Institut für Soziologie der Universität Leipzig

Continuity and Change

Coping Strategies in a Time of Social Change

Olaf Struck

Arbeitsberichte des Instituts für Soziologie der Universität Leipzig

Die *Arbeitsberichte des Instituts für Soziologie* erscheinen in unregelmäßiger Reihenfolge. Bisher erschienene Berichte können unter der obigen Adresse angefordert werden. Für die Inhalte sind allein die jeweiligen Autoren verantwortlich.

1. Introduction[1]

The "incorporation" (Mayer 1993: 39) of the GDR into FRG's existing system of institutions after 1989 has led to a dynamic process of change in the living situation of East Germans. In the following paper stability and change of various dimensions of individual coping strategies are to be examined. To do this, I analytically distinguish four elements: frames, habits, utilisation of available resources, and framing. It is the stability and change of these elements determining biographical decisions which are theoretically and practically relevant in everyday situations. Theoretically, Goffman's studies using frame analysis, Schütz's studies of relevant structures and the unfamiliar, Esser's use of rational choice and frames in his analyses as well as the investigations of Bourdieu, Berger and Luckmann, or Elias on habitus, all have been incapable of providing a clear explanation on questions of how and under which conditions change occurs in structures of relevance and habits. This clarification is needed to approach solving everyday practical matters. It is important, for example, with respect to social integration to know whether and to what extent mentalities and habits endure social and socio-cultural changes. Indeed in many studies of societal transformation deficiencies in socialisation are considered by many authors the cause of dissatisfaction and an obstacle in the process of societal modernisation.

In the following I show that the actions which constitute coping strategies of nearly all East Germans interviewed are directed towards achieving a stable career trajectory. Their actions can be characterised as pragmatic and in most cases are successful. Despite their orientation towards the social inclusion mode and the fact that they have become part of it, the interviewees showed specific signs of de-solidarisation. Their action were mainly directed against state intervention and collective bodies and contain a high potential for disappointment with respect to the development of society.

2. Sample and Method

The research project investigated decision-making processes within the individual life course, paying particular regard to career and family formation under the new conditions brought about by the transformation from the centrally planned economy of the GDR to an individualised market economy.

We interviewed skilled workers and academics, who graduated from vocational schools and universities respectively either in 1985 or in 1990. Two sets of data were collected: a macro and a micro panel. The macro panel is a quantitative retrospective survey (n = 2130) designed to analyse life-course event-history data. The micro panel consists of 63 qualitative interview, two sets of biographical interviews conducted in 1992 and 1996 (Struck-Möbbeck 1996, Struck 2000), and a case analysis of companies in the manufacturing sector and the public and the private services sectors (n = 30). This survey was designed to help identify the cohort specific effect of company personnel policies (Figure 1). A summary of the study's results is

---

[1] This paper was submitted to the International Sociological Association - RC38 Biography and Society Conference "Biographical Methods an Professional Practice", School of Health and Social Welfare and Open University, London, UK, October 19-21, 2000.

presented in Sackmann et al (2000). The following analysis uses findings drawn from the biographical interviews only.

