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realizacja umowy: dokument: podsumowanie analityczne (w języku angielskim) sporządzonych w ramach umowy memosów

Memos based on the interviews – the summary

I have analyzed 10 interviews from my previous work sections. The data, that I will use in this paper, come from three different locations from the Lower Silesia field: 4 interviews from M. – small town, 3 from WŁ. – middle sized town and 3 from W. In my analysis I focused on biographical experiencing of work, which I consider as a process related to the entire life history. That is why I wanted to analyze the biographies step by step, looking on every aspect of the narration, that show some issues associated directly with biographical work and the experiences of work (in sense of employment). In my analysis, I have included quotations from interviews and their interpretations and also the general analytical comments on, for example the discussion of life history and its relation to the work and the classification of precarious workers to a particular type of life strategy as well. I have tried to create some base for the open coding of the interviews, that will show open analytical categories and some kind of analytical tracks, what could be useful for further analysis of the accumulated data. In this paper I will present only a fragment of the analysis without generalizing it on the final project results yet. The main purpose of my reflections is to show the differences and the similarities between the contents of selected narrations and also to emphasize the issue of experiencing of the work as a relational category, which is embedded deeply in biographical stories. I will use quotations from the interviews as the illustrations of the relations between featured categories. I hope it would be useful paper for my team colleagues, if it could be treat like some kind of internal analytical frames.

The first location field that I will consider in my analysis is M.– a small town near the border between Poland and Czech Republic. I took into consideration 4 interviews realized in this location. First case, that I will briefly present is Helena, 19 year old grocery shop assistant, who constructed a long, complex narration similar to the course of psychotherapy and filled with emotions related to difficult events in her life. There is very clear trajectory in the history of the Helena's family, that struggles with these kind of difficulties like: poverty, alcoholism, mental and physical abuse. Helena had to deal with those problems since childhood, now she financially helps her parents and takes care of

siblings, taking over the parental role. She had worked just since she was 13 years old, first illegally. Living in the small town environment and struggling with all of these problems embed her in experience of permanent stigmatization due to poverty and social exclusion, that still affect her life. Anyway, she has the strong will (but it is like some kind of therapeutic dream) to change her life and to overcome the structural barriers:

Yes, I am from here (M.– A.D), I am humiliated because of my family. Because my family is big, because it is poor family... I have no future. But after all I'm here to show that I am someone

The Helena's experiencing of work is strongly focused on surviving and staying on the surface of everyday life, living from day to day, where the work (in sense of work environment) is actual escape from home life, from trajectories and traumas to some kind of "normality", which the work itself and the interactions with different people could give her. Her problems affect every sphere of her life, that is full of precarity experiences. In her case precarity is practically a life condition, starting from her being used by one of her first employers (work overtime, without any additional payment) ending at permanent feel of being robbed from control, subjectivity and respect, which are effects of the structural barriers of living in small town. She also feels humiliated, because there are the people (officials and customers), who have the symbolical power over her, even if they do not have justification.

Well, my boss did not even pay for the weekends. Yyy, also, also, the intern – like the proverbial white negro. I do everything they tell me, I have no right to oppose. I go to the Municipal Office, I report, they do nothing. Because they will not believe, yyy, young person (...) People cannot be grateful to us - sellers, people who do everything to be efficient and quick to make the customer satisfied. They are able to put the logs under their feet. Complain, always insult. And while I am at work, although the customer is not right, he is got it. He has it. He can humiliate me

Helena literally said, that she is kind of blocked. She also consider, that she does not believe in the power of her agency in a field of social and political activity. She tries to cut herself of the class structure, although she described the strong social polarization between the group of poor and rich people. I recognized Helena by her life strategies as the precarious working-class type, with a strong experiencing of work as a field of social integration, limited cultural capital and experience of disaffiliation.

I'm left on my own. I work, return home, stay at home. It's normal, grey, monotonous (...) Unfortunately, this life totally kicks up your backside, it kicks up your backside. And, this life shows me that it's...it's not a fairy tale. That it's usually a battle. I mean, we, the people, are

in a sort of, let's say, jungle. Everyone fights for survival (...) I had a choice: I could either go to the school and I wouldn't have things to wear, eat or, let's say, even top up a stupid mobile phone to be in touch with my close and further family, or I could go to work and I would be able to afford something. Yet, I work and I can't still afford anything. Because I work for little money and this is ungrateful job.

