Andrzej Słaboń

Between solidarity and the conflict of generations. Intergenerational relations in biographical narratives[1]

Abstract

Objectives: The purpose of this text is to identify the main types of intergenerational relationships and methods of integration different generations applied in everyday life. Recognition of these practices should be used in inclusion policy.

Research Design & Methods: This article uses qualitative methods of sociology, in particular biographical narratives (story of life) to explore types of intergenerational relationships.

Findings: This paper finds that relational structures are an important part of every biographical narrative. Research has identified five types of intergenerational relationships.

Implications / Recommendations: This article stresses the importance of biographical work and the restrictions on the creation of multigenerational groups as a fairly common way of integrating different generations.

Contribution / Value Added: The approach presented in this article opens new possibilities for a policy of inclusion and ways of counteracting intergenerational conflicts.

Article classification: research article

Keywords: Generation – biographical method – biographical work – relational structures

JEL classification: J 180

Introduction

The nature of relations between different generations has a significant impact on numerous processes occurring within contemporary societies. On the one hand generation succession ensures the continuity of values and the transmission of developed principles and manners of activity in society. On the other hand, it becomes a factor in changes and transformations taking place in collective life in the long-term perspective. These two dimensions – continuity and change – are closely intertwined and they mutually condition each other. Relations between individual generations may take on various forms, which is why it is important to recognise their current state, as well as to determine the factors shaping changes in this sphere.

The generation concept in the context of biographical research

The generation concept usually covers a few slightly different meanings (Scott, 2006; Fatyga, 2005). In biographical narratives this concept most

Andrzej Słaboń, Cracow University of Economics, ul. Rakowicka 27, 31-510 Kraków; andrzej.slabon@uek.krakow.pl; ORCID: 0000-0001-7607-7096.

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often relates to the relationship of kinship in a broad family (generations of parents, grandparents, grandchildren), and also refers to the differences in historical and identity experiences between "older" and "younger" people. Sometimes one can distinguish two main ways of expressing this concept, referring to "generations in the family" and "generations in society" (Kholi & Szydlik, 2000. pp. 7–18). The generation concept is inevitably associated with differences in the experience of people from different generations. These differences in experience are, more or less, clearly reflected in biographical narratives and become an important research issue.

Referring to Karl Mannheim's theory on the sociology of knowledge (1964; 1980), biographical research distinguishes between "communicative knowledge" and "conjunctive knowledge." Communicative knowledge is knowledge that can be passed on by the narrator, while conjunctive knowledge is a common knowledge formed within a group and treated by its participants as something "obvious", and thus is usually not clearly realised by members of a given community. Accessing conjunctive knowledge is possible by means of maintaining longer contacts with the relevant members, reconstruction of statements in their context, analysis of behaviour and observation. Generation is here referred to as the "conjunctive space of experience". This means that shared life and historical experiences develop a certain type of "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi, 1966) or knowledge of *implicite* type.[2] The conjunctive space of experience is not only a type of knowledge, but also a kind of sensitivity, behavioural patterns in different situations, a sense of familiarity with what are known as the realities of life and the ability to predict the long-term consequences of actions taken. The conjunctive space of experience also consists of understanding how the surrounding reality works in its various aspects. This "under-

standing of the world" (logic of reality) is, as one can assume, a factor differentiating generations. On the one hand, the time difference related to the length of life leads to differences in experience, and this can translate into a different level of knowledge of the realities of life. On the other hand, the experiences of previous generations (especially negative ones) can become a deterrent to taking actions that seem doomed to failure. The lack of such inhibitions sometimes turns out to be a source of the success of "impossible" ventures. The difference in life experience and a certain type of idealism is explained by the fact that most movements of protest and renewal involve mainly young people.

Given the diversity of intergenerational experience, one may formulate a thesis according to which different conjunctive spaces of experience are the main source of many perturbations in relations between particular generations. A conflict between generations is more likely to occur when there are different conjunctive spaces of experience, and the individual generations live somewhat in different "worlds". In such conditions, problems arise with regard to communication and mutual understanding. The conflict between generations takes a different form within the family, and a different one at the level of "generations in society". In the latter case the differences become part of a specific ideology, both sides create a negative image of the opposite generation, referring to a different axiology and rules of conduct. Each generation creates its own identity. Younger generations usually do so in opposition to the older generations. Within the family the differences relating to the conjunctive space of experience can lead to a lack of mutual understanding and, in extreme cases, to the breaking off of contact. However, it should be borne in mind that intergenerational relations can take various forms. Conflict is just one of the possible situations. It can be assumed that consent and agreement are much more common.

