

Research progress

# PRECARIOUSNESS AND INNOVATION IN POSTFORDISM: THE CASE OF KNOWLEDGE WORKERS IN TURIN

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#### **Outline**

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- 7. Hypothesized empirical findings and implications for research hypotheses

Synthesis of the research with completed phases

**Interpretation of the data** 

**Problems and adopted solutions** 

# The research question (s)

Which kind of subjectivity of work is connected to

the supply chains of the knowledge economy in Turin

?

What specifically means precariousness and innovation for knowledge workers



# **Object of analysis**

The research aims to cast a critical eye over experience and subjectivity within the field of knowledge, web and new media work in Turin.

The research is oriented towards the exploration of the experience of those knowledge workers (DRUCKER 1994) who make of creation, development and knowledge transmission their own strengths...

...in a city in transition to a new cycle of productions tied to knowledge and events economy where the deinstitutionalization of work routines entails the increase of risk.

#### theoretical framework

With the development of the **knowledge society** (FINELLI, CILLARIO 1998; RULLANI 2004; REGINI, BALLARINO 2005), the crisis of Fordist regulation (BAUMAN 2002 b, SENNETT 1999) and the **de-institutionalisation of careers**, the inevitable accompaniment to the **growth of risk** (BECK 1986) is the emergence of quite new forms and perceptions of precariousness (BECK 2000 a; 2000 c).

### RISK, RIFLESSIVE MODERNITY, INDIVIDUALIZATION

At the same time, it is **subjectivity** more than *conformity to procedures* which draws career paths, in that it is the regaining of autonomy (BECK, GIDDENS, LASH, 1994) which constitutes the fundamental factor of *innovation* in the new jobs.

innovation

precariousness

From the organisational point of view, the *network and informality* typify these professional worlds (BARLEY, KUNDA 2004) **where the paths of experience can no longer be drawn up ex ante**: in the recovery of subjectivity, initiative is handed back to the individual, *relations of informal work* are freed up (REGALIA, SARTOR 1992) and the methods typical of the service sector tend to spread, informing the world of work rather uncomfortably (TOURAINE, 2006).

# Metodological approach

### **Qualitative data analysis**

In the study of subjectivity the qualitative approach is deemed more appropriate than survey or the use of quantitative tools, on the basis that participants have the opportunity of **assigning meaning and reporting their own experience in their own terms** (GEERTZ, 1973), in *substantive categories* (GLASER & STRAUSS, 1967; DE MAZIERE, DUBAR 1997) rather than in preselected teorical categories.

#### **Quantitative methods are supplementary**

In this research, quantitative methods and secondary data are *supplementary* (FIELDING, SCHREIER, 2001) and limited to the reconstruction of the socio-occupational framework into which the subjectivity fits.

# Design issue: case selection and data

# The empirical research has been conducted using two distinct methods of data collection and analysis:

## 1. a desk part,

conducted through a survey of secondary sources, with the reprocessing and reinterpretation of research data (BODO, SPADA, 2004; IRES 2006)

- **2. a field part,** on direct sources, organised in two specific survey stages:
- a set of interviews of institutional players and key privileged observatories
- \_ the second part of the *field* research consisting of a Case study with a set of interviews of knowledge workers and qualitative data analysis

# **Empirical research**

#### Case study:

The field research has been conducted through the identification of **39 profiles** among knowledge workers - both male and female - and of micro - enterprises of "cottage-industry" dimensions, belonging to **five "product" supply chains** within the world of technological, cultural and creative productions of the knowledge economy:

- 1. information technology and networks;
- 2. web-based industry;
- 3. design, graphics, photography and produtions of contemporary art;
- 4. audiovisual and other multimedia formats, publicity;
- 5. training and research, publishing and translation activities.

### The interviews was conducted principally during events

events emblematically connote the Postfordist transition of Turin, from an area oriented to the production of durable goods to a factory for ephemeral goods.

