

# Youth and precariousness in Spain

## Beyond a waiting time

Benjamín Tejerina

---

### The analyses of precariousness in Spain

The issue of precariousness has attracted the attention of numerous researchers in recent decades, to the point of turning the concept of *precariat* into a way of defining the living conditions in contemporary societies (Standing, 2011). Some research studies have focused on the loss of centrality of work and its repercussion on the identity of young people (Pérez-Agote, Santamaría and Tejerina, 2005; Santamaría, 2009). Other studies have contributed to institutionalising concepts such as *weak employment* (Alonso, 2000, 2008), *flexible* and *precarious workers* (Bilbao, 1998; Díaz-Salazar, 2003) and *work crisis* (Castel, 1998).

A research line on precariousness has focused on the construction of subjects whose most relevant characteristic is the lack of some social attribute, in terms of identity or in terms of material assets: single mothers (Tobío and Fernández Cordón, 1999; González, Jiménez and Morgado, 2004) or reconciliation of work and family life (Carrasquer and Torns, 2007; Prieto, Ramos and Callejo, 2008).

Another line of analysis has focused on youth understood as a *rite of passage* (Van Gennep, 1986; Turner, 1988) and as precarious identity: wage conditions and work flexibility (Santos, 2003; Sánchez Moreno, 2004) that make youth emancipation and the fulfilment of life projects difficult, reinforcing dependent family relationships. The situations described by these research studies are the result of a shortage of resources necessary to become independent (Casal, 1996; Jurado, 2007; Pérez-Agote and Santamaría, 2008). According to these studies, the main difficulties are related to the housing market, the wage situation, the temporary nature of work, and also the role of the *Mediterranean* family, which condition the strategies to reach adult life (Olivares, 2002; Rico, 2005; Trilla and López, 2005; Machado, 2007) and the process of construction of identity (Sánchez Moreno, 2004; Díaz Moreno, 2007; Sánchez Moreno and Barrón, 2007).

The problem of employment in certain circumstances leads to situations of social exclusion. Several authors have called attention to the effects of working conditions on new generations, in sharp contrast with those lived by their previous generations (Pérez-Agote et al., 2001a, 2001b; Cal Barredo, 2002; Casal et al., 2006; Jiménez et al., 2008).

A fifth line of research has dealt with the political dimension of precariousness understood as the relationship between the labour market, processes of emancipation and political option, which, albeit having weakened in recent decades, still has an influence. Similarly, special attention has been given to political culture, from the approach of youth behaviours, especially the relationship established between voting orientation and work situation, as well as the repercussion that both ideology and the economic situation have on this relationship (Lago, 2007; Salido and Martín, 2007). There are also studies that focus on the historical process and the way young people socialise within the context of the culture of precariousness (Gálvez, 2005, 2007a, 2007b).

Along the same lines, the studies related with the topic of social capital, voluntary work, associationism and social movements are worth mentioning. These aspects are important if we take into consideration that from the onset of the crisis in 2007, there has been a considerable increase in mobilisation around social precariousness (Tejerina et al., 2006, 2008; Tejerina, 2010).

Special mention should be made of Montero, Font and Torcal's studies on political confidence, social capital and associationism (2006). Likewise, the issues of participation and associationism (Ariño, 2004) have been studied more in depth.

Within the context of political action, analysis has been made of the way in which mobilisation against precarisation is produced and the context of political structure and opportunity in several European countries (Mosca, 2006). Some of the most recent political mobilizations, like those taking place in Arab countries such as Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco, and more recently, those of the 15-M movement in several places in Spain, have had great ownership among youth sectors. The anti-austerity mobilisation has had a remarkable response among young people in different geographical contexts (Jiménez, 2016).

## Definition and methodology

The term precarious,<sup>1</sup> formerly reserved to fields such as health, construction, government action and peace, is now often found in colloquial language referring to a particular type of juncture, situation or state of things characterised by a lack of strength and stability. It can be considered a condition when associated to something permanent or a situation experienced in a context of greater or lesser availability of means and resources. As pointed up by Le Blanc (2007), the anthropological sense of precariousness is associated to the uncertainty and contingency that characterise the human condition.