The next case – Julita (in many ways similar case to Helena), is 22-year old grocery shop assistant from M. as well. She is a young, single mother of a little girl, currently on her maternity leave. Her narration starts from the expression of a statement about the “proper” and “improper” names in the town. She gave an account of how it is to feel being stigmatized, labeled and disdained due to her origin in the town. This is one of the most clearest and strongest issue in this narration:

And by the love of God, if someone has not a proper name, he is so ... disdained (...) I've just discovered in high school that everyone can be equal, that there are no such names. That, as you learn, you are evaluated. You do not have to have the right name to get the good grade. Or to go to welcome the school principal

In Julita's story stigmatization is experienced not only because of the family of origin (former farmers, in her childhood the other children used to say, that she “stinks”), but also because of her young age, the character of her work and the unmarried motherhood, most of all from her employers and the key figures of the town (like local priest), the town officials and the random people on the street. She notes the same mechanism of abuse of the symbolic power, as Helena does:

For example, there comes a lady from the Town and Commune Office. It turns out that she does not have any education like me, or at all she has only a secondary school (...) As I once pointed it out to one lady, that the fact that I'm younger than her, I work in a shop and I demand culture from myself. Because she started speaking to me through "you". Yeah, like I was her friend. Being younger and working in a shop does not mean, that I am worse.

She is structurally blocked in many ways. She experiences a lot of difficulties with the uncomfortable infrastructure, the exclusion from the labor market or the lack of support for young single working mothers in Międzyzylesie. She experience deeply the loneliness and the life without men in her life (her father works abroad, brother died and former boyfriend left her). M. is seen by the both of women as a dirty, unfriendly, closed community system and it creates a specific kind of class experience. Julita, similar to Helena, wants to cut herself of the class structure, although she speaks using strong class language.

The employment conditions are blurred for Julita, whose work experience is also some kind of blurred (she has no work identity), it is related to the feelings of humiliation and stigmatization. Workplace is also the environment of the hostile small town community, that is a danger for safe and familiar institution of family home. She seems to be the precarious working-class type, just like Helena.

The another case is Eryka, who is also the young mother, living in the small village next to M. She is currently unemployed. In spite of her higher education, she could not find the work, which is possible to reconcile it with raising a child. Earlier she was employed in one of the Czech factories, which employs the majority of those, who search the job in the border area. She is married, her husband works in the Czech factory, they live with Eryka's parents. Her parents, (just like Julita's parents) were farmers, but later her father became an forestry entrepreneur. Eryka talked a lot about her problems with stress, which caused physical ailments and problems at school. She had chosen to spend a year in England to make money for the studies and then the part-time pedagogical studies on weekends in K.(she wanted to be close to the family and to eliminate the stress on big life changes). In England she experienced a lot of different physical types of jobs on short time contracts, but she treated it only as a transitional stage in her life. In England, she lived a bit in the enclave of Poles working there, longing for her family and feeling family pressure for getting the education:

Here, First, I miss my family and the second, as I say, daddy, daddy said he would not keep a dunce at home, so I had to go back to Poland and go to study, that while my parents live and have money for it, they will educate me

In Poland she experienced a rejection from the labor market – her dreams about meritocracy finally failed, when she met the structural barriers of the small town. She must go to work in Czech factory. Her profession and education occurred to be useless and meaningless. She experienced physical work again and again she had to quit because of health problems, this time with her pregnancy:

There was no job in my profession, because they liquidated the school in, they liquidated the school in G. (small village next to M. town) so these older teachers were passed to D. (village next to M. town) , so there was no place for the young workers. (...) But I had to have work, so I applied to the Czech Republic

She emphasized the large differences between living in a small town and living in a big city. She sees the lack of support for the young mothers, the lack of possibilities. Although she wants to stay by her family, she feels emotionally connected with her family village.