Determination of the type of relationship occurring between particular generations must become the subject of empirical research. The

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[2] Karl Mannheim (1980) also uses the term "atheoretical knowledge". Pierre Bourdieu (2000) calls this type of knowledge "practical knowledge".

research questions that emerge in this context relate to, inter alia, the identification of conditions conducive to conflict or harmony between individual generations, the type of interaction and social practices within families strengthening the intergenerational bonds, and the role of peer groups in the creation of a positive or negative image of individual generations.

Intergenerational relationships can be studied in a variety of ways. This article uses a biographical method that falls within the scope of qualitative research. In this type of research, one seeks to acquire knowledge referring to the subjective world of meanings and feelings of the examined persons. All generalisations are formulated in close connection with empirical data. The collected empirical material covers 65 biographical narratives (stories about life) for people aged 20 to 90 from southern Poland.[3] The respondents were given freedom of expression, in terms of content, form and degree of detail. This made it possible to minimize the influence of the researcher on the structure and manner of the narrative.

In biographical narratives one can find a lot of data on the nature of intergenerational relationships in families and the working environment, as well as on the methods of their development. Biographical analysis enables one to identify practices conducive to the building of positive or negative relations between individual generations in everyday life. In each narrative one can find information about the nature of intergenerational relationships in the family or in other environments. What's more, many families have developed specific ways of integrating different generations. Recognition of these methods of integration and avoidance of conflict seems to be important for social policy, because many ways of operation

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[3] The interviewed persons were 40 women and 25 men. The age structure of those interviewed was as follows: under 30 years old, 13 persons; aged 30–50, 21 persons; aged 51–70, 18 persons; and ages 71 and more, 13 persons. Biographical narratives were collected between 2014 and 2017 by third year sociology students from the Cracow University of Economics.

within microstructures can be transferred into the broader levels of social life. In such a short article it is impossible to present the entire wealth of empirical material. Therefore, the author will only try to identify the main types of intergenerational relationships in families.

Relational structures

Before the presentation of some findings, it is worth making one more theoretical remark. Fritz Schütze (1981), when analysing biographical materials, identified four biographical process structures: biographical action schemes, institutional schedules for organising biographies, trajectories and biographical metamorphoses. He emphasised the fact that the catalogue of process structures was not closed and assumed the possibility of separating, in empirical data, other such structures. I think that one can distinguish an additional type of process structures, namely relational structures. Each biographical narrative contains information relating to relationships in the family and relationships within different groups and environments in which the individual lives. These relations are very often dynamic and changeable, and therefore should be recognized as processes. Research on relational structures pertains to the process of their development, maintenance, reproduction and transformation. Interpersonal and intergroup relationships are a very important aspect of social life and should not be overlooked in the analysis of biographical material. This type of process structures constitutes an immanent element of every autobiographical relationship. The nature of social relations determines to a great extent the biographical fate of individuals, the decisions made by them and their satisfaction with life (or lack thereof). Relational structures must not be overlooked, especially in terms of the research on intergenerational relations, because relations and their dynamics become the centre of attention in this context.

Referring to the analysis of the obtained empirical material, one can distinguish the following

main types of intergenerational relationships in families: (i) harmonious relations, based on co-operation; (ii) relationships with episodes of conflict or rebellion; (iii) permanently conflictual relationships; (iv) broken relationships (no contacts); and (v) variable relationships. These general types of relationships require further explanation, because in the practice of family life they can take on different forms. However, it is worth noting that the nature of intergenerational relations in the family does not follow the pattern of a simple continuum, the poles of which are determined by solidarity and conflict. Conflict can take different degrees of intensity, from individual incidents to constant struggle and severance of contacts. An important state of intergenerational relationships in the family is the rupturing of contacts or their only occasional nature. Severance of contact does not have to be a consequence of conflicts. It also happens as a result of spatial remoteness, pre-occupation with professional work, or weakening of contacts despite a strong emotional bond. The third pole, which determines the nature of intergenerational relations, is therefore the pole of alienation. Under this concept there are no family contacts at all, or these contacts are very rare (occasional) only, but sometimes long-awaited. Summing up, it can be assumed that intergenerational relations in the family run in a field the poles of which are solidarity, conflict and alienation. In a given case, mutual relations in the family can be characterised by showing the distance from the particular vertices of the triangle. In one case, they can be "pure" types located near one of the vertices, in other cases the relationships can be located on one side of the triangle or in the middle, evenly spaced from its vertices, which means that all types of relationships occur in similar proportions. It is worth noting that this model of the description of relationships can also show changes in time and their dynamics.