The discourse on precariousness has been present in social sciences in categories such as *anomie*, *alienation*, *marginality* and *poverty*. An element that appears regularly in the conceptual development of precariousness is that of *insecurity*, a concept that in the contemporary era we find associated with *risk*, *uncertainty* and *complexity*. Precariousness regularly appears linked to the welfare state and its integration and exclusion policies (Castel, 2004, p. 324). Within the French context, the expansion of the term takes place first in relation to poverty linked to

vulnerable families (Pitrou, 1978), then with employment status (Schnapper and Villac, 1989) and, in the 1990s, in relation to work (Paugam, 2007). In the meantime, in the Anglo-Saxon context, from the 1990s on, precariousness is related to *flexibility* and *corrosion* (Sennett, 2000).

Precariousness experiences a semantic shift from marginal towards a progressive approach to the field of work and employment, and with authors like Bourdieu (1999), Beck, Giddens and Touraine, its meaning moves towards the social structure or structuring processes of contemporary societies.

Precariousness is a concept that encompasses many aspects of life, but its recent development has taken place through processes revolving around the labour market and its constraints on the life and social relationships of subjects (Beck, 2000; Sennett, 2000; Prieto, 2007).

Precariousness can be understood as a structural situation or a circumstantial context in which people find themselves forced to act. Precariousness coming from the labour context, which then extends to other areas of people's lives, has mainly been analysed from this approach. Life precariousness can be defined as a situation of a structural or circumstantial origin characterised by a restriction, impossibility or limitation of access to the conditions, requisites and resources considered necessary in order to plan, carry out and manage an autonomous life. The level of restriction or limitation can reach different degrees of intensity according to the average available resources in a given society. Thus, precariousness is a relational category in a double sense: (a) in relation to the average of the given society, group or social category; and (b) in relation to the different areas of life (Tejerina et al., 2012, p. 22).

Precariousness is a concept that brings together the personal condition and situation in the relationship between an individual and the environment. Precariousness is the state one reaches through processes of precarisation understood as *de-institutionalised* life spaces. Precarisation processes affect identity insofar as individuals lose the modalities of attachment of the 'I' to the 'us' and the 'you', or see them altered.

Precarisation as a process reaches different dimensions related to entries and exits into and from risk zones, which refer to the limitations of individuals' resources and capacities: work, remuneration, consumption, residence, educational qualification, environment, family and emotional life, social relationships, health and civic engagement. Institutions also participate in precarisation as a process, through the practices of public action or by its absence, and through the *regulation* of precariousness insofar as institutions teach individuals to move within it.

In most cases experiencing precariousness, managing a daily existence filled with constraints and the strategies developed by individuals and collectives encompass very negative social consequences. However, there is still the possibility of understanding and analysing such strategies under the principles of social creativity and innovation, from the imaginative search for solutions in a situation of restriction of resources.

Considered from this perspective, precariousness is not only a restrictive or punctual shortage but also a structural and generalised factor that becomes inserted in social life. Precariousness appears, not just like a failure of the system that needs repaired (discourse of exclusion/integration); rather, precarious situations are a mechanism associated with society's way of functioning.

It is worth noting that this mechanism has at the present time been accelerated in what we could call late modernity, settling at the very core of social life. Ultimately, precariousness does not operate only as a generator of residual, marginal spaces for exclusion; it has rather become a definer of daily social situations. Also, in the same sense, it has become a concept that articulates sociological definitions that cannot be explained anymore using the classical vocabulary of the social sciences (Tejerina et al., 2012, p. 23).

The various processes of precarisation and their multiple formulations can be put in order around a distinction between two theoretical–methodological definitions: that of *simple precariousness*, and that of *generalised precariousness* or *complex precariousness*.

*Simple precariousness* is understood as a synonym of shortage, in the closest sense to the common use of this word. It is therefore a negative feature, something punctual that needs solved: shortage, lack, instability, insecurity and insufficiency. This way of understanding precariousness corresponds with situations of regulatory crisis that produces highly vulnerable, deficient and disintegrated social spaces.