In England we lived in... so this is a big city, everything is in abundance, and here - nothing (...) It's hard for me to find a job here in my profession. If I lived in a big city I would find a job maybe not in a month, but in three months, because there is much more like kindergartens or schools than us. (...) I was with Lukasz. Lukasz says, somehow my city does not attract me. Definitely I prefer quiet and peace.

She said, that there is no class division in society because the meritocracy is no longer a rule. She experienced a strong disappointment, when it occurred, that the higher education (mythical in her parents' minds), that she received, is not enough to get a decent job. Her experiences also contain a few attempts of using the escape strategy, when she could not manage stress situation. I classified Eryka by the character of her life strategies to the precarious working-class type.

The last interview from M. location field is a conversation with Patryk, the 24-year-old young man, working in one of the Czech factories in the border area. The interview begins with the memories of the place where he grew up, went to school, then studied (without completing his studies). He told a few things about his family situation - he was raised only by his mother (history and social studies teacher) and aunt. His father died when Patryk was still a child. He still lives with his mother and aunt in the apartment where he grew up. He does not construct a complex narrative, he needed additional questions. The important turning point in his life is the short time of living, studying (tourism and recreation - subsidized from UE, part-time) and working in Wrocław. During the second year of his studies he stopped studying tourism. He worked as a security guard in a shopping-center, then in a call center – during time spent in big city he was separated from his family home, carefree, had fun and shared an apartment with a group of friends, then he returned to his hometown. Just like Helena, Julita and Eryka he talked a lot about the lack of perspectives in the small town, but often in the context of free time and entertainment:

Well, the period of childhood in M., there were no big possibilities for self-development or there were not any chances to take part in anything, a culture or something. You just had to go to K. (middle-sized town), somewhere to the cinema (...)

Although Patryk stopped studying, he still believes, that a higher education could bring more chances on getting a decent job. He still wants to get a higher degree someday, but his educational plans like his other life plans are unspecified and blurred. He also confessed, that he believes, that there are big differences between living in small town and in a big city. In the big city there are chances of having a better job and life conditions.

Just as I say, I would like to move out, to live alone, rent apartment somewhere. I do not know yet, whether it will be M., or will it be somewhere further. I thought about W., to go back to W., because, like I say, that this is a bigger city, a lot of friends went to live there, more opportunities to self-development and to find a job, right? Better job. So that I think about leaving, but it is still uncertain in the near future

In spite of that after his coming back to M. he also (like Julita and Eryka) wanted to find a job as near his family apartment as possible and he feels emotionally bound with his home town.

His work experiencing is also divided to the W. period and M. period. After he experienced job as easy to find, but alienated, short time and on unstable contract, he came back to his home town with a plan to find a safe, comfortable, stable workplace. It occurred, that finding a job in small town is harder challenge, than he thought it is. He has to face the difficulties of hard, physical work in factory on unstable contracts. Just like the women, that I mentioned above, he perceive, that he was being treated worse than the older persons at work, just because he was young and new at the job. He had a strong class embedded experience, he said clearly, that he classifies himself in a working-class, because he is a factory worker. I also classified him to the precarious working-class type.

His language shows strong class judgment. He sees a clear division between rich and poor people, just like Helena does. Patryk also mentioned about “local connections” and he said, that, the family of the origin is the condition, that affect life chances, and this is the next similarity inside all the cases from M.

For example, someone born in a family where someone has a high position, also has a lot of local connections, and already it could be easier to find some work or school for him, right? And here if someone is born in such an ordinary family where no one knows them, you have to deal with it yourself, no one would help him to find this work or school, right? You have to look for yourself.

The analyzed cases of work experiences from M. location field are quite similar. It is embedded in the class and experience of living in the small town, with lack of perspectives, support for young workers and chances for any kind of self-development. The place seemed to

mark the life strategies and work experiences of the interviewees by many structural barriers, like difficult access to culture and education possibilities, problematic infrastructure and the stiff, polarized relations between ordinary persons and the local business and office elite. The work experiences of the interviewees were presented as blocked and stigmatized, with the trajectories of loss and lack of institutional support, belief in efficiency of one's activity and control over the future life course. One of the clearest issues of the work experiencing is looking for stability, safety and the feeling of having the "normal" life, without permanent worries about day by day life.

