

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE OF BEING IN HIDING
AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF POLITICAL REPRESSION
IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE 1986- GENERAL STATE
OF EMERGENCY: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLICATION.

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ABSTRACT:

This is a study in Critical Psychology which examines the psychological costs of one of the direct outcomes of political repression - the experience of being in hiding. The aims of the study can be depicted on two levels: it is first and foremost an attempt to provide a true account of the phenomenon of being in hiding. On a second level of equal importance it is an implicit and overt critique of the social order in which this phenomenon takes place.

The psychological experience of being in hiding is examined and discussed in its proper socio-political context. Therefore, the theoretical part of the mini-thesis has a strong political bearing, focusing on the State, repression and extra-parliamentary opposition in South Africa.

The empirical part of the mini-thesis explicates the psychological experience of being in hiding with the aid of the phenomenological method of investigation. Due to the lack of research on this or similar topics, it is discussed within the framework of the experience of a stressful life event.

For the five subjects being in hiding was an extreme intervention which was imposed upon their existences and which brought about a qualitative transformation in the individual subject's mode of being-in-the-world - not only in terms of practicalities, but also on a deep experiential level.

It was a phenomenon which touched on fundamental parts of their experience of themselves and their individual worlds and the way in which they actualized themselves.

For them it essentially entailed a loss of relationships and roles which resulted in an experience of a measure of encapsulation or separation from the world of others. It was a profound, multi-dimensional disruption of the structure of the subject's existence which infused a rich emotional experience.

"Therapy is change, not adjustment. This means change - social, personal, and political. When people are fucked over, people should help them fight it, and then deal with their feelings. A 'struggle for mental health' is bullshit unless it involves changing this society which turns us into machines, alienates us from one another and our work, and binds us into racist, sexist and imperialist practices."

M. Glenn, as quoted by Walt Anderson (1974, p.22)

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PREAMBLE:

This study is an attempt to examine the psychological costs of one of the direct outcomes of political repression, namely the experience of being in hiding. It is conducted against the background of the South African political scenario in 1986-7.

It is important to emphasize that it is not a study in Phenomenological Psychology. It is a study in Critical Psychology in which the phenomenological method of investigation was used to analyse material. This distinction has important implications for the underlying angle of approach of the study as well as for the aims and content of the theoretical part of the study.

One has to examine and discuss the psychological experience of being in hiding in its proper socio-political context. Therefore, the socio-political dimension of this study is extremely important. However, the reader should bear in mind that my primary aim is to answer the question "what is it like to be in hiding?" from a psychological perspective, and not to provide an analysis of the political dimensions of being in hiding. As a psychologist, I am not equipped to do that. The introductory part of the thesis has a strong political bearing and is meant to provide background information by elucidating the extent and effects of political repression and related aspects with specific reference to conditions in South Africa. This, however, is done in a fairly simplistic manner and is not meant to be a sophisticated analysis of contemporary political issues in South Africa.

It will become clear that various fundamental aspects of the thesis originated in the tradition of Critical Theory. Due to the as yet marginal position occupied by Critical Psychology within the broad framework of psychological thought and widespread ignorance on the topic, this issue will be briefly addressed in the introduction.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:

Since the declaration of the General State of Emergency in June 1986, hundreds of political activists have been forced into leading a life of continuous hiding for an indefinite period. The practical implications depend on a number of factors: e.g. whether the activist is hiding in the townships or "white areas", a city or a small town; the availability of a personal support group etc. One similarity though, which overrides the differences among those in hiding, is the fundamental disruption of the activists' lives and the subsequent uncertainty about the future - a situation which is only exacerbated by the constant threat of detention. (See appendix A - Life on the run.)

In the context of this study going into hiding means taking precautionary measures against detention. These measures vary from individual to individual, but usually include leaving your home or usual place of residence, avoiding places where you normally spend your day and making alternative arrangements for transport. In smaller towns it also means that the activists avoid recreational and social activities during the day; organisational tasks and activities take place at night. Routine domestic activities (e.g. shopping, paying bills etc.) are taken care of by a contact person or a small support group.

The present study is an attempt to investigate the phenomenon of being in hiding; firstly by looking at it in its proper socio-political context and secondly by answering the question "what is it like to be in hiding?" The latter is done by focusing on the psychological experience of being in hiding with the aid of the phenomenological method of investigation.

The main focus falls on the psychological costs of being in hiding and is dealt with in the empirical phase of the research project. A few explanatory comments regarding the theoretical phase of the project need to be made at this

stage.

Going into hiding is a direct consequence of political repression and is inextricably related to issues of a socio-political nature. Therefore, any serious attempt to understand the phenomenon of being in hiding (even from a psychological perspective) must at least refer to its socio-political dynamic. Chapter two elucidates various of these broader, socio-political aspects. It deals with repression in the South African context and issues related to repression - e.g. apartheid, the role of the State and political opposition.

In my search for relevant literature it became evident that Psychology suffers from a relative lack of specific research on the experience of political repression and similar issues. However, psychological theory has been applied to political opposition and liberation struggles on the level of both macro-analysis and micro-analysis. A discussion on psychological aspects of political resistance and liberation struggles is integrated in the discussion on socio-political issues. The term "political resistance" is used in a very broad sense in the discussions which deal specifically with psychological issues: it refers to a spectrum of non-violent or violent acts or classes of events which reflect opposition to repressive and unjust governmental policies and ideologically obscured versions of such policies. It must also be borne in mind that these discussions (i.e. those on psychological aspects of liberation movements and political resistance) are merely an attempt to provide a psychological perspective. It should not be misinterpreted as a psychologistic reduction.

Chapter three consists of a general discussion on the experience of a stressful life event. Countless studies have been conducted on stress associated with events such as death and bereavement, divorce, marriage, financial changes and job loss, illness, wartime situations etc. Unfortunately the same cannot be said about stress that specifically stems from long-term experiences and events which are direct outcomes of

State activities implemented to uphold and maintain an oppressive regime. Although the experience of being in hiding can never be equated with the experience of stress in general, it will become clear that an understanding of stress may serve as a valuable point of departure in one's comprehension of the unique nature of being in hiding.

1.1. Critique of previous research and aims of the present research project:

My criticism of previous research on the phenomenon of being in hiding is bound to start off on a rather unusual note: the only point of critique that I can actually offer in this regard is that there is an overwhelming lack of research in this specific area, which is reflected in my inability to find psychological studies on being in hiding or similar experiences. (Biographical accounts of individual experiences of being in hiding are available.)

Nonetheless, if we look closer, this turns out to be a very powerful point of critique, for it reflects psychologists' relative avoidance of socio-political issues. Tyson (1983, p.161) observed that South African psychologists have for a number of reasons, ranging from fear to apathy, generally either avoided socio-political issues or have adopted the role of dispassionate observers who are simply measuring phenomena. By this he meant that although many studies have measured certain phenomena (e.g. racial attitudes), very few attempts have been made to affect or change these phenomena.

However, awareness of the issue has led to increasing involvement by psychologists in research of a socio-political nature. Over the past few years South African Social Psychology has generated a number of articles on socio-political issues which have been published in various local and international psychological journals. Especially racial attitudes and prejudice, and Afrikaner authoritarianism have received a lot of attention. Other issues which are either directly or indirectly related to the political power structure in South Africa and its psychological and

socio-economic consequences have also been investigated; i.e. studies on black and white self-esteem (Heaven and Nieuwoudt, 1981, pp.279-80) and household crowding and psychological well-being in a South African coloured community (Duckitt, 1983, pp.231-7), to name only two examples.

Although I do not question the contribution of the above mentioned projects and similar ones to the vast data bank of both relevant and irrelevant psychological research, I do have one major point of critique which adds another dimension to Tyson's point of the "dispassionate observer".

The majority of psychological socio-political studies accurately reflect socio-political conditions in South Africa, but seem to accept as a given the power relations or power structure which underlies these conditions. Despite the fact that many of these and other research findings are either a direct or indirect consequence of governmental policy or are enhanced and maintained by such policy, little if any attempt has been made to expose overtly or criticize the government's role in these phenomena. It is left to the politically aware reader to articulate in his/her own mind what is implicitly reflected in the research findings.

This point of critique raises a number of issues which, unfortunately, cannot be dealt with here; notably the positivistic legacy of "value-neutrality", the question of the boundaries and definition of psychology, and its ideological and political role and contribution to the maintenance of an unjust and repressive status quo in South Africa. (Some of these issues will be addressed in the following section.)

The passive acceptance of the socio-political status quo which seems to be reflected in South African psychological research complements one of the major points of critique of mainstream Psychology from a critical psychological perspective: the former's failure to explicate the way in which historically specific exploitative, dehumanizing and repressive socio-economic and political relations penetrate the individual's psychic structure. Lafferty (1981, pp.69-75)

raises a number of important points in this regard. He questions the very fact that Psychology fails to address those broader, external, political issues in view of the realization that the patients' and clients' problems are often, in whole or in part, a result of the way the nation is governed and structured. Lafferty believes that it is important to "deal forthrightly with the fact that political institutions do affect the quality of the life of each and every person and that all people are inextricably related by the very fact that society is organized and operates upon us all in ways which are psycho-political in nature." (Lafferty, 1981, pp.74-5.) His urge to members of the association of Humanistic Psychology to "actively intervene in the affairs of state to ensure that 'society' or the parent-government does not produce patients or clients at a faster rate than we can ever hope, on an individual basis, to treat" can in my opinion be extended to psychologists in general. The very least we can do is to exchange our tendency towards passive observance of psychological phenomena of a socio-political nature for critical questioning of these events.

The aims of the present research project can be depicted on two levels: it is first and foremost an attempt to provide a true account of the phenomenon of being in hiding. However, this does not take place in a vacuum; it takes place against the harsh realities of political repression in South Africa today. Thus, I have attempted to avoid the pitfalls of what might (for want of a better expression) be called the academic's "ivory-tower-syndrome". The theoretical part of the research project is a deliberate attempt to overcome the danger of it degenerating into nothing but a sterile reflection of the experience of the outcomes of political repression; the danger of the dispassionate observer's implicit acceptance of an unnatural condition that has become so much part of South African reality that it escapes the average citizen's critical attention or reflection.

The present study is therefore not only on the first level hopefully a true account of the experience of being in hiding, but also on a second level of equal importance, an implicit

and overt criticism of an oppressive white minority regime - the South African government, the legitimacy of which is even at the best of times highly controversial.

1.2. Issues in Critical Psychology with specific relevance to the present study:

Readers who are unfamiliar with several of the basic premises of Critical Psychology (or Critical Theory in general) may have difficulty in reconciling themselves with various fundamental aspects of this study. Although it is not my task to debate critical issues or issues between mainstream Psychology and Critical Psychology in the present study, a very brief exposition of some of the relevant issues is included.

Critical Psychology belongs to the tradition of what can loosely be referred to as Critical Theory: a school of thought which is built on Marxism, but with important reinterpretations in the light of contemporary social developments. Although Critical Theory does not form a unity, the central feature is the critique of contemporary society. One of the basic premises is that contemporary society is characterized by injustice, domination, alienation and general irrationality which stunt the development and actualization of free, human potential. These inhuman social relations are reified or accepted as second nature: i.e. natural, inevitable and not open to modification. As an emancipatory discourse, Critical Theory penetrates this false consciousness and initiates a process of self-reflection on the basis of the premise that critique is a form of emancipatory praxis.

The inertia of the masses or the failure of the historical subject to develop from the individual subject, prompted Critical Theorists to turn to dimensions which have been neglected by orthodox Marxism - e.g. subjectivity or the subjective agent. This paved the way for the development of a Critical Psychology which can very broadly be defined as an integration of Marxist and Neo-Marxist social critique and Psychology.

Critical Psychology explicates the objective character of the subject; it elucidates the extent to which the object (society) dwells within the subject (the individual). It shatters the myth of an encapsulated, autonomous ego and shows that even the notion of an ego which is influenced from the outside by society, is erroneous. Society has penetrated the deep mental structures of the individual and directs individual action and consciousness from the inside. Critical Psychology explicates the way in which the state and economy penetrate and operate from within the individual's psyche.

Critical Psychology is essentially an emancipatory science: its analysis of the etiology of personality disorders and pathology is an indictment against society. By explicating the mechanisms through which an irrational, unjust society maims the individual, it seeks to free the individual from the hold of society.

Thus, Critical Psychology can be defined as "an inherently emancipatory discourse whose liberating goal is attained by initiating a process of self-reflection in those subjects whose self-formative capacity is radically truncated by the constraints of ideological forms of consciousness". (Ivey, 1985, p.3)

One contentious issue which is of specific relevance to this thesis is one of the legacies of Positivism - the question of value-neutrality. Readers who believe in the clear separation of fact and value or the separation of politics and psychological enquiry and who, thus, would argue that theoretical and descriptive accounts of humankind and society can be made which do not involve evaluative judgements, will seriously question the legitimacy of this thesis.

An exposition of the general assessment of Positivism by Critical Theory and more specifically Critical Psychology does not fall within the ambit of this study. Suffice it to say that this thesis is firmly embedded in the tradition that posits that any given phenomenon can only be understood in the context of its conditions and relations. "Every facet of

social reality can only be understood as an outcome of the continual interplay between 'moment' ... and 'totality' ... Positivists fail to comprehend that the process of knowing cannot be severed from the historical struggle between humans and the world. Theory and theoretical labour are inextricably intertwined in social life processes. The theorist cannot remain detached, passively contemplating, reflecting and describing 'society' or 'nature'." (Held, 1980, p.165)

Heather (1976, p.13) emphasizes the pervasive influence of Positivism in our culture. "The Positivistic attitude has become something we have inherited from earlier generations and, like other aspects of inherited culture, it forms and constrains the way we think." Positivism reifies the social world. It gives ontological status to a historically specific relationship between the particular and the general, the individual and society. It duplicates the reified consciousness of the individual instead of subjecting the latter and society to critical reflection. Positivism, thus, contributes to the distortion of social reality.

This study is critical in the sense that it explicates on a theoretical and empirical level how repressive socio-political relations permeate the individual's life on a deep experiential level. In this regard it will hopefully be a spark in the initiation of critical reflection for some readers.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE AND RELATED PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS:

At the risk of repeating myself I want to reiterate the importance of the contribution of this chapter to the understanding of the experience of being in hiding. In order to be true to the experience of being in hiding one cannot look at the psychological dimension in isolation. Repression is to being in hiding what the ocean is to a steamliner. The discussion on repression and related aspects (e.g. the State, its apartheid policy, and justified political protest) provide the macro-analytical perspective necessary to understand the phenomenon of being in hiding as part of a broader, dynamic socio-political structure.

The following discussion is by no means an original analysis of contemporary South African political relations. It is merely a (sometimes rather simplistic) review of current political events in South Africa and presents a view which challenges the false consciousness created by ideological state apparatuses.

The apartheid policy in South Africa - "by which is meant a particular set of political structures and institutions - or a particular form of state - which defends, protects and furthers the interests of South Africa's ruling class alliance [and]... ensures the continued oppression of the majority of South Africa's people, the dominated classes" (National Democratic Struggle: the general theory) - needs no introduction. It is internationally notorious as the epitome of institutionalised national oppression, racial discrimination and repression. The human misery which is created as a result of this fundamentally exploitative system needs no explication either. The consequences of being excluded from effective participation in political decision making, of being denied access to a wide range of facilities and amenities available to whites, of effectively having no choice in fundamental human decisions like where to live, work or be educated and the consequences of the fact that most of

the wealth in South Africa is in the hands of the white minority, constitute the stark reality of the day to day existence of millions of black South Africans.

The interrelationship between racial domination and class exploitation in the apartheid system and the consequences of such a theoretical distinction have been a controversial issue in various democratic political circles. Capitalism and apartheid are not identical, but they do not develop independently and cannot be separated. On the one hand apartheid cannot be explained only in terms of racial prejudice. "... the various changing historical forms of national oppression and racism in South Africa are organically linked with, and have provided the fundamental basis for, the development of a capitalist economy... In other words, the various complex and intersecting class struggles through which capitalist forms of production and relations of production were developed and consolidated under colonialism in South Africa, themselves generated racist ideologies and a racially structured hierarchy of economic and political power." (Davies et al., 1984, p.2)

Thus, apartheid is more than a system of intense racial discrimination. As a result of the history of South Africa, racially defined class alliances have developed as the key principle of class rule. National oppression (with its political, economic and social components) is both the historical precondition and product of the development of capitalism in South Africa. Capitalism in South Africa is both protected and maintained by the apartheid State.

On the other hand, if one narrowmindedly reduces apartheid simply to the needs of capitalism, one is likely to make the mistake of assuming that the downfall of one (e.g. apartheid) will necessarily be accompanied by the simultaneous downfall of the other (capitalism). Although the struggles against apartheid and capitalism cannot be separated, in practice the injustice of apartheid will be abolished long before that of capitalism in South Africa. An attack on capitalism presupposes an attack on the political structures which

concretely uphold it. Therefore, the immediate priority of the political struggle against racial domination cannot be ignored.

2.1. The State:

In the Marxist-Leninist tradition the State is primarily conceived as a repressive apparatus. "The State is a 'machine' of repression, which enables the ruling classes... to ensure their domination over the working class, thus enabling the former to subject the latter to the process of surplus-value extortion (i.e. to capitalist exploitation)" (Althusser, 1984, p.11) Lenin (1975, p.314) emphasized that the Marxist tradition regards the historical role and meaning of the State as follows: the State arises from the irreconcilability of class antagonism and as such, the State is a product and manifestation of irreconcilability. "The State is an organ of class rule, an organ for the repression of one class by another;..." (Lenin, 1975, p.315) "[The State is] as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also politically dominant, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class." (Lenin in Kolakowski, 1978, p.359) It is seen as a power which arose from society, but which places itself above society and alienates itself more and more from it.

Althusser (1984, p.11) emphatically expressed his support of the essential point in the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state: "The state apparatus, which defines the state as a force of repressive execution and intervention 'in the interests of the ruling classes' in the class struggle conducted by the bourgeoisie and its allies against the proletariat, is quite certainly the state, and quite certainly defines its basic 'function'."

A discussion of the specific role of the South African government as a repressive state apparatus will amount to a summary of the political history of the apartheid regime - an enterprise that does not fall within the scope of this

project. Suffice it to say that the South African government rules essentially by exclusion and force. Access to political power is denied to the oppressed majority. The latter are forcibly coerced to accept and live out their oppression.

The laws of apartheid were introduced in the course of concrete class struggles by ruling class forces in order to create and reproduce a system of capitalist exploitation based on national oppression. "The most basic laws of apartheid - racially discriminatory land laws, laws controlling the movement and settlement of blacks, laws excluding blacks from representative institutions of the State, 'industrial relations' and security laws - are all essentially measures aimed at creating or securing the rigidly controlled and highly exploitable black labour force on which the entire system of capital accumulation in South Africa depends." (Davies et al., 1984, p.169)¹

The role and status of the South African government as a repressive state apparatus will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

2.2. State repression of political opposition

2.2.1. Repressive state apparatus of the apartheid regime:

Althusser distinguishes between the conservation or seizure of state power on the one hand and the state apparatus on the other. "The objective of the class struggle concerns state power, and in consequence the use of the state apparatus by the classes holding state power as a function of their class objectives." (Althusser, 1984, p.15) A second distinction is made between the repressive state apparatus and ideological state apparatuses. For Althusser repression includes not only physical force, but also mere administrative commands,

1. The reader must remain aware of the danger of oversimplification throughout this discussion. For example, in this instance it must be kept in mind that a number of laws serve particular interests within the ruling block and its allies at the expense of other particular ruling class interests. However, the intricate details of conflict and division within the ruling class and its allies cannot be dealt with here. It is also impossible to enter into debates about the relative autonomy of the State in relation to the class struggle.

interdictions and open and tacit censorship. The repressive state apparatus functions ultimately by violence and contains amongst others the government, administration, army, police, courts and prisons. (Administrative repression may take non-physical forms.)

Ideological state apparatuses consist of distinct and specialized institutions; e.g. religious institutions, educational institutions, the family, mass media, culture etc.

The essential difference between the repressive state apparatus and ideological state apparatuses is the fact that the former functions predominantly by repression and secondarily by ideology whereas the latter function predominantly by ideology and secondarily by repression. The political conditions for the action of the ideological state apparatuses are secured through repression by the state apparatus. "The role of the repressive state apparatus, insofar as it is a repressive apparatus, consists essentially in securing by force (physical or otherwise) the political conditions of the reproduction of relations of production which are in the last resort relations of exploitation." (Althusser, 1984, p.23-4)

Although the focus of the following discussion will fall on the repressive state apparatus, the fundamental importance of the ideological state apparatus must never be underestimated.

In order to respond to the growing challenge posed by the liberation struggle (see section 2.3) and to enforce the wide range of regulations and control over the exploited and oppressed masses, the South African government relies for its existence on a high level of repression. The presence of military and police forces in the townships under the guise of maintaining law and order, detentions, banning of meetings and gatherings, deportation of political dissidents, intimidation of activists, stringent curbs on the press etc. have become every day occurrences in South African life to the extent that the abnormality of the repressive conditions escapes the average citizen's notice.

The main repressive apparatuses of the apartheid regime include the Military (SADF), the Police (SAP) including the Security Police, the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the courts and prisons, and the security apparatuses of the black homelands.

These repressive apparatuses cannot be discussed in detail. However, a brief elaboration on the role of the SADF and the SAP as the dominant agents of repression is necessary.

The role of the Military in the process of political restructuring in South Africa has increased considerably since P.W. Botha became Prime Minister. "Under Botha's premiership, the Military has become not only the clearly dominant force in the co-ordination and execution of security policy narrowly defined, but has also become increasingly influential in the formulation of all aspects of State policy." (Davies et al., 1984, p.185) Top Military commanders exert an increasing influence not only over security policy, but over the Total Strategy of the State.

The SADF is currently the main repressive apparatus of the South African government. The SADF is not only directly and indirectly (through SADF-sponsored dissident groups e.g. MNR and Unita) responsible for destabilization of and aggressive acts against neighbouring states, but also for the repression of any act considered to constitute a challenge to the system. Thus, the SADF has become a permanent feature of life in the townships.

The rapid expansion of Military Forces and the blatant role of the Military in maintaining apartheid have also had contradictory effects: the protracted war in Namibia and the advancing liberation struggle in South Africa have produced a morale problem for the SADF resulting in a large number of desertions. Furthermore, the End Conscription Campaign has gained massive support amongst the broad population in the four years since its inception. Conscripts are increasingly opposing conscription and thus pose a serious problem for the SADF.

Despite the fact that the relative importance of the Police Force has declined with the increase in militarization, the SAP and its Security Branch still play a crucial role in keeping the present power block in control by repressing all forms of opposition. The para-military units of the SAP intervene to repress meetings, demonstrations and all other expressions of discontent with the apartheid regime.

The Security Police are responsible for arbitrary arrests, detentions without trial for an indefinite period, interrogations and prosecution of political opponents.

2.2.2. Security legislation:

In 1982 new legislation was introduced to streamline and consolidate existing security legislation. The Internal Security Act contains four sections providing for the detention of people deemed to be dangerous to State security: section 28 provides for indefinite preventive detention and is used to remove political activists from the organisations to which they belong or the work in which they are involved. According to section 29 a person who is regarded to be a threat to State security or who possesses information relating to State security may be detained for questioning and held indefinitely or until he/she has answered questions "to the satisfaction of the Police". Under section 31 an attorney general is empowered to detain a person deemed to be a potential state witness for a period not exceeding six months or the duration of the trial in which the detainee's evidence is required. Due to the tendency for treason trials to drag on, detainees under section 31 may be held for up to two years. Section 50 was amended in 1986. It introduces a period of preventive detention of up to 180 days. A low-ranking police officer is empowered to detain a person deemed instrumental in an "unrest" situation in the belief that such a detention will defuse the problem.

Under a state of emergency powers of arrest and detention are considerably wider than those of the Internal Security Act. Any member of "a force", including the SAP, the Railways

Police, the SADF and the Prison Service or any person nominated by them are empowered to arrest and detain any person whose detention is in his opinion necessary for the maintenance of public order or the safety of the public or that person himself, or for the termination of the State of Emergency. The arresting officer can be any commissioned, warrant or non-commissioned officer in a force.

Detainees are held for an initial period of 14 days, after which the period may be extended by the Minister of Law and Order. Thereafter the period is indefinite. Conditions of detention are severe: extensive abuse and torture of especially black detainees are common. "These include solitary confinement, beating, slapping and kicking, enforced standing for lengthy periods, enforced physical exercise, sleep deprivation, being kept naked during interrogation, manacling in uncomfortable positions..., suspension from poles..., attacks on genitals and electric shocks." (Coleman & Webster, 1986, p.121) A more subtle form of psychological intimidation is applied in the case of white detainees. Detainees are held in isolation and visits are often difficult to obtain. Reading material is at least initially limited to a holy book and a stringent set of rules regulates detainee behaviour.

