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Generational approach to the social patterns of relation to work

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Research hypotheses

Workpackage 2: Structured model of hypotheses

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Introduction

The SPReW project focuses on the factors leading to solidarity or tensions in intergenerational relations, in the area of work. Recent researches raised the hypothesis that the younger generation has different attitudes, forms of participation, expectations and engagement in work than the older generations. The pessimistic view concludes to an increased individualism, but this assumption is not founded on robust research. The project will provide a better understanding of the evolving relation that generations have to work. Such changes have important consequences on intergenerational relations at the workplace, on solidarity between generations, and on the relevance of specific work and employment policies as well as on other public policies.

The relation to work can be analysed through different angles: value given to work, expectations associated to work, vision of the future, relation to precariousness or mobility, more generally the construction of an identity through work and the linking with other key values. A link is also established between the relation to work and other correlated issues: family formation and lifestyles, intergenerational relations in society, social inclusion or exclusion. The gender dimension and the position of migrants are constitutive and transversal aspects of all research tasks. The project also analyses age policies related to work and employment and identifies good practices. The research methodology combines qualitative, quantitative, comparative and participatory approaches.

The key objectives are to draw out social patterns of relation to work for different generations, including the gender dimension; to study articulations with other societal fields (family formation and lifestyles, intergenerational relations, social cohesion); to develop awareness of public authorities and social actors on the generational dimensions in the relation to work and employment; to draw out guidelines for youth policies and ageing policies in this area.

The report

This report is the second deliverable of the SPReW project. It gathers and organises all the hypotheses that the researchers have pointed out through the survey of literature. The first chapter proposes a first synthesis of these hypotheses elaborated by the German partner. This chapter describes the changes in the cultural model that shape the changes in work orientations. The second chapter consists in additional inputs from the other partners that have been prepared for a consortium workshop dedicated to the design of the qualitative empirical work. Finally, on the basis of chapters 1 and 2 and the discussions during the consortium workshop, chapter 3 proposes a structured synthesis that organises a selection of key hypotheses and questions and supports the elaboration of master guidelines for the narrative interviews.

Chapter 1: Structured model of hypotheses

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Introduction

The focus of this project is the examination of work orientations from the generational perspective. Thus, the terms ‘work orientation’ and ‘generation’ need theoretical clarification. WP1 gives material to the concept work orientation, which is going to be examined in more detail here. With relevance to migrational processes and the transfer of work orientations between the sending- and uptake cultures the usefulness of the term work orientations has to be discussed. The term ‘generation’ has many layers. Which group of people is considered a generation? Which characteristics form the allocation to a generation. How many characteristics are chosen? What are the boundaries like? Are there sharp, distinct boundaries or is there some overlap? Finally it is necessary to decide, how the term generation relates to the cross-section dimensions of gender and migration. Is generation a meta-concept, which exceeds gender and migration, or is it necessary to develop terms, which describe the special characteristics of the terms gender and migration? Last but not least it cannot be overlooked that the SPReW project does not observe and analyse the actual generational relationships at the work place, but rather the representation of generational relationships in work orientations. Observed and analysed are thus only experiences and expectations of co-operation within and between generations.

Next to the central terms work orientations and generation the two most important framework terms ‘lifestyle and particularly family construction’ and ‘social cohesion’ stand in the focus of theoretical considerations. Following the theoretical thoughts first suggestions for hypotheses are presented. Additionally to the theoretical thoughts the National Reports from WP1 will be used.

Theoretical framework and hypotheses are to be understood as a framework for the decision process of the consortium and should not preclude the discussions.

1. Work components

Kruse (2001) examined the relevance and extension of work orientations in different European countries. He understands the socio-cultural work model as the whole of the subjective dispositions, orientations, expectations and fears of the employees. On the basis of empirical studies in the 80s and 90s and before the background of the EU expansion southwards, the author asks questions about divergence or convergence of the socio-cultural work models. Is the central-European model of work orientations asserting itself or is it conforming to the southern work model?

	Central-European Work Model	Southern Work Model
Description	Central-European life-concept oriented towards performance, organised with respect to family and profession.	Family- and life oriented work model with inter-generationally transferred cycle-of-nature orientation
Promoter	Central employee-group of high professional competence and high professional consciousness (male industrial skilled worker)	Instrumental work orientation and sometimes improvised work practice
Religion	Protestantism	Catholicism

An important motor for the change or, better put, the cultural modernisation of work orientations, are returning work migrants. These bring the central-European work orientations to their homelands. The process of the formation of new work orientations **is inter-generative**. The question of convergence or divergence is answered for Kruse by the idea of “Mass individualisation. Herein a possible new socio-cultural work model accentuates itself” (Kruse, 2001, p. 82). The different dimensions of work orientations are shown on the diagram.

Dimensions of Work Orientations

Work force perspective

Dimension 1

Instrumental reference to work

Theoretical Construct of work orientation is comparable in its immense power with the term 'motive'

Subject perspective

Dimension 2

Expressive reference to work

- ◆ Securing existence
- ◆ Preservation of ability to work
- ◆ Preservation of job
- ◆ Work as duty and abedience
- ◆ Fair wages
- ◆ Principle: We work to live!

- ◆ Work is fun
- ◆ Space for autonomy
- ◆ Work as self-fulfilment
- ◆ Rejection of hierarchies and authoritarian leadership
- ◆ Work as lifestyle
- ◆ Principle: We live to work!

Effects on private life

Work orientation as an every-days'life practical orientation affects family and leisure

There are three distinct periods in the development of work orientations (in Germany, in Europe, world wide?). It all began with the thesis of John Goldthorpe who in “The Affluent Worker” (1964) claimed, that workers had a primarily instrumental relationship to work. The author himself corrected this thesis shortly after. Numerous other studies have confirmed the thesis of a double reference to work (Knapp, 1980; Schumann, 1981; Geissler, 1984; Zoll, 1993).

First period

In the time after WW2 a special relationship between the two dimensions prevailed among the workers. It was a relationship of reciprocal restriction. These restrictions are rarely emphasised, but they are rather important: a too strong identification with work is prevented by the awareness that the spending of the person’s manpower has to stand in an acceptable relation to wages. The instrumental reference is limited by the necessity or the will of a psychic arrangement with work (Zoll, 1993, p.72)

This reciprocal restriction of the dimensions makes it necessary that every worker has to find an individual balance between the two dimensions. Balance in this case does not mean that they are equal; they can but do not have to be. The weight of the interests in the balance is, in the end, an – usually not conscious – individual decision. Especially amongst the skilled workers the idea of professionalism is quite important: it encompasses the norm of work ethics (Weber, 1922) that work has to be “done well”. Many white collar and unskilled workers share this norm.