Analysing the collected empirical material, one can notice characteristic types of narratives that also show relational structures. It is somewhat obvious that the narratives of young people concentrate on family and peer relationships, as well as on educational problems and first loves. Sometimes, however, in certain stories of life some threads do not appear at all, while attention is focused almost entirely on relations with the parents and siblings, or, as in other cases, on the relationships with peers. This shows, sometimes inadvertently, how the dominant issues and problems are perceived in the long term. Many biographical stories show a strong influence of peer groups on making important decisions regarding further education or choosing a profession. These decisions are not always evaluated as appropriate. A substantial part of them are perceived in hindsight as life errors. As one of the respondents stated: "I wish some had advised me on that". In turn, in some of the narratives of the elderly, almost the entire period of childhood is missing. These narratives begin after a short introduction from the moment of marriage and the establishing of their own family. The basic content of these relations is the description of the struggle to provide for the family and of the issues concerning the upbringing of children and ensuring them good future.

The relations of intergenerational solidarity in families take various forms. The most typical element is the daily care for individual family members – caring for children, for ill or disabled family members. A frequent form of mutual help in the family is the support given to adult children in raising grandchildren and in caring for the youngest generation. Solidarity between generations also takes on an economic dimension; many narratives speak about the financial support provided by the older generation. Often, the independence of young couples is only possible thanks to the financial help of their parents, this applies in particular to such investments as buying an apartment or building one's own house. Some of the accounts show the help of family members in getting out of alcohol addiction or overcoming some serious life crisis (illness and rehabilitation, psychological crisis, deviant behaviour). Mutual support in this type of emergency situation covers both the help given

by the parents to their children, and vice versa, as sometimes the adult children help their parents give up a bad habit. Intergenerational solidarity in the family usually consists of co-operation and mutual complementation of the possessed abilities, resources and skills. In one of the families, the daughter was helping her father make his life's dreams of traveling and visiting other countries come true. Her assistance consisted of planning the trip for him and minimizing its costs, thanks to various offers available on the Internet.

Conflict relations in families in the intergenerational dimension are usually a youthful rebellion against parents' will, quarrels about neglecting responsibilities, especially in matters related to education, mixing with "bad company", constant "partying", alcohol and (rarely) drug use. This results in the occurrence of various arguments and grievances in families, as the parents and the whole family intend to change the undesirable behaviour of an individual. In most biographies the thread of opposition to the applicable rules of behaviour imposed by the family and school is a short-lived episode. In a few other cases, this condition persisted for many years and the pressure of the family turned out to be ineffective. As a result, this situation led those people to addiction to alcohol (or other drugs), conflict with the law, and even homelessness. In the case of one of the respondents, the real threat of imprisonment brought about a change in his life.

Another type of conflict (or quasi-conflict) situation is connected with the lack of acceptance by the parents of the choice of the way of living made by young people. A very good example of this may be a father's long-term disapproval of his daughter's decision to enter a convent. In other cases, devoting time to the pursuit of youthful passions was treated by the parents as something wrong, which in the context of the later developments of these individuals was not always right. Another type of conflict resulted from feelings of unfair treatment by parents. In the case of rural families, this concerned unequal distribution of duties in running farms. The difficulty in resolving this type of situation became the reason for leaving home and migrating to the city. Some family conflicts occur because of an unfair distribution of inheritance. Decisions of deceased parents may lead to a state of permanent hostility between siblings.

Conflict relations may also result from abuse of family solidarity. An illustration of this type of situation is the taking of a bank loan for running a business. When the planned project was unsuccessful, the loan had to be repaid by the mother of an unfortunate businessman. This drama is all the greater if the problems with the functioning of the company arose as a result of misunderstandings between the partners, leading to alcohol addiction.