Informal intimidation or coercion is often used in addition to detention. This includes "raiding offices, meetings and houses; confiscation of essential documents, records and financial statements; telephone tapping and obvious surveillance of officers and individuals; [interference] with the ability of organizations to communicate with their membership and constituencies..."; threats of deportation etc. (Coleman & Webster, 1986, p.121) Individual activists are often the victims of informal repression in the form of death threats, damage to property etc. In some cases verification for the belief that the repressive state apparatus or pro-apartheid forces were to some extent involved in these acts of intimidation and harrassment, were obtained. (Coleman & Webster, 1986, p.121)

The issuing of banning and restriction orders effectively removes activists from their organisations and communities "while meeting the demand of overseas organisations for the Government to 'charge or release' its political opponents." (Coleman & Webster, 1986, p.120)

2.2.3. The General State of Emergency (1986-):

A nationwide State of Emergency was declared on 12 June 1986 which (as in the case of previous states of emergency) resulted in a rapid increase in repression and detentions. Prior to the declaration of the current State of Emergency it was estimated that the South African State has detained over 25 000 people in the three decades since its security legislation was introduced. (Coleman & Webster, 1986, p.111) In September 1987 the total number of people detained for 30 days or more under the current State of Emergency (12 June 1986-) was 16 282 according to government figures. (Weekly Mail, Sept. 25 - Oct. 1 1987, p.4) The Detainees' Parents Support Committee has the names of 13 989 people detained under the Emergency regulations between June 1986 and the beginning of October 1987. This figure does not include detentions in a number of regions and a large number of detainees' names and details are not known. (Weekly Mail, Nov. 20-6, p.4)

The Human Rights Trust investigated reasons given for the detention (under the Emergency regulations) of 80 people from the Eastern Cape. (Weekly Mail, Nov. 20-6, p.4) They concluded that at least a third of the activists were detained without the Police being able to substantiate accusations of criminal behaviour against them. On many an occasion arbitrary evidence was used to justify detentions.

"The report said 56 percent of the detainees were being held on the basis of their alleged membership of organisations, none of which were banned, and periods of detention bore no logical relationship to the stated reasons for the detentions."

The second biggest category of reasons given for the detentions was alleged involvement in people's courts. Some of the detainees in this category have been held for up to 15 months without being charged.

The aims of the State of Emergency is to wipe out effectively all forms of political opposition in order to create the conditions for the continuation of white minority rule and economic domination in South Africa. This is done not only by forcefully removing activists and repressing any manifestation of opposition (including non-violent opposition), but primarily by closing off all legal space for political opposition.

The following section will deal with the application of psychological theory to elucidate the effects of means to control the expression of discontent, frustration and anger.

2.2.4. The effects of measures of social control:

Physical and/or social external retribution.

The general feeling is that aggression may be inhibited through fear of responses from the social environment, such as physical injury, deprivation of goods and freedom etc. Experimental evidence does suggest that anticipation of external retribution is under some circumstances an effective regulator of aggression. One of the main determinants of the occurrence of civil strife is declining capacity or loyalty of the Police and military control apparatus. However it has also been demonstrated that the prevention of aggression by retribution or fear of retribution increases frustration and subsequent anger. Forceful repression of demands may inspire the group to resort to increasingly intransigent and aggressive means of making those demands.

A linear relationship between the government's capacity and willingness to employ control measures and the likelihood of civil violence is widely assumed in literature on this topic. "Strong apparent force capability on the part of the regime ought to be sufficient to deter violence, and if violence

should occur, the effectiveness with which it is suppressed is closely related to the likelihood and intensity of subsequent violence." (Gurr, 1972, p.109) However, strong support has been found for the hypothesis that a curvi-linear relationship exists between the degree of coerciveness of a regime and its degree of political instability. Thus, the threat of employment of forces to suppress violence does not have a uniform effect: it tends to have a feedback effect which increases the instigation to violence.

A delay in the expression of the aggressive response increases its intensity when it does occur. Therefore reflection on the effects of retribution must take account of the time variable. A temporal dimension has been incorporated into frustration-aggression theory by arguing that in the short run a delay of an aggressive response increases the intensity of anger and consequently not only the likelihood, but also the magnitude of aggression. But in the long run the level and intensity of expectations decline to coincide with reality and anger decreases concomitantly. This outcome is suggested by cognitive dissonance theory: because the repressed group is hardly in a position to change reality, they change their cognitive structure in order to reduce persistent imbalance between cognitions and actuality.

Gurr (1972, p.111) applied this hypothesis to South Africa's apartheid policies and the means of their enforcement: "These policies, which impose substantial and diverse value-deprivation on non-whites ... were put into effect principally in the 1950's. Violent protests over their implementation were repressed with increasing severity, culminating in the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and a series of strikes and riots. By the mid-1960's, when deprivation was objectively more severe than at any time previously in the twentieth century, levels of civil strife were very low, inferentially the result of very high levels of deterrence (feared retribution). Since deprivation remains severe ... avoidance of violence in this case probably would require the maintenance of very high and consistent deterrence levels ... Any short-run decline in the perceived likelihood of severity

of retribution, however, is likely to be followed by intense violence." The present conditions in South Africa reflect such intense anger and violence as a result of relative deprivation and repression of needs as well as the Government's subsequent employment of repressive measures and their reliance on military and police force to contain this anger.

Groups are capable of reducing fear of external retribution in a number of ways: firstly, crowd situations provide members with a shield of anonymity and a degree of insulation. Secondly, organised groups can acquire sufficient force capability and skills to prevent the agents of retribution (i.e. military and internal security forces) from effectively reaching them. A third aspect is the perceived effect of hierarchical organisation and the presence of highly visible leaders. Since the leaders are more likely to be the objects of retaliatory measures, group members may feel less personal risk.

Institutionalized displacement.

This is a considerably more effective means of managing discontent than repression. Gurr (1972, p.112) noted that several aspects of displacement theory (which deals with object and response generalization) are relevant to understanding political resistance. Object and response generalization are crucial factors in determining the specific form of expression that political resistance is going to take as well as the object against which it will be directed.

A basic proposition concerning object generalization is that the stronger the fear of retribution relative to the strength of anger, the more dissimilar will the target of the aggressive response be from the source of frustration or interference and the more indirect will the form of aggression be. Response displacement implies that anger may be diverted into a range of activities - violent as well as non-violent. Evidence suggests that only a narrow range of objects provide satisfying targets for aggressive responses, but nearly any form of aggression can be satisfying if the person is of the opinion that he/she has succeeded in harming the frustrator.

(Gurr, 1972, p.113) Thus, institutional displacement means that political discontent and opposition can be expressed through institutions such as trade unions and other organisations and movements. All of these diminish the likelihood of civil violence.

In the next section the discussion will focus on political opposition or political protest.

2.3. Extra-parliamentary political opposition:

The capitalist mode of production (including, of course, the concomitant superstructure - e.g. the political power relation) is not an immutable phenomenon by virtue of the existence of inherent contradictions which form the basis of class antagonism. Antagonistic social relations breed opposition. Common interests shared by the oppressed masses are embodied in a struggle suited to specific historical conditions and aimed at liberating the masses from exploitative economic and political relations.

In South Africa all classes among the oppressed have a common interest in destroying the minority rule of the white ruling bloc and establishing majority rule and democracy. This is the basis of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa - a struggle which is guided by the National Democratic Movement.

The National Democratic Struggle (NDS) is a struggle against the oppression and exploitation of the majority of South Africans and works toward the restoration of their right to self-determination. It is a national struggle in the sense that it is a nation-wide struggle which transcends ethnic and racial divisions. It is, secondly, a democratic struggle in the sense that it seeks the transference of power to all South Africans and thereby creating a democratic state to which all have access. Thus, the primary objective of the NDS is the liberation of the oppressed by destroying the oppressive apartheid State and democratizing society.

The broad aims of the NDS are to different extents furthered by a myriad of alliances and organisations ranging from the ANC to white, predominantly liberal organisations. The struggle is led by the banned African National Congress (ANC). For almost fifty years the ANC had followed a strategy of non-violent resistance and opposition prior to its banning in 1960. "The reaction of the state in 1960, the bannings, State of Emergency and policy of Prime Minister Verwoerd, to erect 'walls of granite' against attempts to undermine apartheid, finally shifted this non-violent struggle." (Davies et al., 1984, p.288) The ANC is based on an alliance of nationally oppressed class forces and seeks to advance a "broad, non-racial movement of all democratic elements pledged to the overthrow of the apartheid state." (Davies et al., 1984, p.283) The armed struggle is combined with other forms of mass organisation.

The fact that a broadly based national democratic resistance has been rebuilt inside the country despite disagreement amongst different participants, is reflected in the wave of acute repression since 12 June 1986. The development of this national democratic resistance has been led by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum (NF). "These two loose coalitions took on the character less of organisations than of mechanisms for consultation and/or co-ordinated action between existing organisations." (Barrell, 1983, p.6) The formation of the UDF and the NF is based on the assumption that racial oppression facilitates the development of alliances between black dominated classes. As an above-ground, legal, political movement the UDF seeks to construct a political alliance linking together a plurality of black dominated classes by co-ordinating the multiple points of resistance and struggle which have emerged in recent years - e.g. trade unions, community, student, youth and women's organisations. (Hudson, 1983, p.2)

Barrell (1983, p.18) noted that undeniable progress has been made towards the unification of a wide range of previously fractured struggles - despite disagreements amongst the UDF, NF and progressive trade unions. "The broad democratic

movement markedly increased and improved its capacity to mobilize its support." This means that the apartheid State is facing a far more formidable and determined opposition than in the past - opposition that it attempts to eliminate by closing off the the legal space within which the National Democratic Movement has operated and by forcefully repressing all opposition.

White opposition to the system of capitalist exploitation and national oppression is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. The Government's inability to come up with realistic solutions to the predicament which they themselves have created and the growing difficulty that they are experiencing in maintaining a veneer of legitimacy, have intensified opposition from within the ranks of the ruling bloc. The ways and degrees to which whites oppose apartheid differ fundamentally - ranging from a liberal tradition to a national democratic tradition of whites who identify with the aims of the liberation struggle.

Although certain psychological theories do not directly constitute a theory of political resistance and struggles for national liberation, they do offer motivational bases for such a theory and provide the means for identifying and specifying the operation of some crucial explanatory variables. (Gurr, 1972, p.93) The discussion will now turn to these theories, which deal with the sources and characteristics of aggression in people, regardless of culture.

2.3.1. Political protest and psychological theories of aggression:

The psychological theories of aggression present three distinct assumptions about the source of human aggression: the instinct theories, social learning theories and frustration-aggression theories. The second and third of these approaches play a more significant role in contemporary theories of political strife - especially the frustration-aggression theory. The latter is more systematically developed and has substantially more empirical support than theories which assume that all people have within

them an autonomous source of aggressive impulses or that aggression is a learned response rationalistically chosen in the service of particular goals. Furthermore, the frustration-aggression theory appears to subsume evidence cited in support of the other approaches, whereas the converse is not true.

The main hypothesis of frustration-aggression theory is deceptively simple: it states that people have basic needs, wishes or instincts which, if frustrated give rise to feelings of aggression that sometimes take the form of revolutionary behaviour and violence. (Hagopian, 1975, p.168) There is an innate tendency to attack the frustrating agent. This tendency, however, is modified by social learning: what is perceived to be frustrating, modes of aggressive response, inhibition through fear of retaliation and the perception of appropriate targets are modified or defined in the social learning process. Merely the abrupt awareness of the likelihood of frustration can be just as strong a source of anger as actual interference. (Gurr, 1972, p.101)

Thus, liberation struggles are caused by peculiar intensive and extensive repression of basic human needs. Repression seems to be a function of relative need gratification; i.e. a function of the comparison between what the repressed group enjoy and what the ruling bloc enjoy. Numerous typologies of basic human needs have been presented. According to Edwards (in Hagopian, 1975, p.169) the following types of wishes can be found among the repressed instincts: the wish for new experience, the wish for security, the wish for public recognition and the wish for response in personal intimacy. Needless to say, the affected group experience the repressive situation as unnecessary and avoidable, and therefore unjust.

Relative deprivation - or the perception of a discrepancy between value expectations and the environment's apparent value capabilities - among a substantial number of people in a society is considered to be a necessary precondition for liberation struggles. Relative deprivation amounts to the perception of frustrating circumstances and the emotional

response to it tends to be anger. The severity of relative deprivation is assumed to vary directly with the modal strength of anger in the affected population. (Gurr, 1972, p.100) In many social settings relative deprivation is manifest, but its sources are obscured.

An elaborate discussion of the frustration-aggression theory of liberation struggles does not fall within the scope of this research project. Suffice it to say that the primary causal sequence in political strife is considered to be the development of discontent, frustration and anger, the politicization of the latter and finally its actualization in some form of opposition against the ruling regime. (Hagopian, 1975, p.170) Davies (1972, pp.125-6) puts it as follows: "The common characteristics of potential revolutionaries is that each of them individually senses the frustration of one or more basic needs and each is able to focus his frustration on the government. After this need frustration is generated, people begin to share their discontent and to work together. But preceding this joint action, there is no more conspiracy than there is among trees when they burst into flame during a forest fire."

It seems that liberation struggles are a natural response to a situation that had become intolerable and that it is directed at the regime that is responsible for maintaining a status quo of unjust distribution of the means for need gratification.

If one applies the basic premises of the previous discussion to the present conditions in South Africa, it becomes evident that the current political unrest is a natural reflection of frustration and subsequent aggression that have accumulated over decades of unjust deprivation and frustration of basic human needs as a result of the Government's apartheid policy. The situation is by no means alleviated by superficial attempts to create the impression that apartheid has been abolished. Under the present Emergency regulations even the avenues of political dissent left open as a result of institutionalized displacement have been closed. The Government relies on physical retribution (military and police

force) as a means to contain political discontent of any nature - violent or non-violent.

The following section will deal with a more micro-analytical approach to political opposition.

2.3.2. The development of activism and the "revolutionary personality":

The development of activism has received some attention in research projects. "Activism" refers to activities directed toward influencing norms, affecting legislation or altering the policies of governments, institutions or organisations. Research in this area has indicated that activism may be a function of a number of social and psychological factors such as personality factors, parental influence, demographic factors and selected characteristics e.g. talent, leadership, intellectual strength etc. I hasten to add that one is immediately struck by conflicting findings and inconsistencies in research covering this area. This can only serve as an indication that much more research needs to be conducted in this regard.

Green et al. (1984, pp.105-13) conducted a study on the development of activists and non-activists from three successive cohorts. Their results in terms of personality differences were as follows: the three personality dimensions examined yielded results that were in contrast with those found in available literature. The dimension "faith in people" did not differentiate activists from non-activists. Differences in alienation were significant between activists and non-activists in the first cohort, but the magnitude of this difference declined sharply to non-significant levels over time. The direction of this variation was the opposite of that predicted by previous research, since activists were less alienated than non-activists. Locus of control was significantly different only between activists and non-activists in the first cohort - activists had a higher control score than non-activists.

Previous research has suggested that activists are more likely to have parents who have been politically active, liberal and above average in party loyalty. Green et al., however, found no difference in either cohort between the parents of activists and non-activists. They also found no significant difference between activists and non-activists in terms of demographic variables such as socio-economic status, sex and religion.

The results of the study under discussion further suggest that there is no important ideological differences between activist and non-activist students: the range of attitudinal dimensions employed in the study failed to distinguish between activists and non-activists. Green et al. therefore had little success in linking attitude to behaviour. This finding seems to be in direct contrast with a study by Werner (1978, pp.1375-90) which will be discussed shortly.

Earlier findings indicate that activists are more likely to participate in national politics. However, the results of Green's study conflict sharply with these findings in that it suggests that non-activists are more likely to participate.

The fact that Green et al. were unable to differentiate between activist and non-activist students in the major areas of discussion and the fact that their results radically contradict previous research in this area leave one with more questions than answers.

Werner conducted a study where the results were less diffuse. He reviews the literature on personality correlates of activism as follows: in a study where activists and non-activists of the same political persuasion were compared it was found that activists scored higher on scales for ascendancy, sociability and leadership and lower on a scale for support. Activists and non-activists did not differ on a number of other scales - e.g. emotional stability, motivation for conformity, independence, social interest, responsibility and impulsiveness. In a similar study activists have been found to have lower anxiety scores and higher responsibility

scores than non-activists of similar ideology. No differences were found on an alienation scale or on a locus of control scale.

Werner conducted his own study on the personality factors associated with discrepancies between attitudes and activist behaviour regarding abortion. The results were as follows: he established in the first place that a strong relationship existed between attitude and activism. In other words, strong consistency was obtained between attitudes and reported activism. This finding seems to replicate previous results suggesting that the greater the correspondence between the attitudinal and behavioural entities assessed, the stronger the obtained attitude-behaviour relationship.

The finding of high consistency between the direction of attitude and the direction of activism may suggest that personality variables have little supplementary impact on the prediction of activism once the direction of attitude is known. However, when Werner treated both attitude and activism as continuous variables, there was more room for the impact of personality factors. The criterion variable was defined as the extent to which people had engaged in more or less activism than was predicted by their attitudes.

Werner's study, in combination with earlier ones, provides clear evidence of linkages between personality variables and residual activism. It seems that four sets of personality characteristics are associated with the level of activism unpredicted by attitude. The first set is a dimension of ascendancy and self-confidence. Scales measuring self-confidence, self-acceptance and non-abasement were significantly correlated with residual activism. A second set of personality variables relate to energy level, self-direction and initiative. This is suggested by the significant coefficient for achievement and autonomy. A third set of personality variables associated with residual activism reflects the ability to make effective use of one's intellectual and interpersonal talents. The fourth concomitant of residual activism appears to be a sense of internal control

and efficacy in political affairs.

It should be acknowledged, though, that the correlations obtained between personality measures and residual activism were uniformly low, for which various reasons are proposed. (Werner, 1978, pp.1387-8) Many of these reasons are related to methodological issues.

Cognition as an aspect of personality has also received some attention in research projects: Suedfeld and Ranke (1976, pp.169-78) conducted a study on the success of revolutionary leadership as a function of change in cognitive or conceptual complexity.

They hypothesized that successful pre-takeover revolutionists are characterized by a conceptually simple level of functioning when it is desirable to have a categorical, single-minded approach to problems and that a change to high complexity would take place during the post-struggle consolidation period when a relatively graduated, flexible and integrated view is needed. This hypothesis was based on the changing demands of the environment as one progresses from rebel to ruler and on the necessity for different problem solving characteristics to meet these changing demands.

The results reliably confirmed the predicted relationship. Suedfeld and Ranke continued to derive a more detailed hypothesis as to the basis of this change: they hypothesized that both simple and complex information processing are necessary in both phases of the revolution. Getting the support of the masses calls for a fairly single-minded approach (e.g. the enemy is depicted as all evil and the revolution as the ultimate good etc.), while negotiations and decision making among the leaders must remain complex in both the stages. The real shift then lies in the relative emphasis on and utilization of these two activities. Unfortunately this hypothesis could not be tested in the above-mentioned study.

Attempts to work toward a theory of "the activist personality" and the revolutionary personality are useful only insofar as

they provide a micro-analytic perspective which may elucidate particular events or serve as a comparative measure in studies on the socio-psychological preconditions for economic and political change (e.g. studies on authoritarianism, the internalisation of irrational forms of domination etc.). Nevertheless, a few comments in this area are included for the sake of completeness.

A qualification of the term "revolutionary personality" is necessary at this stage: again, the term "revolutionary" is used in a very broad sense of the word in the following discussion. I use it to denote the personality structure of people who are willing to become actively involved in the struggle for political and socio-economic change.

Anderson (1975, p.10) appropriately mentioned that revolutionaries and revolutionary movements do not fare very well at the hands of Freudian political analysts. Psychoanalytic approaches to politics (as explicated by Lasswell and others) tend to see the psychodynamics of political behaviour as follows: private motives (as these are understood by psychoanalysts) are politicized or displaced onto public objects and rationalized in terms of public interests (i.e. ideological covering). In other words, political behaviour is seen as in some degree an acting out of internal psychological conflicts which are repressed, unconscious and irrational; the rational motives which activists create for their activities are not the true sources of behaviour.

Thus, the psychoanalytical approach to politics makes it difficult for activists to be taken seriously. Any action against constituted authorities is seen as an acting out of repressed hostility or father-hatred.

Examples of actual psychoanalytical case studies or psychobiographies of revolutionary leaders can be found in the work of among others Bullitt and Freud, Bychowski and Wolfenstein (in Hagopian, 1975, pp.324-9 and Taintor, 1972, p. 240). These studies involve ideas of psychopathology in that

the phenomena described are held to be evidence of illness, disfunction or impairment. Wolfenstein implies that Lenin, Trotsky and Ghandi were neurotic in having unresolved Oedipal conflicts that led to rebelling against authority figures. According to Bychowski the revolutionary leader is able to compartmentalize his neuroses and displace them so that they can sometimes be a political asset rather than a liability. Bychowski went much further: he claimed to have uncovered excessive narcissism, aggressiveness, hatred, paranoia of grandeur and persecution and a lust for power which conceals weakness and inferiority as a result of failure to cope with early frustrations and the trauma of childhood and adolescence, as well as tendencies towards sublimation and repression, idealization and rationalisation. Bychowski did indeed manage to find everything from latent homosexuality to immanent psychosis in his psychobiographies of revolutionary leaders who turned into dictators.

These examples are only cited as extreme illustrations of the general point of departure in an orthodox psychoanalytic approach to politics.

Taintor (1972, p.240) suggests that the idea of illness can be used to cloak many moral judgements. "A political stand can be discredited or ignored if it is assumed that it is an expression of mental illness." Youthful revolutionaries are dismissed as displacing their rebellions against their fathers onto society.

Speculations about revolutionaries as deviants or the maladjusted are not only completely useless, it also reflects an (incorrect) implicit value assumption about politics and mental health: that the mentally more healthy individual occupies a moderate political position. This assumption is consistent with the view of therapy as adjustment and with the values inherent in an application of Freudian theory to political analysis. Thus, it seems that "the prevailing political order enforces not only certain patterns of economic and social interaction, but also a fundamental definition of reality, a world-view and value system which is the basis for

all power and which is defined, not simply as patriotism, but as sanity". (Anderson, 1975, p.19)

It may also reflect the possibility that a psychology that operates within the prevailing political order can easily lose touch with the concept of mental health if it is not constantly aware of its ideological role within that system.

Adjustment to unfreedom is not the same as mental health. Anderson (1975, p.12) notes that the approach to political analysis which flows from this perspective is quite different from that of the orthodox Freudians. The question is no longer why exploited individuals engage in some sort of political opposition or resistance, but why the majority of exploited individuals do *not* engage in political protest. Various reinterpreters of Freud (most notably Marcuse, Adorno, Reich and Brown) have attempted to answer this question. According to Adorno, Freud foresaw the rise and nature of Fascist mass movements in psychological categories. (Held, 1980, p.135) Marcuse outlined the contribution of psychoanalysis to political thought by trying to elucidate the social and political content in the basic psychoanalytic concepts themselves. He argued that Freud had discovered the mechanisms of social and political control in the depth dimension of instinctual drives and satisfaction. (Marcuse, 1970, p.45)

Unfortunately this issue cannot be dealt with comprehensively. The following account of Adorno's and Marcuse's main arguments in this regard should be seen as an oversimplification for the sake of brevity.

Adorno wrote a number of essays on the individual's loss of autonomy. A central theme in his analysis is that ego weakness and narcissism leave the id impulses susceptible to manipulation. Narcissistic injury and the ensuing experience of helplessness give the already weak ego limited choices in any attempt to overcome its position. Retreat or regression is often chosen. "The individual is exposed to a variety of sources offering gratification and protection. Taking advantage of this susceptibility, particular social forces can

mobilize id impulses and infantile defence mechanisms to their advantage. Fascism and the culture industry feed on and nurture regression." (Held, 1980, p.136-7)

Marcuse sees the reification or automatization and unification of the ego as fundamental in the process of the development of what he calls one-dimensionality. "It is as though the free space which the individual has at his disposal for his psychic processes has been greatly narrowed down; ... the space is occupied by public, social forces." (Marcuse, 1970, p.14) The reduction of the relatively autonomous ego is the psychic correlate of "the social overpowering of the opposition, the impotence of criticism, technical coordination, and the permanent mobilization of the collective." (Marcuse, 1970, p.14) "The individual has given up his ego ideal and substituted for it the group ideal as embodied in the leader." (Marcuse, 1970, p.49)

Taintor (1972, p.249) concludes that although political behaviour is several steps removed from elemental psychic forces, revolutionary behaviour is probably particularly influenced by personal variables, especially the ego ideal. Living up to one's best idea of one's self can be a powerful source of motivation. It has also become evident that opposition to a repressive system of any nature need not be interpreted as the politicization and rationalisation of unresolved repressed conflicts or as an indication of deviance or maladjustment. On the contrary: as certain eminent members of the Frankfurt School had argued, the ability to use one's critical faculties effectively is regarded as an indication of a strong, autonomous ego and authentic selfhood.

The aim of the previous discussion on the psychological aspects of liberation struggles was to stimulate psychological reflection of a critical nature in this area rather than to deal with all or most of the question.