Second period

In the 1970s and 1980s a break occurred. Work changed, despite the dominance of standardisation and Fordism a public criticism of the production line work and other work occurred. Supporters of this criticism are at first science and the Unions, and later the public (the media). Since then the young people know that work cannot be fun for a whole life. Unlike their predecessors they do not have illusions in this direction. Exempt from this practical criticism are professions with creative or socially useful aspects. However: Only a few can become a photographer or a journalist. The others, however, the majority looking for fun, even self-fulfilment in their work, can only find it in their leisure time. Just as the photographers remain a small minority, so, too, remain those who make a profession of their hobby and e.g., become professional rock musicians (Laurence Roulleau-Berger, 1997).

For the majority of young workers work has only an instrumental dimension. They want to have at least some fun at work and most often found it in the communication amongst each other. “Fun” becomes an ambiguous term, its meaning is set somewhere between self-fulfilment and divertissement.

Third Period

This period is marked by the re-strengthening of the expressive reference to work. This process is based on the subjectivisation of work and has many roots, but one of the most important ones is a new management strategy: in the economic competition it is no longer

sufficient to supply cheap commodities of high quality, new products are needed. The employees however do not show innovation and creativity when they are treated as in the tayloristic plant or in a bureaucratic administration. They will only become innovative and creative if given those kinds of freedom that had been almost forbidden before. Suddenly these usually well-paid workers are permitted to work to conditions that contain large spaces of autonomy. (Baethge, 1994; Schumann, 2000) All that matters is they are innovative and creative in the fulfilment of the target bargaining. Thus a new type of worker, in Germany called *entreplooyee*, came into being. These continually growing minority consisted primarily of ICT workers, but also others. They work – far too long – to their own conditions because they are looking for self-actualisation in their work. Considering their way of working, they are the successors of scientists and artists.

Dimension	Old Cultural Model	New Cultural Model	Hypothesis: Flexible cultural model
Decade	Youth in the 50s and 60s	Youth in the 70s and 80s	Youth in 90th und millennium
Work Orientation Skilled Workers	Double Reference: Instrumental (necessity) and expressive (identification) at the same time	Split: Jobber (instrumental) or self-actualiser (expressive)	Instrumental as a prerequisite for expressiveness
Work orientation of young women	Arranging with work – limited perspective until marriage	Autonomy through work – unlimited perspective	Profession through education
Ethics	Duty against others	Having fun or self-fulfilment/ duty against one's own self	Pragmatism and idealism
Community	Class solidarity	Everyday-life solidarity	Solidarity individualised / NIMBY solidarity
Lifestyle	Adaptation to normality	Trying out new things: Search for I-identity (personal identity)	Splitting between town and country: In the town: Anything Goes
World View	Dichotomic view	Critical generation in new sense	Dichotomic view
View of family	Pair relation and nuclear family as natural	Pair relation and nuclear family under pressure for legitimisation	Plurality of the life-forms
Family	Nuclear family	Singe/patchwork	Normalisation of homosexual partnerships
Social environment	Unquestioned, naturally given pre-existing trust	Trust achieved through communication	Distrust
Gender	Discrimination against women	Politicisation of the discrimination	Politics of gender mainstreaming
Parents-children relationship	Parents refuse dialog Children into opposition Father-son-conflict	Children succeed with dialog	Mutual recognition and dialog
Relation to parents cultural model	Take-over	Rejection	Partly

Hypothesis 1: Old and new cultural model are encountered in all European countries

Hypothesis 2: Besides the two known cultural models a third one appears. It is marked by the differentiation and flexibilisation of the orientations in the new cultural model. Special characteristic is a specific balance between freedom and security.

Hypothesis 3: Precariousness becomes a necessary passage for many young people. Precariousness is lived as a threat by a large part of the young people. A growing number of the younger and older generation is affected by chronic precariousness.

Hypothesis 4: The differences between developed and peripheral regions, between town and land, increase. These differences lead to different **distributions** of the cultural models.

Hypothesis 5: Migrants act as catalysts for land of origin and for the immigration country.

2. Lifestyle and particularly family construction

Until the 70s male and female biographies differed significantly: The model for the male life source was the role of the family provider, the model for the female life course was the role of the family caretaker, the common model was the *provider marriage*. The crossover of the models in one family model was normative and institutionally backed. In the 70s the range of this family model contracted for a number of reasons. Indicators for this are shrinking birth rates, the shrinking number of marriages, changes of the divorce behaviour. The familiar **life style** had been an unquestioned lifestyle model up to the 70s; in the 70s it became a design to be negotiated, to which alternatives existed. In the present homosexual partnerships are increasingly legally adapted or treated as equal.

The **labour integration** of women has been increasing since the 1960s. In many countries the rising labour participation can be explained primarily with the increasing rate of part time jobs. High rates of growth, shorter working times and especially the expansion of the service sector created jobs for women, whose qualification level has been rising continually (Auth, 2004)

Hypothesis 6: Family evolves – the traditional family model has eroded

Hypothesis 7: In fewer and fewer families live more than two generations under the same roof, but young people remain much longer in their parents home than before

Hypothesis 8: The integration of women into the labour market has risen but often only in the form of part time employment. Is this trend increasing?

Hypothesis 9: Will conflicts of interest develop between highly qualified employed women and women with children, working part time?

Hypothesis 10: The pluralisation of life styles is most likely going to be increasing

3. Generation and inter-generation relationships

For research a term for generation is proposed which combines different political and cultural experiences as well as divergent structures for chances on the labour market over several birth cohorts. We suggest differentiating between three generations.

- The representatives of the younger generation are today between 15 and 29 years old, i.e., they were born between 1977 and 1991. The members of these birth years live aware in

the 1990s and the new century. This generation has consciously experienced the collapse of the former Eastern Bloc and the expansion of the EU for the middle-European countries. The preparation and realisation of the European economic and monetary union are natural for this generation, the liberalisation of goods and labour markets is known to them since their earliest youth.

