*	*5.11*	*4.89*	*5.31*	*4.76*	*4.96*	*8.28****
Full network									
Density	0.60	0.70	0.60	0.60	0.68	0.42	0.60	0.60	8.28***
Centralization	0.39	0.37	0.25	0.29	0.17	0.38	0.29	0.31	9.63***
Centrality of Ego	0.37	0.39	0.25	0.29	0.16	0.37	0.26	0.30	10.08***
Transitivity	0.61	0.73	0.65	0.64	0.78	0.55	0.64	0.66	5.79***
Weak components	1.21	1.20	1.38	1.09	1.09	1.60	1.24	1.26	4.45***
In-neighborhood: respondents as emotional support provider									
Size	4.43	3.26	5.23	4.68	4.66	4.22	4.25	4.39	7.51***
Density	0.67	0.81	0.69	0.68	0.73	0.61	0.70	0.70	5.20***
Weak components	1.64	1.38	1.43	1.51	1.32	1.75	1.56	1.51	2.65*
Out-neighborhood: respondents as emotional support receiver									
Size	3.80	3.23	4.37	4.09	3.65	3.45	3.72	3.76	2.96**
Density	0.80	0.84	0.79	0.78	0.90	0.72	0.82	0.81	8.07***
Weak components	1.37	1.30	1.26	1.40	1.15	1.47	1.24	1.31	2.01†

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

After this overview of the main characteristics of the structural interdependencies, we perform a set of logistic regressions to take into consideration the social structure variables. Three indicators in the full networks of emotional support were selected (density, centralization and centrality) and, since the distribution was not normal, but squeezed to the right, indicators were dichotomized by the mean in either high or low in order to yield two contrasted and equivalent subgroups. Personal configurations were strongly associated with the structural interdependencies (see Table 37). In comparison with *Nuclear-oriented* configurations, most configurations had lower

density of emotional support and higher centralization and centrality of emotional support. However, the extent to which they were less or more associated with the different measures varied among them. *Professional and non-kin-oriented* and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations had a significantly low density of emotional support. Regarding centralization and centrality, *Professional and non-kin-oriented* and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations had very high scores. *Partner and buddies-oriented* and *Siblings-based* configurations also had high scores of centralization and centrality. Women had a high centrality for emotional support. Individuals with a lower secondary education had a high density for emotional support. Finally no impact of nationality on the network structure was found.

Table 37: Impact of personal configurations on the structural interdependencies of emotional support, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	High density	High centralization	High centrality
(Intercept)	*1.325*	*0.332***	*0.243****
Personal configurations (ref: Nuclear-oriented)			
Female friends and children-oriented	0.519**	3.173***	3.435***
Partner and buddies-oriented	1.028	3.535***	5.036***
Kinship-based	0.700	1.512	2.051*
Parents-based	0.810	2.051*	2.294**
Professional and non-kin-oriented	0.127***	3.775***	4.532***
Siblings-based	0.690	2.210**	2.299**
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-1955)			
1970-1975	0.957	0.987	1.125
Gender (ref: men)			
Women	0.899	1.133	1.417*
Level of education (ref: vocational school)			
Lower secondary	2.030*	0.539†	0.710
Upper secondary	1.147	0.982	0.866
Tertiary	1.055	1.346	1.116
Nationality (ref. Swiss)			
Foreign	0.976	1.189	1.275
AIC	1014.0	913.1	905.0
R2	0.082	0.091	0.101

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Main findings and discussion

We addressed the issue of support with a twofold approach: instrumental support in dyadic relationships and emotional support in structural interdependencies. One third of the respondents were involved in instrumental exchanges with their significant alters, partners and children under 25 years excluded. This low percentage indicates that such exchanges mostly happen within the nuclear family whose members share a common household. Those instrumental exchanges do not stop when children become adults and leave the parental nest. Personal configurations based on the family of orientation were characterized by many exchanges. While receiving and giving care services were both common, financial support was mostly received and not given by the respondents in such configurations. This logic, from parents to adult children, confirms what Bonvalet and Ogg (2007) found about economic transfers across generations. It also emphasizes the importance of global reciprocity in personal relationships, rather than direct reciprocity. Financial support often cannot be returned, but can be reciprocated by care services. Two other types of configurations were involved in instrumental support as well. Having personal relationships belonging to extended kinship favors instrumental exchanges. No matter the exact type of tie, being related guarantees a space of safe exchanges governed by family solidarity rules. This salience of kinship supports Allan's (2008) claims about the differentiated solidarity between family and friendship ties. However, configurations exclusively based on friends also create opportunities for instrumental exchanges. The absence of a partner and of kin ties reinforces the importance of friendship. Friendship has been shown to be prominent in contexts of singlehood for instance (Bellotti, 2008). Finally, this globally low amount of instrumental exchanges also has to be put into perspective with the Swiss context characterized by a welfare state providing social insurances.

Emotional support has been investigated in structural interdependencies. Different network measures were used, some revealing bonding social capital such as high density and transitivity, some revealing bridging social capital such as centralization, centrality and the number of weak components. Scores were quite high underlining the fact that networks of significant alters enhance exchanges of emotional support. However, they were not as high as scores of interaction showing that interacting does not predict the content of the relationship. The network structure and therefore social capital available within was influenced by the composition of personal networks. Personal networks centered around the family of procreation (partner and children) mostly developed bonding social capital. In this personal configuration based on alliance between partners, blood between parents and children and same household, the density of relationships was very high. Globally, personal networks composed of kin ties produced more bonding social capital and less

bridging social capital. In contrast, personal networks focused more on friends, colleagues or other non-kinship relationships developed more bridging social capital. These findings point in the direction of a remaining difference between solidarity provided by kin versus non-kin.

Social capital stems from personal relationships as an individual asset (Widmer, 2010). The resources embedded in social networks serve as social capital which the individuals may further invest in or draw on when needed. In the previous section and in this section, we described several potential resources which we can distinguish in three groups: those associated with the characteristics of the alters, those included in dyadic exchanges and those generated by the structural interdependencies. The level of education as well as the occupational activity of the alters are potential resources for the respondents. Being close to individuals holding high socio-economic positions may bring various advantages, such as help in searching for a new job (Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001). However as homophily is a strong social mechanism, individuals holding low socio-economic positions are not likely to be close to other individuals holding high socio-economic positions. Social capital also emerges from dyadic exchanges. Having regular contact, a high degree of trust and being able to get instrumental support are social resources. Trust, in particular at the community level, was identified as a good indicator of social capital (Putnam, 2000) and as the individual level as well (De Carlo, 2014). However, in a network approach, the most interesting resources come from the structural interdependencies. Bonding and bridging social capitals are differentially made available by network structures, the former stemming from more densely connected networks and the latter by centralized networks (Burt, 1995, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Widmer, 2006). In summary, networks of significant alters fulfill major instrumental and expressive functions.

3.5 Conflicts and ambivalences

This section tackles a dimension often neglected in the study of personal networks, namely conflict. Conflict permeates most social relationships and therefore needs to be taken into account. In personal networks, support and conflict often go hand in hand, a fact that leads to ambivalences. After a theoretical overview of the place of conflicts and ambivalences in personal networks, we investigate to what extent there is structural ambivalence in personal networks when support and conflict co-exist. We also suggest a typology of four patterns of interdependencies based on the respective shares of support, conflict, and ambivalence.

Personal relationships imply multidimensional exchanges among individuals. Some are perceived as more positive as they encompass instrumental and emotional support, solidarity, and information sharing (Bonvalet & Ogg, 2007), whereas others are perceived as more negative as they encompass tensions and conflicts (Akiyama, Antonucci, Takahashi, & Langfahl, 2003; Due, Holstein, Lund, Modvig, & Avlund, 1999; Rook, 2003; Walen & Lachman, 2000; Widmer, 1999b). Indeed, beside solidarity and support, conflict is also a shaping factor of personal relationships. While conflict can seem threatening to the social order, it is also a social mechanism which is necessary as it can resolve tensions between divergent dualisms and enhance social change (Simmel, 1904). Research on social networks has long assumed that they convey supportiveness to the exclusion of conflict instead of acknowledging their permeability to conflict (Leffler, Krannich, & Gillespie, 1986). Nonetheless, when considering conflict, research has often considered it as an exclusively negative social force. It has been conceptualized under different concepts such as negative interactions (Akiyama et al., 2003), negative social exchanges (Rook, 2003), and relational strain (Due et al., 1999; Walen & Lachman, 2000). Relational strain is seen as the negative dimension of the functional aspect of social relations (Due et al., 1999). Social support acts as a compensatory factor which can buffer the detrimental consequences brought about by conflict or relational strain (Walen & Lachman, 2000). However, it is not clear whether relational strain exerts stronger, similar, or weaker effects than support (Ingersoll-Dayton, Morgan, & Antonucci, 1997). In a life-course perspective, negative social exchanges reinforce the vulnerability of older adults (Rook, 2003). Nevertheless, there is a generalized reduction in negative interactions or relational strain with age (Akiyama et al., 2003; Due et al., 1999; Walen & Lachman, 2000). These results are consistent with the socio-emotional selectivity theory, which states that adults narrow their networks by letting go of less rewarding relationships (Carstensen, 1992). In addition to the

increasing selectivity of personal networks, this reduction may be due to the increasing pragmatic reluctance to engage in conflicts (Due et al., 1999).

In most cases, personal relationships have these two components and are neither exclusively positive nor negative. Moving beyond this opposition between support (or solidarity) and conflict, other scholars have advocated the use of the concept of ambivalence (Connidis & McMullin, 2002b; Lüscher, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). Ambivalence is defined as a situation characterized by a lasting co-occurrence of positive and negative dimensions within the same relationship (Lüscher, 2002, 2004). Ambivalence can be measured directly by asking, for instance, whether individuals feel torn in their ties (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002) or indirectly by asking separate questions about supportive and problematic relationships (Fingerman, Hay, & Birditt, 2004; Willson, Shuey, & Elder, 2003).

While the history of the concept can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century (Bleuer, 1911; Freud, 1913), Lüscher and Pillemer (Lüscher, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998) suggested using it as a general orientation and defined intergenerational ambivalence as contradictions in relationships between parents and offspring that cannot be reconciled. The concept has two main dimensions: the sociological or structural dimension related to statuses, roles, and norms, and the psychological or individual dimension related to cognitions, emotions, and motivations. While agreeing on the usefulness of this concept, Connidis and McMullin (2002a, 2002b) advocated its reconceptualization as socially structured contradictions made manifest in interaction. Ambivalence is the concept that efficiently links social structure and individual agency by studying the negotiation of relationships in context. By contrast, other scholars defend the continued use of the solidarity model and the conflict model and acknowledge the interest of ambivalence only as a complement to these models (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, & Silverstein, 2002). According to them, the solidarity model includes multiple dimensions and does not exclusively emphasize the positive aspects of family relationships.

There are many sources of ambivalence such as gender roles, caregiving, mother-daughter relations, relations to in-laws, continuation of early life patterns (Willson et al., 2003). In particular, intergenerational ambivalence is likely to arise among family members (Bengtson & Harootyan, 1994). Three ambivalent aspects of parent-child relationships have been pointed out: the appeal to dependence versus autonomy, conflicting norms regarding relationships, and the ambivalence resulting from solidarity (Fingerman et al., 2004; Lüscher, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). Older parents are particularly ambivalent about receiving assistance from their adult children and strive for a balance between autonomy and connection (Spitze & Gallant, 2004). Profusion or scarcity of resources can also mediate these assistance relationships. Indeed, while wealthy

individuals may hire a professional helper, less wealthy individuals may carry the additional burden on their own shoulders. Lüscher (2002, 2004) suggested a two-dimensional model composed of personal and institutional dimensions to operationalize the concept of ambivalence. Contradictions occur on both dimensions and there is therefore an opposition between convergence and divergence at the personal level and an opposition between reproduction and innovation at the institutional level. Based on this model, four fields representing different ways of coping with ambivalence are represented: solidarity, emancipation, captivation, and atomization.

The configurational perspective (Elias, 1978, 1983) allows us to go a step further as ambivalences are not considered as stemming from normative contradictions related to intergenerational relationships, but are explained by complex sets of interdependencies linking members of personal networks (Widmer & Lüscher, 2011). Those contexts produce social capital of two kinds, bonding and bridging social capitals, but conflicts are also likely to arise, especially when family members interfere in each other's lives (Widmer, 2010). Inspired by Lüscher's model, Widmer (2010) developed another two-dimensional model based on the absence or presence of support and conflict in family configurations. "Atomization" describes a situation without both support and conflict in which individuals are not strongly interdependent. In families, atomization could compromise survival chances. "Solidarity" is a situation characterized solely by support in which the emphasis is put on the group and common interests rather than on the individual and contradictions. "Captivation" is a situation characterized solely by conflict in which individuals are compelled to interact because of a lack of resources or normative obligations. Finally, "Ambivalence" is a situation with both support and conflict in which there are many contradictions, low individual autonomy and high functional dependency. Each of these four cases represented a distinct pattern of interdependencies. Beyond family configurations, there is a pluralization of personal configurations composed of kin and non-kin ties and generating similar complex patterns of interdependencies.

Different types of configurations produce distinct outcomes (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer, 1999a, 2006) and, consequently, the type of tie is of primary importance to understand the presence of ambivalence. Conflicts are more likely to arise in close social ties (Deutsch, 1973; Fingerman et al., 2004; Sillars & Scott, 1983). Furthermore, kin ties are more likely to generate frictions than non-kin ties (Fingerman et al., 2004; Rook, 2003). More specifically, ties to partners, parents, offspring, and siblings are more likely to be ambivalent than ties to extended family members, friends, and acquaintances (Fingerman et al., 2004). Ties to siblings may be less ambivalent in adulthood as those relationships are more voluntary-based and invested in the absence of a partner and children (Cicirelli, 1995; Widmer, 1999a). Ties to acquaintances, work-related and other non-

kinship relationships, were found to be more likely to be solely problematic (Fingerman et al., 2004). In line with the previously mentioned findings about age effects, more ambivalence was reported in young individuals' relationships in comparison with older adults (Fingerman et al., 2004). Whereas some scholars have stated that, because of social structures reserving most caring to women, women would experience more ambivalence in their relationships than men (Connidis & McMullin, 2002b), this fact was not confirmed by Fingerman et al. (2004).

In summary, first, as personal relationships imply multiple structural interdependencies among individuals, emotional support and conflict will be likely to coexist in the same network structure. Nevertheless, the overall density of conflict will be lower than the overall density of emotional support. Secondly, personal configurations will have an impact on the presence of conflict and ambivalence. In particular, personal configurations centered around the partners, children and parents will have high scores of ambivalence. Third, support and conflict patterns will be associated with personal configurations. *Ambivalence* will be associated with the family of procreation or orientation as contradictions are likely to arise among the closest family members. *Captivation* will also be associated with the family of orientation or procreation as normative obligations strongly tie parents and children. *Atomization* will be associated with configurations centered around the occupational sphere and friendship as those relationships are more elective and voluntary-based. *Solidarity* will be associated with configurations centered around siblings and extended kinship members as those relationships belong to the family sphere, but encompass less normative obligations.

Empirical results

Besides interaction and emotional support, relationships also create conflict. Close ties are composed of both positive and negative feelings. Regarding conflict in the full networks (see Table 38), density, centralization and centrality had smaller scores than for interaction and emotional support, indicating that respondents reported fewer negative than positive relationships. Overall, the mean density of conflict was 0.35 lower than the mean density of emotional support (0.60). In three personal configurations, *Partner and buddies-oriented* (0.46), *Parents-based* (0.41) and *Nuclear-oriented* (0.40), the mean density of conflict was higher. The mean centrality of the respondents was 0.12 and was the lowest in *Kinship-based* configurations (0.06). Transitivity was higher in *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations and lower in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. This means that conflict is transitive and that individuals may be dragged into contentious relationships because of transitivity principles. In accordance with the smaller

scores of the three first measures, the number of components was overall greater with a mean of 2.71. *Kinship-based* configurations had the higher number (3.65) and *Partner and buddies-oriented* the lower (2.13). The configurations' size in- and out-neighborhoods showed interesting patterns. Conflict in-neighborhoods refer to the set of people who is annoyed by the respondents and conflict out-neighborhoods refer to the set of people who annoy the respondents. *Parents-based* and *Nuclear-oriented* configurations had the largest neighborhoods, meaning that respondents in those configurations annoyed and were annoyed by a good share of their significant alters. In contrast, *Kinship-based* configurations occupied the sixth position, instead of the first, when it came to conflict. Density in-neighborhood also showed the same tendencies and, in addition, *Siblings-based* configurations also had a high density mean (0.81).

Table 38: Structural interdependencies of conflict – Mean by personal configurations, F-tests

	Female friends	Partner and buddies	Kinship -based	Parents-based	Nuclear-oriented	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Siblings -based	Mean	F-test
Network Size (with ego)	*4.85*	*3.73*	*6.08*	*5.11*	*4.89*	*5.31*	*4.76*	*4.96*	*8.28****
Full network									
Density	0.35	0.46	0.24	0.41	0.40	0.27	0.29	0.35	4.95***
Centralization	0.17	0.13	0.11	0.20	0.12	0.17	0.12	0.15	2.11†
Centrality of Ego	0.14	0.12	0.06	0.17	0.08	0.17	0.11	0.12	2.73*
Transitivity	0.74	0.84	0.76	0.65	0.80	0.64	0.78	0.74	3.40***
Weak components	2.71	2.13	3.65	2.22	2.45	2.95	2.88	2.71	4.62***
In-neighborhood: respondents as annoying									
Size	2.58	2.18	2.48	3.19	2.86	2.85	2.39	2.65	3.81***
Density	0.76	0.85	0.77	0.80	0.82	0.67	0.81	0.78	3.36**
Weak components	0.59	0.60	0.37	0.91	0.52	0.89	0.62	0.64	2.01†
Out-neighborhood: respondents as being annoyed									
Size	2.42	2.18	2.34	3.21	2.78	2.53	2.39	2.55	4.49***
Density	0.80	0.86	0.82	0.79	0.83	0.76	0.82	0.81	1.07
Weak components	0.54	0.57	0.35	0.90	0.50	0.76	0.62	0.61	1.97†

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

As positive and negative feelings are often simultaneously present, we are interested in ambivalence. The structural ambivalence indicator is based on the formula used by Willson et al. (2003) combining positive and negative components which we adapted.

Willson et al.'s formula: $|positive - negative| + (positive + negative)/2$

Our formula: $|density\ of\ support - density\ of\ conflict| + (density\ of\ support + density\ of\ conflict)/2$

We obtained a scale ranging from 0 (no ambivalence) to 1.5 (high ambivalence). We then created a four-item indicator: low ambivalence (from the minimum to the 1st quartile), low-medium ambivalence (from the 1st quartile to the mean), medium-high ambivalence (from the mean to the 3rd quartile), high ambivalence (from the 3rd quartile to the maximum). The distribution was: 24.9 % of networks characterized by low ambivalence, 27% by low-medium ambivalence, 22.6% by medium-high ambivalence, and 25.4% by high ambivalence.

Table 39 shows the distribution of the structural ambivalence indicator across personal configurations. *Nuclear-oriented* configurations had significantly high ambivalence, while *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations had significantly low ambivalence. *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations were over-represented in medium-high ambivalence. A higher density of ambivalence in *Beanpole* configurations (based on the presence of three generations) in comparison with other types of family configurations was found in the study of Widmer and Lüscher (2011), showing the complexity of the parent-child relationship across generations.

Table 39: Structural ambivalence across personal configurations, percentage, χ2, residuals

		Female friends and children-oriented	Partner and buddies-oriented	Kinship-based	Parents-based	Nuclear-oriented	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Siblings-based	Mean
Low	%	24.5	20.7	27.7	26.5	15.5	43.6	32.3	24.9
	res	*-0.5*	*-1.2*	*-0.1*	*-0.1*	*-2.2*	*3.2*	*1.0*	
Low-medium	%	34.6	17.1	24.6	29.6	23.0	34.5	22.6	27.0
	res	*1.5*	*-1.8*	*0.6*	*0.6*	*-0.7*	*1.5*	*-0.8*	
Medium-high	%	21.3	31.7	20.0	26.5	25.3	10.9	17.2	22.6
	res	*-0.1*	*2.1*	*1.0*	*1.0*	*0.7*	*-2.4*	*-1.0*	
High	%	19.7	30.5	27.7	17.3	36.2	10.9	28.0	25.4
	res	*-1.0*	*1.2*	*-1.4*	*-1.4*	*2.4*	*-2.7*	*0.7*	
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

χ2: 54.7892***
*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Following Widmer (2010), we then computed a four-category indicator based on the absence or presence of support and conflict to measure patterns of support and conflict. High density of emotional support above its mean and high density of conflict above its mean indicated *Ambivalence*. Low density of emotional support below its mean and low density of conflict below its mean indicated *Atomization*. High density of emotional support above its mean and low density of conflict below its mean indicated *Solidarity*. Low density of emotional support below its mean and high density of conflict above its mean indicated *Captivation*. The distribution was: 16.2% of networks characterized by *Captivation*, 36.3% by *Atomization*, 24.4% by *Ambivalence*, and 23.2% by *Solidarity*.

Figure 5 shows graphically the characteristics of the four support and conflict patterns in terms of the density of emotional support and conflict. A situation of *Captivation* is illustrated in a *Parents-based* configuration (A) composed of a female respondent, her two parents, her partner and her three children, two daughters and a son. The density of emotional support was low (0.31), while the density of conflict was high (0.57). In this configuration, tensions were more prominent than support.

A situation of *Atomization* is illustrated in a *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configuration (B) composed of a male respondent, his partner, his mother-in-law and two colleagues. The respondent reported a low density of emotional support (0.3) and no conflict.

A situation of *Ambivalence* is illustrated in a *Nuclear-oriented* configuration (C) composed of a female respondent, her partner, her two sons, and her mother. Both dimensions had a high density, 0.7 for emotional support and 0.65 for conflict, indicating ambivalent relationships.

Finally, a situation of *Solidarity* is illustrated in a *Kinship-based* configuration (D) composed of a female respondent, her partner, her daughter, her son, her daughter-in-law, her two grandchildren, and her stepmother. According to the respondent, they all provided emotional support to one another (density of 1) and conflict was limited to the relationship between herself and her stepmother (density of 0.02).

Figure 5: Four examples of support and conflict patterns

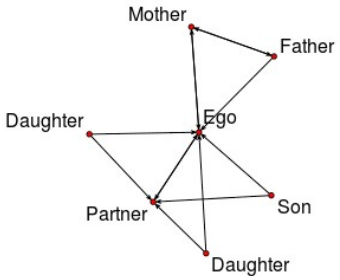
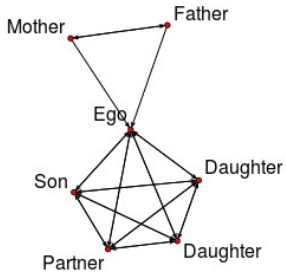
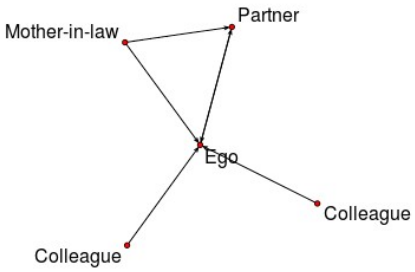
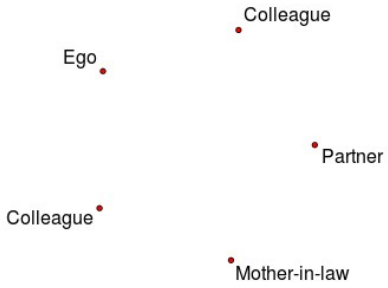
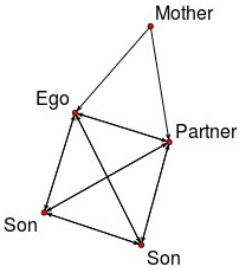
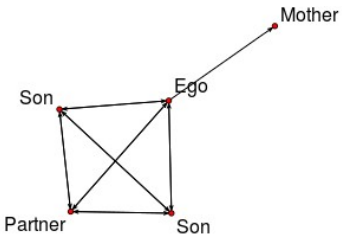
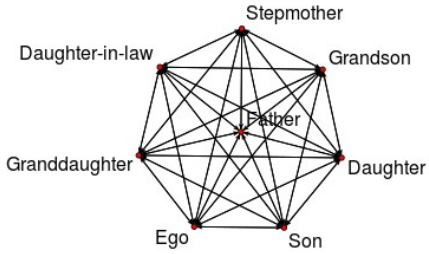
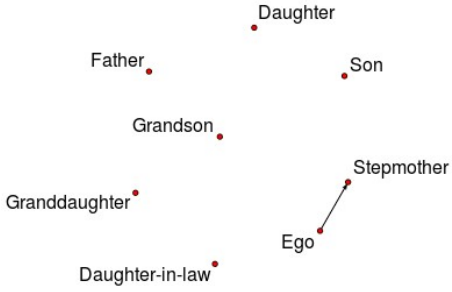
A. Parents-based Configuration: Captivation	
Emotional support (density: 0.31)	Conflict (density: 0.57)
	
B. Professional and non-kin-oriented Configuration: Atomization	
Emotional support (density: 0.3)	Conflict (density: 0)
	
C. Nuclear-oriented Configuration: Ambivalence	
Emotional support (density: 0.7)	Conflict (density: 0.65)
	
D. Kinship-based Configuration: Solidarity	
Emotional support (density: 1)	Conflict (density: 0.02)
	

Table 40 shows the distribution of the indicator of the support and conflict patterns across personal configurations. *Captivation* interdependencies were quite prominent in *Parents-based* configurations and, to a lesser extent, in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations and very rare in *Kinship-based* and *Siblings-based* configurations. In contrast, *Solidarity* interdependencies were high in *Kinship-based*, *Siblings-based*, and *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and scarce in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. *Atomization* was particularly prominent in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations and, to a lesser extent, in *Kinship-based* and *Siblings-based* configurations, and quite low in *Nuclear-oriented* and *Parents-based* configurations. Finally, *Ambivalence* was found in *Partner and buddies-oriented* and, to a lesser extent, in *Parents-based* and *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and was very rare in *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations.

Table 40: Support and conflict patterns across personal configurations, percentage, χ2, residuals

	Female friends and children-oriented	Partner and buddies-oriented	Kinship -based	Parents-based	Nuclear-oriented	Professional and non-kin-oriented	Siblings-based	Mean
Captivation %	19.1	11.0	4.6	24.5	17.8	20.0	8.6	16.2
res	*1.0*	*-1.2*	*-2.3*	*2.1*	*0.5*	*0.7*	*-1.8*	
Atomization %	39.9	30.5	46.2	24.5	24.7	65.5	44.1	36.6
res	*0.8*	*-0.9*	*1.3*	*-1.9*	*-2.5*	*3.6*	*1.3*	
Ambivalence %	22.3	35.4	16.9	30.6	29.9	5.5	18.3	24.4
res	*-0.6*	*2.0*	*-1.2*	*1.3*	*1.5*	*-2.8*	*-1.2*	
Solidarity %	18.6	23.2	32.3	20.4	27.6	9.1	29.0	23.2
res	*-1.3*	*0.0*	*1.5*	*-0.6*	*1.2*	*-2.2*	*1.2*	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

χ2: 74.8532***
*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Finally, we performed logistic regressions to assess the impact of social structure variables along with personal configurations. We also included the relationship duration, as individuals tend to let go of less rewarding relationships over time (see Table 41). Birth cohort and sex were not associated with the support and conflict patterns. Individuals with lower levels of education were more likely to have a *Solidarity* pattern and less an *Individualization* pattern in comparison with individuals with vocational education. Regarding nationality, individuals with foreign nationality more often had an *Ambivalence* pattern and less often a *Solidarity* pattern than Swiss individuals. Finally, there was a small effect of the relationship duration. The higher the relationship duration, the less likely the development of an *Ambivalence* pattern, showing that duration could reduce ambivalence in relationships.

Table 41: Impact of personal configurations on support and conflict patterns, logistic regressions (odd-ratios)

	Ambivalence	Solidarity	Individualization	Captivation
(Intercept)	*0.636*	*0.267* **	*0.308* **	*0.223* **
Personal configurations (ref: Nuclear-oriented)				
Female friends and children-oriented	0.734	0.563 *	1.847 *	1.201
Partner and buddies-oriented	1.245	0.815	1.352	0.571
Kinship-based	0.529 †	1.111	2.524 **	0.241 *
Parents-based	1.104	0.715	0.936	1.438
Professional and non-kin-oriented	0.173 **	0.215 **	5.337 ***	1.285
Siblings	0.710	0.865	2.202 *	0.446 †
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-55)				
1970-75	1.122	0.817	0.889	1.358
Gender (ref: men)				
Women	0.863	1.010	1.212	0.889
Level of education (ref: vocational school)				
Lower secondary	1.491	1.642 †	0.534 *	0.726
Upper secondary	0.669	1.646	1.196	0.521
Tertiary	1.114	0.940	0.963	0.954
Nationality (ref : Swiss)				
Foreign	1.476 †	0.586 *	1.258	0.706
Duration	0.981 †	1.016	1.003	0.999
AIC	815.6 -	807.0 -	960.8 -	661.7 -
R2	0.082 -	0.064 -	0.083 -	0.063 -

*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

Main findings and discussion

Besides positive relationships, conflict also arises from personal relationships. Even if scores of conflict were not as high as those for interaction and emotional support, annoyance, upset and grief are relational components arising from structural interdependencies. It should be noted that the lower scores of conflict could also be due to social desirability, as individuals often avoid "washing dirty linen in public". Closeness increases the chances of the emergence of more positive and negative relationships (Deutsch, 1973; Fingerman et al., 2004; Sillars & Scott, 1983). The term ambivalence (Lüscher, 2002, 2004) has been successfully used to describe the co-existence of multidimensional exchanges, some referring to love and solidarity and some referring to frustration and dispute. Although we focused on significant alters which are relationships generally more likely to be colored by ambivalence, we have seen great variation across personal configurations. As previous findings showed that specific ties were more or less likely to create ambivalence

(Fingerman et al., 2004), we have shown that personal configurations have the same tendency as they develop distinct support and conflict patterns. The type of tie remains central, but it is actualized in concrete interdependencies among configuration members.

Ambivalence was especially likely in personal configurations centered around the partner and the family of procreation. In addition, personal configurations focused on the family of orientation, parents and adult children, generate a great deal of conflict and lead to a pattern of *Captivation*. This is congruent with the hypothesis that parent-child relationships create intergenerational ambivalence because of different tensions underlying these relationships (Lüscher, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). Conjugality also enhances ambivalence. Therefore, personal relationships, and not only intergenerational relationships, generate a fair amount of contradictions (Widmer, 2010; Widmer & Lüscher, 2011). Therefore, the concept of structural ambivalence efficiently encompasses the complexity of interdependencies among close people in personal configurations (Widmer, 2010). Some family relationships create less ambivalence than others in personal configurations. *Kinship-based* and *Siblings-based* configurations enhance *Solidarity*. When individuals of the extended family are included, this really means that the relationship is positive as those ties are easier to put aside when needed. Similarly, in adulthood, relationships to siblings become more voluntary-based (Cicirelli, 1995) or activated in the absence of a partner and children (Widmer, 1999). Therefore, when included in the personal configuration, they mostly play a supportive role. Relationships outside the kinship sphere are even more elective. Personal configurations centered on the occupational sphere or friendship follow a pattern of *Atomization*. There is less support and less conflict and, consequently, less ambivalence. Individuals are not strongly interdependent, but can potentially activate those ties.

3.6 Social isolation versus social integration

In this last section, we briefly discuss social isolation and social integration and show a few factors associated with them. We then review indicators presented in the previous sections that may indicate a lack of relational resources. By relational resources, we mean all potential resources directly and indirectly made available by personal networks. Finally, we put together the most meaningful indicators presented in the previous sections in order to investigate what dimension goes hand in hand with what dimension and to uncover profiles of relational integration. In the discussion, we also reflect on the main social structure variables shaping personal relationships.

Social integration has been a major concern for social scientists from the very beginning of sociology (Durkheim, 2007; Tönnies, 2010). More recently, social integration has been discussed in perspective with the increase of social inequalities and the marginalization of certain segments of the population (Castel, 2009; Paugam, 2000). Different factors are pointed out to explain this decline in social integration, such as the precarization of the employment market, the emergence of new family forms (lone families, stepfamilies, etc.), urbanization processes, the weakening of social trust, declining participation in associations (Putnam, 2000). Other scholars have noted that the ways in which individuals are connected to one another vary due to the development of new technologies (Wellman, 1999) and increasing mobility (Kaufmann, 2011), but do not decrease. In contemporary Western societies, individuals have more freedom and flexibility to choose their personal relationships and develop their own personal networks (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Giddens, 1991, 1992). However, those personal relationships are embedded within the social structure and dependent on different socio-economic factors. As discussed in Section 3.3, individuals tend to choose similar others and, in doing so, to reproduce the social order and not to subvert it (McPherson et al., 2006).

In Switzerland, as in other Western societies, social integration and its corollary, social isolation or exclusion, are central concerns. Measuring the contribution of personal networks to social integration is a difficult task as social integration is a somewhat imprecise concept. Using the Swiss household panel, the Swiss Federal Statistical Office published a report in 2006 on integration and social networks in Switzerland in order to measure the factors of social isolation (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2006). Individuals living in single households and having no partner (11% of the Swiss population) were considered especially at risk. Another indicator of social isolation was the number of relationships in different social spheres (kinship, friendship,

neighborhood, work, and other activities). When the affective network (kinship and friendship) contained fewer than five persons, the situation was perceived as critical; 12% of the Swiss population was concerned. Those indicators are based on the presence or absence of ties rather than on their characteristics. Not having any relationship is clearly an indicator of social isolation. In the *Family tiMes* survey, 31 respondents did not mention any significant alter, while in the MOSAiCH study on discussion partners, there were even more individuals who did not cite anyone (12%). Instead of focusing on household composition or on the number of relationships, more detailed attention on the relationships' and alters' characteristics is needed, as the number of significant alters itself does not inform on the forms of sociability, the availability of resources, etc. Indeed, other factors may indicate a lack of relational resources. For instance, in a survey on elderly people in Switzerland, two indicators were used to account for relational integration: frequency of interaction and participation in social activities (Cavalli, Bickel, & Lalive d'Épinay, 2002). Occasional contact and the absence of participation were signs of a lack of relational integration. Spatial mobility also put people at risk of losing relationships, as spatial mobility implies the dispersion of kin members and thus decreases direct contact among them. Indeed, contacts and supports over distance are usually maintained only between parents and adult children (C. L. Johnson, 2000).

In summary, beyond the absence of ties (*Alone* configurations), several factors may indicate a lack of relational resources, factors related to the characteristics of the alters (alters living abroad or alters having low cultural and economic capitals), to the relationships (low degree of trust in the alters, seldom contact with the alters) and to the structural interdependencies (many conflicts in personals networks). Thus, we expect a small number of individuals to experience a lack of relational resources at least regarding one aspect. In the previous sections, we already noticed that kin and non-kin as well as different types of personal configurations did not rely on the same mechanisms of selection, principles of sociability, dynamics, and interdependencies. Therefore, when combining the key network dimensions previously highlighted by means of multiple correspondence analysis, we expect to find different profiles of relational integration, showing different forms of sociability. Those profiles will also be associated with specific social structure factors shaping personal relationships.

Empirical results

As previously highlighted, personal networks can provide a wide range of resources. However, some individuals may systematically lack resourceful relationships. We chose a few indicators that may indicate a lack of relational resources, namely spatial distance, alters' cultural and economic capitals, presence of conflict, frequency of contact, and degree of trust (see Table 42). The case of respondents who did not have any significant alter (*Alone* configurations) is considered separately. Living in the same country makes resources more readily available even in the light of new telecommunications, in particular concerning care services on a daily basis. Therefore, respondents with a proportion of alters living outside Switzerland lower than half were considered at risk (4.11%). Alters also provide cultural and economic capital through their level of education and occupation. Therefore, having a mean level of education among alters equivalent to lower secondary education (4.77%) and having a mean ISEI among alters lower than 0.34 (3.58%) indicated a lack of relational resources. Having a maximum density of conflict and no emotional support to balance it creates a difficult situation of tensions (2.78%). Contact is important to enhance resourceful relationships. Individuals who see their alters and who communicate with them by other means only yearly or even never were at risk (2.52%). Trust is central in relationships. Consequently, individuals who had either a low or medium degree of trust experience a lack (1.19%).

Table 42: Factors contributing to a lack of relational resources (n=755)

	n	%
Alters outside Switzerland	31	4.11
Alters with low cultural capital	36	4.77
Alters with low economic capital	27	3.58
High conflict	21	2.78
Few contact	19	2.52
Low trust	9	1.19

By summing up those indicators, we created an indicator of lack of relational resources. Fifteen percent (n=114) had at least one of these features, more precisely, 11.8% had 1 and 3.3% had 2 or 3. We performed logistic regressions to assess the impact of personal configurations and of social structure variables on lack of resources (see Table 43). Individuals with lower levels of education and foreign nationality were more at risk of lacking resources. Women were slightly less at risk than men. It should be noted that *Alone* configurations were also slightly associated with

individuals with lower levels of education and with men. Those findings suggest that the lack of relational resources is also embedded in the social structure. We return to this in the discussion of this section.

Table 43: Lack of relational resources across personal configurations, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Lack of relational resources
(Intercept)	*1.101***
Personal configurations (ref: Nuclear-oriented)	
Female friends and children-oriented	1.503
Partner and buddies-oriented	1.054
Kinship-based	1.856
Parents-based	0.986
Professional and non-kin-oriented	1.614
Siblings-based	1.450
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-1955)	
1970-1975	1.083
Gender (ref: men)	
Women	0.671†
Level of education (ref: vocational school)	
Lower secondary	3.149***
Upper secondary	0.424
Tertiary	0.964
Nationality (ref. Swiss)	
Foreign	4.027***
AIC	597.6
R2	0.149

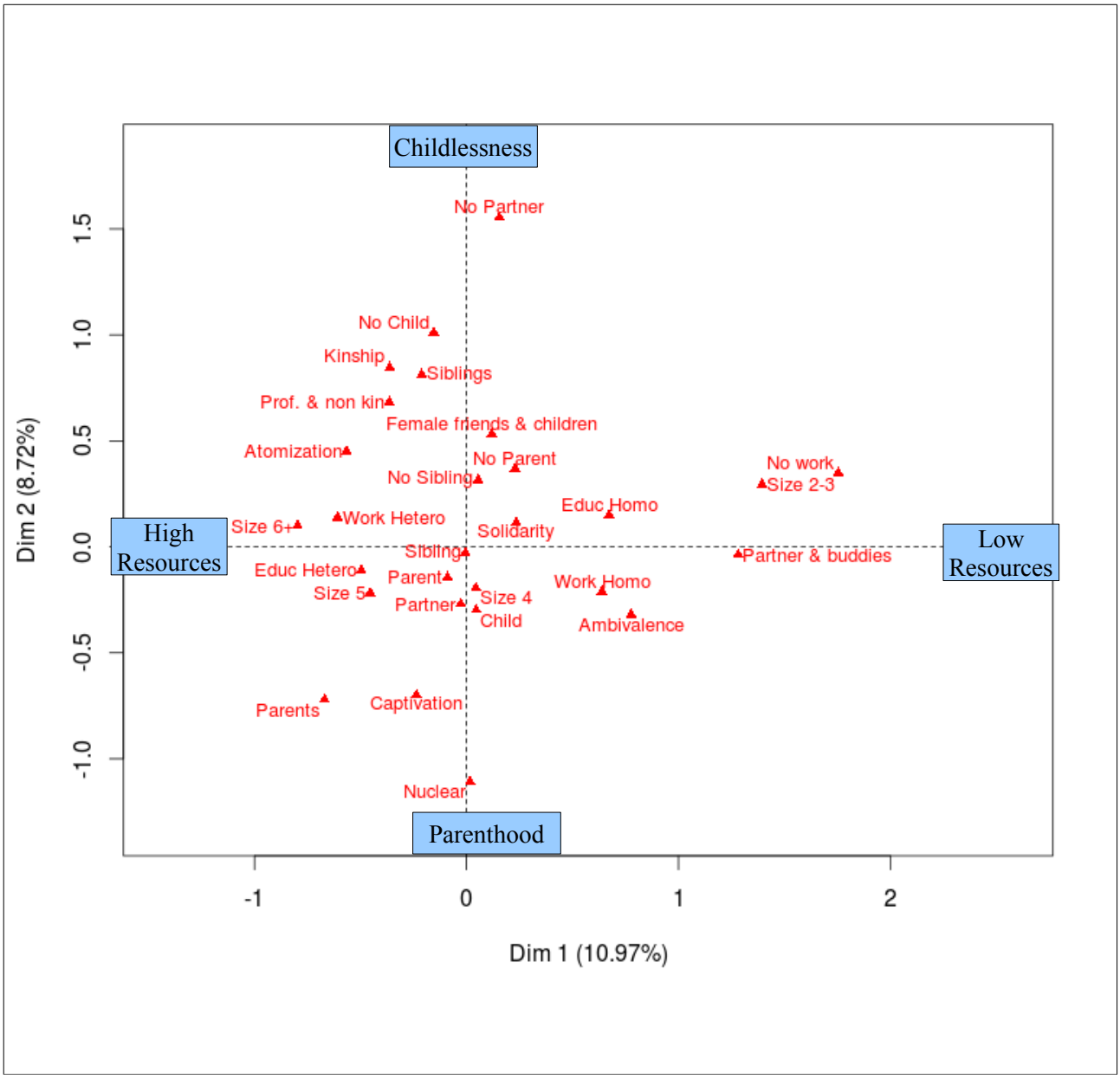
*Sig.: † p≤0.1; * p≤0.05; ** p≤0.01; *** p≤0.001*

To represent the underlying structures of personal relationships, we performed a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). MCA allows us to consider simultaneously various network dimensions highlighted in the previous sections and to assess what dimension goes hand in hand with what dimension in order to uncover profiles of relational integration. It brings complementary information to the previous results of the logistic regressions. We used personal configurations, demographic reservoir (having or not a partner, children, parents, and siblings), network size, occupational and educational heterogeneity, and support and conflict patterns as active variables to create a bi-dimensional map. Indicators of social capital, bonding (density of emotional support) and bridging (centralization of emotional support), were included as passive variables in the map, since support and conflict patterns were already based on similar measures

(density of emotional support and conflict). Dyadic instrumental support was included as a passive variable, as few individuals were involved in such exchanges (n=272). Lack of relational resources was also added as a passive variable, as it is a composite variable. We included our social structure variables (sex, birth cohort, nationality and education) as passive variables. We added a fifth social structure variable by including the income of the respondents. Indeed, income is a good indicator of economic capital, complementary to education indicating cultural capital.

Figure 6 shows the bi-dimensional map with only the active variables in red, while Table 44 shows their contribution to the definition of the map and the v-tests. When summing up the contributions of each active variable, we reached 100% for each dimension. We underline contributions higher than 4%.

Figure 6: Profiles of relational integration: projection of the active variables, MCA map



The first dimension is represented by the horizontal axis. The left side of the map is characterized by large configurations of size 6 or more (8.8%), whereas the right side by very small configurations of size 2 or 3 (21.7%). The indicators of homo-/heterogeneity significantly contribute to the horizontal axis. The left side of the map is characterized by occupational heterogeneity (9.7%) and educational heterogeneity (6.8%), and the right side by occupational homogeneity (8.2%) and educational homogeneity (9.2%). Regarding support and conflict patterns, *Atomization* is associated with the left side of the map (5.6%) and *Ambivalence* with the right side (7.1%). Finally, personal configurations contribute to the horizontal axis to a lesser extent. The right side of the map is characterized by *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations (8.5%). We interpret this horizontal axis as that of "Resources" stretching from more resources (left side: large network size, occupational and educational heterogeneity) to less resources (right side: small network size, occupational and educational homogeneity).

The second dimension is represented by the vertical axis. The demographic reservoir strongly contributes to the vertical axis. The upper side is characterized by having no partner (21.6%), and no child (14%). Concerning personal configurations, the upper side of the map is characterized by *Siblings-based* configurations (4.9%) and the lower side by *Nuclear-oriented* configurations (17.2%). Finally, support and conflict patterns contribute to the vertical axis to a lesser extent as the lower side is characterized by *Captivation* (4.7%). We interpret this horizontal axis as that of the "Child demographic reservoir" with the absence of children in the upper side and the presence of children in the lower side.

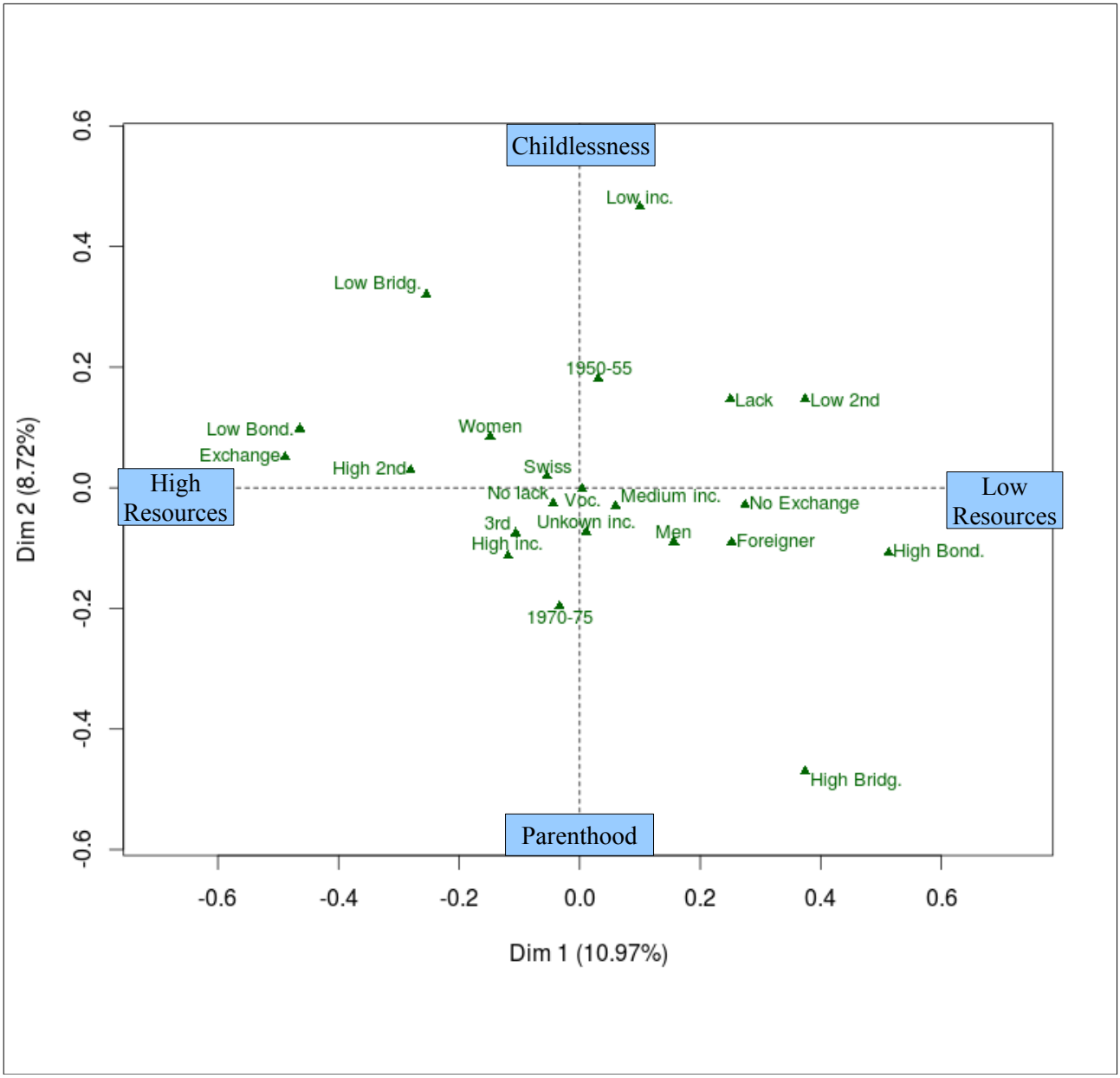
Table 44: Profiles of relational integration: contribution of the active variables (percentage) and v-tests (n=751)

	1st dimension		2nd dimension	
	%	v-test	%	v-test
Personal Configurations				
Female friends and children-oriented *(Female friends & children)**	0.2	1.9	4.2	8.3
Kinship-based *(Kinship)*	0.5	-3.1	3.7	7.1
Professional and non-kin-oriented *(Prof. & non kin)*	0.5	-2.8	2.1	5.3
Parents-based *(Parents)*	2.8	-7.1	4.1	-7.6
Partner and buddies-oriented *(Partner & buddies)*	8.5	12.2	0.0	-0.4
Nuclear-oriented *(Nuclear)*	0.0	0.3	17.2	-16.7
Siblings-based *(Siblings)*	0.3	-2.2	4.9	8.4
Demographic Reservoir				
Child	0.1	2.3	4.1	-15.0
No Child	0.3	-2.3	14.0	15.0
Parent	0.3	-3.9	0.9	-6.3
No Parent	0.7	3.9	2.3	6.3
Partner	0.0	-1.8	3.7	-17.7
No Partner	0.2	1.8	21.6	17.7
Sibling	0.0	-0.5	0.0	-2.6
No Sibling	0.0	0.5	0.5	2.6
Network Size				
Size 2-3	21.7	21	1.2	4.4
Size 4	0.0	0.7	0.6	-3.0
Size 5	2.3	-6.8	0.7	-3.2
Size 6+	8.8	-13.9	0.2	1.7
Occupational and educational homogeneity and heterogeneity				
Occupational heterogeneity *(Work Hetero)*	9.7	-18.2	0.6	4.2
Occupational homogeneity *(Work Homo)*	8.2	14.9	1.1	-4.9
No information concerning occupation *(No work)*	5.3	9.3	0.3	1.8
Educational heterogeneity *(Educ Hetero)*	6.8	-15.8	0.4	-3.5
Educational homogeneity *(Educ Homo)*	9.2	15.8	0.6	3.5
Support and conflict patterns				
Ambivalence	7.1	12.1	1.5	-5.0
Captivation	0.4	-2.8	4.7	-8.4
Atomization	5.6	-11.7	4.5	9.3
Solidarity	0.6	3.5	0.2	1.7
Total	100		100	

**In italics and in brackets, the names as they appear in the MCA maps.*

We then projected the passive variables on the map, namely bonding and bridging social capitals, dyadic instrumental support, lack of relational resources and the social structure variables (sex, birth cohort, and nationality) (see Figure 7). Table 45 shows their coordinates on the map and the v-tests.

Figure 7: Profiles of relational integration: projection of the passive variables, MCA map



Sex and social capital are associated with the two dimensions. The upper left part of the map is characterized by women, low bridging and low bonding, whereas the lower right part of the map is characterized by men, high bridging, high bonding. The left part of the map is also characterized by dyadic instrumental exchanges, no lack of relational resources, upper secondary education, Swiss nationality, and high income. In contrast, the right part of the map is characterized by no dyadic instrumental exchanges, lack of relational resources, lower secondary education, and foreign nationality. The vertical axis is associated with the birth cohort, older individuals being located in the upper part and younger individuals in the lower part, as well as with low income in the upper part.

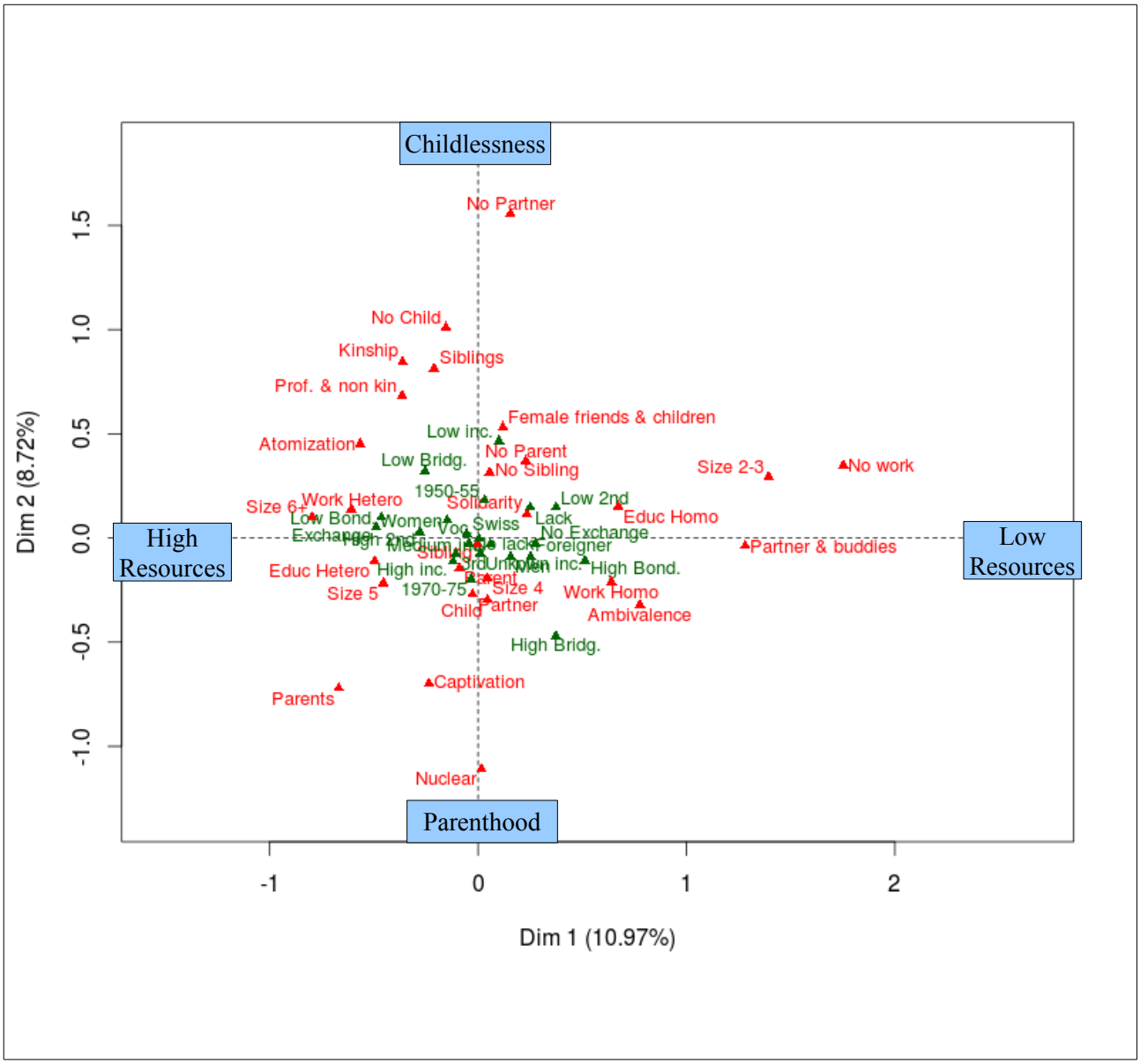
Table 45: Profiles of relational integration: coordinates of the passive variables and v-tests (n=751)

	1st dimension		2nd dimension	
	coordinate	v-test	coordinate	v-test
Bonding and bridging social capitals				
High Bonding *(High Bond.)**	0.5	13.4	-0.1	-2.8
Low Bonding *(Low Bond.)*	-0.5	-13.4	0.1	2.8
High Bridging *(High Bridg.)*	0.4	8.4	-0.5	-10.6
Low Bridging *(Low Bridg.)*	-0.3	-8.4	0.3	10.6
Dyadic instrumental support				
No Exchange	0.3	10.0	0.0	-1.0
Exchange	-0.5	-10.0	0.1	1.0
Lack of relational resources				
Lack	0.2	2.9	0.1	1.7
No lack	0.0	-2.9	0.0	-1.7
Level of education				
Tertiary *(3rd)*	0.4	3.4	0.1	1.3
Upper Secondary *(High 2nd)*	-0.3	-2.0	0.0	0.2
Lower Secondary *(Low 2nd)*	0.0	0.2	0.0	-0.1
Vocational *(Voc.)*	-0.1	-1.4	-0.1	-1.0
Sex				
Men	0.2	4.2	-0.1	-2.4
Women	-0.1	-4.2	0.1	2.4
Birth cohort				
1950-1955	0.0	0.9	0.2	5.2
1970-1975	0.0	-0.9	-0.2	-5.2
Nationality				
Foreigner	0.3	3.2	-0.1	-1.2
Swiss	-0.1	-3.2	0.0	1.2
Income				
High inc.	-0.1	-2.2	-0.1	-2.1
Low inc.	0.1	1.0	0.5	4.9
Medium inc.	0.1	1.3	0.0	-0.7
Unknown inc.	0.0	0.1	-0.1	-0.8

**In italics and in brackets, the names as they appear in the MCA maps.*

Figure 8 presents the final multiple correspondence analysis with all active and passive variables. We include it for information despite its lack of visibility, but we use the previous maps and tables to interpret it. Nevertheless, it provides an interesting overview of the complete associations. Using this map based on two dimensions (the amount of resources and the child demographic reservoir) and looking conjointly at the active and passive variables projected on the map, we identified five types of profiles corresponding to different groups of individuals having developed what we named specific profiles of relational integration. The first profile is centered around the partner (*Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations) in which *Ambivalence* is the main pattern of interdependencies. This profile is based on homogeneity regarding both education and occupation. The size of the configurations is rather small. The second profile emphasizes intergenerational relationships among adult children and their parents (*Parents-based* configurations) in which *Captivation* is the dominant pattern of interdependencies. Cultural and economic capitals were quite high. Individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort were more associated with this profile. The third profile is centered on the family of procreation with the presence of partner and children. Two support and conflict patterns characterize this profile, *Ambivalence* and *Captivation*. The fourth profile encompasses *Siblings-based* and *Kinship-based* configurations in which *Solidarity* is the prominent pattern of interdependencies. Resources, either cultural or economic capital, are scarce, but solidarity helped in coping with this situation. There is often no parent. Finally, the fifth profile is focused on non-kinship relationships, either work-related relationships or friends (*Professional and non-kin-oriented* and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations). *Atomization* is the pattern of interdependencies as those relationships were less associated with normative obligations. The network size is often large, but individuals were not strongly interdependent. There was often no child, no partner, and no sibling.

Figure 8: Profiles of relational integration: projection of all variables, MCA map



Red: active variables
Green: passive variables

Main findings and discussion

We have suggested an indicator of lack of relational resources taking into account its multidimensionality. In addition to the complete absence of significant alters (*Alone* configurations), we have pointed out some lacks of relational resources concerning spatial distance, cultural capital, economic capital, conflict, contact, and trust. Around 15% of individuals were concerned. The quality of the relationships is very important to assess to what extent the relationship can be a resource. Having significant alters living in another country or having seldom contact to them is clearly a sign of weakness. Of course, there are compensatory factors, as a lack in kin ties can be compensated for by caring friends for instance.

We identified five profiles of relational integration based on personal configurations, demographic reservoir, network size, occupational and educational heterogeneity, as well as support and conflict patterns. Some individuals focused on the partner, others on parents, others on the family of procreation, others on siblings or other kin members, and others on non-kin ties. Each group is differently associated with those dimensions. It shows that the type of tie is prominent to understand personal relationships, but that there are multiple relational dimensions which partially interact with one another and which have to be taken into account to understand how personal relationships are shaped and embedded in social structures.

As a conclusion of this chapter, we sum up the various effects of the social structure variables, underlined in the last six sections. Four indicators have been chosen to uncover social structures: birth cohort, sex, level of education and nationality of the respondents. As discussed earlier, birth cohorts anchor individuals in socio-historical time and in a specific life stage. For instance, the younger cohort is more invested in the family of orientation and the older cohort in the occupational sphere. Younger cohorts also had more face-to-face contact with their significant alters. They were also more instrumental support recipients than providers. Gender is another major shaping factor of personal relationships. Women relied more than men on other female kin members such as their daughters, mothers and sisters. They were also more likely to sustain contact by other means than men and they occupied a centralized position in their networks regarding exchanges of emotional support. The level of education also influences personal relationships. Individuals with high education invested more the occupational sphere and had significant personal relationships stemming from it. In contrast, individuals with a low education were more focused on kinship relationships and on present and former co-residents. They also scored higher on density for interactions and emotional support. The sociability of individuals with a low education is based more on direct proximity and shared experiences, and on blood and alliance ties. Nationality approximates potentially different cultural backgrounds and therefore ways of relating to one another. Nevertheless, it is important to note that all respondents lived in Switzerland at the time of the survey. Nationality did not matter for the salience of specific kin ties. Individuals with a foreign nationality were less associated with *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. They also tended to indicate present and former co-residents and, certainly associated with that, had fewer alters living in Switzerland. Regarding instrumental support, they were slightly less implied in such exchanges than Swiss individuals. Finally, bonding and bridging social capitals were not influenced by nationality.