The next part of this paper will present a brief summary of 3 interviews from the WŁ. location field. First case, that I will take into consideration is the Adela case. Her biography is very difficult, full of traumatic experience (dysfunctional family, poverty, murder committed by her mother, stay of her mother in prison, stay of Adela in psychiatric hospital). A girl has not yet left the trajectory, she do not worked out all her traumas. Adela is 19 years old young woman. She lives currently in the local homeless shelter for women in WŁ. She actually has any biographical experience of work. She worked only once – on a strawberry plantation, but quickly she got kicked out because of smoking cigarettes at work.

For now her life strategy has to be classified to the exit type because of her current life dysfunction and problems. Adela does not actually create any complex narration in the interview, her thoughts are rather chaotic, it is difficult to organize them in chronological order of biography. Within the framework of the local activation project for the unemployed, she began to study in a vocational school. Her future plans are unspecified, blurred and not supported by any specific activity. The plans are like simply dreams or wishes of having a normal life, to find peace, to leave the trajectory of the mental suffering.

And then I will find a job, yes. I will rent a small apartment, I'll adopt a cat and it will be fun. (laugh) Such is the plan, so it will be all (...) Peaceful, no surprises. So that I know what I will be doing tomorrow, I know what will be in a month (...) I know what time I am going to wake up, everything so perfectly planned. We are going to work, honey, you're making me breakfast. We also need a baby, I will take time for this everything. Wedding. So, I want everything to look so normal

Uncertainty and instability affects every sphere of her life. In her plans is the clear desire for stability and certainty, but for now it refers only to what will happen the next day. She currently lives in isolation from the labor market. She practically cannot manage everyday life

without social assistance support. In Adela's biography precarity is truly a life condition and it is a vulnerability, that is still present in her past, today and future life.

The next case, which I am going to present is, the case of Klaudyna, a 20 years old office worker, who works as an intern at local Labour Office. Her task is to find participants for different courses and trainings. This interview practically do not have any complex narration, Klaudyna was saying in chaotic, clumsy way. She is still in trajectory of the family problems. The turning point of it is her parents' recent divorce and her mother's moving out and finding new job. She was practically raised by her grandmother rather than her parents, always busy with their work. She has very disrespectful attitude to her education course, she actually did not care much about education since the junior high school period. This may be the result of lacks in her cultural capital. She lives with a closest friend and her children. They work together, take care of children and run their household; They have something like open house, where they often invite their friends. This is Klaudyna's way to manage her difficult family and private situation, it seems to be a way to distance from her unsuccessful love life. She experienced few kinds of jobs, there were mainly physical kind of jobs (in two factories, in street fruits trade), now she has an easy, clean work in the office and this is definitely what she consider as a good job for her. She sees the clear division between the hard, physical job and the clean office work. Klaudyna even said, that she felt like cheap labor force, like a human garbage, when she was working in the factory in special economic zone:

For example, in this (special economic – O.D.) zone, or something like that, I just felt like the cheap labor force (...) I felt... I was just like that, the next one, who had to work for them, just like the junk, that they use only to work. They're so ... like the work camps, they were treat all people there like human garbage. They are not interested in the fact that someone may feel bad or something, this person is supposed to work

She treats her current work as a blessing, something, that she caught only as some happy coincidence, but she is totally content about it and she takes advantages of the "goodness" of her work living day by day. She recognizes, that in other countries, there is possible to earn better, to have a decent job, but her emotional bound with the current place and the fear of the life changes are so strong, that she cannot decide for any migration (just like cases form M. location). She uses a clear class language, but in clumsy way. In the social structure she places herself "in the middle, but closer to peasantry". In spite of everything she still believes in meritocracy. She sees, that the local connections play the main role in the local work and power distribution. Just like Julita Klaudyna thinks about running her own business in the

future. This is a synonym of an control and agency for her. She desires for a “normal” life (like Helena and Julita – women in biographical trajectories) and this is probably the highlight of the trajectory, which she is still in.