- The representatives of the middle generation are today between 30 and 49 years old; they were born between 1957 and 1976. This generation has experienced their youth in the 70s and 80s and experienced the institutions and politics of the EWG and the COMECON. The division of Europe into two blocs was considered **natural**.
- The representatives of the older generation are today between 50 and 65 years old. This generation encompasses the birth years of 1941 to 1956. This generation has experienced their youth in the 50s and 60s. They know the ‘cold war’; the foundation of EWG, EFTA and COMECON has been witnessed by them.

Hypothesis 11: In a permissive society marked by youth mania the following generation is lacking boundaries to rub against and to develop their own identity as youth.

The relationships between the generations are often discussed as opposition of the categories inter-generation conflict and inter-generational solidarity. At the core of the representation of the conflictual relationship between the generations there are two base patterns: inter-generation conflict as renewal and positions of interest.

- a) Starting with the model of the father-son conflict a competition of displacement between the established generation and the following generation seems to occur. This competition leads to **a fight for hegemony** in questions of culture, fashion and lifestyle.
- b) Conflicts from positions of interest are due to the competition for limited resources. Differing interests between the generations are, e.g., due to inequality of the distribution of social-welfare-state payments before the background of demographic change.

Hypothesis 12: The father-son-conflict has lost on importance of both practically and as a cultural pattern. The generational dynamic can no longer be explained with the father-son-conflict.

Hypothesis 13: Newspaper articles and popular-scientific publications (Schirmacher, 2004) have presented the inter-generational conflict as due to diverging positions of interest with, for example, the system of social security. Empirical support for this thesis is currently not available and is not expected.

Intergenerational solidarity is usually discussed together with **family life style**.

- On the one hand solidarity is considered as a value, which is given from one generation to the next. “The family is – rhetorically emphasised – a preferred place to learn solidarity (**rather than: where solidarity can be learned**) (Lüscher/Liegle, 2003, p. 264)
- On the other hand solidarity is seen as a mechanism of socio-political control beyond market and hierarchy. Solidarity is then limited to small social groups that can be **overview** easily. Inter-generational solidarity is measured along the three dimensions

association, affection and consensus (Bengtson et al (1976) in Liegl/Lüscher, 2003, p. 268)

It is to be advised that this use of the term ‘inter-generation solidarity’ analyses the relation between the generations, but not the relationship itself.

Hypothesis 14: An increase in the family-based inter-generation solidarity is expected, as the lifeform family is experiencing a renaissance for heterosexual partnerships and is becoming more realisable for homosexual partnerships.

With respect to the inter-generation relationship the authors contrast two logics.

- Amongst relatives binding *duties* regulate the reciprocal exchange of services. Duties are embedded into legal, moral and (e.g. amongst siblings) negotiable regulations. Services are intra-family often defined as *support*. Support refers to the emotional connection between the participants and can create *duties*. Duty and support refer to the exchange of material and immaterial values. This transfer can also lead to *debt*. “A form of abstract dealing with debt can consist in understanding it as great debt of gratitude in form of lifelong respect against the parents (Lüscher/Liegle, 2003, p. 274)
- Parent-Child-Relationships are often described through the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity means with an eye on the social relationships also the implicit duties, which arise from the repeated giving and taking. Reciprocity creates from the action a (more or less) stable social connection. This ability is often normatively interpreted as an intrinsic value. If, on the other hand, relationships are oriented along the base pattern rationality, then complementarity becomes the opposite of Reciprocity (Lüscher/Liegle, 2003, p. 275). Complementarity in the relationships between the generations is achieved, if the planned action orients itself along cost-benefits calculations. **As the analyses of WP1 show, reciprocity has in the area of family as factual basis reciprocity, which is created by social policies.** Which results reductions in social policy will have on the reciprocity in the family space would have to be examined.

In the specific character of inter-generation relations, in their relationship logic “two principles come to bear which we marked with the terms reciprocity and rationality; one meets them at the analysis of single actions or action patterns as well as larger action contexts of longer duration and of sayings and terms based on those.” (Lüscher/Liegle, 2003, p. 285). The authors developed from the simultaneous side-by-side of reciprocity- and rationality-logic of the inter-generational relationships the term of the “Generationenambivalenz” (intergenerational ambivalence). This way they characterise the in the generational logic inherent tension between opposite orientations. Ambivalence denotes a state of floating ambiguity. Characteristic for ambivalence is that:

- The opposites creating the ambivalence belong to the same category (like love and hate, but not love and respect). Setting one factor over the other cannot dissolve ambivalence.
- The opposites are positioned in a temporal relationship of simultaneity, which, depending on the topic, can be marked by a different temporal horizon.
- Ambivalences are the result of an interpretation, a reflected attribution by involved subjects or third parties. **Latent or hidden ambivalences**

- Ambivalences mark the identity as indecisiveness or staggering from one position to the other.

They are not the every-day indecisiveness but “ambivalence is the case if simultaneously opposites of feeling, thinking, wanting, acting and the formation of relationships, which are relevant for the constitution of individual and collective identities, are temporary or permanently interpreted as unsolvable. These interpretations can occur by those involved, or through third parties, (e.g. therapists, scientists) (Lüscher/Liegele, 2003, p. 288). The authors use the term of generation ambivalence as a research construct and as interpretation pattern. When generational ambivalences as a research product is used we can, with qualitative and quantitative procedures, collect direct and indirect information about activeness strategies and assign them. When generation ambivalences are understood as patterns of interpretation then the possibility “to examine content and terms in which the same and equal is dealt with without the term ambivalence turns up.” (Lüscher/Liegele, 2003, p. 296). Generational ambivalence as pattern of interpretation is adaptable to other areas. The basic idea to use an open term to bypass the bottleneck, which is inherent in bipolar patterns of examination, such as solidarity or conflict, permits the analysis of fields of topic, which border to generational relationships, such as different type of child policies.

Hypothesis 15: The often-feared “War of the Generations” does not happen at the work place. Rather “speechlessness” between the generations is observed.

Hypothesis 16: In many companies there are only two generations that meet, in a large number of companies the middle generation is mostly amongst itself. The younger generation only has little experience in professional interaction with the older generation, just as the remaining elderly have only limited experience with younger ones. Medial transferred experiences take the place of **self-lived experiences**.

