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AN EMPIRICAL PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF HAPPINESS

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to investigate man's attunement when happy. Having established a question which would elicit actual experiences of this phenomenon, the researcher collected sixty-four written accounts of the experience. Of these he chose the twelve psychologically richest accounts and, having interviewed each of these twelve subjects to push their written descriptions to their limits, he analysed the resulting protocols using an empirical phenomenological method. The general structure of the experience of happiness suggested that happiness emerged as a special openness against a background where individuals were less than happy. During happiness there is a breaking through the bonds of the individual's mundane, everyday disclosure of the world. It transports the individual to an existence in which the ruptures which form part of man's lived relationships to himself, to his fellow-man, to the world and to life itself are healed, and in which life is lived in increased harmony with all. There is a coming home to the self, a move toward wholeness which is enlivened bodily by a radiating vibrancy (often a tingling lightness and brightness), as the individual expands with energy, power, self-confidence and mastery, and rises above the troubles of life. This structure of happiness was dialogued with the writing of existential philosophers and psychologists, psychoanalysts and humanists.

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## CHAPTER 1

## THE NOTION OF HAPPINESS

After the decision was taken to research the phenomenon of happiness, a period of considerable indecision followed as an attempt was made to understand what the happiness that was to be studied, actually was.

The word "happiness" has been used so widely in so many differing contexts that there is no single guiding understanding of it.

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to clarify the confusion and make explicit the way in which this research looks at happiness. Unfortunately, psychology has paid no attention to the use of the word "happiness" in the multiplicity of contexts in which it has appeared. In order to gain access to what has been written regarding the different meanings of the word the work of philosophers has had to be relied upon almost entirely.

To begin with, the question arises as to whether happiness is synonymous with other phenomena such as joy, pleasure, rapture, delight, satisfaction or contentment. A further issue arises as to whether happiness is a feeling, an emotion or a mood; or is it of longer duration: perhaps something dispositional or partially dispositional; or does it refer to a time-limited segment of life? Consideration will also be given to the way in which the word happiness is used that does not inform us about the notion or phenomenon of happiness itself. It is used here because of its weak link with other expressions (such as "good luck") that themselves would better convey their intended meaning were it not for the need to express some association with happiness: e.g. "He feared that his mother-in-law would be accompanying them on the trip but happily (i.e. luckily)

she missed the flight."

Opinion as to the relationships of happiness-related phenomena (joy, etc.) to happiness varies from suggesting that joy and happiness are synonymous to the position which claims that contentment, by definition, must be different and separate from happiness.

### JOY

Joy fits well into what Ryle (1949, p.93) calls "agitation". When one speaks of an experience being an agitation one must be using it in the context where it would be correct to say that one is "overcome" by the experience: one is overcome with joy, fear, etc. Perry (1965) captures this when he states that:

Suffering such an emotion impairs one's ability to think, act and talk coherently, and robs one of his composure often to the extent that he shouts, cries out, weeps, shakes, jumps up and down, or otherwise evidences emotion in a more or less uncontrollable manner.

It is correct to say that the person who experiences joy is happy, but one cannot necessarily imply that if one is happy one must be joyful.

In his philosophical analysis, Barrow (1980, p.66) points out:

Joy is perhaps a species of happiness, but not coextensive with it. In exactly the same way insofar as man is ecstatic, satisfied, content, pleased, delighted and suchlike he may well be presumed to be happy, but being happy does not necessarily imply that he is specifically ecstatic or satisfied or delighted, etc.

PLEASURE

Perry (1967, pp.69 & 70) notes that happiness has a parallel use in which it means pleasure. In the following example, "pleasure" could in fact replace "happiness" if too great an intensity or depth of feeling is not implied: "Let us assume that the reckless eater has three hours of happiness at the table each day." However, pleasure cannot replace happiness if the experience involved is of great intensity or depth. He illustrates this point in the sentence: "With happiness he learned that the operation was successful and he would now be able to walk without braces." Perry (ibid., p.70) highlights the difference between happiness and pleasure by pointing out that one can be overcome in happiness but not in pleasure.

RAPTURE

If joy can be described as an agitation by which one can be overcome, surely rapture is the far extreme of this experience. It is a state of being "beside oneself" or being "carried out of oneself" (Perry, 1967, p.73).

DELIGHT

Perry (1967, pp.65-70), after reviewing a number of dictionary definitions of delight, suggests that it is something vivid, lively, intense and overflowing which is always felt in a high degree and which essentially involves excitement even if only of the mildest kind.

He distinguishes two interesting implications of the fact that it necessarily involves excitement. Firstly, the objects of delight must have some novel unpredicted aspect: one is not usually delighted by

the humdrum taken-for-granted aspects of one's world, unless they appear to one in a novel way. Secondly, excitement implies that delight is of limited duration: one cannot remain delighted indefinitely.

#### SATISFACTION

Satisfaction lies a far way from joy, ecstasy and delight: one could never be carried away by, or be beside oneself with, satisfaction. Perry (1967, pp.59-60) notes that satisfaction suggests a certain tranquility that is not felt in pleasure - nor for that matter in joy, rapture or delight. There appears to be less of an intense engagement with the world in satisfaction.

In a sense it is difficult to conceive of happiness under conditions of marked dissatisfaction. Roger Montague (1967, cited in Barrow, 1980, p.47), states as one of his necessary and sufficient conditions for happiness that one must lack any dissatisfaction that one regards as serious. While the satisfied person is not guaranteed happiness, perhaps a certain degree of satisfaction is essential at the time that happiness is experienced.

#### CONTENTMENT

A case for contentment having a rightful place as part of happiness is made by Barrow (1980, p.88) when he discusses Montague's (1967) notion that one must be "positively pleased", not just contented, to be happy.

He agrees with Montague in that one can be "wildly happy" but not "wildly contented", therefore making it clear that happiness and contentment are not synonymous. But he then asks: "Can one not be 'contentedly happy'?"

Although Barrow (1980, p.80) states that one has to be "positively pleased" to be happy, he sees no reason why "positively pleased" must be the same as being ecstatic or in seventh heaven. He states rather strongly:

... it seems to me sensible to regard contentment as a species of happiness and to request those who want to confine themselves to talking of ecstasy and intensely thrilling sensations to say as much, rather than to attempt to appropriate the word happiness for their own purposes.

In his book The Conquest of Happiness, Bertrand Russell (1975) states:

"a happy life must be to a great extent a quiet life, for it is only in an atmosphere of quiet that true joy can live" (p.52). The fact that the quiet, calm, contented happiness is known to us all in our lived experience suggests that we cannot but consider it a possible feature of the experience of happiness.

It can be seen from the above that while joy, delight, contentment etc. all have a place as a possible part of the happy experience, no one of them can be regarded as synonymous with happiness or essential to it. Before we are led by research into the phenomenon itself, we cannot claim that some of these experiences are essential to happiness and others not.

It may be interesting at this point to turn our attention to three ways in which happiness is used to refer to the quality of life, rather than specifically to anything which necessarily relates to feelings or emotions.

THE "HAPPY MAN" OR THE "HAPPY LIFE" (DISPOSITIONAL HAPPINESS)

Theodore Benditt (1974, cited in Barrow, 1980, pp.52-53) makes a distinction between the happy man and the happy life. He feels that if we use "happiness" to relate to a life instead of a person we find ourselves in the difficulties created by Lloyd Thomas (1968, cited in Barrow, 1980, pp.52-53) where his concentration on the happy life can lead to setting up criteria for making life happy and these criteria can be endlessly challenged. In contrast to this, most authors refer to the same notion when they speak of the happy life or the happy man: they refer to the notion of being satisfied with one's life as a whole.

This use of the word "happiness" seems to be similar to Aristotle's "eudaimonia" described by McKeon's (1941) translation of Aristotle (cited on p.72 of Perry, 1965):

... what is the highest of all goods achievable by action? Verbally there is very general agreement; for both the general run of men and people of superior refinement say that it is happiness, and identify living well and doing well with being happy....

Tatarkiewicz (1976, p.3), the Polish philosopher who attempted to write a comprehensive book on happiness as a way of life, also refers to this "possession of the greatest good available to man" as denoting happiness. For the ancient philosophers, Boethius, Herodotus, the Stoics, St. Thomas (cited in Tatarkiewicz, 1976, pp.4-7), happiness was not seen as success or intensity of joy or satisfaction, but rather as the degree of good possessed.

This is the happiness alluded to in statements such as: "all men have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This cannot mean the fleeting feeling of happiness or even a happy mood (Perry, 1967, p.71).

This use is expressed by the Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (1967) definition:

In order to be happy it is necessary that one like ... those parts of one's total life patterns and circumstances that one thinks are important. To say that one likes them is in part to say that one is "satisfied" with them in that one does not wish them to be substantially different, and that they measure up, at least roughly, to the life idea one had hoped to attain, but it also implies, to some degree at least, a positively favourable attitude.

It is in this sense of happiness where one can say that a man is happy and yet experiencing displeasure or pain. Tatarkiewicz (1976) notes:

The happy man is one in whose life the good has outweighed the bad and who has been granted the goods which he needed and which he has known how to enjoy; or to put it another way, one who has had a favourable balance in life (p.6).

#### HAPPINESS OF LIMITED DURATION

Here again we have the "happy man" notion of happiness where the restriction is not to a segment of life but to the length of time the happiness is experienced.

Such statements as "I was so happy during my year in Switzerland" and "My undergraduate years were the happiest of my life" epitomise this meaning of happiness.

Happiness in this sense does not refer to a short experience of happiness in the way it is used when one says that one was happy at discovering that one had passed one's exams. Here we are speaking rather of an overall satisfaction with a segment of one's life.

PARTIALLY DISPOSITIONAL HAPPINESS

When we say "He is very happy in his work" or "Although he can't find a job he's happy in his marriage", we speak of partially dispositional happiness.

This type of happiness is not classified by its duration: it may last for a short while or a lifetime. Its distinguishing feature is that it refers to a man who is happy in an encapsulated segment of his relationship to his world. He could be a man who has dismal relationships with his fellow man, a dragon of a wife and creditors beating at the door but when he is away from it all in front of his computer at work he is a happy man.

Thus far the uses of the word happiness discussed are those with which we are familiar, even if only implicitly so. There are, however, three rather obscure uses of the word that should perhaps be briefly mentioned for the sake of completeness. However, although the word happiness is used in these ways, it does not refer to the phenomenon of happiness.

HAPPINESS AS SATISFACTION WITH ARRANGEMENTS

In his 1968 paper, Lloyd Thomas (cited in Barrow, 1980, p.50) discusses the use of the expression "feeling happy" which is in fact not primarily referring to feelings at all. An example of this would be "I am feeling happy with the arrangements" or "I'm happy with the price I was paid for my house." This seems to refer rather to being satisfied with or pleased with certain issues.

RELIEF

This use of happiness to more specifically denote relief is best illustrated by an example used by Perry (1967, p.69) in a different context: "The happiness he felt in hearing that I would not be able to join him for the holiday was all too apparent." Happiness is used here in place of relief to possibly add a particular flavour to the description of relief.

HAPPINESS AS "GLEE"

A further use delineated by Lloyd Thomas in his 1968 paper (cited in Barrow, 1980, p.50) is the adverbial use of happiness in statements like "The Leader of the Opposition happily delivered one devastating argument after another."

HAPPINESS AS SUCCESS OR GOOD LUCK

Tatarkiewicz (1976, p.4) notes that the Slavonic languages and German use their equivalent to the English word happiness to also mean "success", "luck" or "fortune". English, French and Latin all have different words for luck, etc. and happiness. In Latin we have fortuna and beatitudo and in French chance and bonheur where chance refers exclusively to luck and success. Barrow (1980, p.61) points out that the English word happiness appears to have its roots in the archaic "hap" which means "chance", "luck" or good "fortune".

Whether we use one or more words for good luck and happiness, there appears to be some sense in which they are sometimes related. Perhaps the fact that the "happy man" is someone who has fared well or been lucky in life is at issue here (see Strasser, 1967, p.289).

The overlapping of these two meanings is seen in everyday language in such examples as: "When in Switzerland, I had the happiness to meet a friend whom I had not seen for many years" (Perry, 1967, p.68); "Happily, he arrived in time to avert the disaster," and "By a happy coincidence" (Barrow, 1980, p.61). We see both the words used in the one compound word "happy-go-lucky" (Tatarkiewicz, 1976, p.4).

Of course, one need not necessarily have to be lucky in order to be happy, and being lucky or having success in no way guarantees happiness.

Having examined the various contexts in which happiness appears it is important to consider whether it is a mood, a feeling, an emotion, or whether it refers to the quality of life as a whole.

#### FEELINGS AND EMOTIONS

The understanding and definition of feelings and emotions has perplexed psychologists since long before the Wittenberg Symposium on Feelings and Emotions in 1927. William James grappled with the concepts as far back as 1884 and attempts to understand them have gone through the history of psychology (Dewey (1895), Krueger (1928), Freud (1938), Sartre (1948), Beck (1950), Jung (1963), Leeper (1963), and Strasser (1977), to mention a few).

Attempts to distinguish between feelings and emotions have ultimately been an arbitrary forcing apart of two very closely-related notions. Not only is the usefulness of such a distinction not particularly relevant to this research, but the notions of feeling and emotion themselves present difficulties.

"Feelings" and "emotions", as these words have been traditionally used, have a

connotation of "insideness": there is an implication that they relate to events that happen "within" the experiencer, rather than a more fully being in the world.

The traditional dualistic conception of feeling and emotion is most notably lacking if it is used to refer to the experience of happiness, where the postulated split between feeling and emotion inside, and the world outside, is least evident. Happiness is in fact known by the very overcoming of this split: as embeddedness in the world is a characteristic feature of the experience.

Sartre (1948, p.51) comments on this traditional split when he observes that it is accepted by psychologists that emotion is set in motion by a perception. This confirms the relatedness of emotion: it happens "out there" and is part of the dialogue that man is. However, while in a sense, traditional psychology acknowledges that emotion does not rise up "spontaneously inside the isolated individual", Sartre suggests that it then understands it as withdrawing from the object (the perception) to be absorbed into the self. Within the framework of intentionality, Sartre states that, as opposed to withdrawing:

emotion returns to the object at every moment and is fed there.... Emotional consciousness is, at first, consciousness of the world ... the affected subject and the affective object are bound in an insoluble synthesis. Emotion is a certain way of apprehending the world. (Ibid., pp.51 and 52).

We reveal the world in a particular way, as making demands on us. We map out our path to meet these demands and we see this path as the only possible route. Sartre calls this the "pragmatic intuition of the determinism of the world." (Ibid., p.57). Our world "appears as if it were furrowed with strict and narrow paths which lead to one or the other determined end..." (Ibid., p.57). Along these paths there are decoys

and traps. Sartre (ibid., p.58) illustrates by comparing it to the moving plates of a coin-making machine upon which ball bearings are made to run down particular paths made by rows of pins without falling into the holes that exist where these paths cross. Sartre suggests that it is when we are faced with obstacles which do not allow us to follow these paths that we resort to using emotion, which he sees as a magical transformation of the world when it becomes too difficult for us to manage, when all our ways are barred. We "live as if the connection between things and their potentialities were not ruled by deterministic processes, but by magic." (Ibid., pp.58 and 59).

While Sartre's understanding of emotion offers us a way out of the dualistic difficulties of emotion as it is traditionally understood, it has been decided at this early stage not to tie our understanding of the phenomenon being studied to a particular conceptualization, but rather to search for a way of allowing it to reveal itself as it is. The implications of Sartre's understanding of emotion, particularly as it relates to happiness and the data emerging from this study, is dealt with in some detail in the section of Chapter 5 entitled "The Attunement of Happiness: A Complex Paradox".

#### MOOD

"Mood" here refers to our everyday usage of the word and not in the specific way in which Heidegger (1927, pp.134-139) and later phenomenologists used it (Strasser, 1977, pp.181-187; Gendlin, 1979, pp.43-71; Mehta, 1976, pp.154-156; and Macquarrie, 1968, pp.20-22).

A happy mood, unlike a happy feeling, often has no specific object. It is not always happiness about a specific event, it is a more pervasive experience which can be recognized by a fairly perceptive observer. It is longer lasting than a mere fleeting feeling, but if it persists beyond days and

months it would seem to move out of the realm of mood in the direction of something which is perhaps part of the experiencer's disposition.

The more durable aspect of a mood as opposed to a feeling is indicated by the preposition used by each. We have a feeling, but we are in a mood. The "in" implies a more embedded and less transitory experience than a feeling.

#### HAPPINESS AS ATTUNEMENT

If the idiosyncratic uses of the word happiness are avoided, a useful way to work with the issue would be to see it as having two broad meanings. The first of these would be happiness as a way of life: the "happy" man, whether it be the man who is dispositionally happy or partially dispositionally happy or whether it is the man who experiences happiness of limited duration. Here happiness is used as a value judgement on the quality of life, and that life may or may not contain any particular "state of the feelings or emotions" (such as joy, ecstasy, delight etc.).

The other use of happiness would refer to an experience usually characterised by a certain mood or feeling or emotion: here we would find a home for joy, contentment, ecstasy, pleasure, delight and satisfaction. While saying that happiness in this sense is characterised by certain feelings or emotions (melancholy would, for example, have no place here) it would be preferable (for reasons already discussed on pp.10 and 11, above) not to identify happiness with a feeling or an emotion, nor even with the notions of feeling or emotion as they are traditionally understood.

Heidegger's Befindlichkeit as described by John Macquarrie (1968, pp.20-22) appears to provide a word wide enough to encompass the phenomenon.

When speaking of Befindlichkeit he states:

Yet in Heidegger's view these moods may light up our Being-in-the-World in very fundamental ways. A mood reveals how we are attuned to our environment. It is not just a subjective emotion but an appreciation from the inside, as it were, of the situation in which we find ourselves. The mode of apprehension is neither objective nor subjective, but rather comes before the separation of subject and object. It belongs to the totality of our "being there", and it lights up the "there" for us.

Gelven (1970, p.78) poses a problem to this understanding of Befindlichkeit (which provides a home for the phenomenon of happiness) when he states that "... Dasein is always in a mood; so the reader must not take 'moods' as those occasional attitudes of mind that belong to the study of psychology." Strasser (1977, pp.181-187) further damns this understanding of Befindlichkeit when he makes a sharp distinction between the "primordial being-in-a-mood and the acts of striving, knowing, evaluating and feeling which are directed toward the world and the environment" (p.184). He understands being-in-a-mood or being-disposed as something complex and non-specific from which specific "moods" emerge. He feels that we should

distinguish more carefully between an irritated, angry, happy or anguished disposition on the one hand and being irritated, angry, happy about something.... In the first case, irritation is "in the air" without the conscious apprehension of any motive for irritation. In the second case, we are directed, in the mode of feeling irritation, toward something. (Ibid., p.183).

For Strasser, disposition can only be spoken of in the first of these cases. Mehta's (1976) interpretation of Befindlichkeit is, however, more supportive of my intended use of the term. He states that:

Befindlichkeit, being placed, or disposed, in a situation refers to something that is ontically a matter of common everyday experience: our moods, how we feel at the moment, the various ways in which we are attuned to the environment (p.154).

Gendlin (1978, p.46) also supports my intended use of the notion of Befindlichkeit or attunement. When discussing this issue he states that "although Heidegger is talking about the ordinary experience of feelings, affects, or moods, he has given that experience a different structure" (emphasis mine).

It is this different structure of which Gendlin speaks that is sought. When Mehta (1976, p.155) talks of Befindlichkeit, he describes perfectly the notion that I require:

... a mood just overtakes us, coming neither from "outside" nor from "within", but grows out of our being-in-the-world, as a mode of existence in the world. It is not primarily a mental state "within" us, which is then projected onto persons and things, but is a basic existential mode of the simultaneous disclosure of the world, being together and existence.

Gendlin (1978, p.45) suggests that Heidegger coined his noun Befindlichkeit from the German colloquial expressions "Wie ist Ihr Befinden?" ("how do you feel?") and "Wie befinden Sie sich?" which is literally translated as "How do you find yourself?"

What I wish to study in this research is how one finds oneself when one is happy.

It is one's attunement when happy that I wish to make the object of this study. More specifically, it is the attunement during the actual

experience of happiness which is of interest here, not the broader life attunement of the "happy man". I do not wish to enter into a debate as to whether the attunement during the particular experiences of being happy shares a similar structure with the life attunement of the happy man. This I leave unexplored, as possible ground to be covered by future research.

## CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Writings about happiness begin with the Nichomachean Ethics of Aristotle and have continued to this day. Most of the work, however, adds very little to our understanding of the attunement of happiness, which is the focus of this study.

This review will concern itself with a discussion of the works of those writers who can be shown to offer some insight into happiness from this study's perspective. Their work will be discussed within the schools of Phenomenology (psychological and philosophical) Psychoanalysis and Humanism, with references also being made to individual writers and to the contribution of traditional psychological research.

PHENOMENOLOGYSTEPHEN STRASSER

When one begins to grapple with the question "What is the experience of happiness?", one is struck by its mercury-like nature: the harder one tries to grasp it, the more it breaks up into smaller pieces.

Strasser (1967, orig. 1956) struggles with this problem by looking at five of the "pieces" which he then attempts to subsume under one unifying conception. He sees human happiness as consisting

in a transcending anticipation. It is a deficient anticipation of the experience of beatifying fulfillment, a preview limited to particular aspects, an imperfect foretaste of the ultimate completion of one's own existence. (Ibid., p.301)

Perhaps this will become a little clearer as we follow the course of Strasser's discussion. The work of Strasser is presented here in considerable detail because it is the most serious investigation into the phenomenon of happiness in phenomenological writing. However, it will become evident as his thesis unfolds that although the work has been included in the broad area of phenomenology, and although it does provide some phenomenological insights, much of it is of a philosophical nature.

Strasser speaks of five modes of happiness: contentment, chance, harmony, rapture and deliverance.

#### Contentment

In the first element of his typology, happiness is described by Strasser as the "lot" of the contented man. This is the man who lives amicably with the demands and restrictions of his life. He is not a man who suffers externally imposed limitations and constrictions, but one who "knows what is allotted to him and what has been placed outside of his reach." (Ibid., p.287). Nor is he the man who has acquiesced by taming his impulses and becoming resigned to his situation. He is the man who considers what he cannot have as not desirable for itself.

He reconciles himself within these boundaries by accepting them and inwardly affirming them, thereby making them into real boundaries of his own being. ... The contented person has all that he wants, because he wants nothing that he cannot have; and thus he succeeds in being happy. (Ibid., p.287)

#### Chance

This is the opposite of happiness as contentment. "They do not think of controlling their greediness or tempering their demands. They make no secret of the fact that they hope to enjoy more than others."

(Ibid., p.289). This is where a view is held that there is a limited

amount of happiness available and that this falls into the laps of the lucky few who look forward to the future with the belief that whatever comes to them will be favourable. It is from this conception that the idea emerges that one gets one's "share" of a finite happiness.

### Harmony

In this context harmony is seen as a unity of mixed and disagreeing elements: "a certain balance which is expressed statically in the appropriateness of all proportions and dynamically in the effortless and graceful cooperation of all parts." (Ibid., p.291).

Harmony, as Strasser sees it leading to happiness, would be a moving away from the barbaric - from unmeasured impulses, and untempered desires to the "unfolding of all genuinely human powers." (Ibid., p.291). This is a harmonious accommodation of inner impulses and social and ethical demands - with a view of nature as something that is not wild and untamed, but harmonious with culture. A certain "oneness" seems implicit in this view.

### Rapture

Strasser uses the term "rapture" to designate what he considers another typical form of happiness.

The enraptured one ... will be drawn out of himself, and, what is more, drawn by a power that is 'other than himself' - in the present case by the power of an experience of happiness. Happiness as rapture will assume the form of enthusiasm, trance, ecstasy, that is of conditions in which the subject forgets his being-a-subject; (whence the impression of being driven out of oneself by foreign powers, forces, spirits). The man who enters into rapture gives himself over to a 'foreign' life which enchants, inspires, and sweeps him away. (Ibid., p.293).

The difference between this rapture and happiness as harmony is that harmony occurs within modest, limited bounds, whereas rapture

essentially involves an overcoming of the narrow bounds in which we are confined by our "ego".

Strasser suggests that this breakthrough which involves a sacrifice of personal composure, rationality and moral worth (what he calls "dispersonalisation"), is not possible through the working of just human powers; man needs factors such as intoxicants to dynamite:

the subjective retaining walls holding in the stream of experience. The desire is that this stream should be poured out without inhibition, reserve or limit into a boundless land ... a man abandons himself as a person in order to unite himself to nature as a purely natural being ... man carries out an act of spiritual surrender with the 'dispersonalisation'. (Ibid., p.294).

It must be remembered, however, that this "giving over", as Strasser sees it, is a conscious act where the choice to do so is ultimately man's. Does man necessarily need to resort to intoxicants to experience this "swept awayness"? Can it not merely be the result of intense happiness arising spontaneously? If this experience can spontaneously arise from one's relationship with the world then perhaps it is not a conscious act over which man has control, but rather a giving over to rapture.

Strasser refers to Nietzsche, who speaks of the characteristic trait of the cult of Dionysos of the ancient Greeks as "the shattering of the principal of individuation" where "the boundaries of personal worth which create a certain distance between me and you are overstepped."

(Nietzsche, 1956, p.22; cited in ibid., p.294). There is a oneness between the self, the world and the divine. He suggests that what is happening here is an attempt of a finite being to experience the infinite. Rapture seen in this way can be described as a transcending mode of experience.

Man's experience of nature is influenced by his experience of rapture. Strasser feels that man will not be rapturously moved by idyllic landscapes - this calm beauty would not be sufficient to bring about ecstatic enthusiasm. The need to be deeply moved and lifted up is rather met by the wild forces of the untamed, unbridled aspects of nature; nature that is not in harmony with culture, but which opposes it. Man:

longs for this inner, overwhelming force. It breaks the chains of his personal and social ties and makes it possible for him to feel himself once again the child of a mysterious, terrible, and yet benevolent mother. (Ibid., p.295).

As with nature, the happiness of rapture brings the bond of love relationships into conflict with the rules of morality, religion and society. These transporting passions lack moderation, which makes them oblivious to the demands of the world.

#### Deliverance

Happiness as "deliverance" is described by Strasser as that happiness which emanates from the deliverance from the worldly "hell" to a sense of genuine peace of mind. Happiness is the rest that comes after the frustrations and disappointments inherent in life. Only when one has been freed from the involvement in worldly events is one at peace.

#### Happiness as Transcending Anticipation

Strasser now finally begins his search in earnest for the most perfect experience of happiness. Here he attempts to resolve his difficulty of having five contradictory elements which all seem to contain at least a partial truth as regards the experience of human happiness. By carefully evaluating each of the previously described elements, he attempts to transform their contradictions into some form of agreement.

The difficulty with the notion of deliverance is that in relation to the worldly situation, happiness must be transcendent. The feeling here is that the outward experience of happiness cannot be found within lived, mundane actions. It is a transcendent deliverance from the worldly. How can we reconcile this with the phenomenological data of experience? Perhaps it could be a metaphor for the rising above worldly problems and miseries which are found in the lived experience.

His critical investigation into the concept of deliverance eliminates for him the fact that happiness is not just a function of our senses: "In every genuine experience of happiness something transcendent is there to be apprehended, however inadequately." (Ibid., p.299).

These mundane experiences allow us a glimpse of the perfect, infinite, happiness. It is this glimpse of beatitude that gives happiness the magic which is lacking in such experiences as delight, pleasure and so forth. He is therefore led to say that human happiness is "nothing other than a transcending anticipation of that perfectly blessed condition." (Ibid., p.299). Our mundane human experience of happiness is the vehicle through which we gain access to beatitude.

This understanding of happiness as transcendence also provides a hope for the seemingly contradictory aspects of harmony and rapture. Happiness seen in this way involves a transcendence beyond the self into an infinity which is concrete, real, and rich in content. This beatifying happiness must necessarily take the form of rapture:

A finite being cannot experience the concrete infinite except by being swept away. The "object" of the beatifying experience is so constituted that it overwhelms the individual subject through its riches, its inexhaustibility, its boundlessness. The subject must immerse himself in the immeasurable sea of light, lose himself, become enraptured and carried away. (Ibid., p.300).

But in this boundless, inexhaustible overabundance of goodness and beauty, Strasser does not see a chaotic confusion but rather, in his words, "a harmonious totality in the absolute sense." (Ibid., p.300).

The wild breaking away and beyond of rapture is not into an empty chaos but beyond the self to a harmonious fitting into and becoming one with all that is.

Contentment's apparent incompatibility with the other elements of happiness as described by Strasser, is resolved when it is understood that man must be bound by certain limits, by his facticity, his thrownness. Therefore all men, when they experience happiness of any kind, even rapture, can only experience that which is in the limits of their possibilities. This finitude means that every man must necessarily live within the demands and constrictions of his life. Van der Kerken asks: "What can happiness be other than the perfect fulfilment of the total possibilities of the existing individual?" (cited in ibid., p.300).

While this is partially true and while there is a certain containment and acceptance of limitations in every man, Strasser is perhaps stretching his point a little. When he speaks of the contentment which is a theme of happiness, he speaks of a man who happily accepts his lot and wants no more: not the man who must accept what he cannot change. It is quite conceivable that a man may accept his externally imposed limitations but with such bitterness as to exclude the possibility of happiness.

A more penetrating investigation of Strasser's "chance" element of happiness reveals to him that happiness is not limited as he earlier suggested. When one seizes the opportunities of happiness that present themselves one does not deplete the "good in itself" and deprive others

by being happy oneself, one may bring happiness to others; or by being with those who are happy, one may become attuned to happiness oneself.

To sum up, it is worth repeating Strasser's conclusion that:

Human happiness consists in a transcending anticipation. It is a deficient anticipation of the experience of beatifying fulfilment, a preview limited to particular aspects, an imperfect foretaste of the ultimate completion of one's existence. (Ibid., p.301).

In his attempt to bring together a number of important themes of happiness, Strasser vacillates between a rich description of the lived experience and a religio-philosophical attempt to account for its magic by seeing our lived happy experience as a mere preview of the wonders of a life hereafter.

#### MEDARD BOSS

While Medard Boss does not directly address the issue of happiness, he makes valuable comments about it when he uses it as an example of a mood in his discussion of the "Fundamental Characteristics of Human Beings" (1979, pp.109-110 and p.112).

Boss sees man as fundamentally attuned (in a mood) to the world in some or other way. This ontological characteristic of man means that a mood is not something which is caused by an internal or external event: man is always in some way attuned to his world. He is not made happy by X or Y: this possibility of happiness has always been there and what appears to "cause" it is the incident which invites it to surface. The emergence of any particular mood, therefore, is merely the reattunement to something which has always been there.

Our attunement at any one time allows us to reveal the world in a

particular way: to reveal a particular world. Boss states that:

The prevailing attunement is at any given time the condition of our openness for perceiving and dealing with what we encounter; the pitch at which our existence, as a set of relationships to objects, ourselves and other people is vibrating. What we call moods, feelings, affects, emotions and states are the concrete modes in which the possibilities for being open are fulfilled. (Boss, 1979, p.110).

He speaks of passions where we are carried away by their strength and are no longer masters of ourselves; where "our whole being is concentrated in its attunement to a passion like love...." (1979, p.111). In the passions, there is a special openness with regard to certain qualities: "... the fundamental characteristic of our being is an openness to perception and this is just what is in some way concentrated in the passions." (Ibid., p.111). However, with this concentrated openness is a certain limiting of receptivity: in love, the limitations of the loved one are not easily revealed.

What Boss shows us about the passions is most certainly true also of happiness. He alludes to this when he speaks of joyous serenity:

It can give human existence the kind of receptivity that allows it to see in the brightest light the meaningfulness and connections of every phenomenon that reveals itself. Such serenity is a clearness and openness in which a human being is emotionally connected to everything he meets, wanting not to have things in his own power but content to let them be and develop on their own. Because this composed, joyous serenity opens a human being to the broadest possible responsiveness, it constitutes happiness as well. For every human existence is by itself attuned to happiness whenever all its innate potential ways of being stand open to it. (1979, p.112).

The accuracy of Boss's insights into the nature of joyous serenity and their possible generalization to being a part of other modes of happiness (e.g. exuberant happiness) will later be revealed by the

results of this research. The importance of openness as a central feature of happiness cannot be underestimated. However, perhaps he makes too strong a point when he states that all one's innate ways of being stand open to one in happiness. When discussing the passions, he makes the point that openness there also involves a certain closedness. This must also apply to happiness. The happy person could possibly be less open to the darker side of existence. If this is so, it would be difficult to accept that "human existence is by itself attuned to happiness whenever all its innate potential ways of being stand open to it." (Boss, 1979, p.112, emphasis mine). Happiness is perhaps an openness, a particular "pitch at which our existence ... is vibrating." (Boss, 1979, p.110).

#### SIGMUND FREUD

Freud poses the question: what do men show, by their behaviour, to be the purpose and intention of their lives? He states that without doubt the answer is: "to become happy and to remain so." (1973, p.76, orig. 1930).

This endeavour has two sides, a positive and a negative aim. It aims, on the one hand, at an absence of pain and unpleasure, and on the other, at the experiencing of strong feelings of pleasure.... What we call happiness in the strictest sense comes from the (preferably sudden) satisfaction of needs which have been dammed up to a high degree, and it is from its nature only possible as an episodic phenomenon. When any situation that is desired by the pleasure principle is prolonged, it produces a feeling of mild contentment. (Ibid., p.76).

Freud suggests that because "unhappiness is much less difficult to experience," (ibid., p.77) perhaps man becomes more modest in his hopes for happiness: he may consider himself happy to have escaped unhappiness. Because unhappiness lurks under every bushel man may be more easily

driven to avoid unhappiness than search for or even hope for intense happiness.

Freud sees the threat of suffering, and thus unhappiness, as coming from three sources: from within ourselves, from the external world and from our relationships with others.

We can achieve this happiness (which is an escape from unhappiness) by avoiding fellowman; or by becoming intoxicated and therefore invulnerable to attacks from the external world; or by succumbing to, taming or sublimating our inner drives.

What he has called happiness "in the strictest sense" can come about by the satisfaction of pent-up needs ... which is freedom from the suffering caused by these needs not being met. This struggle can also, however, be overcome by working on the need itself. One can suppress the inner impulse life as in some Eastern practices and thereby achieve the peace that Freud has called the happiness of quietness. Such drastic steps need not necessarily be taken: the impulses can be tamed by the reality principle, thereby not relinquishing the aim of satisfaction, but merely minimising the suffering which comes from a lack of full satisfaction. This does however, lessen the height of the experience. "The feelings of happiness derived from the satisfaction of a wild instinctual impulse untamed by the ego is incomparably more intense than that derived from an instinct that has been tamed."

(Ibid., p.79).

Another way in which we can avoid suffering by working on the impulse life, is to change the instinctual desires in a manner such that they do not come up against the frustration from the external world. This solution, which is available only to the lucky few, is the sublimation of more primitive drives into higher activities such as the "artist's

joy in creating or the scientist's in solving problems or discovering truths." But Freud points out that "... their intensity is mild as compared with that derived from the sating of crude and primary instinctual impulses; it does not convulse our physical being." (Ibid., pp.79 and 80).

The next way in which suffering can be averted and thereby happiness evoked is by loosening the relationship with reality in the form of gaining satisfaction from illusions. Imagination, which is exempt from the demands of reality testing, is the place where we can fulfil in phantasy wishes which are difficult to carry out in reality. However, Freud feels that such an escape would bring about only a temporary peace, not sufficient to make us forget real misery.

The final step in this escape from unhappiness to what Freud calls happiness is the complete withdrawal from reality and the construction of a reality that would be in keeping with one's needs, such as is found in psychosis.

Even if we are to support to some extent the possible validity of his notion of happiness as an escape from suffering, it can surely only be a half-truth. An escape is not only an escape from, but an escape to. Freud refers to four types of escape from suffering. These are the suppression of the impulses, their sublimation, their fulfilment in phantasy or their sating in a self-created psychotic world. All of these, however, imply an escape from suffering to another state of being which is itself filled with richness and meaning. One could equally say that an escape to a spiritual quietness, the sublimation of a drive into the world of music, the existence in a rich fantasy life or the escape to a need-fulfilling psychotic world provides an

intrinsic opportunity for happiness in itself. To focus primarily on the negative escape from suffering without acknowledging the experience "escaped into" as a source of happiness is surely to impoverish a full understanding of the phenomenon.

Without considering a move into a certain richness as well as an escape from suffering, Freud's idea of happiness as described here seems to be more of a contentment than what he himself has called "happiness in the strictest sense." However, he is not alone in this one-sided view of happiness as the peace attained in the escape from suffering. Those who subscribe to the idea of happiness as "Deliverance" share his conception (Strasser, 1967, p.296). For them, happiness is also that state to be attained when one can transcend this earthly frustrating and disappointing existence to move to the true Nirvana in a life to come.

Freud does not, however, restrict himself to only the escape from suffering as the source of happiness. As mentioned earlier, it is only one of the two paths to happiness. The other is "the experiencing of strong feelings of pleasure." (Ibid., p.182).