Figure 1: Data collection design
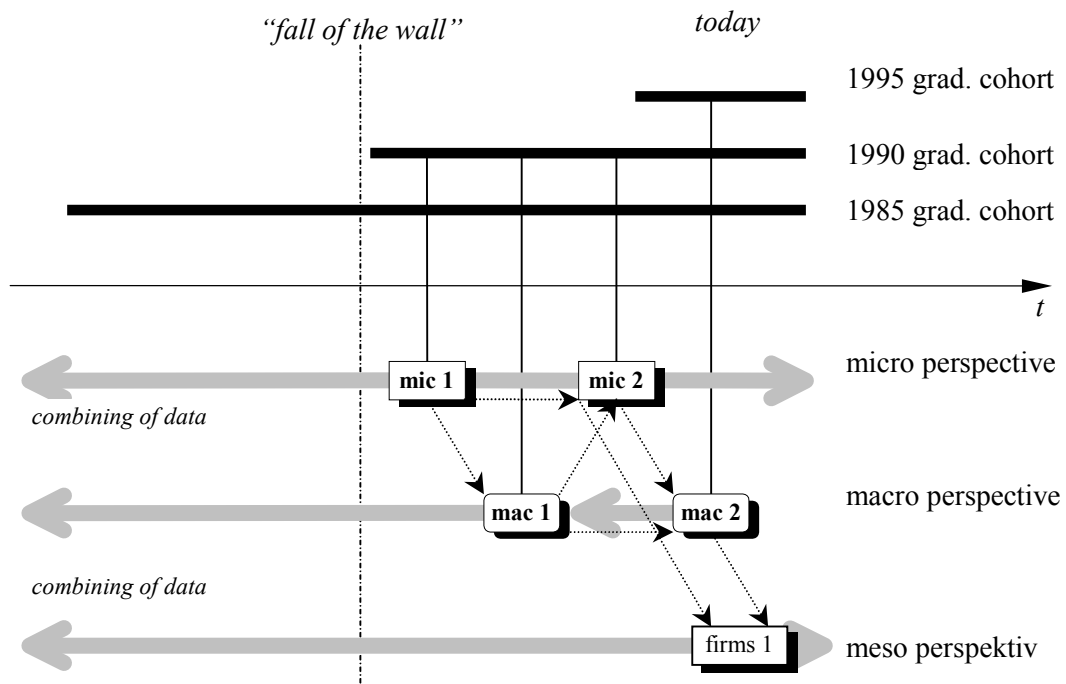
Theoretical and methodological considerations for systematically integrating temporal variations in the data into the overall analysis were a significant aspect of the methodology applied in the study and the panel design. This design allowed for the comparison of stability and discontinuity of elements in coping activities on the basis of comments made by the interviewees at two separate points in time. It also enabled us to analyse expectations and goals in conjunction with actual events and subsequently, to investigate the time-dependent, interactive process of individual and structural causes of trajectories.

Common methods used for the analysis of narratives allows only to draw conclusions about authenticity and consistency by using the criterion of degree of detail (with group discussions it would be the criterion of density of event description and processing) (Schütze 1981). In the evaluation phase it is only possible to identify discrepancies between an event and its description. Even at the higher reflective level of the shaping of the biography as a whole, where self defining and repressing functions are interpreted, discrepancies can only be identified as inconsistencies (Schütze 1983: 286f.). The method can not elucidate the content of the discrepancy between an event and its description, between individual motives and actions heavily influenced by social structures.

The panel design we chose allows us, however, to determine the content, i.e. to identify in a controlled fashion the position of the individual in his or her social environment. The method minimises the danger of succumbing to respondents' potential tendency toward rationalised and desired responses. In the first interview we asked about prospective occupational aspirations, desires, fears and the relationship between individual frames and resources. In the second wave the interviewees were asked to reflect retrospectively about events during the time between the two interviews. By doing so we obtained data about the actual expectations and aspirations at the time of the first interview. By contrasting statements from the first interview with statements from the second one we also received information about plans and

strategies for achieving goals, as well as information about the causes of changes in perspectives and the structural conditions on which actions were based. This method made it possible, on the one hand, to incorporate the significant expectation structures into the analysis and, on the other, to control for biographical consequences, such as adapting to socially desirable behaviour.

3. Theoretical framework

A glance at the available literature reveals that there is a problem of clarity distinguishing the concepts of frames, framing and habitus. Thus, there is a need for theoretical and methodological precision before we proceed to our central question: when and to what extent individual adaptation of frames and habits occurs.

Goffman describes frames as structures that are capable of recognising »what is actually going on« (Goffman 1977: 16). For Goffman, frames are socially predetermined structures. Similarly Schütz (1971, 1972a, 1972b) speaks of "structures of relevance". This has to be contrasted to framing as an individual's understanding of meaning in a decision-making situation. The distinction between the definition of a situation and that of an individual decision in connection with an action aimed towards a specific end is gladly neglected. As when, for example, the rational choice theoretician, Esser, disregards relevant imposing externalities and, instead, confines himself to framing as "a simplification of situations in relation to a dominant goal" (Esser 1990a: 242, 1990b, 1991).