So generally, to have my own apartment, to find yourself some normal boyfriend and to have such a normal life, right

I suppose, that Klaudyna’s life strategies bear the marks of precarious entrepreneurial type (bricolage) because of strong withdrawal to her private life, treating work instrumentally, “local connections” as the basis of life chances and of the precarious working-class type at the same time, because of the transmission of lack of cultural capital, the meaning of the imagined communities and the experience of disaffiliation in her biography.

Another analyzed case from Walbrzych location is Dawid – 25 years old men currently working illegally in a pub as a dishwasher help and at the same time he is the leader of the local activation group for the young unemployed in WŁ. Interview does not take the form of longer narrative, but it shows some of the complex statements. Although David does not build a typically chronological, ordered story of life, but he just try to answer the questions and show his story as good as he can. This is the interview about the twisted ways to return to the path of social life, about the searching and about the "male" identity confusion and about the relations between social expectations, role and identity and its strong pressure. The clear thing is the lack of cultural capital. He has not even the primary education, he stopped it on the junior high school period. Dawid, lost and resigned, had chosen the escape and withdrawal way for some time. And the results of this escape are problems with law and stays in custody for several times.

The interview contains a rich history of employment: from work in pubs and music clubs and an appliance shop through physical work in factories, in poultry farms in the Netherlands. On the one hand he treats his job instrumentally, as a source of financial income, but on the other hand he is still looking for some field, that he can use his (as he thinks) unusual abilities for example his leader skills.

The normalization of precariousness is one of the visible issues in this narration. It is not only the rich work experiences, but the rejection of forms of stable employment in one kind of job for many years:

My mentality does not allow me to just be the ordinary person who goes to work, does the factory twenty years and then goes to a pension and gets, I do not know, seven hundred zloty. That is not for me. Someone once said, that being anybody it is not for me

There is a strong trajectory in his life, that relates to the role of the father, that he once escaped from for some time and now he wants to fix the relationship with his 4-years old son. He turning point in his life story is one of his longer stays in custody. He decided then, that it is the time to change his life course. He realized, that he has lost his agency, he got lost and now he tries to regain some control over his life:

And I just thought it was not for me, such a life in the margins. Although it was cool in the beginning, because I could do something that is not allowed (...) And what made me do this? It is the same need that, in the end, I finally should do something for myself. Because I've always done something for someone, or something I should to do because of someone. I have always been, perhaps not so much receptive, but addicted to some external factors, to put my plans aside again

He was also in dept trap, now he just began to manage his financial problems. His life just begun to change. Although he still does not have specified life plans, how it will look like in the near future. He tries to live day by day and to fix his biggest problems step by step. All his previous life his life strategy was to contrive to survive in temporary periods, to act under the influence of the moment. His life was marked by the lack of thinking about the consequences, by the lack of clearly defined goals, delayed adulthood and delayed process of taking over the social roles.

I have consolidated several loans. One consolidation I was able to pay off, now I am still fighting with PKP, they want me to give back the money for my credit tickets, and it was because of my ex-girlfriend, because we traveled, traveled, sometimes we did not have money for tickets, so it was necessary to combine

I classified his life strategy as the precarious working-class type. He said, that he is no longer identifying himself with the precariat because of his will for changing his life and because of his plans of getting some permanent employment. Now he slowly “drifts” on the wave of his small successes and plans. In spite of that he still lives with his parents and he keeps his stability in living with his parents and also in benefiting from the social assistance at the OHP program for unemployed.

The analyzed cases from WŁ. location field are quite difficult biographies. Each one contains some kind of trajectory and each one of the interviewees is in process to get out of it. In those three interviews there were visible marks of the specifics of living in the middle sized town. The interviewees said a lot about the class experience, in which they embedded their

work experience. The cases shows, that the actual work experience should to be researched in reference to the whole life story and the course of trajectories. It occurs, that even the border type of cases, that do not have any work experience in general, could be worth to analyze them. They should complete the whole picture of the location type and show the context of the relation not only between work experience and biographical work, but even between biographically embedded socialization processes and creating of social identity and taking over the social roles in early adulthood.