The ultimate experience of "strong feelings of pleasure" for him is sexual love and, more broadly, the love of another in general, (ibid., p.182). This is not a turning away from the external world but a reaching out to it, in which man is

not content to aim at avoidance of unpleasure - a goal, as we might call it, of weary resignation, it passes this by without heed and holds fast to the original, passionate striving for a positive fulfilment of happiness. (Ibid., p.82).

Freud takes the sexual aspect of this reaching out to, and loving of, the other to its extreme when he says:

... man's discovery of sexual (genital) love afforded him the strongest experiences of satisfaction, and in fact provided him with the prototype of all happiness, [and] must have suggested to him that he should continue to seek the satisfaction of happiness in his life along the path of sexual relations and that he should make genital eroticism the central point of his life. (Ibid., p.101).

Freud impoverishes his valuable contribution to an understanding of happiness when he reduces the reaching out into the world in an attitude of love to a person, object or idea, to a mere substitute for the orgasm of sexual love which he sees as the ultimate experience of happiness. Does he then not see happiness as something accessible to children as well? Perhaps when he speaks of happiness in this context it might be more accurate to refer to it as pleasure or ecstasy. However, one cannot totally disregard his understanding that what is found in the loving relationship is a feature of happiness; and for that reason it has been important to salvage what one can from his notion of the "positive fulfilment of happiness". When people are happy they reach out to others or their world in an attitude of what one could in the broadest sense call love.

A further positive experience which cannot be reduced to a mere escape from suffering is where:

happiness in life is predominantly sought in the enjoyment of beauty, wherever beauty presents itself to our senses and our judgement - the beauty of human forms and gestures, of natural objects and landscapes and of artistic and even scientific creations. (Ibid., p.82).

Sadly, however, Freud reduces this love of beauty to a mere attachment of sexual feeling onto secondary objects because the true objects of beauty, the genitals (the sight of which is exciting) are somehow not themselves seen as objects of beauty.

Freud feels that there is no secret which is guaranteed to lead to happiness for everyone, but that it is something that each individual must discover for himself. How he goes about this will depend on how much he can expect from the external world, how much he can release himself from dependency and how able he feels he is to change the world according to his needs.

With the exception of happiness associated with beauty, Freud reduces all other happiness to the management of needs. They are either directly fulfilled in reality, phantasy or psychosis; partially tamed and then met; sublimated and met elsewhere; or suppressed.

#### ERICH FROMM

As we have seen, Freud viewed happiness largely as resulting from the satisfaction of intense pent-up needs. Fromm goes beyond this conception of Freud's in two significant ways.

Fromm moves away from Freud's emphasis on the more biologically based needs to an exploration of what he calls "psychic" needs. Fromm suggests that a tension created by a psychological need can be as pressing as that of a biological one; it can even express itself as a powerful physical need, as with the unhappy person who experiences a pressing need to eat. Unfortunately, he restricts his discussion to pathological needs and doesn't extend it to include the tension that is created by healthy psychological needs and the possible positive experiences that could follow on their satiation. But as he confines his conception to the tension created by pathological "irrational" needs, he rightly points out that these cannot be satisfied; for example, the neurotic need for money is not satisfied by the acquisition of wealth. Fromm feels that the satiation of these pathological needs

cannot lead to happiness. However, in the sense in which happiness is viewed in this study - as the attunement of happiness - we can see that a momentary feeling of happiness could possibly be achieved by the neurotic who has his intense need met. One can easily conceive of the possibility of the man who has a neurotic need for fame feeling happy on the announcement of his being awarded the Nobel Prize. Although the need will not be satisfied in any long-term way, given the insatiable character of a neurotic need, this does not preclude the individual from experiencing happy feelings when the need is temporarily met.

In an even more marked move away from Freud's need-satisfaction notion of happiness, Fromm (1949) confirms his view that happiness is not available to the man suffering from physiological or irrational psychic needs. Both the irrational psychic and physiological needs belong to what Fromm calls a system of scarcity: a system of unfulfilled needs. Beyond this scarcity lies the realm of abundance. This realm, which is essentially a human phenomenon from which all specifically human achievements emanate, can only exist when there is no longer a need to use all available energy for sheer subsistence. "It is the realm of productiveness of inner activity" (ibid., p. 187). Productiveness is used here to denote "man's ability to use his powers and to realise the potentials inherent in him" (ibid., p.84).

Although the satiation of a need from the realm of scarcity may bring great pleasure, it is seen by Fromm (ibid., p.187) as a source of satisfaction rather than of happiness. Happiness for Fromm (ibid) stems rather from the realm of abundance:

To satisfy the physiological need of intense hunger is pleasurable because it relieves tension. Different in quality from satisfaction of hunger is the pleasure derived from the satisfaction of appetite. Appetite is the anticipation of enjoyable taste experience and,

in distinction to hunger, does not produce tension. Taste in this sense is a product of cultural development and refinement like musical or artistic taste and can develop only in a situation of abundance, both in the cultural and the psychological meaning of the word. Hunger is a phenomenon of scarcity; its satisfaction, a necessity. Appetite is a phenomenon of abundance; its satisfaction not a necessity but an expression of freedom and productiveness. The pleasure accompanying it may be called joy. (p.187).

Fromm sees joy as almost synonymous with happiness.

Joy and happiness are not different in quality; they are different only in as much as joy refers to a single act while happiness may be said to be a continuous or integrated experience of joy.... (Ibid., p.189).

His move away from Freud's conception of happiness is made clear when he states:

Happiness is an achievement brought about by man's inner productiveness and not a gift of the gods. Happiness and joy are not the satisfaction of a need springing from a physiological or a psychological lack; they are not the relief from tension but the accompaniment of all productive activity, in thought, feeling and action. (Op.cit., p.189).

Fromm's view of happiness as that which accompanies the use of the power to realise inherent potentialities is a very restrictive and lofty notion. While there is no doubt that this is an aspect of happiness, it is perhaps a little restrictive to say that all else is not happiness. Even if one remains within Freud's framework, it is simple to see that at the most basic level, where a man must work for sheer subsistence and finds that a most pressing need is met, the occurrence of something approaching the feeling of happiness is not too remote a possibility.

KAREN HORNEY

Fromm (1949) questions whether the satisfaction of irrational pathological needs can lead to happiness. Horney (1966, orig. 1939, pp.287-288), in discussing the motivations which patients have for analysis, cites Nunberg (1925) as suggesting that the forces drawing them into treatment are not entirely what they appear to be. Horney (ibid.) states that:

The patient wants to achieve his ends on his terms. He may wish to be freed without his personality being touched. His wish for greater efficiency or for a better development of his talents is almost determined largely by an expectation that analysis will help to maintain more perfectly his appearance of infallibility and superiority. Even his quest for happiness, in itself the most effective of all emotions, cannot be taken at its face value, because the happiness the patient has in mind secretly entails the fulfillment of all his contradictory neurotic wishes. (p.288).

These doubts of Horney and Fromm present us with a difficult dilemma. It is simple as a healthy outsider to see the hollow dimension to the happiness which is based on the fulfillment of neurotic needs. It is not difficult to shake one's head in patronising sympathy when seeing the ecstatic bubbling over of a compulsive gambler when he hits the jackpot. However, if one accepts the thesis that the fulfillment of a pent-up need is at least an explanation for a feature of happiness (as Freud suggests and with which Fromm disagrees), are we not merely seeing an exaggerated reflection of the normal man who achieves a goal that is, for whatever private reason, important to him?

In our lived experience of happiness, it appears that there is something decidedly true about the idea that some happiness is "real" happiness and other happiness is hollow or false. However, if one then reflects on this, one can argue that the issue here is one of perspective. Perhaps we see "hollow" or "neurotic" or "empty" happiness as the

happiness of those whose perspective we cannot share or understand.

Horney (ibid.) takes this notion of a restricted view of happiness further when she says that:

Most patients have known only the partial satisfactions attainable within the boundaries of their anxieties; they have never experienced true happiness nor have they dared to reach out for it. One reason for this is that the neurotic has been altogether engrossed in his pursuit of safety and has felt content when merely free of haunting anxiety, depressions, migraine and the like. Also, in many cases, he has felt able to maintain, in his own and in others' eyes, the appearance of "misunderstood un-selfishness"; hence despite his actual egocentricity he has not dared to have outright wishes for himself or it may be that he has expected happiness to shine upon him like sunrays from the sky without his own active contribution. Deeper than all these reasons and probably their ultimate cause, the individual has been a puffed up balloon, a marionette, a success hunter, a stowaway, but never himself. And it seems that a precondition for happiness is to have the centre of gravity within oneself. (p.289).

There is no doubt that Horney speaks here of an important notion which may relate to the quality of the experience of happiness. However, to make it a precondition for happiness is perhaps extreme.

### THE HUMANISTS

#### ABRAHAM MASLOW

While the Humanists do not address themselves directly to the question of happiness, Maslow's (1968) work on peak experiences comes very close to studying many of the features of the experience of happiness as it is being investigated in this study. This is not surprising when one looks at how he embarks on collecting his data.

He has collected the responses of 270 people (80 interviews and 190 written responses) to the following instructions:

I would like you to think of the most wonderful experience or experiences of your life; happiest moments, ecstatic moments, moments of rapture, perhaps from being in love, or from listening to music or suddenly "being hit" by a book or a painting, or from some great creative moment. First list these. And then try to tell me how you feel in such acute moments, how you feel differently from the way you feel at other times, how you are at the moment a different person in some ways. [With other subjects the questioning asked rather about the ways in which the world looked different.]

In addition to the data he collected in this way, he also "tapped the immense literatures of mysticism, religion, art, creativeness, love, etc." (ibid.).

He uses the questionable expression "B-cognition" to refer to the nature of the peak experiences. The extremely perceptive and meaningful insights into peak experiences offered by Maslow are sometimes marred by the language in which he describes them. Calling them "cognitions" is a particularly poor and inaccurate choice of word. This writer has, for the most part referred to Maslow's insights in the language he himself would have used, with the exception of a few occasions when he could no longer contain his irritation or where further clarity was essential.

Because of their importance to the present research the essential features of his findings are now summarised below. Unless otherwise stated these points are from his 1968 work: Toward a Psychology of Being (Chapters 6 and 7). The italics used in all the quotations are his.

Maslow states that:

1. "In B-cognition the experience of the object tends to be seen as a whole, as a complete unit, detached from relations, from possible usefulness, from expediency, and from purpose." It is experienced as if it was all that there was in the universe.
2. "When there is B-cognition, the percept is exclusively and fully adhered to." He describes this experience as being very similar to fascination or complete absorption. It is as if what is being seen is "all that is". Seen in figure/ground terms it is as if no ground exists or is at least not importantly perceived.

This is different to usual perception in that "the object is attended to simultaneously with attention to all else that is relevant. It is seen as imbedded in its relationship with everything else in the world, and as part of the world." He notes that in this way we ordinarily do not perceive the objects in our world uniquely: we see them as relating to others and belonging to a class of objects. Only rarely, for example in psychotherapy, is there an attempt to see the individual as uniquely and idiosyncratically as he is. He humorously notes that the healthy mother also, when

perceiving her infant in love, approaches to this kind of perception of the uniqueness of the person. Her baby is not quite like anybody else in the world. It is marvellous, perfect, and fascinating (at least to the extent that she is able to detach herself from Gesells norms and comparisons with the neighbour's children).

3. During peak experiences the individual is able to see external objects as they are and not as related to himself or as to human beings in general. Nature, for example, is seen as itself and not as something to be used in a human way.

4. The more frequently an object is perceived during peak experiences the richer it becomes.

5. Perception during these times can be

relatively ego-transcending, self-forgetful, egoless.  
It can be unmotivated, impersonal, desireless,  
unselfish, not needing, detached. It can be object  
centred rather than ego-centred.

Perception here is seen as independent of the perceiver, having a reality of its own. This could be suggesting a certain "let-be-ness" during the peak experience where the world is allowed to unfold less cluttered by the needs and biases of the individual.

6. "The peak-experience is felt as a self-validating, self-justifying moment which carries its own intrinsic value with it." Maslow calls this an end experience rather than a means experience. It is not a means to anything else: it is an end in itself. It is also felt to be an extremely valuable experience, "so great a revelation that even to attempt to justify it takes away from its dignity and worth." A peak experience is not to achieve some other goal: it is complete in itself.

7. In all of the common peak experiences studied by Maslow, there was a characteristic disorientation in time and space. Time and space were either not noticed as the individual became oblivious to his surroundings and the passage of time; or it appeared to pass with frightening rapidity; or, for some, it passed very slowly, with an intense moment seeming to last much longer than clock time.

8. "The peak experience is only good and desirable, and is never experienced as evil or undesirable." He describes the experience as intrinsically valid and perfect, complete and needing of nothing else.

It is reacted to with awe, wonder, amazement, humility, and even reverence, exaltation and piety.... It is delightful and amusing...

In this state there is something of a universal understanding where there is no place for blame, condemnation, disappointment or shock. The emotions would rather be pity, charity, kindness and possibly sadness or empathic amusement with the shortcomings of others. According to Maslow this is how we all react during our peak experiences. He interestingly points out that this is also how psychotherapists attempt to react to their patients.

9. "Peak experiences are ... more absolute and less relative."

While ordinary experience is situated in space and time, related to larger wholes or frames of reference and dependent on man for whatever reality it has, peak experiences are much less relative in that they are in a way out of time and space: they are largely "figure" almost unrelated to "ground"; they are not motivated (they just happen); they are more detached from the interests of man and seem as if they are "out there", with an existence of their own not defined by man or their context. An example of this is the fact that mystic experience has been described in very similar words by people of different eras, religions and cultures. Aldous Huxley (1948, cited in *ibid.*) has called it "The Perennial Philosophy". Furthermore the great creators as described by Brewster Ghiselin (1952, cited in *ibid.*) have described their creative moments in strikingly similar terms.

What Maslow is expressing here in a rather clumsy dualistic way is that there is a great similarity in the way in which people constitute their world during peak experiences, no matter how they differ as people and no matter how different the situations are in

which the peak experiences occur.

10. "B-cognition is much more passive and receptive than active."

As opposed to ordinary cognition which is characterised by an active, shaping, selecting, choosing, rearranging, organising mode, cognition during peak experiences is characterised by an undemanding, non-interfering openness, a receiving rather than a taking. It is selfless as opposed to egocentric, a perception of the thing for itself rather than an imposition of one's preconceived perspective onto it; a perception of what is more than what is expected.

11. "The emotional reaction in the peak experience has a special flavor of wonder, of awe, of reverence, of humility and surrender before the experience as before something great."

In addition there is also sometimes a touch of almost pleasant fear, a fear of being overwhelmed by the experience. This has been expressed by his subjects in phrases like "This is too much for me." "It is more than I can bear." "It is too wonderful." He describes the experience as having

a certain poignancy and piercing quality which may bring either tears or laughter or both, and which may be paradoxically akin to pain, although this is desirable pain which is often described as 'sweet'.

12. "In some reports, particularly those of the mystic experience or religious experience or philosophical experience, the whole world is seen as a unity, as a single rich live entity. In other of the peak experiences, most particularly the love experience and the aesthetic experience, one small part of the world is perceived as if it were for the moment all of the world."

13. Maslow found that during peak experiences his subjects possessed "simultaneously the ability to abstract without giving up concreteness and the ability to be concrete without giving up abstractness." This involves the fresh perception of the raw, concrete and particular. The world is not apprehended through detached constructs, categories and schematizations, but as it is in the concrete. Abstractions that are made are made from a full perception of the idiosyncratic concrete. When things are seen in their concreteness they can be seen through structures (e.g. language) that are close to the concrete, that take as their point of departure the thing itself and do not impose external structures onto it. What Maslow is speaking of here is a spontaneous, naive and almost child-like perception of the thing itself, devoid of preconceptions ... almost a spontaneous grasping of the phenomenon in a way that is attempted by the phenomenological method.
14. "At the higher levels of human maturation, many dichotomies, polarities, and conflicts are fused, transcended or resolved." He sees this as stemming from the full cognition of the object. When we understand what he calls the "whole of Being" we can "tolerate the simultaneous existence and perception of inconsistencies, of oppositions and of flat contradictions." These contradictions are seen as the result of partial cognition, which disappear with the cognition of the whole. Everything seems to make sense as if there's an overall unity bringing together all splits and conflicts.
15. "The person at peak is godlike..." [in his] "... complete, loving, uncondemning, compassionate and perhaps amused acceptance of the world and of the person, however bad he may look in normal moments."

At the peak man can rise above petty and sometimes serious worries and dissatisfactions.

16. "Perception in the peak moment tends strongly to be idiographic and non-classificatory." The percept, whatever it may be, is seen as totally unique, as if it were the only member of its class. It is not comparable to others in a general class of objects: it is uniquely original.
17. "One aspect of the peak experience is a complete, though momentary, loss of fear, anxiety, inhibition, defence and control, a giving up of renunciation, delay and restraint."
18. "There seems to be a kind of dynamic parallelism or isomorphism ... between the inner and the outer." There is a reciprocal relationship between the self and the world: a change in the individual brings about a change in the world. Just as the world becomes gloomy to the depressive, so can the opposite happen. There is a "becoming one" with the world. From a phenomenological perspective this would not be seen as a feature special to peak experiences but rather a description of how man always finds himself in co-constituting relationships to his world and fellow-man.

The following eleven points were described by Maslow in his 1970 work *Religious Values and Peak Experiences* (p.67ff).

19. He describes how there is a tendency to move more closely toward the real self during peak experiences, "to have become a more real person": what he calls an "acute identity experience."
20. "The person feels himself more than at other times to be responsible, active, the creative centre of his own activities and of

his own perceptions, more self-determined, more a free agent, with more 'free will' than at other times."

21. During peak experiences the individual feels more whole and integrated, less split and dissociated, more at peace with himself.
22. There is a tendency to fuse with the world: for the self to fuse with the not self. Lovers, for example, become "one", the mother feels at one with her child etc.
23. There is a feeling that the peak of one's powers is reached. "He feels more intelligent, more perceptive, wittier, stronger or more graceful than at other times."
24. During peak experiences there is an effortless and ease of functioning: things that usually take some effort are now done with ease.
25. Someone in a peak experience will be free of blocks, inhibitions, fears, doubts, cautions, self-criticisms, reservations and brakes.
26. The individual is also:
 

more spontaneous, more expressive, more innocently behaving (guileless, naive, honest, candid, ingenuous, childlike, artless, unguarded, defenseless, more natural (simple, relaxed, unhesitant, plain, sincere, unaffected, primitive in a particular sense, immediate), more uncontrolled and freely outward flowing (automatic, impulsive, reflexlike, "instinctive", unrestrained, unself-conscious, thoughtless, unaware).
27. "In peak experiences the individual is most here-now, most free of the past and of the future.... He can listen better than otherwise in that he does not involve expectations from past experience, or hopes and fears of the future. He is in touch with things as they are.

28. During the peak experience the person becomes unmotivated in the sense of no longer being driven. He has transcended the needs and drives of the ordinary sort and "just is".
29. Playfulness is also a part of a peak experience in that there is a good-humoured quality about it, transcending hostility of any kind. "It could easily be called happy joy, or gay exuberance or delight. It has a quality of spilling over as of richness or surplus."

Although Maslow chose to leave his findings in the form of an unrelated collection of insights they can be seen to fit into the following five themes:

- (1) During peak experiences man allows the world to unfold with a non-interfering openness: where there is a fresh perception of the raw; there things are perceived as they are, free from frames of reference or particular contexts. It is also more clear at this time that the self and the world are not separate, but co-constituted (elation makes the world look bright), and a feeling of oneness with the world pervades (lovers become "one"). (See items 1-3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 16, 18 and 22 above).
- (2) At these times man experiences himself as being more self-determined, at the centre of his own activities and having more "free will". He feels more integrated and at peace with himself; the peak of his powers has been reached; he feels more intelligent, more perceptive and stronger. (See items 20, 21 and 23 above).
- (3) The experience of time undergoes interesting alterations during the peak experience. Time is often not noticed as the individual becomes oblivious to his surroundings. Sometimes time appears to

pass with frightening rapidity or, on the contrary, to pass slowly during moments of intensity. Life is experienced as it is at the moment of the peak experience, free from expectations of the past or fears and hopes for the future. (See items 7 and 27).

- (4) The peak experience itself is never a means to the achievement of another goal: it is always an end in itself. It has a special flavour of wonder, awe and reverence, and is always experienced as desirable, pervaded by the non-judgemental accepting attitude of understanding usually associated with psychotherapy. (See items 6, 8 and 11).
- (5) Peak experiences are characterised by a certain transcendence. The individual rises above worries, disappointments, fears, irritations and hostilities. Dichotomies are resolved and there is a freedom from blocks, inhibitions, doubts and self-criticism. There is an effortlessness and ease of function in areas previously experienced as difficult. Accompanying this is a surrendering to the impulses: a freedom from control, renunciation, delay and restraint. (See items 14, 15, 17, 24, 25, 28 and 29).

#### TRADITIONAL PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

An extensive review of the literature (assisted by a retrospective computer search of the Psychological Abstracts back to 1967) reveals that the bulk of the work done here is of an experimental nature.

Much of the work involves the "induction" of happiness. An apt example of this would be Singh's et al. (1978) study where happiness was supposedly induced by giving balloons to children. (Similar studies of this

genre are Alderman (1972), Friedman et al. (1978), Frost et al. (1982) and Manucia et al. (1984).

Another approach within the traditional framework has been that of recording the effect that particular variables have on subjects' self-rated happiness, as is illustrated in the work of Weinstein (1980) where subjects had to rate the effect of certain vegetable versus particular meat breakfasts on subjective well-being. This approach is also found in the work of Critelli (1977), Meadows (1975) and McCrae and Costa (1983).

Veenhoven (1984a and 1984b) has recently completed an extensive two-volume work on the subject of happiness. Unfortunately, it offers no useful insight into happiness as it is being studied here as it ignores the phenomenon of happiness itself, focusing on the conditions that favour a positive appreciation of life.

Kamman (1979a, 1979b, 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c and 1984), while remaining within the traditional quantitative framework, has made the study of happiness his life work.

Kammann's work ranges from a study on increasing happiness through cognitive retraining (1982) to his two attempts to devise a method of measuring happiness, the Affectometer 1 and the Affectometer 2 (Kammann, 1979a and 1983c).

Kammann's final refinement in the measurement of happiness, the Affectometer 2, like Bradburn's (1969) Affect Balance Scale, fails to start at the basic foundation of happiness, the phenomenon itself. Instead of going back to happiness and allowing the phenomenon to speak for itself, they imposed their own structure onto the phenomenon, studied their structure and proceeded to make claims about happiness.

The fact that they made no attempt to study the experience of happiness itself makes them of no interest to the present study.

A further weakness with some of the traditional research is that it is based on experimentally "induced happiness". Induced happiness is almost a contradiction in terms: an essential feature of happiness is that it cannot be striven for or contrived. One cannot go out and look for happiness with the same confidence with which one may seek pleasure. One can attempt to create optimal conditions for happiness but whether or not it will arrive is outside of the individual's control. Happiness, like a cat, comes to you when it chooses, not when you do.

#### OTHER LITERATURE

Psychological literature contains a number of brief, unrelated references to happiness which because of their brevity and their focus on specific features of the experience, would also be more meaningfully introduced in relation to the discussion of the empirical findings of this study (Klages, 1950, van der Kerken, 1952, and Buyten-dijk, 1950).

McGill in his 1967 work, The Idea of Happiness reviews philosophical thought on happiness from Aristotle and Plato through the Stoics and Utilitarians, right up to the present time. While much fascinating material has been written on the subject from a philosophical perspective, it has been a study of the nature of the "good life"; of happiness as a value judgement concerning life as a whole. Unfortunately, this work has nothing to add to the present study of the attunement of the experience of happiness itself.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

If one leaves aside those studies on happiness which bring us no closer to a knowledge of the phenomenon itself, we are left with those that have looked at it peripherally by focusing on its contextual features and parameters, and those that have grappled with the thing itself.

Contexts and Parameters

Writers who have concentrated on the situations in which happiness unfolds can be almost causal in their explanations, as is Freud's conceptualisation of happiness as a particular management of pent-up needs. These needs can either be met in reality, phantasy or psychosis, bringing happiness with them; or happiness can arise from an avoidance of unhappiness (which is the frustration of these pent-up needs) by meeting the needs in a partial way when they have been tamed, or by sublimating them or directly suppressing them. Strasser speaks of the taming of these needs as contentment, where man has limited his expectations so as to fit them into what is possible for him, accepting his facticity, which sets boundaries on his possibility for the unlimited experience of happiness.

Fromm and Horney also focus their attention on the parameters of happiness, suggesting limited circumstances in which it can occur. Both see "true" happiness as only possible at a higher level of functioning: For Fromm this is when the more basic needs have been met and for Horney it is when the individual has risen above a neurotic level of functioning to a point where the centre of gravity is within oneself.

While the above writers provide interesting insights into the contexts in which happiness is experienced, we must turn to the work of Boss, Strasser and Maslow to understand some of its central features.

The "Thing Itself"

The essential similarity of the work of Strasser, Boss and Maslow is that they all see happiness as a special openness: a breaking through the bounds of the constraint on our openness, both in the way we constitute the word and the way in which we reveal it.

Boss speaks directly of happiness being an openness to the world beyond our everyday openness. Strasser, in his vision of happiness as a foretaste of the infinite, is also referring to an openness to realms that do not normally lie within our reach. Maslow's peak experiences, almost by definition, imply an openness above and beyond our everyday lived experience.

Boss, Strasser and Maslow see happiness as a being drawn out of one's self and a being carried away to a new dimension. The oneness between man, fellowman and the world is perceived by all three writers: Maslow points to the experience of time as "lived"; Boss and Maslow speak of man being in touch with his full potential in the moment of happiness, where he feels more self determined, more the centre of his own activities, at peace with himself and where he feels that the peak of his powers have been reached; all three writers describe man as being aware of the wonder, awe, enchantment and meaningfulness of life; and Boss and Maslow point to his ability to let the world be, without trying to dominate or control it.

This investigation of the literature has shown that, while some writers have touched on the periphery of the phenomenon of happiness, and while others have theorised about happiness itself, the phenomenon itself has never been the focus of empirical research.

AIM OF THIS STUDY

While happiness has been discussed and written about in various ways, there remains a fundamental gap in that the attunement of happiness, how one finds oneself during the experience of happiness, has not been empirically studied as a separate focus of research in its own right.

It is the specific aim of this research to offer the beginnings of an empirical foundation for our understanding of what constitutes the experience of happiness. As suggested earlier (pp.15 and 16) it is the attunement during the actual experience of happiness itself which is the focus of interest, not the broader attunement of the happy lifestyle as it is experienced by the "happy man". This study does not concern itself with the general well-being of man over a span of time, but rather only with the experience of happiness at the time of its experience, irrespective of whether the overall life of the individual could be assessed as being happy or not.

## CHAPTER 3

## METHOD

Of the methods that psychology has developed or has borrowed from elsewhere, the phenomenological approach (as described by Giorgi, 1975; Wertz, 1983 and Giorgi, 1985) is the most suitable for the purpose of this research, which is to explicate the nature of the experience of happiness. No other approach offers such opportunities to gain access to the phenomenon while remaining faithful to it and not distorting it in the process.

The phenomenological method has become sufficiently established in psychology over the past decade to make a justification of its validity quite unnecessary, and no attempt will therefore be made to provide a rationale for its use here.

The particular way in which this method was used to arrive at the structure of happiness will now be described in some detail.

#### COLLECTION OF THE DATA

##### Research question

To pursue the aim of this research, data is required which reveals the lived experience of happiness in a spontaneous, pre-reflective and concrete manner.

In an attempt to elicit this data the following question was asked:

Would you please describe, in as much detail and as concretely as possible, your experience of a situation in which you were happy?

The use of the word "situation" here was specifically intended to ensure that a concrete, non-reflective experience was described. It was, however, an error to make "situation" the object of the sentence, as the respondents focussed their descriptions on the situation in which the experience occurred, providing little or no description of the experience of happiness itself.

Changing the sentence structure, making the "experience of happiness" the object of the verb "describe", resulted in a number of new subjects providing rich descriptions of the experience of happiness which were concretely situated. These were in response to this question:

Would you please describe in as much detail as possible your experience of happiness, relating it as concretely as possible to the situation in which it happened.

The subjects were asked to respond to the question in writing.

### Subjects

For reasons that are not obvious, it was extremely difficult to find subjects who were able to describe their experience of happiness. Beside the ten subjects who were given the poorly-worded question, a further seventy-one subjects' responses were unsuitable. In effect, they did what much of psychology has done and that is to speak about happiness without paying attention to the experience itself. (A typical example is to be found in Appendix 1). Twenty-three of the original one hundred and four descriptions that were collected were suitable for the purposes of this research in that they described fully the experience of happiness itself. The twelve most psychologically rich descriptions were chosen for analysis. The language used by all the twelve was their home language, English, which was also the home language of the researcher.

Initially, an attempt was made to obtain psychologically naive subjects as suggested by Stones (1979, p.125) and van Kaam (1966, pp.310, 317). It was necessary, however, to address the question to large groups of people in an attempt to find those few who were able to provide meaningful descriptions; and therefore the researcher resorted to obtaining descriptions from the most researched population of our times: university students. It could be argued that these subjects, who have some level of psychological sophistication, would be less pre-reflective than naive subjects who would perhaps be able to verbalise "the data of awareness without undue interference from implicit philosophies of various schools of psychological thought." (Stones, 1979, p.125).

The present use of "sophisticated" subjects (undergraduate psychology students), while not ideal, is defended by Brooke (1983) when he states:

... it is simply not true that being naive implies a lack of extrinsic cognitive influence. On the contrary, the "layman" is likely to be deeply influenced by the unquestioned philosophies and psychologies of his time. This is precisely why Husserl speaks so disparagingly of the "natural attitude", and why he begins his method with the phenomenological reduction. It might even be argued that being psychologically and/or philosophically sophisticated would make the subject less prone to conceptual and theoretical prejudice, because his training has come to be critical of those very prejudices. Moreover, his reflections might bring his experience more sharply into focus.

A further possible shortcoming of the population used is that it explores the phenomenon within a limited age range (17-25 years). It will be left for further research to explore the possibility that the experience of happiness may be different in populations with other age ranges.

### Interviews

The data base provided by written protocols was expanded by the use of interviews for two reasons:

(1) After a discussion with Professor A. Giorgi in 1982 it was decided

that more richness and depth could be gained by "pushing the material to its limits" in an interview.

- (2) There was a reservation concerning the use of written responses as the only form of data collection, in that there may be a reflective and distant quality to the material (Parker, 1977, p.18). In the interview the subjects could almost re-live the experience, providing the immediacy Dufrene refers to when he states: "In effect, when I speak, I am my speaking; I become one with my words." (1967, p.215, cited in Kruger, 1979, p.126).

In the interviews an attempt was made to obtain clarification and optimal elaboration of the written protocols. A non-directive approach was used except for direct questions asking the subject to tell the researcher more about each aspect of his written protocol. Vigilance was maintained to ensure that the researcher did not influence the content of the subject's elaborations. This interviewing procedure was referred to as the "inquiry" and the subject's responses as well as the questions asked by the researcher appear in transcribed form after each written protocol in Appendix 2.

Interviews were not chosen as the only form of data collection because written protocols provided an integrated, orderly and succinct source of data which could be economically collected. This was particularly useful because of the difficulty of finding subjects who could provide the quality of description required.

## ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

### Method of explication

The data will be analysed by using a variation of the method which was developed by Giorgi (1975, 1982, 1985) and which has become widely used and accepted as a means of rigorously investigating phenomena qualitatively.

The steps used in the analysis of the data were identical for each of the

twelve descriptions. They were as follows:

- (1) The description was read a number of times to grasp a sense of the whole. This familiarization with the meaning of the description as a whole is important for all the following steps, but particularly for the discrimination of meaning units, as they are considered as constituents and not elements. "A constituent is a part determined in such a way that it is context laden. An element is a part determined in such a way that its meaning is as much as possible independent of context." (Giorgi, 1985, p.14).
- (2) As it is not possible to analyse descriptions as a whole, they must be organized in a manageable, workable form. They were therefore broken up into natural meaning units. Giorgi succinctly describes natural meaning units as:

... spontaneously perceived discriminations within the subject's description arrived at when the researcher assumes a psychological attitude toward the concrete description, and along with it a set that the text is an example of the phenomenon. (1985, p.11).

With the exception of changing the subject's description into the third person, the subject's language was left unchanged. The reason for doing this, as Parker (1985, p.69) points out, is to remind the researcher that it is from the perspective of the subject that the description is to be understood. It is the task of the researcher to remain as close as possible to the meaning intended by the subject.

An example of these discriminated meaning units is to be found in the left hand column of Table 1 in the "Results" chapter.

- (3) Using the process of reflection and imaginative variation (Giorgi, 1985, p.17), each meaning unit was transformed into psychological language, reflecting the essential psychological meaning of that unit with respect to the phenomenon of happiness.

An example of this step appears in the right hand column of Table 1 in

the "Results" chapter.

- (4) The insights achieved by the previous step were now pulled together into an integrated description for each protocol. This description is a reflection of the concrete experience of the particular subject and is therefore called a Situated Structure of the experience of happiness.
- (5) The situated structures were read and re-read until it was possible to synthesize the insights contained in them into a Summary of Situated Structures which contained every constituent of the situated structures of all the protocols that was relevant to the experience of happiness, even if it occurred only once for one single subject. All the material was given equal prominence whether it occurred once or many times. The relative significance of various aspects of the description are dealt with in the next step, as it was considered important at this stage not to exclude any constituent which, although they may have only occurred once, may be of central importance in the final stage of data explication.
- (6) This step set out to discover which of the individual constituents of the experience of happiness, as revealed by the research, are individual instances of something more general. This process is aided by three procedures which have been articulated by Wertz (1983, pp.228-235) and have been adapted to this research:
  - (a) The Summary of Situated Structures was interrogated to determine which of its features could be taken as relating beyond the individual contexts to happiness in general. To ensure that the researcher did not accept uncritically those statements that immediately and clearly appear to be applicable generally, and to assist in teasing out the general from those many statements which are equivocal, further procedures were used.
  - (b) Each of the apparently general statements isolated in the previous step were related back to the individual Situated Structures in

order to check that they have their generality confirmed by the broader base of data. Wertz (1983, p.230) makes an important point in relation to this step:

... the present procedure is not a mere cross checking for correspondences of actual statements or anything like a content or factor analytic procedure but is a deeply reflective penetration into the Individual Psychological Structures in the light of other ones in order to find common features that are sometimes highly implicit.

He further suggests that each general insight be found in each protocol, not necessarily explicitly, but at least upon further reflection (*ibid.*, p.230). This suggestion was not adopted for two reasons:

- (1) Some subjects may focus on particular areas in their descriptions of happiness and not describe or even allude to what could be commonly experienced dimensions. It is not possible, however, to conclude from this that the ignored areas were not part of their experience or part of a generally experienced component of happiness. It may just be that they failed to mention them.
  - (2) It is possible that isolated subjects may, in their descriptions, contradict insights which appear to have general significance. It cannot be suggested that because individuals can be found who will experience dimensions of a phenomenon different to what is generally experienced that the general experience is invalid (for example, for some individuals, pain can be experienced as pleasurable).
- (c) Imaginative variation was then used to move beyond the generality provided by the twelve subjects of this study. Here it is used to gain insight into the generally essential features of happiness. However, it is important to be aware that the aim was to gain access to what was typical of happiness rather than what was universal (Kruger, 1984, cited in Parker, 1985, p.73). To achieve

this each constituent of the Summary of Situated Structures was critically reflected upon, asking the question: "Can we have the phenomenon of happiness without this?" If the answer was "No" then what that part of the data expressed was accepted as essential to the phenomenon. The constituents emerging from this step were then asked: "If we just have this, do we have the whole phenomenon?" If the answer was "Yes" then the description was accepted as containing the generally essential features of happiness, if not then more was added until the answer was "Yes". (Wertz, 1983, p.235). It must again be emphasised that this was done to gain what was psychologically typical and not what was philosophically universal of the phenomenon of happiness.

## CHAPTER 4

## RESULTS

Presenting each protocol with its analysis in full would unnecessarily expand this thesis. Only the qualitative analysis of three protocols will be provided together with the situated structures of the all twelve protocols. The full descriptions of all twelve subjects' experiences of happiness will be found (with the natural meaning units demarcated) in Appendix 2. If required, the qualitative analyses of all the protocols are obtainable from the researcher.

In Tables 1-3 (below) the acronym "NROH" has been used in the right hand column to indicate that the meaning unit of the same number in the left hand column is "not revelatory of happiness". Wherever the researcher's words appear in the left hand column of Tables as clarifying remarks, they will be demarcated by the use of brackets.

TABLE 1 : QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS  
(PROTOCOL 1)

Discriminated meaning units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based on the perspective that the description was an example of happiness	Discriminated meaning units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to their relevancy to the phenomenon of happiness
1. For S, an intense moment of happiness was last year on November 15 when she got back home after a year away at Rhodes.	1. For S an intense moment of happiness was when she returned home after a year's absence at university.
2. S had been anticipating and imagining this moment for several weeks before leaving South Africa and she actually had stomach cramps with all the excitement.	2. During the several weeks of anticipation prior to the happy event S was very excited and this was expressed bodily in the form of stomach cramps.