ITC events: Virtuality,

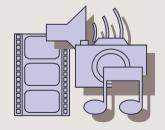
Linux time



(www.virtualityconference.it),
(www.Turinlibera.org/linuxday.php)

New Media events: Artissima

Festival Cinema

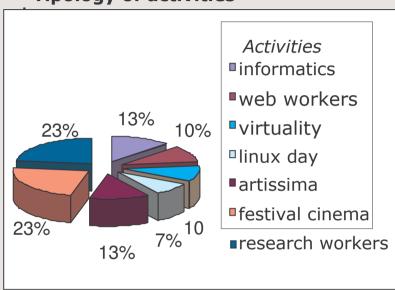


www.artissima.it www.Turinfilmfest.org

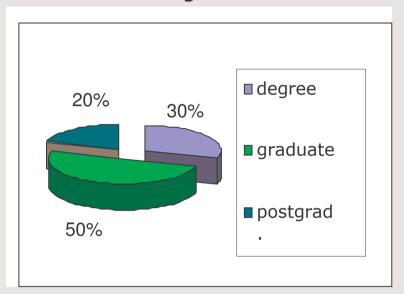
# **Empirical research**

### **Characteristics of the qualitative sample: some empirical evidences**

#### **Tipology of activities**



#### Level of training



homogeneity of activities and relationship with digital technology;

homogeneity in **educational background**, of university level;

### moreover the sample presents:

- **homogeneity** as regards the places and the **work environments** in which the interviews have been gathered: largely in the course of ITC events and New Media events;
  - variety as regards age group, (largely between 25-45 years of age);

**gender** (with 36% being women) and the socio-economic and professional condition (**income level** and **contract type**).

The sample includes a range of **different occupations-roles**.

# **Findings**

#### from narratives to...



As far as the preliminary results are concerned, the empirical research has produced a repertoire of substantive categories obtained from the encoding of the narratives.

### by encoding!

progressive construction of the sample (GLASER & STRAUSS, 1967);

"tales" as interview interpretation criteria (BERTAUX 2005: 21);

concatenation of the substantive categories (GLASER & STRAUSS, 1967; DE MAZIERE, DUBAR 1997) referred to that specific case

...substantive categories (grounded theory)

The substantive categories (GLASER & STRAUSS, 1967; DE MAZIERE, DUBAR 1997) are the categories of social language through which individuals express their practical logic and represent reporting the situations which they live through, their activities, projects. They are obtained by using an internal analysis of the linguistic productions of the individuals.

# Narratives: findings of interpretation A repertory of substantive categories

#### **TRANSITIONS:**

Sense of temporariness and of the contingent Sense of insecurity

Reversibility: overturning the contingency trap

#### **NECESSITY TO BE IN THE NETWORK:**

The network of mass self-communication Enhancement and uprooting of work in space and time Indistinction: introjected time and space

#### **IDENTIFICATION:**

The playful nature of work
Innovation as autonomy and self-determination
Innovation: autonomy within undrawn paths
Changing cognitive patterns to "learning on the job"

#### **INFORMALITY:**

Fluidity among different statuses

Getting value out of ties

The informality of social relations, structures, processes

Liquid normes: roles and informal safeguards beyond contract terms

Managing the risk? Self-regulation, Self-exploitation!
Company infidelity / conflict avoidance
Fear of demotion

New horizon of contingent:

trap and opportunity

Ambivalence of networks and digital tecnologies

Creative cooperation but liquid rules

**Ambivalence of Informality** 

**Precarioussness and innovation** 

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#### From an interview:

".. That's it... the predominant characteristic of the job I've been doing for the last three years: it's disruption. [..] Every time, every six months, [..] there is always a contract end, the question over what my future will bring." [Renata\_38; architect, "cocopro"\_project worker]

#### **Transitions**

It is the start or the conclusion of the contract and of the project which assumes centrality in the narratives. There are moments of conflict, bargaining, negotiation, dialogue, growth and learning, social promotion, exclusion, flight. One has the impression that so much, subjectively, is at stake here, condensed into those particular turning-points, during the events, which create disruptions in the career path. The stages of exit and entry are decisive in working roles rather than, as in past, the length of service within stable working roles; this working condition of Postfordist mobility, seems paradigmatic to us of liquid modernity (BAUMAN 2000).

#### From an interview:

"[..] I reckon our generation has absorbed it as a mindset, we've been trained with the concept that <u>everything has an end</u>, that you need to live for the moment and that afterwards you just can't know..[..] you can't get beyond a certain point. Your thoughts have an end too" [Valentina\_26; agency worker in Centro Tim Call Centre]

## The sense of temporariness and of the contingent

Linear development in the perception of a "normal" worker's own experience of classical capitalism (career) is replaced by an "archipelago" of experiences and of fragments of life. The sense of temporariness is not circumscribable to the discontinuity of contracts and to the fragmentary nature of working experiences, it impacts on self, being reconfirmed in a working and social identity and feeling temporarily defined. There follows a "narrative" difficulty (SENNETT, 1998). The condition of the knowledge workers is not to be considered, then, only as the continuous pilgrimage from one job to another, but as a meaningful social change (CHICCHI 2001) and change of the perception of oneself.