Going by Goffman's distinction between "frame as structure" and "frame in use" (Crook/Taylor 1980: 247) then the frame is "a potential world that answers all questions about what it is that shall be taken by participants as real, and how it is that they should be involved in this reality" (Gonos 1977: 860). The concept thereby points to biographical disposition, i.e. to an intermediary »relay station« (Elias 1980, Vol. 2) between frame as structure and framing or frame in use, respectively. This disposition is to be referred to as habitus.

Habitus constitutes out of all potential worlds of frames the vital, specific and appropriate worlds of framing. If frames determine what constitutes the situation, so then do habits determine how a situation is reacted to. Bourdieu elaborates: "The conditioning which is connected to a certain class of conditions of subsistence (for example the secure living situation of a generation or a social class – the author), generate forms of habitus as systems of longer lasting and transmittable dispositions" (Bourdieu 1987: 98). Gehlen – or, following him, Berger and Luckmann (1969) – already spoke much earlier of "systems of stereotypical and more stabilised habits" (Gehlen 1986: 19). Elias speaks of "apparatuses of habit" (1980, Vol. 2: 320ff.). Less Bourdieu and Elias than much rather Gehlen (1957: 104ff.) and Berger and Luckmann (1969: 23ff., 47ff., 56) see in the capability to change a socially adapted habit a gain in the capability to act in unpredictable and unfamiliar decision-making situations. Here routine creates room for innovation. On the other hand, Gehlen and Berger and Luckmann stress, as do principally Elias and Bourdieu, that habitus creates limits whose generation is predisposed to limits (Bourdieu 1987: 102ff.).

Framing as the actual generator of ends and means thus has a social and biographical history which can be expressed in terms of frames and habits. Moreover it is related to usable individual resources. We find this mediating relationship chiefly by Bourdieu. In his analysis of different understandings of capital, such as economic, social, and cultural (Bourdieu 1982,

1983) what Elias earlier described was in his description of court society – "Hoeffische Gesellschaft" (Elias 1980, Vol. 2: 370ff., 1983) similar in relationship. Along with the material economic conditions, social capital determines specific contexts of interaction. And the possibility to develop cultural capital is associated with the different levels of capability to build strategies and to reflect upon one's own actions and the actions of others.

These theoretical considerations constituted the basis of our model of biographical action (Figure 2). In this model against the background of their respective frames, i.e. the structure of relevance which was generated in the process of interaction, actors perceive the range of options with respect to their occupational and private lives. They then choose dominant goals and a means to this end in the form of framing on the basis of their frames and habits as well as their social, economic and cultural resources. Decisions are thus made on the basis of related experiences and transmitted into action.