4 Life courses

Life-course sociologists have stressed the importance of considering individual lives as comprehensive wholes, made up of interdependent sequences of social participation (Elder, 1985, 1994; Lalive d'Epinay, Bickel, Cavalli, & Spini, 2005; Levy, 2005). In this perspective, the trajectory of an individual in a given social field is constructed as the specific chronological sequence of statuses and transitions s/he experienced during a certain period of time, rather than based on predefined developmental models (Abbott, 2001).

The life-course perspective emerged in the second half of the 20th century and crystallized during the 1960s (Lalive d'Epinay et al., 2005; Marshall & Mueller, 2003). We can distinguish two lines of development, one anchored in North America and the other in Europe and particularly in Bremen (Marshall & Mueller, 2003). The North American approach has reached a high degree of formalization through the work of Elder (Elder, 1985, 1994; Elder et al., 2003) who provided the most systematic formulation of the principles and concepts of the life course. Elder offers a very integrative and useful definition of the life-course perspective: "*(...) we view the life course as consisting of age-graded patterns that are embedded in social institutions and history. This view is grounded in a contextualist perspective and emphasizes the implications of social pathways in historical time and place for human development and aging" (Elder et al., 2003, p. 4).*[55] Marshall and Mueller (2003) provide a very complete overview of the differences and similarities of the two approaches. Among other aspects, we retain the focus on individual transitions over the life course and the process of aging for the North American approach and the attention paid to macro-level social structure and the role of the state for the European approach.

In Switzerland, research on life course is also well developed through what we can refer to as the Pavie[56] approach to life course (Levy & Widmer, 2013). This approach, on which we draw extensively in this dissertation, is inspired by both lines of development, North American and European. In this approach, as individuals have multiple social roles and as these roles may change over time following life transitions, the life course has been conceptualized as a "sequence of status profiles (Levy, 2013). Furthermore, life courses are multidimensional as they are composed of a

55 It should be noted that in English the term "life course" has been widely adopted, while in other languages more terms co-exist with subtle differences of meaning. In French, Attias-Donfut (1991) listed the following expressions: "âges de la vie", "cycle de vie", "cours de vie", and "parcours de vie". In the Pavie approach, the expression "parcours de vie" was adopted. In German, it is usual to refer to the "Lebenslaufperspektive" and, to refer to individual life courses, to "Lebenslauf" or "Lebensverlauf".

56 Pavie is the name of a former research center (Center for Studies in Lifestyle and Life Course) attached to the University of Lausanne and the University of Geneva. The synergies around research on life course have been concerted in a National Center of Competence in Research (NCCR) "LIVES – overcoming vulnerability: life-course perspectives" resolutely putting individual lives at the heart of its preoccupations.

series of “parallel” trajectories corresponding to distinct life domains, for instance: co-residence, partnership, occupation, and spatial mobility.

Co-residence trajectories are a means to express the variation of the household composition over time. They allow one to consider family transitions such as leaving the parental home, cohabiting with a partner, or becoming a parent, in a diachronic and systemic perspective. These family transitions are often used to explain changes in family life such as the increasing unequal division of household tasks between partners following the transition to parenthood (Widmer, Levy, & Gauthier, 2004). Partnership trajectories refer to couple relationships throughout the life course. Union dissolution, either by divorce or separation, has become much more frequent over the life course of most individuals (Amato, 2010). Whereas some individuals only experience one romantic relationship, others experience two, three or even more relationships and consequently several union dissolutions (Ammar, Gauthier, & Widmer, 2014). Occupational trajectories directly refer to the tripartite sequencing of contemporary life courses composed of preparation through education, activity in the labor market, and retirement (Kohli, 1989). This tripartite sequencing has been compromised by socio-economic changes and many individuals experience unemployment during their occupational trajectories. In addition, many individuals get education and training throughout their life course to catch up with new technologies, language skills, and other requirements from the competitive labor market. Finally, spatial mobility trajectories refer to residential moves which can happen within the same canton, between cantons or between countries. Spatial contexts influence mobility practices. Individuals living in decentralized countries, like Switzerland, characterized by the predominance of medium-sized urban agglomerations, approximately 50 to 100 kilometers apart, favor commuting, whereas people living in centralized countries where agglomerations are spread out have higher chances of moving (Viry, Hofmeister, & Widmer, 2013). In addition, Switzerland has a high rate of foreigners and thus many individuals living in Switzerland may have experienced spatial mobility between countries (migration). These four different kinds of life trajectories are linked, as changes in one often, but not always, imply changes in the others.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first is devoted to childhood trajectories and discusses the importance of this period corresponding to primary socialization. Empirically, we developed two typologies from birth up to age 20, one for co-residence trajectories and one for spatial mobility trajectories. The second section tackles the issue of the transformation of the life course and the processes of (de-)institutionalization and (de-)standardization of the life course. We focus on the transition to adulthood broadly encompassed between ages 16/20 and 40 for the four kinds of life trajectories – co-residence, partnership, spatial mobility, and occupation – and

investigate how many life-course patterns are present in Switzerland and whether individuals belonging to the younger cohort have more pluralized life-course patterns than individuals belonging to the older cohort. The third section is devoted to life-course stages and the different statuses and roles associated with them. Empirically, we concentrate on the period from 1991 to 2011 corresponding to the last twenty years previous to the survey and investigate the number of life-course patterns and the differences across the two age groups, looking at life-stage effects. The fourth section discusses the gendering of life courses with the introduction of the concept of master status related to the reconciliation of work and family which assigns women and men to different roles, women being the "home-carer" and men the "breadwinner". Finally, the fifth section combines the four kinds of trajectories in order to understand what type of trajectory goes hand in hand with what type of trajectory and to distinguish discrete intelligible profiles of life course.

As for the chapter on personal relationships, each section can be read separately as it constitutes a whole with theoretical background and research hypotheses, empirical analyses and results, and a discussion. However, it is best to read them in order, as they draw on each other. For instance, the matched typology of Section 4.4 is developed to deal in depth with issues raised briefly in the two previous sections.

4.1 Childhood trajectories

This section is devoted to trajectories during childhood, a very important period related to primary socialization. We first review five principles which underlie the study of the life course and their significance in relation with childhood. We explain why we need to pay careful attention to parental divorce. Empirically, we present a typology of childhood co-residence and spatial mobility trajectories from birth up to age 20.

Five key principles are at the core of the life-course perspective (Elder et al., 2003; Lalive d'Epinay et al., 2005; Sapin, Spini, & Widmer, 2007). The principle of "Linked lives" stresses the fact that individual lives are interdependent and mutually constructed over time. This reciprocal influence may be synchronic as in the case of the occupational trajectories of young parents or diachronic for instance when parental divorce influences children's conjugal behaviors (Diekmann & Engelhardt, 1999; Wolfinger, 2005). The notion of "Timing" refers to the fact that individuals are influenced by biographical or personal time. For instance, parental separation does not have the same impact on young children and on adult children. Similarly, the condition of the transition to parenthood will vary in a significant way if it is experienced at age 22 or age 42, as age is notably associated with resource availability (Hofferth & Goldscheider, 2010). The third principle, "Time and place", indicates that the socio-historical and cultural context contributes to giving sense to the events that are experienced by individuals. For instance, since the onset in the late 20th century of what has been called the "divorce revolution'' (Goldscheider, 1990) or the "second demographic revolution" related to a generalized change in value systems (Van de Kaa, 1987), younger people have been more likely to consider divorce an acceptable option in the event of conjugal dissatisfaction. The fourth principle, "Life span development", supports the idea that a life course is an ongoing process lasting all life long and characterized by cumulative as well as compensatory effects. Salient events that occurred at an early age can have long-term consequences. "Agency", the last principle, highlights individuals' ability to make choices within a web of constraints and opportunities. In childhood, agency is rather limited, as parents or other legal representatives make the key decisions concerning children's lives.

Events and transitions experienced during childhood are likely to have long-lasting effects because they occurred during the period of primary socialization. During primary socialization individuals are building up their understanding of the world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). For instance, regarding major socio-historical events, individuals of all ages mostly remember those that happened when they were teenagers (Cavalli et al., 2006; Lalive d'Epinay,

Cavalli, & Aeby, 2008). Then, later life experiences are added to these first experiences in a cumulative process of advantages or disadvantages (Dannefer, 1987, 2003; Sapin, Spini & Widmer, 2007). Indeed, there is a process of cumulative advantages and disadvantages going on over the life course leading to an intracohort differentiation (Dannefer, 1987, 2003). Dannefer defined cumulative advantages and disadvantages "*as the systemic tendency for inter-individual divergence in a given characteristic (e.g., money, health, or status) with the passage of time*" (2003, p. S327). Following the Matthew effect, inequalities increase between individuals with different socio-economic backgrounds.

Children and teenagers are deeply influenced by their parents' trajectories (Marcil-Gratton et al., 2003). This influence can even lead to intergenerational patterns of family formation from parents to children (Fasang & Raab, 2014). Many studies have studied the impact of divorce on children regarding various outcomes such as low grades, academic failure, behavioral troubles, leaving the parental home earlier, etc. (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2000). In addition, there are multiple factors associated with parental divorce that may increase or decrease its impact and create great diversity in experiences such as living in a one-parent family or a stepfamily, spatial mobility, custody arrangements, etc. Scholars have shown that family structure has become an important mechanism for the reproduction of inequalities (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008). Despite the diversity of individual situations, lone parenthood – which is more frequent among women - is mostly associated with low income, low levels of education, unemployment or precarious employment, poor housing conditions, etc. (Berrington, 2014; Eydoux & Letablier, 2007, Stoltz, 1997). Thus, children living in one-parent household are at greater risk of poverty. Family disruption may constitute a stage in cumulative disadvantages for children from the working class, whereas compensatory mechanisms may be at work for middle-upper class children (Sapin, Spini & Widmer, 2007). However, comparisons which have been made between those two opposite groups (those who experienced parental divorce and those who did not) often started with an analytical bias, having as their main goal to study the problems of the first group considered as deviant from the norm (Aeby et al., 2014). Finally, most difficulties which a child encounters after parental divorce are likely to diminish after an adjustment period (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2000). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate complete family trajectories and their consequences on family trajectories in adulthood. In Switzerland, at the exact age of 13 years, 12.5% of the children born in 1987 had experienced their parents' divorce (Wanner, 2006). This proportion increases from one cohort to the other. In 2000, 6% of the children from 0 to 13 years old lived in a stepfamily, three quarters of them with their biological mother and her new partner. As a reminder, the divorce rate in 2011 was 43.2%. Despite this increase in new family forms, most individuals grow up in a

nuclear family. In addition, individuals experience rather low spatial mobility during childhood, as they often settle down when they have children and as individuals living in Switzerland often favor commuting over moving (Sandefur & Scott, 1981; N. F. Schneider & Meil, 2008; Viry et al., 2013).

In summary, childhood trajectories will be quite standardized, as most individuals will have lived with their two parents and experienced low spatial mobility during childhood. However, as divorce has spread in Swiss society as in other Western societies from 1960 onwards, we expect individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort to have experienced more pluralized life trajectories and have more frequently experienced their parents' divorce.

Empirical results

Through the life history calendar, co-residence trajectories were recorded from birth to the time of the interview. They express the variation of the household composition over time by indicating with whom respondents have lived throughout their life course. In this section, we focus on the childhood period from birth up to age 20. We decided not to differentiate between single children and children with siblings. Indeed, family structures are mostly defined by the presence or absence of parents and stepparents. For instance, one-parent families are characterized by the presence of only one parent, either mother or father, independently of the number of children. Therefore, we considered seven statuses related to living arrangements: (1) With two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) With one parent and her/his partner (stepparent), (4) With relatives, (5) Alone or with roommates, (6) With a partner (with or without children), and (7) Other.

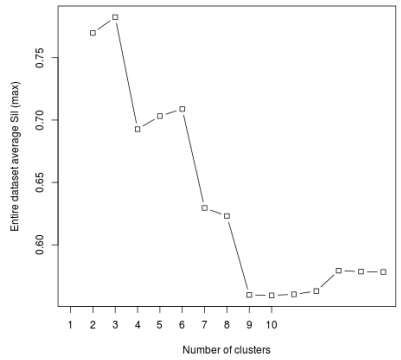
We chose a cluster solution with six types of childhood co-residence trajectories which was shown to be the best solution by the Silhouette width (see Figure 9). Throughout the following sections, we chose cluster solutions based on this test. It should be noted that, as respondents considered periods of six months, the scale of the histograms is systematically graduated in half-years. More than four fifths of the childhood co-residence trajectories were characterized by having lived during almost the whole period of observation with their two parents, either as a single child or with siblings (*Two parents* trajectories, 83.1%). Around ten percent of the respondents lived in one-parent families for a certain period of time (12.2%). Among them, most of them experienced this at an early age or even from birth (*Early one-parent* trajectories, 7.1%), while some others experienced it later in adolescence (*Late one-parent* trajectories, 4.1%). Around three percent lived in a stepfamily, often following a stage of one-parent family (*Stepfamily* trajectories, 3.2%). Eleven respondents lived with relatives, in most cases they stayed in their country of origin with grandparents or other family members, while their parents first emigrated to Switzerland (*Relatives* trajectories, 1.4%). The childhood co-residence trajectories of nine respondents were classified as

Erratic trajectories because they experienced other situations, foster care in a family or in an institution,[57] or long-term boarding schools (1.1%). The distribution was not statistically different between the two birth cohorts.

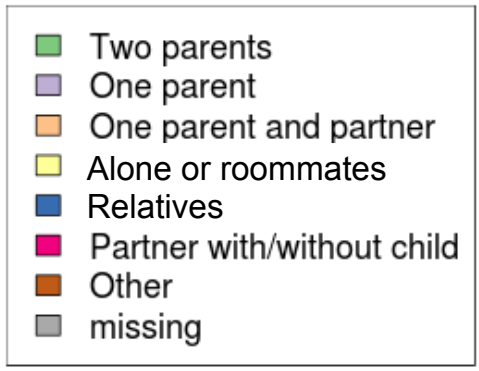
Widmer and Gauthier (2013) have suggested another typology based on co-residence trajectories from birth up to age 35 for individuals born before 1967, using the Swiss Household Panel (SHP). They distinguish six types of trajectories, three mostly based on the family of orientation and three mostly based on the years following the departure from the parental home. The three types based on the family of orientation are *Single-parent family of orientation* (8%), *Recomposed family of orientation* (5%), and *Erratic* trajectories (3%) for individuals spending their life in institutional settings. The three other types are *Parental* (54%), *Solo* (18%), and *Conjugal* trajectories (12%). For them, the period of childhood is characterized by living with both parents. Thus, regarding childhood trajectories, 84% of the SHP respondents had trajectories with two parents and 16% other situations. We found a very similar proportion for *Family tiMes* respondents. This is worth pointing out as we include younger individuals born between 1970 and 1975. Despite the increasing divorce rate, this ratio between standard and non-standard trajectories did not increase. Widmer and Gauthier (2013) distinguish five groups of birth cohorts by decade (prior to 1931, 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s) and compare them with the 1940s birth cohort group. None was significantly associated with one of the non-standard types.

57 For a study on foster care institutions in the canton of Geneva, see Ossipow, Berthod & Aeby (2014).

Figure 9: Six types of childhood co-residence trajectories from birth up to 20 (n=803)



Silhouette width



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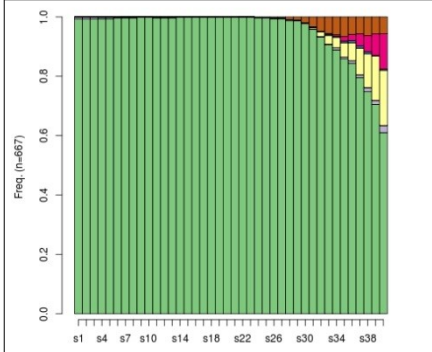
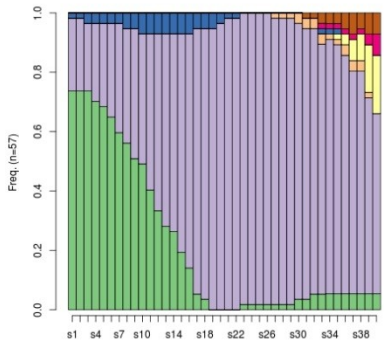
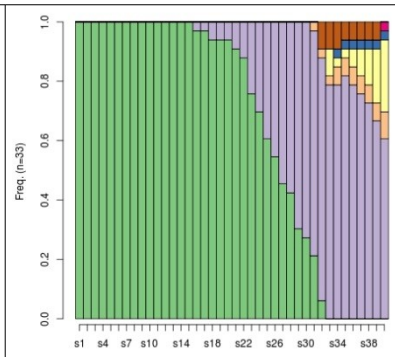


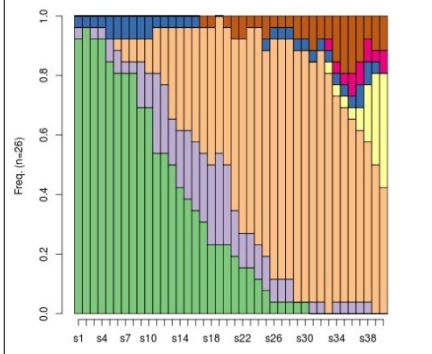
Two parents (83.1%, n=667)



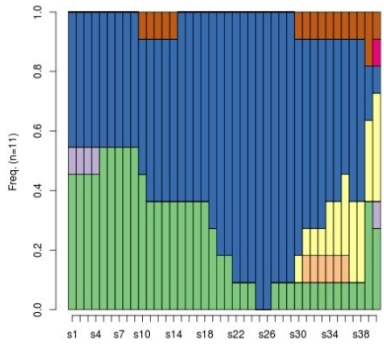
Early one-parent (7.1%, n=57)



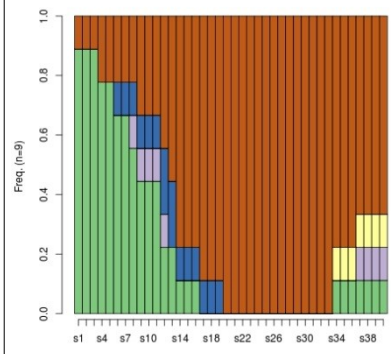
Late one-parent (4.1%, n=33)



Stepfamily (3.2%, n=26)



Relatives (1.4%, n=11)



Erratic (1.1%, n=9)

Considering their parents, 106 individuals out of 789[58] reported that their parents were separated or divorced. We asked the status at the time of the interview and, in cases of deceased parents, the status preceding death. It should be noted that, among individuals who had *Two parents* childhood co-residence trajectories, 41 out of 664 experienced their parents' separation later in life.

58 For 14 respondents, the information was missing. Among them, there were 3 missing data for respondents with *Two parents* childhood co-residence trajectories.

As divorce has spread in Swiss society as in other Western societies from 1960 onwards, we expected individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort to have experienced more pluralized life trajectories and have more frequently experienced their parents' divorce. Surprisingly, childhood co-residence trajectories did not vary according to birth cohort, as the six types of trajectories were evenly distributed. Nevertheless, when considering parents' divorce, the aforementioned trend appeared, as the probability of having separated parents was significantly higher among individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort. In 2011, 13.4% of the respondents had separated parents (alive or not), 9.1% among older individuals and 18.3% among younger individuals.[59]

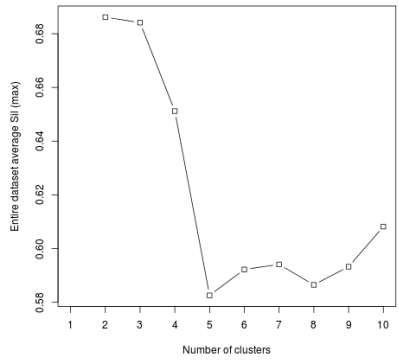
In the next sections, we only distinguish between *Standard* childhood trajectories for *Two parents* trajectories (83.1%) and *Non-standard* childhood trajectories for other situations (16.9%). The qualification "standard" or "non-standard" has no normative value. "Standard" only indicates that most respondents experienced such a trajectory. Nevertheless, the nuclear family composed of two parents and their own children living together is still a norm, subjectively in people's minds and objectively for many social policies. Other family structures are mostly studied and compared with them.

Through the life history calendar, spatial mobility trajectories were recorded from birth to the time of the interview. They account for the number of residential moves without paying attention to location. As the total number of residential moves from birth to 2011 varied between 1 and 19 (with a mean of 5.91 and a standard deviation of 2.97), we considered moves up to 10.

In this section, we considered the number of residential moves from birth up to age 20. The number of moves was comprised between 1 and 11 (i.e. recoded from 1 to 10). Based on the Silhouette width, we chose a solution with five types of childhood spatial mobility trajectories (see Figure 10). High stability of residence was found for almost three quarters of the respondents who stayed in the same place until about age 20 (*High stability up to 20* trajectories, 55%) and for one fifth until about age 18 (*High stability up to 18* trajectories, 17.8%). 18 is the age of legal majority, but moving out is most probably related to the end of high school. One fifth experienced two main residential moves, some around age 10 (*Medium stability-Middle-move* trajectories, 10.8%) and some at an earlier age (*Medium stability-Early move* trajectories, 8.7%). Finally 7.6% of the respondents experienced high instability of residence as they moved many times during childhood (*Instability* trajectories, 7.6%).

59 $\chi 2$: 13.4287, *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Figure 10: Five types of spatial mobility trajectories from birth up to 20 (n=803)



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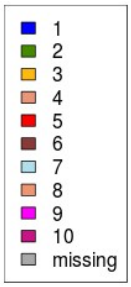
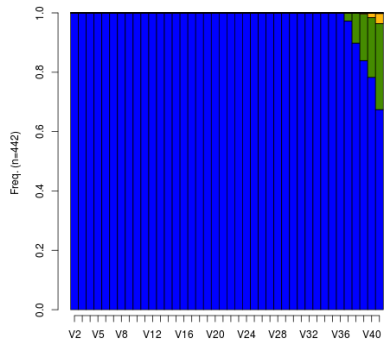
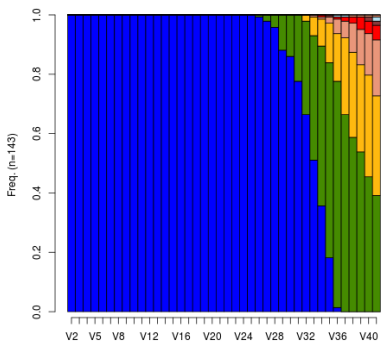


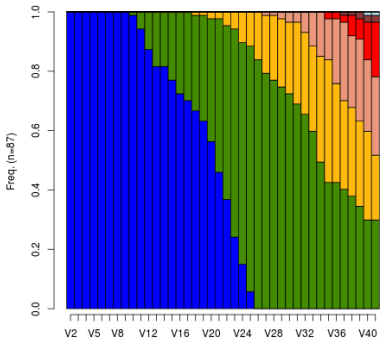
Legend



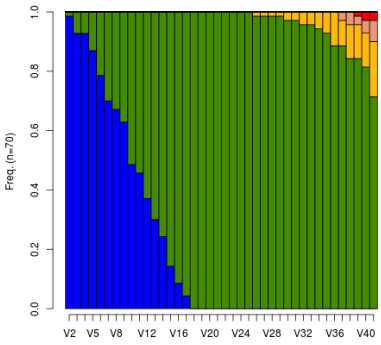
High stability up to 20 (55.0%, n=442)



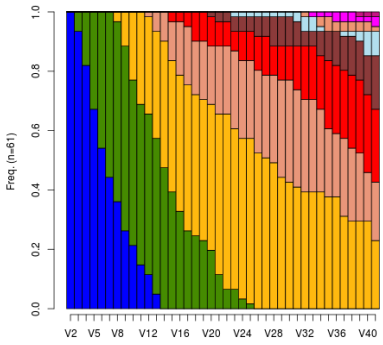
High stability up to 18 (17.8%, n=143)



Medium stability-Middle move (10.8%, n=87)



Medium stability-Early move (8.7%, n=70)



Instability (7.6%, n=61)

Finally, we also considered childhood migration trajectories from birth up to age 20, distinguishing seven geographic regions: Switzerland, South-Western Europe, which included the border countries, North-Eastern Europe, Asia and Oceania, North America, Latin America, and Africa.[60] We found that more than three quarters of the sample stayed in Switzerland during

60 This classification is drawn from the one proposed by the United Nations Statistics Division.

childhood (78%). Other respondents spent their childhood in South-Western Europe (15.2%), in Asia (2.5%), in North-Eastern Europe (2.0%), in South America (1.2%), and in Africa (1.1%). Because of the low variability and the straightforwardness of the types, the typology is not shown here, but in Annex 9.4.

Main findings and discussion

Most respondents had a quite standard childhood centered on a nuclear family life and almost no spatial mobility. However, this first result should not conceal the presence of one sixth of the respondents experiencing other trajectories such as living in a one-parent family either from an early age or later in adolescence, living in a stepfamily, living with relatives or even, for a very small number of them, in other situations. Interestingly, we did not find an increase of non-standard trajectories for the individuals born in 1970-1975 in comparison with individuals born in 1950-1955. Widmer & Gauthier (2013), who compared different cohorts in the 20th century, also could not associate non-standard types with more recent cohorts. It seems that, while the mechanisms creating one-parent families and stepfamilies may have changed (divorce or separation versus death), their presence over time remains constant. However, when considering the percentage of parental divorce, individuals born in 1970-1975 had more often experienced their parents' divorce even in adulthood, showing the rise of divorce.

Finally, respondents did not experience much spatial mobility during their childhood. This stability can be explained by the fact that individuals with children (their parents in that case) often settled down to raise a family and thus favored commuting over moving when necessary (Sandefur & Scott, 1981; N. F. Schneider & Meil, 2008; Viry et al., 2013). Again, this is the global picture, but some respondents, slightly less than a tenth, experienced several residential moves during their childhood. Migration during childhood was not common; the one fifth of respondents who were not in Switzerland mostly stayed in their country of origin during this period.

In sum, those findings highlight that there is, at least to some extent, a remaining standardization of the childhood period. In Portugal, the Portuguese team working on similar data even found that childhood has become more standardized in more recent birth cohorts, as in the past the uncertainties related to the tumultuous history of Portugal during the 20th century until the restoration of democracy in 1974 along with precariousness created more diversified life trajectories (Ramos, forthcoming). We develop the issue of standardization in the next section.

4.2 Transition to adulthood: limited pluralization

This section is devoted to life trajectories between the ages of 20 and 40, broadly corresponding to the period of the transition to adulthood. This is a key life period, as it implies multiple changes in different life domains. Therefore, it raises interesting theoretical and empirical issues about the transformation of the life course. In the theoretical part, we first conceptually explore the processes of institutionalization and standardization of the life course and their implications. We then present the debate around the actual extent of de-standardization regarding the school-training-work nexus and family formation. Next, we discuss the changing conditions of the transition to adulthood. Finally, we present the current state of knowledge in Switzerland regarding the unfolding of life trajectories. In the empirical part, we systematically consider the period between ages 16/20 and 40 across two birth cohorts (1950-1955 and 1970-1975) for all four kinds of life trajectories – co-residence, spatial mobility, partnership, and occupation – by building up meaningful typologies of life trajectories and investigating the social structure factors influencing them.

The institutionalization of life courses refers to the processes by which human lives are socially and temporally organized and framed by institutions of the welfare state through normative, legal, and organizational rules (Brückner & Mayer, 2005, p. 32). The model of institutionalization of the life course refers to the evolution "*of an institutional program regulating one's movement through life both in terms of a sequence of positions and in terms of a set of biographical orientations by which to organize one's experiences and plans"* (Kohli, 2007, p. 255). The concept of "biographization" highlights the fact that individuals perceive and organize their life as a project. Five propositions emphasize the changes underlying the institutionalization of the life course (Kohli, 2007, p. 255-256): (1) "temporalization" as life-time is one of the core structural features; (2) "chronologization" leading to a chronologically standardized "normative life course"; (3) "individualization" corresponding to individuals becoming the basic units of social life; (4) the development of a new "system of work" divided into three periods, namely preparation through education, activity in the labor market, and retirement; (5) the existence of a pattern of rules operating in terms of "sequences of positions" and in terms of "biographical perspectives and actions".

Institutions[61] interfere with life courses through at least three functions: phasing, relating, and supporting (Krüger, 2001; Levy, 2013). *Phasing* refers to the tripartite sequencing of contemporary life courses. For instance, the age and the ways of entering into the labor market depend on the education system and, notably, the presence of a dual system including vocational training. Such a dual schooling system, as in Switzerland, implies a variation of the age of entry into the labor market. *Relating* refers to how individual lives are related to one another, especially in families. Couples' lives are related to each other by marriage or partnership. Children are entirely tied to their parents or other legal representatives until the age of majority (18) and, when pursuing higher education, until age 25 for financial support. This relating function of institutions echoes the life-course principle of linked lives. *Supporting* refers to the takeover of certain tasks by institutions. From childcare facilities to elderly homes, institutions enhance individual autonomy and dissociate individual destinies from family solidarity. The extent to which institutions offer such services has a direct impact on families' organization. In addition to those three types of life-course-regulating institutions (phasing, relating, and supporting institutions), there are two other types of institutions, background institutions and specific institutions exercising a function of repair or rectification. Background institutions refer to other public and private services which frame human lives in various aspects: health system, transportation, etc. Finally, the fifth function intervenes when life-course "accidents" happen and life courses deviate from their expected unfolding, such as health problems, unemployment, or criminality. For instance, even if the Swiss unemployment rate has stayed low in international comparison (2.8 in 2011, Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2014), the experience of unemployment is widespread in particular for young and old adults. In that respect, institutions are very important in regulating social order and allowing rehabilitation. In contrast to institutionalization, the process of de-institutionalization refers to the fusing of states, stages, events and transitions which at earlier times were clearly differentiated, for instance when education and work happen simultaneously instead of one preceding the other (Brückner & Mayer, 2005, p. 32). In family formation, the rise of cohabiting unions and same-sex partnerships has also contributed to the de-institutionalization of marriage (Cherlin, 2004).

Thus, the institutionalization of the life course has contributed to the standardization of human lives. The standardization of life courses refers to an increasing universality of life states or events and their sequencing as well as the increasing uniformity of life states or events and their timing for given populations (Brückner & Mayer, 2005, p. 32). A straightforward example is retirement, which is institutionally organized and leads to the standardization of this transition both

61 For a discussion about the roles and moving boundaries of contemporary institutions, see the thematic dossier of Tsansa 16 "Entrer et sortir des institutions / Institutionen: Ein- und Austritte" (Aeby & Bethod, 2011).

regarding timing (age 64 for women and 65 for men in Switzerland)[62] and sequencing (after a period of employment). Conversely, de-standardization refers to processes by which life states or events are either experienced by a smaller part of given populations or occur at more dispersed ages and with uneven durations (Brückner & Mayer, 2005, p. 32). The age of retirement in Switzerland is becoming more flexible with the possibility of anticipating it (early retirement) or postponing it (late retirement), and the presence of specific conditions by branch (Bertozzi et al., 2008).

One recurring issue concerns the transformation of the life course and the extent of its standardization versus de-standardization over time. Societies are constantly evolving, following a path dependency process, and understanding contemporary issues requires looking at the past and its consecutive developments. Path dependency implies that history matters and that institutional decisions taken in the past have long-lasting effects for societies (Mayer, 2001). Mayer argues that globalization exerts similar pressures for all advanced societies, but that "historically ingrained nationally specific institutional set-ups will lead to very different and nationally varying responses to similar pressures" (2001, p. 5-6). Four life-course regimes corresponding to four periods of historical changes can be roughly distinguished (Mayer, 2001): the *Traditional* (or *Pre-industrial)* regime until the end of the 19th century, the *Industrial* regime during the first half of the 20th century (1900-1955), the *Fordist* regime from a decade after World War II until close to the end of the "Glorious Thirty" years (1955-1973), and the *Post-industrial* (or *Post-Fordist*) regime prevailing today. While the very beginning of the process of standardization itself can be traced back to the late 18th, the high point of the standardization of the life course with the emergence of distinct life phases happened during the *Fordist* regime. In contrast, the *Post-industrial* regime is characterized by "increasing de-standardization across the lifetime and increasing differentiation and heterogeneity across the population" (Mayer, 2001, p. 7). According to other scholars, de-standardization even started in the 1960s (Kohli, 1989, 2007; Levy & Widmer, 2013), an argument that points to the limited scope of actual standardization, corresponding to a "Golden Age" restricted to a fairly short and exceptional historical period (Mayer, 2001). Another interesting concept to analyze the transformation of the life course is differentiation. Differentiation refers to processes by which the number of distinct states or stages across the life time (diachronic dimension) increases, for instance when a formerly well-defined large life period is splitting into several new shorter life periods (Brückner & Mayer, 2005, p. 33). De-differentiation represents opposite processes of joining formerly split life periods together.

62 The retirement age for women was delayed from 63 to 64 in 2005 and socio-political debates are on-going about a general postponement of retirement to secure the financial sustainability of the retirement system (Bertozzi et al., 2008).

Regarding family formation, processes of de-standardization and differentiation are happening due to the increase of non-marital unions (cohabitation) preceding or replacing marriage, childbirth outside wedlock, the rise of divorce, and new more or less institutionalized family forms. In many cases, welfare states are falling behind in adapting their social policies to individuals' new practices. In Switzerland, family law does not yet take account of the role of stepparent despite the fact that there are many children brought up in stepfamilies. Regarding the school-training-work nexus, the period of employment is also greatly affected, since being attached to a lifelong job has become obsolete. As the labor market is characterized by more instability and competition, occupational trajectories are marked by changes, and periods of unemployment are likely to happen at some point in the life course. The number of years of schooling has increased as well as the need for further training. In addition, the proportion of women in the labor force slowly but surely increased during the second half of the 20th century to reach 46.1% in 2009 in Switzerland. Sixty-one percent of the women born in 1941-50 participated in the labor force and, thirty years later, 80.8% of women born in 1971-1980 participated. The increased participation of women in the educational system and in the labor force has led to a homogenization of women's and men's life courses (Brückner & Mayer, 2005). Despite this convergence, their integration in the labor market remains differentiated as employed women in Switzerland often work part-time (57.3% in 2009, versus 12.9% for men).

The conditions of the transition to adulthood have changed drastically over time. After World War II, the transition to adulthood was characterized by the simultaneity of three events: departure from the parental nest, first job and marriage (Galland, 1991). Residential, economic, and emotional emancipation were almost simultaneously achieved. This standardized transition has been challenged, as the number of years of schooling has increased, the labor market has become more precarious and family formation has been postponed. Now those transitions are no longer simultaneous and are even reversible (Bidart, 2005, 2008; Modell, Furstenberg, & Hershberg, 1976). In other words, there is a de-coupling of events between the school-training-work nexus and family formation (Brückner & Mayer, 2005).

Moreover, the conditions of the transition to adulthood also depend on the welfare state investment in young adults through student allowances or loans for instance. Van de Velde (2008) investigated patterns of emancipating in four European countries (Denmark, France, United Kingdom, and Spain) and clearly underlined the weight of the welfare state policies on autonomy. In Denmark, young adults receive a state allowance promoting their independence, whereas in Spain such an allowance does not exist and young adults stay a much longer time in their parents' home. In Switzerland, student allowances or loans are scarce and subsidiary to parental support.

Other factors influence adult children's launching such as family form or sex. Children from one-parent or stepfamilies have been shown to leave the parental home at an earlier age (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2000). Young women leave the parents' home earlier than young men (Galland, 1991). Finally, regarding spatial mobility, much long-distance relocation happens in the early life stages of adulthood, before the transition to parenthood, as the birth of children significantly reduces individuals' willingness to move over long distances (Sandefur & Scott, 1981; N. F. Schneider & Meil, 2008).

This leads scholars to speak about a lengthening of the youth phase and a pluralization of trajectories (Galland, 1991, 2003). Pluralization usually refers to an increase in the synchronous number of states or forms of life activity in a given population, for instance the pluralization of contemporary family forms, or even for a given person (Brückner & Mayer, 2005, p. 33). Pluralization does not contain a diachronic dimension, in contrast to differentiation. In addition, the concept of individualization is often mobilized to understand the changes leading to the transformation of the life course, as it assumes that individuals are gaining greater control over their lives and thus pursuing a wider variety of life trajectories (Brückner & Mayer, 2005, p. 33).

In an outstanding state-of-the-art, Brückner and Mayer (2005) discussed the meanings and measures associated with the transformation of the life course and highlighted the approximate use of concepts and the lack of empirical evidence supporting the de-standardization hypothesis. Drawing on the German Life History Study (GLHS), they did not find a general process of de-standardization of the life course for birth cohorts born between 1921 and 1971. Nevertheless, they found that family formation showed the most pronounced changes, while less change was found regarding the school-training-work nexus. They also emphasized that the different processes – (de-)institutionalization, (de-)standardization, (de-)differentiation, pluralization, individualization – do not all systematically go in the same overarching direction. For instance, in some cases institutionalization goes with standardization (when retirement is institutionally fixed) and, in other cases, with de-standardization (when retirement becomes institutionally flexible).

In Switzerland, empirical research has been conducted in order to uncover life course patterns and assess their degree of standardization, individualization, and gendering (Levy & Widmer, 2013). Widmer et al. (2003) noticed two sets of contradictory theories: the first between standardization and individualization theses, and the second between the presence of either one life-course model or two gendered life-course models. Drawing from them, they identified four hypotheses concerning the transformation of life courses: "standardization" (existence of one model), "gendering" (existence of two gendered models), limited pluralization (existence of several models), and "individualization" (absence of model) hypotheses. The standardization hypothesis

maintains that there is one model of family and occupational participation with generalized transitions following a similar timing. The gendering hypothesis distinguishes one model for men and one model for women. The limited pluralization hypothesis suggests that there are limited, unilateral and well-organized patterns of trajectories depending on profiles of social integration. Finally, the individualization hypothesis supposes that there is a multiplication of life trajectories with no regular pattern. Those hypotheses were addressed using occupational trajectories stemming from the Swiss program "Switzerland: Toward the Future" within the Swiss Household Panel (Widmer et al., 2003). The results showed that the majority of men's trajectories were quite standardized, confirming the standardization hypothesis. Indeed, most of them follow full-time employment trajectories. However, men's and women's trajectories were quite dissimilar, supporting the gendering hypothesis. The diversity of women's trajectories was better explained by the limited pluralization hypothesis, which suggests several models since there were patterns of trajectories depending on profiles of social participation. Finally, there were a few non-standardized men's trajectories which were difficult to encompass in specific patterns, indicating that the individualization hypothesis also had some validity. Widmer et al. (2003) concluded that each hypothesis had some significance and that the newly introduced limited pluralization hypothesis was the most promising one to take into account simultaneously diversity and regularity. Other Swiss studies have been conducted often using the Swiss Household Panel, whose major findings are to be found in a recently published book edited by Levy and Widmer (2013). They highlighted two main results: the fact that individual trajectories remain patterned and fall into a quite small number of interpretable types (limited pluralization hypothesis) and the strong and persistent gendering of the occupational and family trajectories considered conjointly.

In summary, in the light of the limited extent of processes of de-standardization of the life course (Brückner & Mayer, 2005) and in the light of previous findings concerning the Swiss case halfway between standardization and individualization theses (Levy & Widmer, 2013), we expect life trajectories between ages 16/20 and 40 to remain patterned and fall into a small number of interpretable types. This hypothesis will hold true for all four kinds of trajectories. Nevertheless, individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 birth cohort will tend to experience more pluralized trajectories than individuals belonging to the 1950-1955 birth cohort. Indeed, regarding family formation, the diversity of experiences will be greater regarding for instance the timing of the transition to parenthood, the departure from the parental nest, and the number of partners. Regarding the school-training-work nexus, the diversity of experiences will also be greater because of the expansion of education and the relatively difficult entry into the labor market, leading for instance to an increasing structural unemployment of youth, more precarious temporary jobs, more

unpaid internships previous to steady jobs, and the need for spatial mobility. One major factor of inter-individual diversity will be the level of education, as investment in tertiary education contributes to the postponement of family formation and the lengthening of the school-training period. We will discuss our findings invoking previously mentioned concepts. Nevertheless, we will be careful in assessing processes of (de-)institutionalization, (de)standardization, (de)-differentiation, pluralization, and individualization, as there are multiple, sometimes contradictory mechanisms in play influencing the unfolding of life trajectories.

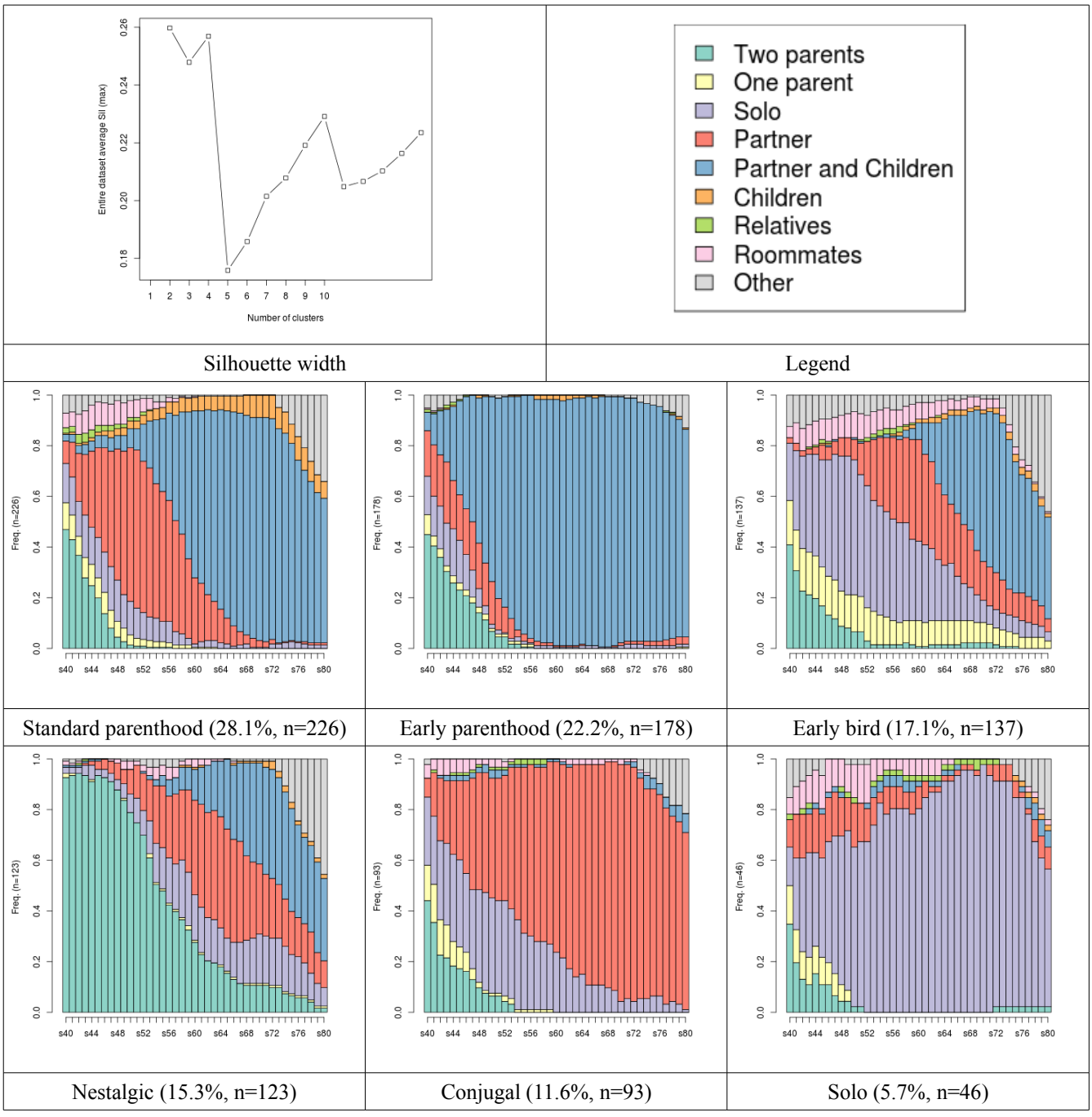
Empirical results

Co-residence trajectories express the variation of the household composition over time by indicating with whom respondents have lived throughout their life course from birth to the time of the interview. In this section, we focus on the period from age 20 to age 40. Regarding co-residence trajectories, nine co-residence statuses related to living arrangements were considered: (1) With two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) Solo, (4) With a partner, (5) With a partner and children, (6) With children only, (7) With relatives, (8) With roommates, and (9) Other. We chose a solution with six types of adulthood co-residence trajectories from age 20 to age 40 (see Figure 11). The most frequent type of adulthood trajectory was characterized by a transition to parenthood after a period of singlehood and conjugal life, which we named *Standard parenthood* trajectories (28.1%). This trajectory was differentiated from the *Early parenthood* type (22.2%) in which individuals entered parenthood at a younger age and almost directly after having left their family of orientation. Two other types often encompassed a transition to parenthood but later in life. In the first type, individuals spent a long time in the parental home. We therefore named their trajectory *Nestalgic*, as it described individuals who were nostalgic for the family nest (15.3%), a name inspired by the work of Gauthier (2007). In the second type, individuals spent a long time living alone and/or with a partner and, to contrast it with *Nestalgic* trajectories, we named it the *Early bird* trajectory because those individuals experienced independent life before possible parenthood (17.1%). In the fifth type, *Conjugal* trajectories (11.6%), individuals spent most of their time with their partner without children, whereas the sixth trajectory, *Solo* (5.7%), was characteristic of individuals living primarily alone. The Silhouette width pointed to a solution with five types, aggregating *Early bird* trajectories and *Solo* trajectories in the same cluster. As we wanted to isolate *Solo* trajectories, we nonetheless chose the six-cluster solution.

As a reminder, Widmer and Gauthier (2013) obtained three similar types considering the period from birth up to age 35, namely *Parental* (54%), *Solo* (18%), and *Conjugal* trajectories (12%). The three other types that they highlighted were more based on the earlier part of the

trajectories concerning the family of orientation. Because we focused on adulthood between age 20 and age 40, we could show more diversity regarding the transition to adulthood and its aftermath concerning family formation and disruption.

Figure 11: Six types of co-residence trajectories between age 20-40 (n=803)



Silhouette width | Legend

Standard parenthood (28.1%, n=226) | Early parenthood (22.2%, n=178) | Early bird (17.1%, n=137)

Nestalgic (15.3%, n=123) | Conjugal (11.6%, n=93) | Solo (5.7%, n=46)

We then performed logistic regressions including as independent variables level of education, sex, birth cohort, and nationality (see Table 46). In addition, it should be noted that for

all periods covering adulthood, we systematically added a binary variable for childhood co-residence trajectories, distinguishing respondents who spent their childhood with their two parents (*Standard*) from those who experienced other situations (*Non-standard*). There was a strong effect of the birth cohort indicating changing patterns through time. Individuals of the younger birth cohort were less associated with *Early parenthood* and *Solo* trajectories and more associated with *Early bird*, *Nestalgic*, and *Parenthood* trajectories. *Conjugal* trajectories were not related to any specific birth cohort. The age at the birth of the first child, indicating the transition to parenthood, increased by four years from 26 in 1970 to 30 in 2008 for married women in Switzerland (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2009, p. 11). This postponement of parenthood explains (at least partially) the association between *Early parenthood* trajectories and individuals of the older birth cohort. Two patterns of co-residence trajectories were representative of individuals of the younger cohort more likely to postpone family life. Some individuals used this solo time to experience early independence, while other individuals stayed longer in the parental nest. Childhood co-residence trajectories provided insight on those two patterns. Leaving home early was more associated with *Non-standard* childhood trajectories, whereas staying longer was more associated with a household composed of two parents in childhood. This result is congruent with previous findings about the tendency of children living in one-parent or stepfamilies to leave the parental home at an earlier age (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2000).

Co-residence trajectories are partially gendered. Women were more associated with *Conjugal* and *Early parenthood* trajectories, while men were more associated with *Nestalgic* and *Early bird* trajectories. Interestingly, *Solo* trajectories were not influenced by the sex of the respondents. Those findings regarding the association of women with conjugality and early parenthood are congruent with previous research. Indeed women's age at first birth and at primonuptiality is generally lower than that of men.

Co-residence trajectories are shaped by the level of education, in particular regarding the timing of the transition to parenthood. Individuals with lower levels of education mostly experienced early parenthood, while individuals with higher levels of education mostly did not. Regarding welfare state regimes and their impact on young adults' emancipation (Van de Velde, 2008), student allowances or loans are scarce and subsidiary to parental support in Switzerland. Therefore, it is not surprising that some young adults postpone their departure from the parental nest and parenthood when following further schooling or training for instance.

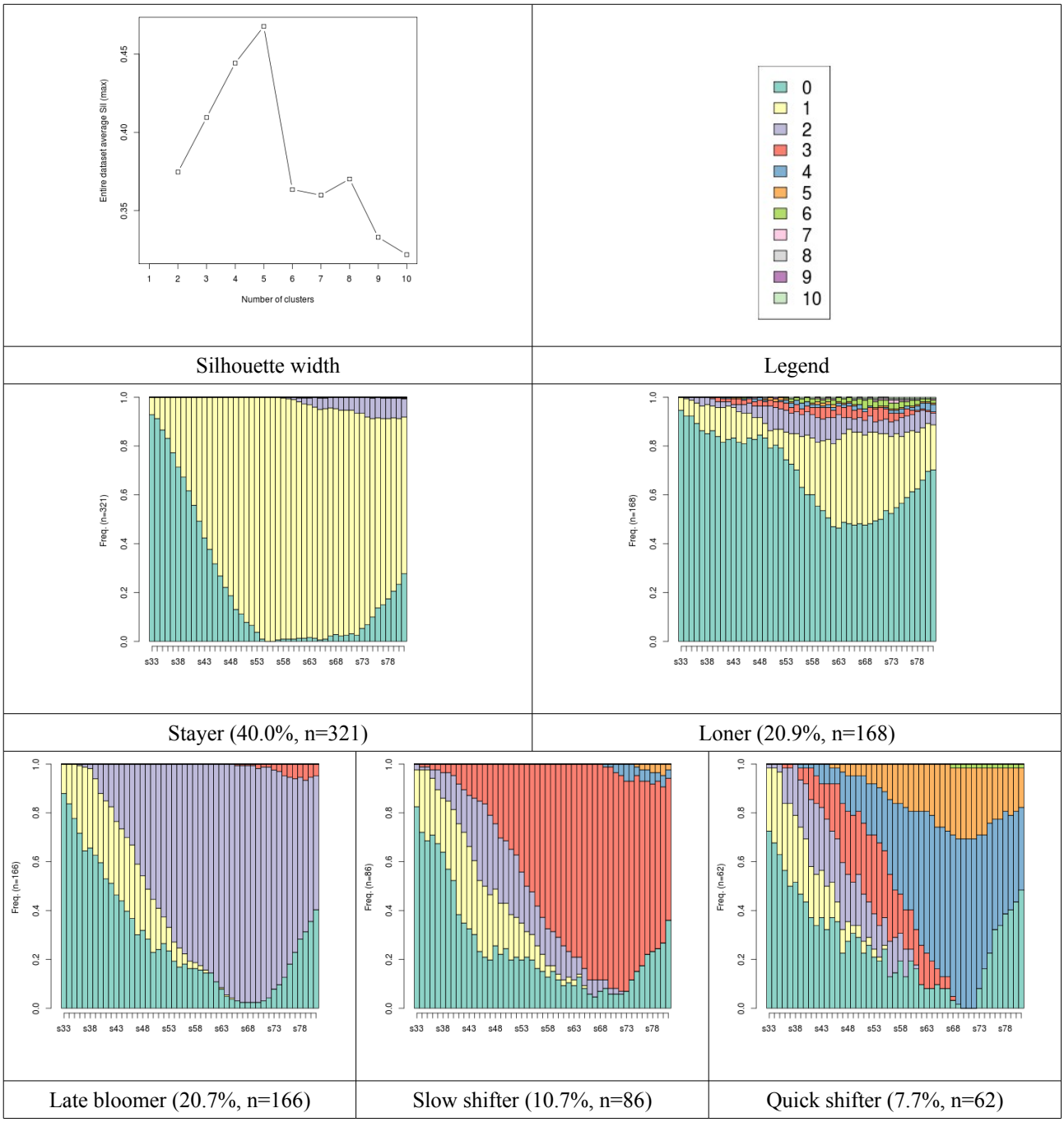
Table 46: Shaping factors of co-residence trajectories between age 20-40, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Parenthood	**Early parenthood**	**Early Bird**	**Nestalgic**	**Conjugal**	**Solo**
(Intercept)	*0.193 ****	*0.259 ****	*0.336 ***	*0.064 ****	*0.177 ****	*0.186 ***
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)						
Standard	1.135	1.340	0.599 *	4.211 ***	0.508 *	0.557 †
Level of education (ref: vocational school)						
Lower secondary	0.521 *	3.507 ***	0.689	0.647	0.263 *	1.174
Upper secondary	0.846	1.066	1.294	0.680	1.213	0.795
Tertiary	0.872	0.386 **	1.908 **	1.105	0.974	1.491
Sex (ref: men)						
Women	1.315 †	1.812 **	0.556 **	0.357 ***	2.117 **	0.722
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-55)						
1970-75	1.471 *	0.313 ***	1.854 **	1.872 **	0.835	0.392 **
Nationality (ref. foreign)						
Swiss	1.553 †	0.920	0.708	0.874	0.988	0.757
AIC	943.9 -	757.2 -	700.5 -	641.2 -	563.5 -	354.1 -
R2	0.032 -	0.189 -	0.082 -	0.113 -	0.054 -	0.047 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

Partnership trajectories include any romantic relationships which lasted three months or more, with or without cohabitation, either married or not from 16 to the time of the interview. We distinguished the number of partners to create the trajectories from 0 to 10. Actually, the maximum of reported partners reached 8 with one notable exception. One female respondent born in 1952 reported no less than 19 partners. At the time of the interview, she had a single son aged 18 and she was single. In this section, we considered the period between ages 16 and 40 and uncovered a solution with five types of partnership trajectories which was indicated as the best solution by the Silhouette width (see Figure 12). We named these types according to the typology of Ammar et al. (2014). The main type was composed of individuals who were only involved in one lasting romantic relationship and we therefore named those trajectories *Stayer* (40%). In the second type, individuals did not engage in any lasting romantic relationship and were said to follow *Loner* trajectories (20.9%). Other individuals experienced two major romantic relationships and we referred to those trajectories as *Late bloomer* (20.7%). Finally, some respondents experienced a larger number of romantic relationships. We distinguished individuals having around three partners as *Slow shifter* trajectories (10.7%), and individuals having four and more partners as *Quick shifter* trajectories (7.7%). Partnership trajectories based on the number of partners are not equivalent to the number of partners because the emphasis is put on the amount of time spent in each state. The women who had 19 partnership trajectories was classified as having a *Loner* trajectory, as she was mostly single between the ages of 16 and 40.

Figure 12: Five types of partnership trajectories between ages 16-40 (n=803)



Silhouette width | Legend

Stayer (40.0%, n=321) | Loner (20.9%, n=168)

Late bloomer (20.7%, n=166) | Slow shifter (10.7%, n=86) | Quick shifter (7.7%, n=62)

We then performed logistic regressions (see Table 47). Individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort were more associated with *Loner* and *Quick shifter* trajectories than with *Stayer* partnership trajectories. Having one sole life partner was less common among them. Women were less associated with *Loner* partnership trajectories and more associated with *Late bloomer* partnership trajectories than men. Education, which was found to shape co-residence trajectories, also shaped partnership trajectories. Individuals with lower levels of education more often followed *Stayer* partnership trajectories, while individuals with higher levels of education less frequently

followed *Stayer* and *Late bloomer* partnership trajectories and more frequently *Slow shifter* and *Quick shifter* partnership trajectories. In Ammar et al.'s study (2014) on 600 individuals aged 25 to 46, the distribution was 46.0% *Quick shifter*, 26.5% *Late bloomer*, 12.0% *Slow shifter*, 8.7% *Stayer*, and 6.8% *Loner* trajectories confirming that *Quick shifter* trajectories are more common among younger birth cohorts.

Table 47: Shaping factors of partnership trajectories between ages 16-40, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

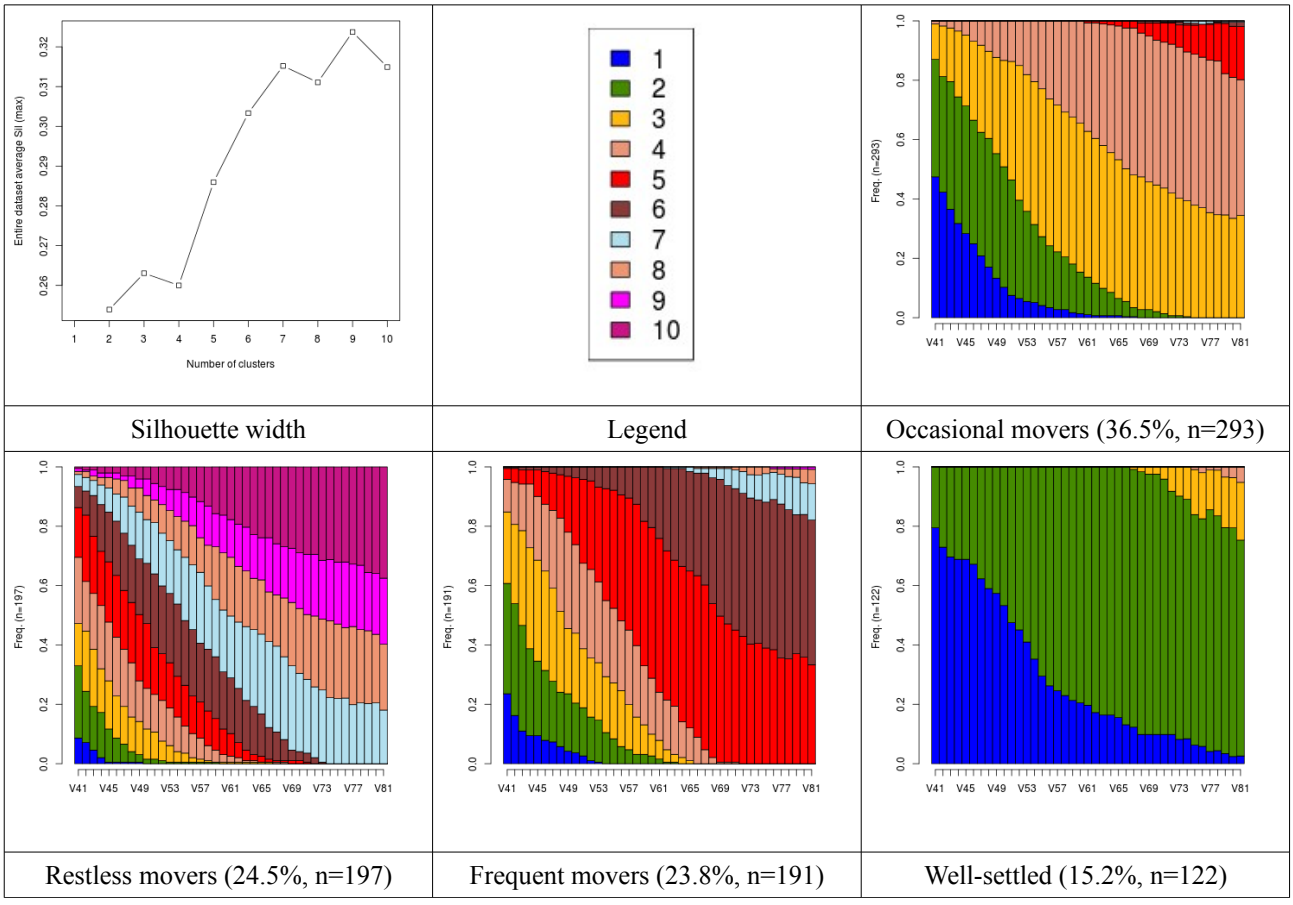
	Loner	**Stayer**	**Late bloomer**	**Slow shifter**	**Quick shifter**
(Intercept)	*0.499 **	*0.800*	*0.221 ****	*0.030 ****	*0.047 ****
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)					
Standard	0.518 **	1.275	1.013	2.014 †	1.165
Level of education (ref: vocational school)					
Lower secondary	1.207	1.776 *	0.536 †	0.341 †	0.755
Upper secondary	0.748	0.918	1.082	1.279	1.204
Tertiary	1.237	0.598 *	0.620 †	2.001 *	2.214 **
Sex (ref: men)					
Women	0.355 ***	1.255	1.534 *	1.507 †	0.993
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-55)					
1970-75	1.455 *	0.517 ***	1.124	1.484 †	1.744 †
Nationality (ref. foreign)					
Swiss	1.127	0.816	1.018	1.388	0.937
AIC	780.8 -	1045.3 -	818.1 -	537.3 -	428.5 -
R2	0.091 -	0.070 -	0.025 -	0.059 -	0.039 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

Regarding spatial mobility trajectories, the number of residential moves between ages 20 and 40 was comprised between 1 and 19 (i.e. recoded from 1 to 10). The second part of the spatial mobility trajectories was characterized by less stability in comparison with the childhood part. We chose a solution with four types of spatial mobility trajectories based on the Silhouette width, one characterized by stability and three by residential moves (see Figure 13). Only 15.2% of the respondents stayed for a long time in one single place, corresponding to their second residence, and we named their trajectories *Well-settled*. One third of the respondents experienced 3 to 4 moves and we qualified their trajectories as *Occasional movers*. One quarter continued to move from one place to an other and they were therefore said to have *Restless mover* trajectories. Finally, one last quarter was in between, first moving several times and then reaching some residential stability around the 6th or 7th residence, and we named their trajectories *Frequent movers* in reference to the other types. Changing places even in the same neighborhood or city may be tiresome for individuals and the frequency of residential moves therefore gives information on stability and instability in

someone's life. However, individuals with an experience of past mobility are better prepared to be mobile if necessary, which can be an advantage for professional careers (Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004). In their study on spatial mobility, Viry and his colleagues (Viry et al., 2013) considered moves of at least 50 kilometers for the young-adult stage of life (age 16-35) in five European countries (France, Germany, Poland, Spain, and Switzerland – survey "JobMob: Job Mobility and Family Lives in Europe"), and obtained six types of trajectories based on the timing of the moves and their frequency. Those types were: *No relocation* (63%), *Early low relocation* (6%), *Early high relocation* (12%), *Mid-20s low relocation* (9%), *Mid-20s high relocation* (5%), and *Late low relocation* trajectories (5%). In other words, the majority of European inhabitants are sedentary and only 17% of them experience a large number of moves. In comparison with other countries, people living in Switzerland tend to experience *Early* and *Mid-20s low* and *high relocation*.

