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## **The spillovers between joint family and work trajectories and multidimensional wellbeing**

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Informed by the life course perspective, this paper investigates how employment and family trajectories are jointly associated to two dimensions of wellbeing. The aim of the study is to measure how subjective wellbeing as well as relational wellbeing are related to the simultaneous occurrence and accumulation of critical events in both work and family domains across the life-course. We draw on data from the large-scale, nationally representative longitudinal Swiss Household Panel (SHP, 1999-2017). The survey offers 19 annual waves of detailed information on family and professional life course events and biographical retrospective information on the entire work, partnership and childbearing trajectories. Moreover, the data include detailed socio-demographic and background information and a variety of well-being indicators. We adopt a multichannel sequence analysis approach to identify and describe the trajectories jointly defined by labor market and family transitions for men and women separately. We then use OLS regression models to assess the association between those trajectories and wellbeing.

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## Long abstract

In the last decades in contemporary societies, both professional and family trajectories have become more diverse and uncertain. The two life domains of work and family have also become more intertwined (Drobnič & Guillén 2011; Van der Lippe & Peters 2007). Many studies show that both the increasing complexity and multiplicity of family arrangements and the rise in job insecurity contribute to the growing inequalities in contemporary societies (Barbieri 2009; Kovalenko & Mortelmans 2014; Thomson 2014). This increasing complexity of the life course produced, in fact, important implications for individuals in terms of their health and wellbeing. Within the family sphere, critical events such as unintended childbirth, union dissolutions or lone parenthood negatively affect subjective and social wellbeing (Gardner et al. 2006; Marks et al. 1998; Williams et al. 2006). Within the work sphere, job insecurity, periods of unemployment and downward mobility have been shown to affect life satisfaction (Dolan & Lordan 2013; Hellgren & Sverke 2003; Oesch & Lipps 2013; Wahrendorf 2015).

The majority of the existing studies focus either on the spillovers of one domain on the other (Charles and Stephens 2004; Del Bono et al. 2015; Kreyenfeld and Andersson 2014) or on how balancing work and family influences wellbeing (Lacey et al. 2016; Warren 2015). Most studies on family-work domains simultaneous impact on wellbeing suffer from the lack of longitudinal data or predominantly analyze the effect of single critical events or transitions on wellbeing outcomes (Matthews, Wayne & Ford 2014). Despite the richness of this literature, less is known regarding how the two life domains' complete trajectories interplay in affecting wellbeing and health in a holistic multidimensional perspective (Abbot 2005; Aisenbrey & Fasang 2017). This paper takes a life course perspective (Elder 2001) and addresses multidimensionality and multi-directionality across life domains (Bernardi, Huinink and Settersten 2018; Blieszner and Voorpostel 2016; Hanappi, Bernardi and Spini 2016; Spini, Bernardi and Oris 2017). The life course framework treats the life course as a set of events and transitions occurring in multiple domains simultaneously, thus generating spillovers from one domain to the other. In parallel, each domain is characterized by a sequence of events, turning points and transitions in which the timing, order and duration of events matter in a path dependency perspective.

The paper builds on a few recent studies focusing on the similar process of cumulative disadvantages. Those studies show that critical negative trajectories in different domains cumulates over the life course to generate greater vulnerability in later life (McDonough et al. 2015) in terms of

health (Lacey et al. 2017), lower life satisfaction (Lacey et al. 2016) and financial wellbeing (Halpern-Manners et al. 2015). Halpern-Manners and colleagues (2015) find that trajectories of family and work in the US have both a direct and an indirect effect, through more proximate work and family events, on later-on economic wellbeing. Lacey et al. 2017 find that in the UK life course family and work trajectories influence physical well-being (BMI trajectories). McDonough et al. (2015) finds that adversities in early life select American and British women into long term work and family trajectories that intensify subjective health inequalities later in life.

Furthermore, the consequences of critical events and trajectories for health and wellbeing are not equally distributed across individuals in society. First and foremost, the entire process of accumulation of disadvantages is gendered. Most critical life events in both family and work domains tend to affect women more negatively than men. Work and family trajectories, first, are less reconcilable for women and, second, produce more negative health and financial outcomes for women than men (Keizer, Dykstra and Poortman 2010; Madero-Cabib and Fasang 2016; Melchior et al. 2007; Stone et al 2015). Lacey et al. (2016) show that British men and women differ with respect to how work and family trajectories influence life satisfaction. The combination of a strong attachment to both work and family life generates more positive life satisfaction for women than for men.