Figure 2: Model of biographical action

actor level of decision-making
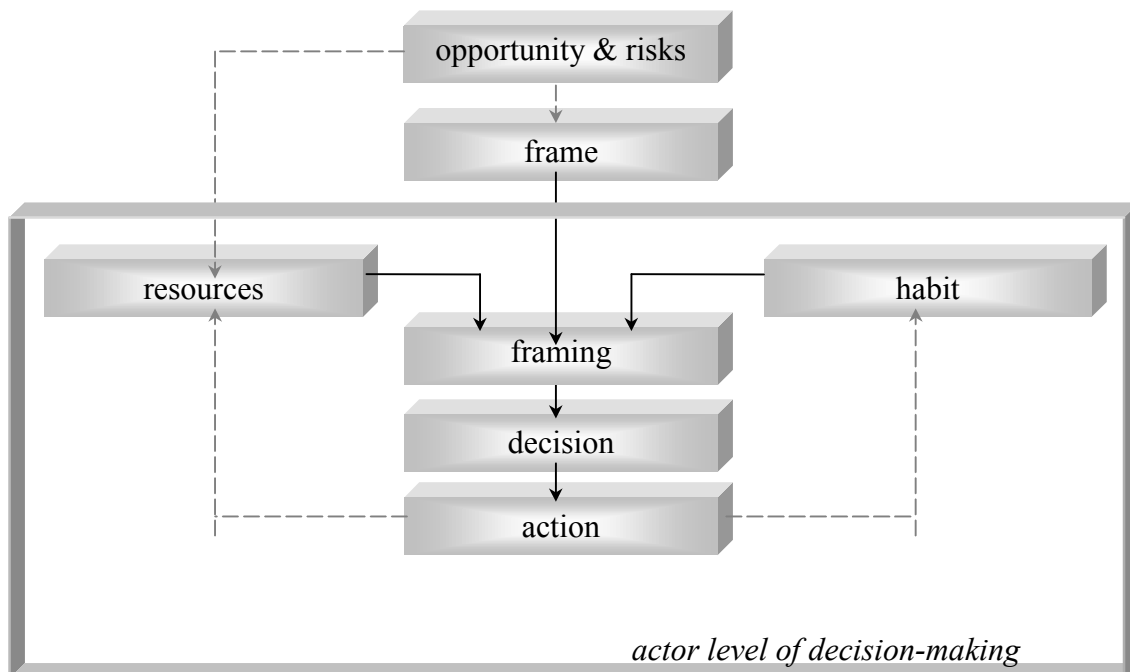
Following from these theoretical considerations and looking at the dynamic process of societal change, concrete questions were formulated:

1. How have the structures of resources available to East Germans for everyday life changed?

2. Have frames, i.e. the interactively gained cognition of a situation, changed?

3. Have habitual dispositions changed or have they remained stable over time?

4. How are the individual action strategies and the social system related?

4. Stability and change

Given the confines of this contribution the discussion of the findings on stability and change will be limited to the presentation of an illustrative case. It will be shown how the model of biographical action can be used to elucidate and interpret coping strategies. This interview can however be taken as representative for the conclusion drawn within the presented theoretical framework.

Mrs. Einser, born in 1969, completes her education as a chemical technician in 1985. After the birth of her first child in 1986 and her first marriage that followed, she was having continuous health problems and consequently took parental leave for a year. Subsequently, she wanted to return to the job market but could not find a free space for child care for her infant. Angered, she refused to participate in the obligatory national elections of the delegates to the GDR legislative body, the People's Chamber. She elaborated:

"I refused the ballots in the first place, I was angry that I did not get a place at a nursery. ...Then I was visited by a delegate who made me an offer ... I was then an assistant at an infant care center."

Once a member of the staff, she managed to assert herself despite the tremendous opposition she faced since she was not formally qualified to work in child care. Directly following the political changes in 1989/1990, she began, parallel to her job, to attend a vocational training program in business financing. Her parents had become unemployed by them took on the responsibilities of caring for her child. During this period her husband had also become jobless repeatedly. In 1993, she became self-employed with the help of a governmental program. At the second interview, we were informed that she had become the victim of fraud which had serious financial consequences. The lack of emotional support in this matter by her husband motivated her to file for divorce:

"He said: »Give it up and find yourself a real job«. And I could just not see it that way after having invested so much effort and everything. And I was of the opinion that I would make it ... and I did."

She looked for emotional support from another partner. She soon became self-confident again and was able to expand her business. Today she employs three workers. Her child who has now reached the age of eight, is still taken care of by her grandparents and her uncle when her mother is occupied for business reasons.

Coming back to the central question of stability and change of elements of biographical actions the following assumptions can be made. Continuity and change in one's biography is shaped by an actor's cognition and knowledge of institutional conditions and society's risks. If the living situation for East-Germans had been characterized by stability and security – with political approval – this situation it can be best characterized as flexible and uncertain after the political changes in 1989.

The changes in the social and economic circumstances were accompanied by changes in accessible individual resources. In the respondent's view:

"there was a general increase in prices ..., joblessness, my husband had already been laid off before, ... Also the situation for women who had a career, for instance, I was told from the very beginning that I could not be placed since I had two children."

She found the situation to be threatening. She realized:

"A lot can go sour just because of being afraid of not having a job."