Table 1 (continued):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>3. As S was at Durban airport going through all the formalities, she had sudden irrational fears that something at the last minute would stop her from boarding the plane. (She was worried that) her ticket would have expired or (that it would have) had the wrong flight number on or something stupid like that.</p> | <p>3. As S was completing certain formalities which were necessary in the final anticipatory stages prior to the happy experience, she had sudden irrational fears that some external obstacle would prevent her from reaching the happy experience.</p>   |
| <p>4. The relief when S finally sat in the departure lounge was very great.</p>  | <p>4. S experienced great relief when she had completed the formalities and was awaiting the departure of the journey leading to her happiness.</p>  |
| <p>5. The walk across the tarmac to the plane made S shiver with excitement again. Her senses were very sensitive and heightened, she noticed everything around her, felt it, smelt it etc. She felt great, she wanted to talk with people and share her excitement and joy.</p>   | <p>5. As the happy event came closer S experienced a number of changes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) She began to shiver with excitement;</li> <li>b) Her openness to her world increased in that her senses were "very sensitive and heightened", she noticed everything around her, felt it, smelt it, etc.;</li> <li>c) She felt great; and</li> <li>d) She had a desire to share her experience with others.</li> </ul> |
| <p>6. The flight, which was five hours long seemed (for S) like 24 hours.</p>  | <p>6. During the journey in which S was anticipating the happy event her experience of time changed in that the passage of time seemed to pass more slowly than usual.</p>   |
| <p>7. (The flight) gave S time to settle down a bit and just enjoy the wriggly feeling inside of her.</p>  | <p>7. The lengthy wait for the happy experience allowed S to settle down and enjoy the "wriggly feeling inside of her."<sup>1</sup></p>  |
| <p>8. From time to time S felt overwhelmed, as if choking and had to take deep breaths.</p>  | <p>8. From time to time during the anticipatory period S felt overwhelmed and this was expressed bodily in that she felt as if she was choking and had to take deep breaths.</p>   |
- 
1. Where an expression would not comfortably translate into psychological language without losing its richness it was left in its original form at this stage.

Table 1 (continued):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>9. The first sight of her country, Mauritius, brought tears to her eyes, she was literally breathless, recognising all the familiar beautiful beaches, lagoons and mountains.</p>               | <p>9. The first sight of the natural beauty of her home country brought tears to her eyes and she became "breathless".</p>   |
| <p>10. In her excitement S started talking and showing things to a young couple who were sitting next to her.</p>  | <p>10. In her excitement S felt a desire to communicate with others, which she did.</p>  |
| <p>11. When S landed (she experienced) the relief and contentment of being home.</p>   | <p>11. When the anticipatory journey to an important constituent of the happy experience (arriving home) was over, S felt relieved and contented.</p>  |
| <p>12. (When S was) walking down the steps, across the tarmac to the customs she was shaking and trembling with excitement, her palms were sweaty and again she was breathless and had cramps.</p> | <p>12. The pitch of anticipation for S was characterised by certain bodily experiences:<br/> a) She was shaking and trembling with excitement;<br/> b) Her palms were sweaty; and<br/> c) She was breathless and had cramps.</p> |
| <p>13. Hugging her parents at long last had S and them crying.</p>   | <p>13. S and her parents cried at the point of being re-united.</p>  |
| <p>14. Then S couldn't stop talking and asking questions.</p>  | <p>14. During S's happy experience she couldn't stop "talking and asking questions".</p>   |
| <p>15. At the same time (as talking and asking questions) S was enjoying the familiar smell and well-loved scene along the road back to their house.</p>   | <p>15. During her happy experience S was savouring sights and smells of her home town.</p>   |
| <p>16. S felt so light and bouncy and very very aware of everything around her.</p>  | <p>16. During her happy experience S felt so "light and bouncy" and had an increased openness to everything around her.</p>  |

Table 1 (continued):

17. (When S was in the departure lounge she especially experienced) the fear that something might go wrong just before. Because her father had bought her ticket at the beginning of the year and (she feels that) one always has fears that something for which one has been waiting very impatiently that there might just be a hitch somewhere and one would be stopped. Her only aim was to just get on that plane and feel its take-off. All along when she was preparing her suitcase she would say "Now don't break, suitcase, before you get to the airport." Once she had got into the airport she said: "Now don't stop me, I hope my ticket is alright" and there were people in front of her who had problems with their ticket. So she was just sitting behind them biting her nails, thinking: "Come on let me go."
17. While going through the steps which would take her to the situation which was to be a focal point in her experience of happiness, she was anxious that some obstacle would impede her progress and her awareness of possible obstacles was increased.
18. (In describing that feeling of "shivering with excitement") the subject stated that it was a function of just physically taking steps towards the plane, approaching the plane, and all the technical problems left behind, and all she had to do was just walk to the plane. She knew she could do that very well. At the same time it was the relief and anticipation of getting there.
18. The subject's excitement emerged from:
- a) the relief of knowing that there were now no obstacles in her path to her happiness;
  - b) the anticipation of getting there.
19. (S explains that) it was a year (since she was last home) she came to university in February and the culture was completely different.
19. S gives a reason for her excitement as being the fact that she had been away from her desired "at homeness" for a long time in a foreign environment.

Table 1 (continued):

20. (S states that) it was the whole procedure, just getting back home, and every single little moment was savoured as part of her going back to her place and it was very intense, she made a special point of really feeling everything because it was such a special occasions. Now (that) she had finished with all the customs and all the rest of it, and had no problems, she just had to get into that plane and it would have been all right. She liked to savour every single moment that she could, especially as it was such an experience.
20. S, having overcome the obstacles to her trip and with her getting back to her home being special to her, the experience was very intense with her consciously attempting to feel everything to the full and to savour it.
21. (S explains that to "shiver with excitement") was very physical as, like, when, three months before, she left for home, she would just have to think about it and she would just about have stomach cramps with anticipation from just waiting. And when she came back from the September vacation she suddenly realised she only had a term to go. At Rhodes they gave her, at the end of the year, a *vasbyt*<sup>2</sup> award because all the time she was counting the days and counting the weeks, to get there. It was a joke, but at the same time they had noticed how she was waiting for it; how important it was.
21. S's experience of "shivering with excitement" could be evoked long before the happy event by "imagining" it. The experience centred around the anticipation of an important event, during which time she was acutely conscious of the passage of time. This anticipation, when coupled with thoughts of the happy event, would result in bodily experiences such as stomach cramps.
22. (S's senses were very sensitive and heightened in that) it was not a usual, normal moment and she was feeling so high that she noticed everybody around, all the expressions and feelings and
22. During S's anticipatory stages she was feeling "high", and was acutely receptive to her emotional and physical environment.

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2. *Vasbyt* is an Afrikaans expression which can be literally translated as "bite hard" in the sense that one bites hard on the bullet to assist in the enduring of something unpleasant.

Table 1 (continued):

was very aware of the things that were going on.

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| <p>23. Because she was like, popping out of herself; if she could have grabbed the person next to her, and said to her, "Hey, I'm going home," she would have done it. And there were some Mauritian people there, and she started talking to them, it was something she would never (normally) do, she just felt like it and she couldn't have cared less.</p>   | <p>23. The subject's happiness was reflected at one point in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) an exuberant desire to share her feelings with those around her - even complete strangers (a "popping" outside herself and toward others), and</li> <li>b) a release from her usual inhibitions which gave her the freedom to reach out to those around her.</li> </ul> |
| <p>24. (S was very much aware of the) feeling of the wind when she walked through and came out of the lounge, it was so cool when she walked into the wind. (She was also very aware of) the noise, and the people around her.</p>  | <p>24. During this happy time S had a heightened awareness of her physical and human environment.</p>   |
| <p>25. S felt that her increased awareness was precisely because, with this happiness, she was sort of going out, she wasn't concentrating on herself and her problems and her worries. All that was behind, and she would sort of reach out with experience to everybody else around her. ("The going out") lifted the sense of her awareness of the happy things and the happy feelings around. At the same time (it also increased her awareness) of other people's problems, because the chap in front of her had problems and she felt sorry for him. She was hoping to get through and he was struggling. She felt very much with him. It was a "going out of her self," it was a reaching out with her attention to others, to other people.</p> | <p>25. When she was happy, S reached out to others: there was a move from self awareness (of her problems and worries) to a receptiveness to, and awareness of, others and the happy things and feelings in her world. This increased awareness also extended to the problems of others for which she could feel empathy.</p>   |

Table 1 (continued):

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| <p>26. (S describes how one) can sit and be surrounded in a crowd and just not notice anything that is going on around one. Her "going out", was being very aware of all of them.</p>   | <p>26. S emphasises the outward reaching nature of her awareness when she is happy by contrasting it to the opposite.</p>  |
| <p>27. (When S was asked to elaborate on her changed awareness she replied that) she found that she sat back and enjoyed looking at others. She started talking to a few people sitting next to her but didn't go too much into their conversation; she liked to listen, she (describes herself as being) like that (as preferring) to listen rather than talk really, and (to) observe. So she was quite content to do that. She didn't go out of her way to get involved with them.</p> | <p>27. S's increased awareness of her world was reflected in a passive receptiveness: listening and observing.</p>   |
| <p>28. (When S said that she was high she was referring to) a heightened awareness (of the things and the people around her). It wasn't only her feelings, it was her bodily reaction as well: "you walk with a spring, you know, you don't drive yourself along, you walk briskly, you look around, your body is very alive as well."</p>  | <p>28. S's "high" feeling was not only a heightened awareness of her feelings, it was also a change in bodily sensations: she felt increased life, energy and springiness in her body. There was also an increased receptiveness to her world.</p> |
| <p>29. (When S said that she had noticed everything around her she didn't mean that it) looked different really, it was just that she was observing more of what was actually going on and simply missing less of the things that were going on around her. (This happened automatically; not that she analysed them and discovered other things, it was specifically that she noticed more.</p>  | <p>29. It was not that the world was different for S, it was just that she was more aware of things: her increased awareness was spontaneous and natural, not contrived.</p>   |

Table 1 (continued):

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| 30. All of S's senses were very much alive.   | 30. S's senses were very receptive.   |
| 31. (When S felt "great" she) actually just wanted to slap somebody on the back and say: "Hey, isn't it marvellous!" She would have liked everybody else to know how great the feeling was, and how God was and how beautiful life was, and (she would have liked them to) feel <u>as</u> happy, and she just wanted to share this feeling. She was just feeling so very much alive and full of love and full of bounce.  | 31. S's experience of "feeling great" expressed:<br>a) a strong desire to share her happy feelings with others,<br>b) a perception of life as being beautiful, and a desire to share this,<br>c) a being full of life and energy,<br>d) a being full of love.   |
| 32. (When asked to describe the feeling of being "full of love" S stated that) when the feeling was there it was really great, it was a feeling of belonging and being accepted. (She is a believer). It was also being accepted from God's point of view, and from her friends' point of view; whatever she was, she was accepted. (She felt accepted) for herself, for all the crazy things and all the good things.  | 32. The feeling of being "full of love" that S had when she was happy was a feeling of belonging and being accepted fully by God and fellowman.   |
| 33. (For S the feeling of belonging was) knowing that she belonged somewhere, to specific people, that she was going back to her family; and the knowledge that she was going back to where she belonged. But at the same time she was related to everybody there (in the airport and on the plane) in a funny special way, she could have easily gone up to anybody if they needed help or if they needed anything, she could have just gone up to them and done it, she wouldn't have just stood back and thought that this was not her business, not her problem. (Very much part of the feeling of happiness was the feeling that she felt she belonged with all those people more than usual.) | 33. Part of the experience of happiness was a feeling of belonging. She felt that she belonged with those strangers around her in a public place. She had broken that barrier of indifference that strangers have for each other and if they needed her help she would have easily been able to provide it; she could no longer stand by unconcerned in regard to their difficulties. |

Table 1 (continued):

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| <p>34. (When she was happy S experienced a strong desire to talk with people) especially with the Mauritians whom she could hear from time to time. At one point, (when) the plane was going over (Mauritius) and she could see the coast of the Island, she just grabbed the lady sitting next to her, she was an Indian lady, and she started to talk to her, (saying) "Look, there's my country," and she pointed out things, showing her, asking her who she was. A "Just Married" couple were travelling next to S on the way to Mauritius for their honeymoon and S was describing the places that they could go to. It was very easy for S to talk. (The Indian lady) was very amused by S's excitement, and started to laugh at S; S just didn't care, it was so nice. (S felt the need) just to communicate that feeling of happiness with her. It was easier for S to talk when she was happy.</p> | <p>34. When S was happy she had a desire to communicate with others, which she did: she wanted to share her feelings of happiness. S felt less self-conscious and found it very easy to talk when she was happy.</p> |
| <p>35. (When describing her experience of joy, S stated that) she couldn't do much on a plane except point out a few things. She is a physically reactive person as well, so she had great difficulty in sitting still and she was propping herself up on the arm-rest and trying to have a better look at the view underneath. She was never sitting, despite the seat belts sign. It was a very bouncy feeling; she couldn't sit still for one minute; it was just too much.</p>   | <p>35. S's joy was experienced bodily in that her body was filled with agitated, restless excitement and energy.</p>   |
| <p>36. S said that she hoped that she was not going off the point (during her description) but</p>   | <p>36. N.R.O.H.</p>  |

Table 1 (continued):

that it was difficult to define all of this.

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| <p>37. (S described the time as just dragging, in that five hours seemed like 24 hours.) If she could have got out and pushed the plane she would have. (When S is happy the time does not normally drag like this, it was just because she was waiting for something.)</p>  | <p>37. During S's anticipation of the happy event the passage of time seemed far slower than usual, and she experienced a desire to speed it up.</p>   |
| <p>38. Once S was home and was happy, the holidays just flew and suddenly it was time for her to go back.</p>  | <p>38. During the happy experience the passage of time seemed to pass far more quickly than usual.</p>   |
| <p>39. For S it was the anticipation, the waiting to get somewhere (that seemed to take so long). She felt that she lived each minute too intently; she thought that the time went slowly when she would have liked it to go faster.</p>   | <p>39. During the stage of anticipation, when the passage of time seemed to pass more slowly, S felt that she lived out each minute too intently.</p>  |
| <p>40. (When S was happy and when she wasn't in that anticipatory state, time went quickly). She would go on living and going out with her friends and she would do all the things that she would normally do. When she was waiting for something then time would go slowly, otherwise it would go fast. For specific moments she thought it went more slowly because she savoured every single moment. And when she was busy planning something else or thinking about something else, she just concentrated on the moment and the person and the things that were happening; and in that way, maybe one would have been talking to somebody for 20</p> | <p>40. When S was happy she experienced time in a number of ways:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) when she was waiting for something it passed slowly,</li> <li>b) when she was not in an anticipatory state it went faster than usual,</li> <li>c) at times when she savoured every single moment it passed slowly,</li> <li>d) when she reflected over a happy period in the past, time seemed to have gone fast.</li> </ul> |

Table 1 (continued):

minutes and it was a very deep and meaningful conversation and it would seem like hours. Maybe it came back to (the fact that) all her awareness and everything (was) concentrated on that time, on that occasion. S was mentioning specific occasions, but when one has been over more, over a lot of occasions one (would) look back (and) say "My God, it went so fast." (At the end of the holiday the time had seemed to go very fast) but each day was something by itself.

41. (S experienced) a warm comfortable and wriggly feeling inside of her. It was a wriggly feeling and she just wanted to sort of settle down and wriggle; (it was) part of not being able to sit still. There was so much going on. She was agitated.

42. (S felt overwhelmed as if choking, although) it was just taking a deep breath. (She was overwhelmed by the feeling), it was so much, and she was just taking a deep breath, as if it was weighing down on her. It was hard for her to explain that. (For example) when one has eaten too much, and one feels so full that one has to pull oneself up a bit, it is that same full comfortable feeling, yet at the same time one is feeling a bit heavy, from time to time that sort of overwhelms one. One's body responds, and one takes a breath because it is a way of relief, a kind of release.

41. When she was happy S experienced a bodily change which she called a "wriggly" feeling. This state of increased excited energy resulted in an almost agitated inability to sit still.

42. S was sometimes overwhelmed by her happy feelings: almost as if choking. She experienced this as a full, comfortable (yet a bit heavy) feeling that is analogous to the feeling of having eaten too much. Her body responded to this feeling by taking a deep breath as a form of relief.

Table 1 (continued):

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| <p>43. (During this full feeling) it was as if there was no place for any other feeling; there was no place for unhappy thoughts, no place for mean thoughts; like (when one) would like to slap a little boy because he is screaming and annoying people. One doesn't think about those things too much, there is no place for any nasty things really. One is just full with that pleasant feeling, that happy feeling.</p>  | <p>43. S described a state of being so filled with happiness that there was no room for unhappy, "mean" or "nasty" thoughts or feelings.</p> |
| <p>44. It was joy (which brought tears to S's eyes when she saw Mauritius), one of the ways she expressed joy, like when S saw her parents and heard them it was just too much: she started to cry. It was like seeing something that she was so attached to that she felt immense joy to see it again. She started crying and then she stopped herself and then when she saw her parents again then she cried (this crying of happiness was quite different from crying of sadness); she didn't want to, but it just came. (It was almost like being overwhelmed by the feeling), she couldn't do anything about it. (It just came on its own), S was so embarrassed by it that she just looked away.</p> | <p>44. One of the ways S expressed joy was by crying and even though she was embarrassed by it, it was beyond her control.</p>               |
| <p>45. (S was shaking and trembling with excitement.) She was trying to fill in her arrival form and her hand was just shaking (so that) she couldn't write. She would try and write again, everything was shaking, and she couldn't control it. (It was the) excitement, especially from when she landed. She would see them as soon as she got out of the plane: just seeing them was something.</p>   | <p>45. S's excitement was expressed bodily in uncontrollable shaking.</p>  |

Table 1 (continued):

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| <p>46. (S couldn't stop talking and asking questions) she was trying to catch up. The letters were so limited and there was so much she wanted to know and each time she asked a question something else came to mind. And, at the same time, she knew that they wanted to know about her and how she was, so she started talking about everything, about yesterday, the day before, and then she went back, and she just could not stop, she just babbled on and on. As her father was driving back home she could see things along the road and she would ask such questions as: "What happened to this?", just to try and catch up very rapidly. Just to sink back, back in.</p> | <p>46. S couldn't stop talking in her attempt to catch up very rapidly, to sink back in, to get back together with her family.</p> |
| <p>47. She hadn't seen them for a year, so she kept her eyes very much more open than normal, (observing) what had changed and what was different. She tried to take in all the details.</p>  | <p>47. N.R.O.H.</p>  |
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TABLE 2 : QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

(PROTOCOL 7)

Discriminated meaning units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based on the perspective that the description was an example of happiness

Discriminated meaning units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to their relevancy for the phenomenon of happiness

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| <p>1. Mondays; who would ever think that one would ever find anything to be happy about on Monday when there are five assignments to be done by Wednesday and one has just said goodbye to one's boyfriend for another five whole days.</p> | <p>1. S was surprised to experience happiness on a day where a number of life pressures seemed to indicate that the chances of her being happy were limited.</p> |
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| 2. (For S) happiness was waking up and finding that spring was there just for her.   | 2. S was made happy by waking up one morning when it seemed as if spring had arrived almost especially for her.                    |
| 3. S walks the same route to campus day in and day out and doesn't think she's ever actually looked at the part of the world she walks through; there was too much else to think about.  | 3. Prior to this happy experience the natural features of S's everyday world had a certain taken-for-grantedness about them.       |
| 4. Monday the 10th was different for S. It was the scent of the jasmine that brought her down to earth. There she was standing under an arch sagging under the weight of the overgrown jasmine creeper. Just ahead were two or three peach blossom skeletons with their very first cluster of pink and white blossoms. There were snowdrops and daffodils and birds hopping about and dew on the grass and cobwebs speckled with fine dust and a still sleeping spider, there was sunlight and colour and smells and sounds, everything one reads about in fairytales. | 4. On the day of S's happiness the taken-for-grantedness of her natural world was replaced by a wonderment at the magic of nature. |
| 5. Her tummy actually tickled and she felt so high, so beautiful and so new.   | 5. When S was happy her tummy tickled and she felt high, beautiful and new.  |
| 6. There was actually nothing S couldn't cope with.  | 6. When S was happy she felt considerable confidence in her mastery over her world.  |
| 7. And there was so much that S wanted to do.  | 7. When S was happy she was filled with energy and enthusiasm.   |
| 8. S felt that she had shed her dreary winter coat and come alive.   | 8. S felt that she had shaken off the past constrictions of winter and was part of the new growth of spring.                       |
| 9. And S really felt amazing.  | 9. S was surprised and pleased by her emergence into this happy state of being.  |
| 10. S couldn't stop smiling.   | 10. S's face was a continuing reflection of her happy state in that she couldn't stop smiling.                                     |

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| <p>11. (In describing how scent of jasmine brought S down to earth S stated that) jasmine is her favourite smell and she hadn't really noticed it until just until that morning; it hit her right in her face as she smelt the jasmine. She was standing under this arch and the hedge was full of jasmine and that was when she actually started looking and smelling and hearing.</p>  | <p>11. It was the smell of jasmine, S's favourite smell, that ushered in her happy experience in that it drew her into her world and made her more sensually receptive to what was around her.</p>   |
| <p>12. (For S) every single morning was the same. She walked to campus and she'd try to get there in time, with her head down just looking there at the ground and would just walk. She didn't see and didn't hear, she just thought about what she had to do for the day. And she didn't always appreciate what was on campus. She had been there for three years and she just hadn't noticed things.</p>   | <p>12. Prior to S's moving into this happy mode of being, her awareness (during her walk to the campus) had been turned inwards, making her unaware of the world around her.</p>   |
| <p>13. (When S was happy) just everything came alive. There were things there that she didn't know ever existed. That wonderful smell just hit her. The colour was really something. As she said, it was like something in a fairy tale or like a picture book, just colours of pink, blue, yellows and reds; and birds. The colours were bright, and beautiful and clear. At seven o'clock in the morning there was dew and the sun was just coming up.</p> | <p>13. When S was happy she was much more acutely aware of the intense beauty of nature.</p>   |
| <p>14. (When S was happy her tummy actually tickled). Whenever she gets a tickling tummy it's like when she eats candy floss. When she sees a candy floss stall that she hasn't seen since she was seven years old, then her tummy tickles. (When elaborating on the tickling feeling she states that) she gets energy. The tickling spreads and spreads throughout. She feels energetic and strong and it spreads to her</p>                                | <p>14. Part of S's experience of happiness was the exciting surprise with which it had arrived, which expressed itself bodily and psychologically in a tickling sensation which spread through her. This consuming ecstatic feeling resulted in S experiencing increased inner strength and energy. Her concept of herself improved and she was aware of herself having returned to being as she had been in happier times. ("You are you", see NMU 28).</p> |

- mind and her mind just suddenly tells her: "Gee you know, you are great, and you are beautiful, you know," actually thinks about herself and what she is doing. And that she is her. She doesn't know. It's weird. It is actually like an ecstasy thrill. She feels O.K.
15. The first thing that happens to S's body when she gets happy like that is that she breathes deeply full out.
16. She feels the extremes of her body; it is the most amazing feeling. Because happiness like that is so pure; it is so difficult to describe. S gets very extreme, she is either very happy or very down, the happiness is extreme in itself and the downness is extreme. So that coming from being low and physically down with her mind being negative and her attitude being negative (everybody was ugly) and then she came back to earth, and that was what she meant. She meant she was not always down. Back to a level state. But coming from those extremes and actually seeing the beauty it was like being knocked from a hot day into a nice cool shower and she actually tingled.
17. When S is down, she goes out of her way to ignore people. (To her) everybody is hostile and everybody is against her. And she doesn't want to talk and she feels most unsociable. When she is happy she knows how to find people; she finds people and talks to them and watches them. When she is happy people look happy. Everyone around her looks happy. (People look) beautiful, glowing and youthful, young and full of colour. (When she is happy people look much nicer to her.)
15. When S experienced this intensity of happiness her first expression of it was a bodily one (she breathed out deeply).
16. S's experience of happiness was made more intense by it having come to her after an extremely unhappy period.
17. When S is happy she discloses a very different world to when she is unhappy. When she is happy she seeks people out and finds them well-meaning, beautiful, glowing, colourful, youthful and happy. When she is unhappy she experiences others as hostile and against her.

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| 18. (For S) everything was much nicer, everything smelt nicer, and everything was more pleasant.   | 18. When S was happy her world was transformed into a more pleasant place.  |
| 19. (When S was happy she had more) energy, energy in everything, she got motivated and enthusiastic. She wants to run, she suddenly wants to run the comrades (marathon) next year again. She wanted to start training and to start eating health food and exercising.  | 19. When S was happy she was filled with energy, motivation and enthusiasm, part of which she wanted to express bodily in the form of competitive running.  |
| 20. Happiness for S is getting a positive attitude towards life.   | 20. When S is happy her attitude toward life becomes more positive.   |
| 21. (S experiences) motivation, going for a goal again.  | 21. When S is happy she is again filled with motivation and zest for the goals in her life.   |
| 22. S knows she can do it (and plans) to achieve it.   | 22. When S is happy she is confident of her ability to reach her goals.   |
| 23. But all the time S has got this go and go, this energy.  | 23. Throughout the time S was happy she was filled with energy.   |
| 24. The knot that is in S's tummy goes.  | 24. When S was happy her anxiety disappeared.   |
| 25. (When S says that she feels strong she thinks that she probably means that) she is more able to cope. She can face any barrier, any obstacle: strong in herself, strong in her personality, and she was confident, she could meet any hassles, she could get over them and could do six things in a day, instead of the normal half-hearted one. | 25. When S is happy she is more self-confident, more energetic and has a strong belief in her own ability to master her world.  |
| 26. (When S felt "great" she felt) beautiful, she didn't have a double chin anymore, she didn't have pimples anymore, and she looked beautiful and was glowing and felt thin and great, and she knew she had achieved this, and had achieved that, and that she was going some place.  | 26. When S is happy she experiences a number of positive changes; (a) her self-concept regarding her physical appearance improves considerably; (b) she feels that she has direction in her life. |

27. (S describes herself as feeling "I am I".) S normally always used to be very happy. When she is happy she is smiling and more energetic. And she loves people. And that's her. That's the her that sort of got lost along the line.
28. In the last year or so S went through all sorts of depressions and growing pains and crises.
29. For S there is a B.J. and a Belinda, you know, she always associates the Belinda with the "no nos" and the B.J. is happy.
30. (When S describes herself as "I am I" she means that she is her old happy self.) She is secure, happy, confident, motivated, energetic; it's what she wants.
31. S felt secure because she had self-confidence. If S is happy she is secure. (S felt) she was in charge of the world, nothing would get her down. But S doesn't batter people down to get what she wants to get. Nobody hassles her when she is happy. She has no problems with them.
32. (Ecstasy for S meant) smiling really, really smiling and really laughing. And laughing from down there (meaning down in her tummy) (laughing and) bringing it all up and laughing in the most unlady-like fashion and snorting and grunting. Just letting go. (The ecstasy) is the thrill, the thrill of the whole thing.)
33. (When S is really happy) that is the only high she can get. When she is really happy that is when she gets her highs. That is what she is just sure
27. When S is happy she feels that she is more herself than when she is unhappy. She is energetic, smiling and loving towards others.
28. In the period prior to S's happy time she was very unhappy.
29. NROH.
30. When S is happy she feels that she is her old self prior to her crises and depression.
31. When S was happy she felt self-confident and secure in that she believes strongly in her ability to master life - nothing could get her down.
32. When S was happy she smiled and laughed from the depth of her being and surrendered herself to her spontaneous impulses.
33. When S was at this peak of happiness she experienced a transcendent high - she felt light, as if she could fly and float and swing.

- it must be like to go any sort of trip. You fly and float, you walk and you are light and you swing.
34. (S felt) physically light; her mental hassles that would be otherwise such a burden and weighing her down, were light and she could cope. Most of all, that feeling she gets when she is happy is that she is slim and she is light, and she is physically attractive. She felt as though she is, and others must think so too. And if she doesn't feel attractive within herself then she must be a drag to everybody. (S's mental hassles seemed smaller than they usually do when she was happy.) She will handle them by the end. By five o'clock she would have done what she had to do. And probably she would have enjoyed it.
35. (When S said she felt so "new") she felt she had come out of her rut of walking, of being depressed, of feeling sorry for herself, sick of the cold, sick of walking to campus, she really looked at all that new dew and spider webs and it made her feel "new" just looking at it. She felt because she was the only person awake, she was the only person there and that it was the first blossom, that everything was new. Even the spider webs were new. She felt new. Just her and nothing more. As if it was just created.
36. (In elaborating on her state S stated that there was so much she wanted to do on the day she was happy, she described it as) a feeling that she gets. She made plans: from that moment on, she was going to do the assignment by nine o'clock then she would go and join the dancing down there.
34. When S is happy, her self-concept and conception of her problems change. She feels more physically attractive and feels that others also perceive her as such and her worries seem smaller and more manageable than they normally do.
35. In that S has moved out of her depression into a happy state of being, she felt "new" and at one with the newness of nature.
36. When S was happy she was filled with energy and enthusiasm to tackle old and new projects in her life.

Table 2 (continued)

She was going to start out new and start doing gym with Chris Goetch and she was going to write a song, go and play her guitar and do things. Go and visit friends that she hadn't seen for a long time; she just wanted to do things. Just for a change.

TABLE 3 : QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

(PROTOCOL 11)

Discriminated meaning units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based on the perspective that the description was an example of happiness

Discriminated meaning units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to their relevancy for the phenomenon of happiness

1. It was during a Veld and Vlei course, when very early in the morning, S was awakened from his tent and one of his trainees said: "Good morning, Sir, I meant to tell you that you passed your exams." S said: "What?" And the boy repeated himself. And S made him explain in detail how he got hold of the message from the base camp, and S built up in his mind scenes of the action. S was so scared it was a dream, soon realized that it was true, very true, and he was now in second year.
2. S raised his thoughts to God in pure and sincere devotion and thanked Him for helping him through.
3. S felt an immense power to expand and explode, to squeeze himself within himself.

1. When S received the good news which made him happy, he had to make absolutely sure that to was true before he began to experience the feeling of happiness.
2. S's immediate response on receiving the good news was to thank God for His assistance in this achievement.
3. When S was in this intensely happy state, he felt physically stronger than usual, with an increase in energy to the point where he could no longer contain it and where he expressed it bodily (see NMU 16, 17, 18, 19).

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|-----|--|-----|--|
| 4.  | S looked at the place where he would be climbing later on and it looked different, vivid and dynamic. It was a happiness that made everything look and feel perfect and beautiful.   | 4.  | When S was happy, his relationship with his world changed in that everything looked "vivid, dynamic, perfect and beautiful." |
| 5.  | (After S got the news he was scared that it was a dream) because he was on probation. He knew that if he failed just one subject, he'd be out, and he wasn't sure of the Geography exams, he thought he had failed Geography.  | 5.  | The news which made S happy was important to him because it involved his life plans.   |
| 6.  | This guy came to S at about 5.30 in the morning and said: "You've passed your exams," and S said: "Well, what are you talking about?" He said, "Well, you have passed your exams." S Said: "Well, I don't know," because S was in the bush. He said: "Well, you have passed everything." And it was like a shock to S at the time when he said that S had passed everything. | 6.  | NROH. Revelatory only of receiving important news, not necessarily of happiness.   |
| 7.  | S didn't want to believe it, but he did want to believe it.  | 7.  | When S received the news which made him happy, he was apprehensive about accepting it as being true.                         |
| 8.  | For S it was like a certain blow inside, he felt like a thing, a blow in his chest.  | 8.  | NROH. Revelatory only of receiving important news, not necessarily of happiness.   |
| 9.  | (a) S asked him about three times how he knew and S asked him how he got to know everything and who told him, to the most detailed things. So that S could be sure that it was no mistake, S asked him when he could confirm it and what time would the communication through the radio come through.<br>(b) S was a bit scared when he actually received the news.          | 9.  | (a) Same as NMU 7.<br><br>(b) S was scared prior to the event which made him happy.  |
| 10. | (S describes the blow in his chest as) feeling like when the adrenalin is pumped into the system; it was more of a   | 10. | NROH. Revelatory only of receiving important news, not necessarily of happiness.   |

- surprise, a bit of a sort of a shock, because it was totally unexpected.... Because it was a thing totally out of the blue, and for him it was very important. So that was the shock S experienced in the chest, that's what the feeling in the chest meant.
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|---|---|
| <p>11. (In describing how it changed from shock to happiness) S said that while he was asking him more about how he knew, who had told him, S started calming down.</p>   | <p>11. As S became more sure of the validity of the news that was to make him happy, he began to calm down, his feelings changing from shock to happiness.</p>  |
| <p>12. At the same time, it felt as if S was squeezing his fist, if he can remember well.</p>   | <p>12. At the early stage of S's experience of happiness, he experienced a bodily change in the form of physical squeezing of his fist (elaborated in NMU 15).</p>  |
| <p>13. S felt a lot of energy inside himself.</p>   | <p>13. When S was happy, he experienced himself as having an increased amount of energy.</p>  |
| <p>14. S experienced a lot of strengths.</p>  | <p>14. When S was happy, he experienced himself as having increased strength.</p>   |
| <p>15. S felt like doing something; he doesn't know whether he could describe it as childish, but something like screaming, jumping in the air, squeezing himself, or like squeezing something to break it, maybe even as far as destroying it. But he had to control himself because he wasn't by himself. He had all those guys, and he was in charge of those guys. They would say this guy must be around the bend. S didn't think they would expect such a demonstration of happiness for him just passing because they did not know what it meant to him.</p> | <p>15. When S was in this heightened state of happiness, he experienced a desire to let go of his inhibitions and surrender himself to his impulses which he did not do because of the concern he had about the expectations others had of him.</p> |
| <p>16. As S settled down, he started to feel a sort of local thing, a sort of shocking feeling or whatever it was. It started rolling through the body, which</p>   | <p>16. When S was in this heightened state of happiness, he felt as if he was filled throughout his body with extra physical power and physical strength. He experienced the</p>  |

then gave him a sort of extra power or strength right through his body, which made him feel like doing something strong. As he mentioned before, like squeezing something, or breaking something. The power, was not the power, the power he would say is the power of feeling strong, but in this case, he was feeling stronger than normal. (When asked whether the strength was psychological or physical S replied) it was more a physical power than psychological.

17. (S describes this power by saying it's) like an outburst; he means that power is an outburst of something, of energy, and he felt that he had to expand, with the energy that he had, he means that it just couldn't be within himself, he had to do something. (Like he was overflowing with energy). But he couldn't release this energy and he had to tell himself, "Just don't go beserk while you are still listening to these guys, wait a bit and do something while they are not looking." That's how he felt.
18. (In elaborating on his saying that he feels like jumping, and squeezing something, S states that) it is directly related to that energy he has, whether he felt that thing, that motion to do something, whether constructively or destructively, whether that thing was consciously thought (or not). In other words, S was saying: "Because I feel so happy now, I have to do that," or because it was automatic, like more on a subconscious level. S would say that it was more automatic than conscious. He wouldn't think: "Because I feel happy I must do something." It was already

desire to express this thing physically.

17. When S was happy, he was so filled with energy that he experienced himself as overflowing and bursting with energy. ("I had to expand, I mean I just couldn't be within myself.") S was unable to let go and release this energy because of the social context in which he found himself.
18. As an expression of his energy when he was happy, S felt pre-reflectively compelled to do something physical, but because of his concern for the role expectations that he felt others had for him, he restricted this to tensing all his muscles.

in him because of the amount of energy that he had inside of himself. And he would sort of tense up all his muscles at that time because it was the only thing he could do within the normal behaviour that people would expect. It was the only thing he could do.

19. S can't remember now, but from the other time when S was very happy - like when he was meeting his girlfriend after a long time and if no one was watching him - he would just like to jump on the spot and bite his teeth and maybe, sort of, not scream, but squeal or something like that, and feel all that euphoria just come out of him and he'd feel more relaxed and he'd probably do it again if it hadn't gone out enough. (It was a desire to get something out of himself). He just couldn't keep it inside of himself. It was just too much.
20. The energy is something, he thinks, that is directly related to his happiness because he felt so happy with that thing, because it meant so much to him, because his future was involved as well. That is rather an important thing, he can't explain what kind of energy it was, he can't say it was mechanical energy. It was a ...
21. That particular energy would make S do something, let's say, it would make him feel like a superman, like, for example, it sounds cartoonistic or childish, but S doesn't mind, for example like breaking a whole tree or jumping on the ground and going right through the earth to the other side, doing something really supernatural. And that has happened to him before on various occasions. He felt so
19. On previous occasions when S had been happy, he would, in fact, surrender himself to his impulses and let go of his inhibitions, boisterously expressing his feelings.
20. The intensity of S's happiness was related to the importance to S of the good news he received, which made his future accessible to him.
21. When S is very happy he is so "packed" with energy that he feels as if he has superhuman physical strength which, if he cannot release it, would combine in his fantasy with great courage as he imagines himself performing monumentally heroic feats for which he would be admired.