For example, frustration-aggression theory may well be one of the factors in a macro-analytical perspective of the political mobilization of the majority of black South Africans, but

hardly provides insight into the commitment of white activists who clearly belong to the privileged group. Neither can this issue be adequately understood on a micro-analytic level which deals with psychoanalytic approaches to politics or revisions of such approaches. The question concerning the participation of whites in the struggle for black national liberation is a complex issue which requires a comprehensive socio-economic and political analysis of the situation in South Africa and clearly does not fall within the scope of this project. What has been raised, though, is the possibility of a particular psychic structure as a precondition for such participation.

Furthermore, the discussion was conducted on a fairly general level and is not always particularly relevant to the South African situation. For example, whether Marcuse's principle of one-dimensionality and mass identification with the apparatus holds true for black South Africans seems highly unlikely in the face of the scope of political dissent and resistance among the black population in South Africa. This may be related to the fact that exploitation and political repression have never been covert in South Africa and its ideological rationalization has been crumbling for a number of years.

It is evident that South Africa needs a unique psycho-political interpretation of existing literature which is in accordance with the particular circumstances of our country. In my opinion the urgency of conducting research in this area cannot be over-stressed.

The last section in this chapter deals with some of the psychological costs of a liberation struggle.

2.4. Revolution, personality change and mental disorders:

Anthony Wallace's abstract model of the nature and cause of personality change during a revolutionary movement provides a microscopic model of revolutionary processes. The following discussion is based on Johnson's review (1968, pp.105-12) of Wallace's model.

Wallace uses the term "revitalization" (the psychological equivalent of revolution) instead of the term "revolution". Revitalization is defined as "a deliberate, organised attempt by some members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture by rapid acceptance of a pattern of multiple innovations ... The term revitalization includes phenomena such as 'revolutions', 'mass movements', 'nativistic movements', 'charismatic movements' and so forth". (Johnson, 1968, pp.106-7)

A central theme in Wallace's model is the occurrence of various psychological states (e.g. anxiety, shame, guilt, depression or apathy) as a result of systemic disequilibrium. In other words, psychological states are produced by "endogenous or exogenous pressures on either values or the division of labour that disequilibrate a functional integrated system." (Johnson, 1968, p.107)

According to Wallace these psychological states lead to a process of revitalization. Johnson criticizes Wallace for not specifying the final causes of a revitalization movement. "The particular psychological states which he described are not in themselves sufficient to bring about a revitalization movement, since homeostatic or purposive processes of change might equally well relieve them." He continues by inferring the assumption that all other remedies for overcoming the psychodynamic dimension have been exhausted, "thereby bringing the psychological needs of the actors to the threshold of revitalisation." (Johnson, 1968, p.107)

Wallace proceeds to conceptualise five stages through which individuals pass in the process of revitalisation: the first stage or "steady state" is defined as a social system in equilibrium. Evolutionary (as opposed to revolutionary) change may occur. Psychological tensions are tolerable and deviance occurs among people who are socially or physically not able to cope with the stress inherent in their particular systems. These acts of deviance are regarded as "a price society must pay" and as a rule no attempt to correct society is made.

The second stage of "increased individual stress" is entered when change disequilibrates the steady state. It is accompanied by indications of stress; e.g. increasing anomie, disillusionment, crime and mental illness. Resultant psychological tension is still managed through internal defence mechanisms. New stress is rationalized through increased production and circulation of ideological constructs.

During the third stage (the stage of "cultural distortion"), tensions become fully manifest: deviant or socially disfunctional behaviour becomes measurable and society is divided into ideologically-oriented interest groups. The latter may accept tension managing constructs which can only form the basis for reintegrating the whole system if extensive modification occurs.

This stage gives way to the fourth stage - the period of revitalisation or revolution. According to Wallace "once severe cultural distortion has occurred, the society can with difficulty return to a steady state without the institution of a revitalization process." (Johnson, 1968, p.109) The stage of revitalisation can be broken down into six requisite functions:

- * *the formulation of a code* (the equivalent of the creation of a revolutionary ideology) which meets the psychological needs of disoriented individuals and tells them how to change the culturally distorted system and what to replace it with in the future. (These two functions are performed by the "transfer culture" and the "goal culture" respectively.) "The psychological importance of the goal culture is immense, for it opens up the possibility of liberation from the disturbing reality within which people have been trying to orient themselves." (Johnson, 1968, pp. 109-10);
- * *the communication of the code* with the aim of gaining support;
- * *organisation* - people united by an ideology organise themselves as a revolutionary association;
- * *adaptation*, or the representation of a program of action. Hostility is displayed toward the ideologically defined

enemy and their collaborators.

- * "These four requirements culminate in 'cultural transformation' - the overt attempt to implement the transfer culture... if it is successful, it 'will be attended by the drastic decline of the quasi-pathological individual symptoms of anomie and by the disappearance of the cultural distortion'." (Johnson, 1968, p.110)
- * The final task is that of *routinization*. The focus falls on maintenance instead of innovation. With this the system moves into the final conceptual stage - the new steady state.

A summary of Wallace's findings concerning personality stress during systemic disequilibrium is found in his "principle of conservation of cognitive structure": the first component of the principle states that "the individual will not abandon any particular conception of reality... even in the face of direct evidence of its current inutility, without having had an opportunity to construct a new mazeway." Johnson (1968, p.111) explains that this is the psychodynamic corollary of the fundamental premises that value-environmental synchronized societies are stable; that a disequilibrating source of change results in adaptive strategies first (i.e. prior to violence) and that revolution is purposeful, goal directed behaviour intended to overcome dissynchronization.

The second and third components of Wallace's principle state that if the individual is confronted with evidence of inutility (anomaly/disequilibrium) an anxiety-denial syndrome will be aroused which may continue for a considerable period of time; and the abandoning of a conception is facilitated by the presentation of substitutes and models of new mazeways.

In his assessment of Wallace's model Johnson acknowledges that there are several difficulties with Wallace's theory and that it must be used in conjunction with a macro-systemic conception of revolutionary processes. "The great virtue of the theory is that it portrays what happens to individual thought and behaviour as a social system becomes progressively disequilibrated, and it provides a tentative scheme for

correlating stages of systemic change with stages of personality change." (Johnson, 1968, p.111)

In my opinion, however, one must be careful not to underestimate the limitations of a micro-analytic approach (which tends to isolate the psychological) simply on the basis of the fact that it should be or will be used in conjunction with a macro-systemic model. The weaknesses inherent in any methodological approach which isolates and focuses on individual psychic structure alone, will be reflected to a certain extent in the theoretical conclusions - whether one combines it with a macro-analytical approach or not. (Of course, the same can be said about a macro-systemic approach that totally disregards a micro-analytical perspective.)

Furthermore, Wallace's theory does provide an abstract model of psychological processes during a revolutionary movement, and in that sense it may be a microscopic model of revolutionary processes. One must be very clear, though, on the fact that revolutions are fundamentally socio-political phenomena and micro-analysis can never be seen as "models for revolutionary processes" in the same way that macro-systemic analysis provides a model for revolutionary processes. Micro-analysis can only be used insofar as it elucidates some of the unanswered questions (e.g. as in the case of research conducted by members of the Frankfurt School). In other words the ultimate causes of revolutionary processes or the dynamic behind revolutionary processes - revolutionary processes in themselves - are not of a microscopic nature. Micro-analysis supplements macro-analysis in this instance rather than the other way around.

My final point of critique relates to the rather thoughtless way in which Wallace uses terminology such as "socially disfunctional", "crime", "illness" and "deviance". Apparently no attempt is made to penetrate the connotations and interpretations imposed by the dominant ideology on both the terminology and the behaviour denoted by the terminology. Although it is not Wallace's task to elucidate the interrelationship between language, reality and the dominant

ideology, the fact that he is at least aware of the matter should be reflected in his theory. Instead, the thoughtlessness reflected in his use of various terms enhances popular interpretations of liberation struggles and revolutionary movements as indications or manifestations of "illness", "maladjustment" etc.

A discussion of psychological aspects of a liberation movement would be incomplete without at least referring to the **mental disorders** which arise from it. Frantz Fanon (1963) deals with this issue in his writings on the Algerian war of national liberation. He presents his observations (which cover the period running from 1954-9) in the form of case studies of a number of patients who were examined in Algeria in hospitals, as private patients or by the health divisions of the army of national liberation.

Fanon's work deals specifically with Algeria and is not meant to be relevant or applicable to any other situation. However, I do believe that certain general observations can be made and certain inferences can be drawn from his writing which may have more than just a remote bearing on liberation struggles in general. If nothing else, in a more general discussion his observations illustrate how the broad socio-political structure permeates the psychic structure and influences the individual's mental health. For these reasons Fanon's observations are not discussed here, but a summary of his findings is presented in Appendix B.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE OF A STRESSFUL LIFE EVENT - A LITERATURE REVIEW:

In the second part of the theoretical phase of this research project we move closer to the actual psychological experience of being in hiding by reviewing psychological literature on the experience of a stressful life event. I want to reiterate that this does not mean that hiding is equated with other general stress experiences; but a thorough understanding of the latter does provide a valuable point of departure.

Stress can in general be conceptualized as a response to altered conditions in the psychological, socio-cultural or physical environment of a person. Thus, the very nature of being in hiding implies that it is a highly stressful experience. All situations that involve large-scale transformations of the individual's everyday life and thus place adjustive demands (for which no ready-made coping patterns are available) on a person, can lead to the experience of stress. In fact, Spacapan and Cohen (1983, p.251) demonstrated that the mere anticipation of a stressful event is sufficient to cause a stress effect. In other words, stressor exposure is not necessary to produce stress effects; the anticipation of exposure to a situation that is appraised as stressful results in the same deleterious effects found for those actually exposed to the stressor - both during and after the period in which the stressor is being anticipated. If we look at the phenomenon of being in hiding as an example of a stressful experience, we find that the disruption of the person's daily routine definitely demands adjustive behaviour. Furthermore, the anticipation of a possible period spent in detention may serve as an additional stressor in some cases.

3.1. The severity of the stressful experience:

The severity of the stressful experience is determined by the degree of disruption in functioning that it entails. The actual degree of disruption that occurs or is threatened

depends on the characteristics of the stressor; the individual's resources (personal and situational); the person's subjective interpretation of the events and the interaction between all these factors.

The impact of the stressor depends on its importance, duration, cumulative effect, multiplicity and immanence. Understanding the nature of a stressful event, preparing for it and knowing how long it will last, all lessen the severity of stress.

Due to individual factors people are unique in the way they experience and react to a stressful event. A number of studies deal with the influence of personality structure on the experience of a stressor. Personality as a moderating factor in the experience of stress will be discussed in more detail in the section on stress resistance. Differences in the experience of stress can also be due to the following factors:

The individual's subjective interpretation or perception of threat:

One component in the cognitive processing of stressful events is evaluation. People may evaluate an event in terms of its positive or negative implications for various aspects of their lives. To the extent that these cognitive processes focus one's attention on positive or negative aspects, they could strongly influence the nature of the event's impact on subsequent adjustment. A study conducted by Goodhart (1985, pp.216-32) indicates that thinking positively may temporarily lead to perceptions of increased well-being (though not necessarily lower maladjustment) while the thoughts are salient, but thinking positively had no enduring effects. Negative thinking was associated with lower reported well-being not only when the thoughts were salient, but after a delay as well. These findings support the general theory that tendencies to evaluate the outcomes of stressful events negatively may increase the reported psychological difficulties. Although positive thinking appears to be psychologically beneficial, its actual impact on psychological adjustment to stressful events remains uncertain.

Stress tolerance:

Stress tolerance or frustration tolerance refers to a person's ability to withstand stress without serious impairment of integrated functioning. People vary greatly (both biologically and psychologically) in overall vulnerability to stresses as well as in the types of stressors to which they are most vulnerable. Stress tolerance may be increased by the environmental support of a prescribed course of action.

The unique environmental and psychodynamic processes that played a role in the psychological development of the person will of course influence the above-mentioned factors to a large extent.

3.2. The reactions to stressful situations

Stress beyond a certain level threatens the psychological and physiological well-being of the person and engenders automatic, persistent attempts to resolve the situation. The results of a study conducted by Allen et al. (1981, p.95-9) support the hypothesized link between stressor events and emotional disfunctioning. They concluded that the stress response associated with altered conditions in the person's environment was an important antecedent in the development of psychiatric disorders. A stress reaction reflects the interplay of a combination of internal (e.g. personality, motives etc.) and external (environmental) determinants.

Coleman et al. (1984, p.148) distinguishes three general interacting principles that underlie reaction to stress: on a biological level there are immunological defences against disease and damage repair mechanisms; on a psychological and interpersonal level there are learned coping strategies and self-defences and on a socio-cultural level there are group resources. A detailed discussion of the factors which moderate stress reactions follows in section 3.3. Suffice it to say at this stage that failure on any of the above-mentioned three levels may seriously increase an individual's vulnerability on other levels.

Stress reactions are holistic, economical, either automatic or planned, cognitive and emotional and task or defence orientated. In other words: the person reacts to a stressor as an integrated unit and responds automatically or in a planned way in such a manner that his response entails a minimum expenditure of resources, employing first those defences that are least expensive. Furthermore, reactions entail a cognitive and emotional component and can be directed primarily at protecting the self from hurt and disorganisation or primarily at dealing with the requirements of the stressor.

Much maladaptive behaviour is the result of defence-orientated behaviour patterns: these include firstly, responses such as crying, repetitive talking etc. which seem to function as psychological damage-repair mechanisms and secondly defence mechanisms that relieve tension and anxiety and protect the self from hurt or devaluation. Defence mechanisms which are particularly pertinent to stress situations are denial of reality, repression, emotional insulation, intellectualization and regression.

It was mentioned earlier that stress reactions have cognitive and emotional components. As far as the former is concerned: an individual's level of cognitive complexity varies as a function of certain conditions. One such condition is stress. Research has indicated that the level of differentiation and integration (i.e. the number of categories of information processed in a given situation and the complex connection amongst these differentiated characteristics) decreases in stressful situations.

Porter and Suedfeld (1981, p.321-30) conducted a study on the relationship between stress and information processing. They concluded that their research supported the general hypothesis that information processing complexity is affected by changing aspects of one's environment, but that such a change does not necessarily entail a reduction in integrative complexity as previous research had indicated. In some situations the adaptive responses tend toward increasing rather than decreasing complexity.

The simplicity-complexity distinction in information processing simply means the following: in simple structures stimuli are interpreted in a unidimensional way and the rules of integration are generally fixed. Stimuli are evaluated rigidly and dissonant information is rejected in order to minimize conflict. In other words, there is a tendency to engage in categorical black-white thinking. At the complex end of the continuum processing is open and flexible. New interpretations of the same event may be considered simultaneously and more complex rules are used to interrelate the perspectives. The person seeks new information and tolerates uncertainty.

As far as the emotional components are concerned: the specific emotions that occur are heavily influenced by past learning and by the perceived significance of the stress situation. The type of emotions experienced contributes to the nature of the overall response. Some of the more common emotional responses to stress include anger, fear and anxiety. Stewart (1982, P.1102) reported that a stressful situation is often characterized by an initial experience of numbness or shock, followed by panic or fear of being overwhelmed. There may also be sadness or feelings of loss or grief for the previous situation as well as a passive orientation. These feelings are gradually replaced by anger, feelings of a need to act and specific fears of inadequacy. Eventually the individual accepts the reality of the situation, identifies reasonable avenues for effective activity and develops confidence in his/her ability to cope with the situation.

This sequence can be summarized as follows: it involves an initial period of disorientation with feelings of passivity, helplessness and loss; followed by increasing efforts to autonomy and mastery; and then a final stage in which a complex, accepting and realistic orientation may be achieved. Feelings of depression as a response in the first stage of this sequence are not excluded. Williams (1985, p.1572) distinguished four elements which are sufficient (though not necessary) for depression to occur: an uncontrollable event; an attributional style that would tend to produce internal,

stable, global attributions for that particular event; prediction of future occurrence of uncontrollable events and fourthly, the fact that the events in question represent highly probable aversive outcomes or very improbable positive outcomes or both. It will be established later that these elements play a very important role in the subjective experience of the stressful situation.

Excessive stress can result in a decrease in adaptive efficiency and increased vulnerability to other stressors. When a person is exposed to a severe stressor for an indefinite period, the person's adaptive abilities may be overwhelmed. The result is a lowering of integrated functioning (decompensation) and eventually the possibility of a breakdown.

Decompensation occurs on a biological, psychological and socio-cultural level. Psychological decompensation seems to follow the following course: initially the person is alerted and coping mechanisms are mobilized. This stage involves emotional arousal and increased tension, heightened sensitivity and vigilance and determined efforts at self-control. There may be indications that the mobilization of adaptive resources is inadequate to cope with the stress situation.

During the second stage of resistance the individual often finds means to deal with the stressor and thus is able to resist psychological disintegration. Even at this stage there may be psycho-physiological symptoms and mild reality distortions that serve as an indication of strain. During the late phases of this stage the person tends to cling rigidly to previously developed defences rather than engaging in more adaptive and effective coping strategies.

If the stressful situation is not resolved, the individual enters the stage of exhaustion. This entails a lowering of integration and the introduction of exaggerated and inappropriate defensive measures. Delusions and hallucinations

may occur as symptoms of increased disorganization in thought and perception. "Eventually, if the excessive stress continues, the process of decompensation proceeds to a stage of complete psychological disintegration." (Coleman et al., 1984, pp.155-6) Treatment measures which increase the individual's adaptive capacities or alleviate the stressor are usually instituted before decompensation runs its course.

3.3. Factors which moderate the relation between stress and psychological symptoms:

The factors which moderate the relation between stress and psychological symptoms are of primary importance from a therapeutical point of view. Stressor events in themselves are not sufficient predictors of emotional disfunctioning. According to Kobasa (1982, p.707) **stress resistance** has been associated with a variety of resources including income, intelligence, personality and coping styles, ideology and norms governing illness behaviour, social support systems and constitutional strengths like genetically based organic plasticity. Eight categories of generalized resistance resources can be distinguished: physical and biochemical, artifactual-material, cognitive and emotional, valuative-attitudinal, interpersonal-relational and macro-sociocultural. (Kobasa and Puccetti, 1983, p.839)

Although one can distinguish between the mediating variables or stress resistance resources found to mitigate the connection between the occurrence of a stressful event and the onset of physical and mental symptomology, they cannot be completely separated - a great deal of overlapping and interaction occurs naturally.

3.3.1. External resources and support systems:

It is hardly surprising that exposure to a highly stressful situation often motivates individuals to turn to others for support and reassurance. Lack of external support systems - either personal or material - enhances the effect of the stressor and weakens the individual's capacity to cope with

it. Holahan and Moos (1985, p.740) noted that empirical evidence from a variety of sources has demonstrated an inverse relationship between social support and various indices of physical and mental illness. Environmental support, however, is a complex matter. Social support can and does provide emotional sustenance, informational guidance and tangible assistance, but behaviour that is intended to provide support may also actually increase stress. (Kobasa, 1982, p.715)

Exactly how social support functions to mitigate the effects of a stressor has not been specified. Receiving the direct assistance of others in resolving the stressful situation, the reinforcement of good health practices (e.g. eating nutritional food, sleeping regularly etc.) at a time when they might be neglected and simply experiencing the rewards of being recognised by others and having one's thoughts and feelings affirmed may play an important role in this regard. (Kobasa, 1982, p.710)

Friedman (1981, pp.1102-17) examined affiliation as a stress reducer in fear and anxiety situations. The results of his study precluded the mere presence, distraction, social facilitation and social comparison explanations of how affiliation serves as a stress reducer in fear situations. He did however establish that subjects experienced arousal decreases in the company of others, though no logical explanation for this phenomenon suggested itself.

3.3.2. Subjective interpretation:

The relation between subjective interpretation and the experience of stress has already been discussed at length. (See section 3.1.) Suffice it to say that there is evidence that appraisals suggestive of positive and negative thinking may moderate the impact of latter stressors on psychological and physical well-being. Goodhart (1985, pp.228-9) reported that negative thinking about the outcome of previous stressors appeared to increase psychological vulnerability to the adverse effects of latter ones. The reverse, however, is not true for positive thinking: contrary to prior speculations,

thinking positively about past stressful events does not appear to foster a sort of generalized psychological resistance to future ones.

3.3.3. Commitment:

Commitment is one of the most relevant existential personality variables to stress resistance. Kobasa (1982, p.708) defines commitment as "the ability to believe in the truth, importance and interest value of what one is doing, and the willingness to exercise influence or control in the personal and social situations in which one is involved".

The belief system of committed people minimizes the perceived threat of stressful life events: stress is mitigated by a sense of purpose which prevents the person from giving up her social context and herself in times of great pressure. Committed people know why they are confronted with the stressful event if the latter is related to the object of their commitment. Alienation on the other hand leads to feelings of apathy and powerlessness in the face of stress. The person is therefore much more vulnerable to the illness-provoking effects of stressful life events. The ability to recognize one's distinctive values, goals and priorities and the belief in one's decision making abilities support the internal balance that is deemed essential for the accurate assessment of the threat posed by a particular life situation and for handling it competently. (Kobasa, 1979, p.4)

3.3.4. Predictability and control:

Both predictability and control play an important role in stress reduction. The relationship between predictability and control is, however, complex. Information alone about a stressful event may be beneficial, even when physical control is impossible. This suggests that there exists a type of control that does not rely for its beneficial effects on the ability to make external responses. Kobasa (1979, p.3) distinguishes between decisional and cognitive control: the former refers to the ability to choose autonomously among

various courses of action to handle the stressor; the latter is the ability to interpret, appraise and incorporate stressful events into an ongoing life plan, thereby deactivating their debilitating effects. A person will perceive himself to be increasingly in control of his environment as the contingency between his responses and subsequent outcomes become more apparent.

The cognition of perceived control has been found to reduce the debilitating effects of unpredictable stressors. Furthermore, there is some evidence that just the expectation of control over an anticipated stressor has a moderating effect on stress-induced effects. (Spacapan and Cohen, 1983, p.224) Pennebaker et al. (1977, pp.167-74) clearly demonstrated that experimentally induced lack of control is a cause of reported physical symptoms. A research project conducted by Katz and Wykes (1985, pp. 781-90) indicated that predictability of a stressful event reduces distress and arousal and is thus more beneficial than uncertainty. Uncertainty increases stress and the perception of a lack of control creates anxiety. These two affects combine in an additive fashion to elicit the stress effect. (Burger and Arkin, 1980, p.489)

Predictability and control enable the individual to engage in some preparatory activity that might have the beneficial effect of reducing the unpleasantness of the stress situation.

However, it seems as if predictability and control are not significant factors when it comes to the subjective evaluation of the seriousness of a life event. Chalmers (1983, p.283) found that "desirability and experience of events play a role in the perception of life event seriousness, while controllability and predictability of life events do not appear to effect seriousness ratings".

3.3.5. Personality:

I have already alluded to the importance of personality variables as personal resources during stressful periods. The

understanding of individual characteristics which determine responses to stressors is just as important as understanding qualities of the events themselves. These resources include a number of personality characteristics such as self-efficacy, self-confidence, self-reliance, a sensation-seeking motive, an easy-going disposition etc..

A review of research projects in this area (Holahan and Moos, 1985; Kobasa and Puccetti, 1983; Sammon et al., 1985; Leftcourt et al., 1981; Kobasa, 1979; Shaw, 1982; Pittman and Pittman, 1980; Stewart, 1982 and Kobasa, 1982) indicates that some personality variables are especially relevant:

Coping mechanisms: The perception and interpretation of stress lead to the performance of certain suitable responses and avoidance of others. The classification of coping mechanisms is characterized by a distinction between two types of coping strategies: firstly the more active or approach coping strategies which include behavioural efforts to deal with the challenge and cognitive attempts to manage one's appraisal of the threat, and secondly strategies which rely mainly on avoidance of the problem. Holahan and Moos (1985, p.740) refer to evidence which indicates that approach coping mechanisms (e.g. logical analysis, information seeking, problem-solving action etc.) are positively related to adaptation to stressful events. Furthermore, there seems to be a powerful negative association between avoidance or regressive coping mechanisms and psychological adjustment. Kobasa (1982, p.714) found that avoidance of regressive coping strategies goes hand in hand with the absence of stress symptoms.

Psychological androgyny: Research on androgyny has indicated that androgynous subjects are more adaptable than masculine or feminine sex-type persons. They are seen to be more flexible and have a wider range of strategies for coping with diverse situations. Masculine or feminine sex-typed persons rely principally on one set of strategies for

obtaining reinforcement.

Shaw (1982, pp.145-53) investigated the mediating effects of sex-role or sex-typing (and specifically androgyny) on the effects of stressful life events. He distinguished between androgynous, masculine, feminine and undifferentiated subjects. Shaw concluded that sex-typing does appear to act as a mediator of the effects of a stressor for both male and female subjects, but more so for female subjects. Female androgynous subjects rated stressful situations as less undesirable than other subjects. Undifferentiated subjects rated stressful life events as less meaningful than other subjects - male undifferentiated subjects more so than female undifferentiated subjects.