Figure 13: Four types of spatial mobility trajectories between ages 20-40 (n=803)



Silhouette width	Legend	Occasional movers (36.5%, n=293)
Restless movers (24.5%, n=197)	Frequent movers (23.8%, n=191)	Well-settled (15.2%, n=122)

Logistic regressions brought explanations, in particular to explain *Restless movers* and *Well-settled* trajectories (see Table 48). *Non-standard* childhood co-residence trajectories, tertiary education, women, and Swiss nationality were more associated with *Restless mover* trajectories, while *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectories, low levels of education, men, and foreign nationality were more associated with *Well-settled* trajectories. Individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort were more to be found in the *Frequent mover t*rajectories. Some similar results were found in the survey JobMob (Viry et al., 2013). Women experienced more long-distance residential mobility, in particular when childless. Scholars concluded by suggesting that mobile individuals successfully construct their lifestyle around mobility over the life course and see mobility as an upward career opportunity (Kaufmann et al., 2004). The fact that individuals with tertiary education are associated with the greatest number of moves goes in that direction.

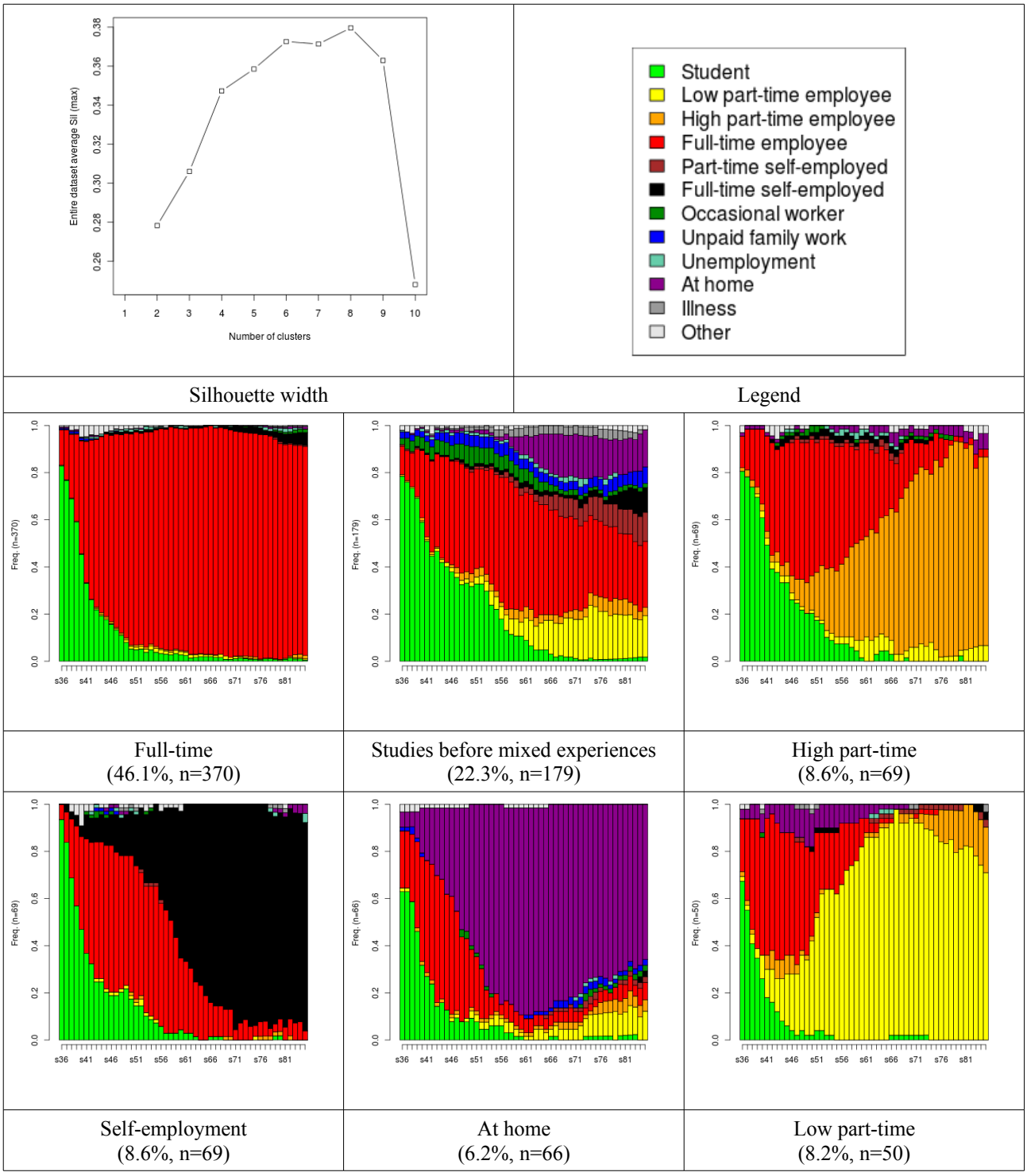
Table 48: Shaping factors of spatial mobility trajectories between ages 20-40, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Restless movers	**Frequent movers**	**Occasional movers**	**Well-settled**
(Intercept)	*0.208* ***	*0.285* ***	*0.535* *	*0.241* ***
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)				
Standard	0.474 ***	0.967	1.473 †	1.656 †
Level of education (ref: vocational school)				
Lower secondary	0.252 **	1.248	1.006	2.172 **
Upper secondary	0.525 †	2.005 *	0.985	0.666
Tertiary	1.838 **	0.858	0.908	0.548 †
Sex (ref: men)				
Women	1.690 **	1.101	0.842	0.598 *
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-55)				
1970-75	0.923	1.415 *	0.848	0.907
Nationality (ref. foreign)				
Swiss	2.600 **	0.830	0.931	0.565 *
AIC	843.0 -	877.8 -	1057.1 -	659.4 -
R2	0.103 -	0.024 -	0.011 -	0.061 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

Regarding occupational trajectories between ages 18 and 40, twelve occupational statuses were considered: (1) Student (school/training), (2) Low part-time employee, (3) High part-time employee, (4) Full-time employee, (5) Part-time self-employed, (6) Full-time self-employed, (7) Occasional worker, (8) Unpaid family work, (9) Unemployment, (10) At home, (11) Illness, and (12) Other. We chose a solution with six types between ages 18 and 40 based on the Silhouette width (see Figure 14). The Silhouette width did not have a clear cut before the nine-cluster solution, but a bump at the six-cluster solution. The nine-cluster solution was rejected because of the creation of two very small clusters respectively of size 9 and 10. Most respondents had *Full-time* occupational trajectories as employees (46.1%) with a relatively fast entry into the labor market. Other pursued *Studies before mixed experiences* occupational trajectories (22.3%). Indeed, there were many occupational statuses such as full-time, high and low part-time, self-employment, unpaid family work, etc., and statuses indicating a withdrawal from the labor market such as student, at home, unemployment, illness, etc. Self-employed persons mostly worked full-time and we simply named their occupational trajectories *Self-employment* (8.6%). Two other types were characterized by part-time employment after a period of full-time employment: *High part-time* (8.6%) and *Low part-time* occupational trajectories (8.2%). Finally 6.2% of respondents primarily stayed at home and thus had *At home* trajectories.

Figure 14: Six types of occupational trajectories between ages 18-40 (n=803)



As for the other trajectories, we performed logistic regressions (see Table 49). Individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort were more associated with *Studies before mixed experiences* occupational trajectories and less with *Full-time* and *At home* occupational trajectories, indicating an investment in studies and, consequently, a postponement of the entry into the labor market. The democratization of tertiary education and the increasing competition in the labor

market stimulate younger individuals to invest more in studies than their predecessors did. Gender was the most associated factor shaping occupational trajectories. Women were more to be found in *At home*, *Studies before mixed experiences*, *Low part-time*, and *High part-time* occupational trajectories, whereas men were more to be found in *Full-time* and *Self-employment* occupational trajectories. The diversity was much lower for men as previous findings pointed out (Widmer et al., 2003). Individuals with higher levels of education were more likely to have followed *Studies before mixed experiences* and *High part-time* occupational trajectories and less *Full-time* and *Self-employment* occupational trajectories.

Instead of conducting joint analyses, other authors created separated typologies for women and men (Levy et al., 2006). Only two types of trajectories were found for men, either *Full-time* trajectories, (72%) or *Erratic* trajectories for the remaining cases (28%). In contrast, four trajectories were highlighted for women, *Full-time* trajectories (34%), *Return* trajectories (30%) for women who return to the labor market after a break devoted to family life, *Part-time* trajectories (23%), and *Housewife* trajectories (13%). Regardless of the two analytical procedures, our results are in line with their previous findings.

Table 49: Shaping factors of occupational trajectories between ages 18-40, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Full-time	**Studies before mixed experiences**	**High part-time**	**Self-employment**	**Low part-time**	**At home**
(Intercept)	*7.115* ***	*0.053* ***	*0.014* ***	*0.102* ***	*0.003* ***	*0.003* ***
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)						
Standard	0.725	1.173	0.647	1.974	1.799	0.966
Level of education (ref: vocational school)						
Lower secondary	0.701	1.008	0.392	0.436	1.540	2.909 **
Upper secondary	0.750	1.184	1.495	0.458	0.782	1.822
Tertiary	0.355 ***	3.795 ***	2.846 **	0.487 †	0.487	0.207 *
Sex (ref: men)						
Women	0.113 ***	4.006 ***	5.803 ***	0.315 ***	16.421 ***	61.146 ***
Birth cohort (ref: 1950-55)						
1970-75	0.822	2.529 ***	1.150	0.359 **	0.665	0.749
Nationality (ref. foreign)						
Swiss	0.580 *	0.903	2.388 *	1.519	2.049	1.185
AIC	894.5 -	747.0 -	415.3 -	437.2 -	330.2 -	356.9 -
R2	0.323 -	0.209 -	0.143 -	0.132 -	0.192 -	0.297 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

Main findings and discussion

When looking at the period between ages 16/20 and 40 across two cohorts for four kinds of life trajectories, we clearly found that life trajectories remained patterned and fell into a small number of interpretable types as other scholars previously did using the Swiss Household Panel (Widmer & Levy, 2013). We noticed striking differences between the trajectories of the individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort and the trajectories of the individuals belonging to the older birth cohort.

First, younger individuals globally postponed most transitions traditionally associated with the transition to adulthood regarding family formation and the school-training-work nexus. Early parenthood is clearly a pattern representative of the older cohort, a finding that is in line with the delayed age at the birth of the first child for married women from 26 in 1970 to 30 in 2008 in Switzerland. Similarly, having only one long-term relationship and thus following a *Stayer* trajectory was more common among individuals of the older birth cohort. Regarding the school-training-work nexus, following long studies leading to a delayed entry into the labor market is a pattern representative of the younger cohort. Therefore, there are processes of differentiation at work, as the number of distinct states or stages across the life time increased from one cohort to the next. For the younger cohort, the transition to adulthood encompasses more life periods.

Second, we noticed a pluralization of life trajectories for individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort. We speak about pluralization as there is an increase in the synchronous number of states or stages in a given group of the population. Some individuals left the parental nest early to experience either living alone, co-residence with roommates, or cohabitation with a partner. Some postponed their departure from the parental home before experiencing those various living arrangements in whole or in part. The transition to parenthood also varied widely from person to person, stretching from early parenthood to late parenthood or even no parenthood, at. In the field of intimacy, experiencing several romantic relationships was becoming more common in the younger cohort as well as staying unattached. Staying unattached does not mean that those individuals did not experience casual encounters, have "sex friends" or even short relationships, but it means that they did not commit to any lasting relationship during this period of time. Thus, conjugality and transition to parenthood were not benchmarks for adulthood, as many individuals remained single and lived alone past their thirties. The fact that individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 cohort opted for postponing or renouncing conjugality and parenthood may reveal a quest for independence and self-realization, in accordance with theories of individualization. Furthermore, the role of education has to be stressed, as investment in tertiary education is associated with the postponement of family formation and the lengthening of the school-training period and the

differentiated levels of education therefore contribute to this pluralization. The fact that the ways into adulthood have pluralized is well documented by many scholars (Bidart, 2005, 2008; Galland, 1991, 2003). To some extent, we can speak about on-going processes of de-standardization in family formation, as some life states or events are either experienced by a smaller part of given populations or occur at more dispersed ages and with uneven duration. However, this pluralization does not yet clearly indicate a process of de-standardization, as the main pattern remained composed of the same sequence (parental home, possible period of living alone or with roommates, conjugality, and parenthood) even if the timing varied.

For Germany, Brückner and Mayer (2005) also concluded that there is a transformation of the life course and, in particular, a certain de-standardization in family formation, coupled with some degree of de-institutionalization and a pluralization of family forms. They explained this development by the expansion of education, the value changes starting in the early 1970s, and the women's movement. However, they did not find evidence to support the de-standardization thesis for the school-training-work nexus.

In addition, occupational trajectories were strongly gendered, as other studies have also observed (Widmer et al., 2003). In relation to the issue of standardization and individualization of life courses in Switzerland, we also found a standardized pattern of full-time for men (working either as employees or self-employed) and a limited pluralization for women with a more diversified integration in the labor market. We return to this result in the discussion of Section 4.4 (after presenting a matched typology of co-residence and occupational trajectories). We also return to the impact of social structure factors in more detail in the discussion of Section 4.5.

4.3 Life stages: statuses and roles

Considering adulthood trajectories from age 16/20 to age 40 informs us on critical years of transition to adulthood. In doing so, we left aside a large part of the trajectories for individuals belonging to the older cohort who were aged between 56 and 61 at the time of the interview. This section replicates to some extent the work conducted in the previous section, but does so from another perspective. Instead of focusing on an age period (16/20-40), it focuses on a time period covering the years between 1991 and 2011. The last twenty years are relevant in a network approach, as we want to consider the impact of the years preceding the collection of the personal networks. In doing so, the two groups of respondents are located at different life-course stages. Individuals belonging to the 1950-1955 birth cohort were aged 36 to 41 and 56 to 61, while individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 birth cohort were aged 16 to 21 and 36 to 41. It should be noted that whereas there is an overlap for respondents born between 1970 and 1975, it is not the case for respondents born between 1950 and 1955. We first briefly discuss the ways in which roles and statuses are related to social participation and to the unfolding of life courses, as individuals acquire new roles and statuses and lose some others over time. We then present typologies for all four kinds of trajectories, co-residence, partnership, spatial mobility, and occupation, highlighting variation according to life-course stages.

Individuals are simultaneously active in several social fields and therefore hold several statuses and roles. A woman may be a mother to her children, a daughter to her own mother, a teacher in her occupation, the treasurer of the neighbor association, etc. Throughout their life course, their statuses and roles change in accordance with experienced transitions and events (Sapin et al., 2007). This woman may become a grandmother, retired, widowed, etc. Her children's transition to parenthood gives her the new status of grandmother, which corresponds to a new role with related rights and duties.

In this perspective, the life course is understood as a sequence of status profiles (Levy, 2013). Statuses and roles are related to social participation in social fields. The idea of field combines three aspects related to statuses and roles: participation, position, and role (Levy, 2013). "Participation" in a field first implies some knowledge of the characteristics of this specific field (normative expectancies, rules of functioning, opportunities, constraints, social representations, etc.). Second, it implies holding a "position", as individuals are social actors. Holding a position means being located in a hierarchical structure made of power, prestige, resources, rewards, and sanctions. This position and its related properties have an impact inside and outside this specific

field, as social participation always happens simultaneously in several fields. Participation in a field and holding a position go together with enacting the corresponding “role” to handle the rights and duties related to it. We like this definition of the life course as a sequence of status profiles because it accounts for micro (individuals) and meso (fields) levels of participation. Moreover, fields are components of a larger social structure (macro level).

In summary, when considering the period from 1991 to 2011, position in the life course will be more relevant to understand the diversity of life trajectories. Trajectories of individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 birth cohort will be characterized by transitions, from school/training to the labor market, from family of orientation to family of procreation, etc. In contrast, trajectories of individuals belonging to the 1950-1955 birth cohort will be characterized by more stability, as they are between 36-41 and 56-61. Nevertheless, they may experience the departure of their own children (empty nest), union dissolution, work-related events, and spatial mobility.

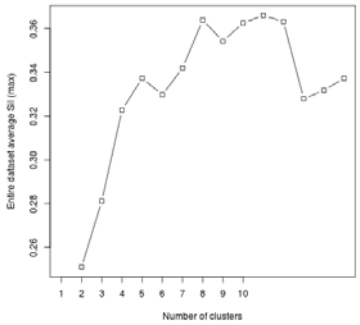
Empirical results

Regarding co-residence trajectories from 1991 to 2011, we kept the same nine residential statuses we had for the co-residence trajectories from ages 20 to 40 in Section 4.2.[63] Based on the Silhouette width, we chose a solution with eight clusters (see Figure 15). We obtained more clusters than for the trajectories between ages 20 and 40 because of greater diversity.

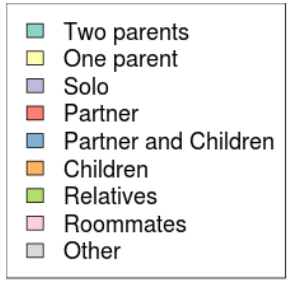
The most common type of co-residence trajectories was *Parenthood*, defined by the status "With a partner and children" (28.6%). These individuals spent the last twenty years in a family life characterized by the presence of their partner and children. The second most common type was named *Transition to parenthood* trajectories as individuals experienced several stages leading to this transition, approximately in the middle of the considered period (26.7%). Slightly more than a tenth of the individuals had *Conjugal* trajectories characterized by conjugality as they mostly lived with a partner (12.2%). Another ten percent of them mostly went on living alone, which we named *Solo* trajectories (11%). A final ten percent of individuals experienced *Empty nest* trajectories. For approximately 10 years, they lived with their partner and children and then only with their partner, indicating that their children had left. Two other types were divided between a stage in the parental home and a time of independence, sometimes, but not systematically, ending with the transition to parenthood. In the first case (5.2%), individuals experienced a parental home composed of two parents, so we named their trajectories *Nestalgic*. In the second case (3.5%), individuals experienced a parental home composed of one parent, so we named their trajectories *Dyadic attachment* to highlight that they developed a strong bond with their custodian parent. The last type was representative of individuals who lived for a period of time only with children in a one-parent family and, for most cases, another period with children and partner in a stepfamily (*One-parent & Stepfamily* trajectories, 4.1%).

63 Nine co-residence statuses: (1) With two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) Solo, (4) With a partner, (5) With a partner and children, (6) With children only, (7) With relatives, (8) With roommates, and (9) Other.

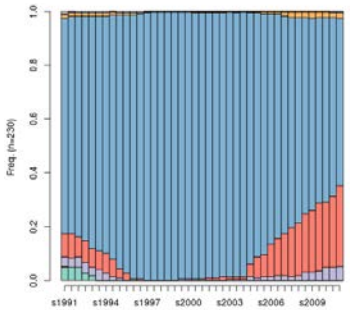
Figure 15: Eight types of co-residence trajectories, 1991-2011 (n=803)



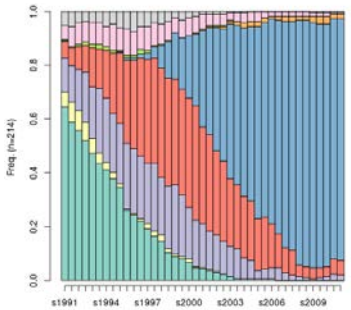
Silhouette width



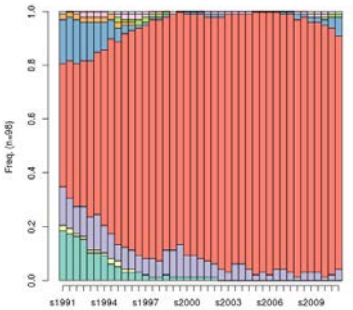
Legend



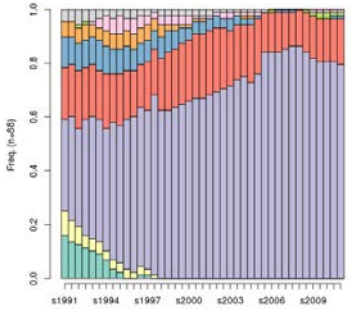
Parenthood
(28.6%, n=230)



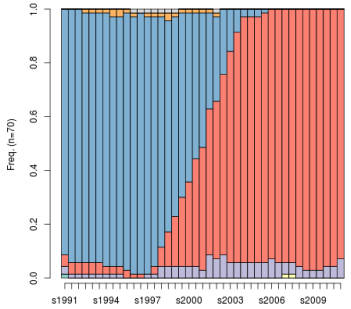
Transition to parenthood
(26.7%, n=214)



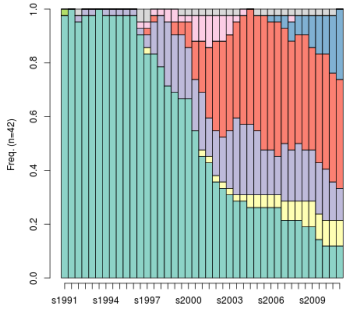
Conjugal
(12.2%, n=98)



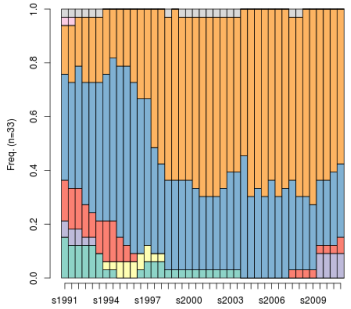
Solo
(11%, n=88)



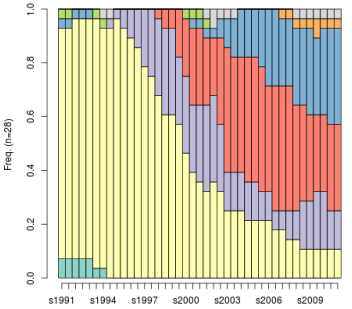
Empty nest
(8.7%, n=70)



Nestalgic
(5.2%, n=42)



One-parent & Stepfamily
(4.1%, n=33)



Dyadic attachment
(3.5%, n=28)

We then performed logistic regressions to identify the social structure factors shaping co-residence trajectories from 1991 to 2011 (see Table 50). We included the same five independent variables and added current occupational status. As expected, age group was the factor with the strongest impact since we investigated two different windows of time for the two birth cohorts. Therefore, we are studying a life-stage effect rather than a cohort effect. Older individuals were associated with *Empty nest*, *Parenthood*, *Solo* and *Conjugal* co-residence trajectories, whereas younger individuals were associated with *Transition to parenthood*, *Nestalgic*, and *Dyadic attachment* co-residence trajectories. Older individuals had experienced more stability during the last twenty years than younger individuals who experienced a period characterized by multiple changes. Changes which occurred for the older individuals were either the empty nest transition, or a separation as in the *One-parent & Stepfamily* co-residence trajectories. It should be noted that *One-parent & Stepfamily* co-residence trajectories were not influenced by age group.

Regarding gender, which has already been found to be a shaping factor of co-residence trajectories between ages 20 and 40, we noticed that women were less associated with *Parenthood* and *Transition to parenthood* trajectories, and more with *One-parent & Stepfamily* and *Conjugal* trajectories. The proportion of women being the head of one-parent families is much higher than the proportion of men across most countries (Berrington, 2014; Eydoux & Letablier, 2007; McLanahan & Percheski, 2008; Stoltz, 1997).

Childhood co-residence trajectories were associated with adulthood co-residence, underlining the weight of previous life experiences. Having lived with two parents was associated with *Nestalgic* and with *Transition to parenthood*, while *Non-standard* childhood trajectories were associated with *Dyadic attachment* and *Solo* trajectories. The association between childhood trajectories and the two types of *Nestalgic* adulthood trajectories was not surprising. More interesting was the other association suggesting that individuals experiencing *Non-standard* childhood trajectories were more likely to opt for *Solo* trajectories.

Current occupational status was also related to trajectories from 1991 to 2011. Individuals with a status at home were more associated with *Transition to parenthood* and *Parenthood* trajectories and less with *Solo* and *Empty nest* trajectories than individuals with a full-time employment status.

Education was marginally associated with trajectories from 1991 to 2011. Individuals with lower levels of education were less likely to follow *Transition to parenthood* trajectories and slightly more *Empty nest* trajectories than individuals having a vocational education. This is congruent with the fact that individuals with lower levels of education were more likely to have

Early parenthood trajectories between ages 20 and 40. In contrast, individuals with higher levels of education were more likely to follow *Dyadic attachment* trajectories and slightly less *One-parent & Stepfamily* trajectories than individuals having a vocational education.

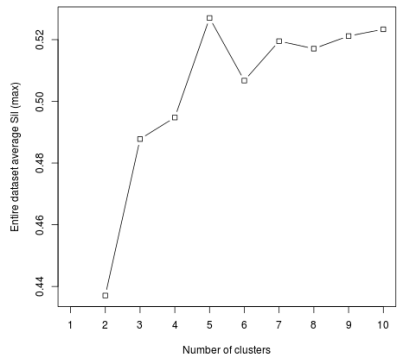
Table 50: Shaping factors of co-residence trajectories 1991-2011, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Parenthood	**Transition to parenthood**	**Conjugal**	**Nestalgic**	**Solo**	**Dyadic attachment**	**One parent & Stepfamily**	**Empty nest**
(Intercept)	*0.777*	*0.010* ***	*0.121* ***	*0.001* ***	*0.296* **	*0.045* ***	*0.020* ***	*0.100* ***
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)								
Standard	1.379	3.683 ***	0.727	4.733 *	0.566 *	0.034 ***	0.560	1.273
Current occupational status (ref : full-time)								
At home	2.689 **	3.513 **	0.621	0.304	0.109 *	1.719	0.527	0.119 *
Other	1.020	1.844	0.234 *	0.000	1.725	1.394	2.366	0.688
Part-time	1.520	2.211 *	0.652	0.511	0.699	0.697	1.111	0.606
Self-employment	1.042	1.703	0.660	1.073	1.231	0.523	1.495	0.764
Level of education (ref: vocational school)								
Lower secondary	1.601	0.226 **	0.569	0.552	1.328	3.162	0.668	2.081 †
Upper secondary	1.490	0.494	0.621	1.042	1.824	1.919	0.529	1.331
Tertiary	0.924	0.961	0.674	1.488	1.487	4.279 **	0.156 †	0.985
Sex (ref: men)								
Women	0.459 ***	0.540 *	2.796 ***	0.456 †	1.386	0.985	6.305 **	1.238
Age group (ref: 56-61)								
36-41	0.133 ***	57.501 ***	0.472 **	48.893 ***	0.470 **	7.105 **	0.725	0.031 ***
Nationality (ref. foreign)								
Swiss	0.910	0.759	1.900 †	1.247	0.645	0.604	1.300	1.749
AIC	811.7 -	581.7 -	565.9 -	250.5 -	535.9 -	169.5 -	258.6 -	403.2 -
R2	0.242 -	0.530 -	0.086 -	0.275 -	0.084 -	0.396 -	0.140 -	0.235 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

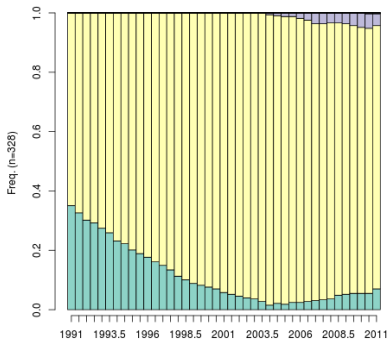
When considering partnership trajectories during the last twenty years, we found the same five types based on the Silhouette width, but another distribution (see Figure 16). The main type remained *Stayer* partnership trajectories (40.8%). The second type was no longer *Loner*, but *Late bloomer* partnership trajectories (22.4%). Indeed, the percentage of respondents experiencing *Loner* partnership trajectories dropped to 10.7%. Correlatively, more respondents experienced either *Slow shifter* (14.3%), or *Quick shifter* partnership trajectories (11.7%).

Figure 16: Five types of partnership trajectories 1991-2011 (n=803)

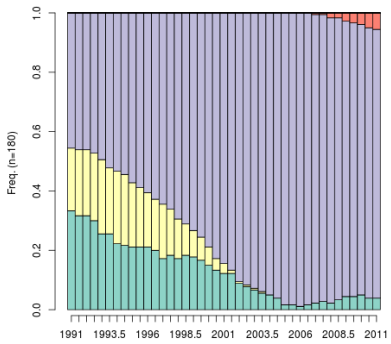


Silhouette width

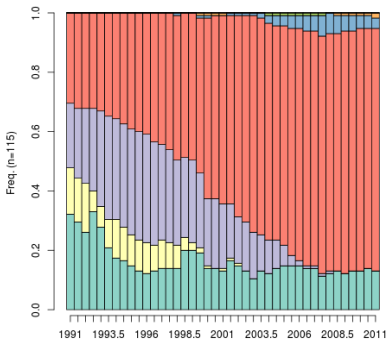
Legend



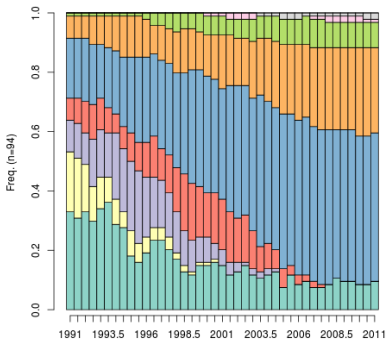
Stayer (40.8%, n=328)



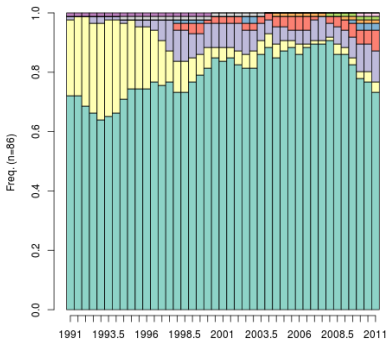
Late bloomer (22.4%, n=180)



Slow shifter (14.3%, n=115)



Quick shifter (11.7%, n=94)



Loner (10.7%, n=86)

We then performed logistic regressions and added two variables, current family situation and current occupational status. We found that partnership trajectories from 1991 to 2011 were shaped by much the same factors as partnership trajectories between ages 16 and 40 (see Table 51). Nevertheless, the significance of the associations was systematically weaker. The impact of age group clearly diminished. Younger individuals were slightly more associated with *Loner* and less associated with *Stayer* partnership trajectories.

Current occupational status did not significantly influence partnership trajectories. Not surprisingly, current family situation had a strong impact on partnership trajectories. Some results were very obvious. For instance, all other family situations were more associated with *Loner* and less with *Stayer* partnership trajectories than first-time couple with children. Individuals who were single at the time of the interview mostly experienced *Loner* partnership trajectories, underlining that singlehood was quite a lasting stage. In addition to their association with *Loner* partnership trajectories, individuals experiencing a current stepfamily situation were more likely to have followed *Slow shifter* and *Quick shifter* partnership trajectories.

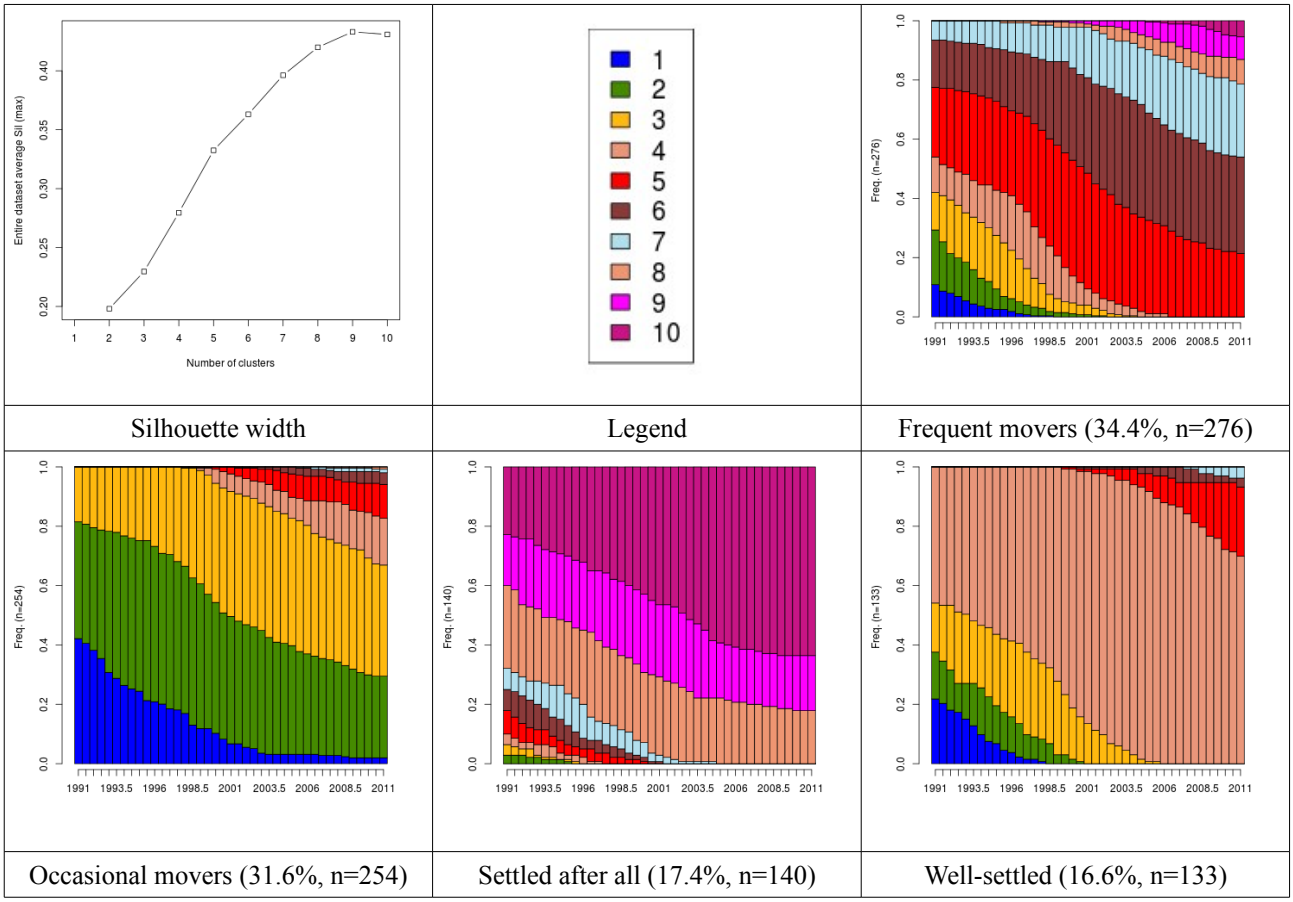
Table 51: Shaping factors of partnership trajectories 1991-2011, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Loner	**Stayer**	**Late bloomer**	**Slow shifter**	**Quick shifter**
(Intercept)	*0.002* ***	*2.223* *	*0.244* ***	*0.091* ***	*0.064* ***
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)					
Standard	1.005	1.064	1.155	0.954	0.803
Current family situation (ref: first-time couple with children)					
Couple	59.216 ***	0.384 ***	0.780	1.761 †	2.054 *
Solo with children	286.017 ***	0.199 ***	0.288 *	2.675 *	1.187
Solo without children	741.256 ***	0.180 ***	0.174 **	0.462	1.240
Stepfamily	36.425 **	0.132 ***	1.415	2.074 **	4.175 ***
Current occupational status (ref : full-time)					
At home	0.614	1.262	0.613	1.345	0.978
Other	1.173	0.793	1.158	1.475	0.343
Part-time	1.016	1.045	0.879	1.027	1.030
Self-employment	0.878	1.075	1.025	0.465 *	1.666 †
Level of education (ref: vocational school)					
Lower secondary	0.843	2.533 **	0.662	0.442 †	0.535
Upper secondary	0.674	1.025	1.178	1.019	0.806
Tertiary	1.290	0.604 *	0.820	1.555 †	1.699 †
Sex (ref: men)					
Women	0.759	0.762	1.517 †	1.147	0.925
Age group (ref: 56-61)					
36-41	1.822 †	0.730 †	0.980	0.964	1.437
Nationality (ref. foreign)					
Swiss	1.089	0.673 †	1.101	1.553	1.186
AIC	337.4 -	950.2 -	828.5 -	645.9 -	544.6 -
R2	0.495 -	0.216 -	0.074 -	0.078 -	0.110 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

Regarding spatial mobility trajectories, we selected four types from 1991 to 2011 (see Figure 17). Although there was no clear cut in the Silhouette width, we decided to select four types in parallel with spatial mobility trajectories between ages 20 and 40. One third was characterized by frequent residential moves (*Frequent mover t*rajectories, 34.4%). Another third had experienced occasional moves (*Occasional mover t*rajectories, 31.6%). The third group in order of importance was named *Settled after all* trajectories to underline that, although respondents experienced many residential moves, they found some stability around the 10th residential move (17.4%). Finally, the last group was clearly characterized by stability, a stability reached early with the fourth residential move (*Well-settled* trajectories, 16.6%).

Figure 17: Four types of spatial mobility trajectories 1991-2011 (n=803)



Silhouette width	Legend	Frequent movers (34.4%, n=276)
Occasional movers (31.6%, n=254)	Settled after all (17.4%, n=140)	Well-settled (16.6%, n=133)

We then performed logistic regressions and, as for all trajectories from 1991 to 2011, added independent variables about the current family situation and occupational status (see Table 52). Swiss respondents were strongly associated with *Settled after all* trajectories. Younger individuals were positively associated with *Occasional movers* and negatively associated with *Settled after all* trajectories, reflecting the fact that, being younger, they had overall moved more than older individuals. Other associations are difficult to interpret, which is certainly related to the absence of clear cut for clusters.

Table 52: Shaping factors of spatial mobility trajectories 1991-2011, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

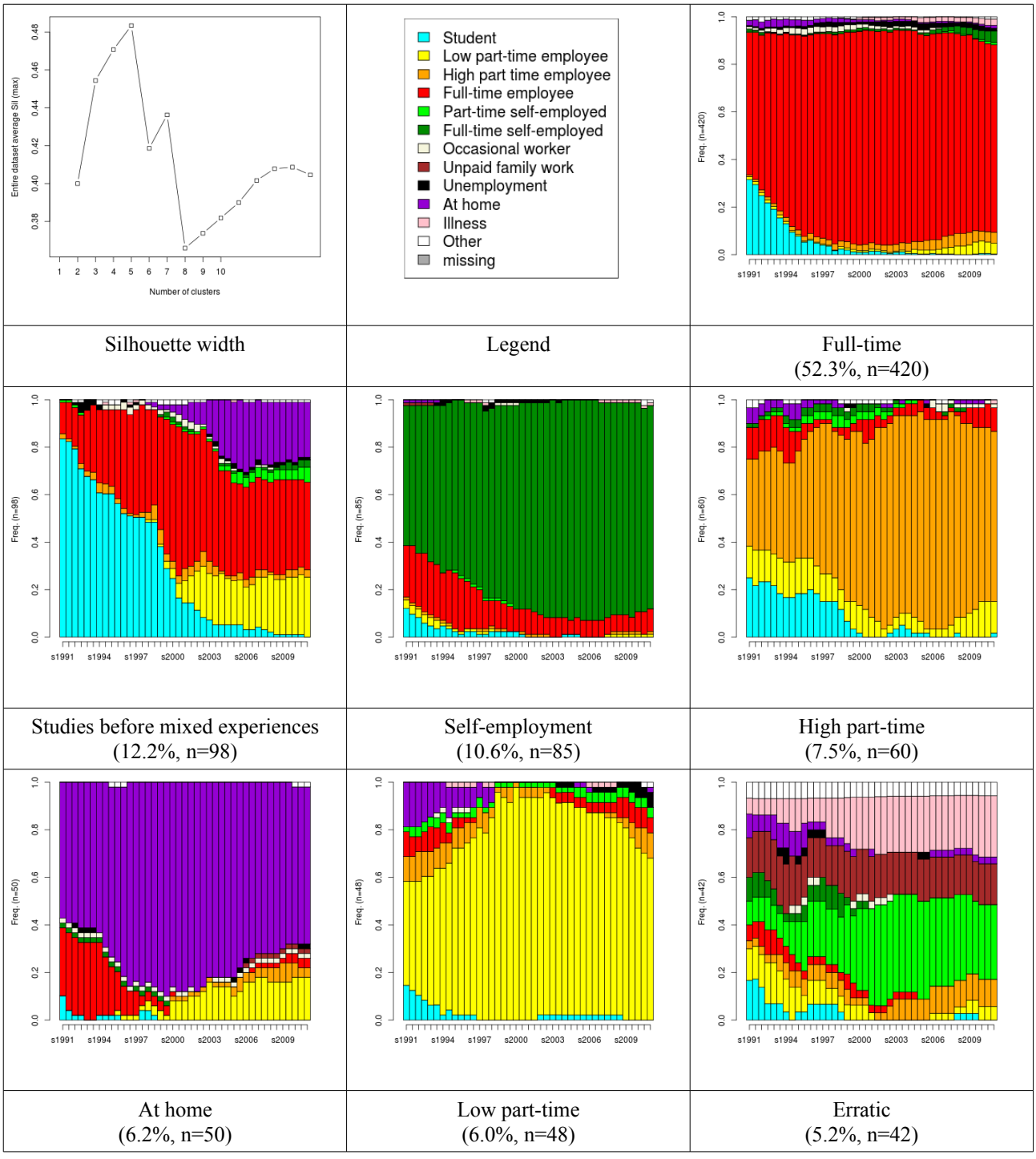
	Settled after all	**Frequent movers**	**Well-settled**	**Occasional movers**
(Intercept)	0.141 ***	0.461 *	0.227 ***	0.358 **
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)				
Standard	0.436 **	0.816	1.538	1.722 *
Current family situation (ref: first-time couple with children)				
Couple	0.482 †	1.289	0.684	1.294
Solo with children	1.620	0.880	0.906	0.868
Solo without children	1.563	0.958	0.353 *	1.421
Stepfamily	2.196 **	0.941	0.623 †	0.758
Current occupational status (ref : full-time)				
At home	0.377	1.241	1.261	0.930
Other	1.090	1.047	1.504	0.614
Part-time	1.922 *	0.928	0.967	0.708
Self-employment	1.401	1.458 †	0.499 *	0.804
Level of education (ref: vocational school)				
Lower secondary	0.342 *	1.111	0.914	1.579
Upper secondary	0.629	1.017	0.483	1.839 †
Tertiary	1.819 *	1.025	0.587 †	0.915
Sex (ref: men)				
Women	1.535 †	1.376 †	0.686	0.722
Age group (ref: 56-61)				
36-41	0.316 ***	1.013	0.793	2.281 ***
Nationality (ref. foreign)				
Swiss	2.800 **	1.057	1.239	0.569 **
AIC	650.6 -	1027.4 -	707.5 -	931.1 -
R2	0.211 -	0.019 -	0.065 -	0.116 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

Regarding occupational trajectories, we kept the same twelve occupational statuses we used for the occupational trajectories between ages 18 and 40 in Section 4.2.[64] Based on the Silhouette width, we chose a solution with seven types from 1991 to 2011 (see Figure 18). Half of the respondents had *Full-time* occupational trajectories as employees (52.3%). The proportion of respondents experiencing *Full-time* occupational trajectories was even higher than for trajectories between ages 18 and 40. The second type was characterized by *Studies before mixed experiences* occupational trajectories (12.2%). After studying, they started full-time employment, part-time employment, or stayed at home. We also distinguished *Self-employment* occupational trajectories (10.6%). Two other types were characterized by part-time employment; *High part-time* (7.5%) and *Low part-time* occupational trajectories (6.0%). The percentage of *At home* occupational trajectories remained the same (6.2%), as for trajectories between ages 18 and 40. Finally, we obtained a seventh type that we named *Erratic* occupational trajectories (5.2%). Individuals partially worked as employees, were self-employed, did some unpaid family work, and sometimes experienced periods of illness. These *Erratic* occupational trajectories were characterized by instability, a result that is in line with the increasing precarization of occupational trajectories (Castel, 2009; Paugam, 2000).

64 Twelve occupational statuses: (1) Student (school/training), (2) Low part-time employee, (3) High part-time employee, (4) Full-time employee, (5) Part-time self-employed, (6) Full-time self-employed, (7) Occasional worker, (8) Unpaid family work, (9) Unemployment, (10) At home, (11) Illness, and (12) Other.

Figure 18: Seven types of occupational trajectories 1991-2011 (n=803)



Silhouette width	Legend	Full-time (52.3%, n=420)
Studies before mixed experiences (12.2%, n=98)	Self-employment (10.6%, n=85)	High part-time (7.5%, n=60)
At home (6.2%, n=50)	Low part-time (6.0%, n=48)	Erratic (5.2%, n=42)

We then performed logistic regressions (see Table 53). We included the same independent variables and added the current family situation. The associations were the same for the six comparable types. *Erratic* occupational trajectories were more prominent for women and older individuals. Single respondents were more associated with *Full-time* occupational trajectories than respondents in a first-time couple with children. Respondents in stepfamilies or in one-parent families were less associated with *Studies before mixed experiences* and *At home* occupational

trajectories, underlining the complex family-work balance. Indeed, those individuals are more likely to need to work for economic reasons, but also have to manage a more complex family life.

Table 53: Shaping factors of occupational trajectories 1991-2011, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	High part-time	**Full-time**	**Studies before mixed experiences**	**Erratic**	**Self-employment**	**At home**	**Low part-time**
(Intercept)	*0.008 ****	*5.367 ****	*0.005 ****	*0.058 ****	*0.054 ****	*0.002 ****	*0.003 ****
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)							
Standard	1.103	0.649 *	1.171	0.677	5.075 **	0.625	1.362
Current family situation (ref: first-time couple with children)							
Couple	1.607	1.016	0.892	0.320	1.689	0.407	1.091
Solo with children	2.052	1.669	0.155 †	0.433	1.463	0.232 †	0.897
Solo without children	0.790	2.212 **	0.622	0.821	1.018	0.332 †	0.381
Stepfamily	1.530	1.342	0.408 *	0.569	1.784 †	0.238 *	0.977
Level of education (ref: vocational school)							
Lower secondary	0.354	0.925	0.199 *	1.063	0.342 †	3.959 **	2.207 †
Upper secondary	1.257	0.696	1.433	0.751	0.785	1.930	1.173
Tertiary	2.430 *	0.370 ***	6.007 ***	0.734	0.934	0.332	0.630
Sex (ref: men)							
Women	7.362 ***	0.157 ***	3.793 ***	5.610 ***	0.386 ***	48.634 ***	15.632 ***
Age group (ref: 56-61)							
36-41	0.397 **	1.410 *	32.044 ***	0.429 *	0.232 ***	0.781	0.371 **
Nationality (ref. foreign)							
Swiss	2.893 †	0.637 *	0.621	0.728	1.136	2.676 †	3.306 †
AIC	377.2 -	953.0 -	409.6 -	315.9 -	490.6 -	298.3 -	317.2 -
R2	0.185 -	0.260 -	0.438 -	0.115 -	0.181 -	0.313 -	0.228 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

We also considered migration trajectories from 1991 to 2011 and obtained four types of trajectories. In 2011 all respondents belonged to the permanent resident population of Switzerland. In fact 90% of them had spent all of the last twenty years in Switzerland. The remaining 10% of the respondents who were not yet in Switzerland in 1991 progressively arrived in that country in the intervening twenty years. Among them, 6.2% came from South-Western Europe, 1.2% from North-Eastern Europe, and 2.6% from other countries. As the variability is very low and as foreign background is already approached by nationality, we only indicated this as complementary information and included the typology in Annex 9.4.

Main findings and discussion

In this section, we have considered two groups of individuals located at different life-course stages. For individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 birth cohort, the period from ages 16/21 to 36/41 was one of crucial changes in most fields of participation save spatial mobility. They experienced the transition to adulthood with leaving the parental nest and, for some of them, forming their own family. Many of them were studying at the beginning of this period and progressively entered the labor market.

In contrast, for individuals belonging to the 1950-1955 birth cohort, the period from ages 36/41 to 56/61 was one of stability before the new changes created by retirement and the empty nest phenomenon. Nevertheless, there was much diversity among individuals in this period. Some experienced an early transition to parenthood and, consequently, saw their own children became residentially independent. Others got divorced and some of them remarried. Others went on leading a conjugal life or living alone. There were even a few individuals experiencing transitions commonly associated with the transition to adulthood: six individuals of the older cohort left their parental home during this period. Finally, ten individuals became parents for the first time. Heterogeneity increases among individuals throughout the life course, a phenomenon that leads to intracohort differentiation (Dannefer, 1987, 2003). This process is embedded in social structures and related to the cumulative advantage/disadvantage theory that states that inequalities increase with the passage of time (Dannefer, 1987, 2003). In this section, we do not elaborate on inequalities, but it is worth highlighting that individuals belonging to the older cohort followed pluralized co-residence trajectories, even if the majority followed *Parenthood* co-residence trajectories.

In summary, contrasting the trajectories of those two age groups was also very revealing, as it highlighted that statuses and roles often change with the passage of time (Levy, 2013; Sapin et al., 2007).

4.4 Gendering of life trajectories

We investigate the concept of master status which interestingly accounts for the strong and persistent gendering of life courses regarding the reconciliation of family and work. We then considered conjointly occupational and co-residence trajectories to create a new matched typology accounting for those two fields.

The concept of "master status" is used to designate specific characteristics of a person that socially weigh more heavily than others and that shape her/his self-perception and social identity. Homosexuality or excess weight may work as a master status if they become structuring characteristics of the identity predominating over others. According to Levy, "gender is a far-reaching dominant or master status, shaping almost all social relationships and fields of interaction" (2013, p. 25). The concept of master status postulates that there is a normative and institutional framing of gender relationships in the division of paid work and family work in contemporary Western societies (Krüger & Levy, 2001). Schematically, men are assigned to paid work and develop their main identity around it, while women are assigned to family work and develop their main identity around it. Men hold the role of breadwinner, while women hold the role of home-carer or care-giver. Consequently, although most women participate to some extent in the field of paid work, in terms of structuring power, this participation does not significantly contribute to their identity formation and self-perception. This division is institutionally crystallized in the male-breadwinner model (and its counterpart the home-carer or care-giver model). Although at the economic level Switzerland has partially separated the fate of married women from their husbands (by separating and individualizing pensions funds in 1997), other institutions maintain this division, such as the absence of paternity leave for fathers and the lack of widespread childcare facilities (Valarino, 2014; Valarino & Bernardi, 2010).

Women's participation in the labor market has given rise to what is currently known under the concept of the "work-family conflict". The work-family conflict reflects difficulties in reconciling work and family duties, often due to time constraints, difficulties which create further stress and discomfort. Some authors argue that this conflict can be offset by the satisfaction drawn from more diversified social participation and role expansion (Grönlund & Öun, 2010). However, this is possible in countries promoting a dual-earner model. In Switzerland, the family-work conflict is largely supported by less investment of women in the labor market. Part-time employment is the norm for employed Swiss women (57.3%, in 2009) and the exception for men (12.9%).

As already mentioned in the previous section, women's and men's occupational trajectories are quite different. Men's trajectories were found to be either very standardized or individualized, while women's trajectories were found to be more pluralized (Widmer et al., 2003). In this dissertation, we have found similar results with a 10-year interval. Actually family and occupational trajectories are strongly interdependent, as the transition to parenthood is associated with a partial withdrawal from the labor market for women and even more investment in occupational careers for men (Giudici & Gauthier, 2009). Before this transition, the differences are less obvious. Thus, occupational and co-residence trajectories are often closely linked, especially for women. Swiss women are entitled to 14 weeks' maternity leave and, in many cases, women opt for a part-time paid job in order to reconcile work and family life (Giudici & Gauthier, 2009). Furthermore it should be noted that, related to the concept of linked lives, a woman's trajectory will be influenced by the trajectory of her partner and conversely, as they have to share specific tasks (e.g., childrearing, housework, etc.).

In summary, as there is a strong and persistent gendering of the occupational trajectories due to family constraints weighing differently on women and men, a new typology taking into account conjointly co-residence and occupational trajectories will shed light on the interlink between family life and work investment. After the transition to parenthood, women will be more likely to follow occupational trajectories characterized by part-time employment and periods spent at home, whereas men will be more likely to follow full-time occupational trajectories.

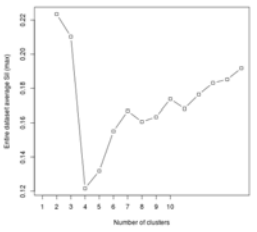
Empirical results

Considering simultaneously co-residence and occupational trajectories from 1991 to 2011, we performed multi-channel sequence analysis. For both co-residence and occupational trajectories, we used the same set of statuses as in Sections 4.2 and 4.3.[65] Based on the Silhouette width, we chose a solution with seven matched types (see Figure 19). We named the first type *Double transition* trajectories, as individuals experienced a transition in both trajectories (32.6%). On the one hand, after a period devoted to higher education, they entered the labor market, while, on the other hand, they left their parental home, found a partner and became parents. This means that, while they were studying, they stayed in their family of orientation and that the end of their studies roughly coincided with the departure from the parental nest. Three types have stability regarding family life, as they lived continuously with a partner and children. One is marked by full-

65 Nine co-residence statuses: (1) With two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) Solo, (4) With a partner, (5) With a partner and children, (6) With children only, (7) With relatives, (8) With roommates, and (9) Other.
Twelve occupational statuses: (1) Student (school/training), (2) Low part-time employee, (3) High part-time employee, (4) Full-time employee, (5) Part-time self-employed, (6) Full-time self-employed, (7) Occasional worker, (8) Unpaid family work, (9) Unemployment, (10) At home, (11) Illness, and (12) Other.

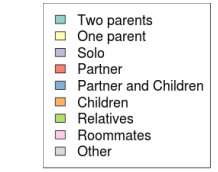
time employment (*Full-time & Family life* trajectories, 19.2%), the other by a partial withdrawal from the labor market with part-time employment and/or at-home trajectories (*Home / Part-time & Family life* trajectories, 15.1%), and the last one by full-time self-employment trajectories (*Self-employment & Family life* trajectories, 6.5%). A fifth type is characterized by full-time employment trajectories with co-residence trajectories characterized by living alone or with a partner (*Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* trajectories, 14.7%). Conjugality was also prominent in a sixth type matched with part-time employment trajectories (7.8%). Finally, a few individuals followed erratic employment trajectories and mostly lived alone (*Erratic employment & Solo life* trajectories, 4.1%). In comparison with previous results on each kind of trajectory, there is a process of reduction of complexity. Indeed, some information became less central in the multi-channel sequence analysis. Some types of co-residence trajectories did not show up in the matched typology, namely co-residence trajectories characterized by their focus on the parental home (either *Nestalgic* or *Dyadic attachment* trajectories), by the departure of the children (*Empty nest* trajectories) and by one-parent and/or stepfamily. Occupational trajectories lost less information, as we only lost the distinction between *Low part-time* and *High part-time* occupational trajectories.

Figure 19: Seven types of matched co-residence and occupational trajectories 1991-2011 (n=803)



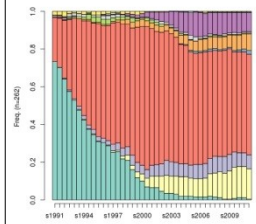
Silhouette width

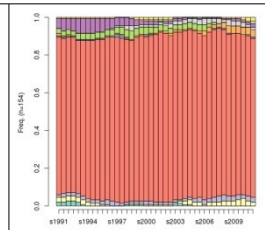
Legend: occupation

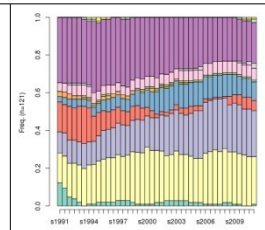


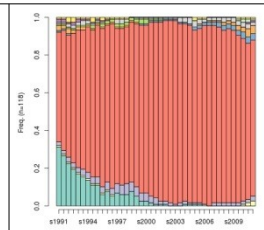
Legend: co-residence

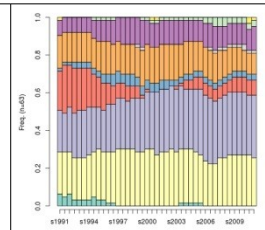
Occupational clusters

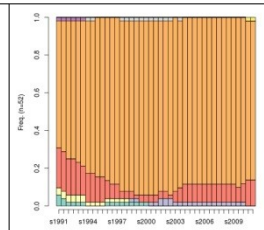


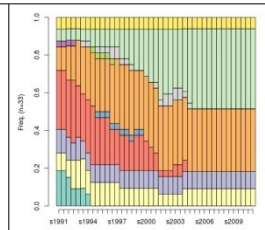




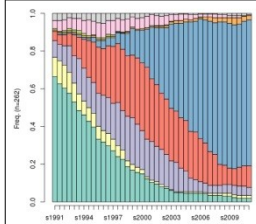


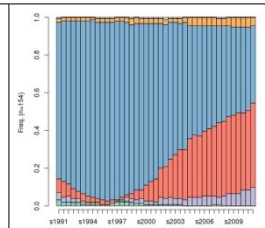


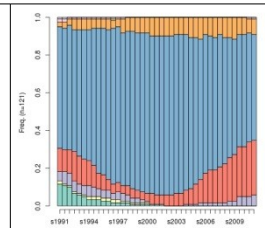


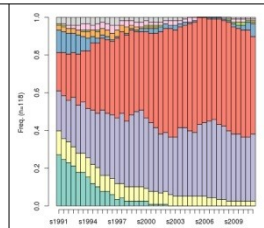


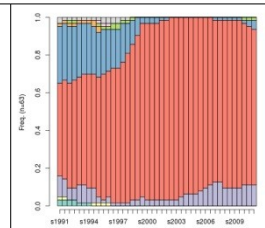
Co-residence clusters

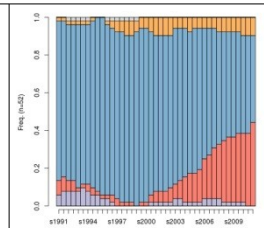


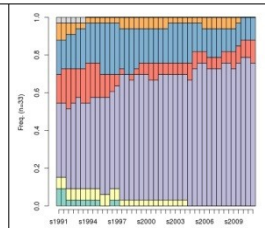












Double transition (32.6%, n=262)	Full-time & Family life (19.2%, n=154)	Home / Part-time & Family life (15.1%, n=121)	Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life (14.7%, n=118)	Part-time & Conjugal life (7.8%, n=63)	Self-employment & Family life (6.5%, n=52)	Erratic employment & Solo life (4.1%, n=33)

We performed logistic regressions to assess the impact of socio-demographic variables on the co-residence and occupational trajectories (see Table 54).[66] *Self-employment & Family life* trajectories were explained by having lived with two parents in childhood, by being a man, and by belonging to the older age group. *Double transition* trajectories were also explained by having lived with two parents in childhood, by tertiary education, by being a man, and, in particular, by belonging to the younger age group. *Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* trajectories were solely explained by having lived in another situation in childhood. *Part-time & Conjugal life* trajectories were explained by being a woman and by belonging to the older cohort. *Home / Part-time & Family life* trajectories were explained by lower secondary education, by being a woman and by belonging to the older cohort. *Erratic employment & Solo life* trajectories were explained by lower secondary education and by belonging to the older cohort. Finally, *Full-time & Family life* trajectories were explained by being a man, by belonging to the older cohort, and by having a foreign nationality.