- packed with energy. (Something supernatural) like saving a person, he actually plays a role in his mind, or he dreams, if he cannot release the energy properly, of doing something very heroic or doing something constructive, but something monumental, that requires a lot of power, muscular power and a lot of guts and sort of "Look at me you know, I am the hero," and everybody would know and would just sort of look at him. That is the sort of energy that goes through S from a very happy emotion.
22. (S feels big when he is happy). He doesn't feel very big like "Look I've got a big head, you know, I've passed my exam;" but he feels big in a different way, of keeping within himself that energy. He wouldn't go to the extent of going around saying, "Hey, I've passed, I've passed." He has to keep to himself and actually experience himself from within himself. This energy, it is not a thing that he might just sort of boast (about). There are certain things that are obvious. He'd like to say, "Well, I've passed the exam," but he didn't go absolutely "mental".
22. NROH. Revelatory only of receiving news of success.
23. (S felt like squeezing something.) That's what happens often when S feels really very happy, because he found that the easiest way for him to dissipate part of that energy was to do something physically, to get this thing out of his muscles, and because whether actually muscularly he feels stronger, or whether psychologically he feels stronger and because of psychological reasons he feels stronger, he doesn't know. The only means by which he can dissipate the energy is by squeezing whatever; if he has got nothing to
23. When S is very happy he needs to express his energy physically in order to feel relaxed. ("... to get this thing out of his muscles....")

squeeze he closes his fists and tightens his muscles and bites his front teeth a couple of times until he feels more relaxed. He's got to squeeze something like (for example) a bed; he might punch the bed or might go further and grab the pillow and bite the pillow as strongly as he can until he is just exhausted and then there is nothing there.

24. (In describing his desire to "destroy" something, he says) that that would maybe show some of his aggression. And it was not to destroy something to the extent of having a bad intention about it. It was, for example, like punching a door until he breaks the door and when the door is broken he feels satisfaction because he has accomplished something out of that energy. That was a manifestation, it showed how great his power was, if he could punch like a cupboard and if his hand goes right through it really shows him how much energy he had and makes him feel greater, and if he could just punch something and nothing gives in then he doesn't feel as good.
24. When S is very happy he desires to express his physical energy to its limits, which then confirms for him how powerful he is.
25. (When S is elaborating on his action of raising his thoughts to God in pure and sincere devotion and thanking Him for helping him, he explains that) he is not a very religious person. He is a Roman Catholic and he does practise, but he is not a fundi if he can put it that way. He now had been praying to God, saying: "Help me with the exams," and he sort of believes in a bit of help from God. He thinks it was the very first time that he really did appreciate His help, and he thinks maybe consciously it was like ... as if a camera ... if he was like a movie star, and had to
25. NROH. Revelatory only of having achieved a desired goal successfully.

act. He sort of felt forced. He sort of looked at the sky and tried to cut out everything from him and just, really concentrated on God. And he tried to be clear and say: "Well, you know, You are great, You really helped me, how can I express myself, I'm really, you know, thankful for what You have done as far as helping me to pass the exams because they are very important to me. I think that if it was not for You probably I wouldn't be so fortunate to have passed the thing. Even just scraping the surface."

26. (S's feeling of tremendous power to explode and expand and to squeeze himself within himself was) as if he could squeeze something to nothing. If S really loves someone very dearly, sometimes he wishes he could just sort of squeeze the person with his hands until he gets them into a tiny little parcel and it's all there in his hands and he can squeeze, the type of squeeze was like a loving squeeze. Very powerful (as if he was saying): "Because I am squeezing you I'm really loving you, I'm really so proud of you." S couldn't really squeeze himself, that cannot be done, but when he squeezes something, the more he squeezes the smaller the thing can get. The more powerful, the greater amount of energy that thing possesses. He was just trying to make the interviewer understand what he means by this. If he can squeeze within himself maybe perhaps he is using the wrong expression in English. But he was probably trying to say that he felt like he wanted to expand because of the energy, or that superhuman power; but at the same time, to squeeze himself and control all that power. That was probably what he meant there. Squeezing shows all that energy. For
26. When S is very happy he experiences a change in his perception of his bodiliness in that he expands with energy and power and has a strong need to express this power physically to its limits in the act of loving squeezing.

- squeezing something you have to have a lot of power because you are forming the shape of that thing, therefore you actually have to use the energy to squeeze energy, therefore the energy you have to use has to be much stronger. (Squeezing is quite a loving act for S). He squeezes someone to break his back or he squeezes someone to love her. In this instance it was a loving feeling, when he was happy.
27. (When S said that when he squeezed something down it had more energy in it because it was squeezed, he meant that this was so because the energy was compressed). In fact it comes to pure physics. One cannot squeeze something to nothing because that is impossible. But it is like the idea of the black hole, the thing that man knows, it has got the greatest amount of energy, but it is like squeezing the sun, it will turn into a black hole. And the force of gravity is abnormal. That is why it is called the black hole. And then it sucks everything and the more it sucks the more it reduces and the more it reduces the more energy it has got. So it is like a sort of cycle.
27. NROH.
28. (When S looked at the place where he'd been climbing later on it looked different). He was instructing climbing and the cliffs, after a long time, he knew them backwards and he actually looked (it was quite a distance) at the cliffs and they somehow, they, he wouldn't say they looked totally new to him, but they had a different appearance, he'd say something more clean about them, maybe something that showed something about him in that he had climbed them before and he had done something good. They had showed
28. (a) When S was happy his relationship with his world changed, in that it revealed itself to him in a different way: he saw the taken-for-granted aspects of it in a new light (the cliffs were more vivid, clean, majestic, challenging and new). (b) Objects in his world also revealed themselves to him in such a way that they confirmed his bodily strength and mastery over them.

him that he can climb and he can conquer this thing and when he goes through them he really has to work hard. Otherwise he would fall and he had to know where he was going and he had to use a fair amount of muscular strength so he thinks that that's what he meant there. They looked cleaner, not in the sense of, you know, without dirt. Maybe cleaner wasn't the right word. They were slightly different, they just didn't look old, they were maybe, they looked more majestic, not that old sort of boring thing. They were not dull anymore; no, they were not dull, there was something challenging, though he had climbed them a couple of times, it was actually quite easy, it was as if suddenly they posed an obstacle for him to conquer. Maybe coming a bit out of a sort of dream. Maybe they, definitely, they weren't the same old boring pieces of rock climbing, it was more like a majestic crag. (They were more "vivid and dynamic"). They were more challenging, maybe like in a cloudy, dreamy vision.

29. Of course, once he went to do the climbing, that sort of vividness had disappeared totally, because he had dissipated a lot of energy and although he was happy he wasn't so concentrating on the next rock climbing, he was still thinking about those sort of things, but he wasn't concentrating about the fact that he had seen those things slightly differently. It was more that he wasn't concentrating so much on the actual rock climbing as such, with the kids, that he was the rock climbing instructor. He was more concentrating on his
29. When S had dissipated a lot of energy and focused his attention on his daily tasks and his excitement had calmed down, his world lost its special hue.

past, but the thing of the climb itself having that slightly different aspect from every day had already dissipated a long time ago, it was more like, ummm, a momentarily or flashy thing. (It dissipated as the excitement calmed down.)

30. (S said that everything looked and felt perfect and beautiful when he was in that happy mood). He doesn't know if he'd be correct in saying that he was "peaking" there, like a peak experience. It was quite early and the grass had a lot of dew. It was summer time, it was wet and the sun was behind his back and it was lower in the hills and summertime in Natal is very green and it was next to the Bushman's River. And when he had heard the news, and after the guys went away, he stood by himself and just looked around and didn't take the things for granted ... like when he would wake up in the morning and there was just dew on the grass and he wouldn't think about things, he would just say: "Let's go for a run." And he wouldn't really register things. He really looked around himself and it was as if he could absorb the beauty of the green, green grass and trees and all that wet, wet that used to be, a few minutes ago before he got the news, awkward and lousy because it was wetting his feet; now he really appreciated it because it showed him really how fresh the morning was and how fresh the grass was and he felt like maybe drinking that water, maybe licking the leaves because they were so pure and fresh, so like new life. But the things didn't feel static, there was a lot of life, it
30. When S was happy his relationship with his world changed considerably: (1) he felt close to his world - "like I was part of it." (2) he no longer took it for granted but was acutely aware of, open to and absorbing of, all its beauty and dynamic life. (3) he felt a desire to become sensually involved with his world (drinking and licking). (4) the objects in his world were transformed in that he was able to really appreciate and enjoy aspects of it which had irritated him when he was not happy. (5) his world seemed new to him in that he was suddenly aware of and appreciative of the beauty of so much that he had previously taken for granted. (6) when S was happy the positive aspects of his world became the "figure" and its negative aspects became the "ground".

was dynamic to that extent, the river flowing down the slope: it wasn't just the same old river, it was something, like it was the first time he had seen the river. He could appreciate the beauty of the river and all the surroundings around him and all the environment, even the old house of the guard boys, it was like something new to him.

(S wouldn't say it had a magical quality) because it was very real. He thought the difference was that he was experiencing them as something that was ... like he was part of them. Without them, maybe he wouldn't be able to be there. He wasn't taking them for granted any more; he was taking a look at how beautiful those drops were and really appreciating the beauty of the actual whole. Normally he would just walk there and run and tread and talk, and this thorn tree would catch him here and he would find it could be a hassle and if he trod on the thorns, the more sort of negative criticism. Now it was a positive appreciation of nature.

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#### PROTOCOL 1 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

While anticipating the experience which was associated with her happiness, S experienced both excitement expressed as stomach cramps, as well as irrational fears that the experience would not materialise. The event around which the happiness occurred was S's return home after a long absence in a foreign country. She experienced a great sense of relief when there were no further obstacles in the way of her reaching this goal.

The bodily changes experienced by S in anticipation of this situation

involved trembling, shivering and uncontrollable shaking with excitement. At the pitch of this anticipation S's palms became sweaty, she was breathless and suffered from cramps. In anticipation of, as well as during, the experience, she felt a wriggly sensation in her body. When S was overwhelmed with happiness she experienced a full, heavy feeling (analogous to having overeaten), to the point where she felt as if she were choking and took a deep breath by way of relief and release.

When S was happy she became less self-conscious and more outgoing and also felt "full of love" in that she felt in harmony with her fellowman and God.

Her awareness of her emotional and physical environment was heightened and she was acutely receptive toward it and relished it.

S transcended the "normal" barriers that existed between herself and fellowman when she reached out to others; moving from a centredness in herself and her problems to an openness to, and awareness of, empathy with others. In this "popping outside of herself" toward others she strongly wanted to share her experience, at times in a joyously unrestrained and enthusiastic manner. She talked uncontrollably. She experienced a feeling of belonging with fellowman devoid of that barrier of indifference that allows for a lack of concern for the difficulties of others.

Time was experienced as passing both more quickly, and more slowly. Time passed more slowly when in a state of anticipation as she intensely lived out each moment, and at times during the happy experience when she savoured every single minute. Generally, however, time passed more quickly during the happy experience.

S was so filled with happiness that there was no room for unhappy, mean or nasty thoughts. She felt that life was beautiful. She experienced an

increased openness and awareness of, and engagement in, her world where she felt and savoured everything to the full. In an intense moment there was a spilling over into tears that were beyond her control. She was filled with "life and energy" which was expressed bodily in a springiness and an agitated and excited inability to sit still.

#### PROTOCOL 2 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

Before the re-establishment of a previous romantic relationship which was centrally associated with S's experience of happiness, she was in a state of uncertain expectancy.

When she was happy, S was smiling, her eyes seemed to open wider and become bright and sparkling, her insides felt bubbly and her skin felt prickly with goose pimples. This was accompanied by a general feeling of lightness, floating and filling up and expanding with happiness.

The objects in S's world stood out in their brightness, were more attractive, cheerful and filled with meaning. Previously unpleasant, anxiety-filled obstacles transformed into manageable challenges.

She experienced a compelling desire to share her happiness with a friend and when she did so, the friend became as excited as she was.

During her happy experience there was a lifting of her spirits, a spontaneous expression of happy emotion, and a carefree confidence in her mastery over previously menacing worries; a rising above any obstruction in her existence.

S's experience of happiness was not tied to the past in that it was a past that was immediately fully alive in the present when it was called forth.

PROTOCOL 3 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

The situation in which S was to become happy was eagerly anticipated, with anxious uncertainty. It was a situation (watching a film on the life of Elvis Presley) in which S was able to vicariously participate in the life of an important other of the opposite sex and thus, in a sense, establish a one-sided relationship with him.

In anticipation of the happy event S's voice and hands were trembling. During her happy experience there was a pleasurable quickening of her heartbeat to the point of discomfort (particularly during the peaks of the experience). In addition to this, there was a fluttering in her stomach as if butterflies were fluttering around inside her.

S felt somewhat self conscious at the extent of her excitement and made an attempt to conceal it.

Her world took on an amusing air, to the point where she wanted to laugh all the time and did.

During and after the experience she felt an almost uncontrollable need to share it with a familiar other, which she did.

When S was happy her experience of time changed in two ways: in her relationship to aspects of her past and in her experience of the passage of time.

S's past experiences of happiness were not only available to her in the present as mere recollections: they formed a past which was immediately alive in the present when called forth. The change in the passage of time involved a quickening of time, a slowing of time and a desire to stop time. During the happy event, particularly in the face of its imminent end, the passage of time quickened considerably for S. During her eager

anticipation of the event S experienced a slowing of the passage of time, yet this slowing was not shared by others. During the happy experience, S experienced a strong desire to "remain in the moment": to stop the passing of time. She manifested bodily expressions of anxiety when she was uncertain as to whether it would continue.

S's overall experience of happiness was intensified because of the infrequency of events such as the one which led to this particular experience of happiness.

#### PROTOCOL 4 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

In anticipation of the moment of his happiness, S suffered extreme anxiety which extended at times to the point of terror. This was experienced bodily in an almost muscular paralysis where he had to force himself to take the final step which was to usher in the happy experience. The situation in which S was to experience happiness was the successful achievement of an important action (parachute jumping) where he feared the possible outcome.

The point at which S's happy experience began was marked by a great sense of relief, an expansive bursting free from pent-up tension and a bursting forth with ecstatic bubbly excitement. There was a vibrant letting go, both bodily and emotionally: a complete surrendering to his impulses. The intensity of S's relief was heightened by his lifelong fear of an important element of what was to become the happy experience.

An integral part of S's experience of happiness was his strong need to share the experience with others. This sharing was important to S in that it provided a release for his excitement and was also confirming of him.

Finally, when he was happy, he felt no inhibition: he could surrender himself to his impulses and be spontaneously unself-conscious in his actions.

PROTOCOL 5 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

S's life was clouded by agonising doubt and confusion prior to his experience of happiness. This experience took place when S was in a congenial and relaxed environment with friends, after having received confirmation of his girl friend's love for him. Great relief accompanied S's happiness where he experienced a rising above his worries and petty concerns, a liberation from them, as well as a desire to surrender himself to his impulses, free from his usual constrictions and inhibitions. The relief was intensified by the extent to which S was troubled prior to the happy experience.

S felt open to his world and his awareness of it was no longer constricted by his conflicts. He was at peace with the world, and in touch with his sense of humour.

When S was happy, he felt close to his friends and wanted to share his experience with them; yet he felt superior, detached and different because of his having a girl friend when they were without romantic attachments. He did not feel vulnerable, and felt no need to defend himself against others.

S's relationship with time altered in that the release from burdening worries which was part of his happiness made the future more accessible to him.

He felt contented with life; where he rose above the worries which had previously weighed him down and consumed him. He experienced a stronger,

more confident feeling of mastery over his world: he felt more powerful and almost invulnerable.

#### PROTOCOL 6 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

In contrast to the more confident and coping profile of herself that S discovered during and just before her happy experience, S's prior attunement to the world was that of an unselfconfident, anxious person. The situation in which S found happiness was one in which she was assisting her parents with a difficult task and, for the first time in her life, she felt strong, solid and self-confident in her ability to cope with the demands of the situation. She was able to comfort her parents and was respected by them.

When S was happy she felt a light, increasingly warm and sparkling bubbly feeling. She was able to freely and spontaneously "be herself", uninfluenced by the expectations of others. In contradistinction to her usual way, S was anxiety-free and much more self-accepting. Her self-confidence increased, but when something occurred which disturbed this, she felt that her happiness changed into contentment.

She was not preoccupied with her own thoughts: she was "out there", involved with, at one with, and at peace with, her world which stood out to her in its benevolent beauty.

S experienced a desire to "remain in the moment" so that her happiness should last, although she felt that its transitoriness made it more intense.

When she was happy she was that experience, she was the vehicle in which happiness was being unfolded. She was just "being", she wasn't thinking of anything in particular: only when her happiness changed into contentment

did she begin thinking of specific issues in her life again.

She was satisfied with, and appreciative of, life. She began to sing and felt light and enthusiastically energetic, inwardly strong and more confident in her mastery over her world.

Although S savoured every moment of her happy experience the intensity of the happiness was not consistent: it came in waves, moving up to a peak and subsiding again and even changing at one point to what she called contentment. The contentment for S was similar to her experience of happiness but different in degree, less intense and without the feelings of bubbiness and lightness.

#### PROTOCOL 7 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

Prior to S's experience of happiness she was very unhappy, with her awareness being directed inwards, away from her world, which had a certain taken-for-grantedness about it. The situation in which S became happy was waking up one morning, when it seemed as if spring had arrived almost especially for her, on a day where a number of life pressures seemed to indicate that the chance of her being happy were remote.

S experienced her happiness bodily with her tummy tickling, her breathing out deeply and her face being a continual reflection of her happy state in that she could not stop smiling.

S's relationship with herself changed in that her self-concept improved: she felt more self-confident and more physically attractive. She was able to shake off her past constrictions, surrender herself to her spontaneous impulses and "be herself".

When S was happy she felt drawn into her world where she was at one with

the newness of nature and was more sensually receptive to, and aware of, its previously taken for granted natural beauty and magic, of which she felt in awe.

In sharp contrast to her experience of fellowman as being hostile and against her when she was unhappy, she disclosed a world in which she experienced fellowman as well-meaning, beautiful, glowing, colourful, youthful and happy.

S's happiness, which emerged as a surprise, brought with it abundant energy, enthusiasm and a direction to her life. Her anxiety disappeared and her attitude toward life became more positive. She experienced a transcendent high and felt light, as if she could fly or float. She was confident in her mastery over her world; confident that she could reach her goals. She felt a sense of achievement. Nothing could get her down and her worries seemed much smaller and more manageable than usual.

#### PROTOCOL 8 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

S's happiness was ushered in by his receiving the news that he had been successful in his attempt to achieve an important goal for which he had struggled. This brought a sense of relief from the tension which had been created by his fear of not achieving this goal.

His bodily expression of happiness was expressed in smiling as well as laughing.

In contrast to his usual unease and self-consciousness, when S was happy he was in perfect harmony with himself; he was unself-conscious and not vulnerable to the opinions of others. His negative attitudes toward himself receded into the background; he had an increased awareness of his self-worth, and felt bigger, more important, superior, special and proud

of himself.

When S was happy he felt relaxed and in harmony with the world, which he perceived as more amusing and entertaining than usual. In fact, everything in the world seemed pleasing to him, even the very mundane.

When he was happy he wanted to reach out to others in overtones of friendship. There was less distance between him and fellowman, where he felt in perfect harmony with him. As opposed to his usual perception of fellowman as boring, he experienced everyone as special with no-one being mundane.

S's attunement changed in many ways when he was happy. He felt larger than life and was untroubled by things which would usually irritate him. He loved life. He felt an increased mastery over his world and was filled with energy. He felt uncharacteristically able to let go of constraints, and to surrender to his urges to express his feelings to the full, both vocally and bodily in shouting and jumping. He felt that there was a congruence between the external expression of feeling and how he actually felt, in contrast to his customary hiding of his feelings from others. He was more intensely aware of the people and objects in his world, and felt almost invulnerable to possible attacks by others.

#### PROTOCOL 9 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

S was extremely excited for the entire week before the celebration which was associated with her happiness.

S's happiness bubbled up inside of her and radiated outwardly in the form of constant smiling as well as laughing and dancing. Her speech was different in that she would qualify her statements with very expressive adjectives.

Her self-concept changed when she was happy and she became more self-confident, less inhibited and less self-conscious.

She was more openly receptive to the world when she was happy: she was more actively involved in it and it appeared to be wonderful, as she would have liked it to be.

When S was happy, she strongly wanted to share her happiness with her fellowman, both physically and verbally, and infect them with it. She felt uncharacteristically able to reach out to them in the belief that her actions would be reciprocated. She felt open to others, less vulnerable to their opinions of her and more easily able to relate to them without her usual tension and reserve.

S radiated with happiness to the extent that it was easily observable by others. She felt carefree and easily able to cope with everything. She experienced a bubbly force of uncontrollable energy emanating from her stomach which allowed her to focus constructively on the task at hand without distraction. These happy feelings dissipated rapidly after a tragic incident.

#### PROTOCOL 10 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

S became happy when he received information which allayed a previous anxiety concerning a feared separation in a romantic relationship. This release from worry and tension was experienced as a lightheadedness and a buoyant, upward-moving feeling of relaxation.

When S was happy he experienced his bodily tension being released in a warm gaseous eruption, starting at his stomach and rising through his chest to his head. He felt self-confident, secure, assured, loved and wanted.

During S's happy experience, his past and future became more immediately accessible and alive to him. Happy memories became more readily available to him and his hopes and predictions about the future were encouraged. He experienced a lightness, not only opposed to heaviness, but also as an illumination of spirit: a brightness and cheerfulness. He viewed life through a framework of phantasy in which there was no resistance to his desires and needs; his every wish was fulfilled. He was relaxed, completely free of his usual tension: he no longer focussed on the tensions and problems which may have existed. His usual doubts and problems lost their importance and he felt uplifted, above them. Positive thoughts prevailed in his awareness with troubling thoughts retreating to the background. He felt powerful, a master of his world, with the confidence and belief that he would achieve that to which he aspired. This heightened experience of happiness did not follow an uninterrupted course, it was interspersed by a brief period of downward heaviness when S's happiness was undermined by doubts about the successful outcome of circumstances which were to be associated with his happiness.

#### PROTOCOL 11 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

Although S anticipated the event that was to make her happy with eager excitement, she was also apprehensive, anxious and unsure. S's happiness arose from her reunion with a loved one, which made her realise that the fears that she had harboured prior to the event would not materialise. This relief was expressed in tears of happiness and an ecstatic release of her feelings which she shared, both verbally and physically, with others. When S was happy it was generally difficult for her to contain her feelings and she strongly needed to share them with a friend, and to express her feelings of closeness to others physically, by hugging and squeezing them.

During her happy experience, she was filled with additional energy and was restless and aimlessly active with excitement. She experienced an uncontrollable trembling, and a need for physical activity to release her energy. Her feelings were expressed to their limits in her both laughing and crying. She also experienced a strong wish to abandon her inhibitions and rush around shouting, laughing and singing.

#### PROTOCOL 12 : SITUATED STRUCTURE

S was apprehensive prior to receiving the information which was to make him happy. Along with the shock of receiving confirmation that he had achieved an important goal, came a disbelief about its validity. But as he became more sure that the news was true, the feelings of shock gave way to happiness.

On receiving the news which made him happy, S experienced a need to physically release his feelings by squeezing something.

When S was happy he was open to, and absorbing of, the beauty and dynamic life of his world. He felt close to his world: he felt part of it, and sensually involved in it. It revealed itself as "new" to him: the taken-for-granted aspects were seen in a fresh light. It became a "vivid, dynamic, perfect, clean, majestic, challenging and beautiful" place. The objects in his world were transformed, in that he was able to appreciate and enjoy dimensions of it which would usually irritate him.

He felt that he was overflowing and bursting with energy which he could not contain within himself, and which he strongly wanted to express physically to its limits. He was restricted in his desire to let go of his inhibitions in this manner because of his concern about the expectations that others had of him. He expressed this feeling of his body

expanding with energy and power by the action of affectionately and powerfully squeezing something or someone. With this boundless energy came a feeling of superhuman physical power and strength where he imagined himself performing monumentally heroic feats for which he would be admired. The objects in his world revealed themselves to him in such a way that they confirmed his bodily strength and mastery over them.

When S had dissipated a lot of energy and once again focused his attention on his daily tasks, his excitement calmed down and his world lost its rosy hue.

#### SUMMARY OF THE SITUATED STRUCTURES OF THE EXPERIENCE OF HAPPINESS

What follows is a comprehensive summary of the situated structures of the experience of happiness of the twelve people studied. Every constituent of their experience that is relevant to happiness is described here, even if it occurs only once for one single subject. Of course, many of the features described occurred in the protocols of a number of subjects, but all the material has been given equal prominence whether it has occurred once or many times. The relative significance of various aspects of the description will be dealt with later.

Few people looked forward to the situation which was to bring happiness with eager excitement: most were "less than happy", filled with apprehensive, uncertain expectancy, doubt, confusion, anxiety and fear that some desired outcome would not materialise.

Relief was a common experience when it transpired that these feared outcomes turned out favourably. It took the form of a bursting free of feelings, crying, a letting go and responding spontaneously to every wish, a rising above troubles and a lighthearted and buoyant upward-moving feeling of relaxation.

Many people were made happy by the allaying of fears of separation, or by the healing of actual separation, in loving relationships. A number of people became happy upon achieving a goal which was important to them. Other situations in which happiness was experienced included a celebration eagerly anticipated in the company of important others; a sudden openness to, and realization of the arrival of, spring; and the mastery for the first time of a difficult task for which self respect and the respect of others was gained.

Happiness was expressed in a radiation of smiling and laughing, with wide, sparkling eyes; and a wriggly, tickling butterfly-like fluttering in the stomach accompanied by a sparkling, bubbly effervescence. This was sometimes accompanied by a general lightness, and filling and expanding with feeling. Energy was at times released bodily in generally physical activity such as dancing and squeezing something. Further bodily expressions were a quickening of the heart-rate and breathing, a breathing out deeply, shivering, shaking and a trembling of the hands and voice, goose pimples and sweaty palms. On one occasion a full, heavy feeling (analogous to having overeaten) was also experienced.

A substantial positive shift in the relationship with the self occurred during the experience of happiness. There was an improvement in the self-concept in that people felt less self-conscious, less inhibited by the constrictions created by the expectations of others and therefore free to be themselves and to surrender to their impulses. There was an increase in self-confidence and self-worth, more acceptance of the self and a feeling of being more physically attractive. A feeling of being loved was experienced, a being full of love and being in harmony with the self, fellowman and God. There was a freedom from anxiety and a feeling of not being vulnerable to the opinions of others. Some experienced a being

"out there", open to and involved in the world, free of preoccupation with conflicts. Self-consciousness in fact increased only on one occasion where an individual was self-conscious about the extent of her excitement and made an attempt to conceal it.

During the experience of happiness, the world and the individual's relationship with it changed in numerous ways. There was an intense closeness to the world, a more active engagement and involvement with it, a being "at one", in harmony, and at peace with it. There was a tendency to be more openly receptive to, and absorbing of, the previously "taken for granted" world which was now relished. The world itself was not only transformed, in that previously unpleasant, irritating, anxiety-filled obstacles became masterable challenges, and it also took on an amusing air, right down to its very mundane aspects. For one individual, the world appeared just as she would have liked it to be. Objects in the world stood out as bright and filled with meaning, beauty and magic, which instilled awe in the individual revealing them. The world unfolded as "new", the taken-for-granted elements were seen in a fresh light: it became a "vivid, dynamic, perfect, clean, majestic and challenging place".

Fellowman was transformed positively when people were happy and there was a feeling of being less vulnerable to others. An openness to others was experienced; a release from characteristic inhibitions, tensions and reserve facilitated a move from a centredness on the self to a reaching out and receptiveness to others in an attitude of friendship which was seen as reciprocal. A closeness to and a feeling of belonging to, and of being in harmony with, fellowman existed, and this removed that barrier of indifference which can allow for a lack of concern with the difficulties of others. During the experience of happiness there was an overflowing toward

fellowman which took the form of a compelling need to share the happiness with others by talking to them, and also, at times, by physically approaching them and hugging them. For some there was a desire to infect others with happiness, which did happen on some occasions.

Happiness evoked a number of changes in one's relationship with time. Time passed more quickly during the happy experiences, except during the periods where every single moment was being savoured. During the anticipation of the happy situations, there was an acute awareness of the slow passage of time. During happiness the future was made more accessible by the release from burdening worries.

During the experience of happiness there was a strong desire to "remain in the moment" and to stop the passage of time in order to make the happiness last. When recounting the episodes of happiness upon which this research was based, the experiences were immediately available and fully alive in the present to the subjects and were not "mere" recollections.

There was evidence of an increased openness to, awareness of, and love for life. There was also an appreciation of, and contentment with life. Life was given a certain direction and was seen as beautiful; anxiety and tension disappeared and a receptiveness to the humour in life emerged. Feelings spilled over and extended to the limits in both crying and laughing. One person began to sing. A lightness was experienced in the sense of an illumination of the spirits. There was a brightness and cheerfulness. Happiness was also felt as a "high" almost in the sense of a drug-induced transcendence.

The arrival of happiness brought with it an immediate wave of energy and power which rose to the point of overflowing and bursting in an agitated, excited inability to remain still.

A rising above troubling thoughts, doubts and worries occurred during happiness: these unpleasant features became smaller and more manageable as they subsided into the background. Along with this came a powerful sense of being master of the world with the confidence and belief that whatever was aspired to could be achieved. This ranged from feeling bigger, of greater stature and less vulnerable, to a feeling of invulnerable superhuman strength and an ability to accomplish monumental feats.

A further feature of happiness for some was that they "were" the experience of happiness. They experienced themselves as being the vehicle in which happiness was being unfolded: just "being", not thinking of anything in particular. It was only when happiness mellowed into contentment that specific thoughts came to the fore again. There was also a congruence between the external expression of happiness and the lived feeling, in contrast to possible previous modes of concealing feelings from others.

For some, the experience of happiness described above did not follow an uninterrupted course: it sometimes came in waves, moving from peaks to periods of a quieter heaviness or contentment. For others, happiness dissipated at the occurrence of a tragic incident or when much of the energy of happiness had subsided and attention was focussed on daily tasks. With these changes the world began to lose its magic quality.

#### GENERAL STRUCTURE

Against a background where individuals are less than happy, happiness emerges as a special openness which breaks through the bonds of our mundane, everyday disclosure of the world. It transports the individual to an existence where the ruptures which form part of man's lived relationships to himself, to his fellowman, to the world and to life itself are healed and where life is lived in increased harmony with all. There is a coming

home to the self, a move toward wholeness which is bodily enlivened by a radiating vibrancy (often a tingling lightness and brightness), as the individual expands with energy, power, self-confidence and mastery, and rises above the troubles of life.

## CHAPTER 5

## DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

## A NOTE ON THE LANGUAGE USED IN THIS CHAPTER

One issue which presents some difficulty in dialoguing the results of this study with the pertinent literature is: the differing words used by writers to refer to the phenomenon (joy, etc.); another is the language used by the psychoanalysts which is based on a metapsychological explanation of the phenomenon, while the spirit of this study is to return to the uncontaminated phenomenon itself.

The first of these difficulties has been resolved by accepting that if the phenomenon is not called "happiness", but clearly refers to the attunement of happiness, "happiness" and whatever other word is used are synonymous for the purpose of dialogue between the insights of these writers and the findings of this research. The relationship between happiness and related phenomena will be discussed later in this chapter.

The inherent incompatibility of the perspective of psychoanalysis with the orientation of this study toward the phenomenon was lessened by understanding the metapsychological insights of the psychoanalysts as metaphors for lived reality, rather than as concretely referring to quasi-spatial and hydraulic components of the psychic apparatus. This made it possible to meaningfully dialogue the findings of this study with insights of the psychoanalysts without having to reformulate their work.

## THE ATTUNEMENT OF HAPPINESS : A COMPLEX PARADOX

In his attempt to understand joy, Sartre, in his 1948 book The Emotions: Outline of a Theory and Schachtel, in his 1977 article published in the Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry, open up the question as to whether joy or happiness is a valid phenomenon in itself, or whether it is either always a defensive manoeuvre or only at times a defensive activity and at other times "real".

Joy is discussed by Sartre (1948, p.68ff) as an emotion. For Sartre, emotion is the magical transformation of the world which occurs when the world becomes too difficult to manage within the deterministic pathways of our thrownness: it is flight into magic when we can no longer cope. This understanding of emotion, however, does not readily accommodate joy, as "the joyous subject does not have to defend himself against a change which belittles him, against a peril." (ibid., p.68). Sartre's understanding of happiness as also necessarily reflecting a magical flight from unmanageable difficulties rests on his notion of impatience, which for him is an integral part of joy.

Sartre (ibid., p.68) sees joy as being aroused by the appearance of the object of the individual's desires. There is impatience in the desire to possess fully and immediately the whole object: "Joy is the magical behaviour which tends by incantation to realise the possession of the desired object as instantaneous totality" (ibid., p.69). The individual seeks to anticipate the full possession of the object: by magically transforming the world the individual can possess instantly and fully that which can only be possessed slowly by degrees. To use Sartre's

(ibid., p.70) example: when a man is told by a woman that she loves him, he can start to dance and sing in immediate possession of the woman and her love, granting himself a respite from the thousands of little details that are involved in order to deserve this love and to make it grow.

While this instantaneous, full and concentrated possession of the desired object suggested by Sartre is implicit in protocols 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, and esp. 9, 10, 11 and 12,<sup>1</sup> there is no evidence to suggest that it rests on an "impatience" that forces the individual to magically transform his world. Could this shrinking of experience into one concentrated moment not just be part of the lived experience of happiness, as is the opposite when a moment of terror is expanded to last an eternity? While Sartre illuminates a valid and interesting dimension, his move away from description in his reduction of the experience into a defensive manoeuvre is an unnecessary impoverishment which, while it perhaps serves his argument, is not borne out by the empirical data.

When Sartre (ibid., p.70) speaks of being granted a respite in joy, he refers to a respite from all the obstacles in the way of full and immediate possession of a desired object. This could be extended to suggest that in happiness respite is gained from a large part of "reality". In happiness, man could be said to magically transform the world in such a way that his problems, frailties etc. do not exist. This again opens the question as to whether part of the experience of happiness is a defensive attitude toward man's thrownness.

Two significant themes to emerge from the general structure of happiness are increased harmony and increased mastery. Whether these

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<sup>1</sup>These protocols, broken up into Natural Meaning Units, can be found in Appendix 2.

changes occur from an increased openness to possibilities or from a magical transformation of what is, they remain vulnerable to charges that the mastery is a defensive omnipotence, while harmony is a reflection of a desired return to a "narcissistic symbiosis".

Ernest Schachtel (1977, pp.245-251) understood Sartre's respite in the broader sense that has been suggested here. He disagrees that Sartre's magical transformation applies to all emotions and claims that they refer only to what he calls the embeddedness-emotions which consist:

... of the (unconscious) phantasy of the return to a state similar to that of the foetus embedded in the uterus, i.e. to a state of being completely sheltered and of a continuous and constant satisfaction of all needs, without having to make any effort. This is as true of the denial of the dangers and difficulties of reality ... as it is of the omnipotent feeling of being able to command fulfillment of every wish and ambition. (Ibid., p.245)

These he contrasts to the "activity-emotions" which are based in our active efforts in "reality" and a "rational awareness" of the effect of an activity on reality.

Schachtel (ibid., p.250) calls the joy of embeddedness "magic joy" which occurs when the individual is about to, or has, obtained something important. As a result of this event "the present fulfilment has suddenly changed the whole character of life and the world. Everything seems or promises to be perfect...." (Schachtel, 1977, p.249). Schachtel maintains that as no one single occurrence can so fundamentally change the nature of life, it is a magical overestimation of the joyful event. A central feature here is that it is the event which magically brings about this transformation and not the activity of the joyous person.

Schachtel contrasts this to what he considers to be a higher form of joy where there is an:

... ongoing process of openness toward and affirmation of others and the world around one, on the activation of a feeling of being related to all things living. This joy lacks any feeling of impatience. It is the joy celebrated by Schiller in his Ode to Joy, where he describes especially the connection between joy and the feeling of brotherliness. It is an activity-affect, in that it consists in continued acts of turning toward the world. It is not linked to any expectation but is the felt experience of the ongoing acts of relatedness.

This joy is characterised as different to magic joy by its appearance as a concomitant of ongoing activity rather than from a passive expectation.

The example Schachtel provides of this higher level of joy, which he calls "real" joy, is the joy that accompanies walking through nature on a fresh clear morning. This makes an interesting point at which to dialogue his ideas with this research as one of the descriptions of happiness involved exactly this situation (Protocol 7).