"...we do communication and so it cannot only be a gym for personal and professional growth. You've done half the work and the other half <u>must</u> be that of spreading it because <u>we believe a great deal in the net.//</u> you throw it out and who knows what'll come back!" [Catia\_30; free lance photographer]

#### The network of mass self-communication

The fundamental novelty in the relationship with technology lies in the fact that knowledge is situated in the intermediate space of the network, and this is a source of expectation and social behaviours.

In this regard, De Kerckhove has emphasised that, for example, the blog is not the publication of a diary but the publication of the network, of my network. We are faced then, with a profoundly connective creature: not collective, not private, but profoundly connective (DE KERCKHOVE, 1993; RHEINGOLD 1994; BERRA, MEO, 2007). These related to the opportunities it offered for autonomy, the nature of the work, the chances it offered to innovate, its potential as a medium for communication, its opportunities for community (MAFFESOLI, 1988; NANCY, 1992; RHEINGOLD, 1994; FERRI, 1999; PACCAGNELLA, 2000; CAROLA FRESCHI, 2000; TOZZI, DI CORINTO, 2002)

#### **NETWORK**

- "...first of all, we do not have an office... no secretaries, and we try to manage without them." [Alberto\_40; co-owner software house]
- "...I have a lightweight laptop which weighs one point eight kilos, I have a smart phone, I am, in fact, a mini manager enjoying mobility, moving [...] freely.." [Claudio\_32; web designer, self-employed worker]
  - "...damn mobile! pratically always reachable" [Catia\_30; free lance photographer]

## Enhancement and uprooting of work in space and time

The spread of Internet and of digital media has favoured the development of networks of interactive and horizontal communication capable of connecting, at any moment, "local" and "global" and of developing new ways of life and work. The more an individual cultivates a project of personal and professional autonomy, the greater the use he or she makes of mobile technology (FINLAY, 1987; FERRI, 1999; DELZIO, 2007). From the point of view of personal autonomy, it is a great change, and from the point of view of precariousness, it means necessarily an increase in working autonomy and of remuneration in terms of result and not of time. But the mobile work recounted by the interviewees, finds itself in a sort of continual and irresolvable ambivalent tension between enhancement of work and its reduction.

"..personally, I live these subjects, even in my daily life. even the films I go to see at the cinema...a dvd...the magazine I buy, I have no discontinuity with my personal life, hobbies and my profession." [Marco\_35; co-owner software house] "..I frequently read, in the evening or at the week end, what I need to know at work, I read on the train, I couldn't put a figure on the time I spend on work" [Valerio\_39; researcher p. iva]

### Indistinction: introjected time and space

Also thanks to the use of flexible technologies, the separation between times of life and times of work so typical of the Fordist world, fall to pieces, as do physical spaces and natural times of day and night. It is no coincidence that in the personal histories of some, the distinction between "home" and "work" has gone. The role of knowledge workers is flexible, thus less dependent on "space" and "time" factors than Fordist and manual work ever was. Time seems introjected and poor in formal external control, and in the same way ambivalently extended, indefinite and stretchable beyond the limits of imagination.

#### **IDENTIFICATION**

"..I think that if one does something with pleasure, that's the most important thing.

[..] is happy and stimulated; doing two hours-five hours extra is no burden.