The transfer of knowledge is at the centre of the intergenerational relationships at the work place. Seitz (2003) emphasised that the transfer of knowledge between the generations has lost on importance. The transfer of knowledge has lost its function as basis for intergenerational relationships within companies due to a number of reasons. This applies especially in the service sector. Baecker (1999, p. 76) differentiates five different types of knowledge in a company: product knowledge, societal knowledge, leadership knowledge, expert knowledge and milieu knowledge. The strong dynamics of the market lead to a continual change of the products, so that experience is being devalued. Societal knowledge is equally marked by a high rate of change. Through the economic- and monetary union the basic conditions for organisations of all kinds change, from railways and post, corner stores disappear and are being replaced with new forms of organisation. Knowledge of leadership changes its character significantly from ordering to explaining. Expert knowledge has, especially when dealing with the development and deployment of technical systems, a rather short half-life period. The transition from analogue to digital technique devalued the experience of a large number of experts. Milieu knowledge loses a great deal of relevance with permanent restructuring.

Hypothesis 17:

- The middle generation is connected with politics of maintaining their assets. This generation is trying to isolate themselves against the younger and older generation and tries to take care of themselves first.

- The older generation loses the respect of the younger generations. The principle of seniority is seen today in many areas as unjust preferential treatment; it has lost its legitimacy and is currently being removed from a number of corporate and collective regulations.

4. Social Cohesion

Social cohesion describes the integration of individuals into societal institutions such as

- labour market and company;
- education and school, university;
- family and other life-world social networks in the areas of sport and culture;
- politics and organisations such as parties and unions;
- religious communities such as churches.

With a view on the labour market it is necessary to note that a growing group of economically active persons does no longer manage a frictionless transition from non-employment to employment or from one employment to the next, of from employment to retirement.

Hypothesis 18: The young are more affected by the risk of unemployment than the older ones. A democratisation process of the risk of unemployment has occurred. The fear of being unemployed hangs over the youth's professional integration like a Damocles sword.

Hypothesis 19: Youths from A-Families (foreigners, unemployed and the poor) are pushed into permanent precariousness. The probability of ghetto formation exists. The young go through poor and not very attractive areas of activity.

With regards to family and lived-world social networks the de-traditionalisation should be mentioned. The binding power of the institution marriage has diminished, social roles in the lived world are under pressure: the role of the father with regard to their life-world contribution to family life, the role of the mother with regards to the contribution of women in gainful employment.

Hypothesis 20: The combination of profession- and family-based demands places great stress on the middle generation

For the examination of processes of social closure on the life world level of every-day activity the term of "belonging-to" is available (Neckel, 2003). Simmel wrote, "conflict connects", and Lewis Coser has worked out his thesis for the explanation of social cohesion. What is primarily of importance is less the increase of social conflicts but above all the increase of the heterogeneity of society.

Hypothesis 21: The true danger for the cohesion of the societies is their growing heterogeneity rather than open conflicts. The side-by-side existence of generations and societal groups leads to heterogeneity of society. Common values spanning several generations are being lost.

The political and religious organisations are affected by decreasing power of affiliation. The organisational principle of “voluntary membership” is losing attractiveness for an increasingly large group of people. The membership in unions and social-democratic, socialistic and communistic mass-organisations is decreasing, but even conservative and Christian organisations do not profit from it, and even politically right-wing groups have so far been only marginal and only regionally important, if at all.

Hypothesis 22: Medial socialisation has replaced the process of formation of communities in political, religious and union groups for the young generation. The middle and older generation remain amongst themselves in parties, churches and unions.

Hypothesis 23: Contrary to the prevailing trend small groups of young people organise themselves in small grass-root movements along political and societal conflicts.

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Chapter 2: Additional contribution to the selection of hypotheses from the consortium partners

Introduction

On the basis of their review of literature and their specific experience in the research field, all the partners have pointed out additional hypotheses and questions. Together with the structured model of hypotheses prepared by the German team (chapter 1), they have supported the elaboration of master guidelines for the empirical work (chapter 3).

In this section, we collect all the additional questions raised by the partners as a preparatory work to a consortium workshop dedicated to the design of the qualitative work. The purpose was to give an additional input to the views that were already summarised in chapter 1.

1. FTU, Belgium

FTU has tried to organise hypotheses / ideas under three dimensions that constitute all together, through their specific organisation, the roots of a generational orientation towards work. These three dimensions are: the economic dimension; the cultural dimension and the historical/political dimension. Transversal to generations, more classical social discriminating factors intervene in the shaping of work orientations, mostly social and financial resources; gender; ethnicity.

➤ Economic dimensions

- Differentiated impacts of mass unemployment; insecurity of trajectories; flexibility; changing organisational models on generations?
- Subjectivisation of work: generational feature?
- Common expectations as regard work for all generations: personal recognition; professional identification...?
- Trajectories of young workers
 - Insecurity/ instability: bridge and/or trap?
 - The problem: finding or keeping a job?
- Specific women patterns
 - Worsening of women place on the labour market?
 - Less centrality of work in women's identity?
 - Specific balance between different social areas (including work)?
 - Lower importance of professional status?
- Role played by student jobs in the relation to work of young workers.
- Unemployment as “a way of living”?

➤ Cultural dimensions

- Mismatch between generations as regards level of education/ appropriation of ICTs and position in the labour market and in organisations.
- Changing role of families.
- Living families: for marriage or cohabitation or for entering into work?
- Prolongation of youth: towards new roles (single, pre-single...)
- Personal concretisation of a general trend to individualisation (in the whole society and at work)
- Gender perspective.

➤ Historical- political dimensions

- Significant historical-political events, features that mark the mindsets of generations as regards orientations to work.

➤ Intergenerational perspective

- How different patterns of relation to work articulated themselves: complementarities and/or tensions?
- Is *generation* a significant variable that discriminated the orientations towards work? Are there other more significant variables?
- Cooperation and/or tensions between generations and/or within generations?
- The relations between generations at work and outside work: convergences and divergences?

2. CEE, France

The following hypotheses come out the survey of literature of the French partner.

➤ A problematical access to the employment and a specific integration into the labour market: what impact on expectations and orientations towards work?