Table 54: Shaping factors of matched co-residence and occupational trajectories 1991-2011, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Self-employ. & Family life	**Double Transition**	**Full-time & Solo/Conjugal life**	**Part-time & Conjugal life**	**Home/Part-time & Family life**	**Erratic employ. & Solo life**	**Full-time & Family life**
(Intercept)	*0.014* ***	*0.023* ***	*0.373* **	*0.021* ***	*0.016* ***	*0.104* ***	*2.196* *
Childhood co-residence trajectories 0-20 (ref: non-standard)							
Standard	6.123 *	1.872 *	0.430 ***	1.294	1.442	0.542	0.855
Level of education (ref: vocational school)							
Lower secondary	0.257	0.275 **	0.935	0.957	2.028 *	3.171 *	0.801
Upper secondary	0.792	1.054	0.709	1.785	1.200	0.631	0.707
Tertiary	1.604	1.987 *	0.888	0.812	0.808	0.812	0.561 *
Sex (ref: men)							
Women	0.301 **	0.498 **	0.902	7.172 ***	12.541 ***	0.646	0.237 ***
Age group (ref: 56-61)							
36-41	0.041 ***	91.628 ***	1.126	0.116 ***	0.455 **	0.327 *	0.074 ***
Nationality (ref. foreign)							
Swiss	3.071	0.731	0.935	1.627	1.837 †	1.005	0.488 *
AIC	311.6 -	557.4 -	670.0 -	369.4 -	557.1 -	264.8 -	618.2 -
R2	0.275 -	0.614 -	0.031 -	0.244 -	0.271 -	0.085 -	0.319 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

66 When controlling for interaction effect between sex and education, we found an interaction effect for *Double transition* and *Home/Part-time & Family life* trajectories. Women with lower secondary education were less likely to follow *Double transition* trajectories than men with lower secondary education. Women with upper secondary education were less likely to follow *Home/Part-time & Family life* trajectories than men with upper secondary education.

Main findings and discussion

We aligned with previous findings concerning the gendering of life courses. In the Swiss context, women and men are still functionally complementary and, consequently, unequal, with women assigned to family work and men to paid work. Occupational trajectories provide a good insight into this double standard. Whereas women were associated with part-time work and withdrawal from the labor market by staying at home, men mostly worked full-time and were self-employed, which often implies as well full-time investment. The strong association between men and full-time trajectories is related to the prominence of the male breadwinner model. The master status concept points out that, in contemporary Western societies, male identity is still more linked to work and female identity to family (Krüger & Levy, 2001). Similar findings were pointed out by researchers working on the Swiss Household Panel (Widmer et al., 2003). The fact that full-time occupational trajectories are mostly men's trajectories is related to the investment of women in family life. The arrival of the first child is the turning point that creates the first step in the differentiation process between female and male occupational trajectories (Giudici & Gauthier, 2009), even if women often start preparing for their future investment in family life by choosing studies and occupations compatible with their double burden. A study conducted in the school context has shown that, at age 15, corresponding to the end of compulsory education in Switzerland, teenagers already have highly gendered projections about their future orientation (Guilley et al., 2014). Part-time is sometimes seen as an option to overcome the work-family conflict (Lyonette, Crompton, & Wall, 2007). However, part-time work reinforces the gendered division of labor. In addition, part-time work is associated with many negative outcomes such as lower wages, lower protection, and lack of promotion prospects.

Referring to results presented in the previous sections, we also saw the association between women and family life in the event of separation or divorce. More women were following co-residence trajectories characterized by one-parent and stepfamily episodes. Indeed, in Switzerland, as in many other Western countries, caring for children is still perceived as women's duty and, after a divorce, primary custody more often remains on women's shoulders. Thus, as previously stated, single mother are at greater risk of poverty (Berrington, 2014; Eydoux & Letablier, 2007; McLanahan & Percheski, 2008; Stoltz, 1997). Finally, regarding partnership trajectories, it can also be pointed out that more of them followed *Late bloomer* partnership trajectories between ages 20 and 40. Women, because of biological constraints and social norms, have their first child at an earlier age than men; those constraints translated into earlier entry into conjugality and parenthood and, consequently, less time for experiencing *Loner* partnership trajectories during this crucial period of time.

4.5 Interlinkage between multidimensional life trajectories

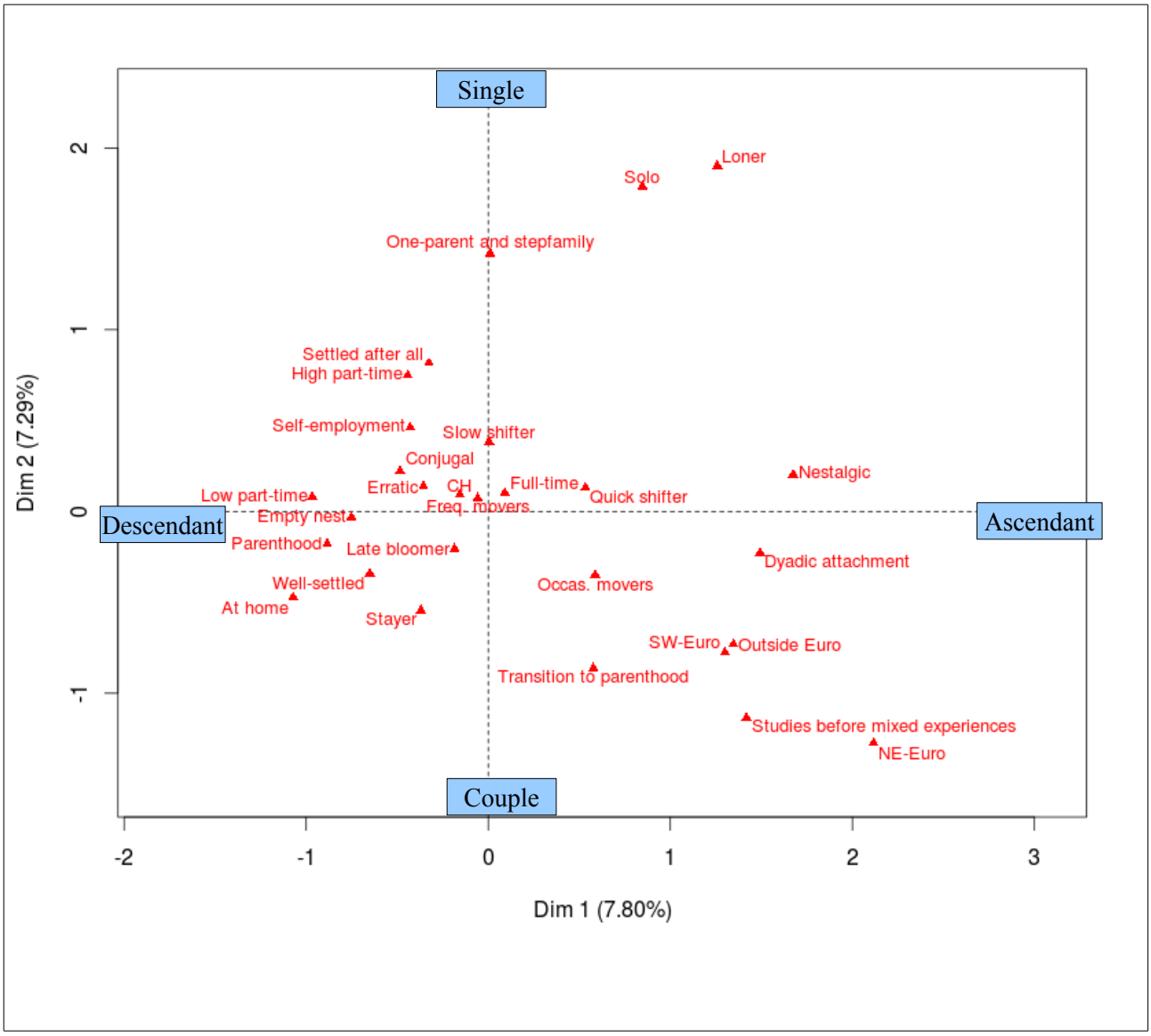
In the previous sections, we introduced in detail four kinds of trajectories from 1991 to 2011 – co-residence, partnership, occupational, and spatial mobility trajectories – and also briefly mentioned the migration trajectories of the respondents. We presented them separately and for each kind highlighted their main determinants. Nevertheless, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, all those "parallel" trajectories corresponding to distinct life domains are interconnected. Changes in one kind of trajectory often, but not systematically, imply changes in the others too. For instance, having children may lead to the acquisition of larger housing (a residential move) and then to residential stability for the sake of the children's schooling. A new job or a new partner may lead to a move to another city or country. In Section 4.4, we created a matched typology for co-residence and occupational trajectories, as investment in family and work influence each other, in particular for women. Like other scholars (Widmer et al., 2003), we found that giving birth was often associated with a partial withdrawal from the labor market for women in Switzerland. However, other changes in one kind of trajectory may not be reflected in the others, for instance, a promotion or a new job when happening in the same company or within the same city. Therefore, in this section, we investigate what types of life trajectories go together and uncover life-course profiles showing different patterns regarding the unfolding of individual lives, by means of multiple correspondence analysis. Furthermore, we expect those profiles to be associated with specific social structure factors shaping the life course.

Empirical results

To represent the pattern of relationships of the five kinds of life trajectory as we did in Section 3.6 for the network dimensions, we performed a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). In contrast to multi-channel analysis, which implies a reduction of complexity when matching two or more trajectories, as we observed with the matched trajectory of co-residence and occupational trajectories, multiple correspondence analysis maintains the diversity of each kind of trajectory and then shows the interrelations. Therefore, we used all trajectories from 1991 to 2011 as active variables, namely co-residence, partnership, occupation, residential, and migration trajectories. We included childhood co-residence trajectories, level of education, sex, birth cohort, nationality, current family situation, and current occupational status as passive variables, as they did not contribute actively to the creation of the map.

Figure 20 shows the map with only the active variables in red, while Table 55 shows the contribution of these active variables to the definition of the bi-dimensional map and the v-tests. We underline contributions higher than 5%.

Figure 20: Life-course profiles: projection of the active variables, MCA map



Concerning the first dimension represented by the horizontal axis, the left side of the map was characterized by *Parenthood* co-residence trajectories (12.6%), whereas the right side of the map was characterized by *Nestalgic* co-residence trajectories (7.9), *Transition to parenthood* co-residence trajectories (5%), *Loner* partnership trajectories (9.2%), *Studies before mixed experiences* occupational trajectories, *Occasional movers* spatial mobility trajectories (6.1%), and *South-Western Europe* migration trajectories (5.9%). We interpreted this horizontal axis as that of "Family stages" stretching from the "ascendant" family of orientation (right side) to the "descendant" family of procreation (left side).

Concerning the second dimension represented by the vertical axis, the upper part was characterized by *One-parent and stepfamily* co-residence trajectories (5%), *Solo* co-residence trajectories (20.8%), *Loner* partnership trajectories (22.5%), *Settled after all* spatial mobility trajectories (6.9%). In contrast, the lower part was characterized by *Transition to parenthood* co-residence trajectories (11.9%), *Stayer* partnership trajectories (7.2%), and *Studies before mixed experiences* occupational trajectories (9.4%). We interpreted this vertical axis as that of "Single-couple life" with the absence of a partner in the upper side and the presence of a partner in the lower side. It should be noted that occupational trajectories did not contribute much to this bi-dimensional map, save the *Studies before mixed experiences* occupational trajectories.

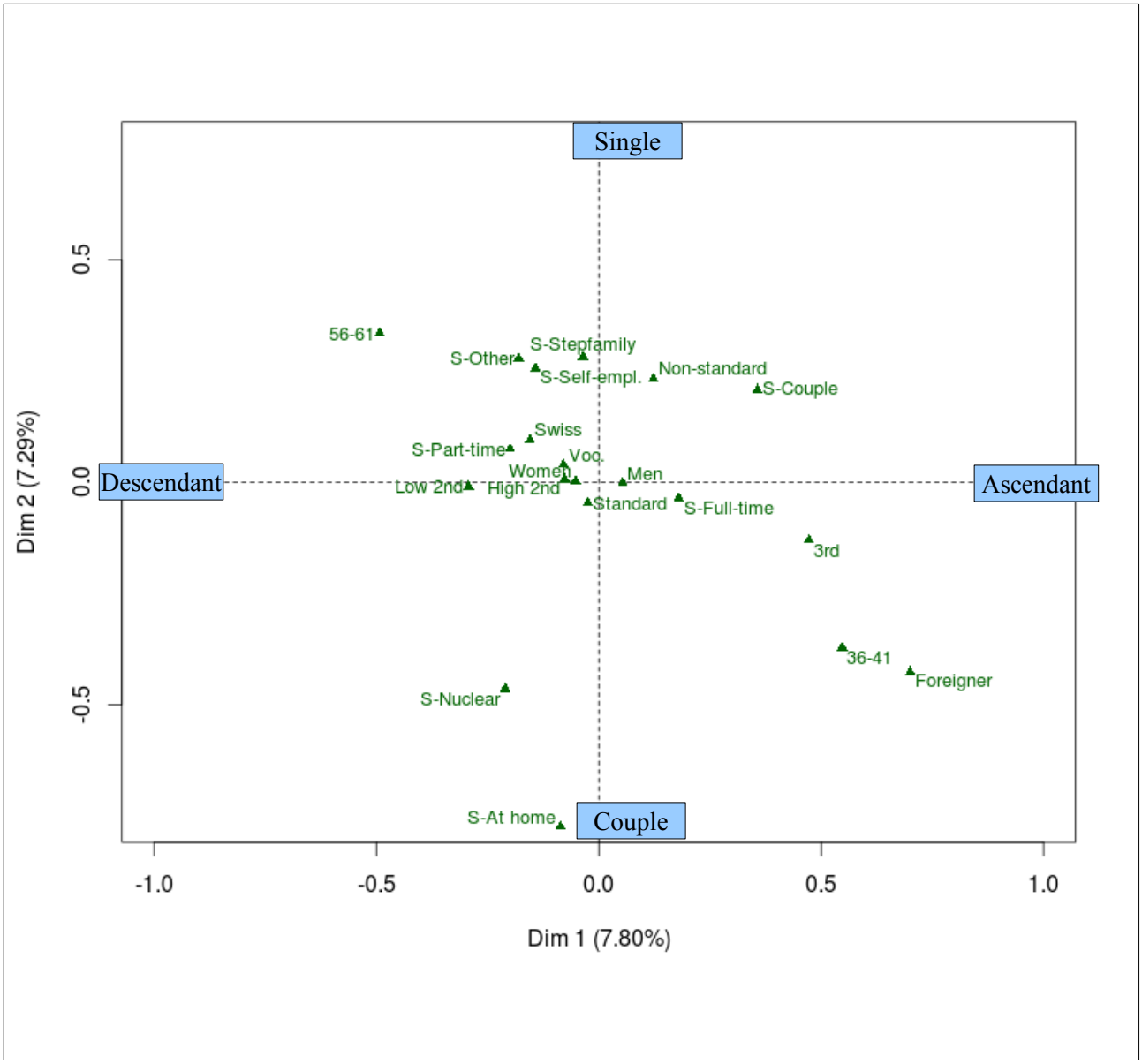
Table 55: Life-course profiles: contribution of the active variables (percentage) and v-tests (n=796)

	1st dimension		2nd dimension	
	%	v-test	%	v-test
Co-residence trajectories (1991-2011)				
Conjugal	1.6	-5.1	0.4	2.4
Empty nest	2.8	-6.6	0.0	-0.3
Dyadic attachment	4.1	7.7	0.1	-1.2
Nestalgic	7.9	10.9	0.1	1.3
One-parent and stepfamily	0.0	0.1	5.0	8.3
Parenthood	12.6	-15.9	0.5	-3.2
Solo	4.4	8.4	20.8	17.7
Transition to parenthood	5.0	9.8	11.9	-14.7
Partnership trajectories (1991-2011)				
Stayer	3.1	-8.7	7.2	-12.8
Late bloomer	0.4	-2.8	0.6	-3.1
Slow shifter	0.0	0.1	1.3	4.4
Quick shifter	1.8	5.4	0.1	1.3
Loner	9.2	12.1	22.5	18.3
Occupational trajectories (1991-2011)				
At home	4.0	-7.8	0.8	-3.4
Erratic	0.4	-2.3	0.1	0.9
Full-time	0.2	2.7	0.3	3.0
High part-time	0.8	-3.5	2.4	5.9
Low part-time	3.1	-6.9	0.0	0.6
Self-employment	1.1	-4.2	1.4	4.5
Studies before mixed experiences	13.8	15.0	9.4	-12.0
Spatial mobility trajectories (1991-2011)				
Frequent movers *(Freq. movers)**	0.1	-1.2	0.1	1.5
Occasional movers *(Occas. movers)*	6.1	11.2	2.3	-6.7
Settled after all	1.0	-4.2	6.9	10.5
Well-settled	3.9	-8.2	1.2	-4.3
Migration trajectories (1991-2011)				
Switzerland (CH)	1.2	-13.2	0.5	7.7
South-Western Europe *(SW-Euro)*	5.9	9.5	2.3	-5.7
North-Eastern Europe *(NE-Euro)*	2.8	6.4	1.1	-3.8
Other countries *(Outside Euro)*	2.7	6.2	0.8	-3.4
Total	100		100	

**In italics and in brackets, the names as they appear in the MCA maps.*

We then projected the passive variables representing the social structure namely, age group, sex, nationality, level of education, and the current occupational status and the current family situation. Figure 21 shows the projection of the passive variables and Table 56 shows their coordinates on the map and the v-tests.

Figure 21: Life-course profiles: projection of the passive variables, MCA map



First, we have to acknowledge that, in order to better visualize the middle of the map where most of the variables were located, we zoomed to a 1×1 window and, by doing so, two variables were no longer visible. The current family situations as *Solo without children* and as *Solo with children* were located in the upper part of the map, more especially the right upper part for *Single*.

Nationality, age group, and current family situation are associated with the two dimensions. In the upper left part of the map, we find older individuals and Swiss individuals, whereas in the lower right part, we find younger individuals and individuals with foreign nationality. In the upper right part, there are individuals involved in a couple relationship, whereas in the lower left part, there are individuals in a nuclear family. The left side of the map is characterized by lower secondary and vocational education and individuals working part-time. By contrast, the right side is characterized by tertiary education and individuals working full-time.

The vertical axis is associated with children's trajectories, *Standard* trajectories being associated with the low part and *Non-standard* trajectories with the upper part. In the upper part, there are also the current family situation *Stepfamily* and the current occupational statuses *Self-employment* and *Other*, while the current occupational status *At home* is located in the lower part.

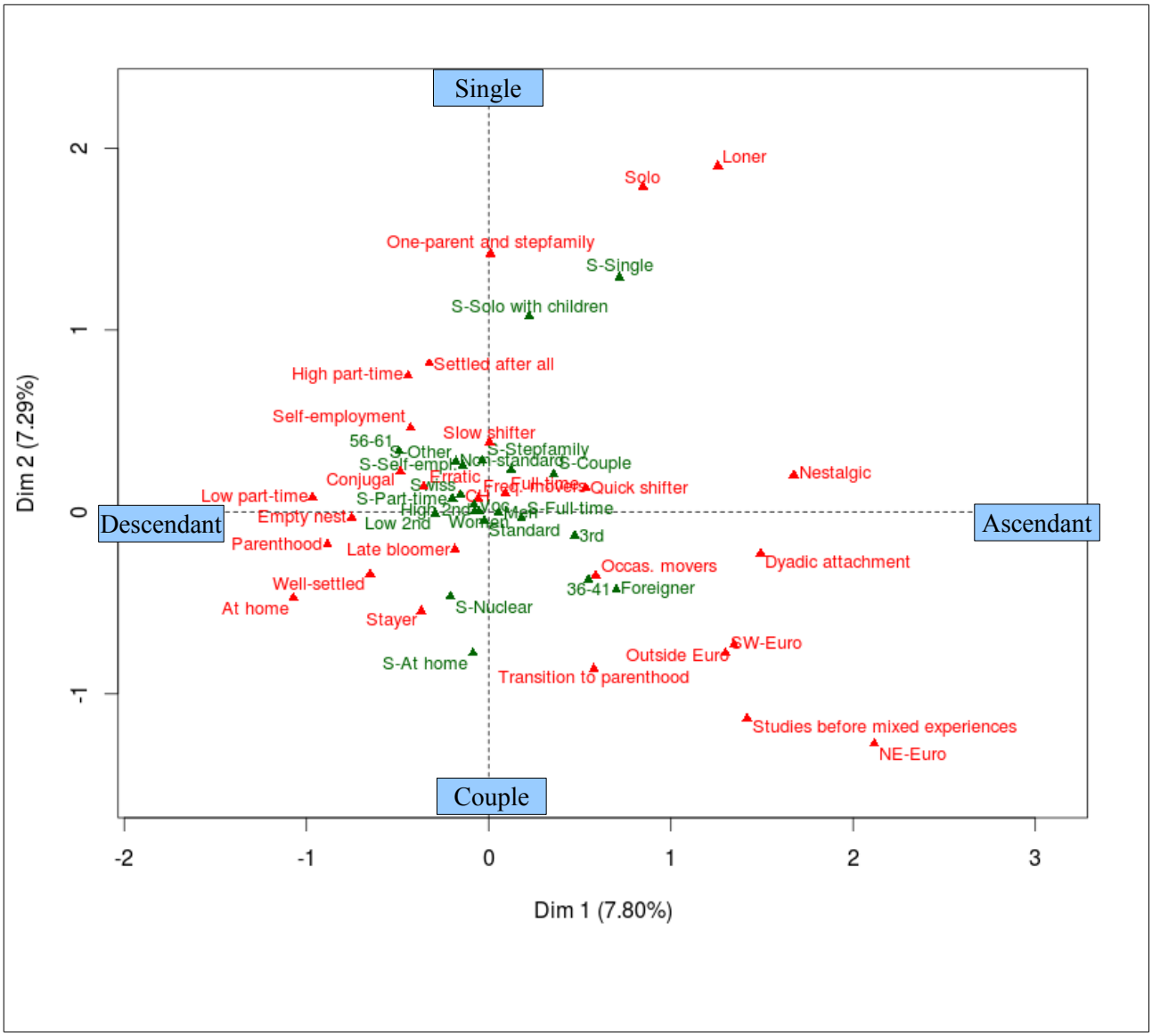
Table 56: Life-course profiles: coordinates of the passive variables and v-tests (n=796)

	1st dimension		2nd dimension	
	coordinate	v-test	coordinate	v-test
Childhood trajectories				
Non-standard	0.1	1.6	0.2	2.9
Standard	0.0	-1.6	0.0	-2.9
Nationality				
Foreigner	0.7	9.3	-0.4	-5.7
Swiss	-0.2	-9.3	0.1	5.7
Level of education				
Tertiary *(3rd)**	0.5	6.4	-0.1	-1.8
Upper Secondary *(High 2nd)*	-0.1	-0.6	0.0	0.0
Lower Secondary *(Low 2nd)*	-0.3	-2.9	0.0	-0.1
Vocational *(Voc.)*	-0.1	-3.0	0.0	1.5
Age group				
56-61	-0.5	-14.6	0.3	9.9
36-41	0.5	14.6	-0.4	-9.9
Sex				
Men	0.1	1.5	0.0	-0.1
Women	-0.1	-1.5	0.0	0.1
Current occupational status				
S-At home	-0.1	-0.7	-0.8	-6.3
S-Full-time	0.2	4.8	0.0	-1.0
S-Other	-0.2	-1.6	0.3	2.4
S-Part-time	-0.2	-2.9	0.1	1.1
S-Self-employment *(S-Self-empl.)*	-0.1	-1.7	0.3	3.0
Current family situation				
S-Couple	0.4	3.7	0.2	2.2
S-Couple with children *(S-Nuclear)*	-0.2	-6.6	-0.5	-14.5
S-Solo with children	0.2	1.5	1.1	7.2
S-Solo without children *(S-Single)*	0.7	6.5	1.3	11.7
S-Stepfamily	0.0	-0.5	0.3	3.7

**In italics and in brackets, the names as they appear in the MCA maps.*

Figure 22 presents the final bi-dimensional map of the multiple correspondence analysis with all active and passive variables. We have included it for information despite its lack of legibility, but we used the previous maps and tables to interpret it. Using this map based on two dimensions (the family stages and the single-couple life) and looking conjointly at the active and passive variables projected on the map, we identified six types of profiles corresponding to different groups of individuals having developed what we named specific life-course profiles. The first profile was characterized by preparation to adult life; those individuals just left their family of orientation (*Nestalgic* and *Dyadic attachment* co-residence trajectories), and mostly belonged to the younger birth cohort and had tertiary education. They followed *Quick shifter* partnership trajectories and *Occasional movers* spatial mobility trajectories. The second profile was closely related to the first one as it was also related to the younger birth cohort. Individuals experienced *Studies before mixed experiences* occupational trajectories and *Transition to parenthood* co-residence trajectories. Migration trajectories as well as being a foreigner were also associated with this second profile. The third profile was characterized by individuals primarily living alone and not involved in a relationship. The fourth profile was centered on stability and family life, i.e. *Parenthood* co-residence trajectories, *At home* occupational trajectories, *Stayer* partnership trajectories, *Well-settled* spatial mobility trajectories, couples with children. The fifth profile was about more instability in work life and conjugality. We found *Self-employment* and *Erratic* occupational trajectories, *Settled after all* spatial mobility trajectories, and *Conjugal* co-residence trajectories. Finally, the sixth profile was about family disruption with individuals following *One-parent and stepfamily* co-residence trajectories.

Figure 22: Life course profiles: projection of all variables, MCA map



Red: active variables
Green: passive variables

Main findings and discussion

When bringing together all trajectories, life-course profiles emerged showing that some kinds of trajectories were related to one another. Visualizing those associations in a bi-dimensional map proved to be very revealing and helped make sense of individual life courses. Particularly striking is a first horizontal axis more related to the passage of time and family stages. The profile centered on stability and family life is the cliché image of accomplished adult life: one or two romantic relationships leading to the creation of a family, partnering and having children, and residential stability. Individuals following stay-at-home trajectories were totally associated with this profile. In a timeline, the opposite profile is the one still anchored in the family of orientation with

individuals having various experiences with regard to their partnership trajectory, for instance. In contrast, the vertical axis differentiated on something else. Having a partner or not can be as much a question of choice or a desire for personal autonomy, as the result of failed relationship or the inability to form a couple. Therefore, the profile composed of individuals following partnership trajectories free of commitment and living alone is also opposite to the profile centered on stability and family life, but for other reasons.

As a conclusion to this chapter, we sum up the various effects of the social structure variables, underlined in the last five sections. While we often speak about the strong and persistent gendering of life courses, this should not overshadow the strong social stratification of life courses. Level of education was accountable for the timing of the transition to adulthood, the investment in studies, mobility opportunities, and other factors not specifically studied here such as the risk of unemployment, health problems, etc. As a reminder, we compared different levels of education with vocational education which is the most standard level of education in Switzerland. Regarding co-residence trajectories between 20 and 40, entering parenthood is strongly related to social background, since individuals with lower levels of education who consequently enter the labor market quicker are more prone to start a family earlier than their counterparts involved in higher education. Related to this first finding, individuals with lower levels of education were also more involved in *Stayer* partnership relationships, whereas individuals with higher levels of education followed partnership trajectories with more partners. It shows that this extended transition to adulthood is a time used for experiments and trials. Concerning work, individuals with lower levels of education were associated with stay-at-home trajectories and individuals with higher levels of education with trajectories including high part-time and a long time devoted to studies and less associated with full-time trajectories in comparison with individuals with vocational education. In addition, between ages 20 and 40, individuals with higher levels of education are also less associated with stay-at-home trajectories. Therefore, it seems that having tertiary education gives more flexibility regarding working hours. The link between level of education and occupational trajectories also highlights the importance of women's tertiary education to avoid being exclusively relegated to family work. Finally, spatial mobility trajectories composed of the number of residential moves provide congruent information; individuals with lower levels of education followed *Well-settled* spatial mobility trajectories, highlighting the overall predictability of their trajectories. In contrast, variability was again more to be found in individuals with higher levels of education who experienced more residential moves.

5 Intertwining between life courses and personal networks

This last chapter brings together life courses and personal relationships and assesses how they intertwine. In the previous sections, we highlighted the fact that personal relationships and life courses are embedded in social structures. The ways we connect to one another vary in accordance with our social position defined, among other components, by sex, level of education, birth cohort, and nationality. Social position is associated with unequal possession of and access to resources of all kinds. Nevertheless, despite their anchorage in social structures, life courses have become more pluralized and show some diversity. Therefore, we have to ask how personal relationships are influenced by life trajectories and what dimensions of personal relationships are more affected by previous and on-going experiences. As co-residence and partnership trajectories are a means to express changes in couple and family life, we wonder whether those trajectories have a greater influence on personal relationships than other kinds of trajectories and, globally, to what extent all four kinds of trajectories are accountable for the complexity of personal relationships and sociability in general. We wonder to what extent our sociability is the result of social position factors jointly with the unfolding of individualized life courses.

Networks change across history or over time, and throughout the life course. First, it is possible to examine how personal networks have changed over time. This line of research focuses on trends in social relationships across historical time (historical trajectories) or on changes in networks over time (time-based trajectories) rather than on how social capital changes across individual life courses (McDonald & Mair, 2010). For instance, in the United States, Putnam (2000) has discussed the decline of social capital and McPherson et al. (2006) the increase in social isolation. Communication technologies have also contributed to new patterns of sociability and transformed personal networks (Wellman et al. 2005). Secondly, the evolution in personal networks can be assessed for individual trajectories in a life-course perspective. Age-based trajectories are distinct from historical trajectories or from time-based trajectories because they anchor changes in resource levels to the context of aging, linking the possession of resources to the life stages people experience (McDonald & Mair, 2010). In the two next sections, we put the emphasis on age-based trajectories (life-course design). Changes over time are best investigated with longitudinal studies measuring changes in networks of the same individuals at two moments of time. Most studies adopting this design have been qualitative and based on relatively small samples. Among others, we can mention the study of Wellman et al. (1997) following thirty-three individuals in Toronto over a decade, and the study of Lubbers et al. (2010) following twenty-five Argentinians immigrants in Spain over a two-year interval. However, there are also larger surveys which have managed to obtain interesting longitudinal data such as the National Survey of Families and Households in the United States interviewing 9 adults in two interviews four to seven years apart (White, 2001).

Another efficient way of overcoming the constraints set by longitudinal studies is to use cross-sectional studies and create groups of individuals located at different life-course stages. Such designs have the advantage of being appropriate for large samples, but the disadvantage of not separating effects of age, period, and cohort (Glenn, 2003). Among others, we can mention the study of McDonald and Mair (2010) based on three interviews with individuals aged 22 to 65 in the United States.

Changes in personal networks are the results of life transitions which have led to the acquisition of new statuses and roles (Levy, 2013). A transition is often followed by a period of stability regarding personal relationships, in particular for those belonging to the network core. Therefore, it is important to take into account simultaneously transitions and stages happening in a person's life course. Many studies focus on the short-term effects of transitions on personal networks and do not consider the individual trajectory as a whole. While considering individual lives as wholes the emphasis has to be put on extended life trajectories rather than on specific transitions. By doing so, we are able to account for duration and time spent in each stage, stages related to specific statuses and roles. Duration is particularly important to reach this close circle mostly composed of trusted long-lasting relationships. Indeed, relationships belonging to the core of the networks change less than relationships in the periphery (van Tilburg, 1998). Relationships which change less have some characteristics. In Toronto, Wellman et al. (1997) noted much turnover with only 27% of lasting ties over a decade. Some ties were more durable, in particular, ties providing social support, characterized by frequent phone contact, and based on kinship. They also noted that marriage created a complete turnover, while other changes in family size (having children), residential mobility or work life did not have significant impact. Despite the small sample size, 33 individuals, their findings are interesting, in particular regarding the characteristics of the ties which last. Lubbers et al. (2010) reached the same conclusion about stability for the composition and structure of networks of immigrants. In addition, it should be noted that, beside the main focus on changes, other scholars have also measured the stability of networks due to personality trait effects (Kalish & Robins, 2006).

In this chapter, we use the four kinds of trajectories from 1991 to 2011 introduced in the previous chapter – co-residence, partnership, occupational, and spatial mobility trajectories – to shed more light on sociability. Indeed, as we are interested in personal networks at the time of the interviews in 2011, it is meaningful to investigate the impact of the years directly preceding the reporting of the networks. As a reminder, individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 birth cohort were aged 16-21 in 1991 and 36-41 in 2011, while individuals belonging to the 1950-1955 birth cohort were 36-41 in 1991 and 56-61 in 2011.

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, we consider the impact of life trajectories on the salience of specific ties and on the prominence of personal configurations. In the second section, we bring together all network dimensions along with life trajectories and perform a multiple correspondence analysis to uncover profiles of connected ways of life.

5.1 Impact of life trajectories on the composition of personal networks

An important issue is how personal networks change as individuals move across the life-course stages. The prominence of specific relationships in personal networks varies over the life course (Doherty & Feeney, 2004). The relationship between family transitions and changes in personal networks has received much attention as each family transition is related to new statuses and roles and, consequently, new ways of connecting. As stated previously, co-residence and partnership trajectories are a good means to account for family transitions, events, and stages. In addition to life-course stages embedded in family life, we also have to underline the importance of contexts of sociability for the development of personal networks. Occupational trajectories account for study and work experiences and, by doing so, indicate the presence of opportunities to build up relationships. Similarly, spatial mobility trajectories identify residential moves and stability periods, sometimes favoring or hindering sociability. In this section, we investigate the impact of co-residence, partnership, occupational and spatial mobility trajectories on the composition of personal relationships and, more specifically, on the salience of specific ties and on the development of different types of personal configurations. By taking into account those four kinds of trajectories, we aim at giving a complete overview of the life-course determinants of personal networks for two groups of individuals, located at different life-course stages.

Specific kinship relationships do not have the same degree of importance over the life course. There is an underlying hierarchy of kinship relationships composed of nested circles which may vary at different life-course stages. The inner ring contains the closest relationships to which parents, siblings, partners, and children belong (Parsons, 1943; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). As children, the first relationships are with the primary caregivers, mainly the parents, with whom they form attachment bonds (Bowlby, 1980). During childhood, children depend on their parental network. Young children's relationships to other individuals are mediated by their parents. For instance, young children relationships to their grandparents will be either favored or hindered by their parents. When children grow older, relationships between grandchildren and grandparents become more voluntary-based on both sides, decreasing the mediating role of parents (Hummel, 2008; Hummel & Perrenoud, 2009). As the principle of "linked lives" highlights (Elder et al., 2003), parental separation or divorce has various consequences on children in terms of relationships; their network may remain the same, may be geographically more spread out (Viry, 2014), may be divided into two parts – father's side and mother's side –, may be diminished by the loss of some relationships, may be increased by the addition of new relationships. Non-residential parents, more often fathers, may disengage from active parenting, thus being at risk of losing contact with their

children (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2000). The repartnering of their parents introduces stepparents with their own sets of relationships. As the role of stepparent lacks institutionalization, it offers individuals considerable latitude when negotiating their implication (Cherlin, 1978; Graham, 2010; Schrodt, 2011). The definition of appropriate stepparent roles varies among individuals and ranges from substitute parents to friends or even to outsiders (Church, 1999; Fine, Coleman, & Ganong, 1998; Ganong, Coleman, & Jamison, 2011; Mahoney, 2006; Marsiglio, 1992). Children in stepfamilies unequally acknowledge their stepfather as a close relationship (Furstenberg, 1987).

Individuals may not have daily contact with their siblings, but only on occasional family gatherings. Nevertheless, relationships to siblings are unique because they are tied to one another for a lifetime by a network of interlocking family relationships (Cicirelli, 1995; White, 2001). Duration is the main characteristics of those relationships. Of course, competition, rivalry, love and other mixed feelings coexist between siblings (Widmer, 1999b). During childhood, siblings are considered to belong to the inner circle and are then pushed out to make room for partners and children. Indeed, some transitions related to the transition to adulthood, such as leaving home, cohabiting with a partner, and childrearing, lead to less investment in sibling relationships. Some other transitions reverse this tendency, for instance divorce or widowhood. Some scholars explain that this hierarchy is based on a compensatory principle (Cantor, 1979), while others argue that preference depends on the task (Connidis & Davis, 1990, 1992). White (2001) investigated four measures of sibling relationships – proximity, contact, giving, and receiving help – and confirmed that sibling relationships have a curvilinear link with age, declining in early adulthood and then resurfacing in old age.

As previously mentioned, transition to adulthood switches the focus from the family of orientation to the family of procreation, although relationships stemming from the family of orientation remain significant throughout the life course. Teenagers and young adults start dating, and then may live together. Some of them, and still a high proportion in Switzerland, will at some point decide to marry, while others will remain together without institutionalized status. The couple is a very central relationship (De Singly, 1996) and partnering leads to a reconfiguration of all other relationships. In surveys using the Family Network Method, partners are often mentioned in first position and other relationships come afterwards (Aeby et al., 2014; Widmer, 2010). Cohabiting with a partner implies, at least to some extent, a mix of the two partners' networks. Over time, couple networks become more and more interlocked. When the institutionalization of the couple further unfolds (Cherlin, 1978, 2004) – marrying, having children, etc. –, this process of interlocking deepens and spreads out (Kalmijn, 2003). Separation or divorce creates a disruption with drastic consequences for networks. Some family and friendship relationships may be activated

and play a key role in overcoming material problems and loneliness (Kalmijn & Broese van Groenou, 2005; Martin, 1994; Terhell, Broese van Groenou, & van Tilburg, 2007). However, some relationships are also lost in the process, mostly those formed during or before the conjugal period (Albeck & Kaydar, 2002). When partners have children together, they may keep a relationship in order to carry on their parental duties. When repartnering or remarriage occurs, the network reforms around the new partner. In the case of stepfamilies, old and new relationships may coexist and sometimes compete with one another. Recomposition increases the number of available relationships, but not all of them are turned into meaningful relationships (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1994; De Carlo et al., 2014). For instance, the likelihood that step-grandparents and step-grandchildren will develop a positive emotional attachment increases only when step-grandparents are satisfied with their adult children's new marital relationships (Trygstad & Sanders, 1989).

Transition to parenthood creates dramatic changes in many aspects as we have also pointed out in the previous sections, in particular for women. Regarding sociability, this transition leads to changes in personal networks as time constraints and functional tasks increase as well as the need for external help such as babysitting (Belsky & Rovine, 1984; McCannell, 1988). It implies structural constraints that shift the focus to the family of procreation, i.e. partner and children, and on intergenerational solidarity when available. The departure of children, as well as grand-parenthood, also impact the investment in personal relationships. Growing older and advancing in the life course generally mean the loss of relationships. Critical life events may also create changes in networks, such as the illness of close people, the aging of close parents (Morgan & March, 1992; Suitor & Pillemer, 1993), and widowhood (Guiaux, Van Tilburg, & Broese Van Groenou, 2007; D. L. Morgan et al., 1997).

While first relationships are anchored in the family sphere and mediated by parents, friendship progressively gains in importance through schooling. Friends play an important role in young single adults' lives (Bellotti, 2008). The dyadic withdrawal hypothesis argues that marriage or cohabitation lead to smaller and more overlapping networks (M. P. Johnson & Leslie, 1982; Kalmijn, 2003). There are two main principles which explain why network changes occur: competition and balance. According to the principle of competition, since friends and partners fulfill similar functions, they are in direct competition for the time of ego. Dating and cohabitation lead to the shrinking of the number of friends or, at least, a decrease in the amount of time spent with them. Childrearing has similar effects, despite differences between women and men, when children are young (Munch, McPherson, & Smith-Lovin, 1997). Due to differentiated functions of friendship between women and men – women being oriented towards intimacy and men towards joint activities (Aukett et al., 1988) – competition is to some extent higher for men's friends. The

principle of balance refers to the transitivity of triads (Heider, 1958) which states that individuals are prone to like the friends of their partner. Using cross-sectional data in the Netherlands, Kalmijn (2003) focused on the five best friends among individuals located at different life-course stages. He found that friendship networks globally become smaller and that the percentage of shared friends and the number of joint contacts increase over the life course and that changes primarily occur when individuals start dating and living together. Friends also may play a key role when facing some challenging life events such as divorce or the death of a partner (Pahl & Pevalin, 2005).

In addition to life-course stages embedded in family life, we have to underline the importance of contexts of sociability. In particular, the transition to adulthood leads to great changes in personal networks, as it is often associated with a shift from the family of orientation to the future family of procreation and is associated with the discovery of new contexts of sociability (Degenne & Lebeaux, 2005). Referring to the model of the tripartite sequencing of the life course, we can distinguish different periods of sociability, in particular preparation through education and activity in the labor market. Paying attention to relationships stemming from school and work contexts is important, as those relationships may be important source of social capital, giving access to employment opportunities in occupational careers. In this regard, the strength of weak ties has been remarkably stressed by Granovetter (1973). In addition, school and work contexts provide opportunities to meet a partner and many couples are formed during schooling and in the work sphere among colleagues. This way of partnering creates quite high homogamy.

The school context is associated with high sociability. For children and teenagers, peers are an important counterpart to socialization in the family sphere. Although education is traditionally supposed to take place before work life, it is becoming more a long-life learning process. Suitor and Keeton (1997) investigated the case of 42 women returning to education in mid-life and assessed the changes in their network across a ten-year period. While the school environment creates opportunities for many contextual relationships, entry into the labor market is associated with a general transformation towards greater selectivity and homogeneity of network members (Bidart & Lavenu, 2005). Using cross-sectional data on working-age adults employed in the United States and a position generator, social capital embedded in occupational networks was found to tend to accumulate across the career, even in the face of a general decline in sociability (McDonald & Mair, 2010). Furthermore, employment, when secure, is related to many positive outcomes, for instance for the quality of the conjugal relationship (Larson, Wilson, & Beley, 1994). In contrast, unemployment is especially negative for sociability. Finally, retirement means a withdrawal from the labor market and the loss of most work-related relationships (van Tilburg,

1992). Despite the significance of work life as a major context of sociability, changes in work life may not systematically impact the core of personal networks (Wellman et al., 1997).

Over the life course, individuals go from one place of residence to another for various reasons such as attending university, career opportunities, following a partner who has career opportunities, moving to the countryside or to the suburbs to raise children, getting bigger housing in another neighborhood, going abroad to seek better life conditions, etc. The place of residence provides opportunities and constraints for the development of personal networks. Living in a village may clearly restrict the number of potential relationships, but may be positive for community life. In contrast, living in a big city provides a huge pool of potential relationships, but urban impersonality and the hustle and bustle of daily life may not favor so much the development of significant relationships. Routine sociability often happens with individuals spatially close, even if new telecommunication technologies have drastically reconfigured sociability, allowing people to overcome spatial distances through mobile phones, email, and other means, but requiring new skills and adaptations, for instance being able to be spatially mobile for occasional face-to-face contact (Kaufmann, 2011; Larsen, Urry, & Axhausen, 2006; Viry, 2012). Therefore, residential moves represent breaks in sociability leading to the potential loss of old relationships and gain of new relationships. Residential mobility may lead to a shift in the composition of personal networks (Carrasco, Miller, & Wellman, 2008; Wellman, 1999). Regarding the couple relationship, as the partner is a key relationship, mobility is often experienced as a couple, one partner following the other. Nevertheless, individuals "living apart together" (LAT) – people who are considered to be a couple without having a common home – are becoming more common and represent an innovative family form (Levin, 2004). In contrast to individuals commuting and having one main household, those individuals have one household each. Relationships with parents and children (vertical family ties) are more likely to survive great distances than relationships with other kin such as siblings and collaterals, relationships to friends, and other more contextual relationships such as neighbors, co-workers and other acquaintances (Bonvalet & Maison, 1999; Josette Coenen-Huther et al., 1994). The fact that parent and child relationships are more likely to be maintained in comparison with other relationships is certainly due to higher normative expectations and to the density of connection of kinship systems (Carrasco et al., 2008; Wellman, 1999). Treas (2011), inspired by Bott's thesis (1971) on gender segregation in tight-knit networks in comparison with loose-knit networks, noted that, while residential mobility was indeed associated with greater reliance on the partner, there was no indication that the importance of kinship was diminished when mobility was controlled. Even if the consequences of spatial mobility may be great for the forms of sociability,

changes in spatial mobility may not systematically impact the core of personal networks (Wellman et al., 1997).

Migration trajectories require special attention, since the personal networks of immigrants change over time. For immigrants, long-distance ties often go on providing emotional, financial, and practical support. When individuals frequently move, it has been shown that they are more likely to maintain close ties with their spatially distant relatives than to establish new local ties (Carrasco et al., 2008). Lubbers et al. (2010) identified a general model of personal network change for immigrants related to the length of residence in host countries without specific barriers based on ethnicity. In the first stage after migration, the network contains alters living in the country of origin and is densely interconnected. Most relationships belong to the family sphere. Contacts with individuals living in the host country are scarce. In the second stage of migration, the number of contacts in the host country increases due to social participation in different settings. The network is composed of different sub-groups consisting of migrants from the same country of origin, other immigrants (transnationals), and nationals. Contacts with the country of origin decrease. In the third stage, much slower, the sub-groups formed in the host country become more and more interconnected. Lubbers et al. (2010) conducted a survey on 25 Argentinians in Spain interviewed twice over a twice-year interval. The results showed that the stability of their networks was about 50%, 50% alters remaining the same and 50% of new alters, with considerable variation. Nevertheless, at the network level, the composition and structure hardly changed over time, which is a very interesting finding. This model of their integration process in the host country is interesting, but should not conceal the high diversity of situations varying depending on the socio-economic conditions of the country of origin, the host country, the immigrants' legal status, their socio-economic status, their family situation, etc. In addition, there is the case of transnational families whose members, especially children, face many challenges due to temporary separation (Bernardi, 2011).

To summarize, since co-residence and partnership trajectories reveal the succession of statuses and roles that individuals hold over their life course and since the acquisition of new statuses and roles is likely to lead to changes in personal networks, we expect co-residence and partnership trajectories to influence considerable the composition of personal relationships. Some transitions, in particular partnering and becoming a parent, are known to initiate durable changes in forms of sociability. Since occupational and spatial mobility trajectories are related to contexts of stability favoring or hindering the acquisition of new ties, we also expect them to influence the composition of personal relationships, but to a lesser extent.

We investigated the influence of those four kinds of trajectories in several steps. First, we considered their influence on the salience of specific ties – partners, parents, children, siblings, and friends. We introduced a first model with only the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories on their overall salience. The second model restricted the scope to individuals who actually had those specific ties available in their demographic reservoir. As a reminder, the demographic reservoir corresponds to the latent web of kinship linkages constituted by blood and alliance connections. As we could not methodologically control for the availability of friendship ties, we considered that all respondents had the opportunity to develop friendship ties over their life course. In a third model, we added occupational and spatial mobility trajectories to see what additional explanatory power they brought to our understanding. In the fourth and last model, we used a typology of matched co-residence and occupational trajectories. Second, we assessed their influence on the eight types of personal configurations that we previously introduced. Similarly, we introduced a first model with only the co-residence and partnership trajectories, a second model including the demographic reservoir to question whether personal configurations were best explained by retrospective co-residence and partnership trajectories or by the availability of ties, a third model with the inclusion of occupational and spatial mobility trajectories, and a fourth model with the multichannel typology.

Empirical results

As a reminder, in Section 4.3, we introduced eight types of co-residence trajectories from 1991 to 2011: *Parenthood* trajectories for individuals mostly living with their partner and children during the last twenty years (28.6%), *Transition to parenthood* trajectories for individuals who lived with their partner and children starting from approximately the second half of the observation period (26.7%), *Conjugal* trajectories for individuals mostly living with a partner (12.2%), *Solo* trajectories for individuals mostly living alone (11%), *Empty nest* trajectories for individuals who only lived with their partner and children until approximately the first half of the observation period (8.7%), *Nestalgic* trajectories for individuals who remained a long time in a family of orientation composed of two parents (5.2%), *One-parent and stepfamily* trajectories for individuals who experienced living with only their children and, in some cases, a new partner (4.1%), and *Dyadic attachment* for individuals who remained a long time in a one-parent family of orientation (3.5%). The diversity of co-residence trajectories well accounts for the presence of two age groups, located at different life-course stages, individuals aged between 36 and 41 and individuals aged between 56 and 61 in 2011. We also introduced five types of partnership

trajectories: *Stayer* trajectories for individuals mostly involved in one long-term relationship during the last twenty years (40.8%), *Late bloomer* trajectories for individuals involved in two medium-term relationships (22.4%), *Slow shifter* trajectories for individuals involved in three medium-term relationships (14.3%), *Quick shifter* trajectories for individuals having several short-term relationships (11.7%), and *Loner* trajectories for individuals who mostly did not commit in any relationship (10.7%).

Ties that matter were unequally mentioned by the respondents. In Section 3.1, we showed the overall salience of partners (mentioned by 72.6% of the respondents), friends (45.3%; female friends 29.8% and male friends 25%), children (44.6%; daughters 32.5% and sons 31.8%), parents (32.8%; mothers 27.6% and fathers 16.7%), and siblings (29.8%; sisters 20% and brothers 14.8%). We now investigate to what extent their salience is explained by co-residence and partnership trajectories along with social structure variables (age group, gender, level of education, and nationality). We also include childhood trajectories, dichotomized between *Standard* (living with two parents) and *Non-standard* (living in another situation) to account for primary socialization effects. It should be noted that at this point we do not take into account the actual availability of those ties in the demographic reservoir.

Table 57 presents the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories on the overall salience of specific ties by means of logistic regressions. We used a deviation contrast method to deal with the various effects of the trajectories. This made it possible to estimate the effect of each category of a covariate in comparison with its overall effect instead of choosing a reference category.

Individuals engaged in *Parenthood* trajectories were prone to mention their children, similarly to individuals following *Empty nest* trajectories, but not their friends. Individuals involved in *One-parent and stepfamily* trajectories were also likely to mention their children, but were unlikely to mention partners, parents, and siblings. Surprisingly, individuals in *Transition to parenthood* trajectories were not positively associated with the salience of children; those individuals only had more chances of mentioning their mother. Individuals following *Conjugal* trajectories and *Nestalgic* trajectories were not likely to mention children. Individuals in *Conjugal* trajectories were prone to mention their partner. Individuals following *Solo* trajectories were not likely to mention partners or fathers, whereas they were likely to mention their siblings. Individuals following *Dyadic attachment* trajectories had more chances of mentioning both their parents. In addition, it should be noted that *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectories were associated with parents, in particular fathers, and children.

Regarding partnership trajectories, individuals engaged in *Stayer* trajectories were prone to mention their partner and children and not to mention siblings and friends. Individuals in *Late bloomer* trajectories had the same tendency regarding the salience of partner and children. They had less chances of mentioning fathers and female friends. Individuals in *Slow shifter* trajectories were likely to mention their partner. Individuals following *Loner* trajectories were unlikely to mention partners and children, but likely to mention mothers and female friends. Finally, no impact of *Quick shifter* trajectories was found. It should be noted that the salience of the partner was explained by the three types of partnership trajectories including a rather small number of long-term or medium-term relationships.

Regarding social structure variables, younger individuals were more likely to mention partners and parents. Women were more prone to mention their parents (especially mothers), children (especially daughters), siblings (especially sisters), and friends (especially female friends), whereas men were more prone to mention their partners, brothers, and male friends. As discussed in chapter 3, women play a prominent role in family and personal relationships. Individuals with lower levels of education less often mentioned partners and friends. Individuals with upper secondary education more often mentioned parents. Individuals with high levels of education mentioned siblings less and friends more. The association between non-kin ties and tertiary education as well has already been highlighted in chapter 3. Finally, Swiss nationality was associated with mentioning friends. Non-kin ties are sensitive to contexts of sociability and Swiss individuals certainly had more opportunities to develop and foster friendship ties in Switzerland.

Table 57: Impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories on the overall salience of specific ties, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Partner	Parents	Mother	Father	Children	Daughters	Sons	Siblings	Sisters	Brothers	Friends	Female friends	Male friends
(Intercept)	*1.191*	*0.090 ****	*0.087 ****	*0.008 ****	*0.366 ***	*0.227 ****	*0.156 ****	*0.332 ****	*0.142 ****	*0.219 ****	*0.436 **	*0.062 ****	*0.654*
Co-residence trajectories													
Conjugal	2.627 **	0.849	0.842	1.055	0.253 ***	0.260 ***	0.302 ***	1.191	1.209	1.234	1.261	1.243	0.910
Dyadic attachment	1.857	4.101 **	2.460 *	3.363 *	0.566	0.669	0.811	1.201	1.700	0.756	1.428	1.678	1.521
Nestalgic	1.558	1.054	1.087	1.775	0.434 †	0.533	0.317 *	1.370	1.006	1.633	1.059	0.932	0.908
Empty nest	1.284	0.978	0.928	1.593	1.912 *	2.177 **	2.052 *	0.830	0.857	0.726	0.745	0.684	0.929
One-parent and stepfamily	0.266 ***	0.346 *	0.376 *	0.303 †	5.363 ***	3.512 ***	2.536 **	0.440 *	0.312 *	0.612	0.754	0.747	1.376
Parenthood	1.194	0.833	0.882	0.747	2.226 ***	2.090 ***	2.938 ***	0.868	0.956	0.759	0.717 †	0.909	0.521 **
Solo	0.341 ***	0.804	0.957	0.439 †	0.769	0.620	0.765	1.637 †	1.696 †	1.619	1.386	1.199	1.384
Transition to parenthood	0.944	1.203	1.509 †	1.003	0.917	1.091	1.101	0.984	1.114	1.203	0.938	0.924	0.863
Partnership trajectories													
Quick shifter	1.105	1.179	1.089	1.244	1.169	0.869	1.090	1.342	1.131	1.418	1.328	1.319	1.226
Stayer	1.469 *	0.857	0.898	0.727	1.383 *	1.334 †	1.419 *	0.765 †	0.968	0.623 *	0.640 **	0.643 *	0.697 *
Late bloomer	1.734 **	0.802	0.805	0.650 †	1.439 *	1.421 †	1.343	0.931	0.857	1.092	0.824	0.723 †	0.913
Slow shifter	1.617 *	0.825	0.794	1.191	1.232	1.238	0.956	0.906	0.965	0.813	1.167	0.957	1.110
Loner	0.220 ***	1.494	1.600 †	1.428	0.349 **	0.490 *	0.504 †	1.154	1.105	1.275	1.225	1.701 †	1.154
Childhood co-residence trajectories (ref : non-standard)													
Standard	1.475	1.775 *	1.397	5.376 ***	1.904 **	1.543 †	1.840 *	0.958	0.798	1.207	0.864	0.899	0.814
Age group (ref: 56-61)													
36-41	1.997 **	3.371 ***	2.769 ***	5.544 ***	0.730	0.619 †	1.111	1.113	1.003	0.868	1.201	1.062	0.955
Sex (ref: men)													
Women	0.593 **	1.624 **	1.619 **	1.432	1.371 †	1.926 ***	1.213	1.327 †	2.281 ***	0.600 *	1.771 ***	9.751 ***	0.256 ***
Level of education (ref: vocational school)													
Lower secondary	0.546 *	0.653	0.741	0.624	1.157	0.996	0.761	0.828	0.815	1.169	0.271 ***	0.187 ***	0.394 *
Upper secondary	1.125	1.835 †	1.735 †	2.175 *	0.695	0.403 *	0.823	1.003	0.646	1.730	1.000	0.882	1.220
Tertiary	1.238	1.410	1.450 †	1.295	0.889	1.117	0.646 †	0.586 *	0.686	0.515 *	1.408 †	1.808 *	1.423
Nationality (ref : foreign)													
Swiss	1.197	1.355	1.287	1.737 †	0.842	0.799	0.967	1.277	1.425	0.969	1.972 **	2.414 **	1.369
AIC	822.2 -	885.8 -	839.9 -	605.7 -	944.3 -	872.5 -	882.6 -	940.9 -	765.2 -	645.7 -	1012.2 -	776.2 -	796.9 -
R2	0.275 -	0.202 -	0.166 -	0.241 -	0.245 -	0.213 -	0.190 -	0.054 -	0.067 -	0.076 -	0.150 -	0.321 -	0.176 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

The overall salience of specific ties gives a first interesting overview. Nevertheless, it can lead to overestimation or underestimation of certain tendencies and to misinterpretations. For example, the fact that younger individuals were more likely to mention their parents is certainly due to the constraints of the demographic reservoir or, in other words, to the mortality of older individuals' parents. Therefore, we now considered only individuals who had those specific ties available in their demographic reservoir. As a reminder, in Section 3.1, we showed that partners were mentioned by 82% of the respondents involved in a relationship, children by 55% of the respondents who actually had children (53.3% for daughters and 53.2% for sons), parents by 44.3% of the respondents who had still their parents alive (40.8% for mothers and 34.2% for fathers), and siblings by 31.2% of the respondents who actually had siblings (28.9% for sisters and 21% for brothers). Those findings highlighted that mentioning ties is not the translation of existing ties.

Table 58 presents the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories on the salience of specific ties available in the demographic reservoir by means of logistic regressions. For each regression, the total number of individuals varies, as we only considered individuals who had each specific tie available in their demographic reservoir. We only highlight the differences between the previous model and this model.

First, considering co-residence trajectories, the association between individuals in *Parenthood* trajectories and the salience of children disappeared. However, individuals in *Parenthood* trajectories were still less likely to mention friends. This association also disappeared for *Empty nest* trajectories (previously positive association) and for *Nestalgic* trajectories (previously negative association). Individuals in *Nestalgic* trajectories became more prone to mention their brothers. Interestingly, only individuals involved in *One-parent and stepfamily* and in *Solo* trajectories were more likely to mention their children. When they have children, their children become key relationships for those individuals not living with a partner. In contrast, individuals experiencing *Transition to parenthood* trajectories had lower chances of mentioning children, an interesting fact that may indicate that young children are less considered as significant alters. Another striking difference is the disappearance of the negative association between *Solo* trajectories and the chances of mentioning partners when controlling by availability.

Secondly, considering partnership trajectories, the association between them and the salience of partners completely disappeared. Individuals following *Late bloomer* trajectories were no more less likely to mention their father or more likely to mention children. The only remaining impact was on the likelihood of mentioning female friends.