But doing two hours extra, or even a minute more when you don't like it is a terrible drag" [Fabio\_29; research fellow, Polytechnic of Turin]

## Identification and the playful nature of work

In the interviews, some of the participants identify themselves completely in the work they do, it involves them, it feels like their own, becomes a motive of self-realisation, it is a source of pleasure, one sees the transposition of logic typical of the creation of a work of art (MENGER 2003; GAZIER 2006; PILMIS, 2007) and the definition of one's own identity is touched (PIZZORNO, 2007). Thus, one is willing to give of oneself, of one's energy, intelligence, time, regardless of the immediate financial benefit. Remuneration is elsewhere. People working in the knowledge economy, the creative and experience economy have an extraordinary passion and enthusiasm for the field. This goes beyond individual projects, and frequently relates to the broader development of the Web. Above all in the *Web culture* starting with *hacktivism* as a whole (BAZZICHELLI 2007)

"...and we put ourselves to the test, just us, to create a product, which until then... Never...we had always been ones who worked for somebody who told us what they wanted, and we gave them our creative and experimental in-put, but something of our own, we'd never done it and that was perhaps the first time we realised we could do it. Now then! That is positive". [Paul 50; video maker]

# Innovation as autonomy and self determination

The participants are proud of being able to choose what to create and of being able to manage working hours, project and activity types themselves, more generally, they like feeling "capable" and the most singular condition of being "one's own boss". In the single working experiences the workers perceive themselves as "creators of sense" – or else they consider significant, in the field of activities undertaken, the component of meaning and of creation of content.

Autonomy constitutes a characteristic of work (BOLOGNA, FUMAGALLI 1997; REYNERI 1998) and, for this very reason, the possibility for the worker to choose the lines and the times of action to reach the objective him/herself (BOLTANSKI, CHIAPELLO, 1999 represents an extremely important point of attraction for anyone aspiring to enter this world of work.

"Finished. Straight away I looked for something else. <u>You need</u> the capacity to react fast, softening the blows, the changes; this is a situation tied up with precariousness now, at the moment.." [Elena\_25; digital archivist for Gammaservice at the RAI, "cocopro" project worker]

## **Innovation: autonomy within undrawn paths**

The transitions marking the professional life-stories predispose one to the conviction that one must be capable of disposing of oneself by oneself, leveraging one's own material, mental and social resources. Knowledge workers highlighted a number of key characteristics one would need to survive in the field. These included energy, the ability to learn fast, flexibility, creativity, communication skills and ever-readiness, elements of individualisation (BECK, 2000 a) which concern the mind-set as well as the whole time-field of work (GUBITOSA, 2007). All this demands a high degree of cognitive knowledge, of "creativity", a quality which today, unlike in fordism, is no longer denied, but rather is encouraged by training, by specific knowledge and by an environment which requires them in order to succeed in tracing "boundaryless careers" (ARTHUR, ROUSSEAU, 1996; COHEN MALLON 1999).

"But.. I don't know how to do this". "But you can learn how to - I say - take the job! // I can say that to do this job it is essential [..], that attitude that says we can do anything or else we can find somebody who can. We have to be versatile." [Claudio\_32; web designer, self-employed worker]

# Changing cognitive patterns to "learning on the job"

It is indeed the willingness to learn in the field, even up against new and unforeseen situations, taking risks, among widespread sets of social and encoded knowledge which represents a fundamental mark of the new work as opposed to the past. The capacity to learn on the job using notions, according to formalised languages, the circulation of information, updating, the capacity to collaborate in new contexts, expertise in understanding situations and deducing the solution to problems from the principles. Many participants were critical of the education they had received at college or university. Their criticisms centred on the dominance of theory over practice in education. The vast majority of participants preferred informal learning or 'learning on the job' as a way of developing their skills.

"yes, I've done a bit of everything, jobs in the city's art galleries with different roles, all kinds, from storeman to organisation, staging, and then also curating, yes. then I began to write exhibitions reviews, while I was a student. "[Mario\_36 publishing consultant "cocopro" project worker]

## Fluidity among different statuses

An important point to note is the extent to which people moved between different work statuses, both over time and at the same time. Most people had experience both of freelancing and of working for an employer. Many also had experience of setting up their own business. This research suggests that all contractual statuses should be regarded as fluid and subject to change.

"it came very easily, for someone from particular fields. [..]...here it is attributed to the company" [Valerio\_39 researcher, V.A.T. registered free-lance]

### **Getting value out of ties**

The work of production of services incorporates an important portion of immaterial and relational work, so behaviours, motivations, social and emotional skills play an important role in the qualification of the work and in its assuming its intrinsic value. As André GORZ asserts «La personne devient une entreprise». For the companies, this consists of getting value out of the human capital which the former have neither cultivated nor paid for, and which, however, they consider part of their own fixed capital (COHEN 2001; GORZ 2003). This capital is composed of those activities, as a whole, of unremunerated socialisation, the most common and everyday ones which make us capable of interacting, communicating, learning, gaining trust.