- The young generations have to face with mass unemployment, and more precariousness at the entry into the labour market. Their first socialisation through work is often associated with precarious/atypical work. How this insecurity can influence the relation to work? Is the young generation anxious or satisfied by this situation? Do they estimate that insecurity on the labour market is normal? Even if temporary jobs are today the norm of entry into the working life, does the high insecurity at the beginning of the career have the same social meaning and the same working reality for all young people? How could we analyse the fact that the difficulties at the entry into the labour market may conduct to a stable position or are likely to produce durable social exclusion? In which conditions does the period of precariousness express an unsuccessful integration, or, on the contrary, could it be considered as the result of a personal choice? Why do many people suffer from

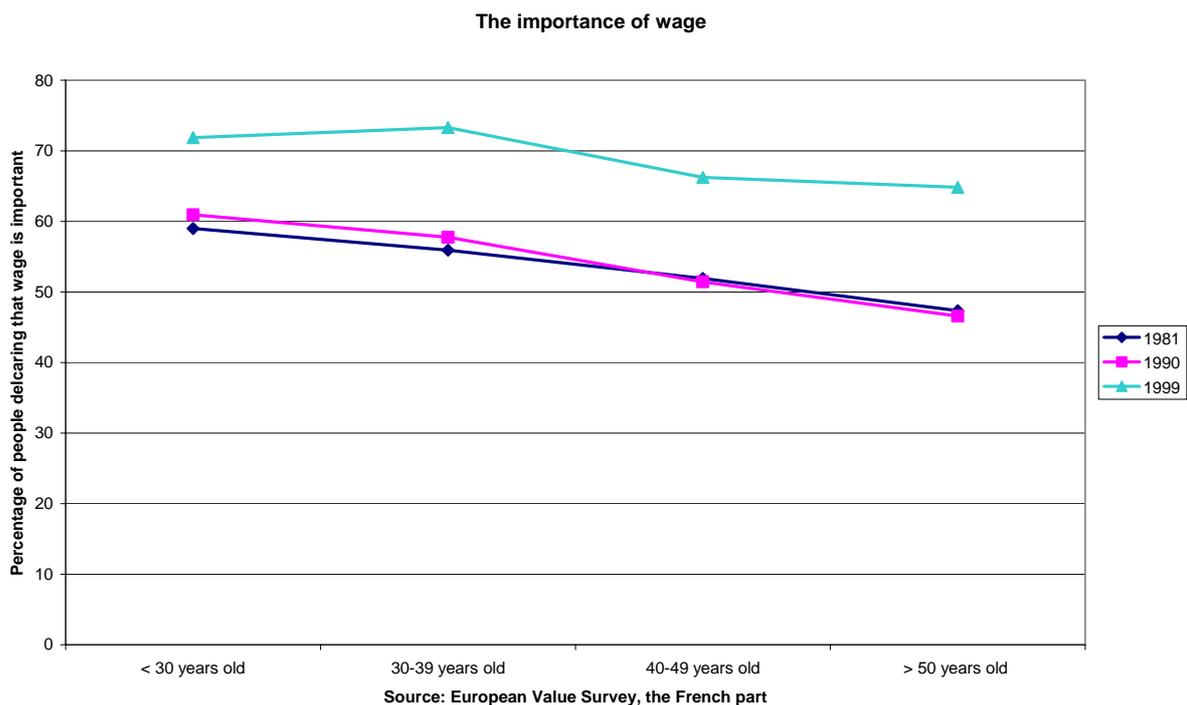
precariousness and others consider it as an opportunity, or even a strategy of career? What are the key variables (educational level, social capital, economic resources, or personal orientation) that lead to consider job instability as a bridge or a trap? Which relation to risk young people (and their family) are developing? Which behaviours do young people adopt in order to find and to keep a job? How do they succeed in acquiring knowledge and skills if they are concentrated in poor and not very attractive areas of activity? Do they develop an instrumental relation to work when they have weakly qualified, badly paid, and unstable jobs? What are the potential effects on citizenship of the development of precarious contracts? It is said that young people are less involved in traditional political institutions although they are politicised in another way.

- Some students have part-time jobs. Even if this phenomenon is less developed in France than in other European countries, the number of student workers has increased last years. To what extent does this experience of working life during their studies influence their orientation towards work?
- In France, an important part of the young generation invests a lot in education, as shows the increase in the duration of studies observed since 30 years. But what are the expectations of young people towards the initial training system? Protecting them against the high risk of unemployment? Getting a better future position in the queue of jobs by obtaining qualification always higher? Researchers analyse the increase in education levels of young generations in France between 1980 and 1993 within the framework of a structural model of educational choices. They insist on three factors that could have explained this increase: (1) increasing returns to education in the labour market including its protective role against unemployment, (2) decreasing cost, either objective or subjective, of education that families or students have to pay, (3) decreasing "selectivity" of the education authorities. According to their results the third factor bears the principal burden of the increase in the education level. Moreover the young frequently experience a drop in status compared to the level of education that they achieved because of the depreciation of diploma and the deterioration of the relation between the education system and the employment structure. How this drop is felt? Is there a kind of bitterness among the young generation? How do many young people accept to get a job not as good as their parents?
- Increasing individualisation and desire of personal development, on the one hand, and more precariousness at the entry into the labour market, on the other hand, are two key trends to understand modern societies. We could wonder how young people face with this paradoxical situation.
- The distinction in three age groups is entirely relevant. However, it may be interesting to examine carefully the evolution of the relation to work during the first years of the working life. Some papers argue that relation to work evolve during these first years. Can we see an evolution of the relation to work during the first years of working life? Is security and wage becoming more important when the young discover that labour market does not always offer decent wages and secure job? Can we say that there is strong investment of young people at the entry into the working life but there is progressively a decline of their investment when they discover what the working life is?
- The young generations do not only know a different situation at their entry into the labour market, but they also experience new organisational methods at work (individual

evaluation, flexible organisational models etc...). How can these organisational evolutions influence relation to work? Do young people internalise management rhetoric and new rules whereas the older generations disagree? Why many young people consider that their need of freedom and their wish to be recognised as an individual are not satisfied in work whereas many researches show that individualisation, which is a basic trend in the whole society, also materialise in the field of work through new managerial practices? Does professional life offer to all young people the same opportunities to express themselves at work?

➤ Differences between and within generations

- Here, a methodological point may be necessary. It could be interesting and fruitful to disentangle a generation effect, an age effect and a period effect. These effects could be analysed through graphics where the depend variable (for example the importance of wage) is on the Y-axis and age is on the X-axis (see graphic below). The relation between the age and the dependant variable is represented at different periods (1980, 1990, 1999). In this graphic perspective, a “pure” period effect is characterised by a horizontal straight line: all generations and age are touched by the same event or change. The reaction is the same. In our example, there is clearly a period effect: for all generation, wage is becoming more important in 1999.