The second type of precariousness is understood as tenure, as a positive feature. Precariousness is not seen as something to be solved; rather, it is defined as *life world* that, having instability as a factor, requires managing and forces the development of singular strategies. In this way, precariousness is not a temporary situation but becomes a *generalised precariousness* or *complex precariousness*.

The interest of *complex precariousness* resides in that it allows us to better analyse the presence of the different managing strategies that, from a creative point of view, develop those who find themselves facing life precariousness, giving room to new ways of being and thinking precariousness. Our hypothesis is that, youth being one of the worse-hit sectors by precarisation processes, the worlds of precariousness are present in a generalised manner, or become present in a more intense manner, in certain situations of young people's social life.

The methodology involves the interpretation of data obtained using qualitative techniques. For the analysis of the definitions and experiences of precariousness, the metaphors young people use to narrate their situation and their biographical strategies, we conducted 45 semi-structured interviews and 10 focus groups with young people, between the ages of 20 and 34 at the time of the interview. For this study we selected only verbatim from nine personal interviews and one focus group, whose characteristics are presented in Table 6.1.

---

**Methodological annex**
*Table 6.1* List of individual interviews and focus group
 

---

E1	Female, 29 years. Holds a degree in teaching. Working as shop assistant. Living as a couple in an apartment with a mortgage.
E2	Female, 29 years. Holds a degree in law. Preparing for a job selection test. Living with her parents.
E3	Male, 29 years. Holds a degree in business administration. Unemployed. Living with his parents.
E4	Male, 29 years. Vocational education. Environmental technician. Living in a rented, shared apartment.
E5	Male, 25 years. Student. Temporary jobs. Living with a partner in a rented apartment.
E6	Female, 32 years. Holds a degree in translation and interpreting. Freelance translator. Living with a partner in a rented apartment.
E7	Male, 29 years. Vocational education. Has a temporary contract as a docker. Living with a partner in an apartment with a mortgage.
E8	Male, 28 years. Civil engineer. Has a temporary contract in equipment building. Long working days. Living with a partner in a rented apartment.
E9	Female, 30 years. Holds a diploma in social education. Temporary jobs. Health problems. Living in a rented, shared apartment.
E10	Male, 33 years. Has a supervised job. Living with his mother.
E11	Female, 30 years. Single mother. Receiving Income Support Benefit ( <i>Renta de Garantía de Ingresos</i> , RGI). Living in rented social housing.
E12	Colombian female, 30 years. Single mother. Jobs without a contract. Living in rented accommodation.
G1	Group of five women, around 30 years, emancipated and non-emancipated.

---

The information used in this chapter comes from four investigations in which the author acted as director between 2009 and 2018: (1) CSO2008–00886, ‘Vital precariousness. The processes of precarisation of social life and identity in contemporary Spanish society’; (2) ‘Vital precariousness and Basque youth. Social conditions and biographical strategies to lead a normal life’; (3) CSO2011–23252, ‘Social responses to the crisis and processes of precarisation of life in contemporary society: Belgium, Spain, France, Italy and Portugal’; and (4) CSO2016–78107-R, ‘Sharing society. The impact of collaborative collective action’.

**Meanings, narratives and experiences of precariousness**

There is a rather general consensus among social scientists about the diagnosis of the importance of risk and uncertainty in contemporary societies (Giddens, 1984; Beck, 2000; Bauman, 2001, 2003, 2005). The core idea in this diagnosis is that we find ourselves in a society characterised not by the administration of risk, but rather by radical uncertainty.

The question we seek to answer in this section is whether this general uncertainty is part of how young people define their situation today because it has become part of their everyday experience. With this purpose, we will use the verbatim from the interviews carried out with young people throughout more than a decade. Let us remember that the people interviewed do not suffer extreme situations of precariousness; they have a middle or high level of education and, in most cases, they can get family or public help.

The use of the term precariousness in colloquial language appears associated with or as a synonym of different elements. The most frequent is that of job instability. If we take into consideration the testimonies gathered in the interviews, people tend to position themselves in a scale ranging from stability to instability. Instability tends to be associated with the lack of continuity or duration in time: 'I get temporary things, but stable jobs don't come up' (E5), or 'I have always had jobs, but I have not had a stable job' (E2). The challenge significant groups of young people are facing is how to reach job stability, especially at a time of increasing job market flexibility. Thus, the aim of some young people is to find out how to construct a life based on unstable stability.