What makes this protocol particularly interesting is that the happiness is not "aroused by the appearance of the object of his desires" (Sartre, 1948, p.68) nor is it "the feeling of fulfillment of a drive, a wish ... of being about to get, or of having gotten something" (Schachtel, 1977, p.249). The happiness was ushered in by a sudden openness to, and appreciation of, the beauty of spring while the individual was walking to university. (Protocol 7; N.M.U. 4).<sup>1</sup> There is also no evidence in this protocol to suggest that the happiness arose from a magical transformation of the world in defence against peril nor that it the world took on its magical qualities as a result of the passive expectation

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<sup>1</sup>Hereafter, a capital letter, followed by a number will refer to, respectively, a protocol and a particular Natural Meaning Unit within that protocol.

emanating from a single event. In fact, it was the accompaniment of a continued act of turning toward the world, (7:4); and further, it occurred along with active efforts in reality in that, while the burden of the subject's life demands felt lighter, these tasks were accomplished in reality (7:35). There was an openness to the world in which she was genuinely more receptive to her fellowman (7:18) with no indication of the narcissistic use of them for her own needs as described by Kohut (1985, p.99). Schachtel's (*ibid.*, p.251) "real" happiness appears to be revealed here. Such distinctions as real and less than real happiness made by Schachtel (also implied by Fromm [1947, pp.186-191] and by Buytendijk's [1950, p.131] placid and leaping joy) do not, however, hold up against the empirical data. The same subject's experience which has significant features of "real" happiness also has what Schachtel (1977, p.245) calls the "narcissistic feelings of omnipotence (where) we deny our limitations and the difficulties to be overcome in reality and feel, magically, as if we had mastered all these difficulties": the subject suddenly felt "strong, great and beautiful (7:14) where she could face any barrier, any obstacle and could increase her daily output six fold." (7:26, emphasis mine); "her double chin and pimples magically disappeared and she felt glowingly beautiful" (7:27).

The data reveals that it is not possible to simply divide happiness into "real" and "magical", into authentic, valid and genuine experience as opposed to defensive, escapist flights from difficulties. The idealization of a certain type of happiness as real or authentic is not borne out by the research.

The data reveals happiness as a complex and paradoxical phenomenon which simultaneously contains a grandiose magical transformation of the world

and a genuine openness to it: the subject of Protocol 11, (NMU 21) felt like "breaking a whole tree or jumping on the ground and going right through the earth to the other side." (See also 5:24, 10:19). The genuine openness was also vividly expressed in Protocol 11, NMU 30:

I didn't take the things for granted, like when you wake up in the morning and there is just dew on the grass you don't think about things, you just, well say, 'let's go for a run' and not really register things. I really looked around myself and ... it was like ... I could absorb the beauty of the green, green grass and trees and all that wet. Wet, that used to be, a few minutes ago before I got the news, awkward and lousy because it was wetting my feet; but now I really appreciated it because it showed me really how fresh the morning was and how fresh the grass was and I felt like ... maybe drinking that water, maybe licking the leaves because it was so pure and fresh.... (Further examples are 7:13, 1:27).

Roy Schafer who wrote A New Language For Psychoanalysis (1976), a book which makes psychoanalysis more accessible to phenomenologists, captures the paradoxical complexity which happiness has revealed itself as having when he speaks of emotion in the following way:

Thoroughgoing emotional integration and forever unclouded feelings of genuineness are dangerously high ideals considering that an emotion may simultaneously imply experiences of loss and gain, triumph and defeat, femininity and masculinity, dependence and independence. (1964, p.286).

He illustrates the tendency to strive for simplicity in our understanding of emotion when he points to the often used expression: "what he really feels is ...", which has the implication that if a feeling is to be authentic or "healthy" or believable, it should "be utterly simple and isolated; it should not have many and various connections to relatively primitive and even opposing elements ..." (ibid., p.286).

Happiness is no less "real" because of its complex and sometimes paradoxical nature. A case could be made to suggest that its apparently unreal qualities are definitive features of the experience. The data suggests that when the magical respite from reality is lost, so is the experience of happiness. In Protocol 10, the subject considered possibilities that made him vulnerable (10:6) and no longer "all powerful" and sure that all the things that he aspired to would become possible (10:19). The happiness subsided and a "downward heaviness" poured in (10:16).

Perhaps the temporary defeat of thrownness that so frequently emerges from the data as a central feature of happiness (5:24; 9:26; 10:19; 7:31) is what gives happiness its special quality and allows for a release from being anchored in the mundane, troubled, lived world. In the light of this, perhaps it would now be appropriate to look at Strasser's suggestion that happiness is a foretaste of Beatitude.

#### STRASSER'S PHENOMENOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY

It is implicit in Strasser's 1967 work (pp.193-196) that it is the rapture of happiness that sweeps us beyond our thrownness and into the magical happiness of transcendence: it is the "overcoming of the narrow bounds in which our ego confines us" (*ibid.*, p.293), and the dynamite which blows the retaining walls holding the stream of experience. "The desire is that this stream should be poured out without inhibition, reserve or limit ..." (*ibid.*, p.294). This is most vividly described in Protocols 8 and 12:

... I just felt like screaming on the top of my voice, and I did. I just jumped up and down in the telephone booth ... normally I don't go shouting when I feel happy. I might laugh to myself or kid around, but I

just didn't give a damn, I just felt I had to shout. There was something inside me that just had to get out, and so I just let rip. (8:14).

I ... just wanted to scream.... I just wanted to rush around and just find somebody to tell them, I couldn't hold it inside myself anymore.... You just want to go mad, ... rush around and shout and laugh or sing or anything ... it was too much to hold within yourself, you just want to get it out ... you just wanted to let go ..., (I was) feeling as if I would burst. (12:3, 22, 23, 24, 25).

Strasser suggests that rapture "breaks the chains of personal and social ties" (*ibid.*, p.295). This was seen in those protocols where the subjects no longer felt vulnerable to the opinions and expectations of others: "There was nothing ... that anyone could do or say ... that could have put me down" (8:23) and "People's opinions didn't matter" (9:24). However, in another sense, personal and social ties are strengthened. There were occasions where, although the subjects were catapulted beyond the narrow bounds of their everyday experience: "(I felt like) breaking a whole tree or jumping on the ground and go[ing] right through the earth to the other side" (11:21), the same people were contained by social and personal ties:

I felt like doing something ... childish: like screaming, jumping in the air, squeezing myself, or squeezing something to sort of break, maybe even as far as destroying, but I had to control myself because I wasn't by myself. I mean I had all those guys I was in charge of ... they would say this guy must be around the bend. (11:15)

It is a rapture which does not create disharmony.

Evidence abounds which supports the rapturous feature of overstepping the boundaries between individuals, "the indescribable feeling of becoming one with all living beings (*ibid.*, p.294): "I was like popping out of myself; ... I started talking to them (the people next to her on the

plane), it is something I would never do." (1:23). "I felt so affectionate, wanted to talk to everyone, hug people, and wanted to inject them with my happiness" (9:12). Also, when the subject from Protocol 8 was happy, he was:

generally feeling in tune with everybody and everything. ... Compared to the way I normally feel; a lot of people I feel uncomfortable around, some people really bug me ... my girlfriend and I weren't hitting it off at that stage, and it didn't even cross my mind. I was just happy that she was there and I was happy that everybody was there. I felt there was no discordance between me and other people. I felt perfectly at ease with everybody and myself. (8:7 and 24).

Using the symbolism of day and night Strasser expresses beautifully rapture's way of loosening one's boundaries: "During the day the irremovable norms of the world in which our lives are immersed are valid. But during the night the firm contours are dissolved. (ibid., p.295).

An interesting relationship could exist between happiness and Strasser's notion of chance if it is taken a little further than it goes in his "Typology" paper. In this paper (ibid., p.289), he speaks of chance as a greedy consuming of a necessarily limited amount of available happiness by those who are lucky to have been chosen by Dame Fortune or Fate to have access to it. It is this dimension of Schachtel's (1977, p.250) magic joy which, because of the chosen ("lucky") element, can lead individuals to feel favoured above others, isolated, and even fearful of their envy. Although this only occurred for one subject, the clear manner in which it illustrates this point is interesting:

I felt calm, cool and detached.... Detachedness meaning the same as aloof, detached from them, but with them: and being totally with them, in a sense. They were my good friends; detached simply in the way I felt, I felt aloof and I felt superior in that I had a girlfriend and they didn't. (5:27 and 29).

Although we do have an example of this happiness occurring "by chance or by luck", chance can also be seen differently as a significant feature of most individuals' experience of happiness, even those who consider themselves "unlucky" people: "I have always been rather, a sort of nervy type of person, not very confident about myself" (6:20, also 7:16 and 29). The chance referred to here is the chance that happiness may or may not occur, that it arises unexpectedly and cannot be planned for or directly striven for. Perhaps it is this surprise dimension that lends happiness some of its "magical" features. The unpredictable nature of happiness could lead to a loosening of the ties with "reality" in that it could sow the seeds of magic in the same way that the random success in gambling leads the gambler to phantasies of omnipotence. If an individual randomly wins a million dollars he is perhaps freed from the "deterministic pathways" spoken of by Sartre (1948, p.57). In a similar way perhaps happiness rapturously frees man from his pragmatic intuition of the determinism of the world (*ibid.*, p.57). This may be the first step in the magical transformation of the world, and in no time we may magically lose our double chin (7:26). Once this first break with our limited thrownness occurs there can be a tendency to be "guided by magical notions of power" (Strasser, 1967, p.290) (see 2:14, 11:21, 5:24).

While it is not difficult to see the role that features such as rapture play in happiness, contentment is no less important a dimension. If there are not limits to the rapturous flow in happiness, if there is not a balance of facticity and possibility, the resulting rupture will damage the happy experience. Strasser states that the happily contented man: "has all that he wants, because he wants nothing that he cannot

have" (ibid., p.287). We can, to a certain extent, see this emerging from the data. For the subject of Protocol 8 it was important to have done well in his exams (8:11). If this had been the case for the subject of Protocol 11 whose achievement was to only pass his exams, a rupture would have occurred in the aura of perfection so central to the experience of happiness. We have seen how, at other times, such ruptures destroy the experience: the happy attunement of the subject of Protocol 6 was lost when an incident caused her to lose her self-confidence (6:39); the heightened experience of happiness did not follow an uninterrupted course for the subject of Protocol 10, as it was interspersed by a brief period of "downward heaviness" when he began to have doubts about the outcome of circumstances central to his happiness (10:16).

This jarring in the individual's harmonious relationship with his world and its impact on the experience of happiness stresses the central importance of harmony as a feature of happiness. It is suggested here again that the magical transformation of the world has an important function. The level of harmonious relatedness that exists in happiness is almost by definition not achievable in a world where the rough edges are visible. The above examples suggest that when "harsh realities" intrude into our harmonious contentment, happiness is lost.

In view of the above, there seems to be sense in Strasser speaking of happiness (as a way of life) only being possible with deliverance from the worldly: "... genuine happiness consists only in the complete withdrawal from everything which directly or indirectly is bound up with matter" (ibid., p.297). However, he relates this to lived happiness when he admits that every genuine experience of happiness contains a transcendence, and that we are not limited to the world as revealed by

one's senses (ibid., p.299), from which we need be physically delivered to experience happiness. The data reveals many instances of deliverance from our frailties and vulnerabilities during the experience of happiness: "... I haven't got pimples anymore and I look beautiful and I am all glowing; I feel thin and great ..." (7:26, also 6:21 and 22, 8:11 and 9:26).

Strasser concludes that happiness is a transcending anticipation, a limited experience of perfect happiness, a preview of the ultimate completion of one's existence in the Life hereafter (ibid., p.301). If one takes this description as a metaphor for the lived attunement of happiness it is completely compatible with the findings of this research as they are revealed in the "General Structure".

#### SIGMUND FREUD

Freud views happiness as being "caused" by a sudden satisfaction of pent up needs when suffering has been escaped.

Without wishing to fall into causal explanations, there is evidence from this research to support some of Freud's observations. Many subjects experienced happiness after a period of being less than happy ("suffering") where the happiness was ushered in when they achieved something which was important to them. This often released them from their suffering: for example, the allaying the fears of separation or the healing of actual separation in loving relationships (1:7, 2:3, 5:1, 10:1 and 12:1-4), or the achievement of a significant goal which they feared they might not achieve (8:1 and 11:1). Happiness as it emerged in this study was not entirely dependent on an association with the "satisfaction of pent up needs", as is clearly illustrated in Protocol 7:2 where happiness arose in the

context of the subject suddenly being open to the beauty of a spring morning. In his 1930 work Civilization and its Discontents Freud spoke directly of this happiness: "happiness in life is predominantly sought in the enjoyment of beauty" (1973, p.82, orig. 1930). He sadly made no more than a passing reference to happiness of this kind and concentrated his attention on the happiness which he saw as an escape from suffering, which was perhaps more consistent with his overall conflict view of man.

Freud's observation that escape from suffering is a central constituent of the experience of happiness cannot be denied. However, its "causal" role is especially questionable in relation to the subject who became happy on her realization of spring's arrival. We cannot suggest that her experience was caused by an escape from suffering (unless one resorts to reducing her experience to the level of a "manic defence"). When she was drawn into happiness, the happiness itself seemed to draw her away and above and beyond her troubles and conflicts: "You are light, your mental hassles that would otherwise be such a burden and weigh you down, they are light and you can cope" (7:34). This rising above her difficulties was experienced as a lived reality and did not have the quality of Freud's escape into "imagination". Freud also suggests that suffering can be escaped and happiness achieved through the withdrawal from reality and the construction of a reality in keeping with the individual's own needs, as in psychosis. None of the subjects of this research were psychotic but the magical transformation of, or special openness to, the world was a frequent occurrence. Happiness allows for a freeing of the ties with a mundane "reality" without losing the "as if" quality which the individual has access to on reflection, but which does not distance him from his magically transformed world during the experience.

Evidence abounds in the data to suggest that needs are most certainly met

in happiness. Happiness would almost seem to be impossible if existence were ruptured either by suffering or by pressingly unmet needs. The "meeting of needs" is an essential part of the harmony which was found to be so characteristic of happiness: "... everything seems to happen the way you want it to happen. And whatever you want to do is just done. No resistance." (10:19). There is no evidence to suggest, however, that these needs have to be suppressed, tamed, or sublimated. What is clear is that during the experience of happiness, there is the contentment implied by Strasser (op. cit., p.287) which points to us living within the bounds of our thrownness while at the same time transcending them (double chin disappears: 7:26). It is not only in the escape from suffering that we "loosen our ties with reality" but also in our harmonious attunement to all that is (which Freud would see as the satisfaction of our needs). Here we are allowed a certain "poetic licence" with "reality".

The endeavour to become happy "has two sides, a positive and a negative aim. It aims, on the one hand, at an absence of pain and unpleasure, and on the other at the experience of strong feelings of pleasure." (Freud, op. cit., p.76). If we see the escape from suffering as a rising above the troubles of life and if strong feelings of pleasure were sympathetically interpreted as an attitude of love, Freud's insights into happiness would not be far from the experience of the harmoniously transcendent subjects of this study. Happiness as it has emerged from this research, does not easily fit into Freud's conflict view of the world because the world of the happy individual is exactly the opposite, it is a world of harmony. Perhaps this is the basis for the neglect that happiness has suffered from Psychoanalysis.

ERICH FROMM and KAREN HORNEY

Fromm (1949, pp.187-189) distinguishes between the system of scarcity, where the individual is suffering from some physiological or psychological lack, and the realm of abundance that lies beyond this. Satisfaction of needs from the system of scarcity is not, Fromm believes, associated with happiness, but rather with pleasure and satisfaction. It is the satisfaction of appetite, "a product of cultural development and refinement" (*ibid.*, p.187), not need, that is linked to the experience of happiness.

There was no evidence in the data to support Fromm's preconditions for happiness. If the need to obtain necessary academic qualifications and the pressing need to be reunited with loved ones can be considered as needs from Fromm's system of scarcity then seven of the twelve subjects of this study described vivid examples of happy experiences that were closely associated with the system of scarcity (Protocols 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11 and 12). According to Fromm's view these subjects could have experienced great pleasure or a sense of satisfaction, but not happiness (*ibid.*, p.187). The subject of Protocol 11, however, describes what could hardly be called satisfaction or even pleasure when his need to pass his examinations was met:

I felt an immense power to expand and explode, to squeeze myself within me. I looked at the place where I would be climbing later on and it looked different, vivid, dynamic. It was a happiness that made everything look and feel perfect, beautiful. (11:3 and 4).

Horney (1949, p.289) suggests that "a precondition for happiness is to have the centre of gravity within oneself." While the data emerging from this study does not provide sufficient information about the subjects' level of emotional well-being to comment on this view, it does shed an interesting light on Horney's conception of a less than valid form of happiness of the variety where what the individual "has in mind secretly

entails the fulfilment of all his contradictory neurotic wishes." (Ibid., p.288). The major expression of these contradictory neurotic wishes according to Horney, is that the "individual is puffed up like a balloon, a marionette, a success hunter, a stowaway, but never himself." (Ibid., p.289).

The results of this research could be interpreted as containing an element of this "puffed-upness". When individuals were happy they increased in stature instantaneously, rising above any difficulties and conflicts in their lives without the laborious process of working them through to a resolution. The subject of Protocol 7 felt overwhelmed by the work she had to complete on the day that her happiness arrived but when her attunement became that of happiness she felt that "there was nothing I couldn't cope with" (7:6). The subject of Protocol 8 states: "compared to the way I normally feel ... a lot of people I feel uncomfortable around, some people really bug me ... (when happy) I felt perfectly at ease with everybody and myself" (8:24) and "I felt great ... in the sense of ... being like Alexander the Great ... (8:21 and 22).

Understanding this sudden increase in feelings of well-being, potency and stature need not necessarily suggest a "puffed-upness". Boss states that existence is "attuned to happiness whenever all its innate potential ways of being stand open to it" (1979, p.122). Could this change which occurs during happiness perhaps be understood as a preview of our "innate potential ways of being"?

## ABRAHAM MASLOW

In the following quotations, Maslow speaks as if happiness and peak experiences are synonymous:

Moments of the most intense happiness or even rapture, ecstasy or bliss ... moments of pure, positive happiness when all doubts, all fears, all inhibitions, all tensions, all weaknesses, were left behind. (1962, p.9).

These and other moments of highest happiness and fulfillment I shall call the peak experience. (1962/68, p.73).

Peak experiences ... are absolute delights, perfect in themselves, and needing no more than themselves to validate life. (1959, p.124).

Peak experiences do not last, and cannot last. Intense happiness is episodic, not continuous. (1953/70, p.xv).

This then is one kind of peak-knowledge of whose validity and usefulness there can be no doubt, no more than there could be with discovering for the first time that the color "red" exists and is wonderful. Joy exists, can be experienced and feels very good indeed, and one can always hope that it will be experienced again. (1964, p.76).

From these references cited in Culbertson (1979, p.111) he states that it is apparent: "that joy is the central and defining characteristic of the peak experience."

The data from this research strongly supports the suggestion that if it is not the central and defining characteristic, it is most certainly a core feature of peak experiences. The essential characteristics of happiness as outlined in our General Structure cover the same landscape of experience described by the peak experiences. This will be illustrated by demonstrating the relationship between 26 of Maslow's 29 features of happiness (see Chapter 2) and each constituent of the General Structure of happiness as outlined by this research. One of the features of

Maslow's peak experiences (point 11, Chapter 2) describing the overwhelming nature of the experience was also described by the subjects of this research (1:13 and 44) but it was not found to be an essential characteristic of happiness. This was also true concerning Maslow's point 28, Chapter 2, which relates to the transcendence of needs and drives and "just being" which was articulated by subject 6:34. Again, Maslow's insight into the experience of time (point 7, Chapter 2) was frequently expressed by the subjects of this research (1:38 and 40 and 2:26) but was not felt to be essential to happiness. The suggestion that the experience was an end in itself and not a means to an end (point 6, Chapter 2) was implicit in all the protocols of this research, but was not made explicit.

This research on happiness did not provide any evidence to support one other feature of the peak experience (point 4, Chapter 2) where the more frequently an object was perceived during the peak experience the richer it became. What follows is an indication of how closely all of Maslow's other 26 points fit into the essential features of the General Structure which states that:

- (1) Happiness emerges as a special openness which breaks through the bonds of our mundane disclosure of the world (this encompasses Maslow's points 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 16 and 27. Also 14, to be discussed below).
- (2) It transports the individual to an existence where the ruptures which form part of man's lived relationships to himself, to his fellowman, to the world and to life itself are healed, and where life is lived in increased harmony with all (points 8, 12, 18 and 22).

- (3) There is a coming home to the self, a move toward wholeness which is bodily enlivened by a radiating vibrancy (points 19, 20, 21 and 26).
- (4) The individual expands with energy, power, self-confidence and mastery (points 23 and 24).
- (5) He rises above the troubles of life (points 15, 17, 25 and 29).

The only serious apparent difference between the general structure of this research and Maslow's peak experiences appear at a superficial glance to be Maslow's idealization of openness which does not seem to take into account the magical transformation or "special openness" seen in happiness. This is made explicit in point 14 (Chapter 2) where he states that: "At the higher levels of human maturation, many dichotomies, polarities and conflicts are fused, transcended or resolved" (emphasis his). He sees this as stemming from the full cognition of the object where we can understand the "whole of Being" (1968, p.91). However, in his very next point he does describe the magic of happiness when he states that the "person at peak is godlike ..." (1968, p.92, emphasis his) but fails to develop the implications of this observation.

It is not surprising that Maslow's work and this work on happiness have such essential similarities. A case could be made to suggest that the five constituents of happiness (Chapter 4) are necessary to the "illusion" of perfection that is central to both peak experiences and happiness. It is not, however, an illusion; it is a real moment of lived perfection that is found in both peak experiences and happiness. Van der Kerken alludes to this in passing when he states that: "The realization of a moment of happiness ... is ... a moment in the realisation of

a human being. This realisation is nothing less than the elevation of the spirit to perfection." (1952, p.234).

#### OPENNESS

Boss (1979) suggests that: "every human existence is by itself attuned to happiness whenever all its innate potential ways of being stand open to it." (p.112). There is no doubt that the openness experienced during happiness is considerable:

There were things there that I didn't know even existed ... the scent of jasmine brought me down to earth. There I was standing under an arch sagging under the weight of an overgrown jasmine creeper. Just ahead were two or three peach blossom skeletons with their very first clusters of pink and white blossoms. There were snowdrops and daffodils and birds hopping about and dew on the grass and cobwebs speckled with fine dust and a still sleeping spider. There was sunlight and colour and smells and sounds, everything you read about in fairy tales" (7:4 and 13; also 1:22 and 24).

This is also the openness Klages (1950) speaks of when he says that "All joy implies an impulse toward opening of the self." (p.125).

However, a closer investigation of the data suggests that we appear to reveal a different world when we are happy and are therefore open to different ways of being (in relation to this different world). It is not just that we have a particular openness to reveal (perhaps) the positive in the world that we were not previously open to. This new openness does not always just open us to what is already there (but concealed from us by our attunement), there is also a magical transformation of the world that we reveal: our double chin disappears (7:26), we have no limitations, no problems, endless energy, power and mastery.

Perhaps the openness of happiness is neither just all the ways of being standing open or a magical transformation of the world, but rather a

special openness: a full openness to positive possibility and a limited openness or even a partial closedness to facticity.

#### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HAPPINESS AND RELATED PHENOMENA

In Chapter 1 the question was raised as to whether happiness was synonymous with apparently related phenomena and as joy, pleasure, rapture, satisfaction or contentment. It is now possible to review this question in the light of the empirical findings.

#### JOY

Barrow (1980, p.66) suggests that: "Joy is perhaps a species of happiness, but not co-extensive with it." The implication here appears to be that while one must be happy if one is joyful one need not be joyful to be happy. Perhaps this distinction is based on an understanding of joy as necessarily being an agitated state where one is overcome by the experience. Yet Buytendijk (1950, p.131) describes both a "leaping" and a "placid" joy, suggesting that joy itself need not necessarily be leaping.

While this research revealed no examples of a placid joy, there was nothing in the data to suggest that happiness as attunement differs in any way from joy. Fromm (1949, p.189) speaks of happiness and joy as not being any different in quality: "they are different only in as much as joy refers to a single act while happiness may be said to be a continuous or integrated experience of joy ..." It is most likely this understanding of happiness as a longer term phenomenon, as opposed to joy's transitoriness, that creates a sense of their being different phenomena. Fromm appears to be suggesting here that happiness as a way of life is an extended version of the single happy or joyful

experience. It was decided in this study not to explore this relationship, and to focus on the attunement of the individual when happy. No evidence was found which disagrees with Fromm's claim that: "Joy and happiness are not different in quality." (Ibid., p.189).

#### PLEASURE

In considering the relationship between pleasure and happiness, one could question whether pleasure would have as powerful an impact on our disclosure of the world as does happiness, which breaks through the mundane to a special openness. Need the ruptures in one's relationships between fellowman, the world and life itself be healed in the state of pleasure? Need there be a coming home to the self with increased energy, power, self-confidence and mastery in which there is a rising above the troubles of life? It would seem that pleasure is possible without these characteristics: an unhappy compulsive eater who hates him/her self, has tortuous inter-personal relationships, is lethargic, unself-confident and helpless in a troubled world, can find pleasure in a slab of chocolate.

#### RAPTURE

While rapture shares much with the structure of happiness as it emerges from this study (see "Strasser's Phenomenological Typology" in Chapter 5) there is the possibility that it need not share the same level of harmonious relatedness and move toward wholeness that is evident in happiness.

#### DELIGHT

Perry (1967, pp.65-70) suggests that a novel unpredictability is central to delight. This was found in all the subjects of the present research,

even for the subject of Protocol 7 whose happiness had calm beginnings in the realisation that spring had arrived. This unpredictable novelty was expressed as a special openness which broke through the mundane. In delight, there is a fleeting sense of being, magically transformed to an existence where all is well: where the ruptures in man's relatedness are healed, where there is a vibrant springing above the troubles of the world. Delight's fleetingness makes it difficult to make a suggestion as to whether there is a move toward wholeness, an increased sense of mastery and power or an improvement in confidence and the relationship to the self.

There is possibly a sense in which delight could be viewed as a fleeting taste of happiness, or of what becomes more fully developed during happiness.

#### SATISFACTION

As suggested in Chapter 1, while satisfaction is by no means the same as happiness, the data confirms the point that in happiness it is important that there is no dissatisfaction that is regarded as serious by the individual: the subjects of both Protocols 6 and 10 lost their happiness when they became dissatisfied (6:39 and 10:16).

#### CONTENTMENT

Montague (1967, cited in Barrow, 1980, p.88) suggests that one can be contentedly happy. Barrow (1980, p.80) goes further to state that for him it is sensible to regard contentment as a species of happiness. While the data of this study supports the central role of contentment in happiness (see the section on contentment in the discussion of Strasser's Typology in Chapter 5), happiness emerged as not being synonymous with contentment. While contentment would share the harmonious relatedness

and self-acceptance of happiness, it would lack the magical breaking through and beyond our mundane, everyday disclosure of the world where the individual expands with energy, self-confidence and mastery. There is more of a making peace with the mundane and its limitations in contentment, rather than a glorious triumph over them.

Having examined the above phenomena that appear superficially to be related to happiness, it is clear that pleasure shares least in common with happiness. Rapture, satisfaction and contentment, while not synonymous with happiness, are essential constituents of the experience. Delight seems to share many of its features with happiness and joy is in no way different to the attunement of happiness that has been the focus of this study.

#### SUMMARY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HAPPINESS AS IT EMERGED IN THIS STUDY AND THE WRITINGS OF SARTRE, SCHACHTEL, STRASSER, FREUD, BOSS AND MASLOW

The data from this research supports Freud's view that the satisfaction of pent-up needs is closely related to happiness (see Protocols 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11 and 12) although this does not necessarily imply any causal link. The significance of the satisfaction of pent-up needs to the experience of happiness concerns the deflating effect that any dissatisfaction brings to the experience. It is also clear from the data that happiness is more than just a release from pent-up needs, it is a move above and beyond conflicts, a magical openness.

The special openness described by Boss emerged as a characteristic feature of happiness, although happiness is more than just openness to what is: it also involves Sartre's magical transformation of the world. While the subject of Protocol 7 was remarkably open to the wonders of spring, she was not just open to the positive aspects of her own body

(her thinness), she transformed it in such a way that her double chin no longer existed (7:26).

Although the importance of Sartre's notion of a magical transformation cannot be denied, there was no indication that it was a forced transformation resulting, as Sartre (1948, p.69) suggests. From the individual's inability to cope with his impatience to possess fully and instantaneously the object of his desires.

Schachtel (1977, pp.245-251) distinguished between "magic joy" in which there was the omnipotent expectation of fulfillment of every wish and ambition, and "real joy" which is an ongoing process of openness to and affirmation of fellowman and the world around one. There was no support from the data of this research to suggest that these two types of happiness exist as distinct experiences, one being characterised by ongoing activity and the other by a passive expectation. There is, in fact, evidence to illustrate that both these features of happiness were experienced by the same individual during the same experience (see 7:18, 7:26 and 7:27).

Given that the question Maslow (1968) used to elicit his data on peak experiences was concerned primarily with happiness and its constituents, it is not surprising that no significant differences exist between his findings and those of this research, which focuses directly on happiness. This does, however, suggest that if happiness is not the central and defining characteristic of the peak experience, then it is at least one of its core features.

Happiness, as it has emerged in this research, is best captured by Strasser's notion that happiness is a limited taste of perfection; during which the power of rapture transports the individual to an existence

characterised by harmony and wholeness.

## CLINICAL CONSIDERATIONS

### HAPPINESS AND MANIA

Happiness, as it has been revealed in this study, may appear to be a somewhat exaggerated state of being; perhaps with a flavour of what Melanie Klein (1975, orig. 1935, p.289) has called the "flight mechanisms" or the manic defence. It will be interesting now to look at happiness and mania to see where their paths cross and where they diverge.

Clients suffering from mania do indeed have a special openness to the world which breaks through the bounds of the mundane and transports the individual to an existence where for him there appear to be no ruptures in his lived relationships to himself, his fellowman, the world and life itself. The quality of this experience differs from happiness in that the manic person is not attuned to the world in what Maslow (1968, p.86) has called a non-interfering openness (see 11:30); there is rather a "utilization of the sense of omnipotence for the purpose of controlling and mastering objects." (Klein, op. cit., p.277; Klein's emphasis.) Boss states that: "the manic sees himself as an omnipotent, godlike creature for whom everything exists only as material to complete his own extended dimensions ..." (1979, p.219).

In happiness there is evidence of a genuine caring for others, sometimes heightened by the feeling of invulnerability to hurt from others (8:23). Boss (ibid., p.218) however, in describing mania states that:

everything addresses them only as something to be seized and gobbled up. But as near to things as they imagine themselves, they can never come close to any presence, neither to what they themselves are, nor to what is not them. They are granted no serious engagement in what they have greedily looted but immediately fall prey to whatever it is that next meets their eyes. They must try to bring the new thing under their power, and in the meantime lose the first.

Klein (ibid., p.279) echoes this when she states that there is a "Partial detachment which we observe side by side with its (the 'ego's') hunger for objects."

While in happiness there is a coming home to the self with increased self-confidence, energy, power and mastery, in mania this is caricatured to become an omnipotence, lacking in insight. In mania there is an identification with the expanded self: the manic person is wonderful while the happy person feels wonderful.

There is a rising above the troubles of life in mania and happiness with both invoking the assistance of a magical transformation of the world. This, when expressed in mania, has been widely acknowledged as denial in the psychoanalytic literature since the 1933 work of Helene Deutsch (also Melanie Klein, 1935 and Bertram Lewin, 1950). Originally Lewin 1950 (p.52) saw this only as a denial of the "external world" but this was taken to the full magical transformation described by Sartre when Klein(op.cit., p.277) added the denial of "psychic reality" to this conceptualization. Again, both mania and happiness share a vulnerability and tenuousness in this elevated state. Boss(op.cit., p.219) when speaking of the manic individual's attunement, states that: "The slightest opposition is enough to destroy their equanimity." This is described by the subject of Protocol 6 when she lost her happy feeling when struggling to park her car (6:39, see also 10:16). The structure

of the experience of rising above life's difficulties appears similar in happiness and mania, the difference being the manic experience's lack of boundedness.

Boss describes perfectly the runaway nature of the manic experience when he states that:

... patients of this category are actually spellbound by what they encounter. A healthy person may to a great extent decide whether to engage in the attunement presently dominant in his existence and to choose how he will or will not conduct himself toward what appears to him in his attunement. Affectively incontinent or labile patients have lost this freedom of choice. Whatever they encounter subjugates and imposes an attunement.... They cannot decide which of the phenomena they encounter to dwell by, for things exert such a great power over them that each new phenomenon draws them away from the one before... (1979, p.217).

This boundlessness of mania is contrasted to a certain containment in the experience of happiness (11:15). In happiness there is an apparent breaking beyond thrownness while yet staying within its bounds.

#### HAPPINESS: A TASTE OF FULFILLED POTENTIAL

In the psychotherapies which work toward the "fulfillment of potential", "self-actualization" or "individuation" there is a hope that at the end of therapy the client will have moved in the direction of an increased openness, a healing of the ruptures of his life, a living in increased harmony and a coming home to the self with improved self-confidence and a freeing of energy and power which allows for the ability to fulfil potentials. These qualities are those of the experience of happiness. Is happiness then a preview of what we can expect after a long process of successful integrative psychotherapy?

While there are marked similarities in the picture that we see in these

two ways of being, the paths by which these are reached reveal their differences. In the process of psychotherapy this fulfillment of potential, this harmonious openness, comes about from a long process of integrating the "good" and "bad" in the client's life. No self-respecting psychotherapy would have achieved its goal if the outcome was achieved by an avoidance or denial of the difficulties, conflicts and ruptures in the client's existence. Happiness, however, does not set such high standards for itself. The long and painfully struggled for achievements of psychotherapy arise spontaneously in happiness. In fact nothing emerges from this research to suggest that it is even possible to directly work toward these "achievements" in happiness. Part of the extent of the harmony that is so characteristic of happiness arises from a magical transformation of the world in which the world becomes a more hospitable place. Struggles and conflicts are worked through at great length in psychotherapy, while in happiness the individual floats above them. The peace that comes from psychotherapy is a complex peace. There is a knowledge that we are ultimately frail, our bonds with our fellow-man can be tenuous, that pain is not too far away. We know that we are not made of sugar and spice. Yet the experience of happiness almost depends on an idealization of the positive. If the outcome of psychotherapy can be called wholeness, perhaps the experience of happiness could be called "half-ness", superficially very similar, but lacking the complex nature of a more fully integrated way of being.

This suggestion that the experience of happiness as it is revealed in this research is different from the "wholeness" of psychotherapy does not imply that the happy individual is in any way psychologically "unhealthy" or neurotic. It is merely emphasising magical idealization of existence that so often emerged as part of the happy experience: "you can face any barrier, any obstacle" (7:25, emphasis mine), "whatever happens, nothing

is going to get you down. Almost a feeling of ... sort of ... invulnerability," (5:24) and "... there was nothing at that point that anyone could do or say, any sarcastic comment or anything that could put me down, nothing." (8:23).

Are the similarities that do exist purely coincidental? It could be suggested that they are not coincidental but exist because psychotherapy directly sets out to achieve what spontaneously occurs during the experience of happiness. Could this slightly modified version of the General Structure not be an exaggerated description of the ideal psychotherapy client at the end of therapy:

Against a background where individuals [are] less than happy [at the end of therapy they emerge with] a special openness which breaks through the bonds of our mundane, everyday disclosure of the world. It transports the individual to an existence where the ruptures which form part of man's lived relationship to himself, to his fellowman, to the world and to life itself are healed and where life is lived in increased harmony with all. There is a coming home to the self, a move toward wholeness ... as the individual expands with energy, power, self-confidence and mastery, and rises above the troubles of life.  
(General Structure, pp. 106 and 107 above. The only changes are denoted by brackets with an omission being denoted by: ...).

#### LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

While this study was intentionally limited in its focus on the attunement of happiness as opposed to happiness as a way of life, it did not intend to restrict itself to the study of moments of intense happiness. This bias emerged from the responses to the research question. There is nothing in the way the question was phrased to explain this occurrence. As it was difficult for even the most articulate subjects to describe their experience of happiness, perhaps respondents resorted to describing the most vivid and powerful experiences. In order to tap the happiness of quieter moments it may be necessary to design a specific question to that end.

A further limitation of this research, as mentioned in the "Method" chapter, was the use of university students as subjects. This restriction in age and socio-economic level was an unfortunate outcome of the difficulty subjects discovered in describing their experiences and the need therefore to resort to large available populations to obtain suitable data. It would be most interesting to see the results of research of this kind across cultural, socio-economic, age and educational barriers.

The General Structure of the experience of happiness suggests that the moment of happiness could be an exaggerated taste of the Happy Life. Further research into happiness as a way of life using the findings of this study could be most enlightening.

Happiness, as it unfolded in this study, could represent a significant resistance to progress in psychotherapy, particularly if experienced in the early stages of therapy by clients with questionable motivation. The illusion, or taste of health and perfection that happiness provides in the short term could well lead poorly motivated clients to believe that their problems are now magically solved and further psychotherapy unnecessary. An example of such a situation could be the client who has always experienced difficulties in relationships with women and who comes into therapy after his wife leaves him. What if, two months later, at a difficult point in his therapy where he is struggling to accept that he is partly responsible for the collapse of his loving relationships, something ushers in a particularly vivid, pervasive and somewhat extended experience of happiness (for example, he obtains a professorship after many years of unfulfilled ambition)? Our data reveals that such an experience involves the experience of rising above the troubles in life, expanding with energy, power, self-confidence and mastery as well as an increased harmony with all. This experience, arriving at a moment of reluctance to stay in

therapy, could lead the client to temporarily feel that there is no need for further intervention as all is now well in his life. He could terminate therapy at that point. Further research into this area could provide helpful information for the practising clinician.