"...once you're able to do this job well, the important thing is just to manage to widen your contact base continually, which is something this environment allows..." [Claudio\_32; web designer, self-employed]

## The informality of social relations, structures, processes

The ties of trust are not limited to the working collective in strict terms, but are rooted in the magma of social cooperation, it is about individualised working profiles, career paths whose durable social ties are often found in a network outside the physical place of work.

In the single working experiences, social ties appear necessarily fragmented, but looking in depth at where they are situated one recognises the continuity of ideal reference points and often, also, of physical persons in the area and not only on the single and perhaps temporary job.

".. you can make calls, surf the internet for free, you can work in an environment where you aren't asked to do gruelling shifts [..] but the mobbing is crazy...and there's nofair and equal treatment. It depends, yes, it does, on how a person manages to fit into the group; it's strange but that's the way it is; it's more like a secondary school class rather than a work situation." [Gabriele\_26; "cocopro" project worker Extracampus TV]

# Liquid normes: roles and informal safeguards beyond contract terms

The great ambivalence, of these informal, friendly, pseudo "community" working networks lies in the fact that the norms and the rights laid out in the contracts depend also on how effectively they can be enforced in real life. Often assignation of work, roles and tasks depend, in a fluid way, (BORGHI, 1998) on the relations which can be created informally in the workplace. And insecurity is a pervasive feature of many respondents' lives. Low pay and meagre social benefits caused considerable concern – particularly among older participants. Very few of our participants were parents, despite belonging to an age group for which this is relatively common.

"...we got a big job six months ago, from one multinational processed by another multinational, and you, you aren't a multinational. And so you were supposed to find a way to work eighteen-twenty hours a day or else work with three-four times the people with whom you normally used to work [..] you worked frantically in that period, with conditions of work and a work flow you were not in control of, except for the smallest step, however, there, you had to give everything, fifteen of you, you had to process a staggering quantity of words. Done that, there goes the job. [Diego\_43, translator self-employed]

# **Self-exploitation**

Regardless of contractual form, the phenomenon of self-exploitation is linked to remuneration by result, not by time. The situation takes on the appearance of self-exploitation (F. CHESNAIS 2000), voluntary enslavement, extension of work. This is often expressed in unremunerated work performed "voluntarily" by persons convinced they are doing it for themselves, to avoid failing to meet a commitment. Contracted working hours: are no longer relevant when work is measured by result and not by time. Indeed, the problem cannot exist where there are limits placed on the number of hours a person can work.

"..working to an objective, it then becomes difficult to go to the customer and say: no, the project was worse than we anticipated.

You make a commitment and you must keep to it; in this case, it can get stressful both because the times become drawn out and because the work becomes greater than the compensation" [Alberto\_40; co-owner software house]

## Managing the risk? Self-regulation!

The participants tell of how they take on board risk even when the risk is contained objectively on the market or is linked to the process of production of the service or to the uncertainty of the objective. Self-regulation of behaviours involves dealing with external risks. Self-regulation is perceived in several ways. One of which might be described as the exertion of one's own will over their personal self - their behaviours, actions, thought processes. Much of this comes from the perception of self and the ability to set up boundaries for that self. Self-regulation can be expanded into several different areas, ranging from respect to willpower and is therefore centered on the ability of a person to exert their will over situations, processes, relations, times and results.

".. This has happened to me loads of times. If <u>you want</u> to keep your position, change firm, and so I have done this: kept my position, changed firm, to mantain professionalism with a value or that I identify with.." [Alfredo\_44; electronics engineer, Data base administrator]

"...above all for these projectjobs, rather than getting down to discussing the method, maybe starting protests and the like, it's the quickest method which is chosen, and that's it! I don't like it? I'm out of here". [Elena\_25; digital archivist at the RAI, "cocopro" project worker]

## **Company infidelity / conflict avoidance**

Another element which denotes the processes of individualisation in progress is the significant phenomenon of company infidelity, behaviour for which at the first possible opportunity the workers flee from the company of origin and rapidly move to seek more worthwhile situations.

Company infidelity more than conflict seems to be a behaviour typical of knowledge workers, of adaptation to flexibility, an individual reaction with which one tries to escape precariousness, a personal system of risk management.