The last part of my analytical summary will be the presentation of three cases from W. location field. They are specific cases, just like the ones above, but not only because of the specification of the big city, but due to the form of the associational right-wing social activity of two interviewees. The first case will be Jan, 27-years old worker of the temporary employment agency. The interview contains the long, complex narration in the first part, that was developed in subsequent parts. His story is settled in the context of the "culture" of the football stadium and the environment of the right-wing activism. He connected interests with the sociology studies, this was also the time, when he engaged in Wisła Association, that among others helps Poles in the Eastern Borderlands.

He wrote a good master thesis paper and he was encouraged to go to a doctorate. Earlier, before the sociology studies, he wanted to become a workman and to do a physical work. His parents took care of his education, he attended the good schools and then his mom (employed accountant) encouraged him to go to studies. His dad struggles with the depression because of his unemployment situation. He once was a successful entrepreneur, he started in 90's and now he seems to be the "loser" of the system and economy transformation.

Jan is in trajectory of the break up with his fiancée, a polish girl from Lithuania. His fiancée has greatly influenced his system of values – from the atheist he became a practicing Catholic.

He has an interesting history as an employee, from holiday work in a sorting facility, in the coal handling to a typical creative office work (as a mystery client and then in HR agency). He delays making a decision to settle down, hangs it (because he prefers to save the money instead of paying for rent). His story is characterized by the lack of concrete plans, delaying decisions for the future:

And I am waiting for a better time, better weather, to make it somehow economically logical, yes. Since I am from Wroclaw, I can stay at home, I think, that it is better to stay at home, to

save the money, to have some financial reserves for life ... And yes, I temporarily came back. I do not know how long it will take

Jan mentioned a lot about the "non-hierarchical" structure and non-normalized working hours in terms of the good aspects of his current work. He even tried to rationalize and seek for justification for it by talking about it with a fake, joke-like distance. This is definitely one of the marks of normalization of precariousness process.

You have to be fast and you have to realize that eight hours is not enough. There is no chance for it. Last week I worked eleven hours every day and have unpaid overtime, so it can piss off a bit, but no, a man prefer to have everything done and ordered than not to have(...) You can do self-development, it is a good solid company, but they pay maybe not too much, generally it is a job for masochists

He shows the social distinctions as the picture of work division between "blue collars" and "white collars". He perceives those divisions as the ones created on the basis of their work income and the nature of the work performed. Jan mentioned, that this is an ambiguous division. He told, that in fact, physical workers can earn more and have better perspectives than office workers.

He does not want to classify himself as precarious worker, because he strongly wants to believe in the promise of a stable contract, that he received from his employer. And this is another mark of the process of normalization of precariousness. His work experiencing is some kind of field of symbolic fighting between blue-collar and white-collar identity. The experience is marked deeply by the normalization of precariousness, that simply affects every aspect of his life, especially his current work situation, despite he does not want to believe that. I think his life strategy has some of the characteristics of precarious entrepreneurial type (the need to divide work and outside work life, intensification of the work activity Jan is strongly engaged right-wing activist, longing for stability). The questions and possible doubts remain in the aspect of social activity and in the perception of precarity (he longs for stability and at the same time he tolerates his work conditions and emphasizes the value of self-development and satisfaction at work in the expense of financial income).

The second case that I will present is Damian, actually the close colleague of Jan. He also is the activist at the Wisła Association, he is even a member of its management. Damian is also 27 years old. In the interview he presented a structured, chronological ordered, rich narrative, initially focused on his interests and accomplishments of learning and science in the study time. In the narration he highlighted his interests in the humanities (history,

journalism) and showed his studies discipline - sociology as the third way. He also was encouraged to go to the doctorate after getting his master degree. He has strong, affective capital from the family of his origin – both of his parents are psychologist (so is his wife) and their invested in his education, sending him to good schools and supporting him on every stage of his education. The important thing in his biography is also the experience of changing the place of his family home. He moved from living in a big city to living in the countryside, and now he lives in W. again. For him the changing of live places was a time of searching and finding "his own group" and the reference groups. He often compared environments - seeing the clear differences between them on like the cases from small and middle town types of the location field. The big difference is that he told the story about the socialization groups, about the local youth identity, he named those divisions between country and city as “big city climate” and “rural climate”.