Despite its limitations, it is hoped that this work will provide a useful first step in our empirical study of happiness and that it will inspire further research of this phenomenon which is so central to our lives and yet has been neglected for so long.

APPENDIX 1

UNSUITABLE PROTOCOL

It occurred last weekend when my girlfriend and I were staying with friends in East London. Being together in a family who know purity and happiness, who accepted us totally as people in love and who just wanted to live our lives. Just being in their presence, away from work and in a place of pureness was brilliant. We did not have to be closed up, holding back or watch what we did. We knew totally that we could feel togetherness and love in their company. They knew who we were, what lives we lived and how we went about life, and this made it somehow so pure. A direct occurrence was when we (my girlfriend and I) were alone in the room late at night, not thinking, just lying there in true happiness and love. The only problem was that it all had to end. It is so hard to express the happiness I myself felt. The whole situation was uncritical and unintrusive. The four of us were one happy "family". We made no demands on each other and there was a willingness to help each other. This was actually the first time I had ever laid eyes on the family. My girlfriend was here on holiday.

## APPENDIX 2

In the "Inquiry" sections of this Appendix, "R" denotes the Researcher and "S" the Subject.

PROTOCOL 1

/1. An intense moment of happiness for me was last year on the 15th of November, when I got back home after a year away at Rhodes./2.Firstly I had been anticipating and imagining this moment for several weeks before leaving South Africa and I actually had stomach cramps with all the excitement./3.As I was at Durban airport and going through all the formalities I had sudden irrational fears that something at the last minute would stop me from boarding that plane. My ticket would have expired or had a wrong flight number on or something stupid like that./4.The relief when I finally sat in the departure lounge was very great./5.The walk across the tarmac to the plane made me shiver with excitement again. My senses were very sensitive and heightened, I noticed everything around me, felt it, smelt it etc. I felt great, I wanted to talk with people and share my excitement and joy./6.The flight which was 5 hours long seemed like 24 hours to me/7.and it gave me time to settle down a bit and just enjoy the warm comfortable and wriggly feeling inside me./8.From time to time I felt overwhelmed, as if choking, and I had to take deep breaths./9.The first sight of my country - Mauritius - brought tears to my eyes; I was literally breathless, recognising all the familiar beautiful beaches, lagoon and mountains./10.In my excitement, I started talking and showing things to a young couple sitting next to me./11.When I landed there was the relief and contentment of being home./12.Walking down the steps, across the tarmac to the customs I was shaking and trembling with excitement, my palms were sweaty and again I was breathless and had cramps./13.Hugging my parents at long last had me crying and they were too./14.Then I couldn't stop talking and asking questions/15.and at the same time I was enjoying the familiar smell and well-loved scene along the road back to our house./16.I felt so light and bouncy and very very aware of everything around me.

Inquiry

- R: /17. At one point, when you were in the departure lounge, you said: "the relief when I finally sat in the departure lounge was very great." Was that at the time when you were beginning to feel happy already or was that before the feeling of happiness?
- S: No, it was especially the fear that something might go wrong just before. Because my father had bought my ticket at the beginning of the year and, you know, you always have fears that something which you have been waiting for very impatiently, well, that there might just be a hitch somewhere and you would be stopped. My only aim was to just get on that plane and feel its take-off, and get there. And all along, when I was preparing my suitcase I would say: "Now don't break, suitcase, before I get to the airport." Once I had got into the airport I said: "Now don't stop me." I hoped my ticket was alright; there were people in front of me who had problems with their ticket. So I was just sitting behind them biting my nails, thinking: "Come on, let me go." That was basically it.
- R: /18. You said: "The walk across the tarmac made me shiver with excitement." Can you describe that a bit more?
- S: It is just that, physically taking steps towards the plane, approaching a plane, with all the technical problems left behind, and all I had to do was just walk to that plane. I knew I could do that very well. At the same time it was the relief and the anticipation of getting there./19. Because, well, it was a year in February since I came to University and the culture was completely different./20. It was just the whole procedure of getting back home and every single little moment I savoured as part of my going back to my place and it was very intense. I made a special point of really feeling everything because it was such a special occasion. Now I had

finished with all the customs and all the rest of it, I had no problems; I just had to get into that plane and I would be alright. Its me, how I feel, I like to savour every single moment that I can, especially this, as this was such an experience./21.You want me to explain "shiver with excitement?" It is very physical as well. Even about three months before I left for home I would just have to think about it and I would just about have stomach cramps with anticipation from just waiting. And when I came back from the September vac. (holidays) I suddenly realised I only had a term to go. At Rhodes they gave me, at the end of the year, a vas byt award because I was all the time counting the days and counting the weeks. It was a joke, but at the same time they had noticed how I was waiting for it.

R: /22.You said your senses were very sensitive and very heightened. Can you describe that to me?

S: It was not a usual normal moment and I was feeling so high that I noticed everybody around, all the expressions and feelings, and I was very aware of the things that were going on./23.I was, like, popping out of myself; if I could grab the person next to me, I could just tell her, "Hey, I am going home." I would have done it. There were some French people there actually, and I started talking to them. It is something I would never do, I just felt like it and I couldn't care less./24.Feeling the wind, you know, when you walk through, when you come out of the lounge; it is so cool and you sort of walk into the wind. The noise, people walking around.

R: You were aware of everything?

S: Yes, very much aware./25.I was aware precisely because, with the happiness, I was sort of going out, I wasn't concentrating on myself and my problems and my worries. All that was behind and I

would sort of reach out with experience to everybody else around me.

R: You say you were "going out." Can you describe that a bit for me?

S: It lifts the senses to your awareness of the happy things and the happy feelings around; at the same time of other people's problems because the chap in front of me had problems - I felt so sorry for him. I was hoping to get through and he was struggling. And I felt very much with him. It's going out of me, it's reaching out with your attention to others, to other people/26.and, you know, you can sit and be surrounded by a crowd and just notice anything that is going on around you. The way I call "going out" was being so aware of all of them.

R: /27.So you say you were being very aware of all the things happening around you. Do you mean you were very involved with your world - more so than you usually would be?

S: No, I found I sat back and enjoyed looking at them. I started talking to a few people sitting next to me but I didn't go too much into their conversation. I like to listen, I am like that, I like to listen rather than talk really, and observe. So I was quite content to do it. I sort of didn't go out of my way to get involved with them.

R: /28.You said just now you were high; can you describe that?

S: Yes, it comes back to what I have just said: it is a heightened awareness. I can't find another word. It's not only the feelings, it is your body reaction as well: you walk with a spring.... You don't drive yourself along, you walk briskly, you look around, your body is very alive as well.

R: /29.You said you noticed everything around you?

- S: I was observing more of what was actually going on and simply missing less of the things that go on around. Automatically; not that you analyse them and discover other things ... it's specifically that you noticed more.
- R: /30.You said you noticed everything around, you felt it and smelt it?
- S: All your senses were very much alive.
- R: /31.You said you felt great; can you describe that feeling of feeling great?
- S: Actually, you just want to slap somebody on the back and say: "Hey, isn't it marvellous?" You know, you would like everybody else to know how great the feeling is and how beautiful life is, and God is, and they should feel as happy, and you just want to share this feeling. I was feeling great, it is hard to describe it. You are just feeling so very much alive and full of love and full of bounce.
- R: /32.You say full of love; describe it for me.
- S: Well, this experience of love, the feeling is there; it is really great, it is a feeling of belonging and being accepted. I am a believer, and that is, from a God point of view, and from your friends' point of view, as well as what ever you are, what ever you do, you are accepted.
- R: You are accepted by God and by your friends?
- S: As you are, for yourself with all the crazy things and all the good things.
- R: /33.You said just now, when you were describing your feelings of love, that part of love was your feeling of belonging. Can you describe the belonging for me?

- S: Primarily the belonging is knowing that I belong somewhere, to specific people; that is, going back to my family and to my country and it's the knowledge that you are going back where you belong. But at the same time you are related to everybody there, you know, in a funny special way. I mean, I could easily go up to anybody if he needed help or if he needed anything; I could just go up to him and do it, I wouldn't just stand back and think that it is not my business, not my problem.
- R: Part of the feeling of happiness was that you felt you belonged more with all those people than you usually feel?
- S: Yes.
- R: /34.You said you wanted to talk with people; was that quite a strong feeling, that you wanted to communicate with others?
- S: Ya, especially with Mauritians whom I could hear from time to time. But at one point, yes, the plane was coming over and I could see the coast of the island and I just grabbed the lady sitting next to me, she was this Indian lady, and I started to talk to her: "Look, there is my country," and I would point out things and show her, asking her who she was. They were a just-married couple and they had come for their honeymoon and I was describing the places she could go to. It is very easy to talk. She was very amused by my excitement: she started laughing at me; I just couldn't care, it was so nice. It is just to communicate with her that feeling, you know, that feeling of happiness.
- R: You say it is easier to talk when you are happy?
- S: Oh, yes.

R: /35.You wanted to share your excitement and joy; can you describe the joy?

S: The joy was for me, ... you couldn't do much on a plane except point out a few things. But it was ... I am a physically reactive person as well, so I had great difficulty being able to sit still and I was sort of propping myself up on the arm rest and trying to have a better look at the view underneath. I was never sitting despite the seat belt sign. It was only at the point of landing, and it was a very bouncy feeling; I couldn't sit still for one minute, it was just too much.

S: /36.O.K.

S: I hope I am not going off the point; it is difficult to define all this, you know.

R: You are doing fine./37.You said the five hours seemed like 24 hours.

S: If I could have gotten out and pushed the plane, I would have!

R: Does time normally drag when you are particularly happy, or was it just this time?

S: No, no it was because I was waiting for something./38.Once I was home and I was happy, the holidays just flew and suddenly it was time to get back.

R: Oh, I see.

S: /39.It is the anticipation, the waiting to get somewhere....

R: Ah, that's what seems to take long.

S: You live each minute too intently; I think that the time goes slowly but you would like it to go faster.

R: /40.You were saying that when you were happy, and when you weren't in this anticipatory state, then the time went quickly?

S: Yes, I would go on with living and going with my friends and do all the things I would normally do ... do all things I would normally do at home. I was quite happy. But it's hard to compare, you know. When you said to me, "Is it when you are happy that time goes slowly?" I don't think so, because it depends on what you are doing. When you are waiting for something, then it goes slowly. But otherwise it goes fast.

R: In your experience when you were happy, did time seem to be different in any other way?

S: Um, for specific moments I think it goes slower because, as I say, I savour every single moment. And when I am busy planning something else or thinking about something else, I am just concentrating on the moment and the person; of what is being shaped, the things that are happening now; and in that way time goes. Maybe you have been talking to somebody for 20 minutes and it has been very deep and very meaningful conversation and it seems like hours and maybe it comes back to you, all your awareness and everything concentrated on that time. On that occasion, I think it goes slower, when you have to think. Well, I think I was mentioning there specific occasions but when you have been over more, over a lot of occasions, you just look back: you say, "My God it went so fast."

R: You mean like the end of your holiday, it seemed to go very fast?

S: Yes. But each day was something by itself.

R: /41.There was a warm comfortable and wriggly feeling inside of you?

S: It is a wriggly feeling: you just want to sort of settle down and wriggle; part of not being able to sit still. There is so much

going on.

R: You were agitated?

S: Ja, you were agitated, yes.

R: /42.You felt "overwhelmed as if choking." Can you describe that feeling?

S: It is just taking a deep breath.

R: Overwhelmed by the feeling?

S: Yes, it is so much and you are just taking a deep breath, as if it's weighing down on you. Um, it's hard to explain that. I'm sorry, I'm stalling.

R: Don't feel rushed.

S: Say, when you have eaten too much, you know, and you feel so full you have to pull yourself up a bit like that ... it is the same full comfortable feeling; yet at the same time you are feeling a bit heavy; from time to time it sort of overwhelms you as such. And then there is this feeling, and your body responds and you take a breath because it is a way of relief, a kind of relief.

R: /43.That full feeling, when you are full; can you describe that to me?

S: It is like there is no place for any other feeling. There is no place for unhappy thoughts, no place for mean thoughts; like, you would like to slap that little boy because he is screaming and annoying people. You don't think about those things too much, there is no place for any nasty things really. You are just full of that pleasant feeling.

R: The pleasant feeling?

S: The happy feeling.

R: /44.O.K. When you saw Mauritius it brought tears to your eyes; can you elaborate on that for me?

S: This is the joy. One of the ways you express the joy, like when I saw my parents and heard them, it was just too much, I started to cry. It was like seeing something you are so attached to that you feel immense joy to see it again. I started crying, and then I stopped myself, and then when I saw my parents again, then I cried.

R: Crying with happiness? Is it different from crying with sadness?

S: Oh, yes. You don't want to, but it comes.

R: Is it almost like being overwhelmed by the feeling?

S: Yes. You can't do anything about it.

R: It just comes on its own?

S: Yes, I mean, you are so embarrassed by it, you just look away.

R: /45.You were shaking and trembling with excitement. Can you elaborate on that, please.

S: Well, I was trying to fill in my arrival form and my hand was just shaking. I couldn't write. I would try and write again, everything was just shaking, and I couldn't control it ... the excitement in it. Specially from when we landed. And I had to walk, you know, I would see them as soon as I got out of the plane. Just seeing them was something.

R: /46.You couldn't stop talking, and asking questions; can you elaborate on that?

S: I was trying to catch up, you know. The letters, you know, you are so limited by what you know and there is so much you want to know

and each time you ask a question something else comes to mind. And at the same time I knew that they wanted to know about me and how I was, so I started talking about everything: about yesterday, the day before and then I went back, and I just couldn't, I just babbled on and on and as my father was driving back home I could see things along the road and I would ask questions: "What happened to this?" Just trying to catch up very rapidly. You know just to fit back, back in.

R: So, the feeling of not being able to stop talking, was that part of the feeling of happiness or was that merely part of the fact that you hadn't seen them for so long? Because earlier on, you said that you wanted to talk as well.... When you were so happy, you wanted to talk to some people. What was that, a similar sort of thing, or was that merely because you hadn't seen them for so long?

S: I think it was mainly that. If I had somebody, if I knew somebody needed to talk and I would just sit and listen, it was no problem. It is part of that catching up, and telling them how I am, how it has been. I think it is not due to happiness, just due to being away. Trying to get back together.

R: /47.You felt so light and bouncy. Very, very aware of everything around you?

S: Well, I hadn't seen them for a year, so I kept my eyes very much more open than normal, to see what had changed and what was different. I tried to take in all the details.

PROTOCOL 2

/1.The happiest experience I have felt, was one that I had just recently. It has taken quite a few months to materialise but when it arrived, it arrived quite suddenly.

/2.It was when my boyfriend phoned and asked me to go out with him again.

/3.We used to go while I was still at school, then we split up./4.As I said, it had been materialising for quite a while but when it actually happened, I couldn't believe it./5.I felt as if I was floating, my whole inside felt much lighter/6.and bubbly;/7.there was literally a smile on my face from ear to ear./8.My eyes were sparkling so much, that I'm sure they were almost little lights./9.Even when I think about it now, I just feel this surge of happiness again.

/10.I am not a person that shows too much emotion about anything but that day I was bubbling. Maybe it sounds ridiculous but it made me happy.

/11.We will probably be settling down soon after I'm finished Varsity.

/12.The whole experience took place over the phone, because he is in Johannesburg, one Sunday morning. I wasn't even expecting a phone call from him. When the girl who answered the phone called me, I actually thought it was going to be my aunt. It was a pleasant surprise to hear who it really was./13.I actually feel quite embarrassed telling you all this, because it actually sounds quite absurd, but it made me feel very happy.

Inquiry

R: /14.You said you felt you were floating; can you describe that a bit more for me - that feeling of floating?

S: Ja. I felt as if I was absolutely elated, as if I blew up like a big bubble and I was just merrily going along; I just felt like I

was walking ten metres in the air and there was nothing around to get in my way./15.I just merrily went along on my way. Almost like not a care in the world.

R: Almost like not a care in the world?

S: Ja, the world was all mine and I was just merrily going on.

R: That's very interesting. Could you explain that, that the world was all yours? Can you tell more about that?

S: Um. Do you mind if I explain just a little bit? Well, it was strange because I had just come back from vac and I was feeling really down. I didn't want to come back and I felt that the world was on my shoulders; I felt horrible. Anyway, and then this all happened and all of a sudden things didn't feel so bad and I felt that I could just handle things: they were mine to handle. I just felt so much more confident.

R: You had this feeling that you could handle things?

S: Ja. Yes.

R: Almost like having more strength?

S: Yes, yes.

R: Is that how you felt, like you had more strength? Or am I putting things, words into your mouth?

S: No, you are right, I felt more confident in myself, I could handle things. You see, I was the head student this year and I had a lot of hassles in res. just up until then and it was getting me down. Then all of a sudden, just getting this surge of happiness, just did something and I felt as if I was on top of things again ... that I could handle things, I could handle them.

R: /16."My whole inside felt much lighter?"

- S: That's when I get that feeling like I just blew up. Like a bubble.
- R: "Blew up?"
- S: I don't quite know how to explain it. I just, I don't know, um, um I don't know, I just felt so happy I was just expanding, I was about to burst, I just felt, I just wanted to get everything that made me so happy inside, to just fill me up. I was feeling huge, you know, like a bubble grows, and I felt I was just growing and growing./17. And I just wanted to pop. And let everything out.
- R: "Let it out:" do you mean talk about it?
- S: Yes, talk about it. I wanted to tell somebody my exciting news.
- R: Was that quite a strong feeling that you had, the desire to share it?
- S: Yes, I bumped into one of my friends in the passage and I just let it out. "You will never guess what happened!" And she was just as excited as me, as she had heard my whole tale of woe the term before. She knew exactly what was coming.
- R: /18.And "bubbly," that "bubbly" feeling?
- S: It was here, in my tummy. I was all excited, I could almost feel everything was bubbling up and boiling inside; just like, almost making my skin go goose pimples, prickly like that.
- R: Like tingling.
- S: Yes, like a tingling feeling.
- R: So it was in your tummy?
- S: Yes, like here. (Pointing to tummy).
- R: /19.You said your eyes were sparkling; could you feel they were sparkling or did someone tell you?
- S: No, I could feel it; the minute I get very happy I can feel it, I

can feel as if my eyes widen up, they get all bright and I smile.

R: What were you feeling like when they sparkled? Can you describe it to me?

S: Um, it is almost as if they get very big,/20.and like,you see things in a different way, even just like looking around the room. Things get a brighter look to them. Things get brighter, much more exciting.

R: Describe that more to me. When you look into the room, things get brighter?

S: /21.You know, you usually just see the notice board and it is just your notice board, but the minute I feel happier and excited it is then ... that notice board almost has a meaning to me, like it is saying, "Maybe here is a challenge here; your time table's not so bad, you can really handle it." Everything just seems to have a lot more meaning to it. There's something behind it,/22.more catching, something bright, that's more catching./23.And everything seems to get a meaning to it.

R: That is fascinating. The two things you described, about how things change, and the objects in the room, like the notice board. They become more meaningful and they become more bright?

S: Meaningful, yes.

R: /24.And they become bright?

S: Yes. Ja.

R: /25.Would it be correct to say they look more attractive?

S: I suppose you could say that.

R: That is not really how you experience it?

- S: Well, I mean something that does become bright and, say, more eye-catching and it is more attractive than if something just looks dull and not worthwhile./26. When I get happy things just seem brighter./27. I seem to put my happiness onto those things and make them happy, even though they are just objects.
- R: You mean the objects even looked happier in themselves?
- S: Yes, you know, almost as if I have put my feelings out onto them. They sense what I am feeling. They can't really. But that is just how I feel about it.
- R: Can you give me an example about that? ... You gave an example of the notice board.... Another example of when you put your feelings onto things and they are happy themselves?
- S: Just take a book like a swotting book that I have been working from, that I have been taking strain with, and I looked at it and it seems to be saying to me: "Come on, it's not that bad, we can also do it together." And it just seems to also say, "I am worth it, take me, challenge me."/28. And it is also that it almost becomes much more attractive to me. Even my cupboards seem to get a new light to them, my posters - I have got a poster on the wall - it is a poster of Snoopy, and he seems to get a broader smile than what he has got on his face as well.
- R: /29. Everything sort of lights up?
- S: Lights up yes, mmm.
- R: /30. Um you say, you said, "even when I think about it now, I feel this surge of happiness again." Can you describe that feeling again?
- S: I can, it takes me right back to the moment in the very beginning and it is like I just feel it all starting up again and I feel like getting all happy again. I just feel that I immediately brighten up again. I just go through what I have just explained before.

PROTOCOL 3

/1.I am an Elvis Presley fan and recently a film about him was shown here in Grahamstown. I had been waiting for it to come here for quite a long time already and I couldn't wait to see it. Actually I saw it four times!/2.While sitting in the cinema waiting for the film to start, I was excited and even had "butterflies" in my stomach, but I tried to act normally by making mundane conversation with my mother, who was with me. My heart was beating madly and I kept on wanting to laugh. I also had to keep on taking deep breaths of air. I think I was also trembling slightly by the time the film eventually started./3.The supporting programme seemed to last for hours!/4.My heart continued its rapid beating during the film, especially the first time I actually saw Elvis - it was quite uncomfortable at times./5.I kept on making comments to my mother about the film, especially during the most enjoyable moments,/6.at which my heart-rate increased even more (e.g. when he smiled./7.The film was over much too soon/8.and I spoke about it for hours afterwards!!

Inquiry

R: When you were sitting waiting for the movie to start, you said you were excited; can you try and describe that for me?

S: /9.Well, it was quite funny, actually, because we were worried that they were not going to show the film in the first place because so few people were there. I mean, there had to be a certain number of people before they show a film. Well, anyway, so we had gone in quite early and we were about the only two there, my mother was with me. Another two people came in and I kept on looking to see how many people were coming in. Even after the thing had started I

kept looking around./10.Well, I always, when I am nervous, get butterflies in my stomach, like when I go to the dentist or that. I got that same feeling then./11.And my heart was pumping like mad./12.And it was, I don't know ... I kept on talking to my mother, just saying things and, I don't know, I can't even remember what I was talking about. But I kept on, just talking to her and mentioning just this and that ... never mentioning the film or anything. Just to sort of "keep it normal". To pretend, sort of, that I was not excited.

R: Do you mean that you were shy? Were you shy to show how excited you were?

S: Ja, ja I was trying to hide that.

R: /13.But what was the feeling of excitement about? Can you try to describe that?

S: Um, I don't know, it just ... as I say, it was mainly just that feeling in my stomach; it was all sort of physical feelings: my heart was pounding and I had this funny butterflies sensation in my stomach.

R: /14.Butterflies sensation?

S: It is sort of difficult to describe. Um, it is almost ... well, as you say, you call it a butterfly sensation because it's like butterflies fluttering around in your stomach; everything inside is sort of going like that, you know.

R: Could you put that into words: the "going around like that"?

S: Well, sort of fluttering around. Sort of ... I don't know.

R: /15.You said you kept on wanting to laugh. Can you describe that for me?

S: Yes, I am always doing it whenever I am excited or happy. I always find myself laughing about it./16.Always laughing like that even if nothing was funny; there was nothing funny happening, but I just wanted to laugh all the time.

R: /17.You said you were trembling slightly?

S: My hands were trembling; I was clenching them. It was quite cold, too, and I had an extra jersey or something. I put my hands under there and I was clenching it so tightly because I was sort of shaking all the time. Even some things ... like now, I am slightly nervous, my voice is trembling; but then when I was talking to my mother, I noticed that my voice was trembling as well.

R: /18.You said the supporting programmes seemed to last for hours.

S: Yes, well, I saw the film four times. And every time I was complaining about that, because well, usually, I don't go to bioscopes so often nowadays as I used to and they never used to show a trailer after interval; after interval they used to show one of those cricket things, those funny long things, they are quite nice, and then straight onto the film. But this time they showed a trailer after the cricket thing as well. They had a comic before the film and about ten trailers, it seemed like. But I say it seemed like it because I keep on mentioning how long it was; but at one time my sister went with me and she thought it was not long at all; afterwards she said to me she didn't think it was long./19.But it seemed long to me because I was so anxious to see the film.

R: /20.O.K. Your heart continued its rapid beating during this film, especially the first time that you saw Elvis. Can you elaborate on that?

S: Ja, well, by the time the film started I was really in quite a state

and it was sort of an anti-climax as I mentioned: you didn't see Elvis straight away. You saw these other actors, so now I was sitting there waiting for the first scene of Elvis/21. and by the time he came on or when he came on the first time my heart started to accelerate again.

R: Can you describe your feeling at that moment when you first saw him?

S: Um well ... my heart, again, was beating./22. I enjoyed it so much because there are hardly any Elvis films, I don't get as much chance to see Elvis and, um, it was such a nice feeling to see him alive. Especially because you know he is dead. Seeing him alive like that sort of brings it back a bit.

R: You say you really enjoyed it?

S: Ja. Tremendously.

R: /23. It was quite uncomfortable at times, you said. Can you describe that feeling at all?

S: The actual physical feeling of my heart ... my heart was getting to beat so fast that it was quite painful at times. Just sort of uncomfortable, but a nice feeling.

R: A nice uncomfortable feeling?

S: Ja.

R: /24. You mentioned a couple of times that you kept on making comments to your mom during the movie.

S: Yes.

R: Can you describe that for me?

S: Yes; it was difficult to stop talking. I tried to stop myself. It could be spoiling the movie for her, me talking all the time. Because she could see the movie and what was happening. And I kept

on saying look there, look there all the time./25.I probably spoilt it for her but I couldn't sit there and keep quiet, I just had to share the film with her by talking about it.

R: Share your experience with her?

S: If I am happy or excited, I always talk about it if I am with friends or with somebody I know well. I always talk when I am happy.

/26.And laugh.

R: /27.You said the film was over much too soon. Yet you spoke about it for hours afterwards. Did the time seem to go quite quickly during the movie?

S: Yes, especially the last time I saw it. Because the last time, I knew it was the last time I was going to see it, and I wanted to sort of hang onto it; there were certain moments I wanted to sort of hang onto and I was just eager to really focus on them. They just went past and I hardly even saw them. The first couple of times it was quick, but the last time it went even quicker./28.The first couple of times I just enjoyed it, but afterwards (straight after the film, we didn't talk about it) but after a while we sort of started making comments and once we started talking I couldn't stop and kept on thinking of something else to say./29.But that last night I went with a friend of mine and it seemed to vanish, it was incredible.

R: /30.So although the supporting programmes are in fact much shorter than the movie, they seemed much longer than the movie.

S: Yes, that's true, because the supporting programmes seemed to be going for ever. But the film was over in about a few minutes.

PROTOCOL 4

/1.This past Saturday, I had the fantastic experience of taking my first parachute jump./2.Being really terrified of heights, I was nervous when I climbed into the plane and when I had to climb onto the wing of the plane at 2500 feet, my legs nearly froze./3.However, I forced myself to release my grip from the strut of the wing and jumped./4.The initial fall was terrifying,/5.but when the parachute opened, I really felt ecstatic. I felt myself bubbling with excitement and screamed in the air./6.The feeling of freedom a person experiences as they drift to the ground was so unreal it's difficult to describe./7.I kicked my feet in the air with excitement./8.After I had landed safely I quickly collected my chute and hurried back to where people who had been watching, were waiting./9.This really was a happy experience and I could not wait to tell my friends about my first jump.

Inquiry

R: /10.You said that after the parachute opened, you felt "ecstatic". Can you try and describe to me what you meant by ecstatic?

S: Ja. I think, basically, because I was so tense up until then.... You know, your feelings are all pent up inside of you ... once you feel that your parachute's opened, you have got a sort of sense of relief; you feel like you are bursting at your seams. You know, you have got, sort of, so much inside of you and it just wants to come out. And it's hard, it's kinda hard to express yourself. You swing your arms in the air and kick your legs and it's a total feeling of freedom. It's a beautiful feeling.

R: /11.You said a "feeling of relief"; can you describe this to me?

S: Ja. I think it stems from my fear of heights.... I think from when I saw small. I was about 5 years old and we went to Pretoria, to the Voortrekker Monument, and with my parents I walked up the stairs and to the top. When we got to the top, I looked down and from that time on I wouldn't walk down. I sat on the floor and I ... my legs froze. I just couldn't walk. Then my parents had to even carry me down the stairs at that stage. And I know even a couple of years ago when I went overseas, I went up the Eifel Tower and the Leaning Tower when I was walking on the Leaning Tower of Pisa especially at an angle and my legs sort of went stiff and that. So I have definitely got a fear of heights./12.Even inside the plane I was the third guy to jump and I was sitting at the back of the plane and I had to crawl forward to the front, and as you crawl forward you crawl past the door ... well, there is no door at that stage, the door is just an open gap, you look down and see the earth far away. Then the guy says "O.K. get out," you have to climb out of the door and go onto the wing or one foot onto the step, the other foot goes onto the wheel and you just hold onto a piece of strutt. If you look down you see the earth far away. You are basically terrified - well, I was anyway. I was terrified./13.And there is that fear, you know, you get that doubt: will your chute open? It is very safe, basically but there is still that doubt, you know.

R: /14.So the relief was, in fact, that -

S: Ja. The relief of the chute opening.

R: /15.You said you were "bursting at your seams" can you describe that briefly to me? Ja. You feel so good you find it difficult to express; you just want to let everyting come out of you at once. You do that by screaming, by shaking your body, by sort of letting

everything go, by just totally having no inhibition or anything.

R: You say "shaking your body?"

S: Ja. I was holding onto the straps of the arms of the thing and I just started to kick my legs.

R: /16. Did you feel a desire to move?

S: Ja. You can steer the chute, you pull down the right and you float into the wind upright. You turn around and float against the wind. You know, there is nothing in the air, you know, just knowing the sky far above and the ground far away. You haven't got that fear of the ground, you are just floating and just hanging in the air. Such freedom.

R: /17. "No inhibition" - can you elaborate on that?

S: That's right, ja. You just let yourself go. You don't care what anybody thinks; it seems like you are mad, screaming around in the air, shouting, you are so happy. It's beautiful. /18. And when you land you just want to run to the other people and say what did they think of your jump and tell some others how you landed and that. /19.... to share the experience especially, I think, especially with parachuting; a lot of people don't want to do it. And I don't know if I was just trying to prove a point to myself, that I could do it, especially because I am scared of heights. I was very keen to go back to my friends after this and tell them this is how I landed and tell them about the experience and how good I felt about it.

R: /20. And from the actual feeling of happiness, was there a sort of need to talk to other people?

S: Ja.

R: Please tell me more about that?

- S: There is, like, something inside of you and you just want it to get out and you want to tell everybody that you jumped. It was something that was difficult to keep inside of you. Like I phoned my folks; my Mom's very against me jumping, she was a nervous wreck about my jumping, but anyway, I phoned them. I didn't phone my girlfriend, she was there actually. She was down for the weekend.
- R: /21.You said that you were "bubbly inside". Can you describe that a bit for me?
- S: Ja. It is as if you have got all these pent-up feelings inside of you and it is like a bubble and you just want to burst it and you want these feelings to be released from your body ... and try and get everything out of you at once; it is almost impossible to do it. Such a good feeling ... it is hard to control your actions. You just let them be released.
- R: You say it's hard to control your actions? What do you mean?
- S: It is like you have got all these pent-up feelings inside you and you just want to get rid of them. And you don't know how to express it first, whether it is to scream or kick your legs or to do them all at the same time. Ja, just like letting everything go.
- R: Is there anything more you can describe?
- S: /22.I think the greatest part and the most satisfaction you get is the period once your chute is open: that sense of relief that you know that everything is all right and you are free until you hit the ground; that is a beautiful experience,/23.but I think the moment you have landed and you go to tell everyone else, that excitement can be released out of your body as well. Wishing to express to other people what you have experienced, I think that that is probably part of the excitement as well. Getting it released from your body.

R: /24.Um, the feeling of freedom?

S: Ja, you know, peaceful, you know, serene. You are up there with clouds and the gods, that is quite beautiful. You are in a world of your own, there is no one to disturb you. You start floating and you feel free, like a bird.

R: /25.You said you kicked your feet in the air: that was part of that bursting feeling?

S: Bursting release of excitement, ja.

R: Are there any other feelings as you recapture the thing, are there any other feelings that you can think of?

S: /26.Besides relief, you know, I think a lot of happiness is by telling people my experience.

R: Your happiness increased by sharing the experience, or is that part of the happiness?

S: That is part of the happiness, because, you know, people ask questions as well, they show interest and that type of thing as well.

R: /27.How did you feel then when you were sharing the experience?

S: I felt very good.

R: Can you describe "good" for me?

S: Ja. I felt as if I had achieved something; it was something ... like about 18 months ago, if you had have asked me, I would never have thought about doing it. And it was like an achievement for myself to get over this hurdle. I was totally against it and eventually doind it, ... and everything going off well. Because about every third guy has a bad landing or something. Out of the three of us, one of the chaps tore the ligaments in his foot when he landed. So part of the whole experience was that everything went off well.

Beforehand, before I went, I had spoken to other guys and they had landed in the fence and the trees and that type of thing; the one guy jumped five times and he decided to give up because he couldn't take it any more. But I suppose I was quite happy that everything went off, you know, according to plan and there were no hitches.

PROTOCOL 5

/1. One night, I was having a drink at the motel with two friends, having left my girlfriend after a very fruitful evening in which she expressed her love for me; whereas before I had been in doubt. This confirmation after days of agonizing over the impending break-up, doubt, confusion, etc. - followed by congenial company and an informal drinking atmosphere made me feel particularly happy./2. I felt light, as if something had been lifted that had been previously on my mind continuously. Relief is the way to describe it./3. I felt free; wanted to get drunk, uninhibited./4. Aloof from, yet very close to, my friends./5. Trembling slightly but not in a nervous way, in more like ecstasy after being relieved of some troublesome burden./6. Cool and calm./7. Satisfied with life in general and my relationship with my girlfriend in particular.

Inquiry

R: /8. At one time you said that you felt light, as if something had been lifted. Can you describe to me what you meant by light?

S: As I wrote there, RELIEF, I felt less burdened; obviously I had less on my mind to think about. And this thing had been worrying me, like, for example, when I was in Accounts in my first year I could hardly think of anything else, I couldn't concentrate at all. This sort of accumulated my feeling of despondency. Getting depressed, and after a while in that particular case I just wanted to pack up varsity and go. Accumulation of problems, everything seemed to be more significant, problem-wise, than it normally is.

R: /9. And when you heard this news that she was in fact committed to you ... how did you feel then?

- S: Suddenly I felt "That's dead right."
- R: Can you describe that feeling a bit more?
- S: Everything, everything that was ... that was accumulating and worried me, suddenly lost a lot of its significance and importance. /10.I felt I could concentrate on what I wanted to/11.nothing was pressing down on me.
- R: /12.You said just now that all the little things seemed to be much more of a worry. Was that still the case once you found out, once you were in a happy mood?
- S: No, not at all. I felt so much lighter, I could do what I wanted to do without, in the back of my mind, having these things keeping on pressing on top of me and without always wondering: "If I do this, will my girlfriend see me doing it?"/13.Everything, everything was like compounding. It was getting on top of me. So obviously the news made me feel a lot more ... a lot more relieved.
- R: /14.You said you could do what you wanted to do; could you describe that a bit more?
- S: Yes, well, my day-to-day activities. When I was in that stage of ambiguity and confusion, everything I did, I did half-heartedly. For example, if I was going to go for a run in the evening, I'd go half-way, and I'd think: "Hell, my heart's not in this," because this thing, this relationship was occupying nearly every second of my whole life. So, obviously in that state I was doing things half-heartedly. I couldn't devote all my attention and concentration to anything.
- R: /15.Could you describe the feeling of relief? Is there any more you can say about the feeling of relief?

S: Yes. Well, previously I'd felt, I felt restricted as I said previously.

R: Restricted?

S: Restricted in the relationship as such. When I was going around with her, there were a lot of restrictions: I couldn't do this, I couldn't go drinking, although it wasn't that bad./16. Then when we were deciding whether to break up, I thought, well, I might be free ... I know this doesn't tie in, Peter, but ...

R: No, it's fine.

S: And those three or four days - or for how long we were confused - I thought, well, maybe breaking up is not a bad thing. It will mean that obviously I can go and do what I want to do etc. But then you think, well, if you break up, for example to-day, in three days' time you might have done all the drinking and everything you wanted to do and then you look around and there is actually nothing and life takes on a meaningless context, you just wander from pub to pub or go home and you lie in bed and keep on thinking of her. So there was that confusion of thought; I didn't know if I wanted to break up ... weighing up one end to the other.

R: /17. And when you did decide to stay committed to each other?

S: Well, sure, there was relief and there was freedom because then I knew exactly where I was going ... freedom.

R: Freedom from the confusion then?

S: Ja. Not the freedom from restrictions. Because I still feel restricted. Freedom from confusion. I knew where my path was, I knew where my direction was.

R: /18. You wanted to get drunk ... as part of your feeling. Can you talk more about that?