It does seem as if androgynous people are at an advantage when it comes to dealing with stress. It also appears that undifferentiated people are more disadvantaged than androgynous people are advantaged. Shaw hypothesized that his findings may be due to differential access to and/or use of social support systems between persons of different sex-types. However, this contention has not been submitted to adequate investigation.

Locus of control and the attribution process: Attribution refers to the way in which people explain behavioural causes. A person can have an internal or external locus of control depending on his/her beliefs regarding the way in which given outcomes occur. Pittman and Pittman (1980, p.377) established that attributional endeavours are motivated by a desire to maintain effective control over the environment and that attributional activity increases following an experience with lack of control.

A number of studies have investigated locus of control as an indicator of vulnerability to stressors. The results of a study conducted by Leftcourt et al. (1981, pp.357-69) are consistent with other research projects in that it confirms locus of control variables' status as a moderator of stressful

events. Persons with an internal locus of control react more favourably to stressful situations. (Shaw, 1982, p.146) This may be due to the fact that if one believes one can affect the event at hand, then those events will not continue indefinitely. A person can tolerate considerable stress if he believes the stressor will not be infinite or that current discomfort (psychological and otherwise) is in the service of some future ends that are of positive value.

Ego identity, psychosexual and psychosocial development: A well developed identity structure is both a stable frame of reference and a mediator of stressful life events. Ego identity has been significantly and positively related to effective psychosocial functioning. A study conducted by Sammon et al. (1985, pp.676-87) confirmed that ego identity mediates the impact of stressful life changes - individuals high in ego identity are able to deal better with stress situations.

According to Stewart (1982, p.1102) it is possible that the emotional components of Freud's and Erickson's account of psychosexual and psychosocial development are experienced whenever individuals must adapt to new situations or stressful events. In other words, it is speculated that those emotional concomitants are experienced in infancy in the context of the person's developing awareness of his body, but also in other contexts as he grows older. Erickson argued that the sequence of psychosexual and psychosocial development recurs in complex ways in later life. Stewart, however, suggests that these general emotional stances may recur as organized perspectives on the external environment which are adopted or experienced in sequence whenever that external environment changes significantly. That sequence may reflect the process of regulating the relationship between external reality and inner experience - a process that has traditionally been assigned to the ego.

Thus, Stewart's study of internal processes of adaptation to external life changes suggests that the experience of life

changes would define a series of emotional orientations that could be conceptualized as a sequence of stances toward the external environment. This sequence might form the core of a repeated process of emotional reorientation or adaptation experienced whenever the person faces significant life changes or stressful situations. She concluded that although her results ought to be verified by longitudinal data, it seems possible to reconceptualize the emotional experience first described as part of the child's psychosexual and psychosocial development as part of the adult's emotional adaptation to stress situations.

The previous discussion may be summarized by saying that it has been demonstrated that a certain constellation of various crucial personality characteristics equips the individual to cope with stress situations. Kobasa and Puccetti (1983, pp.839-85) refer in this regard to psychological **hardiness** which is characterized by a strong commitment to the self, an attitude of vigoroussness toward the environment, a sense of meaningfulness and an internal locus of control. Hardiness facilitates the kind of perception, evaluation and coping that leads to successful resolution of situations created by stressful events and thereby preventing the organismic debilitation associated with continued demands for readjustment.

To conclude, if a stressful event is managed effectively it may ultimately increase the person's confidence and skills for dealing with future events. The outcome of a stressssful situation depends on the extent to which any damage can be repaired and remaining resources reorganized. Although the individual's functional level may be permanently lowered following excessive stress, it is also possible that she may attain a higher level of integration and functioning than before the stressful episode.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY:

4.1. Rationale of research topic:

Psychological research has been remarkably uncritical in the past. Fischer (1975, p.145) argues that the view that scientists merely uncover unequivocal, immutable facts and that they explain, predict and control reality leave its believers resigned to adapt to the laws of nature - or second nature where social sciences are concerned. This view minimizes efforts to alter existing situations. Thus, the scientific approach to man tends to serve the status quo, as often as not thereby also perpetuating unwitting as well as motivated oppression. Furthermore, its conclusions are assumed to be somehow purely scientific - untainted by moral, philosophical, political, economic or other involvement or implications. Scientific findings have been beyond social reproach since facts in themselves are said to be value-free. Similarly, the manner and circumstances in which appearances are apprehended as facts go unquestioned. No effort is made to examine human participation in what it takes as "given". It is, however, the task of Critical Psychologists to rectify this unfortunate state of affairs.

The choice of a research topic was primarily influenced by two considerations: in the first place the necessity of South African psychology to address the pressing issues of our own oppressive society. The question concerning the relevance of psychology in South Africa and the need for a more indigenous type of psychology has been under discussion in academic circles for a number of years. The second consideration was the requirement of a critical component. Research in Critical Psychology includes by definition every dimension of people's lives where the possibility for conscious self-determination is restricted and obscured by ideological mechanisms of domination. The emancipatory moment of critical research lies in the potential self-reflection and enlightened awareness and action promoted by the critical researcher's communication to his/her target audience.

However, in the context of the South African socio-political situation, the oppressed do not even have to be educated in the fact of their own oppression. Domination in South Africa is not even subtly exercised through "the pseudo-legitimacy of ideological forms, but primarily through the brute force of military and police action, banning, detention and racist legislation" as Ivey (1985, p.15) succinctly put it. Thus, in view of the blatant irrationality of the current socio-political order, Critical Psychology has little to expose in this area. Furthermore we have to acknowledge the fact that theoretical insight has to be supplemented by direct intervention in the form of political activism in order to facilitate the oppressed masses in the recognition, appropriation and realization of their real needs and possibilities.

Thus, the psychological effects of various aspects of the current socio-political turmoil in South Africa not only passively provide psychologists with unique research opportunities, but actively demand such attention. Being in hiding is even at this stage of the struggle for democracy in South Africa an everyday reality for thousands of political activists and will become even more so as the struggle continues in the face of the South African Government's desperate attempts to uphold a white minority regime. This particular research project is not only an indictment against traditional psychology for the lack of research in this and related areas and its subsequent inability to criticize irrational forms of institutionalized organisation, but also an attempt to contribute in a very modest way to the stimulation of research that is relevant to South Africa in the period of socio-political transition.

4.2. Rationale of methodology:

In the dispute over methodologies it has often been cited that psychology is forced to make use of the empirical, exact methods and models of the natural sciences. However, the problem of methodology cannot be considered in isolation, but only in the context of the phenomenon to be investigated and

the problem aspect of that phenomenon. The lack of an adequate methodology often lies at the basis of the failure of research to comprehend the complex unity of the phenomenon under investigation.

It is not my aim to elaborate on the theoretical issues which are involved in the discussion between the phenomenologically based approach to psychology and other approaches. Suffice it to say that the diversity and plurality of phenomena to be studied call for a diversity of methods. Psychology should thus not feel compelled to emulate the practice of the natural sciences. It should rather turn to its indigenous phenomena, describe them faithfully and then interrogate those descriptions. The researcher should let the unfolding of the phenomenon itself guide the logic of his/her enquiry. (Giorgi, 1975, p.72) Romanynshen is of the same opinion when he says that the unique demands of the problem indicate the method rather than the method which limits the problem. (Kruger, 1979,p.119)

The subject-matter of psychology differs fundamentally from that of the traditional scientific disciplines. Since the approach and method a researcher uses is always dependent on the question she asks before she starts her scientific enterprise, psychological research calls for an approach essentially different from classical objectivistic procedures. "The fact that a human subject is historical and social and dwells in a world of meanings, whether actively constituted or passively assumed, are three paramount characteristics that should not be grudgingly admitted and backed into, but rather directly seized, spoken to, and taken advantage of." (Giorgi, 1985, p.42)

The tendency for psychological research to be prejudiced in favour of quantitative studies does not mean that quantitative questions are the only legitimate questions in psychology. On the contrary: it is often more meaningful to ask qualitative questions in order to provide a faithful understanding of human experience. The natural scientific stance is judged to be inadequate for the investigation of distinctively human

phenomena. Natural scientific methodology often overlooks fundamental aspects of human experience and mis-represents data.

It has already been made sufficiently clear that the method of psychological research is subject to modification depending upon the nature of the subject-matter to be investigated. It is precisely because of this consideration that I have chosen the phenomenological praxis as a tool in the quest to understand the phenomenon of being in hiding. It is a subject-matter which lends itself primarily to qualitative investigation. A phenomenological analysis of being in hiding can be practised with rigour and discipline, and yet do justice to each subject as an openness-of-being in a world of intentional significances. The primary aim of this study is to describe the phenomenon of being in hiding as accurately as possible as it appears - not with instrumental or other final precision, but so that it becomes transparent or recognisable through its varied manifestations in various contexts. The main purpose is to seek a comprehensive understanding of being in hiding as it manifests itself and to be faithful to the lived experience of each subject.

4.3. Pilot study:

A pilot study in the true sense of the word was not conducted. The realization of the possibility (or rather the necessity) to do research on the phenomenon of being in hiding as well as what could for all practical purposes be regarded as the "pilot study", occurred simultaneously: a political activist spontaneously approached me with something he had written after he had been in hiding for several weeks. He also expressed the wish to discuss his experience with a qualified person. I was present during the interview which was arranged between the activist and Gavin Ivey - my course supervisor at the time. During the course of the interview and also after I read the activist's spontaneous account of his experience, certain dimensions of the phenomenon of being in hiding became apparent. This valuable encounter was indirectly used as a rough reference in rounding off the final research question.

4.4. The research project:

4.4.1. Choice of subjects:

The research question was asked to both male and female political activists of all races who were forced to go into hiding in the period shortly after the declaration of the General State of Emergency in June 1986. They were facing not only the possibility, but the reality of detention without trial for an indefinite period. To my knowledge 3 of the activists who had been approached in connection with this research project were in fact detained before their responses were received. One person was detained shortly after an interview with him was conducted.

The subjects were approached at random. The question of getting hold of people who were in hiding did not prove to be too much of a problem as I was continuously in close contact with a number of people who were in hiding. Those whom I could not approach personally for a number of reasons (e.g. security reasons) received a written research question from a number of activists who kindly offered to assist in the research project.

4.4.2. Data collection:

Data was collected by means of both interviews and written research questions in which the subjects were asked to relate their experience of being in hiding in the form of an essay. The latter procedure was employed in order to overcome the practical problems of approaching people who were in hiding and also because activists in other parts of the country were approached. Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured, yet non-directive way after the subjects had been asked to think about their experience of being in hiding.

A standard copy of the following research question was given to the subjects who related their experience in the form of an essay:

I am doing research on the psychological experience of being in hiding and would appreciate your co-operation

in this regard.

Write an essay on your personal experience of being in hiding with specific reference to the way in which it has affected your life and how you feel about it. For example how has being in hiding affected your relationship with other people, the way you feel about yourself, your emotional state, your physical health etc.

These questions are nothing more than rough guidelines. Since the emphasis is entirely on your subjective experience, you can include any relevant material in your essay. You will, of course, remain anonymous.

Responses from nine activists in the Eastern Cape were received. Four of the responses were in the form of only an essay, four interviews were conducted and one essay was followed up with an interview as well. Repressive conditions in the Eastern Cape were perhaps more severe over a prolonged period than in other parts of the country. Furthermore, hiding in a small town proved to be more difficult than hiding in a larger city. Thus, because most of the subjects were Grahamstonians, their experience of being in hiding might have been more intense than the experience of activists in larger centres.

4.4.3. Phenomenology as method:

Medard Boss (Spiegelberg, 1972, p.337) has described the phenomenological approach as the rival of the natural scientific approach to the behavioural sciences, understanding by it a science which simply wants to stay with the phenomena themselves and lets the objects themselves tell the researcher about their immediately inherent meaning-content. The phenomenological approach accepts humankind in its own right as more than an object of nature, and then develops research methods which are specifically appropriate to it. The unit of study is the relational unity of person and world, man-in-his-world rather than man affecting world or world affecting man (Fischer, 1975, p.148)

Frederick Buytendijk emphasized the propaedeutic nature of phenomenological investigation in urging that any scientific enterprise should start from the immediate phenomena. "It starts from the phenomena present in pre-problematic life and proceeds step by step through the features which belong to their manifestations by way of elucidation of the inner structure..." (Spiegelberg, 1972, p.288) The method, which is carried from layer to layer, leads from intuitive facts to intuitible essences. Van Kaam (1966, pp.253-60) defines anthropological phenomenology as method (as opposed to philosophical phenomenology) as follows: "Anthropological phenomenology as method is a constituent of the scientific psychological mode of existence; it emerges from the phenomenological mode of existence; it is a method which translates the means and ends implicit in the phenomenological mode into well-defined procedures and objectives within concretely delineated projects of research; it develops certain checks and controls which insure the validity and reliability of the phenomenological procedures used within such projects; its purpose is the controlled ... explication of behaviour in order to prevent or correct subjectivistic distortions in the science of psychology."

Van Kaam continues to analyze the meaning and implications of some elements of this definition as follows: scientific psychology is a mode of existence which has the specific purpose of the acquisition of scientific knowledge of behaviour. The various scientific attitudes which constitute this mode are dependent on one another and include amongst others the phenomenological, the observational and experimental attitudes. Each of these tends in its own specific way toward scientific knowledge of intentional behaviour. The phenomenological attitude is the most fundamental, because it is concerned with that which all other constituents of the scientific mode presuppose and have as their basis. The phenomenological method presupposes the phenomenological mode of existence as its matrix. Every adaptation, differentiation or refinement of the method should be influenced by the phenomenological mode of being. The basic aims and steps of the phenomenological procedure are

implicitly presented in the phenomenological mode of existence from which every particular phenomenological modus operandi originates. The systemized method makes these implicit means and ends explicit, concrete and practical by adapting them to the specific object of research. Phenomenological explication is the operation of making explicit that which is already implicit in behaviour as it manifests itself to the psychologist. The point of departure for explication is undifferentiated spontaneous perception.

Description of the analytical procedure:

Some protocols contained richer descriptions than others and thus revealed more of the phenomenon of being in hiding. Only these richer descriptions were used in the study.

Essays and verbatim transcripts of interviews were prepared for the psychological analysis by leaving out redundant sections and by grouping together sections with a similar content without changing the meaning or original words used by the subject. This preliminary phase was necessary in order to facilitate the actual analysis.

The following were regarded as redundant:

- * Parts which related to other people's experience, unless it had a direct or indirect bearing on the subject's experience. For example, if it was used as an analogy or if the subject specifically stated that it could be extrapolated to his/her own experience.
- * Unintentional verbatim repetition - i.e. repetition that was not intended to emphasize a point.
- * Phrases or sentences which specifically referred to the structure of the interview - e.g. "We will talk about that later".
- * Incoherent phrases - e.g. incomplete phrases or inaudible phrases or words.
- * Irrelevant phrases or clauses - e.g. "I mean", "kind of", "you know", "I suppose" etc. unless it was of semantic importance.
- * Irrelevant, rather tedious descriptions or anecdotes which

did not contribute to an understanding of the psychological experience of being in hiding.

* Names of places and people which might identify the subject.

The interviewer's questions/remarks/interjections were reduced to essentials or left out unless it was essential in order to understand the subject's response. This constituted the structured unit or protocol which was subjected to a phenomenological analysis. These structured units of analysis are more coherent and are therefore included in Appendix D - instead of the verbatim transcripts of all the interviews. The analysis of each of the protocols can roughly be divided into the following phases:

1. The protocol was read several times in order to get a general sense of the whole description and a few more redundant clauses and words were left out.

2. Once a sense of the whole had been grasped, the data was broken down into separate units: the natural meaning units. These are spontaneously perceived discriminations within the subject's description which are self-definable and self-delimiting in the expression of a single, recognised aspect of the subject's experience of being in hiding.

3. The next phase consisted of directly expressing the psychological insight contained in each separate meaning unit. The purpose of this phase was to elucidate the psychological aspects in a depth appropriate to the understanding of being in hiding. Care had been taken not to be trapped in the use of psychological jargon. Rather, the language of common sense enlightened by a phenomenological perspective was used. (Giorgi, 1985, p.19)

4. Subsequently an attempt was made to synthesize and integrate the insights contained in the transformed meaning units into a consistent description of the psychological structure of being in hiding. This constituted the first order profile.

5. The first order profile was converted into a constituent profile description by summarizing the original data so that it contained the essence of what the subject expressed. The specific description of the situated structure of being in hiding was thus transformed into a general description in an

attempt to communicate a more general meaning of being in hiding. The first six phases were repeated for each protocol.

6. The descriptive statements with similar meanings were gathered and an extended description of what this revealed about the phenomenon of being in hiding was compiled.

7. In the final phase an essential description of the phenomenon of being in hiding was reached by explicating the essence of the extended description.

A practical example of the actual implementation of the procedure which was outlined above will be presented in the following chapter. A general discussion of the findings follows.

Scientific accountability:

The very use of the word "phenomenology" raises immediate suspicion in many scientific psychological circles. Phenomenologists have been accused of being subjectivistic to the detriment of their scientific accountability. Due to the widespread idea that the phenomenological method attempts to exclude the study of controlled parameters in favour of purely descriptive procedures, some scientific psychologists have either confounded phenomenology with a kind of personal or cultural humanism, or have indulged in theoretical considerations which were considered as a complementary reflection on their experimentally based interpretation. (In this way they hoped more or less to legitimize some particular quantitative aspects of their work which had escaped parametric reduction.)

As a basis for psychology phenomenology is characterized by its epistemological radicalism, its opposition to a mere imitation of exact science in the study of man, and its determination to place experimental research in the realm of a completely new conceptual framework. The status of theoretical constructs must therefore be appreciated on a level which excludes both naivety and abstract developments dissociated from the meaningful relation of the subject to the world of her lived experience. (Thimes, 1977, pp.21-2)

It is, however, not my purpose to refute the epistemological and other criticisms of the phenomenological praxis in this discussion. Suffice it to say that the core content of human science is structural analysis of phenomena as humanly experienced. (Fischer, 1975, p.150) The science of psychology can be scientifically accountable and yet do justice to all human psychological phenomena. In order to accomplish this, the key notions of science itself will have to be expanded according to Giorgi (1975, p.82). "This expansion does not destroy science or its key concepts; it seeks rather to introduce different ways of practising psychological science ... The point is that a human scientific psychological praxis is possible and that it has its own internal criteria for rigour."

In answer to the criticism of subjectivism, those who adhere to a phenomenological approach agree that objectivity is not necessarily founded in a distance of the observer from the observed, which makes the observer impersonal and constitutes the observed as an object. Kruger (1979, p.116) emphasizes that being rigorous or objective is actually an intellectual attitude of someone who pursues his study in an unprejudiced fashion and allows his judgment to be determined by that which really presents itself. It is thus quite possible that distance from the phenomenon under investigation could lead to less objectivity, if by that is meant a reliable and accurate representation of the phenomenon being observed. Objectivity is fidelity to the phenomenon. (Vall & King, 1978, p.52) The phenomenological approach is therefore an objective method of research par excellence.

In conclusion, Fischer (1975, p.150) does not question the scientific status of phenomenological psychology: "... its rigour consists in the insistence that its analyses account for every encountered instance of the phenomenon; there are no statistical probability levels. The effort toward transparency continues as further nuances or variations stand out. In addition the transparency must be evident to all viewers addressing the lived world. It is rigorous also in that it attempts to specify its own assumptions and perspectives,

including the active engagement of the researcher. Finally, [phenomenological psychology] is scientific in that it accounts for phenomena in a shareable, demonstrable, repeatable manner. It does so not by reducing the phenomenon to a different order by pointing to causes, but by describing what the phenomenon is, including the conditions necessary for its occurrence."

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS:

5.1. Descriptions of situated structure of being in hiding

The description on one subject's experience of being in hiding is used as an example of the analytical procedure as outlined in the previous chapter. This is followed by specific and general descriptions of the situated structure of being in hiding for the remaining four subjects respectively. (See Appendix D for the structured unit of analysis or protocol for each of these subjects.)

SUBJECT 1 (Male; eight months in hiding in various centres. See Appendix C for verbatim transcript of original interview.)

STRUCTURED UNIT OF ANALYSIS:

Describe how being in hiding has affected your life.

I think there's three major aspects. I broke that down into three major areas: the first is a domestic area and that involves things like what time you get up in the morning - the more mundane parts of your everyday life. Obviously being in hiding has affected that quite fundamentally. The most important things that it has affected is that I don't have a home - I mean I still have one, but my belongings are scattered. I have a few belongings, obviously, but, for example, my belongings are scattered all over XXX and a couple of other places in the country. I don't have any one place to go back to and I'm leading a very nomadic form of existence. I live in other people's houses from YYY which is the base from which I actually operate. That's broadly the first aspect.

I think that's really been the least important, but maybe again ... again, the domestic, the effect of the domestic and how I feel about it haven't been in the least serious. The major problem is that I don't have a home, but personally (and I think it's related to the kind of person one is) that hasn't been a major problem for me. I know someone else, for

example - A. She found that actually a major problem. A, just the kind of person that she was, it was for her very important to have a room of her own where she could go back to, things of her own, a little home base. For me that hasn't been a major problem. It's been the least of my worries, essentially. Although there has been related problems there, which is: the fact that one doesn't have a home tends to make you more dependent on other people, because you're staying in their houses. And that actually produces a couple of quasi-psychological effects, I think. Overall, the domestic lack of a home has been the least of my problems, although it has been slightly of a problem; but I think it's very much an individual thing.

And then there's been ... I mentioned this whole dependency syndrome. It is awkward. You can't constantly actually be depending on other people for things like accommodation or so. It's very difficult to actually ... to be involved in a relationship with those people. It becomes awkward to some extent.

How do you feel about being more dependent?

I just feel shit about it. I don't like it. It's not a situation in which I've been in, ever really, in my past. And I just don't dig it. Ya. I don't. It's just in very material things: it's accommodation; it's transport; it's certain arrangements that have to be made through intermediaries and stuff like that. You feel a bit guilty about it, almost. You do feel guilty. You feel that you're imposing on other people, which in a sense you are. You are something of an imposition. Either you're borrowing their car or you're living in their house, or whether they've got to take time out of what they're doing to arrange some special meeting for you with a third party or something like that. You feel guilty of the position you're in. You suspect all this even if people don't feel that way; you suspect that there may be some underlying resentment of the imposition that you're placing on people. You feel awkward. But you've got to do it. You've got to do it. The secret is, you obviously try to find some place as independent as possible, and in some areas that's more possible than in other areas. For example, certain people in hiding have placed a very large load on their contact people, on people who're acting as intermediaries. I try to eliminate that as much as possible. I tend to actually do a lot of things on my own, even if it involves marginally more risks. I'd rather do that than constantly

have someone waiting on me. But there are other areas in which you can't do that. Accommodation is obviously the key one in XXX. It's because of the size of the place. You don't have big, anonymous blocks of flats you could just go into. Overall, you don't feel good about it, but there's not much you can do about it.

Do you have a relatively normal life in other regions?

Ya, not more normal. I've got to be careful in other centres. I can't live a totally normal life. In two senses it isn't normal: in the one sense in that it's not totally open; I don't have to be anything like as intensely in hiding as I am now, but at the same time I got to be careful. My existence isn't public knowledge, and so on. I've just got to watch myself. The other thing, though, is that it's not normal because it isn't my home, it isn't my place of living, it's not where all my friends are. Again, when I live in other centres I can do social things, but my essential social network isn't there; it's in XXX. So it's abnormal in that respect. Ya, it can't be described as a normalization in that sense, because I can be more open, more relaxed, but I certainly can't live the kind of life I was living in XXX.

And again, those very important social aspects: I've got a lot of friends, a lot of acquaintances, but it's very different. The quality of social relationships is quite different, really, because it's people you see occasionally, it's nice to jol with and so on, but it's not the people you are really close to.

The second area is obviously a social area, affecting basically my social activity, my social relations with people. Socially both in terms of interpersonal relations or close interpersonal relations, sexual relations and so on, and also within just one's operations in social circles. And that's the second area that has actually been affected. Again, that has been severely disrupted. I no longer have any consistent or coherent social life at all. What's happened is that my whole social ... or the essence of my social existence ... I've got friends in other centres, obviously. I've got a couple of close friends. I suppose having specifically actually lived in XXX, I developed, I suppose, quite a vast social network, because people have come here, they stay some time and they live in other centres. So I know a lot of people in other centres. But my closest friends obviously live in XXX. And particularly living in

hiding in XXX, which is a particularly intense form of hiding - it's very small in XXX.

There's no way really that I can have any form of social or purely social activity. But I think when I was in hiding in ZZZ or YYY - okay, that might be different (in fact it is different for people there). They don't have to confine themselves as totally as I do here, because they're just a hell of a lot bigger than this place is. They can go to the odd restaurant; they can go to the odd movie; they can meet people socially from time to time and still be in hiding. In XXX I can do none of these things at all.