Finally, looking at the social structure variable, the impact of gender and nationality did not change in comparison with the first model. The impact of education remained more or less the same with some associations falling under the threshold of significance (e.g., lower levels of education and the salience of the partner) or reaching it (e.g., lower levels of education and not mentioning sons). Being younger only had an impact on the chances of mentioning the partner, showing that the likelihood of mentioning the parents was indeed related to the demographic reservoir.

Table 58: Impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories on the salience of specific ties available in the demographic reservoir, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Partner	**Parents**	**Mother**	**Father**	**Children**	**Daughters**	**Sons**	**Siblings**	**Sisters**	**Brothers**	**Friends**	**Female friends**	**Male friends**
(Intercept)	*2.763 **	*0.248 ****	*0.272 ***	*0.065 ****	*0.677*	*0.675*	*0.488*	*0.466 **	*0.274 ***	*0.376 **	*0.436 **	*0.062 ****	*0.654*
Co-residence trajectories													
Conjugal	1.838 †	1.028	0.986	1.124	0.656	0.598	0.485	1.184	1.227	1.340	1.261	1.243	0.910
Dyadic attachment	3.708	4.014 **	2.984 *	5.034 *	0.496	0.388	1.241	1.315	2.135	0.718	1.428	1.678	1.521
Nestalgic	1.324	0.927	0.924	1.442	0.735	0.614	2.438	1.740	1.653	2.468 †	1.059	0.932	0.908
Empty nest	0.774	1.075	0.831	2.094	1.101	1.386	1.042	0.828	0.743	0.755	0.745	0.684	0.929
One-parent and stepfamily	0.284 *	0.367 *	0.419	0.289 †	2.635 *	5.084 **	0.953	0.337 *	0.198 *	0.489	0.754	0.747	1.376
Parenthood	0.782	0.732	0.756	0.617	1.181	1.149	0.979	0.799	0.783	0.673	0.717 †	0.909	0.521 **
Solo	1.045	0.803	0.945	0.355 *	2.905 *	1.976	2.055	1.563 †	1.655	1.446	1.386	1.199	1.384
Transition to parenthood	0.618	1.128	1.480 †	0.926	0.420 ***	0.439 **	0.342 **	1.058	1.211	1.174	0.938	0.924	0.863
Partnership trajectories													
Quick shifter	0.780	1.081	1.008	0.980	1.351	1.123	1.232	1.314	1.435	1.464	1.328	1.319	1.226
Stayer	1.211	0.909	0.897	0.701	1.368 †	1.395	1.599 *	0.774	0.933	0.590 *	0.640 **	0.643 *	0.697 *
Late bloomer	1.148	0.810	0.788	0.668	1.320	1.340	1.323	0.912	0.737	1.166	0.824	0.723 †	0.913
Slow shifter	1.394	0.774	0.714	1.521	1.124	1.200	0.957	0.895	0.913	0.819	1.167	0.957	1.110
Loner	0.662	1.624 †	1.966 *	1.434	0.365 *	0.397 †	0.401 †	1.204	1.109	1.214	1.225	1.701 †	1.154
Childhood co-residence trajectories (ref : non-standard)													
Standard	1.560	1.524	1.325	6.104 **	1.989 **	1.685 †	2.172 *	0.790	0.771	1.045	0.864	0.899	0.814
Age group (ref: 56-61)													
36-41	1.846 †	1.481	1.088	1.075	0.897	0.958	1.048	0.985	0.842	0.972	1.201	1.062	0.955
Sex (ref: men)													
Women	0.606 *	1.711 **	1.747 **	1.413	1.435 †	1.726 *	1.631 *	1.389 †	2.813 ***	0.585 *	1.771 ***	9.751 ***	0.256 ***
Level of education (ref: vocational school)													
Lower secondary	0.580	0.860	1.134	0.722	0.833	0.743	0.556 †	0.792	0.611	1.082	0.271 ***	0.187 ***	0.394 *
Upper secondary	1.044	1.493	1.510	2.531 *	0.696	0.367 *	0.673	1.263	0.871	2.036 †	1.000	0.882	1.220
Tertiary	0.990	1.380	1.258	1.120	0.929	0.971	0.883	0.632 †	1.080	0.515 *	1.408 †	1.808 *	1.423
Nationality (ref : foreign)													
Swiss	1.342	1.388	1.330	1.514	0.845	0.778	1.155	1.219	1.270	1.039	1.972 **	2.414 **	1.369
AIC	632.9 -	754.5 -	677.6 -	459.8 -	815.0 -	608.5 -	613.8 -	888.9 -	612.1 -	546.0 -	1012.2 -	776.2 -	796.9 -
R2	0.079 -	0.096 -	0.084 -	0.142 -	0.122 -	0.142 -	0.110 -	0.064 -	0.117 -	0.108 -	0.150 -	0.321 -	0.176 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

After having first considered the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories, we added, in a third model, the impact of occupational and spatial mobility trajectories. In Section 4.3 we present seven types of occupational trajectories from 1991 to 2011: *Full-time* trajectories for individuals mostly employed full-time during the last twenty years (52.3%), *Studies before mixed experiences* trajectories for individuals who first studied and then had various work experiences (12.2%), *Self-employment* trajectories for individuals who decided to work self-employed (10.6%), *High part-time* trajectories for individuals working part-time with a relatively high number of weekly hours (7.5%), *At home* trajectories for individuals mostly staying at home (6.2%), *Low part-time* trajectories for individuals working part-time with a relatively low number of weekly hours (6%), and *Erratic* trajectories for individuals having erratic occupational trajectories composed of many short-term contracts, unemployment periods, etc. (5.2%). We also introduced four types of spatial mobility trajectories: *Frequent mover* trajectories for individuals moving several times during the last twenty years (34.4%), *Occasional mover* trajectories for individuals moving a few times (31.6%), *Settled after all* trajectories for individuals who found stability after a few residential moves (17.4%), and *Well-settled* trajectories for individuals who almost did not move (16.6%).

Table 59 shows the results of the logistic regressions with the introduction of occupational and spatial mobility trajectories. First it should be noted that the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories remained almost unchanged. Concerning occupational trajectories, individuals engaged in *Full-time* trajectories had more chances of mentioning their mother and less chances of mentioning friends. Thus, full-time employment does not give time for friendship. Individuals in *High part-time* trajectories were more likely to mention parents and sons. Finally, individuals experiencing *Studies before mixed experiences* trajectories were more prone to mention their partner and parents, especially mothers. With regard to spatial mobility trajectories, they were only associated with the likelihood of mentioning friends. Individuals in *Occasional mover* trajectories were less likely to mention friends, whereas individuals in *Settled after all* trajectories were more likely to mention them. We did not include migration trajectories as most respondents had stayed in Switzerland in the previous twenty years (89.9%). However, a foreign nationality may be a proxy to indicate migration experiences in the past or family connections abroad. Indeed, having foreign nationality decreased the chances of mentioning friends, in particular female friends. It emphasizes that friendship ties are more contextual and need actual presence to be considered meaningful. It also may reflect the integration process of immigrants suggested by Lubbers et al. (2010).

Table 59: Impact of all trajectories on the salience of specific ties available in the demographic reservoir, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Partner	Parents	Mother	Father	Children	Daughters	Sons	Siblings	Sisters	Brothers	Friends	Female friends	Male friends
(Intercept)	*2.448 †*	*0.206 ****	*0.208 ***	*0.052 ****	*0.648*	*0.757*	*0.371 †*	*0.507 †*	*0.303 **	*0.380 †*	*0.583*	*0.087 ****	*0.711*
Co-residence trajectories													
Conjugal	1.878 †	1.029	1.021	1.066	0.628	0.575	0.437 †	1.161	1.217	1.307	1.285	1.274	0.943
Dyadic attachment	3.905	3.523 *	2.676 †	5.310 *	0.495	0.393	1.146	1.344	2.145	0.737	1.667	1.908	1.875
Nestalgic	1.251	0.820	0.803	1.462	0.769	0.683	2.258	1.821	1.870	2.715 *	1.091	0.919	1.050
Empty nest	0.763	1.087	0.741	2.447	1.094	1.364	1.073	0.850	0.796	0.710	0.725	0.687	0.862
One-parent and stepfamily	0.309 *	0.405 †	0.479	0.266 †	2.562 *	4.959 **	0.953	0.322 *	0.178 *	0.507	0.661	0.653	1.116
Parenthood	0.802	0.842	0.889	0.655	1.207	1.145	1.080	0.776	0.731	0.654	0.699 †	0.927	0.476 **
Solo	1.034	0.817	0.974	0.320 *	2.934 *	1.993	2.350	1.554	1.550	1.407	1.450	1.254	1.412
Transition to parenthood	0.557 †	1.110	1.482 †	0.884	0.422 ***	0.420 **	0.340 **	1.067	1.277	1.155	0.882	0.859	0.833
Partnership trajectories													
Quick shifter	0.747	1.178	1.106	0.982	1.366	1.074	1.370	1.309	1.432	1.455	1.192	1.218	1.065
Stayer	1.228	0.886	0.870	0.697	1.449 *	1.515 †	1.787 *	0.777	0.933	0.595 *	0.677 *	0.643 *	0.769
Late bloomer	1.127	0.784	0.759	0.659 †	1.335	1.347	1.371	0.898	0.704	1.132	0.842	0.719 †	0.948
Slow shifter	1.384	0.729	0.656 †	1.486	1.100	1.180	0.908	0.895	0.901	0.783	1.175	0.980	1.174
Loner	0.699	1.679 †	2.086 *	1.491	0.344 *	0.387 †	0.328 *	1.224	1.180	1.301	1.251	1.814 *	1.097
Occupational trajectories													
At home	0.983	0.922	0.697	0.924	0.795	0.812	0.613	1.431	1.672	1.255	0.779	0.679	0.634
Erratic	0.891	0.523	0.512	0.702	0.769	0.787	0.526	0.756	0.630	0.461	1.139	1.202	2.399 *
Full-time	1.226	1.312	1.474 †	1.211	1.009	0.913	1.110	0.952	0.995	1.061	0.684 *	0.661 *	0.772
High part-time	0.764	1.758 †	1.463	1.921	1.618	1.228	3.107 *	1.210	1.555	1.039	1.287	1.553	0.667
Low part-time	0.788	0.770	1.210	0.566	1.066	1.098	0.975	0.797	0.555	1.464	1.406	1.179	1.520
Self-employment	0.829	0.762	0.640	0.869	0.992	1.075	1.069	1.078	1.240	0.951	0.779	0.797	1.011
Studies before mixed experiences	1.865 †	1.533 †	1.676 †	1.348	0.948	1.181	0.863	0.935	0.891	1.128	1.169	1.272	0.831
Spatial mobility trajectories													
Frequent movers	1.013	1.106	1.027	1.158	1.060	1.077	1.217	0.935	0.974	1.046	1.089	0.955	1.273
Occasional movers	0.822	1.242	1.311	0.848	0.933	0.805	1.114	0.922	0.852	0.810	0.770 †	0.754 †	0.798
Settled after all	1.133	0.783	0.771	1.082	1.121	1.335	0.913	1.054	0.930	0.978	1.556 **	1.376 †	1.654 **
Well-settled	1.060	0.929	0.963	0.941	0.902	0.864	0.808	1.100	1.296	1.206	0.766	1.010	0.595 *
Childhood co-residence trajectories (ref : non-standard)													
Standard	1.725 †	1.430	1.260	6.851 **	2.001 **	1.691 †	2.073 *	0.781	0.729	1.084	0.950	0.957	0.925
Age group (ref: 56-61)													
36-41	1.685	1.289	0.880	1.090	0.938	0.991	1.097	1.008	0.837	0.971	1.372	1.217	1.097
Sex (ref: men)													
Women	0.637 †	1.843 **	1.917 **	1.417	1.459 †	1.620 †	2.015 *	1.364	2.957 ***	0.553 *	1.329	7.644 ***	0.208 ***
Level of education (ref: vocational school)													
Lower secondary	0.611	0.936	1.300	0.864	0.867	0.788	0.573	0.783	0.590	1.072	0.277 ***	0.205 ***	0.385 *
Upper secondary	1.135	1.440	1.424	2.739 *	0.697	0.359 *	0.625	1.263	0.870	2.104 †	0.977	0.903	1.219
Tertiary	0.919	1.254	1.175	0.981	0.892	0.867	0.868	0.627 †	1.079	0.506 †	1.180	1.507	1.337
Nationality (ref: foreign)													
Swiss	1.350	1.488	1.481	1.510	0.826	0.719	1.206	1.177	1.184	0.995	1.813 **	2.162 **	1.273
AIC	645.0 -	761.3 -	682.3 -	472.7 -	829.3 -	622.4 -	620.6 -	903.5 -	621.7 -	560.2 -	1011.5 -	779.4 -	793.5 -
R2	0.093 -	0.121 -	0.118 -	0.160 -	0.129 -	0.153 -	0.140 -	0.071 -	0.138 -	0.119 -	0.178 -	0.342 -	0.212 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

In Section 4.4, we presented a typology matching co-residence and occupational trajectories. In a final model, we used this matched typology to see what complementary information it revealed. As a reminder, we found seven types: *Double transition* trajectories for individuals experiencing entry into the labor market and transition to parenthood (32.6%), *Full-time & Family life* trajectories for individuals continuously working full-time and living with a partner and children (19.2%), *Home / Part-time & Family life* trajectories for individuals partially withdrawing from the labor market and living with a partner and children (15.1%), *Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* trajectories for individuals working full-time and living partially alone and partially with a partner (14.7%), *Part-time & Conjugal* life trajectories for individuals working part-time and living with a partner (7.8%), *Self-employment & Family life* trajectories for individuals working self-employed and living with a partner and children (6.5%), *Erratic employment & Solo life* trajectories for individuals in uneven occupational trajectories and living alone (4.1%).

Table 60 presents the impact of matched co-residence and occupational trajectories on the salience of specific ties available in the demographic reservoir by means of logistic regressions.[67] Individuals experiencing *Double transition* trajectories were more likely to mention their parents and less likely to mention their children. Individuals in *Erratic employment & Solo life* trajectories more often mentioned their siblings, whereas individuals in *Full-time & Family life* trajectories less often mentioned them. Individuals following *Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* trajectories had more chances of mentioning their partner, parents, and friends. Individuals engaged in *Home / Part-time & Family life* trajectories mentioned less their partner and siblings. Finally, individuals involved in Self-employment *& Family life* trajectories were less likely to mention friends.

67 When controlling for interaction effect between sex and education, we found an interaction effect for partners. Women with tertiary education were less likely to mention their partner than men with tertiary education.

Table 60: Impact of matched co-residence and occupational trajectories on the salience of specific ties available in the demographic reservoir, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Partner	Parents	Mother	Father	Children	Daughters	Sons	Siblings	Sisters	Brothers	Friends	Female friends	Male friends
(Intercept)	*2.553 **	*0.221 ****	*0.212 ****	*0.073 ****	*0.935*	*0.850*	*0.657*	*0.463 **	*0.303 ***	*0.286 ***	*0.405 ***	*0.065 ****	*0.530 †*
Matched co-residence and occupational trajectories													
Double transition	1.179	1.888 **	2.280 **	1.709 †	0.489 **	0.424 **	0.522 *	1.074	1.288	1.189	0.961	0.911	0.852
Erratic employment & Solo life	0.549	0.416	0.395	0.418	0.924	0.808	0.611	1.822 †	1.239	2.515 *	1.097	1.714	1.103
Full-time & Family life	1.074	1.147	1.306	1.066	1.402	1.497 †	1.382	0.687 †	0.614 †	0.856	0.705 †	0.815	0.717
Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life	2.148 *	2.009 **	2.441 **	1.243	0.654	0.699	0.654	1.383	1.512 †	1.304	1.514 *	1.213	1.576 *
Home / Part-time & Family life	0.616 †	0.826	0.902	0.765	1.023	1.023	0.844	0.664 †	0.693	0.478 *	1.104	1.067	1.046
Part-time & Conjugal life	1.135	0.835	0.912	0.879	1.477	1.389	2.435	1.242	1.099	1.970 *	1.522	1.240	1.294
Self-employment & Family life	0.958	0.801	0.424 †	1.573	1.597	1.966 *	1.688	0.652	0.886	0.318 *	0.529 *	0.490 †	0.695
Childhood co-residence trajectories (ref : non-standard)													
Standard	1.369	1.178	1.113	2.928 *	1.717 *	1.595 †	1.662 †	0.816	0.738	1.125	0.812	0.825	0.745
Age group (ref: 56-61)													
36-41	1.404	1.141	0.871	0.911	0.889	1.065	1.012	0.959	0.790	1.078	1.222	1.089	1.082
Sex (ref: men)													
Women	0.732	1.766 **	1.776 **	1.481	1.452 †	1.883 **	1.556 †	1.309	2.528 ***	0.575 *	1.565 **	8.401 ***	0.257 ***
Level of education (ref: vocational school)													
Lower secondary	0.700	1.228	1.462	1.110	0.907	0.799	0.745	0.719	0.605	0.911	0.231 ***	0.163 ***	0.358 *
Upper secondary	1.129	1.550	1.536	2.530 *	0.788	0.422 †	0.740	1.243	0.870	1.875	0.953	0.858	1.163
Tertiary	1.011	1.444	1.318	1.389	0.926	0.927	0.885	0.705	1.111	0.595	1.587 *	2.026 **	1.563 *
Nationality (ref: foreign)													
Swiss	1.461	1.442	1.390	1.673	0.826	0.746	1.139	1.187	1.245	1.087	1.903 **	2.262 **	1.362
AIC	631.1 -	749.5 -	667.1 -	467.2 -	816.8 -	604.9 -	612.8 -	889.6 -	613.7 -	542.5 -	1020.0 -	781.7 -	803.0 -
R2	0.060 -	0.084 -	0.086 -	0.080 -	0.098 -	0.125 -	0.085 -	0.044 -	0.086 -	0.090 -	0.123 -	0.299 -	0.149 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

In summary, the chances of mentioning specific ties were influenced by both life trajectories and social structure factors. For each type of tie, we summarize their conjoint effects drawing simultaneously on the results of the last three models, but not on the first one as it did not control for availability.

Partners. Partners were more frequently mentioned by individuals in *Conjugal* trajectories and less frequently mentioned by individuals in *One-parent and stepfamily* or in *Transition to parenthood* trajectories. When considering occupational trajectories, individuals who followed *Studies before mixed experiences* trajectories more often mentioned their partner. In the matched type, we noted that individuals following *Full-time & Conjugal / Solo* trajectories were also likely to mention their partner, while this was not the case for individuals following *Home / Part-time and Family life* trajectories. *Standard* childhood trajectories also increased the chances of mentioning the partner. A very interesting finding was the negative tendency of women to mention their partner even when they actually had one. Women are more likely to be in a couple relationship, but to rely on other significant alters for support. The effect of gender disappeared in the last model to be replaced by the effect of *Home / Part-time and Family life* trajectories, which are female trajectories. This means that women with a master status clearly based on family are less likely to mention their partner. We elaborate more on this when considering other ties. Finally, in Model 2, younger individuals were also found to mention this tie more.

Mothers. Mothers were more frequently mentioned by individuals following *Dyadic attachment* or *Transition to parenthood* co-residence trajectories and *Loner* partnership trajectories and less frequently mentioned by individuals following *Slow shifter* partnership trajectories. When introducing occupational trajectories, we noted the positive association with *Studies before mixed experiences* and *Full-time* trajectories. More interesting was the matched typology indicating that individuals experiencing *Double transition* or *Full-time & Conjugal / Solo* trajectories were more likely to mention their mother and that individuals experiencing *Self-employment & Family life* trajectories were less likely to mention them. It is interesting to highlight that recent parents (*Double transition*) were likely to consider their mother as a significant alter as well as individuals not committing in couple relationship (*Loner*). In addition, in contrast to the partners, mothers were more often mentioned by women. Therefore, it seems that, in certain circumstances, women rely more on their mother than on their partner.

Fathers. Fathers were more frequently mentioned by individuals following *Dyadic attachment* co-residence trajectories and less frequently mentioned by individuals following *One-parent and stepfamily* and *Solo* co-residence trajectories as well as *Late bloomer* partnership trajectories. They were also likely to be mentioned by individuals experiencing *Double transition*

trajectories (matched type) and *Standard* childhood trajectories. Overall, fathers were less likely to be considered significant alters by individuals having in adulthood less institutionalized trajectories, either living only with children or alone. In addition, there was a positive association with individuals having upper secondary education.

Daughters and sons. The chances of mentioning daughters and sons were based on similar life trajectories and social structure factors. They were less frequently mentioned by individuals following *Transition to parenthood* co-residence trajectories and *Loner* partnership trajectories. In the first case, we noted that individuals having younger children mentioned them less as significant alters. In the second case, there was no involvement in a couple relationship and, probably, those individuals were also less invested in the parent-child relationship. *Standard* childhood trajectories were also positively related to the chances of mentioning daughters and sons. Women more often considered their children significant alters, highlighting that they strongly invested in this lineal relationship. Two differences were found. First, daughters were more frequently mentioned by individuals following *One-parent and stepfamily* co-residence trajectories, while sons were more frequently mentioned by individuals following *Stayer* partnership trajectories. Second, the chances of mentioning daughters decreased for individuals with upper secondary education and of mentioning sons for individuals with lower secondary education in comparison with individuals with vocational training.

Sisters and brothers. Sisters were less frequently mentioned by individuals engaged in *One-parent and stepfamily* co-residence trajectories. Considering the matched typology between co-residence and occupational trajectories, individuals in *Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* more often mentioned their sisters and individuals in *Full-time & Family life* less often. Brothers were more frequently mentioned by individuals following *Nestalgic* co-residence trajectories and less frequently mentioned by individuals following *Stayer* partnership trajectories. Regarding conjointly co-residence and occupation, individuals in *Erratic & Solo life* or *Part-time & Conjugal life* more often mentioned their brothers and individuals in *Home / Part-time & Family life* or *Self-employment & Family life* less often. For both sisters and brothers, family life decreased the chances of mentioning them. Finally, there was a clear gender preference, as women were more likely to consider their sisters significant alters, whereas men were more likely to consider their brothers significant alters.

Female and male friends. Female friends were less frequently mentioned by individuals involved in *Stayer* or *Late bloomer* partnership trajectories and more frequently mentioned by individuals involved in *Loner* partnership trajectories. A long-term couple relationship was negative for female friendship ties, while not being in a steady couple relationship

was positive. Male friends were less frequently mentioned by individuals engaged in *Parenthood* co-residence trajectories and *Stayer* partnership trajectories. Concerning occupational trajectories, individuals following *Full-time* trajectories had less chances of mentioning female friends as well as individuals following *Self-employment & Family life* trajectories. In contrast, individuals following *Erratic* occupational trajectories and *Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* matched trajectories had more chances of mentioning male friends. Therefore, for male friends, full-time employment without involvement in family life seems positive. Spatial mobility trajectories had an impact on friendship ties. Individuals in *Settled after all* trajectories more often mentioned their friends, female and male, and individuals in *Occasional mover* trajectories mentioned them less often. There was an effect of the level of education on the chances of mentioning friends. Individuals with lower levels of education less often mentioned their friends, female and male, and individuals with higher levels of education more often mentioned their female friends. Female friends were also more likely to be mentioned by individuals holding Swiss nationality. Finally, as for siblings, there was a clear gender preference, as women were more likely to consider female friends significant alters, whereas men were more likely to consider male friends significant alters.

Based on the most frequent ties that matter, in Section 3.1, we created a typology of personal configurations to better reflect different ways of connecting. As a reminder, we found eight types of personal configurations based on the type of tie: *Female friends and children-oriented*, *Nuclear-oriented*, *Parents-based*, *Siblings-based*, *Partner and buddies-oriented*, *Kinship-based*, *Professional and non-kin-oriented*, and *Alone*. We underlined that those personal configurations were partially shaped by social structure variables. With regard to gender, we found positive associations between women and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations, and between men and *Partner and buddies-oriented* and *Alone* configurations. Concerning age group, younger individuals were more likely to have *Parents-based* configurations, whereas older individuals were more likely to have *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. Education also mattered, as individuals with lower levels of education more often had *Alone* configurations and individuals with higher levels of education more often had *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations.

Table 61 presents the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories on personal configurations by means of logistic regressions. Co-residence trajectories from 1991 to 2011 were also well associated with personal configurations. Individuals who mostly lived with a partner (*Conjugal* trajectories) were more likely to develop *Partner and buddies-oriented* and *Kinship-based* configurations and less likely to develop *Female friends and children-oriented* and *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. Indeed, a focus on conjugality is related to the partner and friends connected to the couple as partners' networks become more interlocked with the passage of time

and the progressive institutionalization of the couple (Kalmijn, 2003). The association between those trajectories and *Kinship-based* configurations is also worth raising, as it shows that a focus on conjugality does leave room for kin ties outside the nuclear family boundaries. Individuals who stayed a long time in a one-parent family before becoming independent (*Dyadic attachment* trajectories) were more likely to have *Parents-based* configurations. It should be remembered that *Parents-based* configurations had a mean of 0.87 mothers and 0.78 fathers (see Table 14, p.75), thus the two parents were not systematically included together. This association brings another perspective on the impact of childhood trajectories. Indeed, when individuals had recently spent a long time in a one-parent family form, thus developing a strong relationship with this parent, they were also very likely to consider her/him as significant. Individuals who experienced in adulthood being a one-parent family and/or a stepfamily were more likely to have *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. At that stage, we have to underline that both *One-parent family and stepfamily* trajectories and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations were highly gendered and associated with women. This is a sign of solidarity among women, showing the role of friendship when separation or divorce occurs. Individuals having trajectories dominated by parenthood, i.e. living with partner and children, had more chances of developing *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and less chances of developing *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations. This shows the structuring impact of having children on all relationships. Indeed, partners and children take over the first positions and hold supremacy over all other relationships (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Nevertheless, two facts moderate this conclusion. Individuals who went through the transition in the middle of their trajectories and individuals whose children left the parental home in the middle of their trajectories were not more prone to have *Nuclear-oriented* configurations, highlighting that this focus has more to do with life stage and living together under the same roof than parenthood itself. Finally, it should be noted that *Nestalgic*, *Empty nest*, *Solo* and *Transition to parenthood* trajectories did not show any significant association. It is noteworthy that individuals who had *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectories were more likely to develop *Parents-based* configurations and less likely to develop *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations. This association between a nuclear family form in childhood and a personal configuration centered on the family of orientation indicates that individuals living as children and teenagers with two parents were more likely to consider them significant alters in adulthood. Therefore, this family form is favorable for the development of meaningful relationships lasting into adulthood.

Partnership trajectories also had some influence in the development of personal configurations. Individuals engaged in *Stayer* trajectories more often had *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and less often *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. Individuals in *Late bloomer* trajectories were also more likely to have *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. Finally, individuals following *Loner* trajectories had less chances of developing *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and more chances of developing *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations.

Finally, regarding the social structure variables, more effects remained unchanged. Older individuals became more prone to develop *Alone* configurations and men *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. The impact of low levels of education disappeared, while the impact of higher levels of education was maintained with the addition of a negative association with *Siblings-based* configurations. Foreign nationality also became associated with *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations.

Table 61: Impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories on personal configurations, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Nuclear-oriented	Parents-based	Siblings-based	Kinship-based	Partner and buddies-oriented	Female friends and children-oriented	Professional and non kin-oriented	Alone
(Intercept)	*0.082 ****	*0.008 ****	*0.016*	*0.096 ****	*0.439 †*	*0.306 ****	*0.001*	*0.002*
Co-residence trajectories								
Conjugal	0.512 †	1.146	9.432	2.349 *	3.200 ***	0.629 †	38.994	12.053
Dyadic attachment	0.404	5.675 **	2.635	1.902	0.594	1.585	0.000	0.000
Nestalgic	1.155	1.720	12.003	0.327	1.176	0.727	0.000	0.000
Empty nest	1.702	1.365	6.612	1.380	1.426	0.648	32.509	55.231
One-parent and stepfamily	1.105	0.246	0.000	0.961	0.696	2.299 *	71.890	144.465
Parenthood	2.573 ***	0.381 *	6.882	0.710	1.093	1.005	28.688	34.872
Solo	0.591	0.696	13.785	0.998	0.660	1.149	52.316	79.990
Transition to parenthood	1.463	1.002	5.574	0.729	0.625	0.803	99.843	160.878
Partnership trajectories								
Quick shifter	1.532	1.286	1.300	1.099	0.659	0.900	1.003	0.399
Stayer	1.865 *	0.956	0.765	1.210	1.421	0.740 †	0.896	1.710
Late bloomer	2.282 **	0.773	0.902	1.044	1.026	0.819	0.991	1.210
Slow shifter	1.125	1.106	1.068	0.479 †	1.886 *	0.953	0.912	1.741
Loner	0.136 *	0.952	1.044	1.504	0.552	1.922 *	1.232	0.695
Childhood co-residence trajectories (ref : non-standard)								
Standard	1.604	6.936 **	0.777	0.802	0.455 *	0.849	1.094	0.616
Age group (ref: 56-61)								
36-41	1.004	5.074 ***	1.249	0.890	1.297	0.931	0.213 **	0.233 *
Sex (ref: men)								
Women	0.760	1.395	1.166	1.400	0.103 ***	3.229 ***	0.550 †	0.454 †
Level of education (ref: vocational school)								
Lower secondary	1.143	0.497	0.870	1.258	1.116	0.644	1.966	2.321
Upper secondary	0.716	1.171	0.744	0.779	0.835	1.291	1.505	1.950
Tertiary	0.792	1.167	0.326 **	0.466 †	1.401	1.274	4.059 ***	0.000
Nationality (ref : foreign)								
Swiss	1.170	1.060	1.633	0.999	0.578	0.674 †	4.585 *	0.952
AIC	770.7 -	520.2 -	567.4 -	457.1 -	472.2 -	815.0 -	377.2 -	258.0 -
R2	0.167 -	0.235 -	0.088 -	0.081 -	0.223 -	0.149 -	0.153 -	0.179 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

When considering specific ties, we first conducted analyses on specific ties overall and then controlling by their availability in the demographic reservoir. Likewise we investigated the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories on personal configurations and added the demographic reservoir with variables indicating the presence of a partner, at least one child, at least one parent, and at least one sibling (see Table 62). We only highlighted the differences between the previous findings and this new model.

The inclusion of the demographic reservoir decreased the direct impact of some co-residence trajectories and, to a lesser extent, of some partnership trajectories. Having at least one child was the best predictor of developing *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. Individuals in *Stayer* and *Late bloomer* remained more likely to develop those configurations. In contrast, not having children and having a partner predicted the likelihood of *Parents-based* configurations, but did not overshadow the impact of co-residence trajectories. Interestingly, while co-residence and partnership trajectories were well associated with *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations in the previous models, their impact disappeared when taking into account the demographic reservoir. Not having a partner and siblings better predicted the development of those configurations. In the previous model, two types of personal configurations were not influenced by the co-residence and partnership trajectories, namely *Siblings-based* and *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. Interestingly, the demographic reservoir influenced them. Individuals who did not have children were more likely to develop *Siblings-based* configurations, while individuals who did not have a partner were more likely to develop *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations.

With regard to the social structure variables, the introduction of the demographic reservoir did not change the above mentioned trends with the exception of the emergence of a negative association between individuals with lower levels of education and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations, and a positive association between foreign respondents and *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations.

Table 62: Impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories along with the demographic reservoir on personal configurations, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Nuclear-oriented	Parents-based	Siblings-based	Kinship-based	Partner and buddies-oriented	Female friends and children-oriented	Professional and non kin-oriented	Alone
(Intercept)	*0.000*	*0.000*	*0.000*	*0.233 †*	*0.000*	*0.896*	*0.001*	*0.002*
Co-residence trajectories								
Conjugal	0.867	0.829	6.434	1.937 †	2.609 *	0.925	46.981	12.374
Dyadic attachment	0.337	5.020 *	2.531	1.886	0.501	1.771	0.000	0.000
Nestalgic	1.701	1.142	11.952	0.269	0.833	0.818	0.000	0.000
Empty nest	0.909	1.818	10.176	1.706	1.199	0.710	34.141	45.698
One-parent and stepfamily	0.933	0.384	0.000	1.058	0.861	1.506	51.865	137.406
Parenthood	1.401	0.398 *	10.273	0.883	0.993	1.051	29.089	31.906
Solo	2.126	0.737	9.911	0.696	1.592	0.816	40.556	109.976
Transition to parenthood	0.796	1.029	9.628	0.917	0.562	0.814	112.293	135.521
Partnership trajectories								
Quick shifter	1.362	1.161	1.252	1.083	0.532 †	1.011	1.064	0.368
Stayer	1.596 †	0.919	0.828	1.295	1.177	0.804	0.905	1.625
Late bloomer	1.715 †	0.729	1.015	1.160	0.826	0.987	1.035	1.172
Slow shifter	0.960	0.975	1.125	0.514 †	1.820 †	0.957	0.949	1.850
Loner	0.279	1.317	0.845	1.195	1.062	1.303	1.056	0.770
Childhood co-residence trajectories (ref : non-standard)								
Standard	1.534	6.935 **	0.721	0.803	0.484 *	1.035	1.093	0.626
Age group (ref: 56-61)								
36-41	0.987	2.565 *	1.439	0.989	1.157	0.956	0.234 *	0.297
Sex (ref: men)								
Women	0.787	1.401	1.216	1.391	0.103 ***	3.154 ***	0.531 †	0.454 †
Level of education (ref: vocational school)								
Lower secondary	1.178	0.581	0.911	1.332	0.993	0.526 †	1.621	2.508
Upper secondary	0.657	1.009	0.987	0.802	0.755	1.198	1.760	2.084
Tertiary	0.785	1.096	0.331 **	0.466 †	1.209	1.347	4.353 ***	0.000
Nationality (ref : foreign)								
Swiss	1.138	1.106	1.523	0.971	0.548 †	0.689	4.438 *	1.062
Demographic reservoir								
Having a partner	20784063.086	5.055 **	0.723	0.606	54381635.272	0.222 ***	0.424 †	1.527
Having at least one child	24.08 ***	0.494 †	0.320 **	0.515	0.912	1.510	1.291	1.534
having at least one parent	1.000	26413561.199	0.593 †	0.809	1.124	1.220	0.730	0.702
Having at least one sibling	1.269	0.936	17524351.005	1.046	0.539	0.545 †	1.527	0.466
AIC	713.0 -	489.4 -	545.0 -	459.3 -	454.6 -	784.5 -	381.0 -	262.8 -
R2	0.274 -	0.314 -	0.156 -	0.095 -	0.272 -	0.192 -	0.163 -	0.191 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

Table 63 shows the results of the logistic regressions with the introduction of occupational and spatial mobility trajectories. First it should be noted that the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories remained unchanged. Individuals engaged in *Full-time* trajectories were not likely to have *Alone* configurations, indicating a probable protective effect of work against social isolation. *Erratic* trajectories had a positive impact on the chance of having *Kinship-based* configurations, potentially indicating the presence of kinship solidarity towards those individuals with uneven occupational trajectories. In contrast, individuals following *High part-time* trajectories developed fewer *Kinship-based* configurations and more *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. Finally, individuals in *Studies before mixed experiences* trajectories were less likely to have *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. Individuals in *Frequent mover* trajectories were more likely to develop *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. In contrast, individuals in *Settled after all* trajectories were less likely to develop those configurations and *Parents-based* configurations, but more likely to develop *Nuclear-oriented* and *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. Finally, foreign nationality was positively associated with *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations and negatively associated with *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations.

Table 63: Impact of all trajectories on personal configurations, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Nuclear-oriented	Parents-based	Siblings-based	Kinship-based	Partner and buddies-oriented	Female friends and children-oriented	Professional and non kin-oriented	Alone
(Intercept)	*0.069* ***	*0.005* ***	*0.017*	*0.081* ***	*0.063*	*0.303* **	*0.000*	*0.005*
Co-residence trajectories								
Conjugal	0.521 †	1.212	9.576	2.513 **	3.512 ***	0.529 *	35.356	12.905
Dyadic attachment	0.426	4.495 *	2.611	2.018	0.688	1.600	0.000	0.000
Nestalgic	1.255	1.583	11.340	0.339	1.055	0.790	0.000	0.000
Empty nest	1.683	1.289	6.716	1.392	1.377	0.641	26.268	63.480
One-parent and stepfamily	0.997	0.311	0.000	0.886	0.705	2.325 *	67.743	132.601
Parenthood	2.522 ***	0.433 †	6.814	0.622	1.038	1.020	27.009	32.701
Solo	0.585	0.674	14.103	0.986	0.683	1.134	59.764	94.585
Transition to parenthood	1.452	0.992	5.612	0.771	0.570	0.868	98.356	150.716
Partnership trajectories								
Quick shifter	1.395	1.336	1.343	1.140	0.634	0.999	0.912	0.421
Stayer	2.022 **	0.942	0.748	1.086	1.476	0.719 †	1.091	1.571
Late bloomer	2.356 **	0.744	0.895	1.028	1.056	0.812	1.066	1.204
Slow shifter	1.117	1.116	1.060	0.511 †	1.965 *	0.913	0.869	1.909
Loner	0.135 *	0.957	1.050	1.537	0.515	1.876 *	1.086	0.658
Occupational trajectories								
At home	1.191	0.558	1.428	1.515	26.959	0.637	0.519	1.550
Erratic	0.797	0.662	0.911	2.799 *	8.988	0.988	0.740	1.168
Full-time	1.108	1.433	1.000	1.102	6.812	0.945	1.266	0.358 *
High part-time	0.579	0.547	1.142	0.335 †	3.458	2.519 ***	1.529	1.046
Low part-time	1.140	1.400	1.015	0.559	0.000	1.170	2.056	1.667
Self-employment	1.419	1.590	0.654	1.583	6.260	0.974	0.441	0.876
Studies before mixed experiences	1.014	1.550	1.015	0.723	14.625	0.585 †	1.484	1.010
Spatial mobility trajectories								
Frequent movers	0.893	1.248	0.986	0.891	0.777	1.405 *	0.796	1.348
Occasional movers	0.876	1.355	1.119	0.976	0.791	1.080	0.879	1.483
Settled after all	1.492 *	0.469 *	0.974	0.762	1.483	0.696 †	1.795 *	0.656
Well-settled	0.857	1.261	0.930	1.508	1.098	0.947	0.796	0.763
Childhood co-residence trajectories (ref : non-standard)								
Standard	1.701 †	5.998 **	0.799	0.756	0.506 *	0.797	1.354	0.495
Age group (ref: 56-61)								
36-41	1.099	4.341 ***	1.180	0.876	1.309	1.001	0.196 **	0.243 *
Sex (ref: men)								
Women	0.817	1.696 †	1.083	1.615	0.078 ***	3.179 ***	0.472 †	0.235 *
Level of education (ref: vocational school)								
Lower secondary	1.159	0.505	0.806	1.237	1.127	0.643	1.922	2.055
Upper secondary	0.724	1.208	0.714	0.863	0.773	1.247	1.376	1.692
Tertiary	0.790	1.236	0.323 **	0.553	1.183	1.295	3.622 ***	0.000
Nationality (ref: foreign)								
Swiss	1.129	1.189	1.604	1.086	0.582	0.663 †	4.380 *	0.784
AIC	780.8 -	527.7 -	583.3 -	461.5 -	476.0 -	811.1 -	383.5 -	267.3 -
R2	0.181 -	0.257 -	0.093 -	0.120 -	0.256 -	0.186 -	0.188 -	0.216 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

Table 64 presents the impact of matched co-residence and occupational trajectories on personal configurations by means of logistic regressions.[68] Individuals in *Self-employment & Family life, Full-time & Family life*, or *Home / Part-time & Family life* trajectories had more chances of developing *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. Those three types of trajectories had in common the fact of putting the emphasis on family life. In other words, independently of their work situation, individuals who were centered on their partner and children were more likely to develop *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. In contrast, individuals in *Erratic employment & Solo life* or *Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* trajectories had less chances of developing those configurations. Individuals experiencing *Double transition* trajectories were less likely to develop *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. Individuals in *Erratic employment & Solo life* trajectories more often developed *Siblings-based* or *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. Likewise individuals following *Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* trajectories more often developed *Siblings-based* configurations. In contrast, individuals involved in *Self-employment & Family life* trajectories were less likely to have those configurations based on siblings. Finally, it should be noted that individuals involved in *Full-time & Family life* trajectories did not have *Alone* configurations.

68 When controlling for interaction effect between sex and education, we found an interaction effect for *Nuclear-oriented* and *Parents-based* configurations. Women with upper secondary education were more likely to develop *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and less likely to develop *Parents-based* configurations than men with upper secondary education.

Table 64: Impact of matched co-residence and occupational trajectories on personal configurations, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Nuclear-oriented	**Parents-based**	**Siblings-based**	**Kinship-based**	**Partner and buddies-oriented**	**Female friends and children-oriented**	**Professional and non kin-oriented**	**Alone**
(Intercept)	*0.149* ***	*0.001*	*0.110* ***	*0.107* ***	*0.070*	*0.304* ***	*0.022* ***	*0.153* **
Matched co-residence and occupational trajectories								
Double transition	1.289	15.168	0.887	0.624	7.176	0.582 *	1.447	2.458
Erratic employment & Solo life	0.296 †	0.000	2.696 *	1.737	0.000	1.978 †	0.791	1.635
Full-time & Family life	1.907 **	3.987	0.682	0.995	8.131	1.058	1.047	0.454 †
Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life	0.407 **	12.422	1.799 *	1.156	13.261	0.791	1.216	0.606
Home / Part-time & Family life	1.670 *	4.319	0.760	0.667	14.340	1.098	1.070	1.433
Part-time & Conjugal life	0.676	7.965	1.538	1.599	12.569	0.896	1.407	0.645
Self-employment & Family life	2.985 ***	12.002	0.291 †	0.751	5.199	1.055	0.456	0.978
Childhood co-residence trajectories (ref : non-standard)								
Standard	1.689 †	3.600 **	0.935	0.756	0.518 *	0.729	1.218	0.706
Age group (ref: 56-61)								
36-41	0.973	3.831 ***	1.049	0.963	0.802	1.242	0.270 *	0.215 *
Sex (ref: men)								
Women	0.762	1.444	0.975	1.535	0.098 ***	3.259 ***	0.592	0.405 †
Level of education (ref: vocational school)								
Lower secondary	1.389	0.623	0.748	1.261	1.178	0.562 †	1.718	2.224
Upper secondary	0.785	1.087	0.776	0.750	0.833	1.305	1.364	1.827
Tertiary	0.730	1.235	0.374 *	0.477	1.434	1.376	3.751 ***	0.000
Nationality (ref: foreign)								
Swiss	1.156	1.053	1.633	1.034	0.633	0.635 *	3.911 *	0.862
AIC	797.1 -	516.8 -	563.6 -	457.3 -	471.1 -	827.6 -	377.9 -	257.3 -
R2	0.102 -	0.221 -	0.074 -	0.052 -	0.202 -	0.109 -	0.119 -	0.139 -

*Sig. : † p≤0.1 ; *p≤0.05 ; **p≤0.01 ; ***p≤0.001*

In summary, each personal configuration was influenced by both life trajectories and social structure factors. For each type of personal configurations, we summarize their conjoint effects drawing simultaneously on the results of the four models.

Nuclear-oriented. *Nuclear-oriented* configurations, which were centered on the so-called nuclear family composed of partner and children, were more common among individuals who experienced a co-residence trajectory dominated by parenthood and less common among individuals focused on conjugal life. When introducing the demographic reservoir, having at least one child was the best predictor of those configurations, overcoming the impact of co-residence trajectories. Individuals following *Stayer* or *Late bloomer* partnership trajectories were also more likely to develop configurations centered on the family of procreation and individuals following *Loner* partnership trajectory were less likely to develop them. In the third model, Childhood co-residence trajectories spent with two parents were associated with *Nuclear-oriented* configurations, indicating the desire to reproduce a similar family nest. Finally, individuals having *Settled after all* spatial mobility trajectories had more chances of developing those configurations.

Parents-based. *Parents-based* configurations were centered on the parents. There was a strong impact of life-stage position, as individuals belonging to the 1970-1975 birth cohort were more likely to develop *Parents-based* configurations. *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectories were strongly associated with *Parents-based* configurations, indicating the strength of the parent-child relationships developed in a two-parent home. Interestingly, individuals who followed a *Dyadic attachment* co-residence trajectory were also keen to develop those configurations. *Parenthood* co-residence trajectories, more prominent in the 1950-1955 birth cohort as noted in the previous section, were less associated with *Parents-based* configurations. The demographic reservoir had an impact of its own. While having a partner increased the chances of developing those configurations, having at least one child decreased them. Concerning spatial mobility, individuals having *Settled after all* trajectories had less chances of developing those configurations. Finally, we can note the emergence of an effect of gender in the third model, women being slightly more associated with *Parents-based* configurations.

Siblings-based. *Siblings-based* configurations were not explained by life trajectories when considered separately. However, in the last model with matched co-residence and occupational trajectories, the two trajectories with a focus on living alone (*Erratic employment & Solo life* and *Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life* trajectories) were associated with those configurations. Besides, only the level of education mattered, negatively associating tertiary education with those configurations. However, the demographic reservoir shed some light on those configurations. Individuals who had at least one child and/or at least one parent were less likely to

develop configurations based on siblings. In addition, it should be remembered that individuals following *Solo* co-residence trajectories were more likely to mention their siblings, while individuals following *One-parent and stepfamily* trajectories were less likely to mention them.

Kinship-based. Individuals who spent a co-residence trajectory devoted to conjugal life were likely to develop *Kinship-based* configurations. Individuals in *Late bloomer* partnership trajectories had less chances of developing those configurations. Regarding occupational trajectories, individuals in *Erratic* trajectories more often had *Kinship-based* configurations in contrast with individuals in *High part-time* trajectories. The level of education mattered, negatively associating tertiary education with those configurations.

Partner and buddies-oriented. *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations were influenced by co-residence trajectories marked by conjugal life and by partnership trajectories characterized by three partners (*Slow shifter* trajectories). Individuals following *Quick shifter* trajectories had less chances of developing those configurations. *Non-standard* childhood co-residence trajectories were more likely to be associated with those configurations. Male respondents more often developed *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations. Finally note the positive association between foreign nationality and those configurations.

Female friends and children-oriented. *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations were more common among individuals who followed *One-parent and stepfamily* co-residence trajectories and less common among individuals who followed *Conjugal* trajectories. Regarding partnership trajectories, individuals in *Loner* trajectories were more likely to develop those configurations, whereas individuals in *Stayer* trajectories were less likely to develop them. When introducing the demographic reservoir, not having a partner and, to a lesser extent, not having at least one sibling were the best predictors of those configurations, overcoming the impact of co-residence and partnership trajectories. Concerning occupational trajectories, individuals following *High part-time* occupational trajectories were positively associated with *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations, while individuals following *Studies before mixed experiences* were negatively associated with them. Positive association was also found with *Frequent movers* spatial mobility trajectories and negative association with *Settled after all* trajectories. Finally it should be noted that female respondents were more prone to have *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. In addition, an effect of nationality was found, positively associating foreign nationality with those configurations, as well as an effect of education, negatively associating lower levels of education with them.

Professional and non-kin-oriented. *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations were best explained by structure variables which we have already highlighted, namely tertiary education, 1950-1955 birth cohort, and Swiss nationality. An additional effect of gender was found, associating male respondents with those configurations. Surprisingly, no impact of the occupational trajectories was found. Nevertheless, the fact that higher levels of education indicating great investment in studies explains those configurations emphasizes the importance of the period of studies and its specific context for developing work-related relationships. The only trajectories associated with them were *Settled after all* spatial mobility trajectories. In addition, individuals who had a partner were less likely to develop those configurations.

Alone. *Alone* configurations were empty configurations corresponding to respondents who did not mention any significant alter. Male respondents and older individuals were more likely to have no significant ties. Individuals following *Full-time* occupational trajectories were less likely to find themselves in *Alone* configurations, which we related to a possible protective effect of work.

Main findings and discussion

Standard childhood co-residence trajectories were associated with children and, interestingly, with the father. As previously noted, mothers were more often mentioned overall (27.6% against 16.7% for fathers) and when controlling by the demographic reservoir (40.8% against 34.2% for fathers). Therefore, living with two parents in childhood seemed particularly positive for the father-child relationship in adulthood. Nevertheless, *Dyadic attachment* co-residence trajectories from 1991 to 2011 were also positively associated with mentioning parents, mothers and fathers, and with *Parents-based* configurations. Literature on lone and stepfamilies often points out that children leave the parental home earlier than their counterparts of the same age (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2000). This is due to less satisfaction and more conflicts. Therefore, we can hypothesize that, by contrast, those individuals experiencing *Dyadic attachment* trajectories had very positive relationships to their parents, either residential or not residential parents; those individuals did not rush into early residential independence. By contrast, *Nestalgic* trajectories did not influence the composition of personal relationships.

Individuals following *One-parent and stepfamily* trajectories were not likely to mention their parents and siblings or to develop *Parents-based* and *Siblings-based* configurations. We were surprised by this absence, as we might expect family solidarity to emerge in such circumstances. Nevertheless, the results confirmed that this was not due to a restricted demographic reservoir. Generally speaking, lone-parenthood is associated with various negatives outcomes in terms of

resources (Berrington, 2014; Eydoux & Letablier, 2007; McLanahan & Percheski, 2008; Stoltz, 1997). By contrast, *One-parent and stepfamily* trajectories were strongly associated with children. Children become key relationships for those individuals. Likewise they also had more chances of developing *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. Friends were pointed out as a source of support in such circumstances (Kalmijn & Broese van Groenou, 2005; Martin, 1994; Terhell et al., 2007).

Individuals following *Solo* trajectories were more likely to mention their siblings. The importance of siblings in the absence of partners has been noted by other scholars. It also supports the idea of a hierarchy of kinship relationships (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Moreover, it should be noted that individuals in *Solo* trajectories while having children were very likely to mention them. Thus, individuals following co-residence trajectories marked by the temporary absence of a conjugal relationship after a separation rely more on their children. In addition, individuals in *Solo* as well as individuals in *One-parent and stepfamily* trajectories were less likely to mention their fathers.

Individuals involved in *Parenthood* trajectories developed *Nuclear-oriented* configurations and did not mention their friends. The absence of friends indicates that when individuals live with children, they have less time to invest in ties outside the family. Kalmijn (2003) also noted that friends did not disappear with childbearing, but fade away during the first years to reappear afterwards. Interestingly the two other co-residence trajectories partially focused on nuclear family life, *Empty nest* and *Transition to parenthood* trajectories, did not lead to the development of *Nuclear-oriented* configurations. Individuals experiencing *Transition to parenthood* trajectories were more likely to mention their mothers, but not their children. As previously underlined, it may indicate that young children are less often considered significant alters. The presence of the mother highlights the key role grandmothers often play. The transition to parenthood has been singled out in the literature as very challenging, leading to new statuses and roles, becoming parents, but also reinforcing differentiation between women and men regarding family-work reconciliation (Giudici & Gauthier, 2009; Widmer et al., 2003).

Regarding partnership trajectories, individuals involved in *Stayer* trajectories were more likely to mention their children and less likely to mention siblings and friends. They often developed *Nuclear-based* configurations. To a lesser extent, individuals engaged in *Late bloomer* trajectories were also less likely to mention friends and to develop *Nuclear-based* configurations. In contrast, individuals following *Loner* trajectories were prone to mention their parents, in particular their mothers, and their friends. They often developed *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. Friends often played an important role for single individuals (Bellotti, 2008). The

fact that, on one hand, having experienced only one long-lasting romantic relationship is related to a focus on the partner and children and, on the other hand, not involving oneself in any romantic relationship is related to investment in friendship ties corroborates the idea of the couple relationship competing with friendship relationships (Kalmijn, 2003).

Two specific ties when available in the demographic reservoir, namely children and partners, had a strong impact on the development of personal configurations. Partnering and becoming parents are life transitions that change the life course and lead to the acquisition of new statuses and roles. While the former is reversible, the latter is usually not, although the investment may vary, in particular between women and men. Nevertheless, focusing on the presence or absence of those ties would reduce the complexity brought by co-residence and partnership trajectories. For instance, we showed the differentiated sociability of individuals spending twenty years in a nuclear family household and of individuals experiencing this transition more recently.

Finally, occupational and spatial mobility trajectories did not influence the composition of personal relationships to a great extent, corroborating the results of Wellman et al. (1997) on the lack of impact of work life and spatial mobility on the core of personal networks. We noticed that individuals engaged in *Full-time* trajectories mentioned friends less, but were less likely to have *Alone* configurations, showing that although they had less time for sociability outside the family, they were well integrated. Individuals having *Erratic* occupational trajectories were more prone to develop *Kinship-based* configurations, a fact that we relate to the potential support provided by kin to less professionally integrated individuals. Spatial mobility trajectories were associated with the chances of mentioning friends; stability after a period of residential moves was positive regarding that matter (*Settled after all* trajectories). We can hypothesize that those individuals met people through their mobility, but stabilized those ties after settlement, joining the positive effects of mobility and stability. Foreign nationality, which be used as a proxy to reflect migration experiences, was associated with mentioning friends less and having developed fewer *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations. It seems that foreign individuals are more focused on kinship ties, abroad or in Switzerland, and develop less sociability outside family bonds.

In summary, the hypotheses regarding the differentiated impact of all four kinds of trajectories are confirmed with various interesting results. Life trajectories do not have a linear impact on personal relationships, but there is a kind of hierarchy of ties brought out by this life-course perspective.

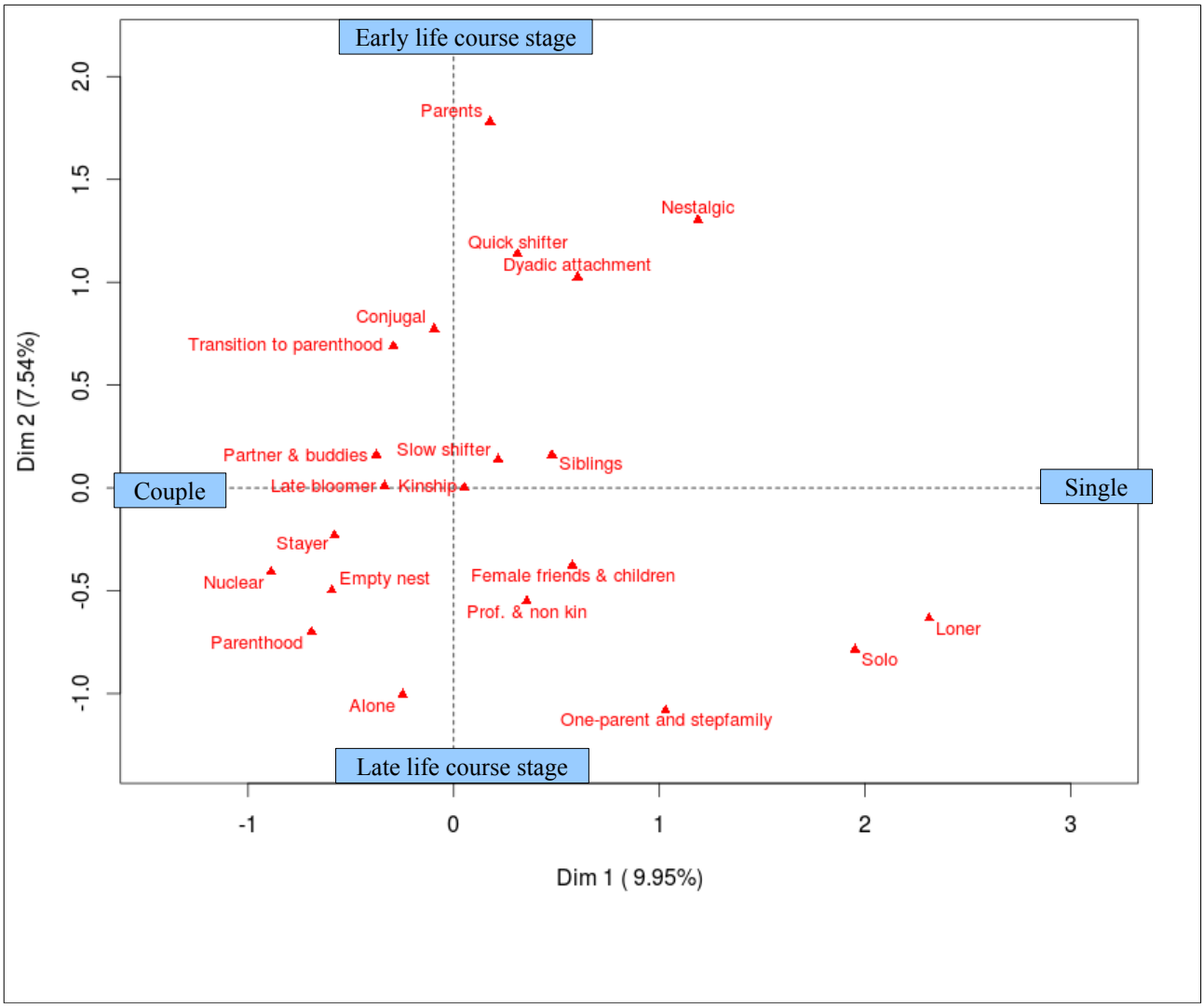
5.2 Profiles of connected ways of life

After focusing on the determinants of personal relationships in the light of the life course by means of logistic regressions, we investigate how life trajectories and personal networks intertwine by means of a multiple correspondence analysis. In doing so, we aim at representing the complex ways in which, simultaneously, individual lives unfold and personal networks develop.

Empirical results

We selected two kinds of life trajectories and the typology of personal configurations to create the bi-dimensional space of the multiple correspondence analysis map. We used co-residence and partnership trajectories, as they were found to be particularly linked to changes in core personal networks. We used personal configurations, as they represented different types of sociability based on distinct sets of significant alters. Figure 23 shows the map with only the active variables in red, while Table 65 shows their contributions to the definition of the bi-dimensional map and the v-tests. We comment more extensively on contributions higher than 4%.

Figure 23: Profiles of connected ways of life: projection of the active variables, MCA map



The first dimension was represented by the horizontal axis. The left side of the map was characterized by *Parenthood* co-residence trajectories, *Stayer* partnership trajectories, and *Nuclear-oriented* configurations, whereas the right side of the map was characterized by *Solo* and, to a lesser extent, *Nestalgic* co-residence trajectories, *Loner* partnership trajectories, and *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations. Regarding co-residence trajectories, there was an opposition between individuals fully integrated in a nuclear family life during the last twenty years (*Parenthood*) and individuals leading an independent life without institutionalized family commitment (*Solo*). Partnership trajectories told a similar story, opposing individuals involved in one long-term relationship (*Stayer*) and individuals who did not engage in a couple relationship (*Loner*). Personal configurations were congruent with this picture, but tempered it. Whereas *Nuclear-oriented* configurations were typical of high investment in family life, *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations also highlighted the fact the some individuals mostly living alone

may have children and develop networks composed of both kin and non-kin. Therefore, the horizontal axis represented the involvement in the couple relationship regardless of the presence of children. The left side of the map represented individuals who centered their personal life around their partner and, frequently, the nuclear family stemming from this central relationship, while the right side represented individuals independent of couple bonds, main pattern that was not incompatible with some love relationships or having children. The second dimension was represented by the vertical axis. The upper part of the map was characterized by *Transition to parenthood*, *Nestalgic*, and *Conjugal* co-residence trajectories, *Quick shifter* partnership trajectories, and *Parents-based* configurations, whereas the lower part was characterized by *Parenthood* and *Solo* co-residence trajectories. Therefore, the vertical axis represented life stages. The upper part represented individuals who had just left the parental home (*Nestalgic* and, to a lesser extent, *Dyadic attachment*) or had gone through the transition to parenthood and, regarding their love life, had several experiences (*Quick shifter*). The lower part represented individuals more advanced in their life course following more stable trajectories.