S: Ja. The motel ... I don't know if you have been there, but there is a kind of atmosphere, and the atmosphere of drinking, and once you get good news, like I had there, you feel like really going for it.

R: You felt like letting go, did you?

S: Yes. A lot of time you are uninhibited; in a place like that, you can get drunk and do whatever you want.

R: /19.You say "uninhibited"?

S: Ja.

R: Can you explain more?

S: Um, well ... not having people think "Ah, hell, he's getting drunk," and "Why is he getting drunk?" and can you do this and not that? Basically, every day you go around, you are completely shackled. You live to how people think you should live, how your wife wants you to live, how your mother thinks you should behave; occasionally you have got to really let go and do what you want to do. And if falling down on the ground is what you want to do, you just do it.

R: When you were happy did you feel free to do that?

S: Ja.

R: /20.You said "aloof from, yet very close to your friends."

S: Close to my friends, in that, in a drinking atmosphere, you are telling jokes and you are happy and you are relaxed and it's congenial and close.

R: /21.What was that relationship with your friends like when you were happy? Can you describe that a little bit?

- S: Um, well ... I think mostly my relationship with most of my friends here is, a lot of mocking, typical student messing around, not being serious at all. I think that evening I probably felt I could give them more shit.
- R: What do you mean, "give them more shit?"
- S: Mock them, you know, talk rubbish. It's basically my nature; I felt even more so that night.
- R: More free to be yourself?
- S: Yes, not spending so much time on serious matters like you normally would discuss at work; you just want to talk absolute rubbish and have a good time.
- R: /22. When you were saying just now that you felt free to give your friends more shit than you would even normally ... did you sort of feel "special" somehow because you were so happy?
- S: Yes, to a certain extent, sure.
- R: Am I putting words into your mouth?
- S: I don't think ... I don't think I felt special. I felt happier than I normally would, I felt relieved; special is ... I don't even know really if I felt special. Um, let me go on and tell you a feeling that leads from that.
- R: Yes.
- S: /23. Possibly in a way in that they haven't got girlfriends it was just an ordinary day for my friends, nothing special had happened; something had happened to me. I felt good. And I felt at that time ... I felt superior. I felt, God no, this is fantastic! These guys were drinking because they only wanted to drink but I was drinking because I felt good, I felt better than them.

R: That feeling of "feeling good". Can you describe it?

S: Peter, I don't think so, I think I've said most of it.

R: /24.You said you were trembling slightly but not in a nervous way; more like ecstasy after being relieved of some troublesome burden.

S: I get a tingling sensation.

R: Describe that tingling sensation to me.

S: One almost of excitement. Thinking: "Hell, things are going so well, now tomorrow you can kill it." Whatever happens, nothing is going to get you down. Almost a feeling of ... sort of ... invulnerability.

R: Yes.

S: /25.That was probably short-lived because I was sure that something probably did get me down the next day.

R: But did you think of that then or now?

S: /26.You just think you can handle anything. Well, things are going right and that is what you want.

R: /27.You felt cool and calm; can you describe that a bit more?

S: That is right. I have probably contradicted myself there.

R: You can have contradictory feelings.

S: If my friends were mocking me ... maybe normally my reaction would have been to try and get back at them; this time I accepted it, and thought: "No well, look, it is my night, you can mock me just as much as you want."

R: Almost as though you were above the petty things ... is that what you mean?

S: Ja, ja.

R: Nothing would particularly give you any concern. Nothing could really bother you.

S: Ja. I felt calm, cool, and detached.

R: /28.The calmness; could you also describe that some more?

S: Ja. The feeling of serenity, at peace with the world.

R: /29.Yes. Now that detachedness; could you describe that?

S: Um, maybe detachedness, meaning the same as aloof, detached from them, but with them: and being totally with them, in a sense. They were my good friends; detached simply in the way that I felt; I felt aloof and I felt superior in that I had a girlfriend and they didn't.

R: I understand that./30.Could you tell me about the feeling that you had, at the time when she told you that she loved you? The feelings at that time.

S: I felt like going to my best friend and saying, "Everything was dead right." I wanted someone else other than myself to know. Share the excitement./31.Thereafter I must have been happy because this other girl who stays with me, Lynn, she came to me and she said something like - "You are looking happier today than you have in the past" - or something like that./32.We get on fine but she was not my best friend. And I said, "No, no." I didn't particularly want to tell her. I wanted to tell my best friend because blokes stick together and they like to tell each other these things. I think that is about all.

R: O.K. Thanks.

PROTOCOL 6

/1.This holiday (June-July) we moved house from Kimberley to Sandton/  
 2.and the actual experience I want to talk about occurred as we were  
 travelling up to Sandton on the Tuesday morning. I was alone in the car  
 - the Golf, my mother was driving the bakkie and my Dad our other car,  
 so thus I was totally alone for ± 7 hours. At a certain stage in the  
 journey, somewhere about Christiana, I suddenly had this warm bubbly  
 feeling and I knew I was happy./3.I felt sort of light/4.and remember  
 noticing the beautiful countryside and thinking "What a beautiful world  
 we live in." Although the landscape was somewhat stark, I seemed not  
 merely to enjoy it, but to glory in its clear definitions of line./  
 5.I started singing to the tape I was playing/6.and felt so at peace  
 that I was sure I had the strength to deal with the problems that lay  
 ahead./7.I felt this happy bubbly feeling for quite some time - an hour  
 to two hours - and then we had a petrol stop and I had a little trouble  
 parking./8.When we were once more on the road I felt content rather than  
 ecstatically happy, but I was quite satisfied with that feeling./9.I  
 found myself dreaming about our new house, whereas before the petrol  
 stop, I had not, but merely sat, experiencing - kind of just being,  
 without thinking of any particularly stimulating and exciting incident.

Inquiry

R: You were describing how you were driving in the car when you sud-  
 denly felt a warm, bubbly feeling. Was that as sudden as that?  
 How was that, can you think back to that scene?

S: /10.Really, it struck me as rather odd. I was so happy in a  
 positively unhappy situation. We were going to a new place, and my

parents weren't happy about going there; I had been consoling my poor mother for the last week. I tried to get her to go there. I felt in me that it was the right thing to do. I was expecting problems; you know, the house not to be ready and the house to be dirty and the furniture removal people not to be there.

R: You thought the move was the right thing?

S: I thought the move was the right thing but I expected problems, you know, with the move. It was not the case that I thought the whole world was perfect. I was prepared for it./11.And I don't know actually, I haven't been alone in a car driving for some time ever in my life./12.I just had to be there on my own, and I had the tape on./13.It wasn't ... I don't know, I can't remember if it was something sudden./14.Driving across the bridge and we were travelling in convoy and I was in the middle, Mom at the back and my Dad in the front. I don't know, perhaps there was something in that. I don't know./15.But it did come on, like, suddenly. I suddenly looked at the countryside; I'd say that is what struck me first and everything had such beautiful clear lines./16.It was a lovely clear winter day/17.it just struck me as being ... I was so content. There was happiness, it was more than just being content. I was happy with what I was doing, I was happy to have a job, we were all well./18.I felt a kind of strength, inward strength.

R: Can you describe that "strength" a bit more?

S: /19.Well, O.K., perhaps in the context of my Mom; she has always been the strong one in the family. She has been able to help with the problems, been able to explain things, always there to help with problems. And before I went home, I knew she was not happy about going. And my Dad had not been at home for the last month, because

he was up in Johannesburg and she had to stay in Kimberley. They were living apart for a while and that had never happened in their lives before. So she had to experience that and had quite a bit of emotional upset. I went home and she just turned to me entirely. And I have never had my Mom cry on my shoulder, "I don't want to go away." She acted like a little girl, saying "I am not going to go, I am going to stay." She used to get into bed at night and cry her eyes out. And I suddenly had to kind of grow up because I had to deal with my Mom and help, I couldn't be a burden to her because she could not deal with me crying about not wanting to go. So I had to, like, pull myself together. I think that is how I would term strength, being able to support my Mom and know how to do it and then I was not weak inside and I knew if she had have been strong, I probably would have broken down. I also cried about going.

R: So did this sort of bring home to you just how strong you really were?

S: Ja, in a way./20.You see, I have always been rather ... sort of a nervy type of person, not very confident about myself. To write exams and tests, I was not very good. I often used to bunk tests, because I was just too scared. And although people say I give the impression of being self-confident, I am not. And it just recently ... particularly ... in last December, we had a car accident and my brother was driving and I was in the car and my parents were not with us. And the car crashed on my side and I thought, I always thought I was going to die in a motor car accident. And the car collided and bash, bash, bash, and I was still alive and I thought, "You have been given your life back." You know, and my brother took it very badly. He said: "My God, Daddy is going to kill us, Daddy is going to kill me." And he went a bit hysterical. And I don't

know if it was because he went so hysterical that I said to myself, "Look, you have got to be strong." But I took the whole thing so calmly. I could hardly believe myself. I arranged everything, although I felt a little nervy inside of me. I just knew that I could do it. That solid feeling.

R: /21. That solidness, was that the same sort of solidness that day?

S: Ja, now that is, you see ... that is what I am trying to explain to you. It probably started knowing that I could deal with it, and my Mom said that she was very pleased that I was there. And my Gran and all said I kept the whole thing together. I suddenly thought perhaps I can ... you know ... and now that my Mom turned to me, now it was kind of continuation of the same thing ... knowing that I could be strong enough for her. And I think it's that kind of confidence in yourself that you can deal with something. It is probably what that strength meant.

R: /22. Feeling your mastery over the world.... in that sense.

R: Um ... no, I didn't quite feel anything, kind of, here, that I had anything organized. I had prepared for things to go wrong. But that sounds a funny distinction to make. But I know in my life when everything's perfect, nothing ever goes wrong. And recently it struck me now, like me organizing all the big bleeds and the mini bleeds (blood donations at university), if you can keep your head, with all the problems going on around you, then you are well-organized. Well-organized is not being everything perfect. In being perfect, there are limits in how much you can deal with all the funny things that crop up like the hall is locked or you cannot find the lights and there are no plug switches ... little things like that, that upset the whole show; if you can keep your head and deal

with those, that is being organized./23.That is the kind of feeling I have got there as well. I was expecting a lot of problems, I was scared, driving in Johannesburg. I still am scared to drive in Johannesburg. But I also felt that I would just take one step at a time. I think that is all I can say about it.

R: That's fine./24.Yes, you said you felt "sort of light"; can you describe just what it was like?

S: Could I explain it by using the opposite feeling? For when I am very unhappy; usually when I am feeling fat, and I am feeling unhealthy because I have not been doing exercises, or I have not been playing squash, or eating too much. I feel just kind of heavy, dull and dead, and just a blob of flesh. And I had this feeling of ... kind of life, energy, the opposite of the dull, kind of dead feeling. Well, full of energy ... that you are rearing to go, something like that. I think you say you have got life. Full of energy, sort of willing to do things. You say: "Let's do it," and you do it.

R: Almost like enthusiasm?

S: Ja, enthusiastic, yes, yes./25.The same thing as that bubbly feeling. It bubbles up and it kind of subsides and it bubbles up again.

R: What happens when it bubbles up?

S: I don't know ... it is quite a nice feeling./26.I don't know if it struck me right there and then, I don't think I was really so struck by being so happy before. I kept saying to myself: "You are so happy it is quite unbelievable." And because I was in the car I was actually talking to myself./27.And I don't know, I was lucky to be alive and well ... you have got everything you want.

- R: You say you felt "lucky"; can you explain lucky to me?
- S: Lucky in the way I have missed out a lot of unhappiness that I could have had. I could have lost my legs, in the accident; I could have been born, say, a mongol or anything. I could have been born in an unhappy home. I have a lovely family life, happy parents.
- R: /28.You said you remember looking at the countryside and thinking what a beautiful world we live in. How did the countryside change when you started being happy? What was different about it?
- S: It was clear, it was definitely clear, but that might sound very funny but that was particularly what I felt. Everything was so clearly delineated, you could kind of see a tree, the sky; it was like a painting. You know, it is like, sometimes when I have got a headache, and everything seems a kind of foggy, moggy mess to me. There is a kind of tree there, and kind of a sky. This to me seemed so perfect.
- R: /29.Things stand out more?
- S: It felt to me that I had just got a new pair of lenses to my eyes. Like suddenly everything was clear, I just had new lenses. (This actually did happen, but at this stage I still had old lenses). So, that kind of feeling of suddenly seeing everything take a clearer, more delineated, more defined shape; not just a blob, I looked at the trees, the ground, the sky.
- R: What was special about these things besides their clearness? Was there nothing else?
- S: No. It struck me because I thought it was so beautiful; and it was the middle of winter and was also dull.

R: Yet it was beautiful?

S: Yes, beautiful. I don't really understand why I thought that, but I did./30.I actually can still see the picture now, it struck me so that I thought that I would never forget this. You know there are times in life when you look at something and you suddenly think you will never forget it. They just form an image in your mind somewhere./31.I can just see the flat plain, the trees and the sky. The Highveld region is a bit like that during winter. It is very stark. Stark ... you kind of think as being a horrible word, bare and ... but it was beautifully stark. I don't know how more to explain it.

R: /32.That's fine; you are doing wonderfully. You said you did not just enjoy the countryside, you seemed to "glory in it". What do you mean by "glory in it?"

S: As I wrote that I thought, I hope he doesn't ask me about it.

R: I understand what you mean. I would just like you to explain it ... rather than me speculate. I would like to hear from you.

S: At this stage I think, may be it was the tape I was listening to, I wanted to sing, see ... I had this terrible urge, I was singing by myself, I was not singing what the tape was doing. So I thought, well, rather let me find a tape that has got songs on it that I know that I can sing to it. So I got a tape with Christian songs on it; it is called "Come Together", and I put that in and it was just, kind of, all just about praise. And, I don't know, perhaps it was just a more Christian term; it is not worship, but it is ... I kind of felt at one with it ... in that we were both so.

R: "At one with it?"

S: Ja, kind of, perhaps I lost my subjectiveness a bit. You know, I don't know how to explain this. If I could explain the opposite term.

If you are unhappy, you kind of feel the whole world is your enemy. Even the trees don't look nice and your friends are all horrible and they are all fat and you are feeling particularly skinny. You know, something like that. And perhaps it just changed, and I kind of felt happy in relation with ... sort of a natural part of the whole thing.

R: /33.Sort of a natural part of the whole thing?

S: Ja. I don't think it was as definite as that./34.You know, I just felt happy. I didn't even feel like me. I kind of felt like a state of happiness. It was actually ... I thought about it while I was driving. You are just being, you are not trying to be somebody. You are just being. That is what being is, not trying to label what you have got. Or trying to be nice and sweet or whatever you are trying to be./35.Just totally relaxed.

R: Totally relaxed?

S: Totally relaxed and just being; being probably then meant being at one with the world. Being happy with it, seeing it as beautiful ... um, almost like ...

R: Almost like revelling in it?

S: Yes, yes, yes. I just didn't feel an enemy with anything, it was just a kind of relaxed feeling. You know, you can feel terrible when you are not feeling so good; everything else seems worse, things that happen coincidentally ... you think it was planned for you. I didn't feel that at all, I felt the total opposite.

R: Planned?

S: Ja. Planned. Like you know, the gods sport with us ... that kind of malicious feeling.

R: Like the world is out to get you?

S: That is what you usually feel. I didn't feel that at all.

R: Did you feel at peace with the world?

S: Totally, ja, totally./36.As I am talking now, I feel more, sort of, what I would call, myself. Then I was more of an extension of this kind of feeling, I was more, kind of, feeling than I was myself. This is very difficult to explain, but I ... I was kind of so happy.

R: /37.Let's try the "bubbly feeling" again ...

S: That bubbly feeling?

R: Yes.

S: I think it is ... this is where language defies explanation. I was thinking how champagne bubbles, you know, there are always more bubbles at the bottom. And there is more happiness bubbling to the top. You don't kind of come to the end ... you know what I mean.

R: Yes.

S: I think that it's the combination, a kind of a depth, although you can't see it. The bubbles seem to appear and they break at the surface ... that type of feeling, that can, like, come from nowhere but they are always there./38.The kind of "wave" - you suddenly realise you are happy, and it subsides a little.

R: "Waves"?

S: Ja. You can't stay at this kind of happiness peak the whole time, it just doesn't work like that. It sort of comes like a wave, you feel happy and it subsides a bit.

R: /39.Um, yes. There was a petrol stop and you had a little trouble parking. What happened to your feelings of happiness then?

S: Well, I'll tell you what happened. I think my self-confidence went. You see, I was carrying a trailer, and my father had said to me, "Don't park where you have got to reverse, because you try and reverse a trailer you jack-knife it inevitably." So the only place I could park was on the wrong side of the road where there was no other parking; so I parked on the wrong side of the road and I was in the place where I had to reverse. And I thought, you stupid idiot. I was very cross with myself. I felt I'd been so wafting on, that I lost my practical kind of way of living. And I actually got angry when I had done that, because my folks were kind of impressed that I had taken everything so well. They were all relying on me, the whole family were. My father was very upset with his job. My brother was kind of helping now and again. For emotional strength they all relied on me. They were all saying: "You have done this and done that and you have done so well; thank you." I thought now this was kind of fine leadership, fine helpfulness. My Dad had to help me reverse the car, I think I was cross with myself for being so stupid. And I kind of lost the happy feeling. I still had the underlying content feeling but that kind of transcendent kind of happiness did subside.

R: /40. What was the difference between the contented feeling and the happy feeling?

S: Um, well ... you know, again, the only way I can explain this to you is in terms of this anxiety feeling.... Especially last year I went through a terrible stage that every single moment of my day I was anxious, no matter what I did or where I was, if I had done my work or if I hadn't done my work; I kind of felt this anxiety all the time. I would have a shower, I always have showers when I am upset. I even do something like that but I would still have this anxious

feeling. And this happiness was just totally opposite, there is, um, no anxiety whatsoever. I was content with what I am as a person, what I looked like, how I behaved, what I had; not feeling all the time that I was not pretty enough, not thin enough etc. When I was anxious it worried me all the time. I was never good enough, not for anything./41.Although I still don't feel that, I have got everything, I am content with what I am now.

R: /42.What is the difference between that contentment and the happiness?

S: Um, well ... that contented feeling I can feel normally ...

R: Let's stay with the protocol. The feeling you had after the parking brought you down from happiness to contentment; how was that feeling compared to the feeling you had before?

S: It was a kind of a difference in degree.

R: A similar feeling but less intense?

S: Ja, I'd say happiness is just an extended feeling of contentment.

R: Was the bubbiness there in the contentment, the lightness?

S: /43.No.

R: To get back to the happiness again. You said you were experiencing "just being" without thinking of any particular stimulating or exciting incident. Could you explain "just being"?

S: I tell you, you know, when I am driving, even when I have got people in the car I seldom just sit and kind of do nothing, or think nothing. I always think of designing houses: that is my favourite, especially kitchens. I design them every day. Designing clothes ... should I do it this way, or that way, I think of something in particular all the time; or how I design a class room, that is my

latest one. I am always designing something. There I didn't, I didn't kind of think at all.

R: Were you just sort of open to the world as it was coming in to you?

S: I was just taking in all these things that came, and looking at the trees and looking at the road. I was not thinking of say, my cousin's wedding or some particular incident that worried me, perhaps like having an accident. I was not thinking of anything nice, I wasn't day dreaming.

R: You were not day dreaming?

S: No./44.I kept on feeling that it was going to go away.

R: Tell me more about that.

S: Like, I kind of felt I must live every single second that I have got and it made it very intense, because I knew it wouldn't last. I know happiness is like that, it doesn't last.

R: /45.Did you want it to last?

S: I did, but that is what probably made it so intense and so ..., that I remembered it so well. It made it very special.

PROTOCOL 7

/1.Mondays; who would think you'd ever find anything to be happy about on Monday when there are five assignments to be done by Wednesday and you've said goodbye to your boyfriend for another five whole days./2. Happiness is waking up and finding spring is here just for me./3.I walk the same route to campus day in and day out and I don't think I've ever actually looked at the part of the world I walk through, there's too much else to think about./4.Well, Monday the 10th was different. It was the scent of jasmine that brought me down to earth. There I was standing under an arch sagging under the weight of an overgrown jasmine creeper. Just ahead were two or three peach blossom skeletons with their very first cluster of pink and white blossoms. There were snowdrops and daffodils and birds hopping about and dew on the grass and cobwebs speckled with fine dust and a still sleeping spider. There was sunlight and colour and smell and sounds, everything you read about in fairytales./5.My tummy actually tickled and I felt so high, so beautiful and so new,/6.there was nothing I couldn't cope with/7.and there was so much I wanted to do. /8.In fact I felt I had shed my dreary winter coat and come alive./9.And I really really felt amazing./10.I couldn't stop smiling.

Inquiry

R: /11.As you were walking to campus on this Monday, you said it was the scent of jasmine that brought you down to earth. Can you describe that a bit more for me? What do you mean by that?

S: Jasmine is my favourite smell and I hadn't really noticed it until, just until that morning; it hit me right in the face and as I smelt the jasmine, I was standing under this arch and the hedge was full

of jasmine and that is when I actually started looking, and smelling and hearing.

R: Smelling and hearing and looking?

S: /12.Well, every single morning is the same. I walk to campus and I try to get there on time, with my head down, just looking there at the ground and I just walk. I don't see and I don't hear, I just think about what I have to do for the day. I don't always appreciate what is on the campus. I have been here three years and I just haven't noticed things.

R: /13.You didn't notice things?

S: Just everything came alive. There were things there that I didn't know ever existed. This wonderful smell just hit me. This colour was really something, as I said, it was like something in a fairy tale or like a picture book - just colours: all pink, blue, yellows and reds; and birds.

R: The colours seemed noticeable?

S: They were bright, and beautiful and clear. Seven o'clock in the morning there was dew and the sun was just coming up.

R: /14.You said just now your tummy actually tickled. Can you describe this for me?

S: Whenever I get a tickling tummy ... it's like when you eat candy floss. You see a candy floss stall that you haven't seen since you were about seven years old. Then your tummy tickles.

R: Then your tummy tickles?

S: Oh, yes.

R: Can you describe that tickly feeling?

- S: You get energy. The tickling spreads and spreads throughout. You feel energetic and strong and it spreads to your mind and your mind just suddenly tells you: "Gee, you know, you are great and you are beautiful." You actually think about yourself and what you are going, and that you are you. I don't know. It is weird. It is actually like an ecstasy, a thrill. You feel O.K.
- R: Just now you said you felt energy. Can you describe that more for me?
- S: /15.It is so difficult to put into words. The first thing that happens to me when I get happy, happy like that, is when I breathe deeply, full out, I feel the extremes of my body; it is the most amazing feeling. Because happiness like that, it is like, so pure you know, it is not ... it is so difficult to describe./16.I get very extreme, I am either very happy or very down, the happiness is extreme in itself and the down-ness is extreme. So that coming from being low and physically down and your mind's negative and your attitude's negative, everybody is ugly and you come back to earth, that is what I probably mean. I mean, I am not always down, back to a level state. But coming from those extremes, actually seeing the beauty, it is like being knocked from a hot, hot day into a nice cool shower and you actually tingle.
- R: /17.You said that the people looked beautiful; do you mean by that, that they looked different from when you are down, when you are happy? Can you tell me more about that?
- S: Well, when you are down you go out of your way to ignore people. You know, everybody is hostile and everybody is against you. And you don't want to talk and you feel most unsociable. When I am happy I know how to find people; I find people and talk to them and watch them.

- R: When you say they look beautiful, what do you mean by that?
- S: Well, when you are happy, people look happy. Everyone around you looks happy.
- R: Then when you say they looked beautiful, do you mean that they looked happy?
- S: Beautiful, glowing and youthful, young, and lots of colour.
- R: So it seems that when you are happy people just look much nicer?
- S: Ja,/18.everything is much nicer, everything smells nicer, everything is more pleasant.
- R: /19.You were talking about energy; do you get more energy when you are happy?
- S: Energy! I mean energy in everything; I get motivated and I get enthusiastic. I want to run, I suddenly want to run the comrades next year again. I want to start training and to start eating health foods and exercising./20.Happiness to me is getting a positive attitude./21.Motivation, going for a goal again./22.Knowing I can do it and achieving it./23.But all the time I've got this "go and go" - this energy./24.The knot that is in the tummy goes.
- R: /25.You say you felt strong. Can you describe that?
- S: I probably mean that I am more able to cope; you can face any barrier, any obstacle; strong in yourself, strong in your personality. And you are confident; you can meet any hassles, you can get over them and you can do six things in a day ... instead of just the normal half-hearted one.
- R: /26.Anything you can add to that?
- S: Great and beautiful: I haven't got a double chin anymore; I haven't anymore pimples and I look beautiful and I am all glowing; I feel

thin and great, and I know I have achieved this and I have achieved that and that I am going some place./27.Really I feel I am me.

R: "You are you." What do you mean by that?

S: Happy ... I normally always used to be very happy. When I am happy I am smiling and more energetic. I love people. That's me, you know. That's the me that sort of got lost along the lines/28.in the last year or so I went through all sorts of depressions and growing up pains, crises./29.There is a C.J. and a Carole; you know I always associate the Carole with the No No's, and the C.J. is happy.

R: /30.So when you say "you are you", you mean you are your old happy self?

S: Mmmmm.

R: That's what you mean?

S: Yes, secure, happy, confident, motivated and energetic; it's what I want.

R: /31."Secure." Can you explain that more?

S: Secure because I had self confidence.

R: Do you mean, you feel secure during the happy experience or do you mean you were secure in the past?

S: If I am happy I am secure.

R: Can you describe that secure feeling to me? When you are happy now, like that day ... did you feel secure that day? Can you describe that?

S: I was in charge of the world, nothing could get me down.

R: Nothing could get you down?

- S: I don't batter people down to get what I want to get. Nobody hassles me when I am happy. I have no problems with them.
- R: /32.You said it was "like an ecstasy": could you explain that a little more?
- S: Ecstasy, smiling; really, really smiling and really laughing ... and laughing from down here.
- R: By down here, you mean down here in your tummy?
- S: Ja, and bringing it all up and laughing in the most unladylike fashion and snorting and grunting.
- R: Just letting go?
- S: Yes.
- R: You said "a thrill": can you add anything to that or is that just the same as the ecstasy?
- S: Ja; that is the thrill, the thrill of the whole thing.
- R: /33.You said you felt "so high": can you add to that?
- S: High ... well, this is the only high I can get. When I am really happy that is when I get my highs. That is when I am just sure what it must be like to go any sort of trip. You fly, you float, you walk and you are light and you swing.
- R: /34.You say you feel light?
- S: You are physically light, your mental hassles that would otherwise be such a burden and weigh you down ... they are light and you can cope. Most of all, that feeling I get when I am happy is that I am slim and I am light and, you know, I am physically attractive. I feel as though I am, and others must think so too. If I don't feel attractive within myself then I must be a drag to everybody.

R: You say your mental hassles feel light as well?

S: Ja. You'll handle them by the end; by five o'clock I had done what I had to do and enjoyed it.

R: /35.You said you felt "so new": can you describe that?

S: I felt ... I had come out of a rut of walking, of being depressed, of feeling sorry for myself, sick of the cold, sick of walking to campus. I really looked at all that new dew and spider webs ... it makes you feel new just looking at it. I felt because I was the only person awake, I was the only person there and it really was the first blossoms, everything was new. Even the spider web was new. I felt new, just me and nothing more. As if I was just created.

R: /36.O.K., you said there was so much you wanted to do that day: can you elaborate that a bit?

S: I must just try and think of what I wanted to do that day. No, it is a feeling you do get. There is, there is like ..., I plan, I made plans that from that moment on I was going to do the assignments by nine o'clock and then I would go and join the dancing down here. I was going to start out new and start doing gym with Chris. I was going to write a song, go and play my guitar and do things. Go and visit friends that I hadn't seen for a long time; I just wanted to do things, just for a change.

R: Thanks. That is really fantastic.

PROTOCOL 8

/1.Receiving my graduate results was a happy experience for me./2.When my parents phoned me and tole me this I suddenly felt "larger than life."/3.I felt like shouting (so I did, much to the consternation and subsequent amusement of the other hotel guests),/4.and I felt a sudden surge of energy./5.The word "ecstasy" seems to be fitting as I felt outside of myself and yet very much aware of, and pleased with myself and my achievements./6.I remember laughing and smiling a good deal,/7.and generally feeling in tune with everybody and everything./8.For quite a while afterwards I found everything amusing and entertaining/9.even little incidents which I otherwise find irritating - like the fact that my girlfriend squeezed the toothpaste tube in the middle/10.and I felt that I liked life.

Inquiry

R: /11.When you got the results ... when your parents told you the results, you said you felt larger than life. Can you explain that a bit for me?

S: I don't know ... I have an image of myself, I suppose in the world when I am with other people ... and when I got the results I just ... I got such a surge, I felt myself being bigger, my whole image of myself. I was so chuffed that I had passed and done so well. I felt that, um, that I seemed to be, not boastfully, but sort of better than others. At that moment. Much better than I normally feel as well. And I don't always get that sort of feeling; in my normal everyday life I hardly ever feel that important, although I feel happy quite often. It is not that kind of real one thousand volt happiness. When I say I felt larger than life, I just felt much better than I normally feel.

R: You said you felt bigger; can you describe that to me?

S: /12.I don't want to get too technical, but it's that personal space feeling; I feel that I have got a certain sphere of influence. When I had that experience with happiness I felt that expand, I just felt much ... um, I felt that my strong points had really been magnified ... whereas sometimes I am aware of my inadequacies as well as my strength, at that moment I just was aware of the fact that I had passed and that I had done very well; for me well. And I didn't think of the fact that I actually messed around during the year. I just felt that I had done well. It was my work and it was great.

R: /13.Is there anything more that you can add to what you said about feeling important?

S: Well, it is the same as feeling bigger, I should have probably said more important ... but I did. I don't always feel important but at that stage I did really feel important ... that it was a good achievement, that I had worked for. Subsequently I realised that I hadn't worked that much ... But I had worked for it and I was happy.

R: /14.You said you felt like shouting. Describe that to me.

S: Well, I physically did feel like shouting - I just felt like screaming at the top of my voice, and I did. I just jumped up and down in the telephone booth. It was the whole thing. Normally I don't go shouting when I feel happy. I might laugh to myself or kid around but I just didn't give a damn, I just felt I had to shout. There was something inside of me that just had to get out, and so I just let rip.

R: /15.You said you didn't give a damn. Can you describe that a little bit?

S: Well, I am very often aware of what I might do and say and what other people might think. Everything I do, basically, is moderated by other people at some time or the other. At that stage I just ... well, if the Hotel guests heard me screaming, well ... well, they would come and ask me what was happening and I would be only too happy to tell them what had happened. I didn't mind. Whatever they thought was O.K. because I felt good enough in myself - just to not worry at all what they thought.

R: /16.You said something had to get out. Can you describe that?

S: Ja; it was ... I just felt totally different; there was something there that ... um, at times when I feel happy or when I feel sad, I kind of have this facade and I don't let people know; and this was the time when I just couldn't keep a blank look and go back to the lounge and sit down and watch T.V.; it was there and I was so impressed with myself I just had to let people know. It wasn't for other people actually, it was just for me./17.It was a relief and a release. I don't know what it was inside of me.

R: That relief, can you describe it to me?

S: Well, that stems back to exams when I didn't feel I had done well. I knew I had passed, I was not worried about that, I just didn't think I had done very well. When I got the results then realised that I got a First. It was almost a past and a future thing; realising that all the worry I did in the past was actually for nothing, that I would be accepted for Honours now and that the future was open. It was a relief in both senses. Worrying about the past: "Hell, I should have done better..." My folks were pushing me and this type of thing. I also wanted to get into Honours and it was a kind of relief.

- R: /18.You said the word ecstasy seems to be fitting. Can you describe what you felt?
- S: Well, I think I got the word from the Greek ... the actual translation of that means outside of yourself. You know, at that stage I was so happy I was almost right out of my body and I could see this mad person jumping up and down in the telephone booth and I was enjoying it as well, you know. There was a dual personality type of thing ... jumping around in the telephone booth and still aware of myself, both of those two people were quite happy that I was jumping, and that's about all.
- R: /19.You said you were very much aware of yourself. Can you elaborate on that or is that just what you said just now?
- S: I think much the same as I said: that I was aware of my surroundings, my own physiology, I could feel my heart beating, I could feel my muscles, really feeling good, enjoying my scream as well.
- R: /20.You said you were aware of your surroundings. Can you explain that a bit more?
- S: One part of that I mentioned before, that I was aware of people and that moderates my behaviour. At this stage, I was aware of them and I didn't moderate my behaviour. I didn't even worry about them. Um, if I close my eyes now I can still see the wood panelling in that box, it is like it's a picture that has just been fixed. Everything, and people's faces, they are just ... in my memory.
- R: So you can just remember them as they were?
- S: I could see their reactions, some of them had shock, others of them embarrassment, I suppose. I didn't give a damn, I was just feeling great.

R: /21.You were very "pleased with yourself and your achievement".

Can you describe that for me?

S: I may be covering ground that I have already, but I did; well I was the first one in my family to get a degree and I was very aware of that. I had been aware of that working up to my degree. But at that stage it was important to me. It made me feel good about myself in comparison to, like the family as well ... not that I am trying to put them down. I felt it boosted me, that was my achievement, so I had been aware of myself and it gave me a very big positive boost. I felt really great.

R: /22.Could you describe that feeling "great"?

S: In the sense of great, being big like Alexander the Great and things like that. I felt like that in a sense. Well, I felt: "You son of a gun, you have done it damn it." You know, really important, patting myself on the back and thinking what a marvellous person you are, and in the normal sense of feeling really good. Just aware of what I had done and being proud of it.

R: Can you elaborate please?

S: Well, like when I do weights. When you are really good, and you have pushed yourself past your limit, you get that feeling afterwards and you just want to jump around and you really feel good and it doesn't last long, just a few seconds. Right then you realise that you have actually pushed yourself, you have pushed your body further than your mind wanted to go. It is the same thing with these exams. I just thought, well you know, you didn't really enjoy your three years all that much. I was pissed off quite a lot of the time, but realised I have actually done it and done pretty well, and was pleased with myself.

R: /23.You remembered laughing and smiling at people; can you describe that?

S: Ja, it was all I wanted to do. Just pat everybody on the back and buy rounds of drinks; it was just ... I just couldn't have felt negative in any sort of way at that stage. And that actually lasted for a long time. I was in love with life, really.

R: Can you describe that "in love with life" feeling?

S: Um ... there was just nothing at that point that anyone could do or say, any sarcastic comment or anything that could have put me down, nothing. I would just have laughed that off as well. I really enjoyed everybody's company that was there. I was happy with everything that was happening although it was very mundane.... Everything it was almost like looking at the world through rose coloured spectacles - no negative feeling about anybody or anything.

R: /24.You said you felt in tune with everybody. Can you elaborate on that?

S: Compared to the way I normally feel ... a lot of people I feel uncomfortable around, some people really bug me and, as I said, my girlfriend and I weren't actually hitting it off at that stage, and it didn't even cross my mind. I was just happy that she was there, I was happy that everybody was there. I felt there was no discord between me and other people. I felt perfectly at ease with everybody and myself.

R: /25.You said for quite a while afterwards you found "everything amusing and entertaining". Can you go into that a little bit?

S: Generally I find most people quite boring. I find myself quite boring as well. And it wasn't the case then. I felt any little trivial thing that had happened was again larger than life, there

was something special about everything and about everybody and about what everybody had said. It took on a new significance. It wasn't just the mundane and ordinary everyday attitudes I felt when people congratulated me. I felt that they really meant it, I felt that they were being truthful, possibly, for a change. It was that kind of feeling.

R: /26. "Even little incidents that you otherwise would have found irritating seemed to be "amusing and entertaining"!? Can you describe that a bit more?

S: It is normally very little trivial things that irritate me, like, um ... somebody brings you the wrong drink or he is very long about it. I didn't get up-tight about it at all. Little things like nervous twitches of people couldn't bother me at all at that stage. It goes back to that feeling - that perfectly at ease and in tune type of feeling.

R: O.K. Thanks very much.

PROTOCOL 9

/1. One particular incident when I felt extremely happy was in the first term of this year when I was invited to a 21st party of a girl in Res./2. It involved no hassles about inviting a partner, and because almost all of the Res was invited there was a great air of expectation and excitement. /3. The theme was "Hair" and for weeks in advance it was the talking point. I don't really know why, but I was so excited and happy the whole week in advance./4. I felt I could motivate myself to work,/5. I felt as though my jaws were going to cave in from smiling./6. I skipped about that whole week and almost everyone I met commented on my elated state./7. I can't really explain what it felt like, perhaps I'm confusing happiness with excitement, but I don't think so./8. I've never felt so care-free and open before./9. I just wanted to talk, laugh and tell people why I was so happy, but I couldn't actually give them a reason./10. This feeling continued during the party; perhaps it was the atmosphere of the party but everyone was so happy, laughing, dancing, hugging complete strangers, including me./11a. I'm sure this feeling returns when I think of the party/11b. but unfortunately a girl in Res was killed that same evening and the next day this feeling changed so quickly./12. During this week I felt so affectionate, I wanted to talk to everyone, hug people, and wanted to inject them with my happiness.