And so, with the exception of a couple of interpersonal - close interpersonal, emotional, sexual relationships - I actually have no social relationships whatsoever. And so there has been a very severe disruption at that level. Socially, again, this has been a big problem. My general social activity - interaction - has become extremely limited. I can't really describe (I don't think) the effects of that with a great degree of accuracy. I think one does feel ... I don't know ... isolated, I suppose; I'm not sure. I can't really tap on a very concrete symptom of that particular disruption. I can't do that, but it's ... it has been a problem. One does get socially isolated. And there's frustration, sure - a lot of frustration. Often you actually want nothing to do more than actually go out and see friends of yours and interact socially and stuff like that.

But I found that a bit more of a problem earlier than I actually do now in some ways. Overall I think the most direct effect of that, I guess, has been a certain isolation which you feel.

Do you mean a kind of loneliness? Can you describe the isolation?

Ya, I wonder what I mean by that. Maybe it is a kind of loneliness. I don't feel ever strongly alone. I don't feel strongly hell-of-a lonely. I don't know. I haven't really felt that. It's more ... it's difficult to explain these things. It's not a problem in and of itself; it's insofar as it relates to other feelings ... There is a particular psychological effect which I feel is an over-determined effect: it's produced by a range of different causes. It's very difficult to pick out exactly which

of those ones are ..., because they're all related to each other.

It isn't as if I've grown away from my friends. When I do see my friends in situations now - even really in social situations and in political situations and so on - it isn't as if there's been a big change in my relationships. That hasn't happened. Maybe because it hasn't been for so long - it's only been for eight or nine months now. So it isn't as if there's been a huge change in my relationships themselves. It's just, the relationships are no longer very strong entities in my life. They don't play a major role.

I would say that the disruption of my social network, the fact that I have very little social existence, that I don't ... and I think that has played a certain role in producing a kind of depression. If I could summarize: I think the fact that my social life has been severely disrupted, that it has actually been negated in a lot of ways, has been one factor which has actually produced - or has helped to produce - a kind of psychological symptom which I would call depression or melancholy - any of the two.

So on the one hand there has been a disruption - a social disruption. The other aspect of my social life is clearly my close sexual, emotional interpersonal relations. Those, again, have been severely disrupted.

There hasn't been that much of a change at the level of my close friends, by which I don't mean acquaintances and I don't mean lovers. There hasn't been that much of a change in the quality of those relationships. When I see people it's almost as if I haven't ... not seen them for some time. Things are actually very cool. The problem is more in just not living out those relationships on an everyday basis.

Maybe we can just go back - I was thinking now, during the interview. I suppose there's quite a lot of ... a feeling of loneliness involved in it. Ya, one does feel a bit lonely. You asked the question earlier and I think maybe you're right; maybe one does actually feel ... maybe I have felt quite alone at the end of the day. That isn't because relationships that I have are not ... I don't live them out consistently. They're not there on an everyday basis. If I'm in XXX, I don't see much of those people socially. When I do - even when I see them on a political occasion - that actually in itself has been ... well ... there has been a big

disruption to it: they're not a feature of my ongoing existence, of my life at the moment. Ya, I think that's what social relationships are all about: it's about being an ongoing feature. Those things actually ... it actually produces what you are; in a way it gives that meaning and ... when that meaning gets taken away, you're left feeling quite insecure.

That's the first thing. Then on a closer extreme - with lovers I mean - being in hiding just fucks those up. It fucks them up fundamentally. Examples ... I had quite a long-standing relationship with *J* and that just kist out; that just kist out essentially because of the State of Emergency. It also was always a problem, because we were living in different centres and so on last year, but the reason why it finally actually dipped out was because of the problems that the Emergency imposed on it.

I couldn't remain in regular contact with her - security was too tight to actually do that. I could not even say how much time I'd be spending with her at any time. At least before, although there were differences, but one could say ... one could make arrangements about spending time together and so on. That is just all totally out of the window and ... so the thing which finally drove out the relationship - more than just finally - it fundamentally influenced it. What I say is I don't think if there wasn't an Emergency declared, we would have broken up when we did. We wouldn't have. I'm not sure we would have broken up at all. It was the Emergency that fucked that up.

On the other hand ... ya ... I'm involved with someone else now and that has been very good; it has been very important. Again it hasn't been a problem, because we haven't been living in different places, but there are strains in the relationship, there are a lot. We can't jol together at all. We can't live out a normal social existence as people who are involved would actually just do. It had a funny beginning. It evolved in a rather strange way. It was affected by ... [hiding].

And I think adapting on occasions when we move ... we've been out of the Eastern Cape and it's been ... the adaptation to the social situation actually ... it was a bit of a strain as well. There've been lots of problems. I know it's good and it's been important to me, but it has been fundamentally fucked up by the whole Emergency. And the possibility exists that that exact thing is going to happen. We may be torn apart, as

it were, because if I go out of the region and so on, it's not gonna be sustainable any more, and that's a strain - that's a very big strain.

Then on the other extreme - on the sort of outer extreme, though - actually with general social relationships ... acquaintances rather than friends ... or people who you are friendly with, but who are not your close friends ... I think that's been quite problematic as well. I think you become quite ... you become a bit more insensitive to people. You're caught up a bit ... I don't know ... I found that I'm probably a bit more insensitive to people during this time. I'm a little bit less tuned into things that are done and vibes and so on. That can be even in meeting-situations in which you tend to use a subtle kind of approach. There have been problems there. There really have been, almost because your head is a bit preoccupied with other things; you're under a bit of stress. Ya, you're just not as tuned into that kind of thing.

Could the emotional changes in you also have affected the relationship? For instance, could you have been more demanding?

That's a good question. It might, I suppose. I haven't really thought of that before. I don't think I have objectively become more demanding, because I very much don't like being in that kind of situation in a relationship at all; I don't like making demands on another person of that kind. It makes me feel run out of control ... a little bit subordinate in some sense, which I'm not prepared to be in any relationship. So I'm quite careful about that. So I don't think that it's made me, if anything, it's made me more demanding. I don't think so, no ... I don't think the change is in me.

I think in a material sense, they have. If someone comes in and talks, and I'm feeling depressed, that obviously comes across. But I don't talk about it very much. I don't say anything about it or I don't go into it. It's always not been a problem for me. I know what's going down. I know what the problem is. I know what it's related to, and I don't think it would be a substantial relief if I discussed it in a big way. I will discuss what I'm feeling about certain things, obviously. I will talk about it emotionally ... and I do talk emotionally, but I don't lay a lot of that on my lover at all. Well, I will talk quite a lot about what I'm feeling, but I don't lay that kind of trip in general on people.

I suppose the other way in which I have been a bit demanding is that ... in contradiction to and almost because of my situation of general instability, I've wanted things in the relationship to actually be quite clear and quite ... I want to know - like confidently, say, when am I gonna see you, when am I not gonna see you. I don't want to be left hanging in something which I'm not sure what's gonna be happening. Like, maybe she's gonna come round; maybe she's not.

It's a very concrete thing which has been quite difficult to handle and that has been ... I'm in one place which I can't move out of. I can't go and visit her at home at all. It's been very much me hanging there. That ... it's actually added a very ... quite an important dimension to things. Now, I've never had that situation before at all - in which I'm parking off there and the other person I suppose, has a decision of whether they're gonna come round or not. It's never been like that. And it's something that made a ... there's a material effect that it actually has. That hasn't been ... it's actually not a problem at all. It was a fact in the beginning of the relationship that's ... obviously has led to unclarity and I was not quite sure what was going to be happening and so on. And it caused some anxiety for me at that stage, but since then it's been ... it hasn't actually been a feature or an issue at all.

What I was saying is the one ... the area in which I have been ... in which I wanted things quite clear so I know that I don't have to do worrying about that or expect that and so on ... And I suppose that's almost become ... almost as an offset to my lack of stability in other areas and I wanted things to be quite set and clear at that level. It was one area in which I do have some control and I don't feel completely out of control, because I've got enough things to ... actually ... my head's got enough things to actually pick up on.

And then finally, the third and final area which has affected my life has to do with politics - in terms of my political role. Now, for me being a political activist as I have been essentially for the last four years ... the main spread of my life has been political work - at least four years. There's been a severe change in the form of political activity. It's no longer really what it was. And also, I have to spend a lot of time outside of the region. Largely because, again, XXX is so small and so on. I think if I was living in ZZZ and in hiding in ZZZ it would be different. My colleague activists, as it were, don't have to spend a lot

of time outside of ZZZ or outside of ~~QQQ~~ when they're in hiding there or even outside of YYY. Whereas, because of the smallity of XXX, I ... if I were to live successfully in hiding, I just have to spend a lot of time out of the region. So it's been quite a big disruption.

And that has been ... that political displacement has played probably the most important ... it's been one of the most important factors in producing, again, this psychological state. The fact that I have developed a political role which has, ya, over the past four or five years which was a pretty ... pretty coherent thing - it was really pretty clear as to what it was. It was very important for ... it was what I was doing ... it was essentially what I was all about.

Now, with being in hiding on the one hand, that hasn't just been doing the same kind of things but more quietly. It hasn't been that at all. It's been ... it brought about quite a big change in the nature of what I've been doing recently. And it has meant ... the disruption of my political work has, I think, it's kind of fucked me over a bit. It's been quite a problem. It severely ... it generates severe questions in your head as to what you're doing, as to the worth of what you're doing and so on.

Again, part of it is this ... has this regional dynamic. A lot of my political work has been in the Eastern Cape. Now that I had to move out of the Eastern Cape, I can no longer do the kinds of things full time that I was doing. So you end up feeling "Well, what the fuck am I doing anyway? What is going down? What is the point for me to actually keep on doing that sort of thing in hiding?"

So that is a very important part of your definition of yourself and now that it has been disrupted ...

Ya, clearly. What I'm saying is I don't think that is just being in hiding or not being in hiding. It's been quite specific to my case. I think if I was just in hiding and doing very much ... If I was a township activist, for example, living in RRR township and ... being in hiding obviously would be a different thing. It would simply be doing slightly different - mainly the same, but slightly different - form of work, but in a more quiet and more security-conscious way under more stressful conditions. For me, again, it hasn't been ... it hasn't just been doing

the same things under a slightly more stressful existence. It means a whole disruption of that political framework in terms of which I was actually operating. I'm not saying that it's been, again, I have nothing political to do or it has been as severe as that. It hasn't at all, but it's meant, again, a disruption to that political role and that has led to problems with that per se.

I think that it's had these effects. It throws up these questions in your mind. You sometimes actually do feel a bit useless, even if you're doing something political in another centre. That's the strange thing - even if you're doing some or other ... it's not the same; it's not seen to be a political existence. And so, you do ... one does feel a little bit useless and you question the validity of what you're about and what you're doing and so on. Particularly, as I say, in the context of ... where you've developed ... the last four or five years have been all about this kind of thing. That's been what you're all about. It's like a psychological alienation of labour. You're alienated from your product, you're alienated from your work and so on. Just take that in a psychological sense - the political ... actually the context ... it's almost quite valid.

I think, just one thing about the self-worth number is that what it has done, is tended to make me become quite a lot more introspective at times than I've been in the past as a person. There are times in which I go through quite severe self-critiques, obviously. The kind of person that I am, I would look at my weaknesses and I would grin on them and so on. That sounds like almost quite a positive thing to do. And in one sense it is, but the problem is that it's not happening under conditions which lead to a whole lot of quite positive resolutions about that and hence positive action about that. It's happening under conditions which all tend against that actually happening. It's happening under conditions in which you're feeling insecure anyway; but I think a partial insecurity breeds this kind of introspection. But at the same time it isn't very conducive to working the whole thing out very positively. That's the problem. You end up just feeling quite ... quite *kak* about yourself in a lot of ways. It isn't as if you're leading a normal life in which you can take those often quite accurate self-criticisms and act on them and live them out and actually be quite, be just, the result. On the contrary: it's happening under conditions where there's no way you can do that kind of thing, so it leads to just more a feeling of just being fucked over. I

mean, you fuck yourself over of just feeling quite shit about yourself, quite bad about yourself, and without any avenue for resolving the whole thing productively. So it's a double-edged sword: on the one hand it's got its positive things about it in that it is opening up the kind of areas of self-criticism. On the other hand it's quite a negative process, because it isn't as if you can react to those, and it leaves you actually feeling more depressed and bad and so.

And in terms of your commitment?

What you're asking ... whether the way it has affected me has actually led me to question my commitment to the struggle broadly. No, not at all. Let me just clarify: when I talk about doubting my self-worth and so on, I mean that as a ... that is almost a psychological aberration. If I look at that rationally, if I stand back and I look at it, it's not really an issue ... it isn't the fact that I'm doing negligible work politically or that I'm doing things which are useless and hence, rationally, I've got good reason to actually doubt the worth of what I'm doing. It isn't like that. It's just that there have been severe disruptions to what I have been doing politically and that has led often to this psychological state where, as a result, you actually do doubt it. But as I say, I think it's an aberration. It's a psychological syndrome as opposed to anything which should reflect a real reality. This point of clarity is important, because it's the backdrop against which the general commitment thing can be seen. It hasn't led me to think, look - I mean - fuck, now I must drop the struggle; I've had enough of this; it's fucked me around and I want to get on with my personal life - largely because my personal life is my political activity. I can't imagine a personal life in which I'm not actually politically involved - fundamentally politically involved. But what it has done is made me take quite a far more long-term perspective of things. It's made me come to the realization that in fact, probably throughout this year, I'm gonna be going through some turning point process. It's related to very concrete questions about the struggle. The struggle is not gonna be over soon. The struggle is going to carry on for a long time in this country. And it isn't as if it's gonna run away from me or anything like that. So I needn't hassle too much about that kind of thing. It's just that I'm gonna have to reconcile myself to accepting probably a slightly depleted form of or level of political activity - certainly over the next ... over the forthcoming months; possibly even over the forthcoming years. So maybe it might be quite important for me

to actually take a kind of ... almost short-term break from politics. It may be important for me, for example, to go overseas at some stage and spend time there. That decision doesn't stem from ... at all from a doubting in the ... of my political struggle. It stems from just reassessing my political role in the long term; realizing that you know things are gonna take a long time and you know ... it wouldn't be a problem for me to actually do that kind of thing. And in the long term it actually may be more productive. In the short term it does pose a problem for me, because it does mean a lessening, as I said, a depletion of what I've been doing in the immediate past for the whole time. It is subtracting a little part of my life and transforming it into something else. But that's ... that just derives from a quite realistic assessment of the nature of the struggle at the moment - of what we're going through and of the kind of role one is going to have to play in the future. It doesn't stem from the feeling that I'm fucked in a political context.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself over this period?

Maybe I should here just go through ... I mentioned earlier the things like ... this various disruptions have ... I think is underlying a certain psychological syndrome. Let me just run through what I mean by that - by psychological symptoms. Again, if I can repeat in slightly different words, the disruption of the structure of my life in all these sections (the domestic, the social-stroke-interpersonal and in the political), that disruption and the consequent lack of stability that it leaves me with ... I'm totally unstable; it's very difficult for you to make very many forward plans. I don't know what I'm gonna be doing in three or four months' time. I actually don't know exactly where I'm even gonna be living at that stage. It's a material instability; and that's an effect of these manifold disruptions that I was talking about. So that complex of disruption and instability, I think, has produced a set of ... of feelings and so on which maybe I can just run through. They're kind of related together, I suppose:

The first is a kind of depression. Now, this is what I find quite interesting - I have never been a person that has, prior to I suppose about six months ago, who could identify with a feeling of depression. When people talked to me "Look, I'm feeling depressed now," I didn't really know what they meant. I certainly had times at which I felt a bit down and so on. But those were always related very much to concrete

episodes. If something didn't go so well - something politically or socially, whatever the situation was - then I wouldn't feel so good about it. It was very related ... it was a concrete thing. But over the last six months I have begun to develop a state of what I think people mean when they say they're feeling depressed. And by that I understand a feeling which you actually feel generally just done. You feel just *kak* about things. You just feel emotionally the kind of feeling "bit in your belly"; of just feeling shit and unenthusiastic and unmotivated and just *kak* about the ... about things - independent of any particular happening, of any particular event. It can in ... all cases are sparked off by a particular event. Something happens that doesn't go so well and so that sparks it off. But in the past when it's always been ... when that has sparked it off, I think about it, I work out - almost in a rational sense, a fairly abstract way - what is good, what is bad, what needs to be done about it and that's it. I would work through it and emotionally I'm fine.

I found that I'm unable to do that now; or not unable to do that so much as ... say ... it doesn't end up going that kind of path at all. It ends up me just feeling consistently shit about it. I'm not even just thinking about a particular event; but about things in general. It's sparked off by a particular event, but it escalates onto this general emotional state of what I understand people mean by depression.

The first thing is I've never had that before. I've never been that kind of a person. And it has developed from quite recently.

The point I want to stress is it's not related to a resolution of that particular problem. It becomes ... it's sparked off by that problem, but it becomes a general state of mind. And even if I do - if I look at the problem, I am still able to actually rationalize it in the sense of looking at it reasonably and abstract and work out what needs to be done and so on. But nevertheless, even having done that, it doesn't actually resolve ...

You don't feel better?

Ya ... necessarily ... it doesn't really do that. I still feel in a kind of depressed way. I don't know what the psychological process is that has actually gone on to produce ... what it is. I just don't, but I think

it's ... it [originated] in this, again, this disruption, instability problem.

So the first thing is this ... is depression. Related to that is a kind of anxiety syndrome I think - where I actually feel quite ... I hassle a lot more about small things than I used to. Something small would go wrong: say I have a bit of a ... something small politically won't go exactly as planned; something ... say my relationship with my lover will just ... a very small issue that crops up and I hassle about it for a whole day. And it's related to this thing: that can be one of the small things that sparks off this depressive feeling. And whereas before I might've felt a bit bad for a little while, but I would have forgotten about it, or it wouldn't have been an issue for me in my life. Now I tend to brood a hell of a lot more about it. I tend to have a kind of anxiety about it more than I used to. So that's the second change.

Another feeling (I think this is all of general interest; I don't know how much the other ones are shared by me ... or by other people in a similar situation) ... it's this kind of resignation: a feeling almost that you'd actually just rather be hashed and get it over with inside jail. That you just feel look, fuck ... you aren't quite sure of exactly the worth of what you're doing in the first place. Even if it is - look at it rationally - it is ... it's worth while the stuff that you're doing. But that gut buoyancy about what you're doing is gone a bit because of this disruption thing. That's a kind of stress factor: that you feel constantly pressurized and you're worried and there's nothing you can do and so on. You do get this feeling sometimes that, look, fuck, you actually would be better off inside of jail. At least in two senses: firstly, that you wouldn't have to worry about things the whole time and secondly, just in the sense that when you come out at the end, you'd be able to make some concrete plans about your life. Whereas at the moment it's very difficult to make such plans at all. And that's a problem. I find it a big problem where I'm not able to actually plan very much what I'm gonna be doing. I don't like such a situation at all. I have to know where I'm going. And you feel at least when you go into detention, when you come out, you can plan where you're going.

So this uncertainty is a problem?

Ya, it is a problem. It is a definite problem. I for one feel that. It's

more than just for me. I know a lot of other people that actually find it to be a problem. I think through all of us in the situation this thread actually runs where you come to a stage where you just feel, fuck - rather just go inside, close this chapter and maybe when you come out you'd be able to plan things.

A fourth syndrome is this ... sometimes you just feel a bit angry about it. Now, this is the least important thing. You just feel a response of anger to the system and so on. That's minor stuff. I don't think that's particularly worth ... it's not a very pronounced thing. But the fact that they can actually fuck your life up - which they can and they have; they fucked up a lot of my relationships with people. They fucked up ... they fucked up everything essentially. And that does produce a feeling at some stages of anger.

How do you handle that anger?

It just goes away. There's nothing you can do about it. Also, I've never been a person for getting fully angry about this kind of thing. For me it's a fact of life. I understand why it happens. I'm basically ... they're involved in a fight; I'm involved in a fight. We're at opposite ends of it and they're gonna do what they can to screw over what I represent. And that involves screwing me over and ... because of our effect on political change. So getting angry doesn't really help very much. It's never been a big feature of the way in which I practise politics in my life.

And then the final aspect, I suppose, is one of melancholy. I don't know what the correct word is. I don't know whether melancholy is at all the right word. But ... a feeling of - almost a corny word - the feeling almost of sorrow. It's related to the feeling of isolation that I mentioned earlier. All these things come ... you might say I'll be feeling on a particular day ... I'll have a particular state: there're elements of depression; it's got elements of anxiety; elements of this melancholy; elements of this isolation.

I don't feel like that the whole time at all - I'm not saying that. It doesn't happen often, but on some days something just sparks off and I just feel shit and I feel a combination of these factors. And it's ... it's a very *kak* feeling. It really is.

It can be sparked off by something: for example, there's ...you know this - what's his name? - Simon, Paul Simon-ou from Graceland. Now, when I was in XXX for a certain period last year (that thing had come out quite recently) ... and it was played quite often in the house in which I was living. And to this day I actually find it a little bit of a strain to actually hear that record. And none at all at the time - it just recently developed to the extent where it just evokes this kind of feeling of ... of all these things. Not so much the depression thing as more the melancholy-isolation number.

Because it was quite ... it was a good time, but it was a very intense time. A lot of things happened during that. But this song, this record ... actually I find it difficult to listen to it, because it evokes weird feelings. It really does. Ya, it does.

There's an immense sorrow about it. I don't know what it is; it's just that you feel a bit ... something. There's a feeling of ... Insecurity, I suppose, underlies a lot of this. You just aren't sure where the fuck you're gonna end up quite soon; or what's gonna be happening to you, because you're not sure about planning. The stability ... the lack of a concrete social network in terms of which you're actually acting, the lack of consistent interpersonal relationships and so on ... they make you feel, I suppose, very insecure in lots of ways.

How do you cope emotionally?

I don't have a set way of handling it. I found that it washed away. It comes and goes for various lengths of time, insofar as some particular incident can spark it off; at the same time if things, maybe even unrelated things, actually go quite well, it can make me feel good again. Normally it's just ... I feel *kak* for a day and the next day I'm feeling okay. It just goes. I don't have a very worked-out mechanism for handling that syndrome at all. What is quite important ... what is part of my close interpersonal relations ... those have been quite important, I suppose, in settling that particular thing. But I don't have a set mechanism which I resort to.

I would like nothing better than actually to come out of hiding. I just don't like it at all. It's necessary and so on, but it's ... particularly in ... because of the way ... my specific case (the XXX scenario): being

out of the region, or ... a couple of things I already mentioned. It's fucked my life up and I actually don't like it. The other thing ... I got over the process I established: I think for the first ... a little while ... the first couple of months and so on ... it wasn't too bad. I find it actually more difficult to handle as time goes on. Well, I suppose I was very caught up in the whole process of being in hiding. It's a new experience. You adapt to a whole lot of things at the beginning. That's all past now. I'm sitting with a rather ... rather cold and rather sullen reality of living this disrupted, isolated, unstable existence for a long time and there's no glamour involved in it at all. And in fact, I find it more difficult to actually come to terms with it now. I think I'm probably going to be - in the near future it should be a bit better, because I ... It relates to quite material decisions that I make, like where I'm gonna be living and so on. But if, for example, I leave the region for some time - for a number of months, which is a possibility, I relocate somewhere else and I'll settle down more to a stable existence there. Gradually I've had to reconcile myself to the changes that have actually been taking place. I think at the moment it's been worse. It's been getting worse for me to actually handle, but I think that if I do go through some kind of shift and that reconciliation is not just - it's a mental thing - but it actually takes on quite a material form. When I move somewhere else and I settle down and take on a different day to day form of existence in which I can begin to develop slightly new social circles ... political circles ... Maybe things are a bit more stable, a bit less insecure and so - then it may get a bit better.

How do you feel about spending an indefinite period in hiding?

Not good. I'd rather not have that at all. I don't feel good about that at all, but it might just have to happen. I've got to make hard choices. I really do. I've got to make the choices in which none of the options are desirable, essentially, for me at all. Even the decision ... if I, for example: I either stay in XXX under the conditions of staying in XXX. The up-side of staying in XXX is that I'm so close to my lover and so on. The down-side is the stress; the possibility of being bust and so on. And the other part of the up-side is clearly the political work that I'll be doing here and so on. But again the down-side is the possibility of being bust in doing the political work. So either it is that or I choose to actually leave the region. The up-side to leaving the region is that I'm more secure and so I don't have to hassle; there's less stress and so on.

The down-side is the lover factor, being away from her and so on, and also the whole political thing - although I might be able to become politically involved in another centre, I don't know. So all of these choices are difficult ones to make. None of them I want to make; all of them I have to make. I don't like the possibility of being in hiding indefinitely, but there's nothing you can do about it. That's really it. I realize it's ... the feeling of almost wanting to be inside is, I suppose, a bad feeling - it's not a good feeling. It leads to not being security tight. It's not a rational feeling. It's a feeling ... there's nothing that you will achieve by being inside. It's very much, again, it's a kind of aberration. So rather don't feel it ... but I don't like the prospect.

Will you be able to go on like this?