"...in some way the vision of skipping from stone to stone down the stream is introjected" [Diego\_43 Translator self-employed]

#### Fear of demotion

Fear of losing positions for which one fought so hard, of going backwards maybe irreversibly towards jobs requiring less professionalism and sense and/or less well paid, less protected from a contractual point of view.

The fear of demotion is an almost constant element among the various contractual profiles which trace the path of individualisation, no-one described a leap in the dark, it is something more subtle which insinuates its way threateningly into the present and which needs to be watched out for, if it is to be caught.

People think that if they lost their current job, they would probably find another in a relatively short time but, nevertheless, with worse conditions and this creates a continuous need to be up to the situation, to be in step .. overexposing (BECK 2000) and individually overresponsibilising the person to the risk objectively contained in the social system. In a world in which risk appears, as in a myth, the only "winning" way to play the game, demotion is the traumatic and tangible manifestation of having lost.

"...we were all cococo renewable-contract company freelancers.

And I have to say that we liked it like that, too, in the sense that we hadn't decided on our future" [Silvana\_34; Cococo, Nettuno Web project distance University]

## Reversibility

The temporariness of the job is not always necessarily experienced solely as a critical and problematic element, temporariness of work leads to a sense of not being in a permanent situation, and that the same aspects of risk may in future be turned to one's own benefit.

Moreover, for those who find themselves performing a working role which does not correspond to their background or expectations, it makes it possible to not become personally involved with the job and to continue planning other things for one's own future. The "liberating" aspect of the temporariness of the job directly concerns the definition of identity; doing a job temporarily, indeed, may be a way to think of postponing choices (FULLIN 2004), to keep one's options open and so ensure greater "degrees of freedom".

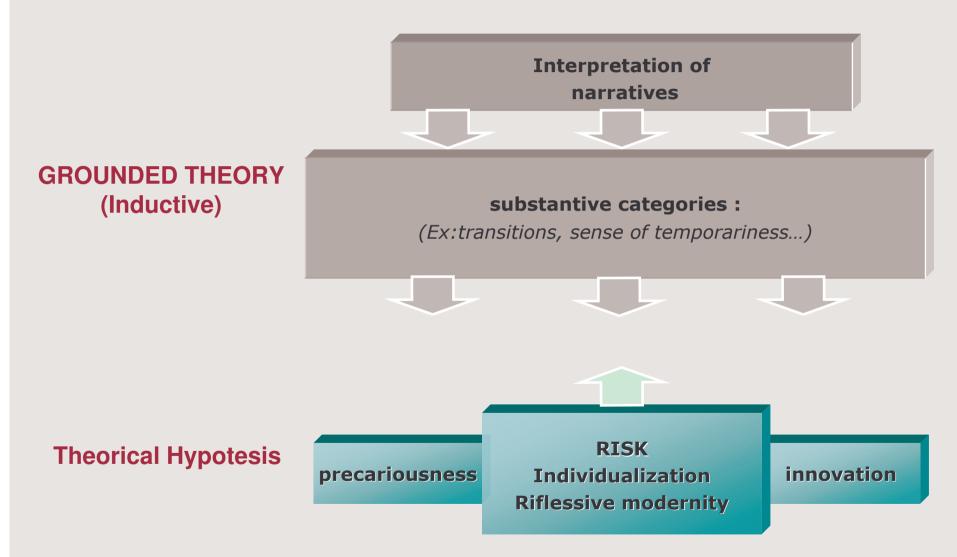
"...professionalised work is about what I know. [..] After a couple of years when I seemed to have learnt many things, I realise that, that type of company [..] as opposed to knowledge research, hasn't given me anything for a while now." [Alessandro\_32; web content, "cocopro" project worker]

## Overturning the contingency trap

The knowledge worker's sense of precariousness has a different nature from that which, in contrast, affects one who feels like a generic and replaceable element in the workforce

Among knowledge workers, the sense of precariousness concerns their difficulty in matching the job supply to their own abilities and aspirations (but then being able to change company without regret is an advantage, all in all, not a disadvantage, and reversibility and company infidelity are the key-behaviours with which knowledge workers try to reread and overturn the temporariness trap to their own advantage leveraging their own capacities, availing themselves of independence from the company and constantly renegotiating their own positions).