She thereby names the main frame: the holding or regaining of occupational security. Even if under the GDR regime developing an occupational career, starting a family and keeping up friendships were described as being equally important, in the process of framing as soon as the political climate and conditions changed, only securing one's position in an occupation was discussed as a central frame.

Resources and frames changed significantly for East-Germans. In contrast, the habitus remained stable. Hence, this offers room for such innovative solutions as suggested by Berger and Luckmann and Gehlen. With her goal in sight, Mrs. Einser courageously continued before and after the transition to work towards realizing her interests despite all opposition. Her self-confidence remained intact and she confidently used her support system of family and friends – which she had built up before the political and economic transition – to seek child care and emotional support. If certain individuals did not provide the necessary support needed to progress in her career, they were replaced.

The following generalizations can be made. Irregardless of the general and personal insecurities, the habitus remained stable over and beyond the major social transformation. At the same time, inspite of the stability of the habitus, the cognition of situations was able to change. Framing by East Germans was characterized by a high degree of pragmatism although quickly after the reunification occupational security was a dominant frame among the structures of relevance.

An investigation into stability and change in biographies gave cause to analytically differentiate between the levels of frames, habits and framing. Only then was it possible to understand human actions under conditions of social change. In our study, this meant, for example, that it was not the deficiencies in socialization attributed to a premodern society (Gaus 1983, Geißler 1992, Pollack 1990, Srubar 1991) and custodial state (Henrich 1989) as propounded by modernization theorists (Mayntz 1992: 23), which evoked a nostalgic wave of criticism by East Germans after the reunification. Indeed, habits remained stable but this stability did not hinder individual's realistic cognition of the situation or pragmatic goal-oriented behavior in response to a new living situation.

But what is the reason for the critic perspective of the East-Germans concerning the transformation process? In the following I shall discuss why the majority of those interviewed, who managed to successfully their paths, expressed nonetheless disappointment. In the last section I summarise the main findings and how our model can be used to interpret coping strategies in biographical research.

5. Hopes and disappointments

Mrs. Einser said in the first interview:

"Right now I am retraining to be a financial advisor. At the moment it's damn hard. Not so much because of school and the exams, which I actually quite enjoy, but because of the traveling and my child."

In response to the question of what she wanted to do once she had finished the course, she replied:

"I'll probably start my own firm, in property and insurance. There are state-funded programmes and assistance from the chamber of commerce for people wanting to becoming self-employed. I've already spoken to a lot of people about this."

These two passages highlight two points. Firstly, the rapid retraining from laboratory assistant to financial advisor was a heavy burden, and, secondly, state assistance was called upon, i.e. for retraining, and thus was expected, i.e. state aid in becoming self-employed.

Four years later we found that her marriage had not withstood the strain placed upon both her and her partner. She had, however, become a property and insurance broker after having received start-up assistance, and her firm was operating successfully.

Despite the fact that she could successfully call upon state assistance, she described the actions of the state as ineffective. She said:

"Ah, the state. I'll give you an example. Look at the new roads being built here with the state's money. OK the road is redone, finished. Then Telecom comes along and digs it up again and it has to be closed again. Then the electricity and gas people come along, and in the end the road was dug up three times. It's just the same with all the qualifications and stuff. The state should be a sort of supervising authority that co-ordinates everything. Everyone has to put their cables in before the road is finished. The state should have a duty to control and support. But in reality companies earn money with everyone digging up the road, and the organisers of educational programmes earn money with providing useless qualifications."
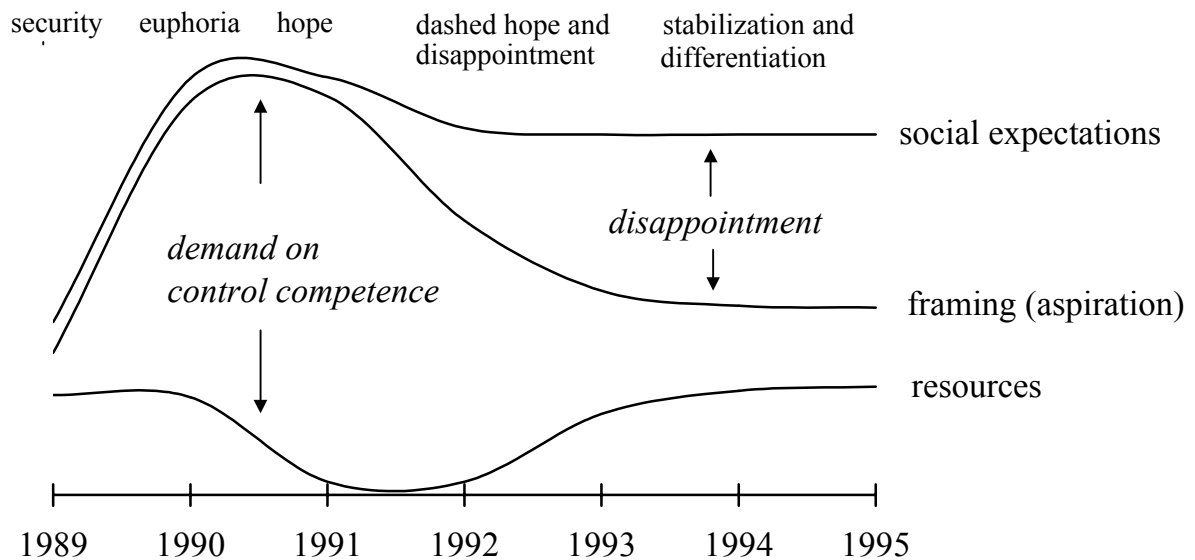
Our interview partner, who did not share the experiences Mrs. Einser described and who managed to fulfil the goals and aspirations she named in the first interview, called upon and received state support as a matter of course. She took a pragmatic approach:

"Assistance is offered, so I take it."

A typical feature of transformation societies is expressed here as well. The individual's high hopes and aspirations in relation to the reform of the state and the economy were not fulfilled (Figure 3). But this is not only a question of objective actions of collective actors, but primarily a phenomenon at the level of the individual. After the collapse of the GDR in the autumn of 1989 in general the aspiration level rose, while no perceived need for a change in the occupational self-image. With the monetary union and reunification in 1990 the usefulness of existing personal resources decreased. The initial high-flying life plans were downsized. In time it was possible to adapt resources to the new demands at work and in life in general or some resources increased, such as wages and job security; a more controlled and realistic balance was struck between desires, concepts and self-images, on the one hand, and resources, on the other. The high personal performance which is expected in times of dynamic change overshadows the performance of collective actors. The disappointment is highest when the expectations were greatest. She said:

"What happened at that time and what we achieved was amazing."

Figure 3:   Frames, resources, social expectation, control competencies and dis-
appointment over time

security   euphoria   hope   dashed hope and   stabilization and
                                          disappointment   differentiation

                                                                                    social expectations

                                                  disappointment

            *demand on
            control competence*   framing (aspiration)

                                                                                    resources

    ├─────┼─────┼─────┼─────┼─────┼─────┤
    1989   1990   1991   1992   1993   1994   1995

The former GDR citizens had low expectations as far as businesses and the economy as a
whole were concerned. They had learned in school and from Western television that
capitalism produced unemployment. They did, however, have high expectations with respect
to politics and state responsibilities for its citizens welfare. In the former GDR the state had a
high relevance which many related to on a personal level: for one, in a negative sense as
control, but mainly positively in the form of direct negotiations between the state and the
citizens.

Politics was everywhere in the GDR, and at the time of the transformation it was the political
actions of Michael Gorbachov, Helmut Kohl and other major political actors which
dominated the perceptions of this time. And it was the West German politicians who
promised "blooming landscapes". The biographical experiences during the transformation
therefore created, with good reason, high expectations in competent, political actions on the
part of the state.