I don't know; what else can you do? I will be able to go on because I have to and that's all there is to it. I've gone into these things - it's not as if all these things actually affect my ... they do affect me fundamentally, but they're all entirely handleable for me. They certainly are. The kind of person ... I could be a kind of person, I suppose, for which they're not really handleable. For me they are. So there it is. It's not a funda ... it's a problem; it's a big problem for me, but it's a handleable problem. I'm not gonna fuck out, to put it that way. I'm really not.

Your physical appearance has changed dramatically. Has that had any effect?

I think I'm far less conscious of myself physically now than I was before the Emergency - far less. I don't think I've ever been an amazingly physically conscious person, but at the same time I've always had an eye on myself and what I looked like. My body has been quite important to me - important in ... in keeping fit and so on. I did a lot of things: I used to run; I used to do karate; I did exercises at the gym and so on. I don't do any of that stuff at the moment at all. I can't go to a karate club; I sometimes go to a gym if I'm out of town - just sometimes. I sometimes run if I'm out of town. I can't do either of those if I'm in XXX. I'm a lot less fit than I used to be. I put on a bit of weight since the Emergency was declared.

I think I care far less what I look like facially as well. It's just not an issue. There was a time in which it was quite a crisis. There was a time in which it was very acute - a choice that one makes between personal vanity and security. You're either going to be secure which means you're gonna change and you're gonna end up looking a hell of a lot less attractive than one did before. Now that wasn't even a choice for me. It's just that you realise that there are those questions. Once you've gone through that - once you realise that: the criterion according to which you're making yourself appear physically, is not one in which you'd like to appear; it's the way in which necessity dictates that you actually appear in terms of security considerations. Once you've made that choice, you actually begin to worry or care far less about how you appear physically.

I don't think it's a good thing. I don't think it's a good thing at all, because I think it leads to a slightly ... it's kind of a lack of self-worth syndrome. You're not feeling particularly good about yourself. It plugs into that. So I don't think it's very good at all. But it happened.

You mentioned being busted - is that at the back of your mind?

No, I think it's not really. It relates to this point that I mentioned before when I was talking about the stress factor. I don't hassle constantly about being bust. I don't do that. I go through infrequent occasions in which I confront the prospect of being inside of jail. I don't like the thought of it and I think, fuck, you know, I actually ... I don't dig this. But that happens, as I say, infrequently. As a general thing I don't worry about it. I don't have a lot of stress and so on. There are times - if you hear a funny knock at the door - you hassle ... you shit yourself, but ... and I suppose I do get a bit jumpy. I get jumpy when it comes either to leaving a place or going back. If I leave the Eastern Cape and I come back to the Eastern Cape, I get more jumpy on those occasions. If I'm about to leave - say I've got another three days to go - then the stress does actually build up a bit until I'm actually gone. For a day or two before I actually return, again, the stress builds up. But it's not an ongoing feature of my psychological state at all. I don't hassle about it constantly. It's not a major, major feeling for me. But I suppose, when I sit down and think about it, then it's actually a prospect. But it's not something that's constantly on my mind.

How do you feel about the fact that your safety does not entirely depend on yourself?

I get pissed off if people make ... are indiscreet. I get pissed off when they make security fuck-ups. I get very angry about that. I'm not talking about things which they can avoid ... I mean which they can't avoid. I'm talking about things that they can avoid. That irritates me. But at the same time you almost actually feel quite resigned about it. You feel, look, fuck, you do what you can to ensure that you are security tight; you allow other people to do what they can to ensure that security is tight. If it fucks out, it fucks out - you're gonna get bust. You do what you can, you control what you can and if there's a problem, then there's gonna be a problem and you're gonna get bust. You'll check again and if you feel you could avoid that, you actually rectify that problem both because you should if you want to be secure, and also because you feel unhappy enough about it to actually go and tune the person. But over and above that it's not a hell of a kind of thing.

ANALYSIS:

Meaning units identified in S's description

Constituents revelatory of the structure of being in hiding

Describe how being in hiding has affected your life.

1. S thinks there's three major aspects. He broke that down into three major areas.
2. The first is a domestic area and that involves things like what time you get up in the morning - the more mundane parts of your everyday life. For S, obviously being in hiding has affected that quite fundamentally.
3. The most important things that it has affected is that S doesn't have a home - he still has one, but his belongings are scattered. He has a few belongings, obviously, but, for example, his belongings are scattered all over XXX and a couple of other places in the country. S doesn't have any one place to go back to and he's leading a very

1. For S being in hiding has touched on three main spheres of his existence.
2. Being in hiding has had a profound effect on the basic, routine, taken-for-granted aspects of S's daily existence.
3. For S the most prevalent aspect in this regard is the fact that he is leading the life of a wanderer; he does not have a fixed home to return to - a place where things which belong to him are gathered.

nomadic form of existence. He lives in other people's houses from YYY which is the base from which he actually operates. That's broadly the first aspect.

4. S thinks that's really been the least important, but maybe again... again, the domestic, the effect of the domestic and how he feels about it haven't been in the least serious. The major problem is that he doesn't have a home, but personally (and S thinks it's related to the kind of person one is) that hasn't been a major problem for S. He knows someone else, for example - A. She found that actually a major problem. A, just the kind of person that she was, it was for her very important to have a room of her own where she could go back to, things of her own, a little home base. For S that hasn't been a major problem. It's been the least of his worries, essentially.

5. Although for S there has been related problems there, which is: the fact that one doesn't have a home tends to make you more dependent on other people, because you're staying in their houses. And that actually produces a couple of quasi-psychological effects, S thinks.

6. For S, overall, the domestic lack of a home has been the least of his problems, although it has been slightly of a problem; but S thinks it's very much an individual thing.

7. For S then there's been ... he mentioned this whole dependency syndrome. It is awkward. You can't constantly actually be depending on other people for things like accommodation or so. It's very difficult for S to actually ... to be involved in a relationship with those people. It becomes awkward to some extent.

How do you feel about being more dependent?

8. S just feels shit about it. He doesn't like it. It's not a situation in which he's been in, ever

4. With slight reservation S emphasizes that he has had no serious difficulty in coping with this aspect of being in hiding and that it has been the least significant of his experiences, seeing that a home base does not have any special significance for him.

5. However, for S a difficulty in this area which he has experienced in a particular way, is the fact that he relies more on other people for material support.

6. S reiterates that although it has been slightly difficult to cope with, his homelessness has been the least of his difficulties.

7. S feels uncomfortable in his relationship with people upon whom he is dependent for basic practical support.

8. For S being dependent is a new experience which he strongly dislikes.

really, in his past. And he just doesn't dig it. He doesn't.

9. It's just in very material things: it's accommodation; it's transport; it's certain arrangements that have to be made through intermediaries and stuff like that.

10. In S's experience you feel a bit guilty about it, almost. You do feel guilty. You feel that you're imposing on other people, which in a sense you are. You are something of an imposition. Either you're borrowing their car or you're living in their house, or whether they've got to take time out of what they're doing to arrange some special meeting for you with a third party or something like that. You feel guilty of the position you're in. You suspect all this even if people don't feel that way; you suspect that there may be some underlying resentment of the imposition that you're placing on people. You feel awkward.

11. But you've got to do it. You've got to do it.

12. For S the secret is, you obviously try to find some place as independent as possible, and in some areas that's more possible than in other areas. For example, certain people in hiding have placed a very large load on their contact people, on people who're acting as intermediaries. S tries to eliminate that as much as possible. He tends to actually do a lot of things on his own, even if it involves marginally more risks. He'd rather do that than constantly have someone waiting on him.

13. S acknowledges that there are other areas in which you can't do that. Accommodation is obviously the key one in XXX. It's because of the size of the place. You don't have big, anonymous blocks of flats you could just go into.

14. Overall, S doesn't feel good about it, but there's not much you can do about it.

9. S is dependent on people on a very practical level to maintain himself and his activities.

10. S feels guilty and feels that he is laying duties on people who have to rearrange their routine to accommodate him and his activities. He is inclined to think that his presence is experienced by people as an imposition and that they retain bitter feelings in this regard.

11. S realizes that it is inevitable.

12. S tries to minimize this by being as self-reliant as possible under the circumstances even if it is slightly more hazardous. For S this is more desirable than total reliance on another person.

13. However, particular local circumstances make self-reliance in essential areas impossible for S - e.g. accommodation.

14. S is not happy with the state of affairs, but he cannot change it.

Do you have a relatively normal life in other regions?

15. For S [it is] not more normal. He's got to be careful in other centres. He can't live a totally normal life.

16. In two senses it isn't normal for S: in the one sense in that it's not totally open; S doesn't have to be anything like as intensely in hiding as he is now, but at the same time he's got to be careful. His existence isn't public knowledge, and so on. He's just got to watch himself.

17. The other thing, though, is that it's not normal because it isn't his home, it isn't his place of living, it's not where all his friends are. Again, when S lives in other centres he can do social things, but his essential social network isn't there; it's in XXX. So it's abnormal in that respect.

18. S confirms that it can't be described as a normalization in that sense, because he can be more open, more relaxed, but he certainly can't live the kind of life he was living in XXX.

19. And again, those very important social aspects: S's got a lot of friends, a lot of acquaintances, but it's very different. The quality of social relationships is quite different, really, because it's people you see occasionally, it's nice to jol with and so on, but it's not the people you are really close to.

20. For S the second area [in which being in hiding has affected his life] is obviously a social area, affecting basically his social activity, his social relations with people. Socially both in terms of interpersonal relations or close interpersonal relations, sexual relations and so on, and also within just one's operations in social circles. And for S that's the second area that has actually been affected. Again, that has been severely disrupted.

21. S no longer has any consistent or coherent social life at all. What's happened is that his whole social ... or the essence of his social existence ...

15. Even in other centres S's lifestyle does not assume its usual characteristics.

16. Even though hiding assumes a less intense character in other centres, caution regarding his movements and common knowledge of his whereabouts have to be foremost in S's mind.

17. Furthermore, not having the familiar environment of home and close friends adds another dimension of unusualness to S's existence in other centres.

18. S reiterates that he is to a lesser extent in hiding in other centres, but his lifestyle is still fundamentally different to his existence prior to hiding.

19. When S is away from his home town he enjoys the company of his friends, but their relationship is more distant and S misses the close interpersonal contact with friends in his home town.

20. For S being in hiding has severely interrupted the flow of a broad range of his interpersonal relationships as well as the general way in which he actualizes himself in his social world.

21. S feels that a fundamental part of his social existence has fallen apart.

22. S's got friends in other centres, obviously. He's got a couple of close friends. Having specifically actually lived in XXX, S developed quite a vast social network, because people have come here, they stay some time and they live in other centres. So S knows a lot of people in other centres. But his closest friends obviously live in XXX.

23. And for S particularly living in hiding in XXX, which is a particularly intense form of hiding - it's very small in XXX. There's no way really that S can have any form of social or purely social activity.

24. But S thinks when he was in hiding in ZZZ or YYY - that might be different (in fact it is different for people there). They don't have to confine themselves as totally as S does here, because they're just a hell of a lot bigger than this place is. They can go to the odd restaurant; they can go to the odd movie; they can meet people socially from time to time and still be in hiding. In XXX S can do none of these things at all.

25. And so, with the exception of a couple of interpersonal - close interpersonal, emotional, sexual relationships - S actually has no social relationships whatsoever.

26. And so for S there has been a very severe disruption at that level. Socially, again, this has been a big problem. S's general social activity - interaction - has become extremely limited. He can't really describe the effects of that with a great degree of accuracy. S thinks one does feel ... isolated. He's not sure. He can't really tap on a very concrete symptom of that particular disruption. He can't do that, but it's ... it has been a problem. One does get socially isolated.

27. And for S there's frustration, sure - a lot of frustration. Often you actually want nothing to do more than actually go out and see friends of yours and interact socially and stuff like that.

22. S feels that the quality of his relationships in other centres does not measure up to the quality of those that he has lost by leaving his home town.

23. A large part of S's social reality has fallen away in his home town due to the difficulty and intensity of hiding in such a small town.

24. For S the extent of social confinement is quite severe as a result of the size of his home town: public recreational and social activities have to fall away because they pose a safety risk.

25. S's interpersonal world has become much smaller in hiding.

26. The severe disruption and limitation of his social world present difficulties for S which he finds hard to identify and articulate as such. However, it does lead to feelings of isolation - feelings of being apart from other people.

27. The fact that S cannot achieve his social desires leads to a high degree of frustration, but S gradually learned to cope with that.

But S found that a bit more of a problem earlier than he actually does now in some ways.

28. Overall S thinks the most direct effect of that, has been a certain isolation which you feel.

Do you mean a kind of loneliness? Can you describe the isolation?

29. S wonders what he means by that. Maybe it is a kind of loneliness. He doesn't feel ever strongly alone. He doesn't feel strongly hell-of-a lonely. He doesn't know. He hasn't really felt that. It's more ... for S it's difficult to explain these things. It's not a problem in and of itself; it's insofar as it relates to other feelings ... There is a particular psychological effect which S feels is an over-determined effect: it's produced by a range of different causes. It's very difficult to pick out exactly which of those ones are ..., because they're all related to each other.

30. For S it isn't as if he's grown away from his friends. When he does see his friends in situations now - even really in social situations and in political situations and so on - it isn't as if there's been a big change in his relationships. That hasn't happened. Maybe because it hasn't been for so long - it's only been for eight or nine months now. So it isn't as if there's been a huge change in his relationships themselves. It's just, the relationships are no longer very strong entities in his life. They don't play a major role.

31. S would say that the disruption of his social network, the fact that he has very little social existence, he thinks that that has played a certain role in producing a kind of depression.

32. S thinks the fact that his social life has been severely disrupted, that it has actually been negated in a lot of ways, has been one factor which has actually produced - or has helped to produce - a kind of psychological symptom which he would call

28. S reiterates that for him the most prominent experience of being in hiding on a social level is that of isolation.

29. S is uncertain as to what this feeling of isolation means to him. For S it is not predominantly a feeling of loneliness - it is a feeling that cannot be separated from S's overall emotional experience of being in hiding.

30. For S the quality of his relationship with his friends has not changed in one way or another, but the relationships themselves have fallen away to a large extent.

31. For S the shrinking of his social existence leads to feelings of depression.

32. For S the loss of a large part of his social world leads to feelings of depressive sadness.

depression or melancholy - any of the two.

33. So on the one hand there has been a disruption - a social disruption. The other aspect of S's social life is clearly his close sexual, emotional interpersonal relations. Those, again, have been severely disrupted.

34. For S there hasn't been that much of a change at the level of his close friends, by which he doesn't mean acquaintances and he doesn't mean lovers. There hasn't been that much of a change in the quality of those relationships. When he sees people it's almost as if he hasn't ... not seen them for some time. Things are actually very cool. The problem is more in just not living out those relationships on an everyday basis.

35. S was thinking now, during the interview - there's quite a lot of ... a feeling of loneliness involved in it. S confirms that one does feel a bit lonely ... maybe one does actually feel ... maybe S has felt quite alone at the end of the day.

36. For S that isn't because relationships that he has are not ... He doesn't live them out consistently. They're not there on an everyday basis. If he's in XXX, he doesn't see much of those people socially. When he does - even when he sees them on a political occasion - that actually in itself has been ... there has been a big disruption to it: they're not a feature of his ongoing existence, of his life at the moment.

37. S thinks that's what social relationships are all about: it's about being an ongoing feature. Those things actually ... it actually produces what you are; in a way it gives that meaning and ... when that meaning gets taken away, you're left feeling quite insecure.

38. That's the first thing. Then on a closer extreme - with lovers - being in hiding just fucks those up. It fucks them up fundamentally. Examples ... S had quite a long-standing relationship with J and that just kist out; that just kist out

33. The flow of S's intimate interpersonal relationships has also been severely interrupted.

34. S does not experience any difficulty or change in relating to his friends when he does see them; for S the difficulty lies in not having this social network on an ongoing basis.

35. S realizes that a feeling of loneliness is a part of his experience of being in hiding.

36. S reiterates that this is due to the loss of a large part of his interpersonal network.

37. S feels insecure due to the loss of the continuous presence of the interpersonal network which, for him, is an important formative element of the self.

38. For S being in hiding has had an extremely destructive influence on an intimate interpersonal relationship.

essentially because of the State of Emergency. It also was always a problem, because they were living in different centres and so on last year, but the reason why it finally actually dipped out was because of the problems that the Emergency imposed on it.

39. S couldn't remain in regular contact with her - security was too tight to actually do that. S could not even say how much time he'd be spending with her at any time. At least before, although there were differences, but one could say ... one could make arrangements about spending time together and so on. That is just all totally out of the window and ...

40. So the thing which finally drove out the relationship - more than just finally - it fundamentally influenced it. What S says is he doesn't think if there wasn't an Emergency declared, they would have broken up when they did. They wouldn't have. He's not sure they would have broken up at all. It was the Emergency that fucked that up.

41. On the other hand S's involved with someone else now and that has been very good; it has been very important.

42. Again it hasn't been a problem, because they haven't been living in different places, but there are strains in the relationship, there are a lot. They can't jol together at all. They can't live out a normal social existence as people who are involved would actually just do. It had a funny beginning. It evolved in a rather strange way. It was affected by ...[hiding].

43. And S thinks adapting on occasions when they move ... they've been out of the Eastern Cape and it's been ... the adaptation to the social situation actually ... it was a bit of a strain as well. There've been lots of problems.

44. S knows it's good and it's been important to him, but it has been fundamentally fucked up by the

39. Hiding severely undermined a basic element in sustaining the relationship - i.e. the regularity of contacting each other and spending time together.

40. S is convinced that the relationship ended as a direct result of the difficulties imposed on it by his being in hiding due to the State of Emergency.

41. S finds the intimate relationship in which he is involved at present very supportive.

42. Hiding has had an impact on the course of this relationship - it imposes external strains upon the relationship and severely curtails the social and recreational options open to S and his lover.

43. For S adapting to a less restricted existence together has also created difficulties and tension in the relationship.

44. The fear of losing a valuable supportive relationship as a result of concrete difficulties

whole Emergency. And the possibility exists that that exact thing is going to happen. They may be torn apart, as it were, because if he goes out of the region and so on, it's not gonna be sustainable any more, and that's a strain - that's a very big strain.

45. Then on the other extreme - on the sort of outer extreme, though - actually with general social relationships ... acquaintances rather than friends ... or people who you are friendly with, but who are not your close friends ... S thinks that's been quite problematic as well. S thinks you become quite ... you become a bit more insensitive to people. You're caught up a bit ... he found that he's probably a bit more insensitive to people during this time. He's a little bit less tuned into things that are done and vibes and so on. That can be even in meeting-situations in which you tend to use a subtle kind of approach. There have been problems there. There really have been, almost because your head is a bit preoccupied with other things; you're under a bit of stress. You're just not as tuned into that kind of thing.

Could the emotional changes in you also have affected the relationship? For instance, could you have been more demanding?

46. S thinks it might, he hasn't really thought of that before. S doesn't think he has objectively become more demanding, because he very much doesn't like being in that kind of situation in a relationship at all; he doesn't like making demands on another person of that kind. So he's quite careful about that. So he doesn't think that it's made him, if anything, it's made him more demanding. He doesn't think so. He doesn't think the change is in him. He thinks in a material sense, they have.

47. If someone comes in and talks, and S's feeling

imposed on it by being in hiding, is another source of tension for S.

45. S notices that he has become less aware of and concerned with feelings and actions of people who are not part of his close circle of friends and that he is more involved in his own world in hiding at this level.

46. S feels that his interpersonal relationships were not affected by changes in himself or by the way in which he relates to people.

47. Although S does use his interpersonal support

depressed, that obviously comes across. But he doesn't talk about it very much. He doesn't say anything about it or he doesn't go into it. It's always not been a problem for S. He knows what's going down. He knows what the problem is. He knows what it's related to, and he doesn't think it would be a substantial relief if he discussed it in a big way. He will discuss what he's feeling about certain things, obviously. He will talk about it emotionally ... and he does talk emotionally, but he doesn't lay a lot of that on his lover at all. S will talk quite a lot about what he's feeling, but he doesn't lay that kind of trip in general on people.

48. The other way in which S has been a bit demanding is that ... in contradiction to and almost because of his situation of general instability, he's wanted things in the relationship to actually be quite clear and quite ... he wants to know - like confidently say, when is he gonna see you, when is he not gonna see you. He doesn't want to be left hanging in something which he's not sure what's gonna be happening. Like, maybe she's gonna come round; maybe she's not.

49. For S it's a very concrete thing which has been quite difficult to handle and that has been ... he's in one place which he can't move out of. He can't go and visit her at home at all. It's been very much him hanging there. That ... it's actually added a very ... quite an important dimension to things.

50. S's never had that situation before at all - in which he's parking off there and the other person has a decision of whether they're gonna come round or not. It's never been like that.

51. And it's something that made a ... there's a material effect that it actually has. That hasn't been ... it's actually not a problem at all. It was a fact in the beginning of the relationship that's ... obviously has led to unclarity and S was not

network to cope with his emotional experience of being in hiding, he relies more on his internal resources.

48. S's general state of uncertainty has led to a need for certainty in the area of his intimate relationship.

49. For S it has been difficult to cope with the fact that he has lost his active role in initiating certain aspects of the relationship.

50. For S this was a new experience in an intimate relationship.

51. Initially this has led S to feel emotionally uneasy due to feelings of uncertainty and insecurity in the relationship.

quite sure what was going to be happening and so on. And it caused some anxiety for him at that stage, but since then it's been ... it hasn't actually been a feature or an issue at all.

52. What S was saying is the one ... the area in which he has been ... in which he wanted things quite clear so he knows that he doesn't have to do worrying about that or expect that and so on ... And that's almost become ... almost as an offset to his lack of stability in other areas and he wanted things to be quite set and clear at that level. It was one area in which he does have some control and he doesn't feel completely out of control, because he's got enough things to ... actually ... his head's got enough things to actually pick up on.

53. And then finally, the third and final area which has affected S's life has to do with politics - in terms of his political role. For S being a political activist as he has been essentially for the last four years ... the main spread of his life has been political work - at least four years. There's been a severe change in the form of political activity. It's no longer really what it was.

54. And also, S has to spend a lot of time outside of the region. Largely because, again, XXX is so small and so on. He thinks if he was living in ZZZ and in hiding in ZZZ it would be different. His colleague activists, as it were, don't have to spend a lot of time outside of ZZZ or outside of QQQ when they're in hiding there or even outside of YYY. Whereas, because of the smallity of XXX, if S were to live successfully in hiding, he just has to spend a lot of time out of the region. So it's been quite a big disruption.

55. And for S that has been ... that political displacement has played probably the most important ... it's been one of the most important factors in producing, again, this psychological state.

56. The fact that he has developed a political role

52. S demanded certainty regarding his intimate relationship, because he did not want this area to become an additional source of uneasiness; it was a sphere of his existence where he felt in command of the situation - unlike the rest of his existence in hiding.

53. Being in hiding has affected an integral part of S's existence in bringing about a severe change in the way in which he lives out his political convictions.

54. S's political activities have been severely disrupted in hiding, because particular local circumstances force him to leave his home town in order to hide successfully.

55. For S the disturbance in his political world has been a very significant factor in his emotional experience of being in hiding.

56. For S his political role has been a very well

which has, over the past four or five years which was a pretty ... pretty coherent thing - it was really pretty clear as to what it was. It was very important for ... it was what he was doing ... it was essentially what he was all about.

57. With being in hiding on the one hand, that hasn't just been doing the same kind of things but more quietly. It hasn't been that at all. It's been ... it brought about quite a big change in the nature of what S's been doing recently.

58. And it has meant ... the disruption of S's political work has, he thinks, it's kind of fucked him over a bit. It's been quite a problem. It severely ... it generates severe questions in your head as to what you're doing, as to the worth of what you're doing and so on.

59. Again, for S part of it is this ... has this regional dynamic. A lot of his political work has been in the Eastern Cape. Now that he had to move out of the Eastern Cape, he can no longer do the kinds of things full time that he was doing. So you end up feeling "Well, what the fuck am I doing anyway? What is going down? What is the point for me to actually keep on doing that sort of thing in hiding?"

So that is a very important part of your definition of yourself and now that it has been disrupted ...

60. S confirms that it has been a very important part of his definition of himself. What he's saying is he doesn't think that is just being in hiding or not being in hiding. It's been quite specific to his case. He thinks if he was just in hiding and doing very much ... If he was a township activist, for example, living in RRR township and ... being in hiding obviously would be a different thing. It would simply be doing slightly different - mainly the same, but slightly different - form of work, but in a more quiet and more security-conscious way

integrated, unambiguous part of his existence and perception of himself.

57. The very essence of S's political work has undergone a severe transformation in hiding.

58. For S this has been a profound disturbance which is difficult to cope with and which leads to doubts regarding the nature and value of his work.

59. The fact that the flow of S's political work has been seriously interrupted due to the necessity of leaving his political home base, has caused S to feel that he is not serving a useful purpose politically.