Inquiry

R: /13. Did the happiness you are speaking about in the protocol last for a week? You mentioned that you were happy for a whole week.

S: Yes, and when I think of it now it still sort of bubbles up again.

R: /14.You said there was this great air of expectation and excitement:  
can you tell me a bit more about that?

S: It was as if the whole Res. was like that. The girls laughing and giggling, and not sort of ordinary laughing; feverish and exciting. It made you want to laugh along with them. What was everyone going to wear, who was going to be there and just ... I don't know ... it was just there.

R: /15.You said your jaw was going to "cave in from smiling." Were you smiling quite a lot then?

S: Yes, continuously I think. It was just all bubbling inside of you, and you know the only way to let it out is by smiling.

R: Can you describe that bubbling up inside of you?

S: Well, it is like, every time you take a breath of air or any time you want to speak you sort of smile and everything./16.You had to say things in a more explicit way, because just saying things like "I am going to a party" just wasn't enough: "I am going to this wonderful party. I am going to enjoy myself, I know it already."/17.Really, I don't know what it was. You know, every breath you take sort of adds fuel to the fire inside of you.

R: /18."Bubbling": can you describe the bubbling a bit more?

S: I can't really. It is sort of like something building up inside of you.... Right from your stomach and it just comes up. Slowly and slowly. A well of energy that keeps you laughing and talking, and affectionate as well.

R: /19.You say "a well of energy": can you tell me more about that?

S: Um. I don't know, I tend to keep very much to myself. At this time when I am very happy I go out to people and the happiness gives me

this sort of "umph" to go out. I feel, "Wow, here I am, I am really happy."

R: So it is easier to reach out to other people when you are in this happy mood?

S: Yes, very much so.

R: /20.And "energy"?

S: It is physical and it's mental as well. I feel stimulated and, you know, I can enter into conversations with ease; it doesn't matter what sort of thing they are talking about. I'm more confident, you know, and at work, I don't get so distracted. I can sit there and work away, that sort of thing. Physical energy and mental energy; just energy.

R: /21.You say you can enter conversations with ease. Is that because you have got more confidence?

S: Yes.

R: Am I not putting words into your mouth?

S: No. A lot more confidence.... Not being afraid to express what you think: "I don't care what you think, this is my view," - a lovely feeling.

R: /22.You said just now it gives you more "umph". Can you describe that?

S: Well it ... it's probably just energy, to go out and tell everyone you are happy ... I don't know. You don't actually have a reason; you can't say to them I am happy because I am going to a party because it seems mundane, but that doesn't matter, you know, it is just you are happy about it, and you just sort of go out and do things. I think it gives you ... you want to help people: "Crumbs,

don't walk around with that frown on your face. Be happy." You want to infect everybody.

R: You want to make them happy too?

S: Ja.

R: /23.You said it makes you feel more affectionate. Can you describe that a bit more?

S: I don't know; maybe it has something to do with having more confidence. Hugging people, it comes so easily and just having more affectionate feelings towards people, you know./24.There is none of this ... you sometimes have tensions between people ... but none of this when you are happy; well, this sort of happiness I was experiencing then anyway. Nothing really mattered. I was O.K. and feeling great.

R: Can you describe that "nothing really mattered"?

S: Ja. People's opinions didn't matter. People looking at you and thinking: "Gosh, what is she walking around with a big grin on her face for?" Id didn't matter, and also I think because the whole Res. was involved in the same thing and it catches on. A couple of people are walking around with a silly grin on their face and bubbling inside. It catches on and nobody minds. It is just like an underlying thing: everybody knows what the excitement is and why everybody is like they are.

R: /25.You said that you skipped about; can you tell me a bit more about that?

S: Instead of walking, running ... you know, leaping up the stairs two by two as opposed to just one and just switching on the radio and dancing around the room. You have got all this energy and it has to get out, you know, and you dance around.

- R: So it is almost as if the energy must come out of you?
- S: Yes. You know it's compelling, it can't stay in so it has got to get out. So you dance, smile and chat and laugh, and sing, and it all helps.
- R: /26.You said you felt "so carefree": can you describe that a bit for me?
- S: Um ... ja, I think it was because I felt I could handle everything. I could sit down and work if I wanted to. I could go out and chat if I wanted to. I was leaping around and I didn't care.
- R: /27.You say you can handle everything?
- S: You know, things like talking to people. To me that just doesn't come that easily, but when I was in that sort of state I could just, I could go down to tea and sit and enter into this person's conversation and half listen with the other ear and put my word in there. It didn't matter, whereas usually I would stick to my friends and chat amongst them. I had much more of a feeling that I had come out of myself. The happiness and the energy that was inside of me allowed this.
- R: By "come out of your self" do you mean "come out to other people"?
- S: Yes.
- R: /28.You said you felt more open; can you describe that a bit more?
- S: It is just the same sort of thing as being able to reach out to people and also having them respond in the same way. I think if you see somebody really bouncing around you like to sort of bounce around with them. And you're open to people coming into your room and chatting or meeting on the stairs and saying "What are you wearing"?, or "Have you decided to invite anyone"? "No, I'm not inviting anyone,

I am just going." I am just going to be there and I am just going to be leaping around. And that is lovely.

R: /29.You said you wanted to talk; can you tell me more about that?

S: Ja, it wasn't talking on a specific topic. It was just that I wanted to be with people and just jabber, tell jokes, stories, just girl talk, even about coming to lectures and sitting next to the guys in lectures; I had so many comments that week, saying: "What is the matter with you"? "No, nothing. Everything's O.K." Just, you know, wanting to talk,/30.everything's all right you know, you don't worry, the whole world is wonderful.

R: The whole world is wonderful?

S: Yes, fine.

R: /31.You said you had a desire to tell people that you were so happy; can you tell me more about that?

S: Ja, I think it is also when you are leaping around, you want to talk. You want to say: "Here I am and I am talking." It is because I am happy and maybe it is the excitement, I don't know. The two go hand in hand really, just wanting to talk. There is nothing else to say.

R: /32.You mentioned just now that you wanted to hug people?

S: Physical contact, you know. Just dance or something like that.

R: /33.You wanted to "inject them" with your happiness?

S: You know, when you get happy like that, when you are feeling buoyant and gay ... I just don't like seeing people just walking around and being by themselves. I want to say "Smile, can't you feel that there is a feeling in the air, you must laugh, you must jump," ... to get people to experience it the way I was experiencing it. I didn't like

to see people not in that same mood. Maybe they weren't glum, maybe it was just me. But I just wanted to hug them and say: "Hey, hey smile."

R: That was really super. Thanks a lot.

PROTOCOL 10

/1.I experienced happiness when, in December, I received a phone call from my girlfriend informing me that she had been accepted for Honours, here at Rhodes. This meant that we'd be able to remain together: we had feared that she would not come back./2.The actual happiness was like a warm, gaseous eruption - starting at my stomach and rising through my chest to my head./3.At that moment, positive thoughts prevailed/4.and all my tension dissipated./5.As the eruption subsided, I remembered some of the 'happy' times we had shared together and imagined them repeating./6.At this point, doubt crept in (not because I didn't believe she'd been accepted). I felt that maybe I was placing too much emphasis on the phone call and the news, and that in fact our relationship might (or could) end up being less than idyllic. Fears, doubts and suspicions crept in, forcing the happiness downwards./7.However, this stage quickly subsided and the warm, comfortable feeling of light-headedness returned./8.All the doubts which had been present seconds before seemed silly and ridiculous in relation to the secure and assuring sensation of elation.

Inquiry

R: /9.Can you describe to me what you mean by "a warm gaseous eruption?"

S: I suppose it was like a relaxation of all the muscular tension in my body./10.There was a lifting up, a sort of bouyant and the upward motion of the feeling of relaxation.

R: You said "lifting up". Can you describe that to me?

S: I don't know, probably just easing. You relate lifting up with ... if your tension as holding you down, then the lifting up would be the relase of tension.

- R: So it was the relief of finding out this news that made this happen?
- S: Ja.
- R: /11.Or am I confusing things?
- S: No. It gives a relief but also a kind of elation.
- R: Can you describe that as well?
- S: A kind of lightheadedness. Just happiness, I don't know, that is not only light in the sense of opposite to heavy but also in a sort of form of illumination. A sort of brightness and cheerfulness.
- R: /12.Can you explain "brightness"? What do you mean by brightness?
- S: Again it's ... um, relief, forgetting the tensions and problems, freedom from all of that.
- R: Free from your problems?
- S: Ja.
- R: Can you go into that a bit?
- S: Well at that moment, all the day-to-day problems that were confronting me just disappeared from my thoughts. I was only thinking about the news and not about anything else.
- R: So was it that the problems which were formally with you suddenly became not so important?
- S: Ja, they disappeared totally. I became absolutely wrapped up in the news that I had heard.
- R: /13.You said the gaseous eruption started in your stomach and rose through your chest to your head. Can you elaborate on that a bit?
- S: Well, I think I have already: the relaxation. Well, it felt like relaxation of all the sort of bodily tensions.

- R: Was there a progressive relaxation from your tummy up to your head?
- S: Ja, through my chest.
- R: /14.You said positive thoughts prevailed. Can you elaborate on that?
- S: Well, as I said, forgetting all about day-to-day problems, all those that were troubling me, and thinking just about fulfilling things.
- R: Such as?
- S: Companionship and love and that sort of thing.
- R: /15.You said you remembered some of the happy times you shared together. Can you tell me a bit more about that?
- S: Detail, or just what that means?
- R: Anything, anything you would like to talk about.
- S: Um, just feelings of closeness, companionship and actual physical experience.
- R: That you had shared together in the past?
- S: Ja, I think it was actually mostly emotional. It was feelings of closeness, sharing and that sort of thing.
- R: You said you imagined them "repeating"; can you describe what you meant by that?
- S: Predicting them happening again, seeing myself going through the same experiences.
- R: /16.Then the feeling of happiness seemed to sort of subside?
- S: Ja.
- R: And the doubt started to creep in. Then, shortly after that, the doubt disappeared and the happiness came back?

S: Ja.

R: Can you describe how that happened?

S: Um, well the only way I can describe that is in terms of psychological jargon.

R: Go ahead.

S: I think for a moment, when I heard the news, I was just purely emotional. Then I must have felt myself sort of coming down to earth again and becoming more aware of the environment around me and that awareness of the environment triggered off my thought processes about reality and so on. And I thought maybe it was unrealistic to think in these optimistic terms. Then the doubts sort of progressively crept in. That can sort of be described as the opposite of the happiness, a sort of downward heaviness. And once again awareness of what was happening around me sort of pulled me up.

R: What was happening around you?

S: Well just ... well, this all happened when I was talking on the phone, right ...

R: While you were still talking to her on the phone?

S: Ja. Um ... while she was going on and on about how happy she was, the doubts started creeping in.

R: Oh, I see.

S: And then I was sort of forced to answer in between, which kept on pulling me back to reality. Out of my fantasy world. Being pulled back into reality and then hearing her voice again, started the whole elation process again.

R: Then you started to go back to the same feeling you were in at the beginning of the conversation?

S: Ja.

R: /17.You said that you felt a warm comfortable feeling of light-headedness?

S: Ja.

R: Can you describe that a bit more to me?

S: Well, the warm comfortable part is security, and the reassurance is the realisation that my fantasies would be fulfilled again./18.The light-headedness is just again a relief of tension or those specific worries which had cropped up.

R: /19.Is the light-headedness just a relief from something negative or is it something positive in itself?

S: I think it is something positive in itself.

R: Can you describe that part of it to me?

S: Can I think about this?

R: Yes.

S: I think the light-headedness is, as well as being a release from tension, it is also um, a kind of fantasy world. Where everything seems to happen the way you want it to happen. And whatever you want to do is just done. No resistance. You just become all-powerful.

R: That all-powerful feeling: was that a feeling you had while you were happy?

S: Ja, definitely.

R: Can you describe that to me?

S: Ja, I think it is, it must be the realisation that things can happen the way we want them to happen. And that all the things we aspire to become possible.

R: Yes ...

S: So it is primarily a fantasy stage.

R: You say a fantasy stage; does it at all contain feelings that you can accomplish these things in reality as well?

S: Ja, ja. I think it's looking at reality through a kind of frame-work of fantasy, but the things that you are actually fantasizing about are based in reality and reflect on reality.

R: /20.You said the doubts seemed "silly and ridiculous"?

S: Ja.

R: Can you talk a bit more about that?

S: Well, I seem to have adjusted my perspective.... Sort of looking on reality from above. In this heightened sort of state the doubts seemed to be silly and pointless and to be totally unreal. I think that must have something to do with confidence. Feeling confident and powerful, the doubts just sort of seem to vanish in their importance.

R: /21.You said looking down on reality from above. Can you elaborate on that?

S: Um, ja, I think the whole feeling of happiness for me was an uplifting feeling, a sort of going above your bodily state, being in your mind more than in your body at that moment, with the thoughts prevailing ... and thoughts about the future and that sort of thing. And from that sort of vantage point doubts seem irrelevant.

R: You say "uplifting". Can you describe that a bit for me?

S: Um, ja, because I see tension as pulling me down, worries pulling me down. As soon as they are removed I feel more uplifted ... that I am not being held down.

R: You said you felt these worries were silly and ridiculous in relation to the secure and assuring sensation of elation. Can you describe that secure elation? Can you give me some more on that?

S: Ja, it's just that my predictions and hopes about the future were reinforced by the feelings that I was getting.

R: And that feeling of security?

S: Well, in this case it was the feeling of being loved, of being wanted. And that is all.

R: Thank you very much.

PROTOCOL 11

/1.It was during a "Veld and Vlei" course, when very early in the morning, I was awoken and called from the tent and one of the trainees said:  
 "Good morning Sir, I meant to tell you that you passed all your exams."  
 I said: "What?" And he repeated it. And I made him explain in detail, how he got hold of the message from base camp and I built up in mind the scenes of action. I was so scared that it was a dream, but soon I realized that it was true, very true and I was now in second year./2.I raised my thoughts to God in pure and sincere devotion and thanked Him for helping me through./3.I felt an immense power to expand and explode, to squeeze myself within me./4.I looked at the place where I would be climbing later on and it looked different, vivid, dynamic. It was a happiness that made everything look and feel perfect, beautiful.

Inquiry

R: /5.After you got the news you said you were so scared that it was a dream; can you describe that a bit more?

S: Yes.... Well, I was very scared because I was on probation, and knew that if I failed just one subject that I'd be out. I wasn't quite sure about the Geography exams, I thought I had failed Geography,/6. and then this guy came to me; it was about 5.30 in the morning and he said: "You have passed your exams," and I said: "What are you talking about?" He said: "You have passed your exam." I said: "Well, I don't know," because I was in the bush. He said: "You have passed everything."/7.I didn't want to believe it but I wanted to believe it. /8.It was like a certain blow inside. You feel, like, a thing, a blow in your chest./9.I asked him about three times: "How do you know?"

I asked him, you know, how he got to know everything and who told him, to the most detailed thing. So I could be sure it was no mistake. I asked him when I could confirm it and what time would the communication come through the radio and all that. I was a bit scared when I actually received the news.

R: You said there was this blow in your chest; can you describe that a bit for me?

S: /10.Well, what I felt is like when the adrenalin pumps into the system. It was ... I'd say it was more surprise and a bit of a shock because it was totally unexpected. It was a thing totally out of the blue and for me it was very, very important. So it was the shock I experienced in the chest.

R: /11.Can you describe how it changed from that shock to happiness?

S: Well ...

R: Can you describe what happened then?

S: While I was asking him, you know, more about how he knows the thing, tho had told him, I started calming down./12.At the same time I felt like I was squeezing my fist, if I remember well./13.I felt a lot of energy inside of myself,/14.a lot of strength./15.I felt like doing something, I don't know whether I could say childish: like screaming, jumping in the air, squeezing myself, or squeezing something to sort of break, maybe even as far as destroying it. But I had to control myself because I wasn't by myself. I mean I had all those guys and I was in charge of those guys. They would say this guy must be around the bend. I don't think they would expect such a demonstration of happiness for me just passing, because they did not know what it meant to me./16.As I settled down I started to feel this sort of local thing, this sort of shocking feeling or whatever it was. It started

- sort of rolling throughout the body which then gave me that sort of extra power or strength right through my body, which made me feel like doing something strong, like squeezing something or breaking something.
- R: Can I ask you to describe those a little bit more. The power, that power ... that you suddenly felt. Can you describe that a bit more?
- S: It's the power of feeling strong, but in this case feeling stronger than normal.
- R: Do you mean psychologically and physically, or just physically?
- S: I would say it was more a physical power than psychological./17.It is like an outburst; I mean power is an outburst of something, of energy, and I felt that with the energy that I got I had to expand; I mean, it just couldn't be within myself, I had to do something.
- R: Like you were overflowing with the energy?
- S: Yes, exactly, I think that that is true. I just couldn't release that energy and I had to tell myself, just don't go beserk while you are still listening to these guys, wait a bit and do something while they are not looking. That's how I felt.
- R: /18.You say you felt like jumping, and squeezing something? Can you describe that a bit more?
- S: It would be directly related to that energy I got, whether I felt that thing, that motion to do something, whether constructively or destructively. In other words saying, "because I feel so happy now, I have to do that," or because it was automatic, you know, like more on a subconscious level.
- R: Do you say it was more automatic?

- S: I'd say it is more automatic than conscious. I wouldn't think: "Because I feel happy I must do something." It was already in me because of the amount of energy that I had inside myself. I would sort of tense all my muscles at the time because it was the only thing that I could do within, the normal behaviour that you would expect. It was the only thing that I could do./19.I can't remember now, but from other times when I was very happy like when I was meeting my girlfriend after a long time and if no one would be watching me I would just jump on the spot and bite my teeth and maybe sort of, not scream, but squeal or something like that and feel all that euphoria just come out of me. I'd feel more relaxed and I'd probably do it again if it hadn't gone out enough.
- R: So it was the desire to get something out of you?
- S: Yes. I just can't keep it inside of myself. It was just too much.
- R: /20.Now the "energy"; can you describe that a bit more to me?
- S: Um, you mean to describe it ...
- R: Anything more you can say about the energy?
- S: Well, the energy is something, I think, that is directly related to my happiness. I felt so happy with that thing because it meant so much to me; I mean my future was involved as well which is rather an important thing. I can't explain, you know, what kind of energy it is, but I can't say it is a mechanical energy. But it is a ...
- R: /21.Energy to do what? What did the energy make you want to do?
- S: Well, that particular energy would make me do something, let's say ... would make me feel like a superman, you know, like.... It sounds cartoonistic or childish, but I don't mind ... like, you know, for example, breaking a whole tree or jumping on the ground and go

right through the earth to the other side; do something really supernatural. As I mentioned before it has happened before to me on various occasions. I felt so packed with energy.

R: Supernatural?

S: Ja, like saving a person, or actually, I play a role in my mind, or I dream, if I cannot release that energy properly, of doing something very heroic or a sense of doing something, something constructive but something monumental that requires a lot of power, muscular power and a lot of sort of guts and sort of , "Look at me, I am the hero." Everybody would just sort of look at me. That is the sort of energy that goes from a very happy emotion.

R: /22. So do you mean that you feel big when you are happy?

S: Oh, yes. I don't feel very big, like you know, "Look, I've got a big head, you know, I passed my exams." But I feel big in a different way, of keeping within myself that energy. I wouldn't go to the extent of going around saying: "Hey, I've passed, I've passed." I have got to keep to myself and actually experience myself, from within myself, this energy. It is not a thing that I might just sort of boast. There are certain things that are obvious, you know. I'd like to say: "Well, I passed the exam," but I didn't go absolutely mental.

R: /23. You said you felt like squeezing something. Can you describe that a bit more?

S: That is what happens often when I feel really very happy, because I found that the easiest way for me to dissipate part of that energy is to, um, do something physically, get this thing out of my muscles, and because whether actually muscularly I feel stronger, or whether psychologically I feel stronger and because of psychological reasons

I feel stronger I don't know. The only means by which I can dissipate the energy is squeezing, whatever; if I have got nothing to squeeze I close my fists and tighten my muscles and bite my front teeth a couple of times until I feel more relaxed. If I've got something to squeeze like, you know, a bed, I might punch the bed, or I might go further and grab the pillow and I'd bite the pillow as strong as I can until I am just exhausted and there is nothing there.

R: /24.O.K. And some things you even wanted to "destroy," you said. Can you explain that a bit?

S: Well, then that would maybe show some of my aggression. It is not to destroy something to the extent of having a bad intention about it. It is for example um ... like, I mean, punching a door until I break the door and once the door is broken I feel satisfaction because I have accomplished something out of that energy. That was a manifestation, or ... um, it showed how great my power is, if I can punch a cupboard and if my hand goes right through it really shows me how much energy I had and makes me feel even greater, but if I just punch something and nothing gives in then I don't feel so good.

R: /25.You raised your thoughts to God in a pure and sincere devotion and thanked Him for helping you. Can you describe that a bit more for me?

S: You see, I am not a very religious person; well, I am Roman Catholic and I practise, but I am not a fundi if you can say it that way. I now have been praying to God, saying: "Help me with the exams" and I sort of believe in it a bit, help from God. I think it was the very first time that I really did appreciate His help, and I think maybe consciously it was like ... I'd say if ... if I was like a movie star, I had to act. I sort of felt forced you know. I sort of,

you know, looked at the sky and tried to cut out everything, you know, from me and just really concentrated on God as such, and tried to be clear and say: "You are great, you really helped me; how can I express myself? I am really, you know, thankful for what You have done as far as helping me to pass the exams because they are very important for me. I think that if it was not for You probably I wouldn't be so fortunate to have passed the thing. Even just scraping the surface." Does that ... is that clear?

R: /26.Yes. You said you felt a tremendous power to explode and expand, to squeeze yourself within you? .

S: Yes, within me. Maybe I was trying to be a bit poetic there. It is as if you could squeeze something to nothing ... like if you really ... I don't know if you have come across this thing but I have - if you really love someone very dearly, sometimes I wish I could sort of squeeze the person with my hands until I get it to a tiny little particle and it's all there in your hand and you can squeeze; the type of squeeze is like a loving squeeze. Very powerful because I am squeezing you, I am really loving you, I am really so proud of you. I couldn't really squeeze myself, and that cannot be done, but when you squeeze something, the more the squeeze, the smaller the thing can get. I was just trying to sort of, um, make you understand what I mean by this. If I can squeeze "within myself," maybe that was, you know, my wrong expression. But I was probably trying to say I felt like I wanted to expand because of the energy or that superhuman power, but at the same time squeeze myself, squeeze and control all that power. That is probably what I meant there.

R: Two opposing things, one to sort of explode and one to squeeze?

S: But squeeze as well shows all that energy; for squeezing something

- you have to have a lot of power as you are forming the shape of that thing; therefore you actually have to use energy to squeeze energy. Therefore the energy you have to use has to be much stronger.
- R: So squeezing is quite a loving act for you is it?
- S: Yes, it is. Well, you squeeze someone to break his back or you squeeze someone because you love her. In this instance it would be a loving feeling, yes, when I am happy.
- R: /27. Just now, when you said when you squeeze something down, it had more energy in it because it was squeezed; do you mean because all this energy was compressed?
- S: Exactly. Well ... in fact, it comes as I just said, to pure physics. Like, um ... it cannot squeeze something to nothing because that is impossible. But it is, like, the idea; maybe I am getting a little out of the thing.... Like the idea of the black hole, the thing that man knows, it has got the greatest amount of energy, but it is like squeezing the sun: it will turn into a black hole. The force of gravity is abnormal, that is why it is called a black hole. Then it sucks everything and the more it sucks the more it reduces, and the more it reduces the more energy it has got. So it is like a sort of cycle.
- R: /28. You said you looked at the place where you'd be climbing later on and it looked different. Can you describe that?
- S: Yes. You see, I was instructing climbing and you know the cliffs after a long time ... the same thing you know, you just know this thing backwards and I actually looked at - it was at quite a distance - I looked at the cliffs and they somehow ... I wouldn't

say they looked totally new to me, but they had a different appearance: I'd say something more clean about them, maybe something that showed something about me in that I had climbed them before and I had done something good. They had showed me that I can climb, I can conquer this thing and when you go through them you really have to work hard, otherwise you are going to fall and you have to know where you are going and you have to use a fair amount of muscular strength so I think that that's what I mean there.

R: You say they looked different, you say they looked cleaner?

S: Cleaner, not the sense of um ... you know ... without dirt. Maybe cleaner wasn't the right word ... they were slightly different, um... they just didn't look old, maybe they looked more majestic, not that old sort of boring thing. They were not dull any more. No, they were not dull, there was something challenging, though I had climbed them a couple of times, and it was actually quite easy. It was as if suddenly they were an obstacle for me to conquer. Maybe coming a bit out of a sort of dream, if you could say ... if I could say that. They definitely weren't the same old boring pieces of rock climbing, it was more like a majestic crag.

R: You said they looked sort of "vivid and dynamic?"

S: Yes, they were much more challenging, maybe like in a cloudy dreamy vision./29. But you know, of course, once I went to do the climbing, that sort of vividness had disappeared totally, because I mean I had dissipated a lot of energy and although I was happy I wasn't so concentrating on the next rock climbing, I was still thinking about all these sort of things but I wasn't concentrating on the fact that I had seen these things slightly differently. It was more that I wasn't concentrating so much on the actual rock climbing as such,

you know, with the kids ... that I was a rock climbing instructor; I was more concerned about my past, but the thing of the climb itself having that slightly different aspect from every day had already dissipated a long time ago; it was like a more ... a momentarily or flashy thing.

R: Did it dissipate as your excitement calmed down?

S: Yes.

R: /30.You said everything looked and felt perfect and beautiful, when you were in that happy mood. Can you describe that a bit more for me?

S: Well, it was quite early and the grass had a lot of dew; it was summer time - it was wet and the sun was behind my back, and it was lower in the hills. Summer time in Natal is very green, it was next to the Bushman's River ... um, you know Bushman's River? And when I heard the news and after the guys went away, I stood by myself; I just looked around and I didn't take the things for granted, like when you wake up in the morning and there is just dew on the grass you don't think about things, you say say, well, let's go for a run, and not really registering things. I really looked around myself and I ... it was as if I could absorb the beauty of the green, green, grass and trees and all that wet, wet that used to be, a few minutes ago before I got the news, awkward and lousy because it was wetting my feet; but now I really appreciated it because it showed me really how fresh the morning was and how fresh the grass was and I felt like maybe drinking that water, maybe licking the leaves because it was so pure, so fresh, so like new life. The things didn't feel static; there was a lot of life. It was dynamic to an extent, the river flowing down, down the slope, and it wasn't just the same old river,

it was something ... like it was the first time that I had seen the river. I could appreciate the beauty of the river and all the surroundings around me and all the environment, even the old house of the guard boys, it was like something new to me.

R: Like it almost had a magical quality?

S: I wouldn't say it was magic, because it was very real. I think the difference is that I was experiencing them as something, um, that was, that I saw more or less as if I was part of it. Without them, maybe, I wouldn't be able to be there. And I wasn't taking them for granted any more, I was taking a look at how beautiful these drops are and really appreciating the beauty of the actual whole. Normally, you would just walk there and run and tread and talk, and this thorn tree would catch you here and you find it can be a hassle if you trod on the thorns, the more sort of negative criticism. Now it was a positive appreciation of nature.

PROTOCOL 12

/1.I was full of expectation when my boyfriend, who had been to Greece for about 5½ weeks - his home country - was about to return. I was unsure of the actual time of his arrival as it was not really possible for much communication to have taken place, except for a few postcards, in which not much could be said./2.On receiving his phone call at Res, I was very nervous. I actually heard the phone ringing, but would not answer it. On being called to the phone, I was highly excited, but nervous and unsure./3.I felt fairly calm whilst talking to him/4.and it felt as if he had never left./5.We arranged a time to meet each other directly after the phone call/6.and as soon as I had put the phone down I suddenly became absolutely ecstatic that I had heard from him and that everything was all right./7.I rushed upstairs feeling as if I wanted to burst and I just had to see any one of my friends to tell them the news and there was no one there in the immediate vicinity. I started calling for them and they appeared out of one of the rooms and I rushed to a specific friend of mine/8.and I just wanted to hug someone, because I was so ecstatic, I couldn't control the feeling. I gave her a big hug/9.and rushed into her room and sat down on the bed, doubled over and just burst into tears./9a. much to their amazement as I had been unable to talk and they didn't know whether they were tears of joy or sorrow. When I was able to talk I assured them they were tears of joy and they laughed along with me./10. That is one of the most amazing experiences of happiness I have ever felt/ 11.and I was trembling/12.and needed to rush around to get rid of some of the energy./13.I was laughing and crying at the same time,/14.feeling relief/15.excitement/16.and anticipation still.

- R: /17.You said that on receiving the phone call from your boyfriend at Res. you were very nervous; can you tell me a bit more about that?
- S: He had been away for five and a half weeks which is rather a long time and I hadn't heard much from him ... I didn't quite know ... with him going home to Greece. He was actually born there. His father's Greek and they went over to see his father's home town. So I thought, with him going away, he would change quite a lot you know, and when he came back I thought he would probably want a Greek girlfriend, but it wasn't like that at all. I was nervous, I didn't quite know what to expect.
- R: /18.You said when you were called to the phone you were highly excited; can you tell me more about that?
- S: Well, I had got a phone call from him before that evening and I wasn't there and he said he would be back at about three on the Saturday.
- R: He'd phoned you before?
- S: He phoned me from Johannesburg and I wasn't at Res. He just left a message that he would be back at about 3 on the Saturday afternoon. So I was sort of half expecting a phone call from him and we were standing in the passage and I heard the phone ring and I thought, I wonder if that's Steve. I got all nervous and excited and I wanted to rush down and answer the phone, but I thought: "No, I'm not going to," and I let one of my friends rather, so I could try and calm myself, so I could talk to him.
- R: The excited bit ... can you tell me a bit about that?
- S: Well, it was just excitement to sort of hear his voice again.
- R: How did you feel when you were so excited?

- S: I was fidgety, wanted to rush around in circles; that sort of thing ... not quite sure what to do with myself.
- R: /19.You felt nervous and unsure as well as being excited?
- S: Yes.
- R: Can you add anymore to that?
- S: As I said, just because I hadn't heard from him and I wasn't quite sure what to expect.
- R: Where you stood?
- S: Whether things were the same or whether they had changed.
- R: /20.Then you said while you were talking to him you were fairly calm and felt as if he had never left.
- S: Just to hear his voice again and the way he sort of spoke to me, I knew everything was alright straight away. He was so, sort of, just calm and natural and just chatted away to me and it calmed me down immediately when I knew everything was fine. I was relieved and could just speak to him.
- R: /21.After you put the phone down you said you suddenly became absolutely ecstatic. Can you explain that more?
- S: I sort of suddenly registered what had happened. I had been so calm I couldn't believe it, talking on the phone. As soon as I put the phone down I realised what had happened and everything was fine and I was going to be seeing him after such a long time./22.I put the phone down and sort of took a deep breath and just wanted to scream.
- R: /23.Can you describe all those feelings?
- S: Well, I just wanted to rush around and find somebody to tell them to, I couldn't hold it inside myself anymore. I just wanted to scream out

to everyone: "Everything's fine, he still loves me."

R: To tell the whole world?

S: /24.You feel like you have been waiting for so long and the tension and excitement has been building up in you and you have been sort of holding it down and you don't actually realise just how excited you are till everything has happened and you suddenly register, and I don't know ... you, you just want to go mad.

R: What do you mean, "go Mad?"

S: Rush around and shout and laugh or sing or anything.

R: You felt as if you wanted to let go?

S: Yes, get it out of you; this excitement that has built up inside you, you want to release it somehow and you don't know how to.

R: /25.You said just now you couldn't hold it all inside; can you explain that a bit more?

S: It all just built up and it was too much to hold within yourself ... you just want to get it out and let somebody else, like, share the burden with you.... Well, not the burden; it was in a way, it was too much to hold inside you, you just wanted to let go.

R: Can you describe the "burden?"

S: It's difficult ... it's just something that has been there for such a long time with the waiting.

R: Was it that which was getting out, the excitement getting out?

S: Yes, and the waiting; it paid off. Waiting for him to come back and being faithful to him during the vac paid off. Everything was fine and it was just so exciting to realise that I would be seeing him and that everything was normal.

- R: And all those feelings were inside you, bursting to get out; is that what you are saying?
- S: Yes, they wanted to get out.
- R: It was difficult to keep them inside?
- S: Yes, it is difficult.
- R: So are you saying it's difficult to keep them inside, therefore there was a desire to talk to other people, to shout?
- S: Yes, because I am very close to my friends, I knew that especially one friend of mine would share my feelings with me and I just wanted to tell her that everything was fine.
- R: /26.You say you just wanted to hug somebody; can you tell me more about that?
- S: That's just me. I'm just a very affectionate person and it was so exciting, I was so happy, that I just wanted to hug somebody to show my happiness. That's just my way of showing somebody that I'm really excited, happy about something. We are always like that, whenever anything really exciting happens or even something unhappy we say: "Just give me a hug," and we just hug them. It's a good way of comforting someone or sharing, showing that they also care because they are sharing their feelings with me.
- R: /27.You said you couldn't control the feeling: "because I was so ecstatic I couldn't control the feeling."
- S: It just sort of burst out, there was no way that I could try and stop it. And especially when I saw my friend, it just came out, I couldn't hold it, it just came bubbling over. It just wanted to come out.
- R: /28.Tell me about that bubbling over feeling?

- S: It's just that you are so happy that you want to try and share it with other people but you can't ... they can't really understand how you feel, you are trying to tell them how you feel, it's just bubbling out but it's not making sense to them. I mean they can't really understand how you feel. You are trying to tell them but it sort of comes out in a big jumble.
- R: /29.You said that after you gave your friend a big hug, you sat down on the bed and doubled over and burst into tears; can you tell me a bit about that?
- S: Well, like everything had just been building up inside me and at long last I had released it. And then you feel quite exhausted after it. I was so excited, and I just plonked myself down and ... also often when I'm very excited, I just end up crying when it gets too much. That's also another way of releasing your feelings. I just burst into tears, I just couldn't help it. They were all quite surprised, they sort of thought: "Well, what's happening"? I suppose I just sat down and in a way sort of felt: "Whew, it was over." Well, not over, the beginning.
- R: A relief, is that what you mean?
- S: Yes, a relief, such a relief to get it all out and know everything's fine.
- R: /30.You were trembling; can you tell me a bit about that?
- S: I suppose it was just from excitement building up.
- R: Can you describe the feeling a bit more, what was happening to you?
- S: Well, my whole body, my hands especially, were shaking; you try to control them but you can't, they just shake. I suppose it's just after-effects from excitement. You whole body was involved in it,

your whole body was like tensed up and now the relief came and you were left trembling.

R: /31.You needed to rush around to get rid of some of the energy; can you tell me about that?

S: Well, it was still this trembling you know. And then I sort of relaxed and then I thought afterwards, after having relaxed: "No, I must go and see him now because I said I would leave straight away to go and see him," and then I started getting all panicky and excited and wanted to get up; my make-up was probably smudged all over and then I started thinking practically of the few things that you have to do. Then I sort of ... I wasn't thinking straight I suppose, things were rushing through my mind that I had to do. I must get out of here, I must go and see him otherwise he will be waiting for me.

R: Can you tell me more about the energy; you said you needed to get rid of some of the energy?

S: I suppose the energy was still inside me, having relaxed and I suddenly realised it had all come back again.

R: How do you mean "the energy"? Was this an unusual energy or the usual amount of energy that you have?

S: I think just a little bit more than usual. I'm like that, I sort of rush around all over the show, especially when something exciting has happened or something important has got to be done. You get extra energy inside yourself. You run to get it out of you, I suppose.

R: So was that extra energy part of the happy feeling?

S: Yes, I think so.

R: /32.You were laughing: can you tell me about that?

- S: I suppose I was a little bit hysterical. I was crying and laughing at the puzzled look on my friends' faces. I realised how funny it must seem to them, to see me like this. I mean I should be so happy and here I am crying. They couldn't quite understand why. So, I suppose I just started laughing at the expression on their faces as well as from knowing everything was alright and it was a relief.
- R: /33.Can you tell me about that feeling of relief?
- S: It's difficult to describe ... I suppose it's just that everything was alright and also that somebody had been there when I needed them; it was sort of a relief in itself. I could just hug someone and try in that little way to sort of give them my feelings, sharing them, and then it was sort of something released inside me that settled me down a little bit.
- R: Something released; you mean getting the news was a relief or sharing it?
- S: Well, sharing it and getting a little bit of it out of me; it was too much to hold inside myself on my own.
- R: So that was the feeling of relief, not the getting the news?
- S: Yes, the two worked together.
- R: So you are saying there were two feelings that were relief, one getting the news and one being able to share it?
- S: Yes.
- R: /34.Can you describe those last two words: "anticipation still"? Can you tell me what you mean by that?
- S: Well, I had spoken to him on the phone and as far as that went everything was fine, but I still hadn't seen him and I wondered what he would look like; going to Greece, I imagined him being tanned, his

hair being long and everything, and that anticipation was just wondering what his appearance would be like and how he would greet me and little things like that, whether he would look pleased or not so pleased....

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