Besides gender heterogeneity, the impact of family and work critical events and trajectories on health and wellbeing is stratified by the socioeconomic resources one individual disposes of. First, resources affect wellbeing directly. Highly educated, high income and more social individuals display better health outcomes (Baum et al. 2000; Berkman & Syme 1979; Cullati 2014; Kahneman & Deaton 2010; Taylor & Seeman 1999; Ziersch et al. 2005). Second, resources influence the likelihood of experiencing more stressful trajectories in both family and work domains (Burgard et al 2007; Kasl and Jones 2000; McLanahan 2004). Moreover, work-family spillovers are likely to be different across socioeconomic groups. While work-family conflict is more typical of professionals than non-professionals (McGinnity and Calvert 2009), underemployment and economic precariousness is a more typical work-family challenge for low income individuals (Waren 2015). Third, the consequences on health and wellbeing of critical events are moderated by socioeconomic resources, with low educated, low income and socially disadvantaged individuals suffering larger and longer lasting negative consequences of family or employment disruptions (Adsera 2001; Berchick 2012; Härkönen, Bernardi & Boertien 2017). For instance, Cullati (2014) shows that in Switzerland once the presence of family-work conflict is taken into consideration the inequality in self-rated health across educational groups exacerbates over the life course.

Our study is unique in measuring the association of the joint occurrence and accumulation of critical events in both work and family domains with subjective as well as relational wellbeing. We measure the extent to which complete employment-family trajectories are simultaneously related to subjective and relational wellbeing. We assume that individual resources such as social origin, socioeconomic position and social networks shape the likelihood of individuals experiencing a certain work-family trajectory, as well as affect how critical transitions are related to subjective and relational wellbeing. We further investigate the mediating role of socioeconomic resources in the association between family-work trajectories and wellbeing outcomes.

We draw on data from the large-scale, nationally representative longitudinal Swiss Household Panel (SHP, 1999-2017). The survey offers 19 annual waves of detailed information on family and professional life course events. Moreover, a subsample of the respondents of the survey completed biographical retrospective calendars in which their entire work and family trajectories are summarized yearly. We focus on critical family transitions such as parenthood, union dissolution and re-partnering and on critical employment transitions such as transition to a part-time employment, downward mobility, and unemployment. The data also include socio-demographic and detailed pre-trajectory background information (education, country of birth and nationality, living arrangement at age 15, health issues before age 20 and parental socioeconomic characteristics). Finally, the SHP is especially suited for this study as it provides indicators of subjective and relational wellbeing recorded yearly: life satisfaction and satisfaction with personal relationships. Life satisfaction is measured on a scale from 0 (not at all satisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied). Relational wellbeing is measured with satisfaction with personal relationships with the same 0-10 scale as life satisfaction.

Our analytic sample includes all men and women in the samples of the SHP biographical files, interviewed in 2001-02 (N=5560) and 2013 (N=6090), who also participated in at least one subsequent SHP wave to measure wellbeing. As mentioned, for each individual we dispose of the entire partnership, childbearing and professional calendar history. We focus on prime working and childbearing age (20-50) to construct the work-family trajectories and we measure wellbeing at the age of 51-70 from the following yearly SHP waves (2003 and 2014 respectively).

We use a holistic approach performing a multichannel sequence analysis, to identify and describe the different trajectories jointly defined by labor market and family transitions. OLS regression models assess the association between typologies of trajectories and the subjective and relational wellbeing outcomes. Given the highly gendered family and employment regimes in Switzerland, we test the extent to which the associations between trajectories and wellbeing are

gendered, running separate models for men and women. As much as possible, we control for early-life health indicators because of their potential association with both the outcome, wellbeing later in life and the family and work trajectories (self-rated health, depression and having a chronic illness or long-term health problem during adolescence). We further address the mediating role of resources on the association between work-family trajectories and wellbeing by controlling for other pre-trajectory determinants of health: respondents' social origin (parental education and family structure when the respondent was growing up) and own education. We measure both resources and early health conditions prior to the starting age range of the trajectories, in the age range 15-20.

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