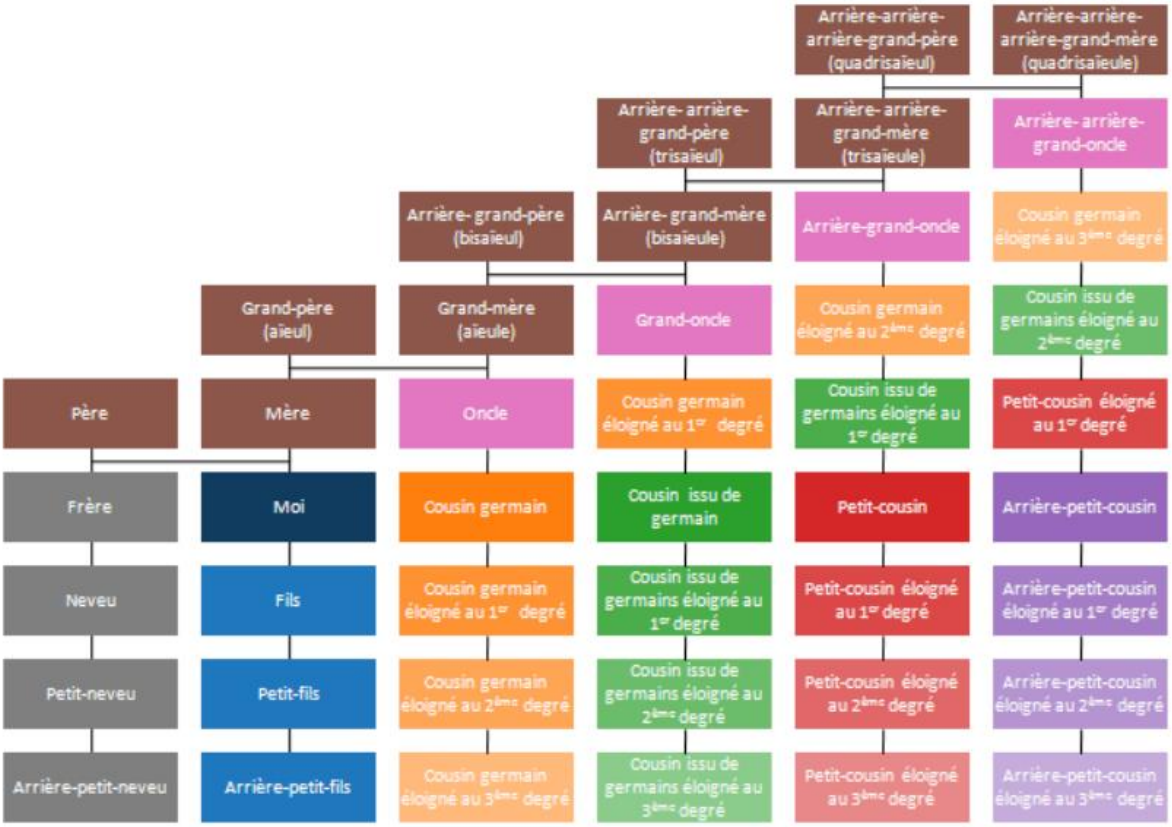Les degrés de parenté