A “pure” age effect is characterised by a curve that does not evolve at different points of time: in our example, at each period, wage is more important among the younger group. A generation effect is characterised by a displacement of the curve: for example, the generation who was 20 years old in 1968 may always declared less materialistic values during all the working life. We do not see clearly a generation effect in our graphic.

- In Louis Chauvel’s perspective, the events that experienced a generation during the first years of adulthood shape its entire destiny. He suggests that the nowadays young

generations are sacrificed. Louis Chauvel thesis is based on “objective” data (wages, housing, etc...), not subjective data. This thesis could be applied and tested with quantitative data on relation to work. Can we show that the first stages of working life influence the next steps? Have young people this feeling? In a qualitative approach, it could be interesting to know whether young and older people are aware of the inequalities between generations.

- This perspective should not prevent from analysing heterogeneity within each generation. In fact, research shows that differences between generations remain less significant than differences within generations. But is the contrast between social and professional categories regarding their relation to work stable among generations? Longitudinal analysis can be fruitful to examine the trajectories of young within their own generation. Indeed they show that there is not only one scheme of entry into the working life, and they point out an increasing complexity of the professional paths. For example, we could try to know if taking only into account the level of education in order to explain different professional trajectories is relevant.
- Within generations, the less privileged groups have to cope with bad jobs, bad working conditions and low wages. Can these poor working conditions explain their lower investment in work and the small importance given to work in their life?

➤ Conciliation of different social spheres, gender perspectives, and relation to work

- The young have to face an entry, which is often gradual, chaotic, and discontinuous rather than linear, instantaneous and definitive: there is a set of intermediate situation and temporary jobs between the end of schooling and the obtaining of a durable and stable job. And although the diffusion of more flexible contracts is a constant among European countries, France has been the more prolific concerning the multiplication of such a contracts, which have been particularly concentrated on the young. What are the incidences of this specific integration on their private life? How do they succeed in building individual and collective strategies if they have only unstable jobs, and hence a limited future’s view? Moreover this job instability is all the more worrying that the young have experienced a deterioration of their relative economic situation since 30 years and, in France, are not eligible to a public income support.
- In a context of prolongation of youth, what are correlations between finishing one’s studies, living parental home, marriage or cohabitation with a partner, and entering work?
- The postponement of the family creation (the mother age at first birth is now around 29 years old) can influence relation to work. Is work more important during this period without children? Are intrinsic aspects of work (personal fulfilment, relation with colleagues, etc...) more important during this period? Does the birth of children have any impact on the relation to work of fathers and mothers? How do young people reconcile their investment in work and in private life?
- The women participation in the labour market can significantly influence the relation to work of the whole population. For example, young women could declare that work is as important as family. But, on the contrary, young men could attach more importance to family than men of the older generations. Do the differences between men and women’s

relation to work diminish among the young generations? Gender questions could be more important in research about generations at work.

- Even if work remains a central value for young people, other social areas gain more room. In fact, according to several surveys the professional life remains a major element of the personal realisation of the young but its supremacy is now disputed by a great part of them. Could this phenomenon be interpreted as the development of a model closer to a “woman” model? Indeed, empirical studies show that women attach less importance to work than men because, specially for women who carry out main care tasks, labour is in a competition with other spheres also suppliers of identity, other areas of temporal and affective investment (in particular family).
- Finally, how can we explain the relativisation of work claimed by many young people? Do they consider that work is less important than their private life? Or does the decreasing importance of work is explained by an increasing dissatisfaction with work?

➤ Relations between generations at work and inside family

- As entrance into the labour market is becoming more difficult, solidarity between generations among the family is necessary and important in France. How this family solidarity interacts with the professional sphere?
- Which connexion can be established between (supposed) intergenerational tensions at work and increased intergenerational solidarity inside family where relationships seem to be governed by confidence, affection and mutual aid (lengthening of family support to youth; changing relations between adults and youth)?
- Many differences between generations are the results of the transformations occurring at work and in the society during the last decades (ex: higher level of education among young generations, differentiated generational appropriation of ICT competences, the professional commitment of the old generations is sustained by their sense of belonging to a collective, whereas young people are prone to promote new forms of relationship based on affinities instead of traditional solidarity...). Do these differences generate tensions at work, or can we see cooperation and complementarity? Is there collide or solidarity between young workers and old workers?
- Insecurity is unequally distributed among generations: the older workers have the more secured and high-level jobs while the young workers have more often flexible jobs with low wages. To what extent does this difference of social position influence relations between generations at work?
- Which role is played by older workers in the process of professional socialisation and skills’ learning of young people?
- Which changing organisational models are likely to generate tensions or cooperation between generations at work? In fact, many researches explain that tensions between generations can be seen as a consequence of a lack of regulation. According to them, there is no “clash” between generations but between positions in the organisations.
- Currently, most of the research effort is focused on the age groups at the two extreme of the working age scale, because of demographical changes and pressure on pension

schemes. It could be interesting to focus also on the role played by the mid-age group in relations at work.

3. MTA PTI, Hungary

According to methodological discussions and based on the overview of literature on the subject, the Hungarian team see the following hypotheses and questions arising:

- There seems to be a generational gap between those who started work/whose socialisation took place before and after the change of the regime. We would like to see this difference more clearly and find out where the divide is: which age groups belong to those that were socialised under socialism and where the other group starts?
- What differences are there in the relation to property and how they impact the relation to work between these groups? How are these differences visible?
- What is the reference group when assessing one's success/failure? What values are there in the background (for younger generations a focus on experience seems to be a determining one, while for older generations it is loyalty, family-centeredness, and the acquisition of property rather)?
- What role geographical differences play? Some regions could build on traditions from before socialism, while others could not, but how did these traditions survive or how did they revive?
- The concept of identity is of course strongly connected to our topic. We experience that in the case of older generations reflection on the past is important, whereas younger ones are free to be whoever they want to be. We would like to find out whether this is true with relation to our topic as well and if so, then what effects it has, especially with regard to co-operation and solidarity between the different generations.
- The question of what kind of generational differences there are in tolerating unemployment cannot be understood without understanding identity and traditions. According to previous research older generations seem to bear unemployment worse than younger ones (which directly relates to the above point).