Broken intergenerational relationships may occur as a consequence of conflicts in the family or as a result of spatial separation. In the latter case, there is usually a strong emotional bond, but the contacts are sporadic. Broken contacts cause a sense of loneliness, what is known as empty nest syndrome often appears, and the contacts are accompanied by a sense of lack of understanding from close relatives. Rare contacts between family members are conducive to concealing certain problems and difficulties for the loved ones. Such people do not want to cause others worries and additional problems, as their relatives are not able to remedy them in any way. An extreme case of hiding life problems from their families is the case of a homeless person who hid this fact from his own daughter. Each generation has its own secrets, which it reluctantly reveals to others. This applies to both youthful "secrets" hidden from adults, and to the hiding of troublesome facts from younger members of the family. Another problem that is rarely included in the narratives are the shameful mysteries from the past, the disclosure of which can destroy the positive image of a person in the eyes of the relatives.

It should be noted that intergenerational relations in families can fluctuate. In different periods, a different type of relationship often dominates. The original conflict and the sense

of lack of understanding between a son and a father gradually turns into a more mature and harmonious relationship. In other cases, relationships with parents who had emigrated to the USA and from there provided financial assistance to the family were significantly worsened after the parents returned to the country permanently.

Different types of intergenerational relationships within a family can be distinguished taking into account two basic dimensions: the frequency of mutual contacts (low or high) and the strength of emotional bonds (also low or high). By crossing these two dimensions, one can get a spectrum of possible types of relationships. The low level of emotional ties and rare contacts reveal "broken relationships", poor relationships and frequent contacts often lead to "quarrels", a strong bond and rare contacts are a "waiting" situation, a strong bond and frequent contacts are "integration". The average values of the strength of the ties and the frequency of contacts determine the spectrum of possible mixed types, located between the "pure" ones.

The dominant type of relationship in the family may change, not only as a result of slow evolution, but also as a result of the occurrence of some unexpected events dramatically changing the situation of people. Situations of this type are referred to as trajectories (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Glazer, 1970; Schütze, 2012). As a result of their occurrence, the affected individuals lose control over the course of their life. As regards intergenerational relations, one can speak of yet another type of trajectory. It concerns relatively slow changes in the relations of authority between adult children and parents within the family. For a large part of their lives, young people try to free themselves from parental authority. This situation changes when they notice that their parents (or one of them) require constant assistance. The dominant positions are reversed in such cases. Both sides are forced to redefine their role and establish mutual relations on a new level. Sometimes the existing relationships are reversed, in the sense that if formerly the parents directed the behaviour of their own children, now adult children decide

to a large extent about the fate of their parents and enforce behaviours they deem necessary. The course of this process is usually associated with suffering for both parties.

Biographical work

Those who tell stories of their own life can often recognise their own identity as well as their generational identity. These identities are partly discovered and partly constructed. By the very fact of telling about their fate and events from the past, the individuals gain the opportunity to see how they function in different situations of everyday life and different types of interpersonal relationships. Story telling can lead to identity changes. Peter Berger (1963) speaks in this context about the processes of alternation of biography – the individual modifies the meaning of certain events from the past by adapting them to a later state of affairs. Some events are considered not important, while others are viewed as significant. Some events from the past acquire additional significance in the light of the later fate of the individual. It is highly probable that these events would be forgotten if the history of the individual's life were different. Thanks to this type of processes, one can create a sense of one's own existence. In this regard, biographical narratives can serve as a helping interview (Benjamin, 1969). Telling the stories of life allows one to look at one's own fate from a certain distance, give coherence to one's own life story, strike a balance of achievements and introduce possible changes to the way one functions, to relationships with others, etc. Similarly to the concept of social work, in this case one can distinguish biographical work. Biographical work can be seen as a form of help (and self-help) for people, allowing them to better understand the meaning of their own existence and to prepare them for making important changes in their lives. Biographical work allows one to change the way one defines one's current situation in the context of one's own past and life experience (Fischer, 2000). Bearing in mind the indicated possibilities,

biographical work is a potentially useful instrument for the development of the policy of inclusion at the level of the family and small groups.