The will to succeed and the experience of having brought together personal aspirations and
expectations with the available resources encouraged a feeling of self-efficiency. The hopes
and aspirations for the future of society were however disappointed, although the expectations
for an efficient state continued to exist. A final quote on this topic:

*"As I said, the state shouldn't produce so much bureaucratic rubbish, but do its job of
controlling, and supporting the weak."*

It is apparent in this statement that the pragmatic and instrumentalist approach towards one's
own life and the performance of the state do not go hand in hand with consciously chosen
egotistical actions or a desire for de-solidarisation. But such a de-solidarisation nevertheless
occured. The purposeful, pragmatic behaviour that we observed both at work and in

relationships with friends had the effect that efforts to establish collective goods were not activated and that collective efforts were not even perceived. In spite of individual successes the problem of the lack of communal effort, or the reluctance to pay for this, becomes more and more apparent. Organisations (e.g. trade unions and charities) as well as state-run institutions, whose actions were judged as inefficient, were under heavy pressure to justify themselves. In view of the fact that the collective achievements looked pale when compared with the successes of individual achievements, collective actors, even if they worked successfully, could not change these individualistic perceptions in the short and medium term. New lines of social conflict have emerged as a result. People were not willing to work to establish a collective good if this collective good was not visible or if it was perceived as a waste. During this process social mechanisms of marginalisation were gradually heated affecting parts of the population, although justice and participation are values still prevalent among East Germans.

6. Conclusions

The results can be summarised in six theses:

1. An analysis of stability and change in biographies gave cause to analytically differentiate between the levels of frames, framing, habits and resources.

2. The whole successful individual inclusions into the new social structure with new relevance structures and changing useful resources were based on pragmatic, instrumentalist framing. This framing was occupationally oriented.

3. It can be said that combining aspirations and goals with personal resources creates, at the level of the individual, a feeling of self-efficiency. On the other hand, combining expectations about the future of society with resources, even if successful, left behind a feeling of bitterness.

4. It is not nostalgia for the old state of affairs, an explanation much discussed in regard to attitudes in transformation societies and therefore in Germany as well: that is the reason for the disappointment among East Germans. But the individuals realisation that the willingness to succeed and self-efficiency do not have counterparts at the level of the social system has been neglected.

5. Under this constellation of circumstances pragmatic, instrumentalist action does not lead to a consciously egotistical attitude. The ideal of a community is still very much alive and the interviewees regretted the exclusion of many social groups. However, there are no active efforts to build new solidarities or communal and state support. This finding can be viewed as a paradox: precisely because of the high expectations that the state functions as a fair arbiter, the necessary personal, solidaristic contribution is not made.

6. When analysing fragility and stability at the individual actor level we have to observe the framing of above all the extent of aspirations in addition to the extent of socio-structural representation inside and outside of the different areas of society. As the narratives show, a successful inclusion story does not mean that it was at the time of the event perceived as such. That a biographical perspective helps to establish micro-macro links is already well-known, but only the biographical perspective, especially if a panel design is used, is able

to incorporate the different levels of expectations, real trajectories and stock-takings into the parallel and interdependent processes in operation here. This approach opens the researchers' eyes to surprises. Supposed paradoxes become lucid and not only the consequences but also the causes of inconsistencies can be explained.

7. References

Berger, Peter L. / Luckmann, Thomas (1969): Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp

Bourdieu, Pierre 1982: Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1983): Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital. In: Kreckel, Reinhard (Hrsg.): Soziale Ungleichheit (Sonderband 2; Soziale Welt) Göttingen: Schwartz: 183-198

Bourdieu, Pierre (1987): Sozialer Sinn. Kritik der theoretischen Vernunft. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp

Crook, Stephen/Laurie Taylor (1980): Goffman's Version of Reality. Jason Ditton (Hrsg.) The View from Goffman. New York: Macmillian: 233-251

Elias, Norbert (1980): Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation: soziogenetische und psycho-genetische Untersuchungen. 2 Bände. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp

Elias, Norbert (1983): Die höfische Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie. Darmstadt/Neuwied: Luchterhand

Esser, Hartmut (1990): „Habits", „Frames" and „Rational Choice". Die Reichweite von Theorien der rationalen Wahl (am Beispiel der Erklärung des Befragungsverhaltens). Zeitschrift für Soziologie 19: 231-247