# Comparison of substantive categories with theorical hypotesis



# **Deepenig of interpretation**



theory

dimensions are elaborated and "dimensionalised" during the process of the analysis by means of the collected data and the theoretical knowledge (dimensionalisation: STRAUSS 1987; STRAUSS & CORBIN 1990)

Empirically
Grounded
Construction of Types

# **Empirically Grounded Construction of Types**

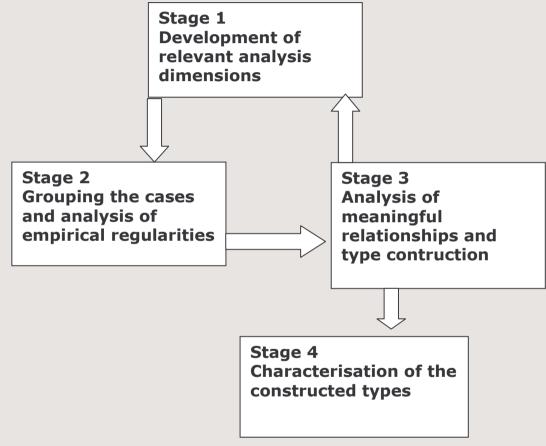
Rules for an Empirically Grounded Type Construction

**Stage 1**\_ Development of relevant analysing dimensions (Thematic case analysis and thematic coding of the interviews)

Stage 2 \_Grouping the cases and analysis of empirical regularities (Analysis of empirical regularities and – where appropriate – reduction of the attribute space)

**Stage 3** \_Analysis of meaningful relationships and type contruction

**Stage 4** \_Characterisation of the constructed types



Model of empirically grounded type construction (Strauss A., L. Corbin J. 1990; Kluge 1999)

# **Empirically grounded type construction**

# **Model of Grouping the cases**

Stage 2 \_Grouping the cases and analysis of empirical regularities (Analysis of empirical regularities and - where appropriate - reduction of the attribute space)

	cases	empirical regularities	meaningful relationships (substantive categories)
	A_32	w, web content, 1 year, project worker, discontinous income	transition, discontinuity, reversibility of conditions
	B_41	m, software engineer, 6 months, co-owner softwarehouse, discontinous income	informality, network as resourse, connectivity, indistinction: introjected time and space
	C_27	w, translator, 2 years, self-employer discontinous income	bridge experience, learning on the job, self- exploitation
)	D_33	m, teacher, year, temporary time contract, low and discontinous income	instability, passion of work, identification



# **Knowledge workers : empirically grounded type** construction

Stage 4 \_Application of Grouping the cases: Characterisation of three types of relationship of informality

type	Characterisation of the constructed types	meaningful relationship	empirical regularities
type I: Ambivalence of informality	The first type: "ambivalent" comprises recits of workers where informality is simultaneously resourse and limit.  Precariousness means threat to exit of network, obsolescence of knowledges.  Innovation means spontaneus cooperation, learning on the job, drawing up one's own career path and autonomy	Network as cooperation and competion, precariousness of condition, self-exploitation and self-identification on work	All ages, w + m, indifference of original family condition, all type of activity all type of formation discontinous income various temp. contract
type II: Informality as resourse	The mostly masculine knowledge workers of the type "informality as resourse" are occupationally successful, highly in cooperation and frequently connected through the digital system, knowledge is contractual condition.  Up to date competence at work	Network as priority, CMC communication, preference of creativity contents to contract condition, autonomy and continuity on work field as horizon	medium age (m. without child. and without family engagements), high level istruction, high level social and cultural capital and original family condition, web activity discontinous high income various temp. contract
type III: Informality as limit	The third type "informality as limit" comprises such whose high level of knowledge decreases in the course of time. Here, the informality has no positive influence on a stabilisation. Risk of precarioussness. Obsolesence of competences	Network important as contract condition (only in big company) Stabile work, professionality and rights as horizon of life	young in access time, w. in children time (after 35), m. after 45, out competence job all type of activity all type of formation discontinous income various temp. contract

JJ

#### **Validation**

The "test" of validity of research is measured thus in these questions:

Does the interview tell us something more than we knew before about the subjectivity?

or

What are the substantive categories which we can draw systematically from the narratives, and in what way do these enrich but above all explore our initial theoretical hypotheses on what composes subjectivity?

Are there categories of substance which are not comprehensible or compatibile with the initial hypotheses?

Qualitative design

Qualitative data analysis

Findings:
exploration and deepening
of hypoteses

heuristic value of qualitative research process