Telling the history of one's own life to people from the younger generation has many important functions. On the one hand, it is an element of the process of transmission of the acquired life experiences, showing behaviours of different people in specific existential and historical situations, and giving the situational context of the decisions made. It seems particularly important to pass on to younger generations the "tacit knowledge" contained in the context of the narrative itself. On the other hand, telling a story of life allows the narrator himself/herself to organise the outlook on his/her fate and give it greater coherence. It is understandable that one may often encounter deformities, purposeful or unconscious distortions of facts, attempts to mythologise oneself or conceal "uncomfortable" and even embarrassing events from one's own past. However, this does not diminish the significance of this type of story, because it inadvertently documents a certain state of mind and a way of expressing the world. The vision of reality presented in the narrative will sooner or later clash with different perspectives, adopting a different point of view and ways of valorisation. These processes are also shaped to a large extent by great re-evaluations regarding changes in the methods of assessing historical processes.

Shaping intergenerational relationships

Influencing the shape of intergenerational relations becomes an important element of social policy. This applies particularly to relationships within the family. Through various types of benefits and social transfers directed to families, the state tries to positively influence not only their living situation but also, indirectly, the nature of social relations occurring in them. Particular forms of social policy depend mainly on what happens in families and what problems occur there. However, one should bear in mind the fact that families solve

many problems by themselves, without the help of the state and other institutions. Some of these modes of action developed within families are worth recognising and utilising on a wider social scale. In terms of intergenerational relations, it is important to recognise the ways of the exertion of positive influence on these relations, as well as to examine the opposite situations. In this way, one may prepare new social policy instruments using methods of action developed within families and other small groups. In this case, the task of social policy is to create an institutional framework helpful in the resolution of problems arising in families. Positive experiences of some families can be used to overcome the problems of other families. Of course, this cannot be done mechanically, but the utilised practices form the basis of knowledge based on empirical data.

In many social policy programs, one assumes the fact that the best way to integrate generations is to create age-diverse groups. This type of approach is evident not only in numerous local initiatives, but also in business organisations, where one creates employee groups that connect young people and employees with extensive professional experience. However, the question of a harmonious operation of such groups arises. Practice shows that sometimes such groups with a mixed composition work harmoniously and produce good results, but sometimes internal divisions ("young" and "old") and conflicts occur. Within mixed-age teams, one can see the emergence of subdivisions into age (peer) groups. The facts indicate that mere aggregation of people from different generations may not always bring the desired effects and does not have to lead to the integration of different generations. This type of recipe for an effective inclusion policy seems too simplistic.

Mixed generational groups may experience quite complex processes, which are contingent and which do not always lead to desired results. Intergenerational contacts can occur at different levels of intensity. The least intense form is a situation when two generational groups function in short-term (episodic) and official relationships.

This type of group contact is characterised by the fact that each group stays in its own circle and separate generations actually function next to each other. This contact consists of being together for a short time, but without deeper integration and mutual understanding. An example of such contacts are organised meetings of young people with seniors or veterans, during which they listen to the memories of the elderly, and sometimes, in return the young people give some artistic performances. Such meetings have an important value, bring closer the events from the distant past in the context of individual experiences, enable textbook knowledge to be supplemented, and create the chance for a more permanent and deeper relationship, but their essential feature is an occasional and short-term contact.

On the opposite pole of a specific continuum of intergenerational relations is the situation of permanent and continuous living together of people from different generations. This type of situation occurs in multi-generational families as well as in some employee groups. The fact of being together in everyday life builds a different type of relationship, it allows one to get to know the personality of other persons, their advantages and disadvantages, the way they function in happy times and in difficult moments [4]. Such contacts also allow one to pass on "tacit knowledge". Many variables affect the shape of these relations, which may be of a very close and intimate nature or take on a conflict character. On the one hand, personality factors, mutual respect, personal culture, and financial conditions play an important role in this respect. An important factor is also the extent to which the mutual relations (e.g. the need for constant care) prevent one from fulfilling one's

own life plans, or requires a huge devotion to the other person and whether someone is willing to incur such kinds of sacrifices.

Interpersonal relations in the generational dimension usually take two forms: these are either contacts within a generation or intergenerational contacts. These two types of relationships are equally needed and intertwine in everyday life. Important processes occur in each type of the contacts. Relationships between members of the same generation group (peer group) have a slightly different character than those taking place in multigenerational groups. Peer groups can develop separate norms and rules of behaviour, which differ from those applied to relations with members of the older generation, as well as from the rules binding in various "official" situations. One of the most important norms regulating relations in peer groups is the principle of solidarity. It manifests itself in, inter alia, the need to keep certain group secrets and loyalty to other members. Here, too, there are behaviours that in other situations would be treated as "inappropriate" or even reprehensible. To some extent, one can observe here a division into the quasi-private sphere and public sphere. The first sphere is dominated by contacts of a friendly and more equal nature, the second one includes an element of hierarchy and the relationships are asymmetrical, which may create a certain distance and greater concern for the desired image (therefore certain behaviours and opinions are not disclosed).