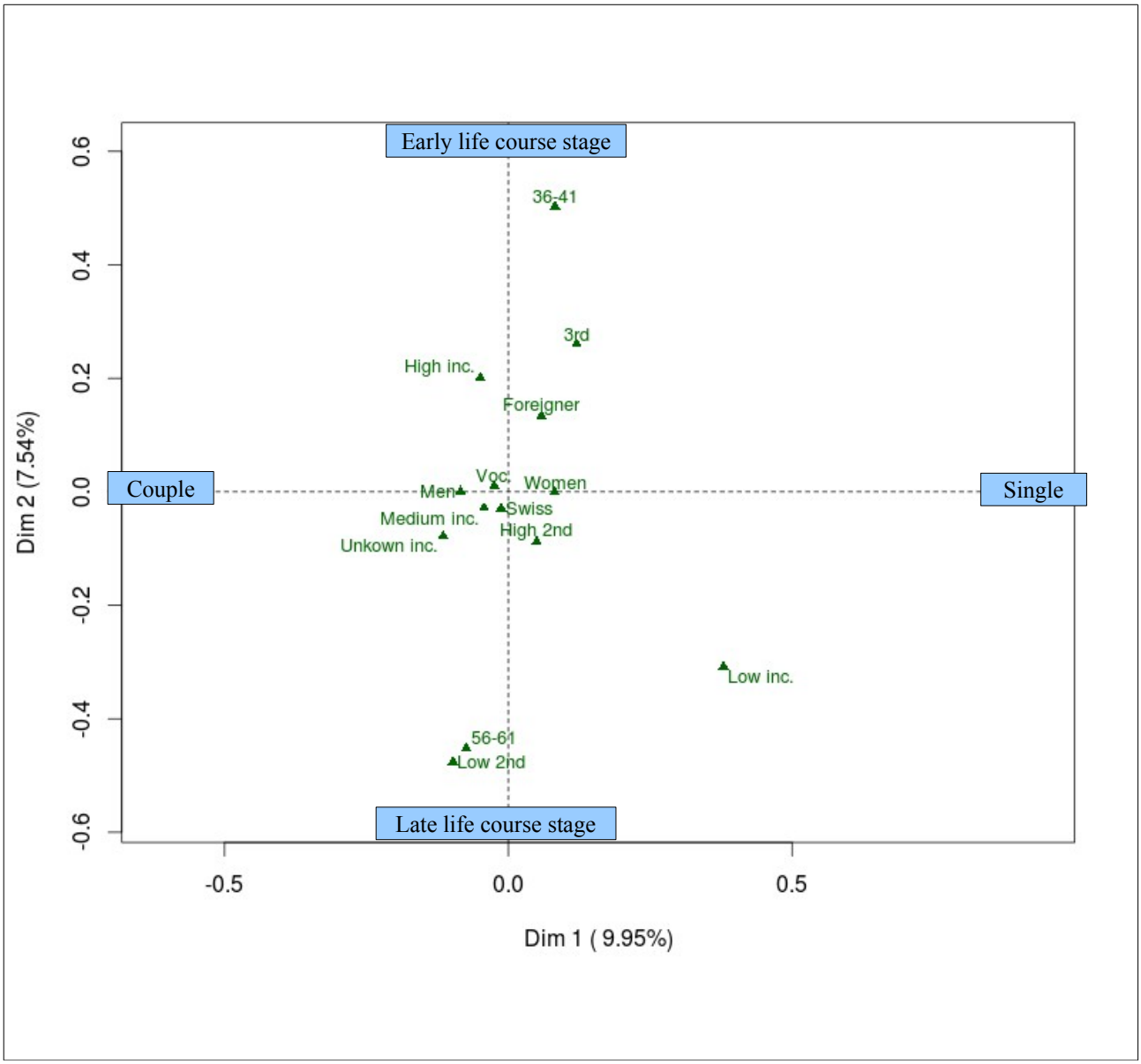
Table 65: Profiles of connected ways of life: contribution of the active variables (percentage) and v-tests (n=786)

	1st dimension		**2nd dimension**	
	%	v-test	%	v-test
Personal configurations				
Alone	0.1	-1.4	2.9	-5.7
Female friends and children-oriented *(Female friends & children)**	4.5	9.1	2.5	-5.9
Kinship-based *(Kinship)*	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Nuclear-oriented *(Nuclear)*	9.7	-13.3	2.7	-6.1
Parents-based *(Parents)*	0.2	1.9	29.2	18.9
Partner and buddies-oriented *(Partner & buddies)*	0.8	-3.6	0.2	1.6
Professional and non-kin-oriented *(Prof. & non kin)*	0.5	2.7	1.6	-4.2
Siblings-based *(Siblings)*	1.5	4.9	0.2	1.7
Co-residence trajectories (1991-2011)				
Conjugal	0.1	-1.0	5.5	8.1
Empty nest	1.8	-5.2	1.6	-4.4
Dyadic attachment	0.6	3.1	2.5	5.2
Nestalgic	4.1	7.8	6.5	8.6
One-parent and stepfamily	2.5	6.0	3.6	-6.4
Parenthood	7.7	-12.3	10.4	-12.5
Solo	23.5	19.3	5.0	-7.8
Transition to parenthood	1.3	-4.9	9.2	11.6
Partnership trajectories (1991-2011)				
Quick shifter	0.6	3.2	11.5	11.8
Stayer	7.6	-13.3	1.6	-5.3
Late bloomer	1.4	-5.1	0.0	0.2
Slow shifter	0.4	2.5	0.2	1.6
Loner	31.1	22.1	3.1	-6.1
Total	100		100	

**In italics and in brackets, the names as they appear in the MCA maps.*

We then projected the passive variables in green representing the social structure factors, the other life trajectories and the other network dimensions on the map. Figure 24 shows the projection of the social structure factors, namely age group, sex, nationality, level of education, and income, and Table 66 shows their coordinates on the map and the v-tests.

Figure 24: Profiles of connected ways of life: projection of the "social structure" passive variables, MCA map



The age group was significantly associated with the vertical axis, the younger individuals being located in the upper part and the older individuals in the lower part. This was congruent with the fact that this axis represented life stages. Individuals with higher levels of education and with a higher income were also more represented in the upper part, whereas individuals with lower levels of education and a lower income were more represented in the lower part. Nevertheless, individuals with a low income were even more associated with the horizontal axis and its right side. Finally, women were slightly more to be found on the right side and men on the left side of the map. It should be noted that nationality was not significant.

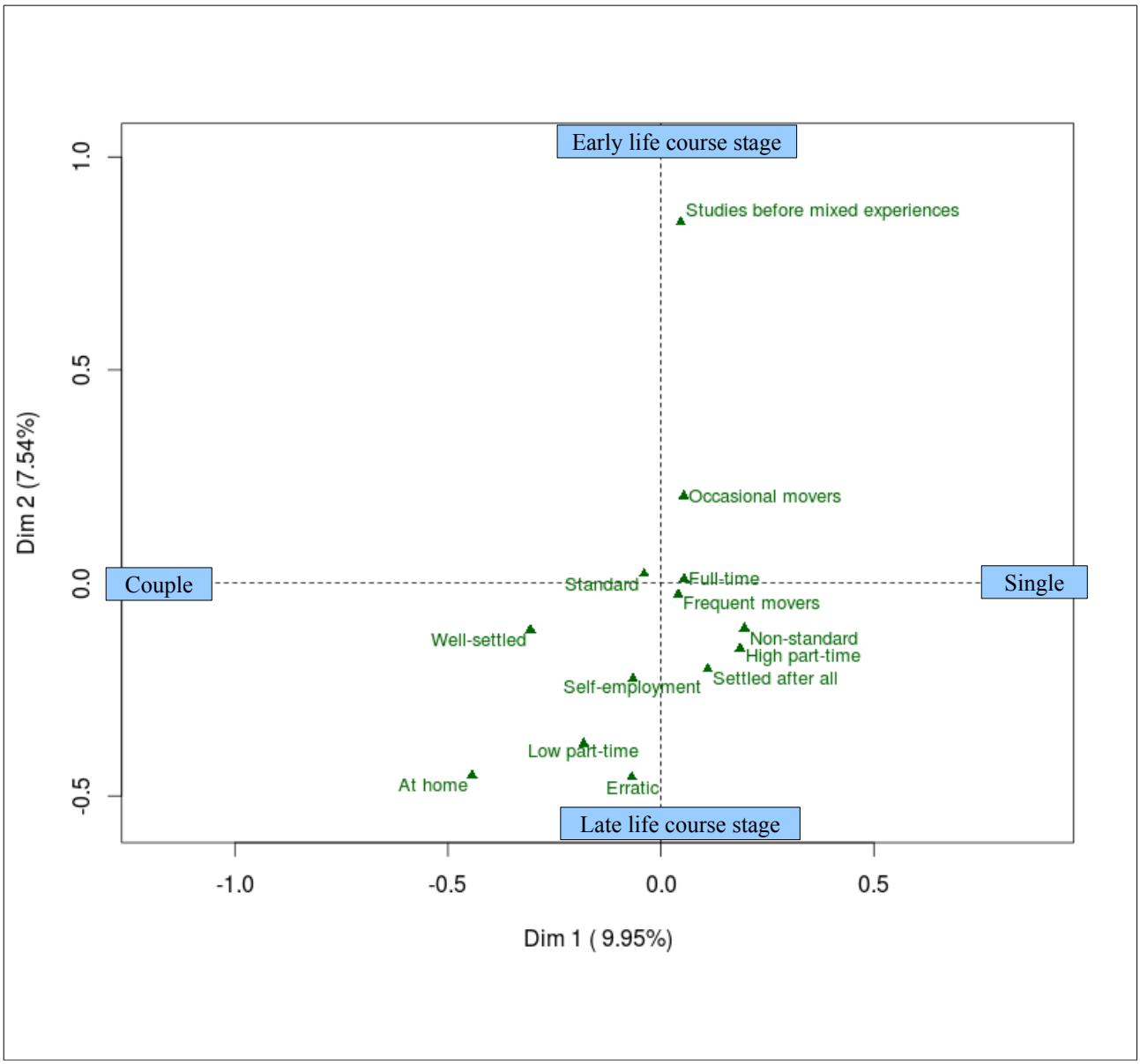
Table 66: Profiles of connected ways of life: coordinates of the "social structure" passive variables and v-tests (n=786)

	1st dimension		2nd dimension	
	coordinate	v-test	coordinate	v-test
Age group				
56-61	-0.1	-2.2	-0.5	-13.4
36-41	0.1	2.2	0.5	13.4
Level of education				
Tertiary *(3rd)**	-0.1	-0.9	-0.5	-4.6
Upper Secondary *(High 2nd)*	0.1	0.4	-0.1	-0.7
Lower Secondary *(Low 2nd)*	0.0	-0.9	0.0	0.4
Vocational *(Voc.)*	0.1	1.6	0.3	3.5
Income				
High inc.	-0.1	-0.9	0.2	3.8
Unknown inc.	-0.1	-1.4	-0.1	-0.9
Low inc.	0.4	4.2	-0.3	-3.4
Medium inc.	0.0	-1.0	0.0	-0.6
Sex				
Men	-0.1	-2.3	0.0	0.0
Women	0.1	2.3	0.0	0.0
Nationality				
Foreigner	0.1	0.8	0.1	1.8
Swiss	0.0	-0.8	0.0	-1.8

**In italics and in brackets, the names as they appear in the MCA maps.*

After the social structure factors, we showed the projection of the other life trajectories, namely occupational and spatial mobility trajectories from 1991 to 2011 and childhood co-residence trajectories in Figure 25 and their coordinates on the map and the v-tests in Table 67.

Figure 25: Profiles of connected ways of life: projection of the "life trajectories" passive variables, MCA map



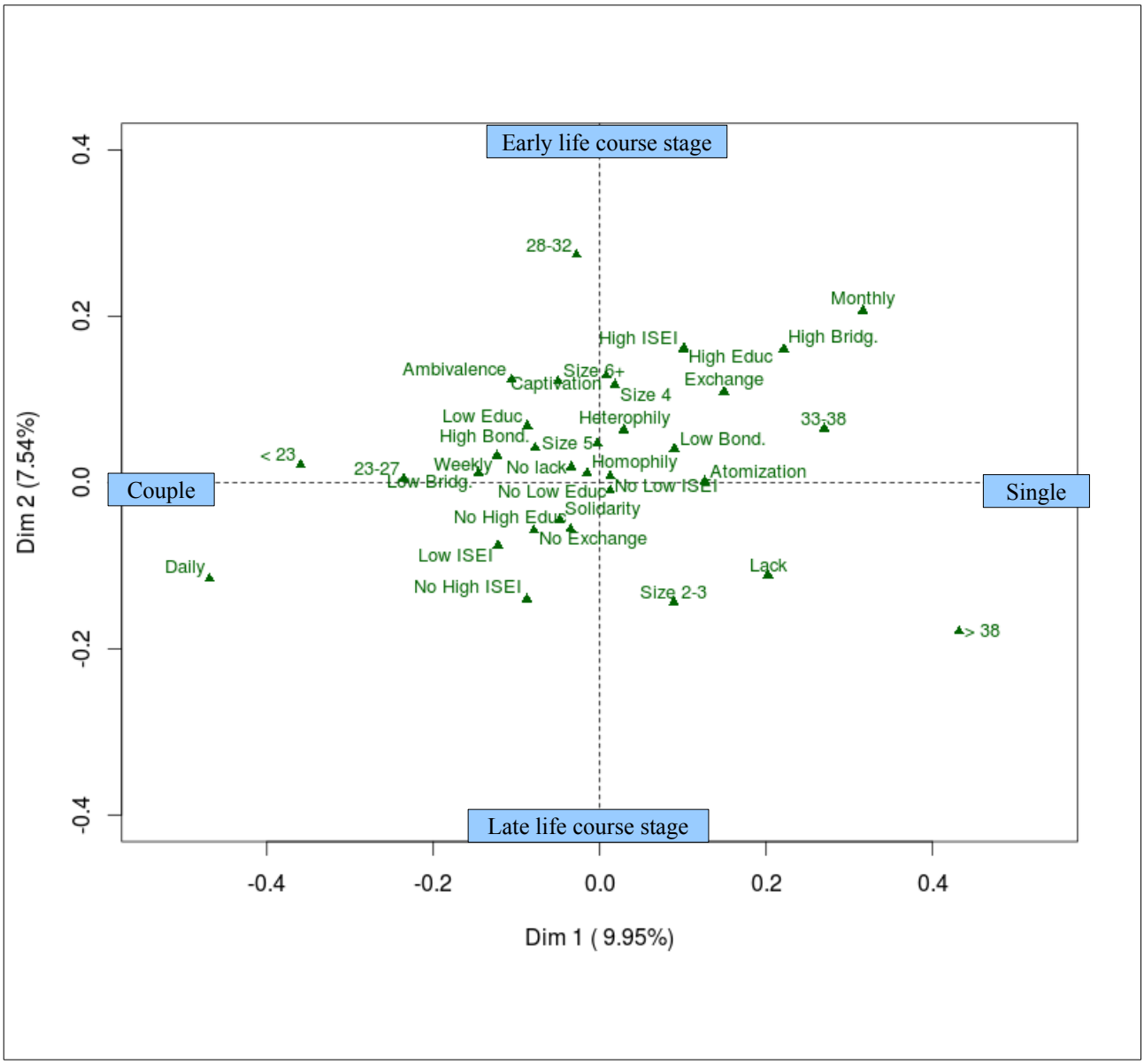
Regarding occupational trajectories, individuals following *Studies before mixed experiences* trajectories were located in the upper part of the map, while most other occupational trajectories were associated with the lower part with the exception of *Full-time* and *High part-time* trajectories. It is interesting to highlight the fact that the *Full-time*, the main type of trajectories, was located in the middle of the map and indistinctly represented individuals with various characteristics. In addition, individuals with *At home* trajectories were slightly more located on the left side of the map, showing the necessity of the presence of a nuclear family life to follow such a trajectory centered on the household. Spatial mobility trajectories offered interesting complementary information. Individuals in *Well-settled* trajectories were also more located on the left side of the map, underlining that family life favors residential stability. Individuals in *Occasional movers* or in *Settled after all* trajectories were associated with the vertical axis, the former with the upper part and the latter with the lower part. Finally, *Non-standard* childhood trajectories were slightly associated with the right side of the map.

Table 67: Profiles of connected ways of life: coordinates of the "life trajectories" passive variables and v-tests (n=786)

	1st dimension		**2nd dimension**	
	coordinate	v-test	coordinate	v-test
Occupational trajectories (1991-2011)				
At home	-0.4	-3.1	-0.5	-3.2
Erratic	-0.1	-0.5	-0.5	-3.0
Full-time	0.1	1.6	0.0	0.3
High part-time	0.2	1.5	-0.2	-1.2
Low part-time	-0.2	-1.3	-0.4	-2.7
Self-employment	-0.1	-0.6	-0.2	-2.2
Studies before mixed experiences	0.1	0.5	0.9	8.9
Spatial mobility trajectories (1991-2011)				
Frequent movers	0.0	0.8	0.0	-0.6
Occasional movers	0.1	1.0	0.2	3.8
Settled after all	0.1	1.4	-0.2	-2.6
Well-settled	-0.3	-3.8	-0.1	-1.4
Childhood co-residence trajectories (age 0-20 years)				
Non-standard	0.2	2.5	-0.1	-1.3
Standard	0.0	-2.5	0.0	1.3

Now, we turn to our primary interest concerning the various network dimensions and how they relate to each other and, in particular, to personal configurations and co-residence and partnership trajectories. We included variables related to the structural interdependencies, variables characterizing the relationship between the respondents and their alters, and variables characterizing the alters themselves. With regard to structural interdependencies, we integrated three indicators introduced in the previous sections: the typology of support and conflict patterns (see Section 3.5), bonding and bridging social capitals (see Section 3.4). The typology of support and conflict patterns was based on the share of emotional support and conflict in personal networks. Four patterns were identified: *Ambivalence* with high support and high conflict, *Captivation* with low support and high conflict, *Atomization* with low support and low conflict, and *Solidarity* with high support and low conflict. Bonding social capital was measured by the density of emotional support in personal networks and bridging social capital by the centralization of emotional support. With regard to the relationship characteristics (see Section 3.2), we integrated frequency of face-to-face contact five-item scale: daily, weekly, monthly, yearly, and never) and relationship duration (five-item scale: less than 23 years, between 23 and 27, between 28 and 32, between 33 and 38, more than 38). Finally, with regard to the alters, we integrated four variables indicating cultural and economic capitals of alters and one variable revealing the prevalence of homophily or heterophily (see Section 3.3). For cultural capital of alters, we used their level of education and more precisely two variables, one indicating the presence in the network of at least one alter with a high level of education and one indicating the presence of at least one alter with a low level of education. For economic capital of alters, we used their International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) and more precisely two variables, one indicating the presence in the network of at least one alter with a high ISEI score and one indicating the presence of at least one alter with a low ISEI score. The last variable indicated whether networks were composed of similar alters regarding level of education (homophilous networks) or of alters with different levels of education (heterophilous networks). In addition to those three sets of variables, we included the network size (five-item scale: 0, 1 or 2, 3, 4, 5 and more; see Section 3.1), the presence of dyadic instrumental exchanges between the respondents and their alters (see Section 3.4), and the variable indicating an overall lack of relational resources (see Section 3.6). Figure 26 shows the projection of the network dimensions and Table 68 shows their coordinates on the map and the v-tests.

Figure 26: Profiles of connected ways of life: projection of the "network dimensions" passive variables, MCA map



First, we have to acknowledge that, in order to better visualize the middle of the map where most of the variables were located, we zoomed to a 0.4×0.4 window and, by doing so, a few variables were no longer visible. They all represented the thirty-one individuals mentioning no significant alter and therefore having *Alone* configurations. Since those networks were empty, they included a size of 0, no pattern as well as no bonding or bridging social capital, no tendency towards either homophily or heterophily, no frequency of contact, and no relationship duration.

We comment now on the network dimensions, which were significantly associated with the axes. One pattern, *Atomization*, was associated with the horizontal axis and, more specifically, with the right side of the map. Congruently, high bridging and low bonding social capitals were

found on the right side of the map and high bonding and low bridging social capitals on the left side. On the left side of the map, there were individuals following more relationally autonomous trajectories, *Solo* co-residence trajectories and *Loner* partnership trajectories, a result that was congruent with the presence of more bridging social capital or, in other words, of more centralized networks. In addition, the more frequent presence of a partner for individuals on the right side of the map was also congruent with bonding social capital or, in other words, densely connected networks, as partnering implies increased functional dependency and the interlocking of the partners' networks (Kalmijn, 2003). Regarding the relationship, individuals located on the right side of the map had more daily or weekly contact with their significant alters and shorter relationship durations (27 years and less), whereas individuals located on the left side had more monthly or yearly contact and longer relationship duration (33 years and more). On the right side, there were the *Nuclear-oriented* configurations which were based on living in the same household and therefore implied frequent contact, as well as on the presence of a partner and children, and therefore implied a shorter relationship duration. Concerning alters' characteristics, individuals who had alters with more cultural capital (at least one alter with a high level of education) and with more economic capital (at least one alter with a high ISEI score) were more situated in the upper part of the map, whereas individuals who did not have alters with more cultural and economic capitals were more situated in the lower part. Small networks (size of 1 and 2) were slightly more located in the lower part and large networks (size of 5 and more) in the upper part of the vertical axis, results that can be related to the fact that younger individuals have larger networks. With regard to instrumental exchanges, the upper right part was characterized by exchanges and the lower left part by no exchanges. Finally, a lack of relational resources was found for individuals on the right side.

Table 68: Profiles of connected ways of life: coordinates of the "network dimensions" passive variables and v-tests (n=786)

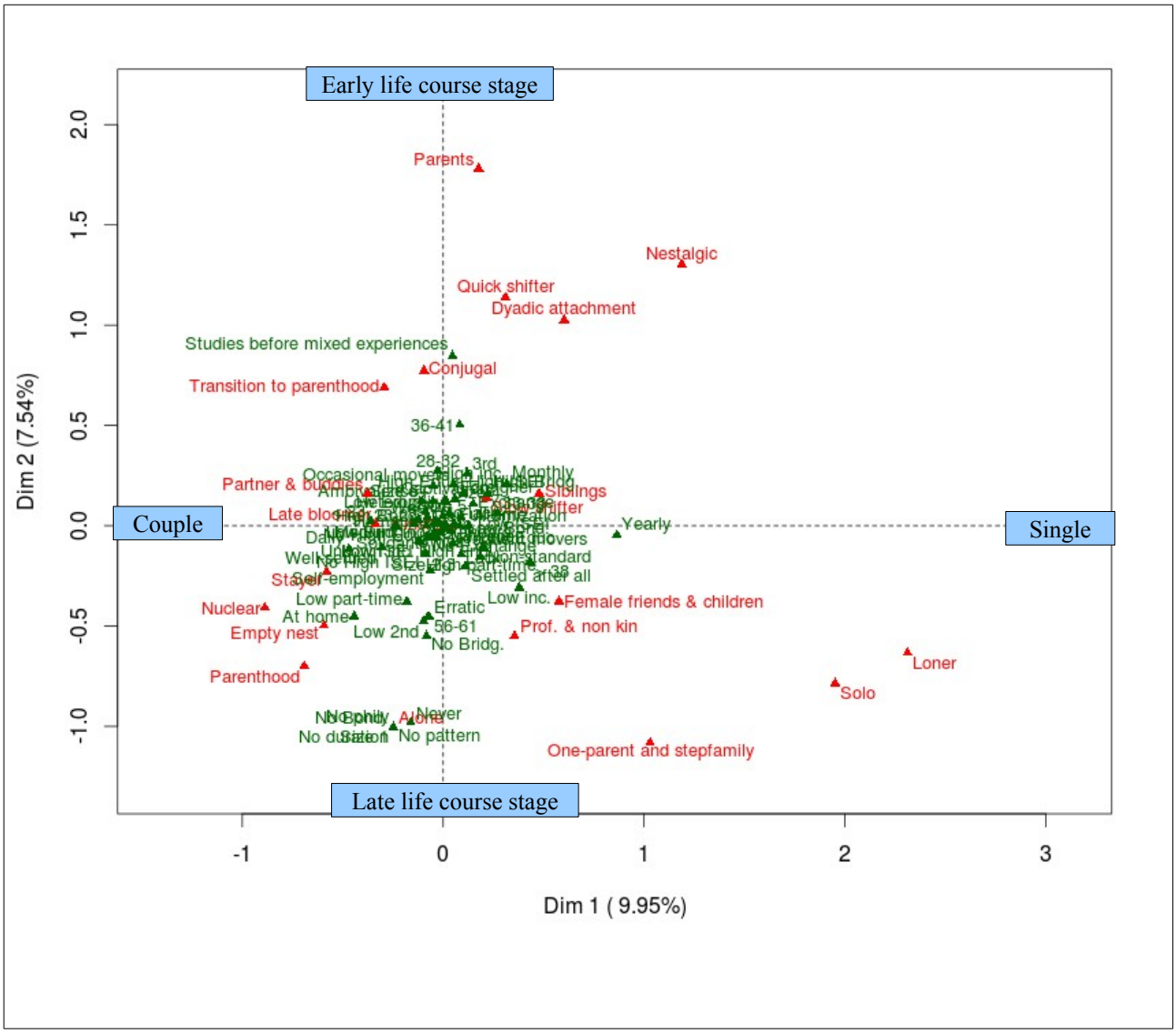
	1st dimension		2nd dimension	
	coordinate	v-test	coordinate	v-test
Support and conflict patterns				
Ambivalence	-0.1	-1.6	0.1	1.9
Captivation	0.0	0.1	0.1	1.6
Atomization	0.1	2.6	0.0	0.0
Solidarity	-0.1	-0.7	0.0	-0.7
No pattern**	-0.3	-1.4	*-1.0*	*-5.7*
Bonding and bridging social capitals				
High Bonding *(High Bond.)**	-0.1	-2.0	0.0	1.1
Low Bonding *(Low Bond.)*	0.1	2.5	0.0	1.2
No Bonding *(No Bond.)*	-0.3	-1.4	*-1.0*	*-5.7*
High Bridging *(High Bridg.)*	0.2	4.8	0.2	3.5
Low Bridging *(Low Bridg.)*	-0.2	-4.1	0.0	0.3
No Bridging *(No Bridg.)*	-0.1	-0.9	*-0.6*	*-5.7*
Face-to-face contact				
Daily	-0.5	-5.2	-0.1	-1.3
Weekly	-0.1	-3.6	0.0	0.9
Monthly	0.3	4.8	0.2	3.2
Yearly	0.9	6.8	-0.1	-0.4
Never	-0.2	-1.0	*-1.0*	*-6.0*
Relationship duration				
Less than 23 *(<23)*	-0.4	-5.1	0.0	0.3
Between 23 and 27 *(23-27)*	-0.2	-3.1	0.0	0.1
Between 28 and 32 *(28-32)*	0.0	-0.4	0.3	4.0
Between 33 and 38 *(33-38)*	0.3	3.5	0.1	0.8
More than 38 *(>38)*	0.4	5.9	-0.2	-2.5
No duration**	-0.3	-1.4	-1.0	-5.7
Alters' cultural capital				
No alter with a high level of education *(No High Educ)*	0.0	-1.7	-0.1	-2.7
At least one alter with a high level of education *(High Educ)*	0.1	1.7	0.2	2.7
No Alter with a low level of education *(No Low Educ)*	0.0	0.9	0.0	-0.7
At least one alter with a low level of education *(Low Educ)*	-0.1	-0.9	0.1	0.7
Alters' economic capital				
No alter with a high ISEI score *(No High ISEI)*	-0.1	-2.6	-0.1	-4.2
At least one alter with a high ISEI score *(High ISEI)*	0.1	2.6	0.2	4.2
No alter with a low ISEI score *(No Low ISEI)*	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
At least one alter with a low ISEI score *(Low ISEI)*	-0.1	-1.1	-0.1	-0.7

Educational heterophily and homophily				
Educational heterophily *(Educ Hetero)*	0.0	0.9	0.1	2.0
Educational homophily *(Educ Homo)*	0.0	-0.4	0.0	0.3
Neither heterophily nor homophily *(No educ)***	-0.3	-1.4	*-1.0*	*-5.7*
Network size (with ego)				
Empty networks	-0.3	-1.4	*-1.0*	*-5.7*
Size 2-3	0.1	1.4	-0.1	-2.2
Size 4	0.0	0.3	0.1	1.8
Size 5	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.7
Size 6+	-0.1	-0.9	0.1	2.1
Instrumental exchanges				
No Exchange	-0.1	-3.0	-0.1	-2.2
Exchange	0.2	3.0	0.1	2.2
Lack of relational resources				
Lack	0.2	2.3	-0.1	-1.3
No lack	0.0	-2.3	0.0	1.3

**In italics and in brackets, the names as they appear in the MCA maps.*
***It corresponds to empty networks.*

Figure 27 presents the final bi-dimensional map of the multiple correspondence analysis with all active and passive variables. We have included it for information despite its lack of legibility, but we used the previous maps and tables to interpret it. The results of the logistic regressions presented in Section 5.1 also help to understand the main patterns of connectedness.

Figure 27: Profiles of connected ways of life: projection of all variables, MCA map



Red: active variables
Green: passive variables

Using this map based on two dimensions (the degree of involvement in the couple relationship and the position in the life course) and looking conjointly at the active and passive variables projected on the map, we identified eight types of profiles corresponding to different groups of individuals having developed what we have named specific connected ways of life. The eight profiles of connected ways of life were named the *Prolonged youth and remaining attachment to parents,* the *Parenthood and focus on nuclear family,* the *Newly empty nest and remaining focus on nuclear family,* the *Transition with diversified sociability,* the *Conjugal with kinship sociability,* the *Lone-parent and focus on children and non-kin,* the *Solo with diversified sociability*, and the *Alone* ways of life. Some profiles were closely related and shared their main features, i.e. the

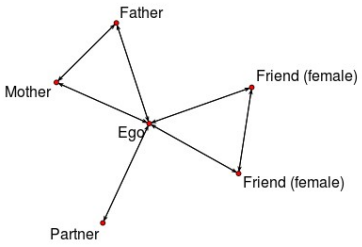
Parenthood and focus on nuclear family and *Newly empty nest and remaining focus on nuclear family* ways of life, the *Transition with diversified sociability* and *Conjugal with kinship sociability* ways of life, as well as the *Lone-parent and focus on children and non-kin* and the *Solo with diversified sociability* ways of life. For each profile, we have portrayed one individual case to illustrate and give more consistency and substance to our findings, by using all information available in the data.[69] When individuals belonged to the older age group (birth cohort 1950-1955), we systematically mentioned trajectories between ages 20 and 40 and trajectories from 1991 to 2011, as they covered two different periods. In contrast, for the younger age group (birth cohort 1970-1975), there was an overlap between the two. We chose to present more women (five) than men (three), since women's occupational trajectories are more influenced by their family trajectories than men's, and the focus on women therefore allows us to investigate dynamically how those two kinds of life trajectories are interlinked over the life course.

The first profile, *Prolonged youth and remaining attachment to parents*, corresponded to individuals still attached to their family of orientation. They had either *Nestalgic* or *Dyadic attachment* co-residence trajectories, staying longer than their counterparts in the parental home. Their parents were still their main significant alters, as they often had *Parents-based* configurations. Those individuals often followed *Studies before mixed experiences* trajectories and the emphasis on education may also explain the longer period spent in the parental home, as they needed more time to achieve financial independence. Regarding partnership, they often had several partners without committing in long-term relationships (*Quick shifter* trajectories). Their networks were more centralized and provide bridging social capital. There were also many instrumental exchanges going on, highlighting intergenerational solidarity among parents and their adult children. Younger individuals were more to be found in this first profile.

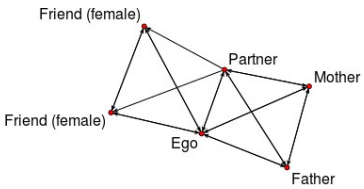
69 All names in the following portraits are fictitious.

1st profile, the Prolonged youth and remaining attachment to parents way of life: Emily (1970-1975)

Emily was born between 1970 and 1975 in a French-speaking canton of Switzerland. She came from a family of orientation composed of two parents, still alive and together in 2011, and a younger brother (a *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectory). She followed a *Nestalgic* co-residence trajectory. She left the parental home at age 23 and she experienced several types of housing: living alone in a first European country, living with a roommate in a second European country, living alone back in Switzerland, living with a partner, living with a roommate, living alone, and finally living with her present partner with whom she moved in one year ago. Altogether in her life, she had moved house eight times – she currently lived in a French-speaking canton next to her canton of birth – and she therefore had an *Occasional mover* spatial mobility trajectory from 1991 to 2011. She had a *Quick shifter* partnership trajectory and was currently in a 4-year relationship with her fourth partner who was already the father of several children. Emily completed a tertiary education around age 23 and, after a one and a half year period of internships in two European countries, she started working as a full-time jurist back in Switzerland. She occupied various positions before her present job as a corporate adviser. Thus, she followed a *Studies before mixed experiences* trajectory (or *Full-time* according to the typology between ages 20 and 40). In her personal configuration, a *Parents-based* configuration, she mentioned first her partner, then her mother and her father, and finally two female friends, met respectively when she was aged 16 and 23. The density of emotional support was 0.47, slightly lower than the density of conflict (0.67). Regarding emotional support, there were three distinct groups: Emily and her parents, Emily and her partner, and Emily and her friends. However, regarding conflict, her partner was involved in many contentious relationships with her parents and friends. Therefore, her personal configuration was characterized by *Captivation*. Emily reported reciprocal instrumental support with her alters, receiving material and care support as well as giving material support.



Emotional support



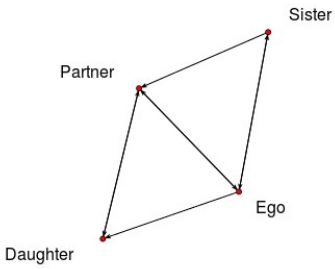
Conflict

The second and third profiles corresponded to individuals having organized their personal life around the nuclear family both in terms of network and life course. Those individuals were very likely to have developed *Nuclear-oriented* configurations, as their partner and children were the most significant relationships for them. They were engaged in sustained interaction in densely connected networks providing bonding social capital. Regarding partnership trajectories, they mostly had *Stayer* and *Late bloomer* trajectories based on long-term relationships. *At home* occupational trajectories were also associated with those profiles. Women who opt to withdraw

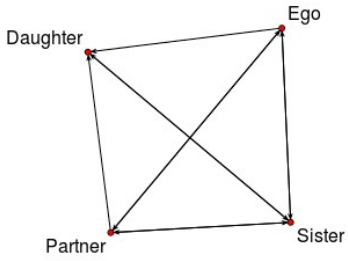
from the labor market mostly do so to take up duties. Regarding spatial mobility, those individuals often followed *Well-settled* trajectories.

2nd profile, the Parenthood and focus on nuclear family way of life: Jessica (1950-1955)

Jessica was born between 1950 and 1955 in a German-speaking canton in East Switzerland. She came from a large family of orientation composed of two parents, still alive and together in 2011, and six children (a *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectory). In 2011, she only had two older brothers and one younger sister left. She had only had one long-term partner, her current partner, two years older than her (a *Stayer* partnership trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). She left the parental home at age 22 to live with her partner whom she had met one year before. Together, they had three daughters, still living with them, born respectively when she was aged 26, 28, and 33 (a *Parenthood* co-residence trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). In 2011, they lived in a German-speaking canton next to her canton of birth. Overall in her life, she only moved house four times, and she therefore had a *Well-settled* spatial mobility trajectory from 1991 to 2011. Jessica completed a vocational education around age 19 and worked as a full-time commercial employee until the birth of her first daughter. Between ages 45 and to 50, she returned to work as a commercial employee, but only part-time (30%). In 2011, she was again a stay-at home mother. Mostly, she followed an *At home* trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011. In her personal configuration, a *Nuclear-oriented* configuration, she first mentioned her partner, then her younger sister, and finally her older daughter. It is interesting to point out that she selected one out of three siblings and one out of three daughters as significant alters. The density of emotional support was 0.67, slightly lower than the density of conflict (0.83). Her personal configuration was characterized by *Ambivalence*.



Emotional support

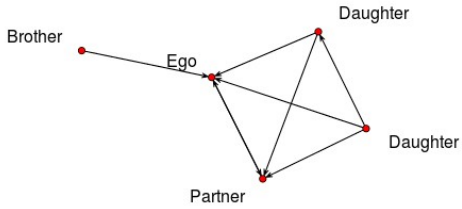


Conflict

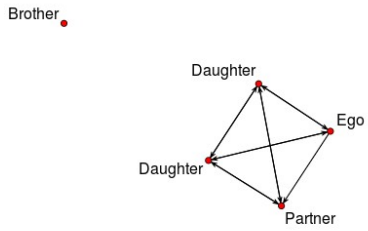
The main difference between Profile 2 and Profile 3 was the stage of the family life cycle. In the second profile, named *Parenthood and focus on nuclear family,* individuals had *Parenthood* co-residence trajectories from 1991 to 2011, while, in the third profile named *Newly empty nest and remaining focus on nuclear family*, individuals experienced the departure of their children somewhere around the middle of the period (*Empty nest* co-residence trajectories).

3rd profile, the Newly empty nest and remaining focus on nuclear family: Hans (1950-1955)

Hans was born between 1950 and 1955 in a German-speaking canton in Northern Switzerland. He came from a family of orientation composed of two parents and four boys (a *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectory). They also had two relatives living with them. In 2011, his mother was deceased. He had had only one long-term partner, his current partner, three years younger than him (a *Stayer* partnership trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). They met when he was 17. He left the parental home at age 22 to live with his partner after having lived with her at his parents' home for six months. They had their first daughter within the first year of living together independently and their second daughter four years later (an *Early parenthood* co-residence trajectory between ages 20 and 40). Their daughters left in their twenties and Hans and his partner lived by themselves in 2011 (an *Empty nest* co-residence trajectory from 1991 to 2011). In 2011, they were already grandparents of three children. Overall in his life, Hans had only moved house four times, and he therefore had a *Well-settled* spatial mobility trajectory from 1991 to 2011. Hans completed a vocational education around age 18 and then continuously worked full-time in banking with a year and a half's interruption for his military service between ages 20 and 22 (a *Full-time* occupational trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). In his personal configuration, a *Nuclear-oriented* configuration, he first mentioned his partner, then his older daughter and his younger daughter, and finally one of his brothers. The density of emotional support was 0.40, slightly lower than the density of conflict (0.55). It is interesting to notice that his brother is not involved in conflicts. His personal configuration was characterized by *Captivation*.



Emotional support

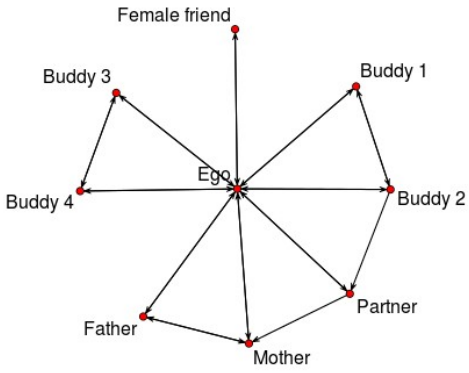


Conflict

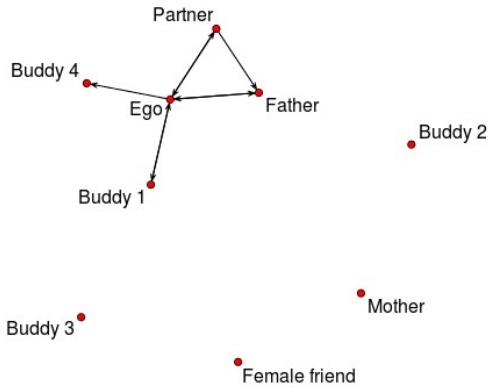
The fourth and fifth profiles corresponded to individuals who were to some extent in-between individuals still attached to the family of orientation (1st profile) and individuals having re-organized their personal life around the family of procreation (2nd and 3rd profiles). They often invested in *Kinship-based* configurations. The main difference between Profile 4 and Profile 5 was the presence of children. The fourth profile, named *Transition with diversified sociability*, was composed of individuals who had experienced the transition to parenthood.

4th profile, the Transition with diversified sociability way of life: Frank (1970-1975)

Frank was born between 1970 and 1975 in a German-speaking canton in Central Switzerland. His two parents, sill alive now, separated when he was 11 and his father moved out (*Late one-parent* co-residence childhood trajectory). He left his mother's home at age 28 to live alone (*Dyadic attachment* co-residence trajectory from 1991 to 2011 or *Early bird* according to the typology between ages 20 and 40). Three years later, he moved in with his current partner with whom he had two daughters, aged 3 and 1 at the time of the interview. He had several relationships before becoming involved with the mother of his daughters (a *Quick shifter* partnership trajectory). Overall in his life, he moved house five times in the same canton and thus had an *Occasional mover* spatial mobility trajectory. Frank completed a tertiary education at age 30 with two interruptions to perform his military service and then started working as a full-time teacher with a one year interruption to complete his education (*Studies before mixed experiences* occupational trajectory). In his personal configuration, a *Partner and buddies-oriented* configuration, he first mentioned two male friends, a female friend, two other male friends, his partner, and finally his father and his mother. It is interesting to note that he did not mention his daughters and that friendship came first for him. The density of emotional support was 0.33, higher than the density of conflict (0.11). Her personal configuration was characterized by *Atomization*.



Emotional support

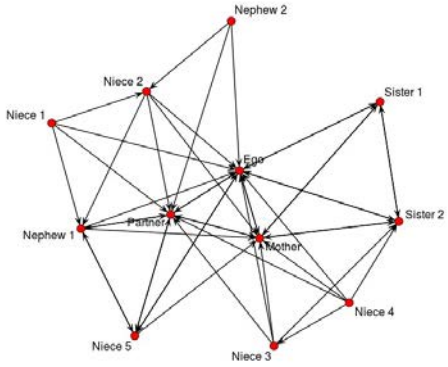


Conflict

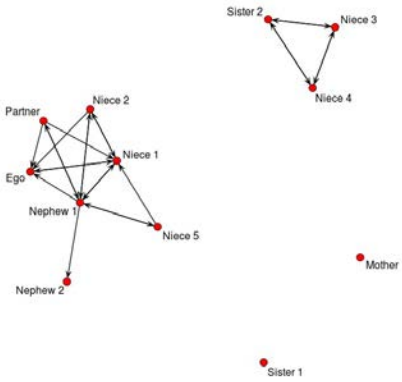
In contrast, in the fifth profile named *Conjugal with kinship sociability*, we found individuals who were invested in conjugality (*Conjugal* trajectories) without having children, at least not yet. Men with this profile often developed *Partner and buddies-oriented* configurations.

5th profile, the Conjugal with kinship sociability way of life: Cynthia (1970-1975)

Cynthia was born between 1970 and 1975 in a French-speaking canton of Switzerland. She first had a family of orientation consisting of two parents, still alive, and two sisters, one older and one younger. Her parents separated when she was 7 and her father moved out. She stayed with her mother almost until age 19. For the last four years, her mother's partner also lived with them. Her childhood co-residence trajectory was classified as *Late one-parent*. After her departure, she first lived one year alone and then moved in with her current partner. She had only one long-term relationship (a *Stayer* partnership trajectory). They did not have children, at least not yet and she therefore had a *Conjugal* co-residence trajectory. They currently lived less than 10 kilometers from her place of birth in the same canton. Overall in her life, she moved house seven times and thus had a *Frequent mover* spatial mobility trajectory. Cynthia completed a vocational education at age 17 and then worked continuously as a full-time pharmacy assistant until now. Thus, she had a *Full-time* occupational trajectory. In her personal configuration, a *Kinship-based* configuration, she first mentioned her partner, followed by two nephews (aged 25 and 20) and four nieces (aged respectively 26, 29, 5, and 2), then her two sisters (aged 45 and 38) and her mother, and finally a fifth niece (aged 26). From the sociograms, we deduced that the older sister was also childless, that the second sister had two small daughters (nieces no. 3 and no. 4, aged 5 and 2) and that the other nephews and nieces were the children of her partner's siblings whom she did not mention. The density of emotional support was 0.36, higher than the density of conflict (0.18). Her personal configuration was characterized by *Atomization*.



Emotional support



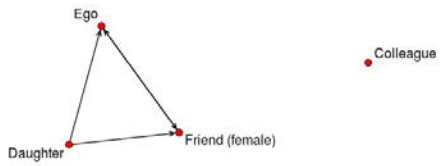
Conflict

The sixth and seven profiles corresponded to individuals following trajectories free of conjugal bonds, living mostly alone and not engaging in intimate relationships (*Loner* partnership trajectories). They developed centralized networks characterized by high bridging and low bonding social capital, less frequent contact, but lasting relationships. The main difference between Profile 6 and Profile 7, as for Profiles 4 and 5, was the presence of children. The sixth profile, named *Lone-parent and focus on children and non-kin*, was related to individuals who experienced becoming parents but also went through a separation or a divorce. In terms of trajectories, women in such a situation were found in *One-parent and stepfamily* co-residence trajectories, since they are more

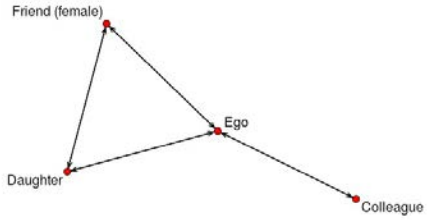
often the custodian and residential parent, whereas men in such a situation were more likely to be found in *Solo* trajectories. Women often developed *Female friends and children-oriented* configurations and men *Professional and non-kin-oriented* configurations.

6th profile, the Lone-parent and focus on children and non-kin way of life: Rachel (1950-1955)

Rachel was born between 1950 and 1955 in a German-speaking canton in Northern Switzerland. She had a family of orientation composed of two parents, deceased in 2011, but who stayed together until death teared them apart, and two brothers, one older and one younger. She first left the parental home for one year when she was 19 and she then left it for good at age 22 to live alone (a *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectory). She had several short-term relationships (a *Loner* partnership trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). She was 37 when she gave birth to her only daughter, conceived with her seventh partner with whom she stayed together for one year. Four years later, she met her eighth partner, the first and only one she cohabited with for almost 10 years. During the two and a half first years together, they lived with her daughter and the child of her partner, who then both left. After their separation, she went on living alone with her daughter and they currently lived in her canton of birth. Thus, she had a *Solo* co-residence trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and a *One-parent and stepfamily* co-residence trajectory from 1991 to 2011. Overall in her life, she moved house twelve times and thus had a *Settled after all* spatial mobility trajectory from 1991 to 2011. Rachel completed a vocational education around age 18. Her occupational trajectory was very much influenced by her family trajectory. She worked as a full-time salesperson until the birth of her daughter and then reduced her activity to a part-time of 60%. During her ten-year relationship, she stayed at home and, after the separation, she resumed working full-time. Despite these interruptions, her occupational trajectory was mostly characterized by investment in the work sphere (a *High part-time* trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and a *Full-time* trajectory from 1991 to 2011). In her personal configuration, a *Female friends and children-oriented* configuration, she first mentioned her daughter, then a female friend, and finally a female colleague. The density of emotional support was 0.33, lower than the density of conflict (0.67). Surprisingly, she mentioned this colleague who is not a source of support, but conflict. Her personal configuration was characterized by *Captivation*.



Emotional support

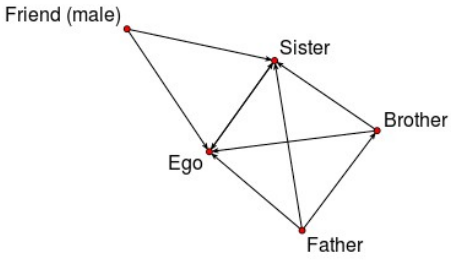


Conflict

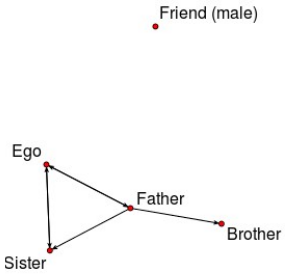
The seventh profile, named *Solo with diversified sociability*, was related to individuals without children. Some invested in *Siblings-based* configurations.

7th profile, the Solo with diversified sociability: Christoph (1950-1955)

Christoph was born between 1950 and 1955 in a German-speaking canton in west-central Switzerland. He came from a family of orientation composed of two parents and two siblings, an older sister and a younger brother (a *Standard* childhood co-residence trajectory). In 2011, his mother was deceased. He did not commit in any long-term relationship (a *Loner* partnership trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). He left the parental home around age 20, lived alone for one year, then for around six years with roommates, and finally alone again for the rest of his co-residence trajectory until 2011 (a *Solo* co-residence trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). He had no children. Overall in his life, Christoph moved house eight times, and thus had a *Frequent mover* spatial mobility trajectory from 1991 to 2011. He currently lived in another German-speaking canton in Northern Switzerland, where he moved for his first job. He completed a higher vocational education around age 24 and then worked full-time continuously as an engineer and, for the last five years, as a group manager and consultant (a *Full-time* occupational trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). In his personal configuration, a *Siblings-based* configuration, Christoph first mentioned his older sister and his younger brother, then his father, and finally a male friend. The density of emotional support was 0.45, slightly higher than the density of conflict (0.30). It is interesting to notice that the father had a key position regarding conflicts. His personal configuration was characterized by *Atomization*.



Emotional support



Conflict

Finally, the eight profile, *Alone*, was composed of individuals having the so-called Alone configurations. We have already highlighted that it was more a profile representative of older men with lower levels of education.

8th profile, the Alone way of life: Tania (1950-1955)

Tania was born between 1950 and 1955 in a French-speaking canton of Switzerland. She first lived with her two parents and a younger sister. When she was aged 5, her father moved out and six months later, the partner of her mother came to live with them. At age 9, she lived with her sister in an institution for around one and a half years. With her sister, she then came back to their mother, but was placed in an institution again between ages 14 and 15. After this second stay in an institution, they lived again with their mother and her partner until her majority. Her childhood co-residence trajectory was classified as *Stepfamily*. She left home to stay for the third time in an institution and, at age 21, moved in with her current partner with whom she had a daughter at age 29 (a *Parenthood* co-residence trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). She had two partners and was currently with the second one (a *Late bloomer* partnership trajectory between ages 20 and 40 and from 1991 to 2011). Overall in her life, she moved house seven times – not counting her two first stays in institutions –, and thus had a *Frequent mover* spatial mobility trajectory from 1991 to 2011. In 2011, she and her partner lived in a French-speaking canton next to her canton of birth. Tania only completed primary education and had an uneven occupational trajectory, first working full-time between ages 16 and 24 in several settings. She became ill and stopped working until the age of 42. She resumed work for around four years and then started receiving invalidity insurance. Thus, her occupational trajectory was *Studies before mixed experiences* between ages 20 and 40 and *Erratic* from 1991 to 2011. It should be noted that the type *Studies before mixed experiences* between ages 20 and 40 did not systematically comprise periods of studies and, in some cases, comprised periods of illness (see Section 4.2). Because of her illness, she was classified in this type whose name did not directly refer to her personal situation. In 2011, she reported that her parents were deceased and that she had two sisters. She was also the grandmother of one child. Nevertheless, when asked about significant people in her life, she did not mention anyone.

Main findings and discussion

Those profiles highlighting different connected ways of life based simultaneously on the unfolding of individual lives and the development of personal networks are very useful to account for dominant trends, but they clearly reduce the complexity and the high diversity of individual situations. Therefore, they have to be considered as ideal types in the meaning of Weber (Jacques Coenen-Huther, 2003; Weber, 1965 [1922]). In addition, as multiple correspondence analysis only provides a descriptive map, we have to remain cautious about over-interpreting the associations. However, the logistic regressions performed in the previous section supported the interpretations.

By portraying eight individual cases, we aimed at showing the relevance of a typological approach and the complementary importance of qualitative reading of the survey data. In addition, the light thrown on individual cases is useful in discussing the somewhat arbitrary process of creating typologies. For instance, reading Tania's uneven childhood co-residence trajectory, one may argue that her time in institution was the main feature and suggest classifying it as *Other* instead of *Stepfamily* (see Section 4.1 for a reminder of this complete typology). Similarly, considering Rachel's partnership trajectory, one may argue that she was involved in a 10-year relationship during the period from 1991 to 2011 and suggest classifying it as *Stayer* instead of *Loner*. One has to keep in mind that sequence analysis is based on a comparison process, sorting out trajectories based on similarities and dissimilarities (Gauthier, 2007, 2013). Thus, Tania did not spend as much time in institutions as the other respondents whose trajectory was classified as such and Rachel's relationship did not last as long as the other respondents' relationships whose trajectory was classified as *Stayer*.

Besides methodological issues, those different profiles inform us on the forms of sociability individuals experienced relatively to their past and on-going life experiences. For instance, having a partner creates opportunity to build up a family and closes doors on meeting new friends outside the two partners' networks because of time constraints (Kalmijn, 2003). Individual lives unfold following a process of cumulative advantages and disadvantages (Dannefer, 1987, 2003). This process also holds true for personal relationships developed throughout the life course. For instance, separation or divorce when the two partners have children together has lasting effects on the conditions of further sociability, in particular for women as they are most of the time the custodian and residential parent. Thus, life trajectories inform on individuals' situation made of opportunities and constraints which enable the development of different types of personal networks. For instance, Tania with only her primary education did not have the same occupational opportunities as Emily with her tertiary diploma and internships abroad. The life-course stage, the

presence of parents and siblings, the involvement with a partner, and the birth of children all need to be considered. However, life trajectories are not 100% deterministic predictors of the modes of sociability, but they provide a latent reservoir of relationship which can be turned into meaningful relationships. The intertwining between life trajectories and personal relationships also points out to the fact that individuals are interconnected through their life trajectories (an individual's life course is influenced by her/his significant alters' life courses (Elder et al., 2003)) and through their structural interdependencies (Elias, 1978, 1093; Widmer & Jallinoja, 2008). Therefore, although it is essential to consider the individuals as the centers of their personal communities (Wellman, 2001), connectedness rather than individualization should be the key concept underpinning our understanding of personal life (Smart, 2010).

In summary, beyond diversity and endless combinations of individual situations, we have underlined that some types of trajectories – often linked together (e.g., *Stayer* partnership and *Parenthood* co-residence trajectories) – go hand in hand with some types of personal configurations and network dimensions – also often linked together (e.g., *Nuclear-oriented* configuration and bonding social capital) – and allow one to distinguish discrete intelligible profiles of connected ways of life. Therefore, going back to the debate about standardization versus individualisation of the life course (Levy & Widmer, 2013; Widmer et al. 2003) and about the extent of the diversity in personal networks, we agree with the concept of limited pluralization applied to those profiles of connected ways of life.

6 Conclusion and discussion

Blood is still thicker than water in contemporary Western societies, but does not satisfy individuals' need for meaningful relationships beyond nuclear family bonds. The ways in which individuals experience their sociability over time are complex and diversified. Throughout this dissertation, we have questioned the moving boundaries between family and friends' roles in personal networks in a life-course perspective and in the light of the changes in personal life happening in contemporary Western societies. In this conclusion, we first return to our empirical approach and to the methodological choices that are at the hearth of this dissertation. We then discuss four major issues regarding the transformation of personal life in a life-course perspective, issues that have been raised in the introduction and investigated in several ways throughout this dissertation, namely: the importance of family ties, the suffusion process between family and friends' roles, the limited pluralization of life courses, and the intertwining of life trajectories and personal networks. We also reflect on the usefulness of some theoretical concepts to the understanding of personal networks. Finally, we conclude by looking at the potential contribution of those results to civil society and public debate.

6.1 *An innovative empirical approach*

We aimed at understanding personal networks in a life-course perspective. To do so, we used new data stemming from an ambitious research project, *Family tiMes*, with an innovative design including retrospective longitudinal life-course data and cross-sectional ego-centered network data for around 800 individuals in Switzerland. As personal networks were our main issue, the key instrument was a name generator asking for the "important" individuals in the respondents' lives. Consequently, at the heart of our definition of personal networks, there was a list of alters chosen for their subjective significance. It would have been interesting of course to have a broader view of individuals' sociability and to encompass core and peripheral relationships, strong and weak ties. Nevertheless, due to time constraints, the questionnaire had to be focused and, with this list of significant alters, we reached the first circle of sociability important for self-identity and as a primary source of support.

We used a typological approach building up several typologies of trajectories and a typology of personal configurations. Even if the questionnaire was standardized and can be said to be quantitative, with this empirical approach, we really drew on individuals' answers in a more qualitative way and took into account the diversity of individual situations. Of course, qualitative in-depth interviews would have allowed us to deepen some interpretations. Nevertheless, we chose our approach because it allows for generalization at the Swiss population level. Regarding the

analyses, we mostly performed logistic regressions and multiple correspondence analyses. Logistic regression allows us to assess whether a dependent variable (such as personal networks) is positively or negatively associated with an independent variable (such as life trajectories). Nevertheless, assuming that personal networks are the dependent variable is somewhat unsatisfactory, as life trajectories and personal networks are dynamically intertwined over the life course. Therefore, we also made use of multiple correspondence analysis, which shows the interdependencies among variables in a more open way. Although multiple correspondence analysis is often used as a first step to explore data, it proved to be very revealing as well to summarize the results obtained by means of logistic regressions and throw a new light on them. By doing so, we uncovered what we called profiles of relational integration, profiles of life course and, finally, profiles of connected ways of life linking life course and network dimensions.

We used a cohort design with two groups of individuals, one group composed of older individuals born between 1950-1955 and aged between 55 and 61 at the time of the interviews in 2011 and the other group composed of younger individuals born between 1970-1975 and aged between 36 and 41. As we had cross-sectional network data, this cohort design was not easy to handle, as some differences could be attributed either to cohort or to life-stage effects. We resolved the issue by comparing both groups, first, for same life span (between birth and age 20, and between ages 20 and 40) looking at cohort effects and, secondly, for same period (between 1991 and 2011) looking at life-stage effects.

Finally, this *Family tiMes* project is part of an international project, with two other teams in Portugal and Lithuania having conducted similar surveys. In this dissertation, we limited the empirical analyses to Switzerland. As mentioned several times, Switzerland has developed a complex welfare regime with conservative and liberal components. Nevertheless, we made various references to other Western and in particular European countries to put the Swiss case into perspective and referred when possible to preliminary findings from the other teams. Comparing Switzerland more systematically will be the next step. In summary, despite some limitations, this dissertation provides an overall framework of individuals' core personal networks in the light of their life trajectories in Switzerland.

6.2 *Importance of family ties: the couple and the parent-child relationship*

Reducing personal relationships to family ties as well as reducing families to a static social institution are two shortcomings that this dissertation, along with previous work (Carsten, 2004; Finch, 2007; D. H. J. Morgan, 1996, 2011; D. M. Schneider, 1980; Smart, 2010), clearly

overcome. However, the prominence of family ties, in particular conjugal and parent-child relationships, is also well highlighted and goes against the idea of a general decline of family solidarity. The concept of "electivity", referring to the free choice of engaging in selected relationships, is fruitful, as it points to the fact that individuals have more freedom in their personal life with regard to the inclusion or exclusion of significant alters (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Giddens, 1991, 1992). Nevertheless, electivity does not cancel out other normative principles sustaining sociability among individuals, principles of blood and alliances, principles of reciprocity and transitivity (Déchaux, 2009; Godelier, 2010; Heider, 1958; Mauss, 2007 [1923-24]). In families, blood and alliances principles create a demographic reservoir or, in other words, a latent web of kinship linkages which can be activated over the life course (Attias-Donfut, 1995; Josette Coenen-Huther et al., 1994; De Carlo et al., 2014; Riley, 1983). Some relationships are considered more important than others, such as partners and children followed by parents and siblings, a differentiated importance showing a process of selectivity. Therefore, we strongly agree with the idea that families have to be "done" (D. H. J. Morgan, 2011) and "displayed" (Finch, 2007) by actual practices and acts of recognition to really come to life. For instance, parents-in-law were acknowledged as significant alters by very few respondents, highlighting the fact that despite the presence of an alliance connection, they mostly fail to gain a key position in their children-in-law's close circle. Every relationship, given either by blood or alliance, has to be achieved through shared experiences, joint activities, exchanges of support.