Secondly, precariousness is defined as an experience of not fitting: I am not in the right place, I have wasted my time and the capabilities I have acquired are being lost: 'I studied for seven years, and I feel like I've lost those years, if I had studied a module' (E3); and 'I have studied for tomorrow to have a job . . . not to be in a store. I want to have a job for what I have studied all my life!' (E1).

The experience of precariousness is becoming subjective in a process of inter-nalisation of the situation and the responses to get out of it or avoid the lack of stability. According to the testimony of the young people interviewed, this is achieved in two ways. The first way is through the permanent updating of the knowledge and competences acquired during education, which extends throughout the whole of the productive life: 'Today, training is a trade . . . what you studied four years ago has already become obsolete. . . . They ask you for more and more of everything' (E3). The second way is by resorting to entrepreneurial capacity, investing in one's own capacity: 'Everything comes to you if you are an entrepreneur' (E7); and 'more training, so I will be more competitive' (G1). Ulrich Beck has called these subjects 'proletarians of self-realization'; Michel Foucault used the term 'entrepreneur of the self', and Isabell Lorey (2009) referred to 'self-precarisation' to define the situation of cultural producers (Carbajo, 2016, p. 1).

The experience of insurmountable difficulty pushes many young people to seek help or cooperation from other actors, mainly relatives or the public sector. Most testimonies point out the difficulty in getting through, in living with sufficiency: 'I have to tighten the belt a little, because with the salary and the public subsidy (RGI) it is still not enough' (E12). This situation can lead to the person's deactivation, to feeling overwhelmed and impotent: 'I feel bad, impotent, I cannot do anything' (E11); 'work can consume you, you're cannon fodder' (E10).

In the narratives about young people's everyday life, we find continuous references to the cliché of misfortune 'I've been lucky that where I am I'm fine' (E10).

This also applies when they refer to the possibility of getting residential autonomy through the purchase of a home, which can only happen if you're lucky or you get a home from social housing drawing lots: 'It is very difficult to buy a house if you are not lucky' (E4).

Resources to alleviate precariousness come from two main sources, the family and public subsidies. The first is widely accepted and is generalised among young people who do not live far from their relatives or visit them regularly: 'When we visit the family we return home with Tupperware' (E4), and 'I managed in that my family supported me financially' (E6). The second one is highly stigmatised, to the point that receiving these types of support is like living on 'crutches', becoming a prosthetised subject who cannot live without his prosthesis: 'I do not like having to make an appointment with the social worker, I do not like to receive this (social help)' (E12), and 'I do not like to receive this (help) . . . I feel sorry, anguished and in the end this tires me' (E11).

The definitions of what is precariousness are subject to variations according to the social position of the young people interviewed; but at the same time, the experiences narrated tend to point to a common territory, known and visited frequently or permanently, and a present time defined by the uncertainty which makes it difficult to think about the future.

## Metaphors about precariousness

Where the meaning of common words cannot reach, metaphors can, by occupying the place of that which is being represented and helping to render visible some elusive elements. Both individual interviews and focus groups are riddled with such secondary references, which bring closer the meanings and consequences of precariousness, and the situations it produces with great economy of language. I shall develop this through six metaphors and images of how they experience precariousness: 'living from hand to mouth', 'being on a tightrope', 'stressed like crazy', 'in stand-by', 'taking a step backwards' and 'I want to be normal'.

The absence of long-term income stability among young adults is a source of unrest that each person copes with in their own way. As we mentioned earlier, it is the main source of uncertainty. The expression used to refer to this situation is quite a graphic one, 'living from hand to mouth'. Let us look at two testimonies: 'I do not have money in the bank, but I can live daily' (E4), and 'Tight, there are months that I live better, months that I live worse' (E6). Living day by day, week by week or month by month, but without a blue sky on the horizon, is a considerable part of a stage of transition, redefinition, positioning and search, but also a stage with an absence of the need to plan for the future, of basically thinking about the present, a nowism (Muñoz, 2007).