The nature of relationships within the same generational groups facilitates the communication process and promotes mutual exchange of information. As a result, it often leads to mutual learning of certain behaviours within peer groups, as well as acquisition of new skills and overcoming of barriers in the access to the desired goods and resources. This kind of generation tutoring takes place on an informal level and it solves a number of life problems of particular persons. The indicated communication processes also take place in the intergenerational dimension and are subject to institutionalisation (this takes place

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[4] It is worth noting that relationships based on a permanent and common living together relate not only to intergenerational contacts, but may also apply to other groups, especially those affected by some dysfunctions. A model example of a conscious choice of a way of life, consisting in sharing life with people excluded from society is the example of Saint Albert Chmielowski and his dedication to the homeless.

at school and in the family and organisations). Sometimes, however, the generational difference may generate a distance, because it is related to the relations of authority and subordination, which is a barrier to the free exchange of information. People in a lower position in the hierarchy do not often have the courage to ask for additional explanations, because they may be afraid that by asking questions they will be considered uneducated or they will disgrace themselves to a certain extent. Similar concerns may arise in the opposite case: older people may be concerned about asking the younger people for explanations, because this can be seen as a reversal of the normal hierarchy. For these reasons, the exchange of knowledge at an equivalent level is burdened with a smaller risk of the loss of authority.

In groups of staff from different generations, sometimes one has to deal with problems concerning the relationship of authority, especially when a person from the younger generation becomes the superior of a person from the older generation. Older people with longer professional experience are special keepers of institutional memory: they were witnesses to how the organisation functioned in the past and how it evolved, witnessed the beginnings of the careers of people who currently occupy important positions, and remember important events in the life of the organisation; they are often the creators of organisational legends and anecdotes, also know various organisational secrets and unsaid matters. This type of knowledge passed on to younger people can fulfil positive functions in the process of the creation of the organisational identity; on the other hand, it shows alternative ways of functioning of the organisation, and can also strengthen undesirable patterns of behaviour. Thus, one can see that intergenerational contacts can play a dual role, becoming an instrument of the continuity of social life, inter alia, thanks to the transfer of knowledge unavailable in official channels.

Conclusions

Intergenerational relations have a significant impact on the course of many social processes and can be analysed from different theoretical angles. The position adopted in this paper falls within the scope of research under qualitative sociology. Referring to the biographical method, this paper attempts to identify the main types of intergenerational relationships. The relational structures were distinguished as another type of biographical process structures. Relational structures are an important part of every biographical narrative. Based on the analysis of the biographical narratives (story of life), five types of intergenerational relationships have been identified: (i) harmonious relations, focused on co-operation; (ii) relations with conflict episodes; (iii) permanently conflictual relationships; (iv) broken relations; and (v) variable relationships. One assumes the fact that on the basis of the analysis of intergenerational relations in families it is possible to recognise the methods of integration of generations applied in everyday life, which should be utilised on a wider scale in the inclusion policy. In this context, the author stresses the importance of biographical work and the restrictions on the creation of multigenerational groups as a fairly common way of integrating different generations.

Finally, as part of the conclusions, it is worth presenting several proposals for a policy oriented towards building positive relations between different generations. The main objective of the inclusion policy is to create a better understanding between generations in the family and in society. The inclusion policy should be focused on eliminating potential conflicts in the family (especially between the "young" and the "older"), improving mutual understanding and counteracting social alienation. Creation of multi-generational groups favours the transmission of tacit experiences and knowledge at an informal level. The older generations should feel obliged to pass on to the younger generations knowledge and experiences about living conditions and their personal experiences in earlier times.

The creation of multi-generational groups cannot be a universal recipe for an effective inclusion policy. The optimal condition is rather a balanced participation in both peer and multi-generational groups. Many different ways of effective co-operation and intergenerational integration that can be used to conduct social policy on a larger scale have been developed within families and small social groups. Biographical work can be a useful instrument for the development of the inclusion policy. Finally, last but not least, it is necessary to eliminate all forms of ageism from public discourse and everyday life.

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