Only later he told some things about the most important point of his activity in the association and tried to explain the links with the sports and cheer environment. The story was full self-censorship, most of all in the aspect of his right-wing activity. He tried to show the distance from political face of the association activity by all means. He talked about the divisions in the society in a very careful, diplomatic way, referring to the national character and the discourse created in the media. By all means he avoids to clarify his political and economic views.

The story of his employment is not so rich, he had a few holiday jobs, but he does not tell much about it. He once experienced work in the factory (but not by the production tape), he worked in marketing department of the small enterprise producing polish patriotic clothes. His current work is managing the association. He always wanted to work by the desk in some office kind of job. There is a story about a short experience of job in a factory, which seems to be totally unreal to him, like he was shocked when he faced the reality of working in the factory. It shows big distinction of image of the blue-collars workers and the office work. And the experience of very short time of working by the tape was some kind of unreal:

I remember this to this day, that I was working in a factory where there was a tape and there were ladies, who competed for over a hundred percent of the norm. I felt like I was moving somewhere in time (...) I was there doing some kind of delivery for them, and the last day of my work they threw me on that tape, at the very end, where everything had to be sorted and done at their own pace. And the pace until there was a lunch break, or something, I was desperate, they changed me after the break, because I could not manage that pace. And all these ladies were older. I thought they would not have that kind of pressure, because it

probably did not affect their earnings. (laughter) It was really - in retrospect, for me it is very interesting experience, to see how it works.

His work experiencing was also shaped by the experience of disappointment in the workplace of the polish patriotic clothing firm. Jan remembered a lot of communication problems, the lack of gratefulness and lack of loyalty towards employees of his former employers in general. He quitted this job to get a proposition of project type of job in the Association. He could be pictured as the entrepreneurial type because of the character of his work, which is informal and it requires intensity, also because of his right-wing type of social activity. Or he can be seen as one of the precarious creative type (projectarian), which perceives his engagement and satisfaction as the biggest value in his work. But on the other hand he thinks about stability, but still in a blurred way. He covers it again by the certainty at employees and employers relations at the Association:

There is a moment of a budget hole. But as if we are prepared for this, we know we talked about it, and then no one is there at the door, where our paychecks are (...) But it would be cool to get this table contract. And there it is in the plans for the near future (...) This is a different kind of relation, there is no such thing as uncertainty about the finances or any feeling of fear there.

Jan used to talk about the “mental comfort” in his current life situation. He said, that he has no worries about his work conditions and life plans and he can plan . His wife works on a stable contract and he perceives his own situation as comfortable and safe, he also believes in the power his own abilities and agency. There is a visible process of normalization of precariousness, in characteristic way for the precarious creative type although he even does not classify himself as precarious worker.

The next and the last analyzed case, that I will present in this paper is Alina – 27-year old Silesian girl. Copyreader working both ways, halfway on the stable contract and halfway on the project mode. In the interview Alina presented structured, ordered and long and complex narration, built in a rather careful language (Alina is a philologist, and now she is doctorate candidate. She prepares a paper focused on Silesian dialect. Her parents could transfer to her the basis of the cultural and social capital, her mother is a teacher and her father is an engineer. They always take care of her education and devote to her a lot of parental attention. There are some elements of Silesian tradition, which are very important in Alina's biography: dialect, “ordnung” (order), religiosity, stereotype and prejudice, which in particular shaped the subsequent stages of her life somehow. She clearly has thoughtful,

complex life plans, based on reflection and calculations on working time, leisure time, earnings, satisfaction and stress. She already initiated it in the first part of the interview. She strictly knows, what kind of life she wants to lead and she do what she can to fulfill her dreams and plans. Her current plans are focused on creating a happy family life with her husband. They are about to move to their new apartment, that they bought on some of the 30-years long credits. She has been through a few crisis's in her life, they were not the clear trajectories, although one of them was crucial – the first year of her marriage, when her husband was unemployed and could not to finish his master thesis paper. She must overtake the role of a head of the family for some time, she gave them both the financial support and she has written her husband's paper for him to get a master of history degree. It was the experience, that scared her at first, but later it showed her power and agency to manage the difficult situation and encouraged her husband to find a job in a different than his educated profession.