4. FRPS, Italy

Through the overview of literature on the subject and the methodological discussions, the Italian team has raised the following hypotheses and questions.

- “Being young” in general vs. the specific features of the latest younger generations

Some of the features of young people relationship to work can be considered as permanent ones:

- in any times, young people undergo a longer or shorter process before entering into stable employment;

- young workers are likely to be less skilled, less paid and less committed than older workers in the same occupation;
- young workers change their attitudes and behaviours along the process of occupational socialisation;
- the “centrality” of work in their life changes during life course.

Anyway, others - subjective and objective - factors specifically concern the latest youngest generations, since in the present “historical” situation, some very specific changes have occurred in the economy, in the labour market and in the society:

- the rise of schooling and of knowledge jobs;
- the tertiarisation of the economy;
- an increasing feminisation of the labour market;
- the rise of the number of migrant workers;
- the polarisation of occupations;
- the spreading of the phenomenon of individualisation and self-consciousness;
- (in many countries) the de-regulation of the labour market.

Then we suggest, first of all, to try to distinguish the features which permanently belong to young workers’ attitudes and behaviours (and, in consequence, will change while they will grow up) and the others which are historically produced and are likely to affect the present (and future) generations lifelong. From the point of view of policy strategies, they will require different answers.

➤ Desire of freedom vs. falling in a trap of precariousness

The issue of precariousness and its relationship with autonomy and freedom has not completely been explained till now. The main question is: “How many young people are living their instable situation in the labour market as a new opportunity “ to plan and have a their own life” and how many are just suffering the disadvantageous effects of the deregulation of the labour market?”. For the latter, the question is: “Is it especially a matter of finding a job or of keeping it?” (different policies would be required). Besides, what are the different expectations of the former and of the latter in terms of state intervention (labour market re-regulation, welfare security policies)?

➤ Different meanings of work

Theories are very contradictory on the question of centrality vs. instrumentality, therefore we suggest dropping it. Other meanings of work seem more interesting to investigate: does it represent a test of one’s own value, money to live on, a place of socialisation, a way of self-expression and self-realisation, a profession (an organisation, a community) to belong to, etc.? Besides, are some of these points (still) essential for young people to build up one’s own identity or has the focus been shifted to other aspects of life (consumptions, family, other ways of self-expression)?

➤ Position vs. path

Some authors maintain that professional experience is now more like “a path to be often randomly crossed” rather than “a position to hold and where to make roots” (Gosetti, 2005). Is this assertion valid for the whole young workers or just for some groups (and which they are)?

➤ Money

We consider this issue much more interesting than most researchers do. Evidence from research show wage is considered very important by all young people, regardless of their position in the labour market, and even more important than job security. Is this a signal of an increasing instrumentality of work – as some Authors claim – or rather the only way people have to get a (symbolic) definition of their own value? Are women different on this point, less dependent on market evaluation, as women studies claim?

➤ Individualisation vs. solidarity

The phenomenon of “individualisation, self-consciousness, self-determination, and self-realisation” (Habermas, 1987) especially concerns younger generations in Western countries. Among others, it has a negative impact on workers’ representation and collective bargaining, since young workers resist unionisation and often prefer individual bargaining. Is this process unavoidable or it just depends on unions’ organisational and bargaining strategies? What can unions do? Besides is a collective belonging – to a class, to a union – still a source of identity for young people?

➤ Gender

From the point of view of feminist critics, traditionally women have been different as for the position of work in their life. Are women belonging to younger generations getting closer to the male dimension of work – central source of identity? Do schooling and qualification influence this process? Workingwomen with children have specific problems: which different expectations do they have from companies, labour market policies and welfare state provisions?

5. CIS, Portugal

According to previous work, we find very important:

- To examine the centrality of work in the definition of people’s identity.
- To examine positions towards lifelong learning – an analysis which is complementary to entry routes and educational trajectories.
- Inter generational relations in the workplace – tension/solidarity:

This dimension is linked to positions taken towards **diversity** in general, not just diversity of ages.

We agree with the relevance of examining the following topics regarding **intergenerational perspective**.

- How different patterns of relation to work articulated themselves: complementarities and/or tensions?
- Is *generation* a significant variable that discriminated the orientations towards work? Are there other more significant variables?
- Cooperation and/or tensions between generations and/or within generations?
- The relations between generations at work and outside work: convergences and divergences?

In relation to this topic it is also important to:

- Consider the type of organisation and sector where people develop their career
- Consider the educational level of the participants.
- If we think about a context invested by technological changes probably we will find a gap more intense between generations?

6. References

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Chapter 3: Synthesis of hypotheses and master guidelines for narrative interviews

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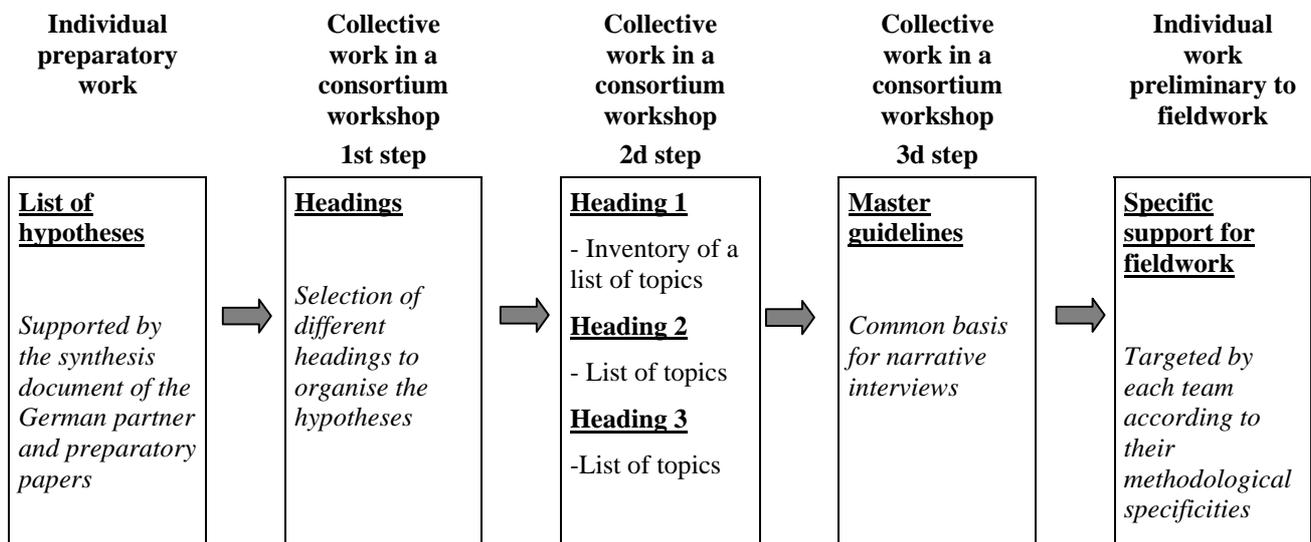
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Introduction

The master guidelines consist in a limited set of *key basic questions* that should be asked in each interview. They are potential entries to the topics on which researchers would like to have information. Each team will decide whether they prefer to translate these master guidelines into a set of specific questions or to keep to more general questions. In the narrative approach, it is up to the respondent to give more or less importance to each question.