Esser, Hartmut (1990): Alltagshandeln und Verstehen. Zum Verhältnis von erklärender und verstehender Soziologie am Beispiel von Alfred Schütz und „Rational Choice". Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck)

Esser, Hartmut (1991): Die Rationalität des Alltagshandelns. Alfred Schütz und „Rational Choice". In: ders. / Troitzsch (Hrsg.): Modellierung sozialer Prozesse. Bonn, S. 235-279

Gaus, Günter (1987): Wo Deutschland liegt. Eine Ortsbestimmung. Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe

Gehlen, Arnold (1957): Die Seele im technische Zeitalter. Sozialpsychologische Probleme in der industriellen Gesellschaft. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt

Gehlen, Arnold (1986): Uhrmensch und Spätkultur. Philosophische Ergebnisse und Aussagen. Wiesbaden: Aula Verlag

Geißler, Rainer (1992): Die Sozialstruktur Deutschlands. Ein Studienbuch zur Entwicklung im geteilten und vereinten Deutschland. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag

Goffman, Erving (1977): Rahmen-Analyse. Ein Versuch über die Organisation von Alltagserfahrungen. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp

Gonos, George (1977): "Situation" versus "Frame": The "Interactionist" and the "Structuralist" Analysis of Everyday Life. In: American Sociological Review 42: 854-867

Henrich, Rolf (1989): Der vormundschaftliche Staat. Vom Versagen des real existierenden Sozialismus. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt

Mayntz, Renate (1992): Modernisierung und die Logik von interorganisatorischen Netzwerken. In: Journal für Sozialforschung 32: 19-32

Mayer, Karl Ulrich (1993): Die soziale Ordnung der DDR und einige Folgen für die Inkorporation in die BRD. In: BISS public 3. H. 11: 39-55

Pollack, Detlef (1990): Das Ende einer Organisationsgesellschaft. Systemtheoretische Überlegungen zum gesellschaftlichen Umbruch in der DDR. In: Zeitschrift für Soziologie 19: 292-307

Sackmann, Reinhold / Weymann, Ansgar / Wingens, Matthias (Hrsg.) (2000): Die Generation der Wende. Westdeutscher Verlag: Opladen

Schütz, Alfred (1971): Strukturen der Lebenswelt. In: ders. Gesammelte Aufsätze. Band 3. Studien zur phänomenologischen Philosophie. Den Haag: Martin Nijhoff: 153-170

Schütz, Alfred (1972a): Die soziale Welt und die Theorie der Handlung. In: ders.: Gesammelte Aufsätze. Band 2. Studien zur soziologischen Theorie. Den Haag: Martin Nijhoff: 3-21

Schütz, Alfred (1972b): Der Fremde. Ein sozialpsychologischer Versuch. In: ders.: Gesammelte Aufsätze. Band 2. Studien zur soziologischen Theorie. Den Haag: Martin Nijhoff: 53-69

Schütze, Fritz (1981): Prozeßstrukturen des Lebenslaufs. In: Matthes, Joachim u.a. (Hrsg.): Biographie in handlungswissenschaftlicher Perspektive. Erlangen / Nürnberg: 67-156

Schütze, Fritz (1983): Biographieforschung und narratives Interview. In: Neue Praxis. Heft 3: 283-293

Srubar, Ilja (1991): War der reale Sozialismus modern? Versuch einer strukturellen Bestimmung. In: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 43: 415-432

Struck-Möbbeck, Olaf u.a. (1996): Gestaltung berufsbiographischer Diskontinuität. (Sonderforschungsbereich 186 der Universität Bremen – Arbeitspapier 38). Bremen

Struck, Olaf (2000): Ostdeutsche Risikolagen und Handlungsspielräume in biographischer Perspektive. In: Sackmann, Reinhold / Wingens, Matthias / Weymann (Hg.): Die Generation der Wende. Berufs- und Lebensverläufe im sozialen Wandel. Westdeutscher Verlag: Opladen, S. 218

Bisher erschienene *Arbeitsberichte des Instituts für Soziologie*