From our results, the couple relationship emerges as the key relationship overtaking all other relationships. The persistent prominence of the conjugal bond is worth discussing in a time characterized by its precarization. This precarization process unfolds at two levels, de-institutionalization (Cherlin, 2004) and temporality. First, more and more individuals opt for cohabiting instead of marrying. In Switzerland, institutionalized incentives towards marriage remain high, but do not hinder this general trend. In addition, its foundation on heterosexual couples is questioned in contemporary Western societies with more or less success. In Switzerland, marriage is still restricted to heterosexual couples, but since 2005 there has been a registered partnership available to same-sex couples.[70] Secondly, the increase in divorce rates or separations in general has changed the meaning of the couple relationship, from a long-life commitment to a temporary bond (Amato, 2010). Over the life course, most individuals experience serial monogamy, meaning a succession of monogamous relationships. With this situation in mind, it is interesting to wonder why individuals still rely so much on such a precarious relationship. It seems that, in spite of

70 Nevertheless, this registered partnership does not allow adoption or the use of medically assisted reproduction. Two cantons also offered a registered partnership for heterosexual couples, Geneva and Neuchâtel.

everything, the idea of pure love remains an ideal to reach (Giddens, 1991, 1992) and, consequently, the couple relationship is even more central because of its significance for self-identity and self-realization (de Singly, 1996). However, a fifth of the respondents while being in a relationship did not consider their partner a significant alter.

The second key relationship is the parent-child relationship. This relationship is fascinating with regard to various aspects. First of all, it is based on a blood relationship, save in the case of adoption. Nevertheless, the blood principle is also questioned by new reproductive technologies using sperm or egg donations (Carsten, 2004). Western societies are mostly organized around this lineal bond (vertical) rather than around the horizontal extended kinship (C. L. Johnson, 2000). In this context, the nuclear family – challenged by the "new" family forms – has represented the ideal type of family based on an alliance connection between partners and a blood connection between parents and children (Parsons & Bales, 1955). Nevertheless, when considering significant alters, respondents only mentioned their children in slightly more than half of the cases. The life-course perspective sheds some light on this surprising result. First, children when young are less likely to be considered significant alters. Transition to parenthood has been pointed out to be a benchmark for several issues, such as women's occupational trajectories (Widmer et al., 2003) and many functional tasks like for instance sharing the household chores between partners (Widmer et al., 2004). Although parenthood implies a re-organization of daily life sociability around child caring, children do not directly become key relationships. The close circle is mostly composed of adults. However, for some adults, children, no matter their age, were particularly important. Highly interestingly, it was so for individuals following a trajectory characterized by the absence of a couple relationship. Looking upwards, parents were also not systematically mentioned. Nevertheless, strong functional dependency remains between adult children and their parents, as we noticed when looking at instrumental exchanges. Those exchanges rely more on downward solidarity, but were also sustained by principles of reciprocity, care compensating for financial help, for instance.

The differentiated prominence of kin ties, in particular when put in a life-course perspective, confirmed the idea of a kind of hierarchy of relationships. The case of siblings is especially revealing of this logic. They were considered significant alters more by respondents living alone. The idea is that parents and siblings are progressively pushed away from the first circle by partner and children and regain importance in the event of need for parents or later in the life course for siblings when children leave the parental nest (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; White, 2001). Extended kinship ties as well were more invested in the absence of a family of procreation. However, this process should not be seen as linear or responding to a regular family cycle, as many

individuals do not experience some family transitions (increase of childlessness) and experience ruptures (divorce or separation) or several times the same transition (remarriage or repartnering, see Sweeney, 2010). As significant alters are based on long-lasting relationships, individuals postponing the transition to parenthood may keep a tight relationship to their siblings if developed beforehand.

6.3 *Suffusion process between family and friendship roles: persistent boundaries*

Beyond kin, friendship ties are very important. While kinship ties held prevalence for a long time, a new recognition of non-kinship ties is happening related to the idea of electivity and, more generally, to the process of individualization. It seems that the share of kin and non-kin in personal networks still varies to a great extent depending on the societies, in the Western world English-speaking societies being the most open to friendship ties and Southern societies the least (Höllinger & Haller, 1990). In Switzerland, almost half of the respondents mentioned at least one friend as a significant alter, a much higher number than for instance in Portugal where a similar survey was conducted (Wall & Gouveia, 2014) or in Lithuania (Kanopienė, Mikulionienė, & Česnuitytė, 2011). There were no differences between the two groups of individuals, refuting the idea of a cohort effect or a life-stage effect. Observed differences were more related to life trajectories with individuals involved in one long-term couple relationship and nuclear family life being less likely to rely on friendship.

We have highlighted the importance of friendship ties and, in line with the questioning of other scholars, we have considered whether there were different principles of solidarity and exchange between family and friendship (Allan, 2008) or whether a process of suffusion was ongoing, blurring the boundaries between family-like and friend-like roles (Pahl & Spencer, 2004).

Homophily refers to the preference of individuals for associating with people sharing similar characteristics (Bidart, Degenne, & Grossetti, 2011; Blau, 1977; Lozares Colina et al., 2011; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Whereas kin ties favor heterophily in several dimensions (sex, age and even education and class when social mobility happens), friendship relationships are much more based on homophily. Friends are not met randomly, but in specific settings gathering individuals sharing similar characteristics. There are locations such as school and work places as well as the type of activities and where they take place that favor new, but socially stratified, encounters. Therefore, electivity does not mean more equality or social diversity. Friendship is particularly homophilous regarding gender. Women mostly mentioned female friends and men male friends.

The structural interdependencies were also different between kin and non-kin as well as among different types of kin and non-kin ties. In fact each type of tie encompasses its own relational dynamic, advantages and drawbacks. The presence of ambivalence was very revealing of different logics underlying sociability. Ambivalence refers to the co-existence of positive interactions (e.g., emotional support) and negative relationships (e.g., conflict) going beyond this cleavage (either good or bad) to emphasize that both aspects belong to personal relationships, in particular to intergenerational relationships but not restricted to them (Lüscher, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; Widmer & Lüscher, 2011). The degree of structural ambivalence was particularly high in configurations based on the nuclear family as well as on the partner and a few friends and low in configurations oriented towards professional and non-kin ties. Those two first types of configurations were characterized by the highest frequency of face-to-face contact and, in the case of nuclear families, by living under the same roof, a situation which creates functional dependency and tensions related to everyday life activities. *Captivation*, a pattern based on the prominence of conflict, was found in configurations based on the parents, showing that conflicts often arise in intergenerational relationships. Another interesting pattern to highlight is *Atomization,* characterized by the low density of support and conflict, a pattern which was representative for configurations oriented towards professional and non-kin ties. Those configurations create fewer interdependencies, whether supportive or contentious. This fact can be positive, with less control and less drama in everyday life routine, but can also be negative, with less concerted support in case of need.

This leads us to the resources provided by those different types of ties. As some scholars have already pointed out, weak ties are more useful than strong ties as they are not redundant and give access to more diversified resources, in particular related to work and occupational careers (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1999). In this dissertation, we elicit the core of personal networks mostly composed of strong ties, tested over the long run and considered to be highly trustworthy. Nevertheless, those ties are also very important to investigate precisely because they represent the core. In addition, as we have already underlined, they are by no means a homogeneous category. Instrumental exchanges outside the household and the couple relationship were high among parents and adult children, confirming previous findings about the permanence of intergenerational transfers in adulthood (Bonvalet & Ogg, 2007). Some middle-aged adults may be caught in the situation of being care-givers to generations both above (aging parents) and below (grown children) because of greater longevity and an increasingly difficult entry into the labor market for youth. Interestingly, extended kinship and friendship ties also provided room for instrumental exchanges. Most exchanges rely on reciprocity principles and, in a life-course perspective, it is likely that even

some exchanges not yet reciprocated will be so at some point. However, the global amount of exchanges outside the household and the couple relationship was quite low, a fact that can be explained by the social insurances provided by the Swiss welfare regime (unemployment insurance and the complementary Invalidity Insurance). Beside instrumental support, another kind of support is essential for personal well-being and life satisfaction, namely emotional support. We investigated exchanges of emotional support within personal networks and found two main kinds of social capital developed in those structural interdependencies, bonding social capital and bridging social capital (Burt, 1995, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Widmer, 2006, 2010). Bonding social capital is a feature of very densely interconnected networks and bridging social capital of very centralized networks. Globally, personal networks composed of kin produce more bonding social capital, while personal networks composed of non-kin produce more bridging social capital. However, among kin ties, there were differences, with configurations oriented towards the nuclear family providing the highest density of emotional support. Among non-kin ties, there were also differences among friendship ties, which are more emotionally supportive, and professional ties, which are less emotionally supportive.

Those results clearly underline persistent differences between kin and non-kin in general. When considering personal relationships, kin still come first to mind even if the amount of non-kin is not negligible. When considering professional and non-kin ties, outside friendship, the answer about a merging of functions is clearly negative. By contrast, for friendship ties, they sometimes fulfill similar functions. However, the fact that friends fulfill similar functions does not mean that they are assimilated to family. One quarter of female friends and one tenth of male friends were perceived as family, showing a more inclusive definition of family membership from the standpoint of women, but a remaining ontological divide between the two types of ties. The fact that both family and friendship composed personal networks and are considered significant alters goes in the direction of speaking of a new field of "personal life" (Smart, 2010).

6.4 *Limited pluralization of life courses*

The individuals of the 1950-1955 birth cohort were born at the beginning of the "Thirty Glorious Years", a period of growth and prosperity during which the Swiss welfare state was concretely launched, while the individuals of the 1970-1975 birth cohort were born at the end of this golden period and reached their twenties in the last decade of the 20th century. Twenty years apart is a huge gap in the second half of a 20th century marked by a transformation of family life regarding in particular the increasing number of cohabiting couples and births outside wedlock

(Schneider, 2014). Referring to the debate between the theses of standardization and the individualization of the life course (Levy & Widmer, 2013), attention paid to life trajectories informs us about the timing and sequencing of transitions and stages in individual lives. The ways in which those two groups experienced their transition to adulthood in different key life domains is revealing of those changes. In younger cohorts, we noted more diversity between ages 20 and 40 with regard to family formation. Individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort were more likely to postpone parenthood and to have more diversified experiences in their love life, either committing several times for short-term relationships or not committing at all, a fact that we associate with a quest for independence and self-realization in line with individualization theories. In addition, whereas regarding childhood trajectories no difference was noted, more individuals belonging to the younger birth cohort experienced their parents' separation. Despite those trends corroborating the de-standardization thesis for family formation, the main pattern for both birth cohorts remains composed of a stage characterized by living alone or with roommates after leaving the parental nest, a stage of conjugality, and a stage of family life, as has been shown by previous studies (Widmer et al., 2003). Nevertheless, at the time of the survey in 2011, slightly less than a quarter of all respondents were either solo with children or in a stepfamily defined by one of the partners having at least one child from a previous relationship independently from living arrangements, highlighting that union dissolution is likely to happen over the life course. Beside family formation, less de-standardization was found regarding the school-training-work nexus, a result convergent with previous findings (Brückner & Mayer, 2005).

Beyond the cohort divide, another factor of life-course differentiation was striking in Switzerland, namely gender. Considering conjointly co-residence and occupational trajectories, we also found a strong and persistent gendering of women's trajectories. While men mostly followed full-time occupational trajectories, women followed a greater diversity of occupational trajectories characterized by part-time employment and periods spent at home. This confirms previous findings indicating that in Swiss society women still hold the master status of home-carer and men that of breadwinner (Krüger & Levy, 2001; Levy & Widmer, 2013). This is due to the one-and-a-half-earner model prevailing in Switzerland and a welfare regime which makes work-family reconciliation weigh on women instead of providing social policies enforcing gender equality (Wall & Escobedo, 2013). Thus, women's occupational trajectories are more pluralized than men's. In summary, both sets of results, concerning birth cohort and gender, indicate a limited pluralization of contemporary life courses.

6.5 *Intertwining of life trajectories and personal networks: social stratification and connectedness*

The personal networks that individuals develop reflect to a great extent their past and current family situation understood in a life-course perspective. Even if having children per se is very structuring, it is not enough to predict the composition of personal networks. When did the transition to parenthood happen? For how long have individuals lived in a nuclear family? Did a divorce or a separation occur and to what type of living arrangements did it lead? When did the children leave the parental home? Those are some of the life events and transitions necessary to fully grasp who the significant alters may be. Two trajectories were found to be particularly intertwined with personal networks, co-residence and partnership trajectories. Both trajectories actually inform on the unfolding of family life. In contrast, occupational and spatial mobility trajectories only marginally explained the development of core personal networks, a result that confirmed previous findings (Wellman et al., 1997). The significant alters represent the core of personal networks and, contrary to more peripheral relationships sensitive to contexts of sociability, they change less over the life course. However, family changes are turning points regarding personal networks, creating re-organization. But, as duration is a key component of those core relationships, it also takes time and commitment to create feelings of closeness and to lead to the inclusion of new relationships and, sometimes, to the exclusion of old ones. As other scholars have underlined, strong ties have specific features, such as amount of time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocal services, that make their strength in the long run (Granovetter, 1973).

As we have noted throughout this dissertation, the weight of social structures is very important and shapes life trajectories and personal networks. Individuals with lower levels of education are more likely to have an early transition to parenthood and to have densely interconnected networks primarily oriented towards kin, whereas individuals with high levels of education are more likely to postpone the transition to parenthood and to have centralized networks oriented towards non-kin. In terms of access to resources, we also noted that homophily was high and individuals with higher levels of education were more likely to have alters holding similar social positions, reinforcing social stratification. Regarding gender, a persistently very structuring factor in contemporary societies, occupational trajectories were clearly gendered, as was sociability. With the exception of the couple relationship mostly based on heterosexual relationships, women felt closer to their female friends and to other female family members – in line with their role of kin-keepers -, whereas men felt closer to their male friends.

Beyond embeddedness in social structures, several scholars suggest a shift from studying communities to individuals as they are the centers of their own personal communities

(Pahl & Spencer, 2004; Wellman, 2001). When adopting an ego-centered approach, we align with this idea of each individual having developed a specific personal network over the life course through participation in multiple social fields. In this perspective, we do see a process of individualization of personal networks becoming more individualized, ego-centered, and based on a greater diversity of ties, kin and non-kin. This leads to a limited pluralization of personal relationships. When speaking about a process of individualization, we often forget about connectedness among individuals. Elias (Déchaux, 1995; Elias, 1983) very well explained how individual actions have to be understood in configurations, like dancers or players, because they only make sense when considered as parts of groups.

As previously stated, the unfolding of trajectories and the development of personal networks are dynamic processes, influencing each other in complex ways that make it difficult to disentangle the various effects. Therefore, studying together trajectories and networks is the best way to look at individuals' personal life in contemporary societies. The life-course perspective and the network approach have both pointed out that individual lives are linked or interdependent and have to be studied as such. It has also been underlined mostly by family sociologists that personal relationships cannot be limited to structures, formal alliance and blood ties, living arrangements as reported in statistical censuses, etc. (Carsten, 2004; Finch, 2007; D. H. J. Morgan, 1996, 2011; D. M. Schneider, 1980; Widmer, 2010). Personal relationships are sustained by practices, commitment, feelings of closeness and meanings. The core of personal networks is composed of significant alters who have become significant for someone's self-identity throughout the life course. In this dissertation, we have found no less than eight types of personal configurations, showing a great diversity, and eight types of profiles of connected ways of life showing the multiple ways in which life trajectories and personal networks are intertwined along with other social factors. Therefore, we favor Smart's (2010) suggestion of speaking about "personal life" as a new field of research beyond families and using the concept of "connectedness" as a counterpart to individualization.

6.6 *Social implications: towards a social recognition of personal relationships beyond the nuclear family*

Welfare state regimes face many challenges in particular in times of crisis to assure stability and compensate social inequalities. One enduring concern is the increasing social isolation of individuals lacking social resources. As previously mentioned, in 2006 the Swiss Federal Statistical Office published a report identifying factors of social isolation (i.e. single household, not having a partner, and fewer than five relationships in the affective network). Social isolation is more

a social problem than a sociological one, as individuals are not isolated, but experience new forms of sociability which destabilize previous structures. This dissertation contributes to the discussion about social isolation and integration, showing that most individuals have significant alters providing a wide array of resources. Nevertheless, the mean size of these core personal networks is quite low, around four, and some individuals mentioned no significant alter. In addition, the fact that so many individuals strongly rely on their partner despite the precarization of the couple relationship may give rise to concerns. Individuals, and in particular women staying at home or working part-time, should be particularly protected when separation occurs. The fact that the parent-child relationship is very important, but that social policies are missing when family forms become more complex may also be cause for concern. The introduction of voluntary joint parental authority in July 2014 is a good step towards the recognition of this relationship, but not yet enough. For instance, stepparents do not yet have yet any status, regardless of the actual role they may play. Similarly, when looking at the increasing importance of friendship, even prevailing over family ties in some cases, social policies should consider how to give more recognition to such ties. Those changes could be actualized in more de-institutionalization of the nuclear family or more institutionalization of significant alters beyond blood and alliance ties. Finally, in a life-course perspective, as some transitions and events lead to a re-organization of personal networks, those crucial moments should be more targeted to buffer potential negative outcomes, in particular for groups of people more at risk. Globally, with regard to social policy, the Swiss welfare regime needs to implement social policies aiming at more equality between women and men and between individuals with low and high incomes. Whether made of “blood” or “water”, personal networks are central and need a good context in which to flourish.

7 References

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9 Annexes

9.1 Education scale

Table 69: Education scale from the European Social Survey

	Country-specific education categories for Switzerland: French		
Coding in 4	Coding in 7	Coding in 23	
Lower secondary education	École primaire	École primaire inachevée	1
		École primaire	2
	Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire	Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire	3
		10. année, pré-apprentissage, cours préparatoire, école pré-professionnelle	4
Upper secondary education	Écoles de culture générale (ECG)	Écoles de culture générale (3 ans, certificat d'ECG, maturité spécialisée), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École de commerce	5
	École de maturité	Maturité gymnasiale, Gymnase, Collège	6
		Maturité gymnasiale pour adultes ou apprentissage après maturité gymnasiale	7
		École normale, Études pédagogiques (niveau préscolaire et primaire)	8
		Maturité professionnelle	9
		Maturité professionnelle pour adultes	10
Vocational education	Formation professionnelle	Formation professionnelle initiale (Attestation fédérale de formation professionnelle, Apprentissage court (2 ans), École commerciale (1 an), École de formation générale (1-2 ans)	11
		Apprentissage 3-4 ans (CFC) en entreprise formatrice ou en école professionnelle	12
		Deuxième apprentissage ou apprentissage en tant que deuxième formation	13
		Maîtrise professionnelle, brevet fédéral et autres examens professionnels supérieurs	14
		Diplôme ou postgrade d'une école professionnelle supérieure, p.ex. dans les domaines technique, administration, santé, travail social, arts appliqués	15
		Diplôme ou postgrade d'une des écoles supérieures suivantes: écoles d'ingénieurs ETS; écoles supérieures de cadres pour l'économie et l'administration (ESCEA); écoles supérieures d'arts appliqués (ESAA): écoles supérieures d'économie familiale (ESEF); école hôtelière de Lausanne (EHL, diplômes décernés en 1998, 1999 et 2000)	16
Tertiary education	Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP)	Bachelor	17
		Master, diplôme, postgrade	18
	Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF)	Demi-licence, certificat propédeutique	19
		Bachelor, licence en 3-4 ans	20
		Licence exigeant plus que 4 ans	21
		Master, diplôme, postgrade	22
		Doctorat, PhD	23

9.2 Network measures and R functions

Table 70: List of network measures and R functions

			R functions from the package "statnet"
Full network			
Size	General	Mean: 4.9; sd: 2.15; median: 5	network.size(x) *NB: x: an object of class network*
Density	Of interaction	Mean: 0.74; sd: 0.27; median: 0.8	gden(dat) *NB: dat: one or more input graphs*
	Of emotional support	Mean: 0.62; sd: 0.27; median: 0.6	
	Of conflict	Mean: 0.36; sd: 0.34; median: 0.27	
Transitivity	Of interaction	Mean: 0.78; sd: 0.3; median: 1	gtrans(dat, measure = "weak")
	Of emotional support	Mean: 0.67; sd: 0.35; median: 0.75	
	Of conflict	Mean: 0.75; sd: 0.37; median: 1	
Weak components	Of interaction	Mean: 1.3; sd: 0.79; median: 1	components(dat, connected="weak")
	Of emotional support	Mean: 1.21; sd: 0.74; median: 1	
	Of conflict	Mean: 2.64; sd: 2.12; median: 2	
Normalized betweenness centrality of Ego *NB: Since network size has to be higher than 2 to compute centrality, 64 networks of 2 were dropped.*	Of interaction	Mean: 0.23; sd: 0.32; median: 0.02	norm.between <- function(x) { if(is.null(x)) return(NULL) bw <- betweenness(x, nodes=1) ns <- network.size(x) nbw <- bw/(((ns-1)*(ns-2))) return(nbw)}
	Of emotional support	Mean: 0.28; sd: 0.3; median: 0.17	
	Of conflict	Mean: 0.12; sd: 0.23; median: 0	
Betweenness centralization *NB: Since network size has to be higher than 2 to compute centralization, 64 networks of 2 were dropped.*	Of interaction	Mean: 0.23; sd: 0.33; median: 0.03	centralization(dat, betweenness)
	Of emotional support	Mean: 0.29; sd: 0.3; median: 0.22	
	Of conflict	Mean: 0.15; sd: 0.24; median: 0	

			R functions from the package "statnet"
In- and Out-neighbourhoods			Extracting neighborhoods: ego.extract(dat, neighborhood=c("in","out")) Deleting Egos: delete.vertices(x)
In-degree centrality (size of in-neighborhood)	Of emotional support	Mean: 4.42; sd: 2.02; median: 4	network.size(x)
	Of conflict	Mean: 2.67; sd: 1.71; median: 2	
Density In-neighbourhood (19 et 232 NA)	Of emotional support	Mean: 0.7; sd: 0.24; median: 0.67	gden(dat)
	Of conflict	Mean: 0.79; sd: 0.23; median: 0.85	
Out-degree centrality (size of out-neighborhood)	Of emotional support	Mean: 3.75; sd: 1.93; median: 4	network.size(x)
	Of conflict	Mean: 2.58; sd: 1.65; median: 2	
Density Out-neighbourhood (24 et 232 NA)	Of emotional support	Mean: 0.82; sd: 0.21; median: 0.92	gden(dat)

9.3 Codebook

Table 71: Codebook of all indicators created and used in this dissertation

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
2.1	Sex	Man / Woman		sex
2.1	Birth cohort	1950-1955 / 1970-1975		yearofbirth
2.1	Age group	55-61 / 35-41		yearofbirth
2.1	Nationality	Swiss / Foreign	Created based on Swiss Federal Statistical Office information	
2.1	Place of birth	Switzerland / Southern Europe / Western Europe / Eastern Europe / Northern Europe / Asia / Latina America and the Carribean / Africa / North america / Oceania	This table is based on the classification geographical region and composition proposed by the United Nations Statistics Division (11.02.2013). The country of birth was retrieved from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office information. Information was missing for 18 individuals. Using the retrospective life history calendar, we could complete the data for 17 individuals. For one individual, information is missing in both sources (idno: 1162).	
2.1	Level of education	Low secondary / Upper secondary / Vocational / Tertiary	Created based on the scale of the European Social Survey, 23 levels: Low secondary: 1 to 4; Upper secondary: 5 to 10; Vocational: 11 to 16; Tertiary: 17 to 23.	a3
2.1	International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO)	ISCO code from 0 to 999	It was originally an open question about occupational activity. 0/100: Professional, technical and related workers; 200: Administrative and managerial workers; 300: Clerical and related workers; 400: sales workers; 500: Service workers; 600: Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters; 700/800/900: Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers	calendar
2.1	International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI)	0.67 / 0.51 / 0.49 / 0.38 / 0.34 / 0.25	0.67: ISCO 0/100/200; 0.49: ISCO 300; 0.51: ISCO 400; 0.38: ISCO 500; 0.25: ISCO 600; 0.34: ISCO 700/800/900	

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
2.1	Income	Low income / Medium income / High income / Income unknown	-Low income: individuals earning less than 3500CHF if living alone or less than 6400 if not living alone -Medium income: individuals earning between 3,500 and 7,000CHF if living alone or between 6,400 and 12,000 if not living alone -High income: individuals earning more than 7,000 CHF if living alone or more than 12,000 if not living alone	e6a, e6b, e6c
2.1	Civil status	Married / Single / Widowed / Divorced / In a registered partnership	Created based on Swiss Federal Statistical Office information	
2.1	Family situation	Couple / Couple with children / Solo with children / Solo without children / Stepfamily (both) / Stepfamily (ego) / Stepfamily (partner)	This indicator is based on the presence of a partner and of children of ego and of the partner, not on households or on living arrangements.	a26, a6, a31a
4.1	Parents' situation	Together Separated or divorced	When deceased, situation previous to death was recorded.	A9, a10
Network composition				
3.1	Network size with ego	Empty: 0 / Very small: 2-3 / Small: 4 / Average: 5 / Large: 6 and more	Size with ego indicates the number of alters including ego.	
3.1	Type of tie (18 variables)	Yes / No	Mentioning a partner / mentioning at least one child / mentioning at least one daughter / mentioning at least one son / mentioning at least one parent / mentioning a mother / mentioning a father / mentioning at least one sibling / mentioning at least one sister / mentioning at least one brother / mentioning at least one friend / mentioning at least one female friend / mentioning at least one male friend / mentioning at least one collateral / mentioning at least one sibling-in-law / mentioning at least one colleague / mentioning at least one other non-kin member / mentioning at least one other (residual)	c3_2 to c3_20
3.1	Rank	1st to 17th		

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
2.1	Civil status	Married / Single / Widowed / Divorced / In a registered partnership / Partnership dissolved	Created based on Swiss Federal Statistical Office information	
2.1	Family situation	Couple / Couple with children / Solo with children / Solo without children / Stepfamily (both) / Stepfamily (ego) / Stepfamily (partner)	This indicator is based on the presence of a partner and of children of ego and of the partner, not on households or on living arrangements.	a26, a6, a31a
4.1	Parents' situation	Together Separated or divorced	When deceased, situation previous to death was recorded.	A9, a10
Network composition				
3.1	Network size with ego	Empty: 0 / Very small: 2-3 / Small: 4 / Average: 5 / Large: 6 and more	Size with ego indicates the number of alters including ego.	
3.1	Type of tie (18 variables)	Yes / No	Mentioning a partner / mentioning at least one child / mentioning at least one daughter / mentioning at least one son / mentioning at least one parent / mentioning a mother / mentioning a father / mentioning at least one sibling / mentioning at least one sister / mentioning at least one brother / mentioning at least one friend / mentioning at least one female friend / mentioning at least one male friend / mentioning at least one collateral / mentioning at least one sibling-in-law / mentioning at least one colleague / mentioning at least one other non-kin member / mentioning at least one other (residual)	c3_2 to c3_20
3.1	Rank	1st to 17th		
3.1	Personal configurations (typology)	Alone / Female friends and children-oriented / Kinship-based / Nuclear-oriented / Parents-based / Partner and Buddies-oriented / Professional and non-kin-oriented / Siblings-based	Procedure on the 755 networks (empty excluded). (1) Principal components analysis with a varimax rotation was used to extract the seven initial factors. (2) Hierarchical clustering analysis based on a measure of the Euclidean distance between individuals and on the Ward clustering algorithm. (3) 7-cluster solution chosen. (4) Addition of the Alone configuration with the 31 empty networks.	

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
3.1	Demographic reservoir (13 variables)	Yes / No	Having a partner / having at least one child / having at least one daughter / having at least one son / having at least one parent / having a mother / having a father / having at least one sibling / having at least one sister / having at least one brother / having at least one grandchild / having at least one ex-partner / having at least one stepchild	a26, a6, a6b, a7, a8, a21a, a21b, a22, a6c, a31a
Characteristics of significant relationships				
3.2	Alter perceived as a family member	Yes / No	3 missing answers	c12_2 to c12_20
3.2	Proportion of alters perceived as family members by network	Numeric, proportion	We summed up the number of alters perceived as family members (previous variable) of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	
3.2	Dichotomous indicator of alters perceived as family members by network	0 / 1	Based on the proportion of alters perceived as family members by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 0.7139; 1 > 0. 7139	
3.2	Being a family member	Yes / No	Scientific coding based on the type of tie. We coded the ties as either kin (yes) when there was a blood or alliance connection or non-kin (no) for other cases Ex-partners, godparents, godchildren, friends, employees, colleagues, employers, landlords, and other persons were considered as “non-kin”(cf. Table 5).	
3.2	Proportion of alters being family members by network	Numeric, proportion	We summed up the number of alters being family members (previous variable) of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	
3.2	Degree of trust	1 - no trust at all / 2 - low trust / 3 - medium trust / 4 - high trust / 5 - absolute trust	The degree of trust was asked only for significant alters above six years old. 110 missing answers or not applicable.	c19_2 to c19_20
3.2	Mean degree of trust by network	Numeric, mean	We summed up the degree of trust (0 to 5) of all the alters (previous variable) of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	
3.2	Degree of trust by network	No trust at all / Low trust / Medium trust / High trust / Absolute trust	We recoded the mean dyadic face-to-face contact by network. Low trust < 2; Medium trust >= 2 and < 3 / High trust >= 3 and < 4 / Very high trust >= 4 and < 5 / Absolute trust = 5	

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
3.2	Dichotomous indicator of degree of trust by network	0 / 1	0 (other degrees of trust) and 1 (absolute trust)	
3.2	Relationship duration	0 to 61 years	The relationship duration is based on the age of ego at first encounter. 10 missing answers	c5_2 to c5_20
3.2	Mean relationship duration of alters by network	Numeric, mean	We summed up the relationship duration (based on the age of ego at first encounter) of all the alters (previous variable) of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	
3.2	Dichotomous indicator of relationship duration of alters by network	0 / 1	Based on the mean relationship duration of alters by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 30.89; 1 > 30.89	
3.2	Being a former or a present co-resident	Yes / No	1 missing answer	c11_2 to c11_20
3.2	Proportion of former and present co-residents by network	Numeric, proportion	We summed up the number of co-residents (previous variable) of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	
3.2	Dichotomous indicator of former and present co-residents by network	0 / 1	Based on the proportion of former and present co-resident by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 0.651; 1 > 0. 651	
3.2	Frequency of dyadic face-to-face contact	0 - no contact / 1 - several times per year / 2 - several times per month / 3 - once a week / 4 - several times a week / 5 - every day	8 missing answers	c9_2 to c9_20
3.2	Mean of dyadic face-to-face contact by network		We summed up the frequency of contact (0 to 5) of all the alters (previous variable) of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	
3.2	Frequency of dyadic face-to-face contact by network	Daily /More than once weekly / Monthly /Yearly-Never	We recoded the mean dyadic face-to-face contact by network. Daily = 5; More than once weekly >= 3 and < 5; Monthly >= 2 and < 3; Yearly-Never < 2	
3.2	Dichotomous indicator of dyadic face-to-face contact by network	0 / 1	Based on the mean of dyadic face-to-face contact by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 3.357; 1 > 3.357	

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
3.2	Frequency of dyadic contact by other means	0 - no contact / 1 - several times per year / 2 - several times per month / 3 - once a week / 4 - several times a week / 5 - every day	38 missing answers	c10_2 to c10_20
3.2	Mean of dyadic contact by other means by network		We summed up the frequency of contact (0 to 5) of all the alters (previous variable) of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	
3.2	Frequency of dyadic contact by other means by network	Daily /More than once weekly / Monthly /Yearly-Never	We recoded the mean dyadic contact by other means by network. Daily = 5;More than once weekly >= 3 and < 5; Monthly >= 2 and < 3; Yearly-Never < 2	
3.2	Dichotomous indicator of dyadic contact by other means by network	0 / 1	Based on the mean of dyadic contact by other means by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 2.887; 1 >2.887	
Alters' characteristics				
3.3	Sex of the alter	Man / Woman		c2_2 to c2_20
3.3	Proportion of women by network	Numeric, proportion	We summed up the number of female alters of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	
3.3	Percentage of women by network	0% / 1-49% / 50% / 51-99% / 100%	We recoded the proportion of women by network by network. 0% = 0; 1-49% > 0 and <0.5; 50% = 0.5; 51-99% > 0.5 and < 1; 100% =1	
3.3	Dichotomous indicator of women by network	0 / 1	Based on the proportion of women by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 0.5561; 1 > 0.5561	
3.3	Country of residence of the alter	Switzerland / Southern Europe / Western Europe / Eastern Europe / Northern Europe / Asia / Latina America and the Caribbean / Africa / North America / Oceania	51 missing answers	c6_2 to c6_20
3.3	Proportion of alters living in Switzerland by network	Numeric, proportion	We summed up the number of alters living in Switzerland (previous variable) of each network and divided the sum by the number of alters.	

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
3.3	Percentage of alters living in Switzerland by network	0% / 1-49% / 50% / 51-99% / 100%	We recoded the proportion of alters living in Switzerland by network by network. 0% = 0; 1-49% > 0 and <0.5; 50% = 0.5; 51-99% > 0.5 and < 1; 100% =1	
3.3	Dichotomous indicator of alters living in Switzerland by network	0 / 1	Based on the proportion of alters living in Switzerland by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 0.9217; 1 > 0.9217	
3.3	Age of the alter	Numeric	19 missing answers	c4_2 to c4_20
3.3	Mean age of the alters by network	Numeric, mean	We summed up the age of all the alters (previous variable) of each network and divided it by the number of alters.	
3.3	Dichotomous indicator of age of the alters by network	0 / 1	Based on the mean age of the alters by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 44.84; 1 > 44.84	
3.3	Level of education of the alter	Low secondary / Upper secondary / Vocational / Tertiary	Created based on the scale of the European Social Survey, 23 levels: Low secondary: 1 to 4; Upper secondary: 5 to 10; Vocational: 11 to 16; Tertiary: 17 to 24. We dropped the 199 alters under 25 years old. 538 missing answers or not applicable	c7_2 to c7_20
3.3	Mean level of education of the alters by network	Numeric, mean	We summed up the level of education of all the alters19 missing answers of each network and divided it by the number of alters.	
3.3	Level of education of the alters by network	Low secondary / Upper secondary / Vocational / Tertiary	Based on the mean level of education of alters by network. Low secondary <= 4: Upper secondary > 4 and <=10; Vocational > 10 and <= 16; Tertiary > 16 and <= 23	
3.3	Dichotomous indicator of level of education of the alters by network	0 / 1	Based on the mean level of education of the alters by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 12.44; 1 > 12.44	
3.3	At least one alter with each education level by network	Yes / No	Having at least one alter with primary education (1-2), low secondary education (3-4), medium secondary education (5), upper secondary education (6-10), vocational education (11-16), applied tertiary education (17-18), and university tertiary education (19-23). It should be noted that alters are considered without any filter by age.	

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
3.3	Educational homogeneity	0 – homogeneous / 1 - heterogeneous	Based on the variables “At least one alter with each education level by network”. When all alters belonged to the same category, the network was defined as homogeneous. In other cases characterized by at least two different levels of education, the network was defined as heterogeneous.	
3.3	International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) of the alter	0.67, 0.51, 0.49, 0.38, 0.34, 0.25	It was originally an open question about occupational activity. 0.67: ISCO 0/100/200; 0.49: ISCO 300; 0.51: ISCO 400; 0.38: ISCO 500; 0.25: ISCO 600; 0.34: ISCO 700/800/900 693 missing answers or not applicable	c8_2 to c8_20
3.3	Mean ISEI score of the alters by network	Numeric, mean	We summed up the ISEI score of all the alters of each network and divided it by the number of alters. Information for 2250 alters	
3.3	Dichotomous indicator of ISEI score of the alters by network	0 / 1	Based on the mean ISEI score of the alters by network. Dichotomization at the mean: 0 <= 0.4860; 1 > 0.4860	
3.3	At least one alter with each ISEI score by network	Yes / No	Having at least one alter of the specific score (0.67, 0.51, 0.49, 0.38, 0.34, 0.25)	
3.3	Occupational homogeneity	0 – homogeneous / 1 - heterogeneous	Based on the variables “At least one alter with each ISEI score by network”. When all alters had the same ISEI score and when there were only two different scores which were directly following each other (0.67 and 0.51 or 0.34 and 0.25 for instance), the network was defined as homogeneous.	
Dyadic instrumental support				
3.4	Alters outside and inside the nuclear family	At least one alter outside the nuclear family / Nuclear family with children >= 25 / Only children >= 25 / Only partner / Nuclear family with children < 25 / Only children < 25	We created this variable to select individuals who actually could receive and give instrumental support (exclusion of those who only mentioned the partner and children under 25 years)	
3.4	Receiving instrumental support of all three kinds	Numeric, number of alters giving it to ego	Addition of the three kinds of received instrumental support NB: Only 672 individuals actually could receive instrumental support (exclusion of those who only mentioned the partner and children under 25 years)	

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
3.4	Receiving financial support	Numeric, number of alters giving it to ego	Financial support encompasses lending or giving money, inheritance or donation, offering partnership or passing on a business, giving a house or land.	c16a_2 to c16a_20
3.4	Receiving material support	Numeric, number of alters giving it to ego	Material support encompasses giving clothes and food, helping to buy furniture and appliances, helping with housing (hosting or lending a house).	c17a_2 to c17a_20
3.4	Receiving care support	Numeric, number of alters giving it to ego	Care support encompasses helping with the housework, helping in situations of illness, taking care of people, errands, helping in small repairs at the house, transport of people.	c18a_2 to c18a_20
3.4	Giving instrumental support of all three kinds	Numeric, number of alters receiving it from ego	Addition of the three kinds of given instrumental support NB: Only 672 individuals actually could give instrumental support (exclusion of those who only mentioned the partner and children under 25 years)	
3.4	Giving financial support	Numeric, number of alters receiving it from ego	Financial support encompasses lending or giving money, inheritance or donation, offering partnership or passing on a business, giving a house or land.	c16b_2 to c16b_20
3.4	Giving material support	Numeric, number of alters receiving it from ego	Material support encompasses giving clothes and food, helping to buy furniture and appliances, helping with housing (hosting or lending a house).	c17b_2 to c17b_20
3.4	Giving care support	Numeric, number of alters receiving it from ego	Care support encompasses helping with the housework, helping in situations of illness, taking care of people, errands, helping in small repairs at the house, transport of people.	c18b_2 to c18b_20
3.4	Exchange overall		Addition of receiving and giving instrumental support	
3.4	Reciprocity overall	Reciprocity / Provider / Recipient	We looked whether the respondent received and gave, only gave, or only received from her/his alters.	
3.4	Reciprocity in financial support	Reciprocity / Provider / Recipient		
3.4	Reciprocity in material support	Reciprocity / Provider / Recipient		
3.4	Reciprocity in care support	Reciprocity / Provider / Recipient		

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
		Structural interdependencies		
3.2; 3.4; 3.5	Density - of interaction - of emotional support - of conflict - in-neighborhood (emotional support and conflict) - out-neighborhood (emotional support and conflict)	Standardized scale from 0 to 1	Density is the number of existing connections divided by the number of pairs of significant alters cited by the respondent.	c13, c14, c15
3.2; 3.4; 3.5	Betweenness centralization - of interaction - of emotional support - of conflict	Standarized scale from 0 to 1	Betweenness centralization indicates the average difference in how central the most central individual is in relation to how central all the other individuals are. To measure betweenness centralization, at least three network members are necessary (ego and 2 alters). The 61 networks of size two (ego and 1 alter) are therefore considered as NA.	c13, c14, c15
3.2; 3.4; 3.5	Betweenness centrality - of interaction - of emotional support - of conflict	Standarized scale from 0 to 1	Betweenness centrality captures the proportion of connections involving a specific individual like the respondent. To measure betweenness centralization, at least three network members are necessary (ego and 2 alters). The 61 networks of size two (ego and 1 alter) are therefore considered as NA.	c13, c14, c15
3.2; 3.4; 3.5	Weak Components - of interaction - of emotional support - of conflict - in-neighborhood (emotional support and conflict) - out-neighborhood (emotional support and conflict)	Standarized scale from 0 to 1	A weak component is a subset of individuals who are disconnected from the full network; the number of weak components indicates the extent to which the network is disconnected.	c13, c14, c15

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
3.2; 3.4; 3.5	Transitivity - of interaction - of emotional support - of conflict	Standarized scale from 0 to 1	Transitivity refers to properties of a group of three actors (triads). Triads are transitive when i => j and j=> k, then i => k. This means that, when individual i gives emotional support to individual j and individual j gives emotional support to individual k, in transitive triads, individual i will also give emotional support to individual k. For each triad, there exists sixteen possible configurations among whom only four are transitive.	c13, c14, c15
3.4; 3.5	In-degree centrality - of emotional support - of conflict	Numeric, number of network members	Size of the in- neighborhood. Emotional support in-neighborhood referred to the set of people who received support from the respondents and conflict in-neighborhood referred to the set of people who was annoyed by the respondents.	c14, c15
3.4; 3.5	Out-degree centrality - of emotional support - of conflict	Numeric, number of network members	Size of the out-neighborhood. Emotional support out-neighborhood referred to the set of people who gave support to the respondent and conflict out-neighborhood referred to the set of people who annoyed the respondents.	c14, c15
3.5	Structural ambivalence	Low / Low-medium / Medium-high / High	From this formula |*density of support - density of conflict*| + *(density of support + density of conflict)/2*, we created a 4-items indicator: low (from the min. to the 1st quartile), low-medium (from the 1st quartile to the mean), medium-high (from the mean to the 3rd quartile), and high ambivalence (from the 3rd quartile to the max.).	
3.5	Support and conflict patterns	Atomization / Ambivalence / Solidarity / Captivation	High density of emotional support above its mean and high density of conflict above its mean indicated “Ambivalence”. Low density of emotional support below its mean and low density of conflict below its mean indicated “Atomization”. High density of emotional support above its mean and low density of conflict below its mean indicated “Solidarity”. Low density of emotional support below its mean and high density of conflict above its mean indicated “Captivation”.	
Lack of relational resources				
3.6	Alters outside Switzerland	Yes / No	Having a proportion of alters living in Switzerland lower than the half	
3.6	Alters without cultural capital	Yes / No	Having a mean education level among alters equivalent to lower secondary education	
3.6	Alters without economic capital	Yes / No	Having a mean ISEI among alters lower than 0.34	

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
3.6	High conflict	Yes / No	Having a maximum density of conflict and no emotional support	
3.6	Few contact	Yes / No	Seeing the alters only yearly or even never and communicating with them by other means only yearly or even never	
3.6	Low trust	Yes / No	Not trusting their alters or having a low degree of trust	
3.6	Lack of relational resources	Numeric, number of lacks	Addition of the six previously mentioned variables	
Life trajectories				
4.1	Childhood co-residence trajectories from birth up to 20 years old (typology)	Two parents / Early one-parent / Late one-parent / Stepfamily / Relatives / Erratic	Seven statuses: (1) Living with two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) With one parent and her/his partner (stepparent), (4) With relatives, (5) Alone or with roommates, (6) With a partner (with or without children), and (7) Other.	calendar
4.1	Childhood co-residence trajectories from birth up to 20 years old (binary)	Standard / Non-standard	Recoding of the complete trajectory: Standard: type “Two parents” versus Non-standard: other types	
4.1	Childhood spatial mobility trajectories from birth up to 20 years old (typology)	High stability up to 20 / High stability up to 18 / Medium stability-Middle-move / Medium stability-Early move / Instability	The number of moves was comprised between 1 and to 10.	calendar
4.2	Co-residence trajectories between 20 to 40 years old (typology)	Standard parenthood / Early parenthood / Nestalgic / Early bird / Conjugal / Solo	Nine statuses: (1) Living with two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) Solo, (4) With a partner, (5) With a partner and children, (6) With children only, (7) With relatives, (8) With roommates, and (9) Other.	calendar
4.2	Partnership trajectories between 16 and 40 years old (typology)	Stayer / Loner / Late bloomer / Slow shifter / Quick shifter	Number of partners to create the trajectories from 0 to 10.	calendar
4.2	Spatial mobility trajectories between 20 to 40 years old (typology)	Well-settled / Occasional movers / Restless movers / Frequent movers	Number of moves was comprised between 1 and to 10.	calendar
4.2	Occupational trajectories between 18 to 40 years old (typology)	Full-time / Studies before mixed experiences / Self-employment / High part-time / Low part-time / At home	Twelve statuses were considered: (1) Education/training, (2) Low part-time employment, (3) High part-time employment, (4) Full-time employment, (5) Part-time self-employment, (6) Full-time self-employment, (7) Occasional work, (8) Unpaid family work, (9) Unemployment, (10) At home, (11) Illness, and (12) Other.	calendar

Section	Indicators	Categories	Complementary explanations when needed	Raw data
4.3	Co-residence trajectories from 1991 to 2001 (typology)	Parenthood / Transition to parenthood / Conjugal / Solo / Empty nest / Nestalgic / One-parent and stepfamily / Dyadic attachment	Nine statuses: (1) Living with two parents, (2) With one parent, (3) Solo, (4) With a partner, (5) With a partner and children, (6) With children only, (7) With relatives, (8) With roommates, and (9) Other.	calendar
4.3	Partnership trajectories from 1991 to 2001 (typology)	Stayer / Loner / Late bloomer / Slow shifter / Quick shifter	Number of partners to create the trajectories from 0 to 10.	calendar
4.3	Spatial mobility trajectories from 1991 to 2001 (typology)	Well-settled / Occasional movers / Settled after all / Frequent movers	Number of moves was comprised between 1 and to 10.	calendar
4.3	Occupational trajectories from 1991 to 2001 (typology)	Full-time / Studies before mixed experiences / Self-employment / High part-time / At home / Low part-time / Erratic	Twelve statuses were considered: (1) Education/training, (2) Low part-time employment, (3) High part-time employment, (4) Full-time employment, (5) Part-time self-employment, (6) Full-time self-employment, (7) Occasional work, (8) Unpaid family work, (9) Unemployment, (10) At home, (11) Illness, and (12) Other.	calendar
4.4	Matched co-residence and occupational trajectories from 1991 to 2001 (typology)	Double transition; Full-time & Family life; Home / Part-time & Family life; Full-time & Solo / Conjugal life; Part-time & Conjugal; Self-employment & Family life; Erratic employment & Solo life	Same nine co-residence statuses and twelve occupational statuses	Calendar

9.4 Canton of residence

Table 72: Canton of residence of the respondents (n=803)

	n	%
Zurich	130	16.2
Berne	108	13.4
Vaud	84	10.5
Aargau	68	8.5
St. Gallen	55	6.8
Valais	43	5.4
Solothurn	38	4.7
Ticino	35	4.4
Lucerne	33	4.1
Fribourg	26	3.2
Thurgau	25	3.1
Basel-Landschaft	23	2.9
Graubünden	22	2.7
Geneva	18	2.2
Basel-Stadt	17	2.1
Schwytz	16	2.0
Neuchâtel	13	1.6
Uri	9	1.1
Zug	9	1.1
Schaffhausen	8	1.0
Appenzell A. Rh.	7	0.9
Jura	6	0.7
Appenzell I. Rh.	3	0.4
Glarus	3	0.4
Nidwalden	2	0.2
Obwalden	2	0.2
Total	803	100

9.5 Overview of Swiss surveys with an ego-centered network approach

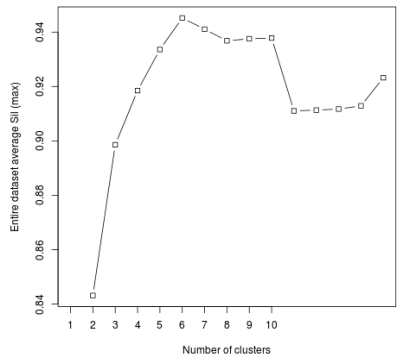
Table 73: Studies conducted in Switzerland using an ego-centered network approach since 2005 (not exhaustive)

Study	Sample	Name generator	Network composition	Network structure	Published references *(not exhaustive)*
SHARE (Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe) – Network module in 2010 (4th wave)	More than 1,000 individuals living in Switzerland (data collected 2010, 4th wave)	discussion partners (6 max.) and a person important to them for any reason (1 max.)	Type of tie; sex; geographical proximity; frequency of contact; feeling of closeness; network satisfaction	none	Börsch-Supan, Brandt, Litwin, & Weber (2013)
MOSAiCH-ISSP 2005, module "Réseaux sociaux" (Measures and Sociological Observation of Attitudes in Switzerland - International Social Survey Programme) New module: MOSAiCH-ISSP 2013	More than 1,000 adults, living in Switzerland (data collected 2005)	discussion partners (4 max.)	Type of tie; sex; age; level of education; occupation; current municipality; municipality at age 14; workplace municipality; relationship duration	influence and emotional support	Ohnmacht (2009); Viry (2012)
STEPOUT "Social Capital and Family Processes As Predictors of Stepfamily Outcomes"	300 women in families (150 first-time families and 150 stepfamilies), living in the canton of Geneva (data collected 2009-2010)	significant family members (no limit)	Type of family tie; sex; age; level of education; current municipality; relationship duration; frequency of contact	emotional support, instrumental support; influence, and conflicts	Widmer, Favez, Aeby, De Carlo & Doan (2012)
Family tiMes "Trajectoires familiales et réseaux sociaux: une perspective configurationnelle sur le parcours de vie [in English: Family trajectories and social networks: a configurational perspective on the life course]"	803 individuals, two birth cohorts 1950-1955 and 1970-1975, living in Switzerland (data collected 2011)	important people (20 max.)	Type of tie; sex; age; level of education; occupation; country of residence; relationship duration; perception of the relationship as "family-like", co-residence history; degree of trust	contact, emotional support, and conflicts	Gauthier, Joye & Widmer (2010)
VLV "Vivre-Leben-Vivere: Old Age Democratization? Progresses and Inequalities in Switzerland"	3635 individuals aged 65 and over in the cantons of Geneva, Wallis, Bern, Basel, and Ticino (data collected 2011-2012)	significant family members (5 max.)	Type of tie; sex; age; level of education; residence (commune); relationship duration; frequency of contact; degree of trust	emotional support, instrumental support; influence, and conflicts	Oris, Nicolet, Guichard, Monnot, & Joye (forthcoming)

Study	Sample	Name generator	Network composition	Network structure	Published references *(not exhaustive)*
"Devenir Parent"	3-waves panel with 232 couples where women were pregnant at the first wave (data collected 2005-2009)	important people (15 max.)	Type of tie; sex; age; occupation; residence (commune); relationship duration; age of the youngest child; potential negative role	contact, emotional support, and instrumental support (for only the 6 first alters, but always including partner and child(ren))	Le Goff et Levy (2011) ; Sapin & Widmer (forthcoming)
"Sexual desire an interdisciplinary and sexological approach" (University Fund Maurice Chalumeau)	600 individuals (300 men and 300 women) aged from 25 to 46, in the canton of Geneva (data collected 2011)	important people (20 max.)	Type of ties; sex; age (under 18 years old are excluded); level of education; relationship duration; conjugal status duration; number of children; eight subjective questions about ego's perception of her/his alters' sexuality	contact once a week	Bianchi-Demicheli, Favez, Van der Linden, Ortigue, & Widmer (2009)
Longitudinal study of individuals undergoing psychotherapy	Individuals undergoing psychotherapy compared with a control group Various samples: see references	significant family members	Various information: see references	Various kinds of relationships: see references	Widmer, Kempf-Constantin, Robert-Tissot, Lanzi, & Carminati (2008); Widmer et al. (2008); Widmer & Sapin (2008)
The Cohorte Secundos LIVES	Secundos born between 1988 to 1997; pilot survey: 2012-2013 (n=134), main survey, 1st wave: 2013-2014 (n=1631)	Individuals between 15 and 24 years old, living and having had most part of their schooling in Switzerland with whom the respondent has had regular contact during the last 3 months (outside household and work).	Type of common activity between respondent and alter; parents grew up in CH; country of birth; region of residence; Swiss nationality?; number of nationalities; language best spoken.	none	Not yet. Internal report: Elcheroth & Antal (2013)

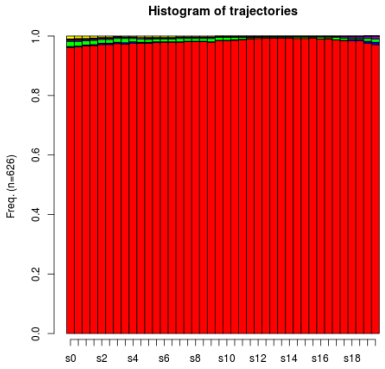
9.6 Migration trajectories

Figure 28: Six types of migration trajectories from birth up to 20 (n=803)

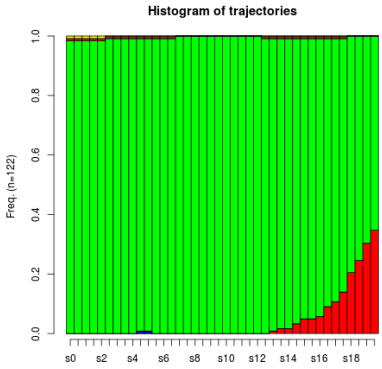


Silhouette width

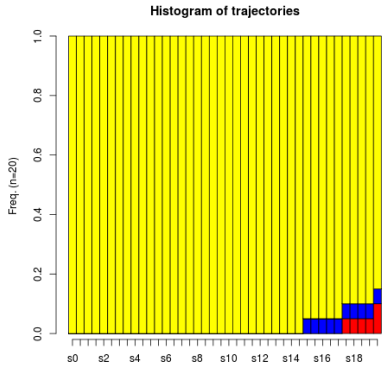
Legend



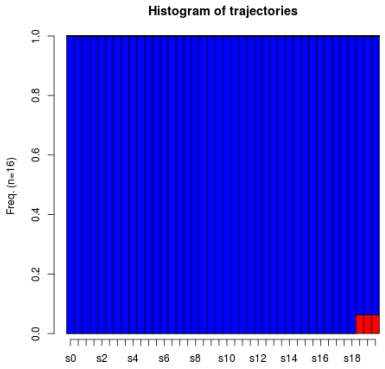
Switzerland
(78.0%, n=626)



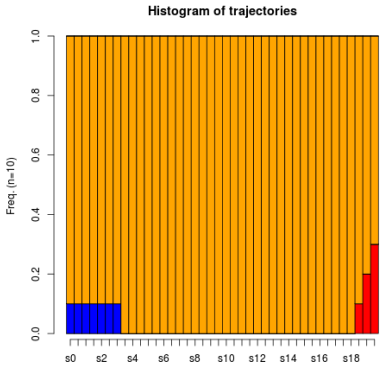
South-Western Europe
(15.2%, n=122)



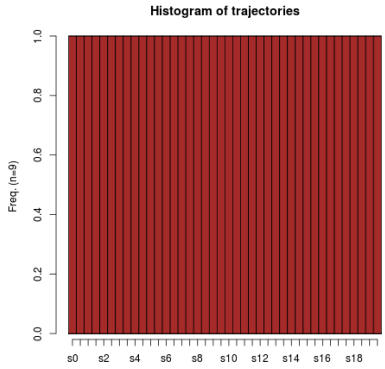
Asia
(2.5%, n=20)



North-Eastern Europe
(2.0%, n=16)

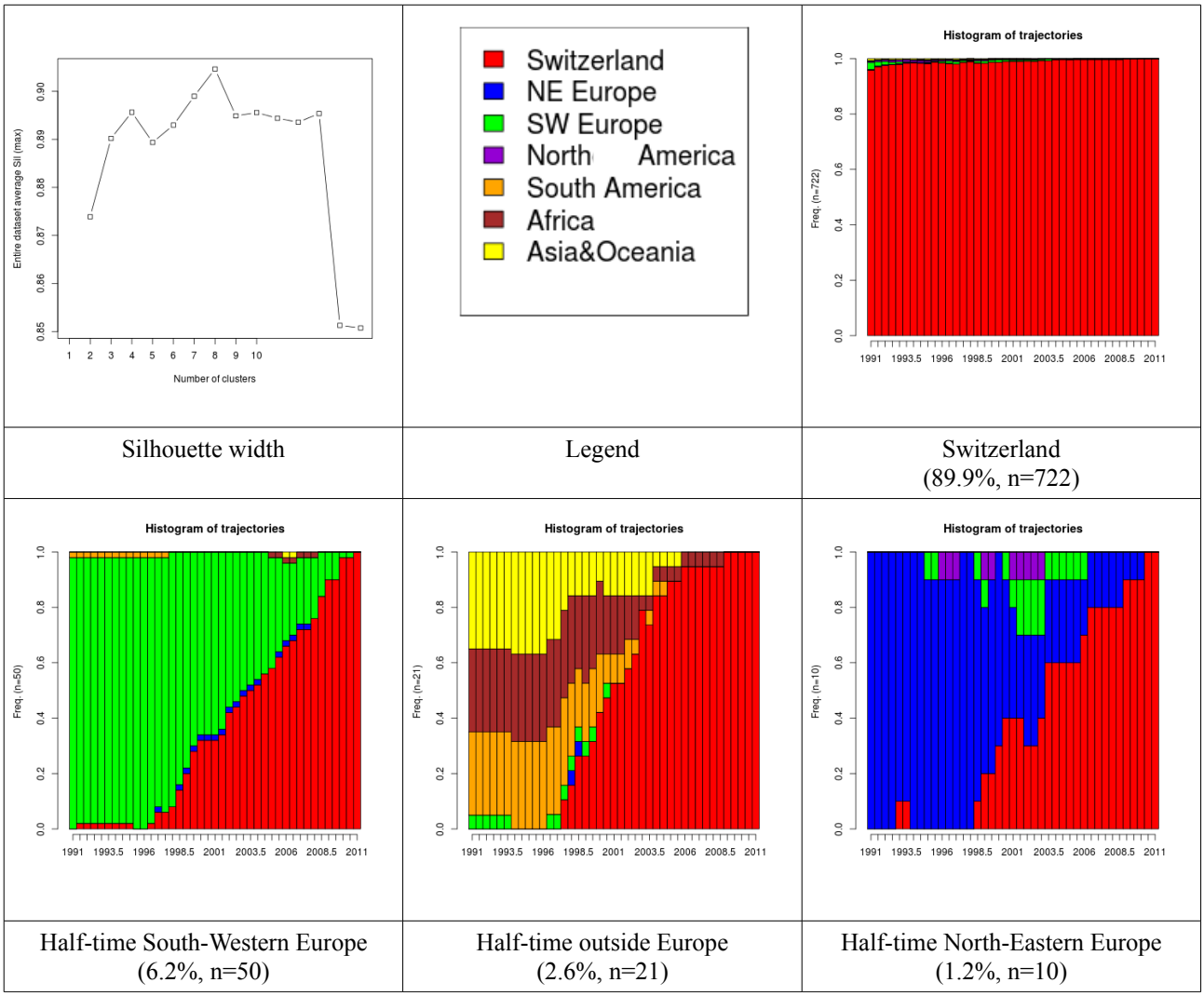


South America
(1.2%, n=10)



Africa
(1.1%, n=9)

Figure 29: Four types of migration trajectories 1991-2011 (n=803)



Silhouette width	Legend	Switzerland (89.9%, n=722)
Half-time South-Western Europe (6.2%, n=50)	Half-time outside Europe (2.6%, n=21)	Half-time North-Eastern Europe (1.2%, n=10)

9.7 The *Family tiMes* questionnaire (French)

Part A – Trajectories and events

Part B – Main investments

Part C – Networks

Part D – Attitudes and values

Part E – Identity

QUESTIONNAIRE Nº '___'___'___'___'

Bonjour/Bonsoir. Je m'appelle ... Je suis un-e enquêteur-trice de M.I.S. Trend. Nous menons une enquête pour les Université de Lausanne et de Genève sur différents domaines de la vie. J'aimerais vous poser quelques questions sur vous et vos proches, vos activités et vos intérêts.

Il va de soi que vos réponses seront traitées de manière strictement confidentielle. Les informations récoltées sont rendues tout à fait anonymes. De nombreuses questions que nous allons vous poser sont des questions d'opinion. Il n'y a donc pas de réponse juste ou fausse ; c'est votre avis personnel qui nous intéresse.