The master guidelines result from a selection of hypotheses supported by previous work presented in chapters 1 and 2, and based on WP1. During a consortium workshop dedicated to the design of the qualitative empirical work, the collection and selection of hypotheses has been organised under five headings and translated into topics that the researchers find relevant for the research subject. The master guidelines are a translation of these topics into general questions to be addressed to the interviewees.

The table below describes the work process.



1. Structured synthesis of hypothesis

The table below organises the selection of hypotheses under five main headings. The topics under the headings are translated into key basic questions for the narrative interviews.

Headings and topics	Master guidelines
RELATION TO WORK	
<i>How do the individuals experience their professional situation, their status, their opportunities and wishes of self-development at work, the place of work in their existence? Which place does this activity take in the building of their identity? What are their expectations about work? How did this experience and expectations evolve in their personal trajectory? Do other social spheres balance the importance of work? Which ones?</i>	
Expectations as regards work Balance between instrumental / expressive (social and symbolic) dimensions	What is a good job for the interviewee? What does he/she expect from it?
Subjectivisation of work Relativisation of the place of work / centrality of work Sense of belongings - Support of the identification (class, occupations, trade union...) Work and other areas (family...): conciliation / conflict	How much is work important in his/her life? Which place does he/she allow to other activities?
Perception of insecurity Unemployment as a “way of living”	(How) does he/she experience situations of insecurity (past, present, future)?
Psychological contract - Loyalty	How does he/she perceive reciprocal obligations between him/her and the employer/organisation?
Relation to the labour market Relation through diverse aspects of work: innovation, technologies, organisation	How does he/she feel regarding work today?
GENERATIONAL AND INTERGENERATIONAL ISSUES	
<i>This dimension focuses on the perception of generations and intergenerational relations at work, the importance of solidarity / conflicts between generations at work and the paradox between intra familial solidarity and “tensions between generations” within organisations.</i>	
Tensions/solidarity between and within generations Organisational regulation of diversity Experience of age diversity Perception of justice/ equity	Describe the nature of the relations with colleagues from the same age group and other age groups. How does he/she experience this diversity? (personal / concrete experience)
Age related stereotypes and reciprocal perceptions Disqualification of age categories (young, senior) Ambivalence (intra- and inter-) Perception of similarities and differences referring to generations	In general, how does he/she perceive the other age groups? (more general perception of generation and age issues)

INDIVIDUAL TRAJECTORIES	
<i>In which kind of trajectory does this experience take place? Particularly, what are the “origins” (family, education) of the individuals? What are the significant events of their trajectories? How do they anticipate their professional future?</i>	
Social/familial origins Education / schooling / cultural capital	Describe and comment the main steps of his/her education trajectory.
Job students Entry routes to work Experiences of work / unemployment	Describe and comment the main steps of his/her professional trajectory.
Current situation	Describe his/her current job. This can be a first question to start the interviews.
End of career Vision of the future	What is his/her vision of the future as regard his/her job or professional trajectory?
SOCIAL AND ORGANISATIONAL ENVIRONMENT	
<i>Which place take family strategies or support, the geographical origin, the territorial variables, the network of relationships and social capital in the understanding of the individuals’ relation to work and to other generations?</i>	
Perception of the working economic context Historical/political changes Significant social events Migrational background Location (cities / countryside / housing)	Are their factors/facts/events/ in society that has/had an impact on his/her personal work story?
SOCIETAL DIMENSIONS	
<i>What is the relation between the experience of (intergenerational relation at) work and the perceptions of independence, integration in society, citizenship or on the choices about family founding/couple or life style?</i>	
Prolongation of youth Yo-yo transitions between youth and adulthood Independence / autonomy Family building / couple / parenthood	(Why and how) does he/she become independent (or not) / decide (or not) to build a family? Which kind of obstacles does (did) he/she meet?
Citizenship	Is he/she engaged in some (leisure, social, political, cultural...) activities outside work?
Supporting / non supporting public policies	In his/her story do specific public policies have supported choices/orientations/detours...?
KEY DATA SHEET FROM EACH INTERVIEW	
<i>The key data sheet will consist in a list of key information on the interviewees (age, gender, level of qualification, status in employment....). Most of the data will probably be available during the course of the interview. However, this key data sheet will help the researcher, at the end of the interview, to check if all these important variables for interpretation are available. A template will be proposed.</i>	

2. Master guidelines for narrative interviews

- What is a good job for the interviewee? What does he/she expect from it?
- How much is work important in his/her life? Which place does he/she allow to other activities?
- (How) does he/she experience situations of insecurity (past, present, future)?
- How does he/she perceive reciprocal obligations between him/her and the employer/organisation?
- How does he/she feel regarding work today?
- Describe the nature of the relations with colleagues from the same age group and other age groups. How does he/she experience this diversity?
- In general, how does he/she perceive the other age groups?
- Describe and comment the main steps of his/her education trajectory.
- Describe and comment the main steps of his/her professional trajectory.
- Describe his/her current job. (This can be a first question to start the interviews)
- What is his/her vision of the future as regard his/her job or professional trajectory?
- Are there factors/facts/events/ in society that has/had an impact on his/her personal work story?
- (Why and how) does he/she become independent (or not) / decide (or not) to build a family? Which kind of obstacles does (did) he/she meet?
- Is he/she engaged in some (leisure, social, political, cultural...) activities outside work?
- In his/her story do specific public policies have supported choices/orientations/detours...?

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