60. For S this is related to his particular experience in hiding and he reiterates that his experience is due to the fact that the core of his political work has been qualitatively disturbed.

under more stressful conditions. For him, again, it hasn't been ... it hasn't just been doing the same things under a slightly more stressful existence. It means a whole disruption of that political framework in terms of which he was actually operating.

61. S's not saying that it's been, again, he has nothing political to do or it has been as severe as that. It hasn't at all, but it's meant, again, a disruption to that political role and that has led to problems with that per se.

62. S thinks that it's had these effects. It throws up these questions in your mind. You sometimes actually do feel a bit useless, even if you're doing something political in another centre. That's the strange thing - even if you're doing some or other ... it's not the same; it's not seen to be a political existence. And so, you do ... one does feel a little bit useless and you question the validity of what you're about and what you're doing and so on.

63. Particularly, in the context of ... where you've developed ... the last four or five years have been all about this kind of thing. That's been what you're all about.

64. For S it's like a psychological alienation of labour. You're alienated from your product, you're alienated from your work and so on. Just take that in a psychological sense - the political ... actually the context ... it's almost quite valid.

65. S thinks, just one thing about the self-worth number is that what it has done, is tended to make him become quite a lot more introspective at times than he's been in the past as a person. There are times in which he goes through quite severe self-critiques, obviously. The kind of person that he is, he would look at his weaknesses and he would grin on them and so on. That sounds like almost quite a positive thing to do. And in one sense it is, but the problem is that it's not happening

61. S's political work has been severely curtailed but not to the extent that it has ceased altogether.

62. For S doing political work in other centres does not fill the void left by not being able to work in his home town. The political disruption raises doubts regarding not only his political usefulness, but also the soundness of his self-definition and existence as a whole.

63. The intensity of S's experience in this regard is enhanced by the fact that such an integral part of his existence has been disrupted.

64. S feels estranged from his political world and political self.

65. In hiding S has been more inclined to examine his own thoughts and feelings than in the past. However, for S this has not been a constructive experience that strengthens inner resources. On the contrary: S feels that conditions in hiding are not conducive to positive integration and actualization of the outcome of his critical self-analysis, and instead, the latter only stems from and enhances feelings of insecurity.

under conditions which lead to a whole lot of quite positive resolutions about that and hence positive action about that. It's happening under conditions which all tend against that actually happening. It's happening under conditions in which you're feeling insecure anyway; but S thinks a partial insecurity breeds this kind of introspection. But at the same time it isn't very conducive to working the whole thing out very positively.

66. For S that's the problem. You end up just feeling quite ... quite *kak* about yourself in a lot of ways. It isn't as if you're leading a normal life in which you can take those often quite accurate self-criticisms and act on them and live them out and actually be quite, be just, the result.

67. On the contrary: it's happening under conditions where there's no way you can do that kind of thing, so it leads to just more a feeling of just being fucked over. You fuck yourself over of just feeling quite shit about yourself, quite bad about yourself, and without any avenue for resolving the whole thing productively.

68. So for S it's a double-edged sword: on the one hand it's got its positive things about it in that it is opening up the kind of areas of self-criticism. On the other hand it's quite a negative process, because it isn't as if you can react to those, and it leaves you actually feeling more depressed and bad and so.

And in terms of your commitment?

69. The way [being in hiding] has affected S has not at all actually led him to question his commitment to the struggle broadly.

70. S clarifies: when he talks about doubting his self-worth and so on, he means that as a ... that is almost a psychological aberration. If he looks at that rationally, if he stands back and he looks

66. In hiding S is unable to incorporate these critical insights constructively into his life. Instead he experiences intense feelings of self-devaluation.

67. S's inability to integrate his self-critique constructively and the ensuing feelings of self-devaluation enhance his general experience of being profoundly unsettled.

68. For S the constructive value of critical self-analysis is lost due to the fact that conditions in hiding defeat ensuing growth and enhance feelings of depression.

69. S is as firmly committed to the struggle as ever.

70. S realizes that doubting his self-worth is a pre-reflective, subjective experience which is not based on rational, objective reflection on his political work.

at it, it's not really an issue ... it isn't the fact that he's doing negligible work politically or that he's doing things which are useless and hence, rationally, he's got good reason to actually doubt the worth of what he's doing. It isn't like that. It's just that there have been severe disruptions to what S has been doing politically and that has led often to this psychological state where, as a result, you actually do doubt it. But as S says, he thinks it's an aberration. It's a psychological syndrome as opposed to anything which should reflect a real reality.

71. For S this point of clarity is important, because it's the backdrop against which the general commitment thing can be seen. It hasn't led him to think, now he must drop the struggle; he's had enough of this; it's fucked him around and he wants to get on with his personal life - largely because S's personal life is his political activity. He can't imagine a personal life in which he's not actually politically involved - fundamentally politically involved.

72. But what it has done is made S take quite a far more long-term perspective of things. It's made him come to the realization that in fact, probably throughout this year, he's gonna be going through some turning point process. It's related to very concrete questions about the struggle. The struggle is not gonna be over soon. The struggle is going to carry on for a long time in this country. And it isn't as if it's gonna run away from S or anything like that. So he needn't hassle too much about that kind of thing.

73. It's just that S's gonna have to reconcile himself to accepting probably a slightly depleted form of or level of political activity - certainly over the next ... over the forthcoming months; possibly even over the forthcoming years. So maybe it might be quite important for S to actually take a kind of ... almost short-term break from

71. Because S's political involvement is such an essential, integral part of his whole existence and because he does not make a distinction between his political and non-political existence, the personal discomfort which he has suffered as a result of being in hiding has not at all been detrimental to his political commitment.

72. Being in hiding has enlightened S's understanding of his political present in relation to his political future: he has come to realize that for him the present is a point in time at which decisive change occurs. He acknowledges the long-term nature of political change and realizes that he will still have a role to play in bringing about political change in the future.

73. S realizes that he has to accept the short-term limitations imposed on his political activities and that he can mould his political career with long-term objectives in mind.

politics. It may be important for him, for example, to go overseas at some stage and spend time there. That decision doesn't stem from ... at all from a doubting in the ... of his political struggle. It stems from just reassessing his political role in the long term; realizing that you know things are gonna take a long time and you know ... it wouldn't be a problem for S to actually do that kind of thing.

74. And in the long term it actually may be more productive. In the short term it does pose a problem for S, because it does mean a lessening, as he said, a depletion of what he's been doing in the immediate past for the whole time. It is subtracting a little part of his life and transforming it into something else.

75. But that's ... that just derives from a quite realistic assessment of the nature of the struggle at the moment - of what they're going through and of the kind of role one is going to have to play in the future. It doesn't stem from the feeling that he's fucked in a political context.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself over this period?

76. S mentioned earlier the things like ... this various disruptions have ... he thinks is underlying a certain psychological syndrome. He will just run through what he means by that - by psychological symptoms. Again, if he can repeat in slightly different words, the disruption of the structure of his life in all these sections (the domestic, the social-stroke-interpersonal and in the political), that disruption and the consequent lack of stability that it leaves S with ... he's totally unstable; it's very difficult for you to make very many forward plans. S doesn't know what he's gonna be doing in three or four months' time. He actually doesn't know exactly where he's even

74. S acknowledges that there may be long-term advantages to this, but the short-term difficulty is that the curtailment of his political activities means that a part of his existence has fallen away and has assumed a different character.

75. S's decisions regarding the particular form of his political involvement are based on a rational political analysis and not on a subjective feeling of hopelessness in this regard.

76. The severe interruption of the flow of his existence in different areas has destroyed the stability of S's existence and has left him unsettled to such an extent that he does not have any certainty regarding material aspects of his future. S identifies a number of interrelated feelings or emotional experiences in this regard:

gonna be living at that stage. It's a material instability; and that's an effect of these manifold disruptions that S was talking about. So that complex of disruption and instability, he thinks, has produced a set of ... of feelings and so on which maybe he can just run through. They're kind of related together.

77. The first is a kind of depression.

78. This is what S finds quite interesting - he has never been a person that has, prior to about six months ago, who could identify with a feeling of depression. When people talked to him "Look, I'm feeling depressed now," S didn't really know what they meant. He certainly had times at which he felt a bit down and so on. But those were always related very much to concrete episodes. If something didn't go so well - something politically or socially, whatever the situation was - then S wouldn't feel so good about it. It was very related ... it was a concrete thing. But over the last six months he has begun to develop a state of what he thinks people mean when they say they're feeling depressed.

79. And by that S understands a feeling which you actually feel generally just done. You feel just *kak* about things. You just feel emotionally the kind of feeling "bit in your belly"; of just feeling shit and unenthusiastic and unmotivated and just *kak* about the ... about things - independent of any particular happening, of any particular event. It can in ... all cases are sparked off by a particular event. Something happens that doesn't go so well and so that sparks it off.

80. But in the past when it's always been ... when that has sparked it off, S thinks about it, he works out - almost in a rational sense, a fairly abstract way - what is good, what is bad, what needs to be done about it and that's it. He would work through it and emotionally he's fine. S found that he's unable to do that now; or not unable to do that so much as ... say ... it doesn't end up

77. S feels depressed.

78. Prior to going into hiding S has experienced feelings of being slightly dispirited in relation to specific occurrences in his life, but in hiding the intensity of his feelings of depression is new to him.

79. For S this means generally feeling intensely bad, apathetic and emotionally handicapped and tired out - initially as a result of a disappointing occurrence.

80. S's ability to cope positively and constructively on an emotional level with disappointing occurrences has been debilitated.

going that kind of path at all. It ends up him just feeling consistently shit about it.

81. S's not even just thinking about a particular event; but about things in general. It's sparked off by a particular event, but it escalates onto this general emotional state of what he understands people mean by depression.

82. The first thing is S's never had that before. He's never been that kind of a person. And it has developed from quite recently.

83. The point S wants to stress is it's not related to a resolution of that particular problem. It becomes ... it's sparked off by that problem, but it becomes a general state of mind.

84. And even if S does - if he looks at the problem, he is still able to actually rationalize it in the sense of looking at it reasonably and abstract and work out what needs to be done and so on. But nevertheless, even having done that, it doesn't actually resolve ...

You don't feel better?

S confirms that he doesn't necessarily feel better ... it doesn't really do that. S still feels in a kind of depressed way.

85. S doesn't know what the psychological process is that has actually gone on to produce ... what it is. He just doesn't, but he thinks it's ... it [originated] in this, again, this disruption, instability problem.

86. So the first thing is this ... is depression. Related to that is a kind of anxiety syndrome - where S actually feels quite ... he hassles a lot more about small things than he used to. Something small would go wrong: say S has a bit of a ... something small politically won't go exactly as planned; something ... say his relationship with his lover will just ... a very small issue that crops up and he hassles about it for a whole day.

81. For S these feelings then generalize to an overall experience of depression.

82. For S this constitutes a qualitative difference when it is compared to his emotional experiences prior to going into hiding.

83. S emphasizes that it spreads to become an overall experience of depression, independent of the original stimulus.

84. S is still able to approach problem-solving in his usual constructive way, but despite that the emotional correlate of this process remains a feeling of depression.

85. S cannot explain this experience, but he thinks it stems from the disruptive, destabilizing nature of being in hiding.

86. S notices that he becomes disproportionately upset by and worries about relatively insignificant events which go wrong.

87. And for S it's related to this thing; that can be one of the small things that sparks off this depressive feeling. And whereas before he might've felt a bit bad for a little while, but he would have forgotten about it, or it wouldn't have been an issue for him in his life. Now S tends to brood a hell of a lot more about it. He tends to have a kind of anxiety about it more than he used to. So that's the second change.

88. Another feeling ... it's this kind of resignation: a feeling almost that you'd actually just rather be hashed and get it over with inside jail.

89. That you just feel look, fuck ... you aren't quite sure of exactly the worth of what you're doing in the first place. Even if it is - look at it rationally - it is ... it's worth while the stuff that you're doing. But that gut buoyancy about what you're doing is gone a bit because of this disruption thing. That's a kind of stress factor: that you feel constantly pressurized and you're worried and there's nothing you can do and so on.

90. You do get this feeling sometimes that, look, fuck, you actually would be better off inside of jail. At least in two senses: firstly, that you wouldn't have to worry about things the whole time and secondly, just in the sense that when you come out at the end, you'd be able to make some concrete plans about your life.

91. Whereas at the moment it's very difficult for S to make such plans at all. And that's a problem. S finds it a big problem where he's not able to actually plan very much what he's gonna be doing. He doesn't like such a situation at all. He has to know where he's going.

92. And you feel at least when you go into detention, when you come out, you can plan where you're going.

87. Unlike before S would ponder over insignificant upsets, which lead to normally unwarranted, lengthy periods of depressive feelings and emotional uneasiness.

88. S also sometimes feels that he is prepared to endure being detained in order to end it all.

89. This is related to doubts regarding the value of his political work in hiding and general feelings of despondency in this regard, as well as constant feelings of uneasiness and tension.

90. S sometimes feels that his emotional experience might be relieved to a certain extent in detention - he would be able to relax more, and after his release he would be able to resume his life with an amount of certainty.

91. S finds it very difficult to cope with the uncertainty and insecurity of his life at the moment.

92. S has reached a stage where he is willing to accept detention in anticipation of it being the end of a period characterized by uncertainty and instability.

So this uncertainty is a problem?

S confirms that it is a problem. It is a definite problem. S for one feels that. He thinks through all of them in the situation this thread actually runs where you come to a stage where you just feel, fuck - rather just go inside, close this chapter and maybe when you come out you'd be able to plan things.

93. A fourth syndrome is this ... sometimes you just feel a bit angry about it. For S this is the least important thing. You just feel a response of anger to the system and so on. That's minor stuff. S doesn't think that's particularly worth ... it's not a very pronounced thing. But the fact that they can actually fuck your life up - which they can and they have; they fucked up a lot of his relationships with people. They fucked up ... they fucked up everything essentially. And that does produce a feeling at some stages of anger.

How do you handle that anger?

94. It just goes away. There's nothing you can do about it. Also, S's never been a person for getting fully angry about this kind of thing. For him it's a fact of life. He understands why it happens. He's basically ... they're involved in a fight; He's involved in a fight. They're at opposite ends of it and they're [the State's] gonna do what they can to screw over what he represents. And that involves screwing him over and ... because of their effect on political change. So getting angry doesn't really help very much. It's never been a big feature of the way in which S practises politics in his life.

95. And then the final aspect for S is one of melancholy. He doesn't know what the correct word is. He doesn't know whether melancholy is at all the right word. But ... a feeling of - almost a

93. An additional, less strongly marked experience for S is a feeling of anger towards the State in view of the fact that they have completely and utterly disrupted the flow of his existence.

94. However, for S anger is not a predominant experience, because he accepts and understands that the disruption of his life is part of the struggle between the State and extra-parliamentary opposition.

95. Part of S's experience of being in hiding is a feeling of grief - a feeling of sorrow.

corny word - the feeling almost of sorrow.

96. It's related to the feeling of isolation that S mentioned earlier. All these things come ... you might say he'll be feeling on a particular day ... he'll have a particular state; there're elements of depression; it's got elements of anxiety; elements of this melancholy; elements of this isolation. S doesn't feel like that the whole time at all - he's not saying that. It doesn't happen often, but on some days something just sparks off and he just feels shit and he feels a combination of these factors.

97. And for S it's ... it's a very kak feeling. It really is.

98. It can be sparked off by something: for example, there's ...you know this - what's his name? - Simon, Paul Simon-ou from Graceland. When S was in XXX for a certain period last year ... it was played quite often in the house in which he was living. And to this day S actually finds it a little bit of a strain to actually hear that record. And none at all at the time - it just recently developed to the extent where it just evokes this kind of feeling of ... of all these things. Not so much the depression thing as more the melancholy-isolation number.

99. Because for S it was quite ... it was a good time, but it was a very intense time. A lot of things happened during that. But this song, this record ... actually S finds it difficult to listen to it, because it evokes weird feelings. It really does, it does. For S there's an immense sorrow about it. He doesn't know what it is; it's just that you feel a bit ... something. There's a feeling of ... Insecurity underlies a lot of this. You just aren't sure where the fuck you're gonna end up quite soon; or what's gonna be happening to you, because you're not sure about planning. The stability ... the lack of a concrete social network in terms of which you're actually acting, the lack

96. S's emotional experience of being in hiding is an interrelated constellation of feelings of depression, isolation, grief and being troubled, which surfaces from time to time.

97. S emphasizes the unpleasantness of this multi-dimensional emotional experience.

98. S illustrates how a small event would evoke this particular emotional experience: on hearing a record which S has come to associate with a particular house and period in hiding, he experiences this interrelated constellation of feelings - notably feelings of grief and isolation.

99. When S listens to this particular record, he recalls a whole complexity of different - even ambivalent - sometimes unidentifiable feelings: for S it was a full, intense time which he recalls with a tinge of endearment and yet it was a time of sorrow and insecurity due to the lack of certainty and the loss of a consistent, stabilizing, supportive social network.

of consistent interpersonal relationships and so on ... they make you feel very insecure in lots of ways.

How do you cope emotionally?

100. S doesn't have a set way of handling it. He found that it washed away. It comes and goes for various lengths of time, insofar as some particular incident can spark it off; at the same time if things, maybe even unrelated things, actually go quite well, it can make S feel good again. Normally it's just ... he feels *kak* for a day and the next day he's feeling okay. It just goes. S doesn't have a very worked-out mechanism for handling that syndrome at all. What is quite important ... what is part of his close interpersonal relations ... those have been quite important in settling that particular thing. But S doesn't have a set mechanism which he resorts to.

101. S would like nothing better than actually to come out of hiding. He just doesn't like it at all. It's necessary and so on, but it's ... particularly in ... because of the way ... his specific case (the XXX scenario): being out of the region, or ... a couple of things he already mentioned. It's fucked his life up and he actually doesn't like it.

102. The other thing for S ... he got over the process he established: He thinks for the first ... a little while ... the first couple of months and so on ... it wasn't too bad. S finds it actually more difficult to handle as time goes on. He was very caught up in the whole process of being in hiding. It's a new experience. You adapt to a whole lot of things at the beginning. For S that's all past now. He's sitting with a rather ... rather cold and rather sullen reality of living this disrupted, isolated, unstable existence for a long time and there's no glamour involved in it at all. And in fact, S finds it more difficult to actually

100. S does not rely on a specific way of coping with his emotional experience of being in hiding - he lets it be. Identified feelings come and go from time to time. However, he feels that his close friends do play a significantly supportive role in this regard.

101. S realizes the necessity of being in hiding, but it remains an extremely disruptive, unpleasant experience.

102. For S it becomes increasingly difficult to cope with the stark, sombre, unenchanted reality of being in hiding as time goes by and after the immediacy of adapting to a novel situation had worn off.

come to terms with it now.

103. S thinks he's probably going to be - in the near future it should be a bit better, because he ... It relates to quite material decisions that he makes, like where he's gonna be living and so on. But if, for example, he leaves the region for some time - for a number of months, which is a possibility, he relocates somewhere else and he'll settle down more to a stable existence there.

104. Gradually S's had to reconcile himself to the changes that have actually been taking place. He thinks at the moment it's been worse. It's been getting worse for him to actually handle, but S thinks that if he does go through some kind of shift and that reconciliation is not just - it's a mental thing - but it actually takes on quite a material form. When he moves somewhere else and he settles down and takes on a different day to day form of existence in which he can begin to develop slightly new social circles ... political circles ... Maybe things are a bit more stable, a bit less insecure and so - then it may get a bit better.

How do you feel about spending an indefinite period in hiding?

105. S does not feel good about it. He'd rather not have that at all. He doesn't feel good about that at all, but it might just have to happen.

106. S's got to make hard choices. He really does. He's got to make the choices in which none of the options are desirable, essentially, for him at all.

107. Even the decision ... if S, for example: he either stays in XXX under the conditions of staying in XXX. The up-side of staying in XXX is that he's so close to his lover and so on. The down-side is the stress; the possibility of being bust and so on. And the other part of the up-side is clearly the political work that he'll be doing here and so on. But again the down-side is the possibility of

103. S anticipates an improvement in the way in which he copes with being in hiding in view of the probability of establishing himself in another centre and thereby regaining material stability in his life.

104. Although S has come to accept the intervention in his life, he finds it increasingly difficult to cope with. He anticipates an improvement in the event of a reinforcement of his mental acceptance on a material level by moving to a new place where he can rebuild his existence and re-establish important areas of his life in order to bring an end to the insecurity and instability of his existence in hiding at present.

105. S strongly dislikes the prospect of staying in hiding indefinitely, but realizes that it might be inevitable.

106. S finds himself in a situation where all the possibilities are unpleasant.

107. S is caught in a situation where he is forced to make a difficult decision where all the possible outcomes have a complexity of negative as well as positive sides to them in the interplay between interpersonal, emotional, political and safety considerations.

being bust in doing the political work. So either it is that or S chooses to actually leave the region. The up-side to leaving the region is that he's more secure and so he doesn't have to hassle; there's less stress and so on. The down-side is the lover factor, being away from her and so on, and also the whole political thing - although S might be able to become politically involved in another centre, he doesn't know. So all of these choices are difficult ones to make for S. None of them he wants to make; all of them he has to make.

108. S doesn't like the possibility of being in hiding indefinitely, but there's nothing you can do about it. That's really it.

109. S realizes it's ... the feeling of almost wanting to be inside is a bad feeling - it's not a good feeling. It leads to not being security tight. It's not a rational feeling. It's a feeling ... there's nothing that you will achieve by being inside. It's very much, again, it's a kind of aberration. So rather don't feel it.

110. But S doesn't like the prospect.

Will you be able to go on like this?

S doesn't know; what else can you do? He will be able to go on because he has to and that's all there is to it. He's gone into these things - it's not as if all these things actually affect his ... they do affect him fundamentally, but they're all entirely handleable for S. They certainly are. The kind of person ... S could be a kind of person for which they're not really handleable. For S they are. So there it is. It's a problem; it's a big problem for him, but it's a handleable problem. He's not gonna fuck out, to put it that way. He's really not.

Your physical appearance has changed dramatically. Has that had any effect?

108. S reiterates his dislike in staying in hiding, and his realization of the inevitability and finality of the situation.

109. S realizes that the tendency to prefer being detained to staying in hiding indefinitely is a feeling that should be suppressed, because it is irrational, counter-productive and has potentially dangerous consequences in that it leads to security lapses.

110. S has confidence in his ability to endure in hiding and to cope with the situation even in the face of the tremendous difficulty that it presents and the profound effect it has upon his existence.

111. S thinks he's far less conscious of himself physically now than he was before the Emergency - far less.

112. S doesn't think he's ever been an amazingly physically conscious person, but at the same time he's always had an eye on himself and what he looked like. His body has been quite important to him - important in ... in keeping fit and so on. S did a lot of things: he used to run; he used to do karate; he did exercises at the gym and so on.

113. S doesn't do any of that stuff at the moment at all. He can't go to a karate club; he sometimes goes to a gym if he's out of town - just sometimes. He sometimes runs if he's out of town. S can't do either of those if he's in XXX. He's a lot less fit than he used to be. S put on a bit of weight since the Emergency was declared.

114. S thinks he cares far less what he looks like facially as well. It's just not an issue.

115. There was a time in which it was quite a crisis. There was a time in which it was very acute - a choice that one makes between personal vanity and security. You're either going to be secure which means you're gonna change and you're gonna end up looking a hell-of-a lot less attractive than one did before.

116. Now that wasn't even a choice for S. It's just that you realise that there are those questions. Once you've gone through that - once you realise that: the criterion according to which you're making yourself appear physically, is not one in which you'd like to appear; it's the way in which necessity dictates that you actually appear in terms of security considerations. Once you've made that choice, you actually begin to worry or care far less about how you appear physically.

117. S doesn't think it's a good thing. He doesn't think it's a good thing at all, because he thinks it leads to a slightly ... it's kind of a lack of self-worth syndrome. You're not feeling

111. S's physical self-awareness has decreased in hiding.

112. S has always to a certain extent been concerned about the condition of his body and has tried to keep it in good shape through various forms of physical exercise.

113. For S the way in which he maintains his physical fitness and looks after his body has to a large extent fallen away in hiding.

114. S is less concerned about his physical appearance.

115. S acknowledges the intensity of and ensuing difficulty presented by the clash between a concern for his physical appearance on the one hand and safety considerations on the other hand.

116. The realization that his physical appearance in hiding is no longer a voluntary self-presentation, but that it is prescribed by the very nature of being in hiding, reduced S's concern about his physical appearance.

117. For S this eventuality enhances general feelings of self-devaluation and is therefore a negative experience.

particularly good about yourself. It plugs into that. So he doesn't think it's very good at all. But it happened.

You mentioned being busted - is that at the back of your mind?

118. For S it's not really. It relates to this point that he mentioned before when he was talking about the stress factor. S doesn't hassle constantly about being bust. He doesn't do that. He goes through infrequent occasions in which he confronts the prospect of being inside of jail. He doesn't like the thought of it and he thinks, fuck, you know, he actually ... he doesn't dig this. But that happens, as S says, infrequently. As a general thing he doesn't worry about it. He doesn't have a lot of stress and so on.