We find a second way of referring to uncertainty in the expression 'being on a tightrope'. The metaphor of the tightrope walker, trapeze artist, or the slackline refers to situations of lack of safe anchoring, of swaying that makes one's way an existence full of oscillations. The testimony of this young person explains it very

clearly: 'Being a bit out there, on the wire, like the tightrope walkers . . . something precarious is something that does not have much balance, I do not know how to define it, that it can come down' (E5). Being on a tightrope prefigures a present that can sink at any time. This dimension of 'being on a tightrope' has become more pronounced among young people as a result of the financial and social crisis of 2008, but its roots predate this. The difficulties are faced as they arise, and one of the first consequences is the impossibility or difficulty in elaborating mid or long-term projects.

This way of living configures a mentality and a series of patterns to psychologically confront its consequences. The experience of precariousness also has implications for the body that generates resilience in young people to get through difficult and stressful situations, but also fears and processes of medicalisation to live with it day by day. Anxiety is a characteristic syndrome in precarious situations. Let us stop briefly in both dimensions. The lack of achievement of life expectations, especially when they are not realistic, reinforces resistance and the capacity to cope with these situations: 'The tolerance to frustration is barbaric, the management of stress to the maximum' (E9); 'I lost my tendency to get fat, but I'm not happy with myself' (E11). On the other hand, when the situation becomes uncontrollable from a personal point of view, the individual feels overwhelmed by the situation, as E12 expresses, 'it's killing me, it's really killing me'; and if one seeks professional help, medicalisation of anxiety increases the uneasiness and lack of confidence towards the health system, 'when they ask me the question, what are you afraid of? Of the doctors . . . they have made me such tricks' (E9).

The most common situation among Spanish young people is the experience of playing a waiting game, a situation where the plot is about to end, but while the good times and the good news arrive, the subject is in 'stand-by' mode; connected but at a standstill. This situation means an extension, sometimes desired, but generally not wanted, of being at home with the family, not being able to emancipate and have an autonomous life alone or with a partner. The lack of a stable job and the impossibility of living independently extend the transition into adult life. E2 expresses it in the following statement: 'I am already 30 years old and I feel like it a lot, to be able to leave home I need a stable job'. Also, couple projects are affected by this waiting situation: 'We have been together 11 years as a couple and you have the urge to have your own home', as E8 says; and 'I have already a desire, I wanted to go and live with her', in the words of E3.

Our testimonies represent experiences, which are generalised among contemporary young people, not just affecting a minority, and hence concepts such as transition into adult life or what it is to be an adult are called into question and require, at least, a redefinition (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). We find a clear example of the crisis in the concept of transition from training to work. Testimonies are abundant on the mismatch between training and jobs occupied. The mismatch is between capacities and opportunities. The most frequent response is that of 'taking a step backwards' in order to take a step forward, the only way of reassembling the mismatched pieces: 'I think I should have studied something different'



(E2). On other occasions, people go back into education, especially when one is overqualified, to try to get some training more in tune with what one wants to do or to increase the opportunities of finding another job, entering a spiral of requalification, excess of education, excess of qualification (Budría and Moro-Egido, 2008; Nieto and Ramos, 2010).

If precariousness is present in contemporary society, we should ask ourselves: what does normality consist of? Normality is defined as the absence of uncertainty and is identified with the common and ordinary actions, practices and desires of everyday life: 'I would like to see myself as a parent, with two children, and taking my children to see Athletic [of Bilbao, local football team]' (E3), or simply, 'Leave home and live my life' (E2).

## Debate

The relationship of Spanish youth with precariousness is not all that different from that experienced in other European countries or in other geographical areas by young people born from the mid-1980s onward. It is, however, possible to identify two differential aspects: first, higher unemployment rates and difficulties in finding stable jobs, if we compare these magnitudes with other countries in central and northern Europe; second, the greater impact of the financial and social crisis of 2008 in Spain, compared with that experienced in other countries.

Nevertheless, precariousness (in a wider sense), uncertainty and the absence of normality are present in the lives of contemporaries. It is possible that, if Inglehart is right, those who have been socialised at a specific time of scarcity or prosperity construct clearly differentiated visions of the world and social values.