The classification to the specific type of life strategy makes me confused, because on the one hand the interview contains postulates of permanent separation of the work from private life (work in the redaction's office) and the need of money and stability as an important conditions, stable working hours and protections benefits, the plans of starting a family on a strong basis, on the other hand numerous work at home on commission contracts and appreciation of working at home, creativity, activity in creating her own identity, job satisfaction is also important. Her income is received from the combination of both types of employment; Now she in the process of deciding which way to choose project and home-working way or the stable contract and office-working. There are probably a lot of overheads in the narration and no clear trajectories are discovered. On the other hand, many biographical processes and situations seem to be overworked, supported by a critical, consistent, thoughtful and reflective narration.

Her work experience is situated between homework and work in the office / college and between strict separation of work from the private sphere and finding the third way.

I would like to go into one of these three directions. I rather reject the academia, that means, I will finish the doctorate, but I will not want to work with students anymore, because it is the most stressful thing for me. There are options two, or I will go on a full-time job contract in this office and it has its big advantages, because I could start at eight o'clock at finish at sixteen and I can really forget about this job and I have entire evening, all weekend for myself, what is definitely rare. Or the other way, I can take more remote jobs and work at home (...) I am just about to decide, what really would be better for me.

Her story on the job market is not too rich - first holiday jobs as a hostess, then work in a used clothing store. Both of them revealed the difficulty of coping with the stress of direct contact with co-workers and clients, what made it easier to decide on a different mode of work (office and home work. She perceives her free time for the weight of gold. She has strong desire to expand the leisure time and separate work and private time to spend more time with her husband, friends and family, what is the most important value for her.

She seemed to be a little confused about the questions about politics and economics. Alina does not feel comfortable to talk about those topics. Although she told about very strong right-wing views, that she had overtaken from her husband. She also said, that according to her there are no social classes just to mention later about a great social polarization and situate herself in the middle class. Although she sees a lot of difficulties in her current situation, she does not classify herself as a precarious worker:

Because the employment is not stable, but it is well paid. After all, I am able to pull out some decent money from it

Alina's work experience is embedded in the process of in the process of striving to build an adult life and adult identity. We can suppose, that her clear and well organized life plans come from her Silesian ethos, that was a key frame for her primary socialization. She seems to be a strong Silesian girl, who can even take the men's role, if there this is necessary. Her precarity is defined by some kind of "suspension status" of the decision to choose between project life (with no chance for the stable and safe basis for having a family with kids), where the work and private life are practically not separable and the office work with the stable contract, but only halftime, where there is a possibility to keep the work/life balance. She also is strongly focused on her own activity and making choices by fulfilling her dreams and plans about the future. This is some kind of way to deal with the problems, although she used to say, that she often keeps them inside and worries about everything. She tries to somehow survive in current conditions, relying on her husband and also relying on her own activity. Alina believes, that she has no other options, she has to adapt to her current situation. Like she said in one of her narration summaries:

One of my friends, when I have sometimes, I have brilliant ideas how to improve some of these issues, he tells me: 'Listen, we're in the ass and we have to settle down in it'

The chosen cases from W. present a picture of young people with specific life plans, with some imagines of how their future would look like. Their biographical narrations around work topic are about the verifications of those future plans. The verifications in their biographies became the experiences of precarious work with different faces of it, from projectarian trajectory to the negotiations of the conditions of their contract status. They still have to make choices about their strategy and deal with its consequences, that most of all delay the realization of their life plans of independent, adult life. Their culture and social capital seem to be not enough to protect them from blocked, unstable and extended precarious life. Precarity still creates the numerous obstacles to rationalize and somehow to implement it to their life as its condition. That is why the process of normalization of precarity for those young educated and well prepared people can be perceived as strong opposition for their aspirations for life. The coping strategy embedded in the experiencing of work is based on permanent attempts not to overcome the precarity conditions, but to learn how to live with them and to fit them to the imagines of their adult private life plans and self-development projects.