IDNO, PersonID
Num_Enq, Nom_Enq
JOUR, MOIS, ANNEE
H_Debut, M_Debut, S_Debut, H_Q_Debut, M_Q_Debut, S_Q_Debut, H_Fin, M_Fin, S_Fin, Tps_Fin_0

INDIQUEZ LE DEBUT DE L'ENTRETIEN: '__'__' HEURES '__'__' MINUTES

[P1.] **INDIQUEZ LE SEXE DU REPONDANT,** SEX

HOMME.....1
FEMME.....2

[P2.] **Quelle est votre date de naissance**? **(INDIQUEZ UNIQUEMENT LE MOIS ET L'ANNEE),** YearofBirth

'__'__' MOIS '__'__' ANNEE

[P3.] **INDIQUEZ (contrôle automatique!):**

GÉNÉRATION 1950-1955.....2 ª **CONTINUEZ**
GÉNÉRATION 1970-1975.....3 ª **CONTINUEZ**
AUTRE.....4 ª **MERCI ET TERMINEZ**

PART A – TRAJECTOIRES ET EVENEMENTS (TOUS)

[A1] **CALENDRIER AGEVEN**

Nous aimerions maintenant parler des grandes étapes de votre vie.
Le principe général de ce calendrier consiste à situer dans le temps (en partant de l'année civile ou de votre âge) un épisode ou un événement de vie, en traçant une ligne verticale allant du début à la fin de la période considérée.

Consigne enquêteur: Débuter avec l'année de naissance du répondant. Afin d'aider le répondant à se remémorer son parcours de vie, n'hésitez pas à faire des liens entre les différentes trajectoires.

COHABITATION

Consigne enquêteur: Attention il y a **3 cas de figure** différents auxquels correspond une notation particulière.

- **1) Mère, père, partenaire de l'un des parents, seul, et autre**
  On enregistre le début et la fin de chaque épisode.

  Exemple: le répondant habite avec sa mère de 0 à 20 ans, puis part à l'étranger de 20 à 22 ans, et habite à nouveau avec sa mère de 22 à 24 ans. Il y a donc 2 épisodes de cohabitation avec la mère: 0-20 et 22-24; un trait, rien, un trait.

- **2) Frères/soeurs, propres enfants, enfants du partenaires, autres membres de la parenté, amis/colocataires**
  On enregistre le début et la fin de chaque épisode et le nombre de personnes concernées.
  En effet, pour ces catégories de personnes, il peut avoir plusieurs personnes concernées à chaque fois (plusieurs frères et soeurs, plusieurs amis, etc.).

  Exemple: Si la répondante est fille unique jusqu'à 2 ans, puis elle a une soeur à 2 ans et un frère à 4 ans. Sa soeur cadette part lorsque la répondante a 22 ans et enfin la répondante elle-même quitte le domicile parental à 24 ans alors que son frère cadet y habite toujours. Notez: 1 (pour 1 soeur de 2 à 4 ans), 2 (pour une soeur et un frère de 4 à 22 ans) et 1 (pour un frère de 22 à 24 ans).

- **3) Propre partenaire**
  On enregistre le début et la fin de chaque épisode et le rang du/de la partenaire concerné-e, c'est-à-dire que le/la premier/ère partenaire avec lequel le/la répondant-e a habité est indiqué « 1 », le deuxième « 2 », etc.

  Ex: Si le répondant, âgé de 35 ans, a habité avec Catherine de 20 à 22 ans, seul deux ans, avec Anne de 24 à 27 ans, puis avec Isabelle de 27 à aujourd'hui, notez: 1 avec un trait de 20 à 22 ans; rien de 22 à 23 ans, 2 avec un trait de 23 à 27 ans; 3 avec un trait de 27 à aujourd'hui.

Pour commencer, j'aimerais savoir avec qui vous avez habité au cours de votre vie. Considérez seulement les périodes de 6 mois au minimum.

1) Commençons par votre mère.
   Avez-vous habité avec votre mère au cours de votre vie?
   Si oui, de quand à quand (indiquez le début et la fin des différentes périodes)

2) Parlons maintenant de votre père?
   Avez-vous habité avec votre père au cours de votre vie?
   Si oui, de quand à quand (indiquez le début et la fin des différentes périodes)

3) Est-ce que l'un de vos parents a eu un partenaire avec lequel vous avez habité au cours de votre vie?
   Si oui, de quand à quand (indiquez le début et la fin des différentes périodes)

4) Parlons maintenant des frères et sœurs. Avez-vous des frères et sœurs?
   Si oui, avez-vous habité avec lui/eux/elle(s) au cours de votre vie?
   Si oui, de quand à quand? Indiquez les périodes où vous avez habité avec des frères et sœurs et précisez combien étaient présents.

5) Parlons maintenant des partenaires avec lesquels vous avez éventuellement habité.
   Avez-vous déjà habité avec un-e partenaire au cours de votre vie?
   Si oui, de quand à quand (indiquez le début et la fin des différentes périodes et précisez le rang des différents partenaires).

6) Parlons maintenant de vos enfants? Avez-vous des enfants?
   Si oui, avez-vous habité avec lui/eux/elle(s) au cours de votre vie?
   Si oui, de quand à quand? Indiquez les périodes où vous avez habité avec vos enfants et précisez combien étaient présents.

7) Avez-vous habité avec les enfants de l'un ou plusieurs de vos partenaires?
   Si oui, de quand à quand? Indiquez les périodes où vous avez habité avec ces enfants et précisez combien étaient présents.

8) Avez-vous habité avec d'autres membres de votre parenté?
   Si oui, de quand à quand? Indiquez les périodes où vous avez habité avec d'autres membres de votre parenté et précisez combien étaient présents.

9) Avez-vous habité avec des amis ou des colocataires?
Si oui, de quand à quand? Indiquez les périodes où vous avez habité avec des amis ou des colocataires et précisez combien étaient présents.

10) Avez-vous habité seul-e?
Si oui, de quand à quand? Indiquez les périodes où vous avez habité seul-e.

11) Avez-vous habité dans des situations que nous n'avons pas mentionnées (ex: en institution, en internat, à l'armée)?
Si oui, de quand à quand? Indiquez les périodes où vous avez habité dans une autre situation.

RESIDENCE

Consigne enquêteur: indiquez la commune si le répondant habite en Suisse; indiquez la ville et le pays si le répondant habite à l'étranger. Si le répondant déménage dans la même commune, répétez le code de la commune et indiquez (1; 2; 3) entre parenthèses. Ex: Le répondant déménage à l'intérieur de la commune de Carouge: Carouge (1); Carouge (2). Il faut indiquer le numéro de la commune (et non le code postal).

Maintenant, j'aimerais savoir où vous avez habité au cours de votre vie. **Considérez seulement les périodes de 6 mois au minimum.**
Commençons par la commune ou le pays (et ville) dans lequel vous habitiez quand vous êtes né?

Ensuite, quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez déménagé pour la première fois?
Pouvez-vous m'indiquer dans quelle commune ou dans quel pays (et ville) vous avez déménagé?

Ensuite, quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez déménagé pour la deuxième fois?
Etc.

RELATION DE COUPLE

Maintenant, j'aimerais parler des personnes avec lesquelles vous avez formé un couple (sans forcément que vous habitiez ensemble); c'est-à-dire des personnes avec lesquels vous avez eu une relation amoureuse. **Considérez seulement les relations qui ont duré au moins 3 mois.**

Quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez commencé votre première relation?
Êtes-vous encore ensemble?
Si non, quel âge aviez-vous alors?
Et pourquoi cette relation s'est-elle terminée? (séparation; décès: autre)

Et quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez commencé votre deuxième relation?
Etc.

Consigne enquêteur:
Attention: Les numéros des partenaires indiqués ici ne correspondent pas forcément aux numéros des partenaires mentionnés dans la rubrique cohabitation

même s'il s'agit des mêmes personnes.
Exemple: le répondant a eu une relation amoureuse de trois mois ou plus avec Magali, Vanessa, Mathilde, mais n'a habité qu'avec Mathilde. Dans la trajectoire cohabitation, Mathilde est n°1, dans la trajectoire relation de couple, elle est n°3.

Utilisez la HELPCARD pour effectuer l'exercice. Il s'agit d'inscrire le prénom du/de la partenaire sur la HELPCARD à l'attention du répondant, mais de n'écrire que le numéro du/de la partenaire dans le calendrier. Si le répondant s'est séparé de son/sa partenaire, puis se remet en couple quelques temps plus tard avec cette même personne, indiquez le même numéro.
Exemple: Le répondant est en couple avec Catherine, Anne, Isabelle et à nouveau Catherine, vous indiquerez 1-2-3-1 aux lignes correspondant à son âge au moment de ces différentes relations. Attention à bien distinguer les homonymes!

ACTIVITE PROFESSIONNELLE

Maintenant, pourriez-vous nous indiquer toutes les périodes de formation et/ou d'activité rémunérée que vous avez connues depuis l'âge de 16 ans jusqu'à maintenant, ainsi que les éventuelles périodes où vous n'avez exercé aucune de ces activités. **Considérez seulement les périodes de 6 mois au minimum.**

J'aimerais commencer lorsque vous aviez 16 ans.
Quel était votre statut professionnel? **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 2)**
Quelle était votre activité professionnelle principale, SVP décrivez en détails ce que vous faisiez**?**
Quel était votre taux d'activité (%)?

Ensuite, quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez connu un premier changement important de statut professionnel ou d'activité professionnelle principale ou de taux d'activité?
Quel était votre statut professionnel? **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 2)**
Quelle était votre activité professionnelle principale, SVP décrivez en détails ce que vous faisiez**?**
Quel était votre taux d'activité (%)?

Ensuite, quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez connu un deuxième changement important de statut professionnel ou d'activité professionnelle principale ou de taux d'activité?
Etc.

Consigne enquêteur: Il est important de répertorier tous les changements et d'avoir ainsi la position du répondant tout au long de sa vie jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

EVENEMENTS ET PROBLEMES RENCONTRES AU COURS DE LA VIE

Maintenant, j'aimerais vous poser des questions sur des événements ou des problèmes que vous avez peut-être rencontrés au cours de votre vie.

[A2a] Par rapport à la liste suivante d'événements ou de problèmes à laquelle je vais me référer, dites-moi SVP tous les événements ou les problèmes que vous avez rencontrés ou que vous êtes en train de rencontrer. Dans certains cas, un événement ou problème rencontré par une personne proche peut également vous avoir affecté. Nous nous intéressons aux événements ou problèmes qui vous ont affecté au cours de votre vie.

[A2b] Si vous avez rencontré un ou plusieurs des événements ou problèmes cités, SVP précisez la date ou la période concernée. (se rapporter au **CALENDRIER AGEVEN)**

Consigne enquêteur: Dès que le répondant répond « oui », passez directement au **calendrier Ageven** et complétez. Puis reprenez la liste ci-dessous. Un même événement peut se produire plusieurs fois au cours de la vie du répondant, répertoriez **toutes les dates ou périodes concernées**. Dans le calendrier Ageven les événements ou problèmes cités sont a priori listés dans la première colonne. Si certains événements ou problèmes cités se sont produits simultanément, il faut utiliser la deuxième colonne, puis les suivantes.

A2a. **Evénements ou problèmes rencontrés**	**Oui**	**Non**
Longue période de chômage (> 9 mois)	1	2
Grave maladie ou accident (**répondant**)	1	2
Grave maladie ou accident d'un **proche**	1	2
Décès d'un **proche**	1	2
Tentative de suicide (**répondant**)	1	2
Tentative de suicide d'un **proche**	1	2
Graves difficultés financières	1	2
Graves problèmes avec la justice (**répondant**)	1	2
Graves problèmes avec la justice d'un **proche**	1	2
Grave précarité de logement	1	2
Grave conflits familiaux	1	2
Problèmes d'alcoolisme ou de drogues (**répondant**)	1	2
Problèmes d'alcoolisme ou de drogues d'un **proche**	1	2
Dépression (**répondant**)	1	2
Dépression d'un **proche**	1	2
Abus / violence domestique dans votre famille	1	2
Prendre soin sur une longue période d'un proche malade	1	2
Avoir vécu une fausse couche **ou** votre partenaire a vécu une fausse couche	1	2
Avoir vécu un avortement **ou** votre partenaire a vécu un avortement	1	2

QUESTIONS SUR LA FORMATION ACHEVEE ET L'EMPLOI ACTUEL

Nous avons parlé de votre parcours de vie. J'aimerais encore vous demander quelques précisions sur votre formation et votre emploi actuel.

A3. Quelle est votre formation la plus élevée que vous avez achevée avec succès (SEULEMENT UNE REPONSE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 3) A3_N : AUTRE FORMATION [STRING]

Ecole primaire	Ecole primaire inachevée	A
	Ecole primaire	B
Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire	Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire	C
	10. année, préapprentissage, cours préparatoire, école préprofessionnelle	D
Ecoles de culture générale (ECG)	Ecoles de culture générale (3 ans, certificat d'ECG, maturité spécialisée), Ecoles de degré diplôme (EDD), Ecole de commerce	E
Ecole de maturité	Maturité gymnasiale, Gymnase, Collège	F
	Maturité gymnasiale pour adultes ou apprentissage après maturité gymnasiale	G
	Ecole normale, Etudes pédagogiques (niveau préscolaire et primaire)	H
	Maturité professionnelle	I
	Maturité professionnelle pour adultes	J
Formation professionnelle	Formation professionnelle initiale (Attestation fédérale de formation professionnelle, Apprentissage court (2 ans), Ecole commerciale (1 an), Ecole de formation générale (1-2 ans)	K
	Apprentissage 3-4 ans (CFC) en entreprise formatrice ou en école professionnelle	L
	Deuxième apprentissage ou apprentissage en tant que deuxième formation	M
	Maîtrise professionnelle, brevet fédéral et autres examens professionnels supérieurs	N
	Diplôme ou postgrade d'une école professionnelle supérieure, p.ex. dans les domaines technique, administration, santé, travail social, arts appliqués	O
	Diplôme ou postgrade d'une des écoles supérieures suivantes: écoles d'ingénieurs ETS; écoles supérieures de cadres pour l'économie et l'administration (ESCEA); écoles supérieures d'arts appliqués (ESAA): écoles supérieures d'économie familiale (ESEF); école hôtelière de Lausanne (EHL, diplômes décernés en 1998, 1999 et 2000)	P
Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP)	Bachelor	Q

	Master, diplôme, postgrade	R
Hautes écoles universitaires, Ecoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF)	Demi-licence, certificat propédeutique	S
	Bachelor, licence en 3-4 ans	T
	Licence exigeant plus que 4 ans	U
	Master, diplôme, postgrade	V
	Doctorat, PhD	W

A4. Quelle est votre branche économique professionnelle actuellement? (SEULEMENT UNE REPONSE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 4)

	Agriculture, sylviculture et pêche
01	Culture et production animale, chasse et services annexes
02	Sylviculture et exploitation forestière
03	Pêche et aquaculture
	Industries extractives
05	Extraction de houille et de lignite
06	Extraction d'hydrocarbures
07	Extraction de minerais métalliques
08	Autres industries extractives
09	Services de soutien aux industries extractives
	Industrie manufacturière
10	Industries alimentaires
11	Fabrication de boissons
12	Fabrication de produits à base de tabac
13	Fabrication de textiles
14	Industrie de l'habillement
15	Industrie du cuir et de la chaussure
16	Travail du bois et fabrication d'articles en bois et en liège, à l'exception des meubles; fabrication d'articles en vannerie et sparterie
17	Industrie du papier et du carton
18	Imprimerie et reproduction d'enregistrements
19	Cokéfaction et raffinage
20	Industrie chimique
21	Industrie pharmaceutique
22	Fabrication de produits en caoutchouc et en plastique
23	Fabrication d'autres produits minéraux non métalliques
24	Métallurgie
25	Fabrication de produits métalliques, à l'exception des machines et des équipements

26	Fabrication de produits informatiques, électroniques et optiques
27	Fabrication d'équipements électriques
28	Fabrication de machines et équipements n.c.a.
29	Industrie automobile
30	Fabrication d'autres matériels de transport
31	Fabrication de meubles
32	Autres industries manufacturières
33	Réparation et installation de machines et d'équipements
	Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz, de vapeur et d'air conditionné
35	Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz, de vapeur et d'air conditionné
	Production et distribution d'eau, assainissement, gestion des déchets et dépollution
36	Captage, traitement et distribution d'eau
37	Collecte et traitement des eaux usées
38	Collecte, traitement et élimination des déchets; récupération
39	Dépollution et autres services de gestion des déchets
	Construction
41	Construction de bâtiments
42	Génie civil
43	Travaux de construction spécialisés
	Commerce; réparation d'automobiles et de motocycles
45	Commerce et réparation d'automobiles et de motocycles
46	Commerce de gros, à l'exception des automobiles et des motocycles
47	Commerce de détail, à l'exception des automobiles et des motocycles
	Transports et entreposage
49	Transports terrestres et transport par conduites
50	Transports par eau
51	Transports aériens
52	Entreposage et services auxiliaires des transports
53	Activités de poste et de courrier

	Hébergement et restauration
55	Hébergement
56	Restauration
	Information et communication
58	Édition
59	Production de films cinématographiques, de vidéo et de programmes de télévision; enregistrement sonore et édition musicale
60	Programmation et diffusion
61	Télécommunications
62	Programmation, conseil et autres activités informatiques
63	Services d'information
	Activités financières et d'assurance
64	Activités des services financiers, hors assurance et caisses de retraite
65	Assurance
66	Activités auxiliaires de services financiers et d'assurance
	Activités immobilières
68	Activités immobilières
	Activités spécialisées, scientifiques et techniques
69	Activités juridiques et comptables
70	Activités des sièges sociaux; conseil de gestion
71	Activités d'architecture et d'ingénierie; activités de contrôle et analyses techniques
72	Recherche-développement scientifique
73	Publicité et études de marché
74	Autres activités spécialisées, scientifiques et techniques
75	Activités vétérinaires
	Activités de services administratifs et de soutien
77	Activités de location et location-bail
78	Activités liées à l'emploi
79	Activités des agences de voyage, voyagistes, services de réservation et activités connexes
80	Enquêtes et sécurité

81	Services relatifs aux bâtiments et aménagement paysager
82	Activités administratives et autres activités de soutien aux entreprises
	Administration publique
84	Administration publique et défense; sécurité sociale obligatoire
	Enseignement
85	Enseignement
	Santé humaine et action sociale
86	Activités pour la santé humaine
87	Hébergement médico-social et social
88	Action sociale sans hébergement
	Arts, spectacles et activités récréatives
90	Activités créatives, artistiques et de spectacle
91	Bibliothèques, archives, musées et autres activités culturelles
92	Organisation de jeux de hasard et d'argent
93	Activités sportives, récréatives et de loisirs
	Autres activités de services
94	Activités des organisations associatives
95	Réparation d'ordinateurs et de biens personnels et domestiques
96	Autres services personnels
	Activités des ménages en tant qu'employeurs; activités indifférenciées des ménages en tant que producteurs de biens et services pour usage propre
97	Activités des ménages en tant qu'employeurs de personnel domestique
98	Activités indifférenciées des ménages en tant que producteurs de biens et services pour usage propre
	Activités extra-territoriales
99	Activités des organisations et organismes extraterritoriaux

A5a. Dans votre activité professionnelle principale, avez-vous actuellement des personnes subordonnées (sous vos ordres comme employés si vous êtes indépendant ou comme personnes supervisées si vous êtes employé)?

Oui.....1
Non.....2

A5b. Si oui, combien de personnes subordonnées avez-vous actuellement?

Nombre de personnes subordonnées: '_____'

[E2.] **Dans quelle mesure avez-vous le sentiment de contrôler différentes parties de votre vie en général?** (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 25)

	Pas du tout d'accord	Plutôt pas d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
E2a. Il n'y a vraiment aucun moyen de résoudre les problèmes que j'ai	1	2	3	4
E2b. Parfois je me sens contraint(e) à faire certaines choses qui arrivent dans ma vie	1	2	3	4
E2c. Je ne contrôle pas vraiment les choses qui arrivent dans ma vie	1	2	3	4
E2d. Je peux faire à peu près tout ce dont j'ai envie	1	2	3	4
E2e. Je me sens souvent impuissant(e) à résoudre les problèmes de la vie	1	2	3	4

QUESTIONS SUR LES ENFANTS

J'aimerais maintenant vous poser quelques questions concernant les enfants. Tout d'abord, j'aimerais savoir si vous avez des enfants et, si c'est le cas, ce qu'ils font actuellement.

A6. Combien d'enfants en vie actuellement avez-vous, SVP incluez les enfants que vous avez adoptés?

NOMBRE D'ENFANTS..... `___'

Consigne enquêteur: Si le répondant n'a pas d'enfants en vie, indiquez "0" et passez directement à la question A7h.
Répondez un enfant après à l'autre (par ligne) pour toutes les questions en commençant par le plus âgé.

A6a1 (--A6a15). SVP indiquez-moi l'année de naissance de chacun de vos enfants.
A6b1 (--A6b15). Indiquez-moi le sexe de chacun de vos enfants.
A6c1 (--A6c15) Précisez si le père/la mère de cet enfant est votre partenaire actuel-le.

Enfants à partir de 16 ans et au-delà.

A6d1 (--A6d15) SVP indiquez la formation la plus élevée achevée avec succès par **tous vos enfants à partir de 16 ans et au-delà** **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 3)**

A6e1 (--A6e15) SVP indiquez le statut professionnel pour **tous vos enfants à partir de 16 ans et au-delà.** **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 2)**
A6e1_N_(--N A6e15_N) : autre statut (string)

A6f1 SVP indiquez l'activité professionnelle principale pour **tous vos enfants à partir de 16 ans et au-delà.** SVP décrivez en détails ce qu'il-elle fait. (Si l'enfant du répondant ne travaille pas actuellement, demandez par rapport à la dernière activité professionnelle principale exercée.) (S'IL N'A JAMAIS TRAVAILLÉ = 1)

A6g1 SVP indiquez si votre enfant est en couple actuellement (avec ou sans cohabitation; durée minimale de la relation: trois mois) pour **tous vos enfants à partir de 16 ans et au-delà.**

	A6a1. Année de naissance	A6b1. Sexe		A6c1. Le père/La mère de cet enfant est-il/elle votre partenaire actuel-le?	A6d1. Formation achevée pour **ceux qui ont 16 ans ou plus**	A6e1. Statut professionnel pour **ceux qui ont 16 ans ou plus**	A6f1. Activité professionnelle principale pour **ceux qui ont 16 ans ou plus**	A6g1. En couple (avec/sans cohabitation; 3 mois) pour **ceux qui ont 16 ans ou plus**
		Homme	Femme					
1	'__'__'	1	2	Oui.....1 Non.....2	'__'__'	'__'__'	_____ _____ _____ _____	Oui.....1 Non.....2
2	'__'__'	1	2	Oui.....1 Non.....2	'__'__'	'__'__'	_____ _____ _____ _____	Oui.....1 Non.....2
3	'__'__'	1	2	Oui.....1 Non.....2	'__'__'	'__'__'	_____ _____ _____ _____	Oui.....1 Non.....2
4	'__'__'	1	2	Oui.....1 Non.....2	'__'__'	'__'__'	_____ _____ _____ _____	Oui.....1 Non.....2
5	'__'__'	1	2	Oui.....1 Non.....2	'__'__'	'__'__'	_____ _____ _____ _____	Oui.....1 Non.....2
6	'__'__'	1	2	Oui.....1 Non.....2	'__'__'	'__'__'	_____ _____ _____ _____	Oui.....1 Non.....2

QUESTIONS SUR LES PARENTS

Maintenant, j'aimerais vous poser quelques questions sur vos parents.

A7_Ans : en quelle annee votre pere est-il ne ?

A7. Est-ce que votre père est encore en vie?

Oui .....1 ⁼ Où habite-il? (commune ou pays si à l'étranger)..... A7_Pays, A7_Commune, A7_Plz
Non .....2 ⁼ Quelle est l'année de son décès?..... A7_Deces

A8_Ans : en quelle annee votre pere est-il ne ?

A8. Est-ce que votre mère est encore en vie?

Oui .....1 ⁼ Où habite-t-elle? (commune ou pays si à l'étranger)..... A8_Pays, A8_Commune, A8_Plz
Non .....2 ⁼ Quelle est l'année de son décès?..... A8_Deces

A9. S'ils sont les deux **encore en vie**, quelle est actuellement la situation conjugale de vos parents?

Consigne enquêteur: S'ils sont décédés, codez NA (ne s'applique pas) et passez à la question suivante.

Ils sont encore ensemble	1	
Ils sont séparés.	2	Depuis (année)? A9_Annee ...../...../...../.....

A10. Si l'un des deux ou les deux sont **décédés**, quelle était la situation conjugale de vos parents?

Ils sont restés ensemble jusqu'au décès?	1	
Ils étaient séparés.	2	Depuis (année)? A10_Annee ...../...../...../.....

A11. A quel âge êtes-vous parti de chez vos parents?

1. Âge.....
2. Vit encore chez ses parents.

Consigne enquêteur: On s'intéresse à la « sortie du nid », à la prise d'indépendance par rapport à la famille d'origine. Si le répondant habitait avec ses grands-parents ou chez d'autres personnes qui l'ont élevé, indiquez l'âge du répondant au moment de son départ.

Quelle est la formation la plus élevée que chacun de vos parents a achevée avec succès? (SEULEMENT UNE REPONSE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 3)
A12a. Commençons par votre père. A12a_N : autre formation [string]
A12b. Et votre mère? A12b_N : autre formation [string]

Parlons maintenant de votre père.

A13. Quand vous aviez 15 ans, quel était le statut professionnel de votre père? **(SEULEMENT UNE RÉPONSE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 2)** A13_N : AUTRE STATUT [STRING]

A14. Quand vous aviez 15 ans, quelle était l'activité professionnelle principale de votre père, SVP décrivez en détails ce que votre père faisait?

Consigne enquêteur: Si le père du répondant n'avait pas d'activité rémunérée à cette époque, demandez quelle était **précédemment** son activité professionnelle principale pour les questions A16 à A17.

_____
_____
_____

(S'IL N'A JAMAIS TRAVAILLÉ).....1

A15a. Quand vous aviez 15 ans, votre père avait-t-il des personnes subordonnées (sous ses ordres comme employés s'il était indépendant ou comme personnes supervisées s'il était employé)?

Oui.....1
Non.....2

A15b. Si oui, combien de personnes subordonnées avait votre père?

Nombre de personnes subordonnées: '_____'

A16. Quand vous aviez 15 ans, quel était le taux d'activité (%) de votre père?

TAUX D'ACTIVITÉ..... '_____'%

Parlons maintenant de votre mère.

A17. Quand vous aviez 15 ans, quel était le statut professionnel de votre mère? **(SEULEMENT UNE RÉPONSE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 2)** A17_N : AUTRE STATUT [STRING]

A18. Quand vous aviez 15 ans, quelle était l'activité professionnelle principale de votre mère, SVP décrivez en détails ce que votre mère faisait?

Consigne enquêteur: Si la mère du répondant n'avait pas d'activité rémunérée à cette époque, demandez quelle était **précédemment** son activité professionnelle principale pour les questions A20 à A21.

_____
_____
_____

(SI ELLE N'A JAMAIS TRAVAILLÉ).....1

A19a. Quand vous aviez 15 ans, votre mère avait-t-elle des personnes subordonnées (sous ses ordres comme employés si elle était indépendante ou comme personnes supervisées si elle était employée)?

Oui.....1
Non.....2

A19b. Si oui, combien de personnes subordonnées avait votre mère?

Nombre de personnes subordonnées: '_____'

A20. Quand vous aviez 15 ans, quel était le taux d'activité (%) de votre mère?

TAUX D'ACTIVITÉ '_____'%

[A21]. Combien de frères et sœurs **encore en vie** avez-vous (en incluant les demi-frères/sœurs, les frères/sœurs qui ont été adoptés)?

Consigne enquêteur: Si le répondant n'a pas de frères et sœurs SVP codez 0.

A21a. Nombre de frères	--------
A21b. Nombre de sœurs	--------

A22. Et le cas échéant, combien avez-vous des petits-enfants?.....

Il n'y a pas de questions A23, A24 et A25.

"Maintenant, j'aimerais vous poser quelques questions sur votre vie de couple et votre partenaire actuel-le si vous en avez un-e."

A26. Êtes-vous en couple actuellement ?

Oui.....1
Non.....2 ⁼ PASSEZ A LA SECTION SUIVANTE (INVESTISSEMENTS PRINCIPAUX ET IDENTITÉ PERSONNELLE) (FILTRE!)

A27. Si oui, vivez-vous avec votre partenaire actuellement (dans le même domicile)?

OUI.....1 ⁼ CONTINUEZ
NON.....2 ⁼ PASSEZ A LA QUESTION A28 (ANNÉE DE NAISSANCE DU PARTENAIRE) (FILTRE!)

A28a. Pour votre partenaire est-ce sa première cohabitation en couple?

Oui.....1
Non.....2

A28b. Si non, combien de fois a-t-il-elle vécu avec un-e autre partenaire?

Nombre de fois..... '__'

[A29.] En ce qui concerne les tâches et l'organisation du ménage, pourriez-vous me dire si, en comparant avec votre partenaire, vous faites personnellement presque tout, les trois quarts, la moitié, un quart, ou moins dans les domaines suivants... **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 6)**

	presque tout	les trois quarts	la moitié	le quart	moins
A29a. Les repas, les courses	1	2	3	4	5
A29b. Les rangements, les nettoyages, la vaisselle	1	2	3	4	5
A29c. La lessive, le repassage	1	2	3	4	5
A29d. Les impôts, les factures, les comptes	1	2	3	4	5
A29e. Le bricolage, les réparations, la voiture	1	2	3	4	5
A29f. S'il y a des enfants jusqu'à 15 ans qui vivent dans le ménage: S'occuper des enfants (habillement, toilette, repas)	1	2	3	4	5

A30. En quelle année votre partenaire est né-e?

ANNÉE.....19
'__'__'

A31a. A-t-il-elle un ou des enfants avec un-e/des autre(s) partenaire(s)?

Oui.....1
Non.....2

A31b. Si oui, combien?.....

A32. Quelle est votre formation la plus élevée que votre partenaire a achevée avec succès? **(SEULEMENT UNE REPONSE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 3)**
A32_N : AUTRE FORMATION [STRING]

A33. Quel est le statut professionnel de votre partenaire? **(SEULEMENT UNE RÉPONSE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 2) A33_N : AUTRE STATUT [STRING]**

A34. Quelle est actuellement l'activité professionnelle principale de votre partenaire, SVP décrivez en détails ce que votre partenaire fait**?**

Consigne enquêteur: si le partenaire du répondant n'a pas actuellement d'activité rémunérée, demandez quelle était sa dernière activité professionnelle principale pour les questions A34 à A36.

_____

_____

(S'IL N'A JAMAIS TRAVAILLÉ).....1

A35a. Votre partenaire a-t-il/elle actuellement des personnes subordonnées (sous ses ordres comme employés s'il/elle est indépendant ou comme personnes supervisées s'il/elle est employé)?
Oui.....1
Non.....2

A35b. Si oui, combien de personnes subordonnées a actuellement votre partenaire?

Nombre de personnes subordonnées: '_____'

A36. Quel est le taux d'activité (%) de votre partenaire?

TAUX D'ACTIVITÉ '_____'%

IL N'Y A PAS DE QUESTIONS A37 ET A38.

A39. De manière générale, tout bien considéré (votre entente mutuelle, votre vie intime, votre manière de communiquer, etc.), comment jugez-vous, actuellement, votre vie de couple? Est-ce que ça va: **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 8)**

Vraiment bien	1
Assez bien	2
Ni bien ni mal	3
Plutôt mal	4
Franchement mal	5

A40. Beaucoup de couples ont dû affronter des problèmes tels qu'ils ont pensé sérieusement à se séparer. Vous-même, y avez-vous pensé ? **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 9)**

Oui, mais sans approfondir	1
Oui, assez sérieusement	2
Oui, sérieusement ces temps	3
Oui, et cela s'est produit (avec réconciliation)	4
Non, jamais	5

Tps_Fin_1

PART B – INVESTISSEMENTS PRINCIPAUX (TOUS)

[B1] Maintenant, j'aimerais SVP vous demander quel investissement vous avez consacré aux activités suivantes au cours de votre vie. Est-ce un « très faible investissement », un « faible investissement », un « investissement moyen », un « fort investissement » ou un « très fort investissement ».
(SEULEMENT UNE REPONSE PAR LIGNE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 10)

Consigne enquêteur: Si le répondant ne comprend pas la question, relance: « des activités auxquelles vous avez consacré beaucoup de temps, d'effort et d'énergie, pour lesquelles vous avez sacrifié d'autres activités si nécessaire.

	Très faible investissement	Faible investissement	Investissement moyen	Fort investissement	Très fort investissement	NSP
B1_1 Travail professionnel	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_2 Vie amoureuse et vie sexuelle	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_3 Vie conjugale	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_4 Enfants	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_5 Passer du temps avec des amis	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_6 Tâches ménagères	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_7 Religion	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_8 Famille en général (parents, frères/sœurs…)	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_9 Loisirs et activités de temps libre	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_10 Activités politiques et civiques (bénévolat, participation dans des associations, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_11 Éducation et formation en général	1	2	3	4	5	777
B1_12 Réalisation de soi	1	2	3	4	5	777

[B2] Ces activités vous ont-elles donné une « très faible satisfaction », une « faible satisfaction », une « satisfaction moyenne », une « forte satisfaction » ou une « très forte satisfaction » au cours de votre vie. **(SEULEMENT UNE REPONSE PAR LIGNE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 11)**

	Très faible satisfaction	Faible satisfaction	Satisfaction moyenne	Fort satisfaction	Très forte Satisfaction	NSP
B2_1 Travail professionnel	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_2 Vie amoureuse et vie sexuelle	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_3 Vie conjugale	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_4 Enfants	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_5 Passer du temps avec des amis	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_6 Tâches ménagères	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_7 Religion	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_8 Famille en général (parents, frères/sœurs…)	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_9 Loisirs et activités de temps libre	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_10 Activités politiques et civiques (bénévolat, participation dans des associations, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_11 Éducation et formation en général	1	2	3	4	5	777
B2_12 Réalisation de soi	1	2	3	4	5	777

[B3] Parmi ces activités, certaines ont également pu être source de stress (anxiété et nervosité). Indiquez SVP dans quelle mesure chacun d'elles a provoqué chez vous: un « très faible stress», un « faible stress», un «stress moyen », un « fort stress» ou un « très fort stress» au cours de votre vie?
(SEULEMENT UNE REPONSE PAR LIGNE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 12)

	Très faible stress	Faible stress	Stress moyen	Fort stress	Très fort stress	NSP
B3_1 Travail professionnel	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_2 Vie amoureuse et vie sexuelle	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_3 Vie conjugale	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_4 Enfants	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_5 Passer du temps avec des amis	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_6 Tâches ménagères	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_7 Religion	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_8 Famille en général (parents, frères/sœurs...)	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_9 Loisirs et activités de temps libre	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_10 Activités politiques et civiques (bénévolat, participation dans des associations, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_11 Éducation et formation en général	1	2	3	4	5	777
B3_12 Réalisation de soi	1	2	3	4	5	777

Tps_Fin_2

PART C – RÉSEAUX SOCIAUX (TOUS)

Je vais maintenant vous poser quelques questions sur vous et les personnes importantes dans votre vie.

C1_2 (--C1_20). Il y a des personnes qui sont très importantes dans votre vie. Qui sont les personnes qui, **au cours de l'année passée**, ont été très importantes pour vous **même si vous ne vous entendiez pas bien avec elles**? Indiquez SVP les prénoms de ces personnes et qui elles sont pour vous (il peut s'agir de membres de votre famille, d'amis, de collègues, de personnes qui vivent avec vous, etc.).

Consigne enquêteur: Ne pas suggérer des réponses, insister sur le fait qu'il doit s'agit de personnes « importantes » pour le répondant.

NB : A la saisie chez M.I.S., filtre aux questions C5 et C7 pour les parents ; C4, C7, C8 pour le partenaire et encore C6 et C11 si cohabitation.

Parlons plus en détails des personnes que vous avez mentionnées.

Consigne enquêteur: reprendre chaque personne mentionnée et compléter la ligne correspondante.

C2_2 (--C2_20). S'agit-il d'un homme ou d'une femme ?
C3_2 (--C3_20). Quel est votre lien avec cette personne? Cette personne est mon/ma... **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 13)**
C4_2 (--C4_20). Quel âge a cette personne? **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 14)**
C5_2 (--C5_20). Quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez rencontré cette personne?
C6_2_Pays(--C6_20_Pays) ; C6_2_Commune(--C6_20_Commune); C6_2_Plz(--C6_20_Plz) Où habite cette personne? (commune OU pays si la personne habite à l'étranger)
C7_2 (--C7_20). Quelle est la formation la plus élevée que cette personne a achevée avec succès? **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 3)**
C8_2 (--C8_20). Quelle est l'activité professionnelle principale de cette personne. Si elle ne travaille pas actuellement, indiquez la dernière SVP.
Consigne enquêteur: Si la personne est en formation, indiquez en formation. Si la personne est à la retraite, indiquez sa dernière activité professionnelle principale.
C9_2 (--C9_20). A quelle fréquence voyez-vous cette personne? (**face à face**)? **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 15)**
Fréquence de contact: "Tous les jours ou presque" ; "Plusieurs fois par semaine"; "Une fois par semaine"; "Plusieurs fois par mois"; "Plusieurs fois par année" ou "Jamais ou presque"
C10_2 (--C10_20). A quelle fréquence avez-vous des contacts avec cette personne par d'autres moyens (téléphone, internet)? **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 15)**
Fréquence de contact: "Tous les jours ou presque" ; "Plusieurs fois par semaine"; "Une fois par semaine"; "Plusieurs fois par mois"; " Plusieurs fois par année" ou "Jamais ou presque"
C11_2 (--C11_20). Avez-vous vécu dans le même domicile que cette personne?
C12_2 (--C12_20). Considérez-vous cette personne comme un membre de votre famille?

	C1. **PRENOM**	*C2.* **SEXE**		*C3.* **RELATION**	*C4.* **AGE**	*C5.* **AGE DU REPONDANT AU MOMENT DE LA RENCONTRE**	*C6.* **Commune ou pays si à l'étranger**	*C7.* **Formation achevée**	*C8.* **Activité professionnelle principale**	*C9.* **FREQUENCE DE CONTACT (FACE A FACE)**	***C10.*** **FREQUENCE DE CONTACT (AUTRES MOYENS: TÉLÉPHONE, INTERNET)**	*C11.* **AVOIR VECU ENSEMBLE**		*C12 .* **MEMBRE DE LA FAMILLE**	
		M	**F**									**OUI**	**NON**	**OUI**	**NON**
1	**MOI**														
2	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
3	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
4	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
5	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
6	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
7	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
8	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
9	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
10	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
11	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
12	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
13	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
14	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
15	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
16	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
17	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
18	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
19	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2
20	_____	1	2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1	2	1	2

Parlons maintenant des relations de ces personnes entre elles...

Consigne enquêteur: Indiquez le prénom des personnes mentionnées précédemment (question C1) dans le tableau suivant.

[C13] Parmi les personnes mentionnées, qui voyez-vous régulièrement?
Parmi les personnes mentionnées (le répondant inclus), qui la personne n°2 voit-elle régulièrement?
Et la personne n°3...?
C13_01_1—(C13_01_24) ; C13_02_1—(C13_02_24) ; etc.
(PLUSIEURS REPONSES PAR LIGNE)

	C1 **PRENOM**	*C13* **QUI VOYEZ-VOUS, QUI LA PERSONNE 2 VOIT-ELLE, ETC.?**																			
1	**MOI**		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	_____	1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
3	_____	1	2		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
4	_____	1	2	3		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
5	_____	1	2	3	4		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
6	_____	1	2	3	4	5		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
7	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
8	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
9	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
10	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
12	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
13	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		14	15	16	17	18	19	20
14	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		15	16	17	18	19	20
15	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		16	17	18	19	20
16	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		17	18	19	20
17	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		18	19	20
18	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		19	20
19	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		20
20	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	

<u>Consigne enquêteur</u>: Indiquez le prénom des personnes mentionnées précédemment (question C1) dans le tableau suivant. Référez-vous aux prénoms des personnes dans l'énoncé.
Si c'est nécessaire, expliquez la signification du soutien émotionnel: une personne avec laquelle vous pouvez parler de vos problèmes, une personne a laquelle vous pouvez demander conseil.

[C14] Parmi les personnes mentionnées, qui pourrait vous donner du soutien émotionnel en cas de besoin?
Parmi les personnes mentionnées (le répondant inclus), qui pourrait donner du soutien émotionnel à la personne n° 2 (prénom)?
Et à la personne n°3 (prénom)...?
(PLUSIEURS REPONSES PAR LIGNE)
C14_01_1—(C14_01_24) ; C14_02_1—(C14_02_24) ; etc.

	C1 **PRENOM**	*C14* **QUI VOUS DONNERAIT DU SOUTIEN, QUI DONNERAIT DU SOUTIEN À LA PERSONNE 2, ETC.?**																			
1	**MOI**		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	_____	1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
3	_____	1	2		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
4	_____	1	2	3		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
5	_____	1	2	3	4		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
6	_____	1	2	3	4	5		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
7	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
8	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
9	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
10	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
12	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
13	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		14	15	16	17	18	19	20
14	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		15	16	17	18	19	20
15	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		16	17	18	19	20
16	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		17	18	19	20
17	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		18	19	20
18	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		19	20
19	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		20
20	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	

Consigne enquêteur: Indiquez le prénom des personnes mentionnées précédemment (question C1) dans le tableau suivant. Référez-vous aux prénoms des personnes dans l'énoncé.

[C15] Chaque personne a ses conflits et ses difficultés avec d'autres personnes.
Parmi les personnes mentionnées, qui pourrait vous mettre en colère (vous énerver, vous fâcher)?
Parmi les personnes mentionnées (le répondant inclus), qui pourrait mettre en colère (énerver, fâcher) la personne n° 2 (prénom)?
Et à la personne n°3 (prénom)...?
(PLUSIEURS REPONSES PAR LIGNE)
C15_01_1—(C15_01_24) ; C15_02_1—(C15_02_24) ; ETC.

	C1 **PRENOM**	*C15* **QUI VOUS METTRAIT EN COLÈRE, QUI METTRAIT EN COLÈRE LA PERSONNE 2, ETC. ?**																			
1	**MOI**		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	_____	1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
3	_____	1	2		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
4	_____	1	2	3		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
5	_____	1	2	3	4		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
6	_____	1	2	3	4	5		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
7	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
8	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
9	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
10	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
12	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
13	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		14	15	16	17	18	19	20
14	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		15	16	17	18	19	20
15	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		16	17	18	19	20
16	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		17	18	19	20
17	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		18	19	20
18	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		19	20
19	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		20
20	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	

A présent, je vais vous lire une liste avec différents types de soutien et d'aide que vous avez peut-être reçu ou donné à ces personnes au cours de votre vie. Pour chaque élément, indiquez SVP, d'abord si vous avez reçu ce type de soutien ou d'aide de la part d'une ou plusieurs de ces personnes et, ensuite si vous avez donné ce type de soutien ou d'aide à l'une ou plusieurs de ces personnes (PLUSIEURS REPONSES PAR LIGNE)

<u>Consigne enquêteur</u>: Si une des personnes mentionnées est le partenaire ou un enfant de moins de 25 ans, passez a la personne suivante.

C16a_1 (--C16a_24). Avez-vous reçu un soutien financier au cours de votre vie de l'une ou plusieurs des personnes mentionnées, comme un prêt ou un don d'argent, un héritage ou une donation, prendre comme associé / reprise d'une entreprise; une maison ou du terrain, etc.?
C16b_1 (--C16b_24). Et avez-vous donné un tel soutien financier au cours de votre vie à l'une ou plusieurs des personnes mentionnée?

C17a_1 (--C17a_24). Avez-vous reçu un soutien matériel au cours de votre vie de l'une ou plusieurs des personnes mentionnées, comme donner des habits et de la nourriture, donner de la nourriture à emporter à la maison, donner du mobilier et des appareils électroménagers; vous héberger chez lui/elle pour une période ou vous prêter une maison, etc.?
C17b_1 (--C17b_24). Et avez-vous donné un tel soutien matériel au cours de votre vie à l'une ou plusieurs des personnes mentionnée?

C18a_1 (--C18a_24). Avez-vous reçu des soins ou des services au cours de votre vie de l'une ou plusieurs des personnes mentionnées, comme de l'aide avec le travail ménager, de l'aide dans une situation de maladie, prendre soin de vous, pour les courses, pour de petites réparations dans la maison, pour le transport de personnes, etc?
C18b_1 (--C18b_24). Et avez-vous donné de tels soins ou des services au cours de votre vie à l'une ou plusieurs des personnes mentionnées?

C1	*C1* **PRENOM**	**SOUTIEN FINANCIER**		**SOUTIEN MATÉRIEL**		**SOINS ET SERVICES**	
		C16a	*C16b*	*C17a*	*C17b*	*C18a*	*C18b*
		J'AI RECU	**J'AI DONNE**	**J'AI RECU**	**J'AI DONNE**	**J'AI RECU**	**J'AI DONNE**
2	_____	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	_____	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	_____	4	4	4	4	4	4
5	_____	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	_____	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	_____	7	7	7	7	7	7
8	_____	8	8	8	8	8	8
9	_____	9	9	9	9	9	9
10	_____	10	10	10	10	10	10
11	_____	11	11	11	11	11	11
12	_____	12	12	12	12	12	12
13	_____	13	13	13	13	13	13
14	_____	14	14	14	14	14	14
15	_____	15	15	15	15	15	15
16	_____	16	16	16	16	16	16
17	_____	17	17	17	17	17	17
18	_____	18	18	18	18	18	18
19	_____	19	19	19	19	19	19
20	_____	20	20	20	20	20	20

C19_1(--C19_20). Pour chacune des personnes que vous avez citées auparavant, pouvez-vous me dire dans quelle mesure **vous avez confiance en chacune d'elle**? (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 16) (FILTRE 6 ANS)

C1 **PRENOM**	Confiance absolue	Grande confiance	Une certaine confiance	Peu de confiance	Pas confiance du tout
1 MOI	--	--	--	--	--
2	5	4	3	2	1
3	5	4	3	2	1
4	5	4	3	2	1
5	5	4	3	2	1
6	5	4	3	2	1
7	5	4	3	2	1
8	5	4	3	2	1
9	5	4	3	2	1
10	5	4	3	2	1
11	5	4	3	2	1
12	5	4	3	2	1
13	5	4	3	2	1
14	5	4	3	2	1
15	5	4	3	2	1
16	5	4	3	2	1
17	5	4	3	2	1
18	5	4	3	2	1
19	5	4	3	2	1
20	5	4	3	2	1

TPS_FIN_3

PART D – ATTITUDES ET VALEURS (TOUS)

Dans cette partie, nous allons vous poser des questions sur vos opinions. Il n'y a pas de réponse juste ou fausse; c'est votre avis personnel qui nous intéresse.

[D1] Pour la liste suivante d'affirmations, SVP indiquez dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord avec chacune d'entre elles. **(UNE REPONSE PAR LIGNE)** **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 17)**

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni accord/ni désaccord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
D1_1 Une femme est libre de décider de ne pas avoir d'enfants.	1	2	3	4	5
D1_2 L'homme doit assurer le gagne-pain; la femme doit s'occuper du foyer et des enfants.	1	2	3	4	5
D1_3 Un enfant qui n'a pas encore l'âge d'aller à l'école a des chances de souffrir si sa mère travaille.	1	2	3	4	5
D1_4 Même seul, un homme peut élever un enfant aussi bien qu'une femme	1	2	3	4	5
D1_5 Les couples homosexuels (gays ou lesbiens) devraient avoir les mêmes droits que les autres couples, y compris le droit à l'adoption	1	2	3	4	5
D1_6 Les parents ne devraient pas se séparer tant que les enfants sont petits.	1	2	3	4	5
D1_7 Une personne a besoin d'avoir des enfants pour s'épanouir	1	2	3	4	5

[D2] Veuillez me dire pour chacun des énoncés que je vais vous lire s'il “ne vous correspond pas du tout”, “ne vous correspond pas vraiment”, “vous correspond dans une certaine mesure”, “vous correspond assez bien” ou “vous correspond tout à fait”. **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 18)**

	Ne vous correspond pas du tout	Ne vous correspond pas vraiment	Vous correspond dans une certaine mesure	Vous correspond assez bien	Vous correspond tout à fait
D2_1 Je préfère dépendre de moi-même plutôt que des autres	1	2	3	4	5
D2_2 Il est très important pour moi que mon identité personnelle soit indépendante de celle des autres.	1	2	3	4	5
D2_3 Il est important que je fasse mon travail mieux que les autres	1	2	3	4	5
D2_4 La compétition est la loi de la nature	1	2	3	4	5
D2_5 Je me sens bien lorsque je coopère avec les autres	1	2	3	4	5
D2_6 Pour moi, le plaisir c'est de passer du temps avec les autres	1	2	3	4	5
D2_7 C'est mon devoir de prendre soin de ma famille même si je dois y sacrifier mes désirs personnels	1	2	3	4	5
D2_8 C'est important pour moi de respecter les décisions prises par les groupes que je fréquente	1	2	3	4	5

[D3] Veuillez indiquer sur une échelle de 1 à 7 à quel point ces différents aspects sont importants à vos yeux. **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 19)**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

D3_1 Respecter la loi et l'ordre
D3_2 Avoir un niveau de vie élevé
D3_3 Avoir du pouvoir et être influent
D3_4 Développer son imagination et sa créativité
D3_5 Rechercher la sécurité
D3_6 Aider les personnes marginalisées
D3_7 Faire passer ses propres besoins avant ceux des autres
D3_8 Être travailleur et ambitieux
D3_9 Tolérer des opinions minoritaires
D3_10 Être impliqué politiquement
D3_11 Profiter des bonnes choses de la vie, se faire plaisir
D3_12 Toujours faire son devoir

Il n'y a pas de questions D4.

[D5] **Pour la liste suivante d'affirmations, SVP indiquez dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord avec chacune d'entre elles. (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 17)**

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni accord/ni désaccord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
D5_1 Les chômeurs devraient être obligés d'accepter tout emploi disponible ou bien perdre leur indemnité de chômage	1	2	3	4	5
D5_2 Il faudrait encourager davantage les efforts individuels.	1	2	3	4	5
D5_3 S'il y a des pauvres, c'est que dans toute société, certains sont plus favorisés que d'autres.	1	2	3	4	5
D5_4 C'est parce qu'ils ne veulent pas travailler que beaucoup de gens restent pauvres.	1	2	3	4	5

Confiance

D6a. À l'aide de cette carte, diriez-vous que l'on peut généralement faire confiance à la plupart des personnes ou que l'on n'est jamais trop prudent dans ses contacts avec les autres gens ? Répondez s'il vous plaît, sur une échelle de 1 à 10, où 1 signifie que l'on n'est jamais trop prudent et 10 que l'on peut faire confiance à la plupart des personnes. **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 21)**

On n'est jamais trop prudent	1----------10	On peut faire confiance à la plupart des personnes

D6d. Quelle confiance avez-vous dans le conseil fédéral si 1 signifie "aucune confiance" et 10 signifie « pleine confiance » ? **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 24)**

Aucune confiance	1----------10	Pleine confiance

Il n'y a pas de questions D6b et D6c.

Tps_Fin_4

PART E – IDENTITE PERSONNELLE (TOUS)

[E1] Maintenant je voudrais parler de l'opinion que vous avez de vous-même. En utilisant cette échelle, indiquez SVP dans quelle mesure ces caractéristiques ou descriptions reflètent ce que vous pensez de vous-même en disant si vous êtes 'pas du tout d'accord', 'plutôt pas d'accord', 'plutôt d'accord', 'tout à fait d'accord'. **(SEULEMENT UNE REPONSE PAR LIGNE) (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 25)**

	Pas du tout d'accord	Plutôt pas d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
E1_1 Dans l'ensemble, je suis satisfait(e) de moi	1	2	3	4
E1_2 Il m'arrive de penser que je suis un(e) bon(ne) à rien	1	2	3	4
E1_3 Je pense que je possède un certain nombre de belles qualités	1	2	3	4
E1_4 Je suis capable de faire les choses aussi bien que la majorité des gens	1	2	3	4
E1_5 Je sens peu de raisons d'être fier(e) de moi	1	2	3	4
E1_6 Parfois je me sens vraiment inutile	1	2	3	4
E1_7 Je pense que je suis une personne de valeur, au moins égal(e) à n'importe qui d'autre	1	2	3	4
E1_8 J'aimerais avoir plus de respect pour moi-même	1	2	3	4
E1_9 Tout bien considéré, Je suis porté(e) à me considérer comme un(e) raté(e)	1	2	3	4
E1_10 J'ai une attitude positive vis-à-vis de moi-même	1	2	3	4

La question E2 est entre la A5b et la A6. Il n'y a pas de questions E3.

[E4.] PARTICIPATION SOCIALE **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 28)**

Veuillez lire attentivement cette liste d'associations et organisations volontaires et me dire pour chacune d'elle si vous en faites partie ?

	Oui	Non
E4a_1 Organisations charitables s'occupant d'aide sociale pour les personnes âgées, les handicapés, les gens dans la misère		
E4a_2 Les organisations religieuses ou paroissiales		
E4a_3 Organisations et associations actives dans les domaines de l'éducation, les arts, la musique, la culture.		
E4a_4 Syndicats		
E4a_5 Mouvements ou partis politiques		
E4a_6 Actions à l'échelle de la commune ou de la municipalité sur des sujets comme la pauvreté, l'emploi, le logement, l'égalité raciale		
E4a_7 Développement du Tiers Monde ou droits de l'homme		
E4a_8 Environnement, écologie, droits des animaux		
E4a_9 Associations professionnelles		
E4a_10 Organisations pour la jeunesse (scouts, guides, maisons de jeunes)		
E4a_11 Sports ou activités de loisirs		
E4a_12 Mouvements et groupes de femmes		
E4a_13 Mouvements pacifistes		
E4a_14 Organisations volontaires dans le domaine de la santé		
E4a_15 Autres groupes		

Revenu

E5. Actuellement habitez-vous avec d'autres personnes ou seul?

NB : A la saisie chez M.I.S., filtre si cohabitation avec partenaire.

1. Avec d'autres personnes ==> passez aux question E4a et E4b.
2. Seul ==> passez à la question E4c.

Consigne enquêteur: Si le répondant habite avec d'autres personnes (que ce soient des enfants ou des adultes), il répond à deux questions (son revenu personnel (E6a) et le revenu du ménage (E6b)). Si le répondant est seul dans son ménage, il répond à une question (E6c).

E6a. En utilisant cette carte, si vous cumulez toutes les sources de revenu, quelle lettre décrit le mieux votre revenu personnel net total? Utilisez la partie de la carte que vous connaissez le mieux : revenu mensuel ou annuel. **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 29)**

Le revenu personnel

	Approximation MENSUELLE	Approximation ANNUELLE	
J	Moins de CHF 1’100	Moins de CHF 13’000	J
R	CHF 1’100 à moins de CHF 1’800	CHF 13’000 à moins de CHF 21’000	R
C	CHF 1'800 à moins de CHF 2’600	CHF 21’000 à moins de CHF 31’000	C
M	CHF 2’600 à moins de CHF 3’500	CHF 31’000 à moins de CHF 42’000	M
F	CHF 3’500 à moins de CHF 4’400	CHF 42’000 à moins de CHF 53’000	F
S	CHF 4’400 à moins de CHF 5’100	CHF 53’000 à moins de CHF 62’000	S
K	CHF 5’100 à moins de CHF 5’900	CHF 62’000 à moins de CHF 71’000	K
P	CHF 5’900 à moins de CHF 7’000	CHF 71’000 à moins de CHF 84'000	P
D	CHF 7’000 à moins de CHF 8’800	CHF 84'000 à moins de CHF 105'000	D
H	CHF 8’800 ou plus	CHF 105'000 ou plus	H

E6b. En utilisant cette carte, si vous cumulez toutes les sources de revenu de votre ménage, quelle lettre décrit le mieux le revenu net total de votre ménage ? Utilisez la partie de la carte que vous connaissez le mieux : revenu mensuel ou annuel. Une approximation sommaire suffit. (MONTREZ SHOWCARD 30)

LE REVENU DE VOTRE MENAGE

	Approximation MENSUELLE	Approximation ANNUELLE	
J	Moins de CHF 2’900	Moins de CHF 35’000	J
R	CHF 2’900 à moins de CHF 4’200	CHF 35’000 à moins de CHF 50'000	R
C	CHF 4’200 à moins de CHF 5’300	CHF 50'000 à moins de CHF 63’000	C
M	CHF 5’300 à moins de CHF 6’400	CHF 63’000 à moins de CHF 76’000	M
F	CHF 6’400 à moins de CHF 7’400	CHF 76’000 à moins de CHF 89’000	F
S	CHF 7’400 à moins de CHF 8’600	CHF 89’000 à moins de CHF 104’000	S
K	CHF 8’600 à moins de CHF 10’200	CHF 104’000 à moins de CHF 123'000	K
P	CHF 10’200 à moins de CHF 12’000	CHF 123'000 à moins de CHF 143'000	P
D	CHF 12’000 à moins de CHF 15’000	CHF 143'000 à moins de CHF 180’000	D
H	CHF 15’000 ou plus	CHF 180’000 ou plus	H

E6c. En utilisant cette carte, si vous cumulez toutes les sources de revenu, quelle lettre décrit le mieux votre revenu net total? Utilisez la partie de la carte que vous connaissez le mieux : revenu mensuel ou annuel. **(MONTREZ SHOWCARD 31)**

Le revenu personnel

	Approximation MENSUELLE	Approximation ANNUELLE	
M	Moins de CHF 1’100	Moins de CHF 13’000	M
Y	CHF 1’100 à moins de CHF 1’800	CHF 13’000 à moins de CHF 21’000	Y
F	CHF 1'800 à moins de CHF 2’600	CHF 21'000 à moins de CHF 31’000	F
W	CHF 2’600 à moins de CHF 2’900	CHF 31’000 à moins de CHF 35’000	W
J	CHF 2’900 à moins de CHF 3’500	CHF 35’000 à moins de CHF 42’000	J
S	CHF 3’500 à moins de CHF 4’200	CHF 42’000 à moins de CHF 50’000	S
L	CHF 4’200 à moins de CHF 4’400	CHF 50’000 à moins de CHF 53’000	L
B	CHF 4’400 à moins de CHF 5’100	CHF 53’000 à moins de CHF 62'000	B
N	CHF 5’100 à moins de CHF 5’300	CHF 62'000 à moins de CHF 63'000	N
P	CHF 5’300 à moins de CHF 5’900	CHF 63'000 à moins de CHF 71'000	P
Z	CHF 5’900 à moins de CHF 6’400	CHF 71'000 à moins de CHF 76'000	Z
R	CHF 6’400 à moins de CHF 7’000	CHF 76'000 à moins de CHF 84'000	R
K	CHF 7’000 à moins de CHF 7’400	CHF 84'000 à moins de CHF 89'000	K
T	CHF 7'400 à moins de CHF 8’600	CHF 89'000 à moins de CHF 104'000	T
V	CHF 8’600 à moins de CHF 8’800	CHF 104'000 à moins de CHF 105'000	V
G	CHF 8’800 à moins de CHF 10’200	CHF 105'000 à moins de CHF 123'000	G
X	CHF 10’200 à moins de CHF 12’000	CHF 123'000 à moins de CHF 143'000	X
D	CHF 12’000 à moins de CHF 15’000	CHF 143'000 à moins de CHF 180'000	D
Q	CHF 15’000 ou plus	CHF 180'000 ou plus	Q

[E7] Le responsable de l'équipe de cette recherche de l'Université de Lausanne va, dans une seconde phase de ce projet, réaliser quelques entretiens supplémentaires pour explorer plus en détails certains des sujets que nous avons abordés aujourd'hui.

E7a. Seriez-vous intéressé à participer à cette deuxième phase de l'étude?

Non ☐

Oui ☐

[E5b.] Quel est le meilleur moyen pour reprendre contact avec vous? Téléphone ☐ Lettre ☐ Email ☐ Face à face ☐ Autre ☐ SVP, précisez?

_____

[E5c.] Notez les coordonnées (adresse, téléphone(s) et email):.....

(**Consigne enquêteur**: SVP indiquez au répondant qu'il pourrait être contacté durant les prochains quelques mois)

MERCI BEAUCOUP!

[E6.] **Date de l'entretien:**

jour: mois: année:

[E4.] **Fin de l'entretien:**

Heures: ☐☐ Minutes: ☐☐

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