Six axes allow us to analyse the biographical strategies of contemporary young people's biographical strategies faced with precariousness, and are presented here for debate.

One, although there are important differences between the different types of precariousness, as there are higher or lower degrees of precariousness, we find that, in all cases, young people experience a mismatch between their capacities and the practical realisation. This gap makes them take a step backwards in order to keep going forward: going back to education, training in something different, re-qualifying, changing their place of residence, reinventing themselves. The idea pursued with this is to reassemble two realities that are perceived as mismatched.

Two, individual precariousness is not perceived as coming from a structural origin, so that the management of such situations is oriented to individual changes and processes of personal transformation.

Three, the responsibility of the situation is almost always attributed to each individual and demands a resilient response. This leads to working on one's own identity, a non-stop activity of investing in oneself, what we have come to call entrepreneurship of the self and, in some cases, a hyperactivity that leads to doing things non-stop.

Four, family solidarity is key in understanding how young people can get stability in situations of precariousness, as is the existence of social support through public aid and subsidies. As stated in other research studies, it is reasonable to think that in southern European countries, the welfare state is more dependent on family help; while in other geographical areas, the state has more solid and developed mechanisms to deal with misfortune. But while family help is accepted without any difficulties, the second can be accompanied with social and personal stigma.

Five, the temporality in which young people are nowadays installed make it practically impossible to plan for the mid term. Living day by day and conjugating existence in the present tense is the correlate of the trivialisation of uncertainty.

Six, the transition from dependence to independence that used to occupy a short period of time in the past has been extended in recent decades. Extending the years devoted to education, together with the current working conditions and the difficulties in finding job stability, expand the time used to carry out this transition. The result is that new youth figures appear and the category of adult itself becomes blurred, as in many cases it does not establish a clear break with previous stages. Far from just waiting in this prolonged youth, what we usually find is a non-stop activity to withstand or overcome the impact of precariousness.

## Note

- 1 A detailed development of the relationships between crisis and vital precariousness, as well as the definitions used in this chapter, can be found in Tejerina et al. (2012).

## References

- Alonso, L.E. (2000). *Trabajo y postmodernidad: el empleo débil*. Madrid: Fundamentos.
- Alonso, L.E. (2008). Jóvenes: Precariedad laboral, precariedad de vida. *Gaceta sindical: Reflexión y debate*, 10, pp. 67–84.
- Ariño, A. (2004). Asociacionismo, ciudadanía y bienestar social. *Papers: Revista de Sociología*, 74, pp. 85–110.
- Bauman, Z. (2001). *The individualized society*. Cambridge/Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2003). *Trabajo, consumismo y nuevos pobres*. Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Bauman, Z. (2005). *Vidas desperdiciadas: La modernidad y sus parias*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Beck, U. (2000). *Un nuevo mundo feliz: La precarización del trabajo en la era de la globalización*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Bilbao, A. (1998). El trabajador precario. *Arxius de sociología*, 2, pp. 39–56.
- Bourdieu, P. (1999). Actualmente la precariedad está en todas partes. In: P. Bourdieu, ed., *Contrafuegos. Reflexiones para servir a la resistencia contra la invasión neoliberal*. Barcelona: Anagrama.
- Budría, S. and Moro-Egido, A. (2008). Education, educational mismatch and wage inequality: Evidence for Spain. *Economics of education review*, 27(3), pp. 332–341.
- Cal Barredo, M.L. de la (2002). Precariedad laboral y precariedad vital en los jóvenes. *Inguruak: Revista Vasca de Sociología*, 32, pp. 67–87.

- Carbajo, D. (2016). *Proletarios de la auto-realización: Un abordaje crítico del emprendimiento juvenil*. Communication Presented at the XII Congress of the Spanish Federation of Sociology, Gijón.
- Carrasquer, P. and Torns, T. (2007). Cultura de la precariedad: Conceptualización, pautas y dimensiones. Una aproximación desde la perspectiva de género. *Sociedad y Utopía*, 29, pp. 139–156.
- Casal, J. (1996). Modos emergentes de transición a la vida adulta en el umbral del siglo XXI: Aproximación sucesiva, precariedad y desestructuración. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 75, pp. 296–316.
- Casal, J., et al. (2006). Cambios en las modalidades de transición en los países de capitalismo informal. *Papers: Revista de sociología*, 79, pp. 195–233.
- Castel, R. (1998). *La fin du travail, un mythe démobilisateur*. Paris: Le Monde diplomatique.
- Castel, R. (2004). *La metamorfosis de la cuestión social: Una crónica del salariado*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- Díaz Moreno, V. (2007). Los jóvenes y las nuevas formas de movilización social y política. Sistema. *Revista de ciencias sociales*, (197–198), pp. 283–295.
- Díaz-Salazar, R. (ed.) (2003). *Trabajadores precarios: El proletariado del siglo XXI*. Madrid: Hoac, D. L.
- Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (2007). *Young people and social change*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Gálvez, S. (2005). La ‘cultura de la precariedad’ o los ‘usos y costumbres’ de las empresas: Un balance histórico del impacto generacional de la reforma del Estado de los trabajadores de 1984. *Sociedad y Utopía*, 25, pp. 19–52.
- Gálvez, S. (2007a). La generación de la cultura de la precariedad: Una aproximación desde la historia del movimiento obrero. *Sociedad y Utopía*, 29, pp. 333–366.
- Gálvez, S. (2007b). Las relaciones capital-trabajo en España: La ‘cultura de la precariedad’ como pauta cultural. *Sociedad y Utopía*, 29, pp. 105–113.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- González, M., Jiménez, I. and Morgado, B. (2004). Parejas y formas de convivencia de la juventud. *Revista de Estudios de Juventud*, 67, pp. 145–163.
- Jiménez, B., et al. (2008). *La emancipación precaria: Transiciones juveniles a la vida adulta en España a comienzos del siglo XXI*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Jiménez, M.L. (ed.) (2016). *Jóvenes en movimiento en el mundo globalizado*. México: UNAM-Newton.
- Jurado, T. (2007). La precariedad temporal-salarial y sus efectos sobre la formación familiar. *Sociedad y Utopía*, 29, pp. 367–404.
- Lago, I. (2007). Precariedad laboral y participación electoral desigual. *Sociedad y Utopía*, 29, pp. 451–461.
- Le Blanc, G. (2007). *Vidas ordinarias, vidas precarias*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.
- Lorey, I. (2009). *Gubernamentalidad y precarización de sí*. Available at: <http://ayp.unia.es/r08/IMG/pdf/Gubernamentalidad-y-precariizacion.pdf> [Accessed 11 April 2018].
- Machado País, J. (2007). *Chollos, chapuzas, changas: Jóvenes, trabajo precario y futuro*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- Montero, R., Font, J. and Torcal, M. (2006). *Ciudadanos, asociaciones y participación política en España*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

- Moreno, A. (2000). Las familias monoparentales. *Revista internacional de sociología*, 26, pp. 39–63.
- Mosca, L. (2006). May Day parade: Movilizaciones juveniles contra la precariedad laboral. *Revista de Estudios de Juventud*, 75, pp. 75–97.
- Muñoz, A. (2007). Tácticas de comunicación juvenil: intervenciones estéticas. *Revista de Estudios de Juventud*, 78, pp. 11–23.
- Nieto, S. and Ramos, R. (2010). *Sobreeducación, educación no formal y salarios: evidencia para España*. Documento de Trabajo no. 577. Madrid:Fundación de las Cajas de Ahorros.
- Olivares, M.A. (2002). El proyecto profesional: un instrumento relevante en la transición a la vida activa del Universitario. *Pedagogía Social: Revista interuniversitaria*, 9, pp. 277–285.
- Paugam, S. (2007). *Las formas elementales de la pobreza*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Pérez-Agote, A., et al. (2001a). *El trabajo en la Comunidad autónoma vasca. Actividad, ocupación y paro*. Bilbao: BBK Gazte Lanbidean Fundazioa.
- Pérez-Agote, A., et al. (2001b). *La inserción laboral de los jóvenes en Bizkaia*. Bilbao: BBK Gazte Lanbidean Fundazioa.
- Pérez-Agote, A., Santamaría, E. and Tejerina, B. (2005). *Transformaciones y tendencias de la cultura del trabajo en Bizkaia: Enfoque cuantitativo*. Bilbao: BBK Gazte Lanbidean Fundazioa.
- Pérez-Agote, A. and Santamaría, E. (2008). *Emancipación y precariedad en la juventud vasca: Entre la anomia funcional y el cambio cultural*. Bilbao: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.
- Pitrou, A. (1978). *La vie précaire: Les familles face à leurs difficultés*. Paris: Études CNAF.
- Prieto, C. (ed.) (2007). *Trabajo, género y tiempo social*. Madrid: Hacer editorial/Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Prieto, C., Ramos, R. and Callejo, M.J. (2008). *Nuevos tiempos del trabajo: Entre la flexibilidad competitiva de las empresas y las relaciones de género*. Madrid: CIS.
- Rico, N. (2005). Jóvenes: Precariedad más allá de la temporalidad y respuestas sindicales para construir el futuro. *Gaceta sindical. Reflexión y debate*, 5, pp. 285–295.
- Salido, O. and Martín, A. (2007). Las urnas de la precariedad: El anclaje sociolaboral del voto juvenil en el 14-M. *Sociedad y Utopía*, 29, pp. 463–487.
- Sánchez Moreno, E. (2004). *Jóvenes: La nueva precariedad laboral: La experiencia de la precariedad laboral en los jóvenes españoles*. Madrid: Secretaría Confederal de Juventud de Comisiones Obreras.
- Sánchez Moreno, E. and Barrón, A. (2007). Social risk factors in Spanish youth and their impact on self-concept construction. *Spanish Journal of Psychology*, 10(2), pp. 328–337.
- Santamaría, E. (2009). *Trayectorias laborales en los márgenes del empleo: Experiencias de precariedad en los procesos de construcción identitaria*. PhD Dissertation. Available at: [www.educacion.gob.es/teseo/mostrarRef.do?ref=844974](http://www.educacion.gob.es/teseo/mostrarRef.do?ref=844974) [Accessed 12 June 2018].
- Santos, A. (2003). Jóvenes de larga duración: Biografías laborales de los jóvenes españoles en la era de la flexibilidad informal. *Revista Española de Sociología*, 3, pp. 87–98.
- Schnapper, D. and Villac, M. (1989). Rapport à l'emploi, protection sociale et status sociaux. *Revue française de sociologie*, 30(1), pp. 3–29.
- Sennett, R. (2000). *La corrosión del carácter: Las consecuencias personales del trabajo en el nuevo capitalismo*. Barcelona: Anagrama.
- Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

- Tejerina, B. (2010). The logic of the alterglobal movement. In: D. Singharoy, ed., *Dissenting voices and transformative actions: Social movements in a globalizing world*. New Delhi: Manohar Publication, pp. 41–67.
- Tejerina, B., et al. (2006). O movimento por justiça global na Espanha: Activistas, identidade e cartografia política da alterglobalização. *Sociedade e estado*, 21(1), pp. 29–66.
- Tejerina, B., et al. (2008). Spagna: Identità e cartografia politica del movimento. In: A. Farro, ed., *Europa alterglobal. Componenti e culture del 'movimento dei movimenti' in Europa*. Milán: Franco Angeli, pp. 149–175.
- Tejerina, B., et al. (2012). *Precariedad vital y juventud vasca: Condiciones sociales y estrategias biográficas para llevar una vida normal*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.
- Tobío, C. and Fernández Cordon, J.A. (1999). Monoparentalidad, trabajo y familia. *Revista internacional de sociología*, 22, pp. 67–97.
- Trilla, T.C. and López, J. (2005). El acceso de los jóvenes a la vivienda: Una cuestión todavía no resuelta. *Documentación social*, 38, pp. 191–206.
- Turner, V. (1988). *El proceso ritual. Estructura y antiestructura*. Madrid: Taurus.
- Van Gennep, A. (1986). *Los ritos de paso*. Madrid: Taurus.