119. There are times - if you hear a funny knock at the door - you hassle ... you shit yourself, but ... and S does get a bit jumpy. He gets jumpy when it comes either to leaving a place or going back. If he leaves the Eastern Cape and he comes back to the Eastern Cape, he gets more jumpy on those occasions. If he's about to leave - say he's got another three days to go - then the stress does actually build up a bit until he's actually gone. For a day or two before he actually returns, again, the stress builds up.

120. But it's not an ongoing feature of S's psychological state at all. He doesn't hassle about it constantly. It's not a major, major feeling for him. But when he sits down and thinks about it, then it's actually a prospect. But it's not something that's constantly on S's mind.

How do you feel about the fact that your safety does not entirely depend on yourself?

121. S gets pissed off if people make ... are

118. S occasionally faces the prospect of detention with aversion, but it is not a constant stress factor for him.

119. From time to time S does experience fear and tension in this regard; e.g. when he is confronted with the immediate possibility of being exposed and especially when he faces the disruption of his short-term routine by changing locations.

120. However, this is not a constant, important part of S's experience of being in hiding.

121. S is angry and annoyed when his safety is

indiscreet. He gets pissed off when they make security fuck-ups. He gets very angry about that. He's not talking about things which they can't avoid; he's talking about things that they can avoid. That irritates S.

122. But at the same time you almost actually feel quite resigned about it. You feel, look, fuck, you do what you can to ensure that you are security tight; you allow other people to do what they can to ensure that security is tight. If it fucks out, it fucks out - you're gonna get bust. You do what you can, you control what you can and if there's a problem, then there's gonna be a problem and you're gonna get bust. You'll check again and if you feel you could avoid that, you actually rectify that problem both because you should if you want to be secure, and also because you feel unhappy enough about it to actually go and tune the person. But over and above that it's not a hell of a kind of thing.

jeopardized by other people's negligence.

122. Without being apathetic or unconcerned about security precautions, for S - at the same time - there is a feeling of acceptance of the consequences of an uncontrollable slip.

SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

S experiences what it means to be in hiding in various dimensions of his existence: the basic, routine, taken-for-granted aspects of his daily world and his political world.

For S being in hiding means leading the life of a wanderer without a fixed home to return to - a place where things which belong to him are gathered. Since a home base does not have any special significance for S, homelessness has been the least serious difficulty that he has to cope with. Something that has been slightly problematic for S in this regard is the fact that he has to rely more on other people to maintain himself and his activities on a very practical, material level. This dependency is a new experience for S with which he is unhappy and strongly dislikes, yet realizes the inevitability of. S feels uncomfortable in his relationship

with people upon whom he is dependent in this way; he feels guilty and feels that he is laying duties on people who have to rearrange their routine to accommodate him and his activities. S is inclined to think that his presence is experienced as an imposition and that the people retain bitter feelings in this regard.

S tries to minimize this by being as self-reliant as possible under the circumstances - even if it is slightly more hazardous. For S this is more desirable than total reliance on another person. However, particular local circumstances make self-reliance in essential areas impossible for S.

For S being in hiding has severely interrupted the flow of a broad range of his interpersonal relationships as well as the general way in which he actualizes himself in his social world. The extent of social confinement is quite severe for S; a large, fundamental part of his social reality has fallen away due to the difficulty and intensity of hiding in a small town. (Public recreational and social activities pose a safety risk.) The result of this is that S's interpersonal world has become much smaller.

S does not experience any difficulty or qualitative change in relating to close friends when he does see them; the difficulty lies in the fact that these relationships themselves have fallen away to a large extent - S does not have this social network on an ongoing basis.

The flow of S's intimate interpersonal relationships has also been severely interrupted. Being in hiding particularly had an extremely destructive influence on one intimate interpersonal relationship. Hiding severely undermined a basic element in sustaining this relationship (i.e. the regularity of contacting each other and spending time together) and for S the relationship has ended as a result of the strains imposed on it by the fact that S is in hiding.

S finds the intimate interpersonal relationship in which he is involved at present very supportive, but hiding has had an

impact on the course of this relationship as well: it imposes external strains upon the relationship and severely curtails the social and recreational options open to S and his lover. Adapting to a less restricted existence together has also created difficulties and tension in the relationship. S feels that these relationships are not affected by changes in himself or by the way in which he relates to people.

A new experience for S which is difficult to cope with is the fact that he has lost his active role in initiating aspects of the relationship. Initially this has led S to feel emotionally uneasy due to feelings of uncertainty and insecurity in the relationship. The fear of losing a valuable supportive relationship as a result of concrete difficulties imposed on it by being in hiding, is another source of tension for S.

S's general state of uncertainty has led to a need for certainty in the area of intimate relationships. S did not want this area to become an additional source of uneasiness; it is a dimension of his existence where he feels in command of the situation - unlike the rest of his existence in hiding.

S has become less aware of and concerned with feelings and actions of people who are not part of his close circle of friends; he is more involved in his own world of hiding at this level.

Even in other centres S's lifestyle is fundamentally different to his existence prior to hiding. Hiding does assume a less intense character in other centres, but caution regarding his movements and common knowledge of his whereabouts have to be foremost in S's mind. Furthermore, not having the familiar environment of home and close friends adds another dimension of unusualness to S's existence in other centres.

For S the quality of his relationships in other centres does not measure up to the quality of those that he has lost by leaving his home town. S enjoys the company of these friends, but their relationship is more distant and S misses the close interpersonal contact with friends in his home town.

The disturbance of S's political world has been a very significant factor in his emotional experience of being in hiding. S's political role has been a very well integrated, unambiguous part of his existence and perception of himself. Therefore, hiding has affected an integral part of S's existence in bringing about a severe, qualitative transformation in the very essence or core of the way in which S lives out his political convictions. Despite its severe curtailment, S's political work has not ceased altogether.

The fact that particular local circumstances force S to leave his home town in order to hide successfully has been an important disruptive factor in S's political work. Doing political work in other centres does not fill the void left by not being able to work in his home town. For S this has been a profound disturbance which is difficult to cope with. He feels estranged from his political world and political self. S doubts not only the nature and value of his work and his political usefulness, but also the soundness of his self-definition and existence as a whole. For S this is a pre-reflective, subjective experience which is not based on rational, objective reflection on his political work, but the intensity of the experience is enhanced by the fact that such an important, integral part of his existence has fallen away and has assumed a different character.

The discomfort that S has suffered in hiding has not at all been detrimental to his political commitment, because he does not make a distinction between a political and non-political world due to the fact that his political involvement is such an essential, integral part of his whole existence. In hiding S's decisions regarding the particular form of his political involvement are based on a rational political analysis and not on a subjective feeling of hopelessness in this regard. Being in hiding has enlightened S's understanding of his political present in relation to his political future: he has come to realize that for him the present is a point in time at which decisive change occurs. He acknowledges the long-term nature of political change and realizes that he will still have a role to play in bringing about political change in the future.

Therefore, S realizes that he has to accept the short-term limitations imposed on his political activity and that he can mould his political career with long-term objectives in mind.

The multi-dimensional interruption of the flow of S's life has destroyed the stability of his existence and has left S unsettled to the extent that he does not have any certainty regarding material aspects of his future. S experiences this in a particular way - he identifies a number of interrelated feelings or emotional experiences.

For S the most prominent experience of being in hiding in a social dimension is feelings of being apart from other people - feelings of isolation. S is uncertain as to what this feeling of isolation means to him; although it is not predominantly a feeling of loneliness, the latter is part of his experience of being in hiding.

S gradually learned to cope with a high degree of frustration due to the fact that he cannot achieve his social desires. For S the continuous presence of an interpersonal social network is an important formative element of the self; the shrinking of his social existence or loss of a large part of his social world leads to feelings of depression, insecurity and sorrow or grief.

In hiding S has been more inclined to examine his own thoughts and feelings than in the past. However, for S the constructive value of critical self-analysis is lost due to the fact that conditions in hiding defeat ensuing growth and enhance feelings of insecurity and depression. For S conditions in hiding are not conducive to positive integration and actualization of the outcome of his critical self-analysis. In other words, S is unable to incorporate these critical insights constructively into his life. Instead he experiences intense feelings of self-devaluation which only enhance his general experience of being profoundly unsettled.

Prior to going into hiding, S has experienced feelings of being slightly dispirited in relation to specific occurrences,

but in hiding the intensity of his feelings of depression is new to him. For S depression means generally feeling intensely bad, apathetic and emotionally handicapped and tired out - initially as a result of a disappointing occurrence, but these feelings then generalize to an overall experience of depression independent of the original stimulus.

S's ability to cope positively and constructively on an emotional level with disappointing occurrences has been debilitated. Despite the fact that S still approaches problem-solving in his usual constructive way, the emotional correlate of this process remains a feeling of depression. S becomes disproportionately upset by and worries about relatively insignificant events which go wrong; unlike before, he would ponder over small upsets which would then lead to unwarranted, lengthy periods of depressive feelings and emotional uneasiness.

An additional, less strongly marked experience for S is a feeling of anger towards the State in view of the fact that they have completely and utterly disrupted the flow of his existence. However, anger is not a predominant experience for S, because he understands this to be part of the struggle between the State and extra-parliamentary opposition.

Due to doubts regarding the value of his political work in hiding and general feelings of despondency in this regard, as well as constant feelings of uneasiness and tension, S sometimes feels prepared to endure being detained in order to end a period characterized by uncertainty and instability. S sometimes feels that his emotional experience might be relieved to a certain extent in detention - he would be able to relax more and would be able to resume his life with an amount of certainty after his release. However, S realizes that the tendency to prefer detention to staying in hiding indefinitely, is a feeling that should be suppressed, because it is irrational, counter-productive and has potentially dangerous consequences in that it leads to security lapses.

For S a small event can evoke this emotional experience: e.g.

on hearing a particular record that he has come to associate with a specific house and period in hiding, S recalls and experiences a whole complexity of different (even ambivalent), interrelated, sometimes unidentifiable feelings - notably grief and isolation. For S it was a full, intense time which he recalls with a tinge of endearment, and yet, it was a time of sorrow and insecurity due to a lack of certainty and the loss of a consistent, stabilizing, supportive social network.

Although S has come to accept the intervention in his life, he finds it increasingly difficult to cope with the uncertainty, insecurity and the stark, sombre, unenchanted reality of being in hiding as time goes by and after the immediacy of adapting to a novel situation had worn off. S does not rely on a specific way of coping with his emotional experience of being in hiding - he lets it be, and identified feelings come and go from time to time. Although S relies more on his internal resources to cope with his emotional experience of being in hiding, he does feel that his close friends do play a significantly supportive role in this regard. S anticipates an improvement in his experience in the event of a reinforcement of his mental acceptance on a material level by moving to a new place where he can rebuild his existence and re-establish important areas of his life in order to bring an end to the insecurity and material instability of his existence in hiding at present.

The way in which S (who to a certain extent has always been concerned about his physical condition) maintains his physical fitness and looks after his body has fallen away to a large extent in hiding.

S acknowledges the intensity of and ensuing difficulty presented by the clash between a concern for physical appearance on the one hand and safety considerations on the other hand. However, the realization that his physical appearance in hiding is no longer a voluntary self-presentation, but that it is prescribed by the very nature of being in hiding, has resolved this clash for S and has resulted in a decrease in S's physical self-awareness and

concern about his physical appearance. S regards this eventuality as a negative experience, because it enhances general feelings of self-devaluation.

S acknowledges the necessity, inevitability and finality of being in hiding, but for him it remains an extremely disruptive, unpleasant experience. S is caught in a situation where he is forced to make difficult decisions where all the possible outcomes are unpleasant and have a complexity of negative as well as positive sides to them in the interplay between interpersonal, emotional, political and safety considerations.

The prospect of detention is not a constant, important stress factor in S's experience of being in hiding. However, he occasionally does face this prospect with aversion and experiences fear and tension in this regard - e.g. when he is confronted with the immediate possibility of being exposed and especially when he faces the disruption of his short-term routine by changing locations. S is angry and annoyed when his safety is jeopardized by other people's negligence, but (without being apathetic or unconcerned about security precautions), at the same time, there is a feeling of acceptance of the consequences of an uncontrollable security slip.

S has confidence in his ability to endure in hiding and to cope with the situation even in the face of the tremendous difficulty that it presents and the profound effect it has upon his existence.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

For S being in hiding has brought about a qualitative transformation in his mode of being-in-the-world - in the way in which S actualizes himself in his world. The stark, sombre, unenchanted reality of being in hiding has been a profound multi-dimensional, yet integrated interruption in the flow of S's life, which has led to a loss of essential, integral parts

of his existence in a social, political and material dimension.

Especially S's social and political worlds have become much smaller due to quite material limitations and constraints imposed upon his existence. Those areas which remain have been subjected to a number of strains and have undergone a qualitative change, leaving S to cope in a disrupted world of instability and insecurity.

The profound impact that being in hiding has in S's life is reflected in his rich emotional experience - his interrelated feelings of dependency, isolation, frustration, estrangement, sorrow, depression, anger and doubts regarding the worth of his existence in hiding.

SUBJECT 2 (Male; approximately five months in hiding. S was no longer in hiding when his essay was written and the interview was conducted. The structured units of analysis for subjects 2-5 are included in Appendix D.)

SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

Being in hiding called upon S to adjust to a severely altered mode of being-in-the-world. It touched on all the integrated avenues of S's existence: his immediate interpersonal and political relationships; the way in which he experienced his broad social world and his immediate physical environment; his emotional world and physical experience of himself; his understanding or definition of himself and lastly, the way in which he structured his time.

For S the profound qualitative change in his interpersonal contact with friends was one of the biggest aspects to cope with in hiding. The commonly shared way of relating to friends gave way to interaction that centred around the constant awareness of being in hiding and hiding itself became the basis of the relationship. In other words, for S the reality of hiding permeated and provided the direction of his social

intercourse. Communication focused on and became dominated by aspects directly related to being in hiding; other light-hearted points of conversation fell away and S felt very serious and sedate.

S anticipated difficulty in sustaining an intimate relationship in an unfamiliar, disrupted world imbued with tension and decided not to have such a relationship. This gap made an important difference to S, because he had always experienced the support of such a relationship.

S felt deprived of his active role in initiating and structuring his social interaction. Initially his social contact was limited to seeing very few people simultaneously. As a result S grew unaccustomed to seeing many people and experienced it as peculiar when he did see a crowd of people for the first time.

For security reasons S stayed with people representative of a wide variety of qualities and lifestyles. Although S felt compelled to establish a relationship with these people, he felt he could not, nor did he necessarily want to enter into a trusting relationship with people he did not choose to include in his social circle and with whom his acquaintance was only incidental. S's relationship with these people was characterized by an inability to establish an element of regularity or a stable pattern in their interaction. Furthermore, such relatively short-lived, discontinuous relationships do not develop into friendship and S felt he could not be open towards these people - both in terms of communicating the real reasons for being in hiding and in sharing his emotional experience with them. He could not reveal his true emotions and had to present a facade of artificial well-being. At the same time the relationship was characterized by strong feelings of dependence on S's side and acknowledgement of the severe material difficulties and potential exposure to harm and risk in the event of not having a friendly relationship with the people he is staying with or in the event of the abrupt, hostile ending of such a relationship.

Hiding altered the nature of resources and experiences that used to lend assistance to S and enabled him to endure. These support mechanisms are overshadowed by the demand of adjusting to a new, unstable environment. Previously conversations around personal issues lent countenance to S. In hiding, individual assistance lost its erstwhile emotional supportive value and assumed a more material form focusing on aspects of S's conditions in hiding. S consequently did not feel at liberty to reveal his emotional experiences, which led to feelings of isolation and loneliness. This was exacerbated on the one hand by the reality of delayed interpersonal contact in hiding which impeded communication and on the other hand by S's feeling that it was inappropriate to express difficulty in withstanding the stress of being in hiding in the light of a general atmosphere of weariness and disorder.

S compared his intense feelings of being maintained by others to the dependency and helplessness of an infant. He relied on the benevolence of a limited number of people and resources for supporting him on a biological and interpersonal level as well as for providing entertainment and information, exchanging opinions and sharing his experience. These feelings of dependence were accompanied by the fear of losing this support in the event of the detention of the people upon whom S was dependent. He feared the anticipated problematic and potentially hazardous practical consequences that the loss of support would entail. Although the dreaded consequences lost their formidable quality after the constant danger of detention had subsided, they were looked upon as a serious difficulty at the time.

Being subjected to the completely different conditions of hiding shattered the flow of S's life. The reversal of night and day was not only a fundamental change to adjust to, it also led to experiences of a particular nature and depth: the way in which S had to structure his time was altered to the extent that it no longer conformed to the tendency followed by the average person. S consequently felt out of step or out of rhythm in relation to the lifestyle shared by the majority of people. S felt alarmingly unlike other people and separated

from the normal world inasmuch as he had a lifestyle contrary to everyone else's as a result of being true to his political convictions. He felt that his activities had become something extraneous in the lives of others.

In the past S felt a sense of safety in daily activities where the lives of a variety of people with different convictions overlapped and which bound these people together despite irreconcilable values and opinions. As these activities fell away during hiding, it meant that only the qualities which distinguished S from the majority of people remained and S became more severely different to other people.

S was struck by the realization that behaviour that was customary to society did not coincide with what seemed to S as a normal, rational standard of conduct. He therefore experienced himself in opposition to "normality" and called upon the latter to assert its claim to correctness. S felt that he was opposing an unwritten code by holding a position contrary to that of others. This led S to feel that he was wrong and that it was wrong to be in such a situation. He experienced an uncanny fear related to a feeling of suffering as a consequence of having committed an offence and being condemned to hiding.

S was not constantly troubled by these feelings and could dismiss them by rationally looking at the nature of society.

The specific nature of S's relationship with his parents when it comes to his political involvement meant that contacting them was a great concern to S. Because of the clash between S's conviction of doing the right thing and being normal in doing so and his parents' rejection thereof, S had to pretend that nothing out of the ordinary was going on. This disagreement epitomized and aggravated S's broader realization of being separate and his feelings of being wrong.

Contrary to his normal experience, in hiding S experienced a heightened awareness of the unique qualities peculiar to a particular place.

S felt despite its dismalness, it was important to learn not to find his material environment pleasant or to become involved in it by changing small things to his liking. An attachment of this nature created serious difficulties when it inevitably came to leaving the place. Therefore, S emphasized the unpleasant qualities of the place and deliberately convinced himself of the emotional ease with which he would be able to leave. S thus created a not necessarily realistic dislike in his immediate physical environment in order to make his departure easier. S felt caught in a setting which he did not want to find agreeable.

The loss of relationships in S's world enhanced his awareness of relating to his room in a particular way: he almost looked upon his room with a feeling of coldness, devoid of friendliness or affection.

For S probably the most important thing which presented the severest difficulties to cope with, was the fundamental impairment and curtailment of his political role (the latter had been an integral part of S's existence) due to his individual situation of initially being in deep hiding. Although S undertook the only political activities that he could - tasks that he could accomplish on his own - he thought he ought to be engaged in politics in a different way. S's active, direct political participation was hampered and frustrated on a formal and informal level: a large part of his informal engagement in political discussions had fallen away and his engagement in formalized, organisational politics occurred through intermediaries. S consequently did not feel well informed about issues relating to repressive conditions; he felt politically estranged and remote or out of contact.

S was thus deprived of the means to live out his convictions and felt powerless: he felt his contribution was not very valuable or of much use, since it was reduced to making remarks rather than having a noticable impact. S felt imprisoned in a way and experienced himself as leading a very confined, passive existence - the cause of incredible frustration.

S's understanding of himself was informed by his awareness of the interplay between personal feelings and organisational functioning, and the need to suppress certain personal feelings to ensure organisational efficiency. In hiding the extent of excluding personal feelings from conscious awareness was far greater - though not for the sake of organisational efficiency, since S was not organisationally active. Therefore, S's understanding of himself became invalid in hiding. In other words, fundamental constituents of S's definition of himself had fallen away in hiding due to the curtailment of his political and other roles. This led S to feel uncertain as to how he defined himself: he did not experience himself in the same way as a political activist as in the past; he initially experienced himself largely as a passive, unproductive consumer of commodities and information.

S was concerned about his slightly diminished attention to physical care in hiding.

S constantly felt frustrated and powerless. He felt overwhelmed by the reality of being in hiding and experienced a sense of helplessness when it came to weakening the overpowering, omni-present hold of hiding.

S believed that his experience of being in hiding depended on the extent to which he could remain unaware of the longing for a normal existence. S therefore felt it was necessary to learn to accept the conditions in hiding. In order to facilitate the acquisition of acceptance, S deliberately - and not necessarily truthfully - convinced himself of the "virtues" of his disrupted, severely restricted life in hiding and the "vices" and "absurdities" of a normal existence.

Nevertheless, S stressed the extent of emotional changes in himself and recognized feelings of isolation, helplessness, dependency and insecurity - feelings that he indulged in privately and had to come to terms with after the initial deceptiveness of being in hiding had worn away.

When he was no longer subjected to the discomfort of being in

hiding, it did not create difficulties regarding his adaptation to acknowledge the extreme unpleasant and estranging nature of hiding. S expressed discontent stemming from his inability to achieve his desires, feelings of weariness and of having had enough of hiding, as well as a general awareness of just feeling bad. He became curt and quick to anger in his interpersonal relationships as well as envious of people who were not in hiding. However, S felt the expression of dissatisfaction with being in hiding was out of place in the light of the plight of detainees.

S was emotionally shocked by the detention of two of his friends and worried about the way in which he and they would be different after their experiences and how that would be perceived by others. S therefore decided to deliberately suppress all the changes in himself and to present himself as unchanged by his experience.

S was untroubled by the denial of his emotions because of his gradual reinitiation into a normal lifestyle as well as continuing suppression of aspects of his emotional experience. He regarded hiding as an important trial of his qualities and saw suppression as a normal and necessary coping mechanism under the circumstances.

Despite the unpleasantness of his experience, S never doubted the fact that he was doing the right thing and that it was politically called for and necessary - the latter justified doing things that might cause personal discomfort.

S had to lead a fearful, anxious existence and always be aware of his own safety or be punished by being detained. For S going into hiding was primarily motivated by his realistic fear of detention in view of the anticipated extreme unpleasantness of such an experience. (However, organisational considerations also played a role.) Although S realized he might have been unrealistic, he was prepared to go to extreme lengths to escape detention and mentally reconstructed escape routes and plans.

The starkness of S's picture of detention was enhanced by his experience of hiding as disruptive and unpleasant and his anticipation of detention as even more so. S pictured detention as a situation stripped of the relatively pleasant interpersonal and material surroundings in hiding.

Detention thus played a multi-dimensional role in S's experience of being in hiding: not only did it infuse fear, it also added an element of seriousness and weight to being in hiding, taught S to appreciate his limited privileges in hiding and made the latter more preferable and bearable in view of the qualitative difference between detention and hiding.

S's gradual readjustment to a normal lifestyle was also emotionally disruptive. He experienced daily activities which are normally taken for granted (like eating out and shopping) as very appealing; S could exercise his own choice in these activities and thereby reassume activity, initiative and control in his own life.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

For S being in hiding constituted a fundamentally different way of being-in-the-world. It was an experience which was felt in all the relational aspects of S's existence: firstly in his interpersonal and broader social and political relationships; secondly in the way in which he related to himself in terms of his understanding of himself and in the way in which he actualized or realized himself; and thirdly in the way in which he related to his immediate physical environment.

Hiding permeated S's interpersonal relationships to the extent that the latter became more distant in the sense of being largely devoid of its former emotional supportive value, and instead, focused on the immediate, largely material demands of maintaining S in hiding.

The severe disruption of the way in which S structured his

time as a result of living out his personal convictions, led to feelings of being separate or estranged from society as a whole.

The curtailment of S's political role constituted the falling away or loss of an integral part of his existence which informed his understanding of himself. Hiding thus invalidated S's former definition of himself and led to uncertainty in this area. S also felt remote from his political world.

S experienced a more acute awareness of his physical or material environment and the quality of the way in which he related to his environment. The latter was characterized by a deliberate distancing on S's behalf.

Despite deliberate attempts at the time to suppress his emotional experience, S articulated a broad range of feelings related to being in hiding: feelings of loneliness and isolation, dependence, frustration, weariness, insecurity, particular fears, helplessness and feelings of being severely restricted or confined and powerless.

S experienced being in hiding as a loss or falling away of various parts of his world and the way in which he existed in this world, as well as an estrangement, separation or distancing from that world.

SUBJECT 3 (Female; ten months in hiding.)

SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

For S the most difficult aspect to cope with emotionally in hiding, is being away from her family for such a long time. The loss of her home and family leads to a feeling of sorrow. The longing to go home is sometimes so strong that she reaches a stage where she feels indifferent towards detention and contemplates defying the principles of being in hiding and going back regardless of what the consequences may be. Especially the inability to go home at times when she would

really like to (e.g. in the event of the death of a loved one), is very difficult for S. However, by comparing her own separation from loved ones to that of people like Nelson Mandela, S convinces herself that her situation is still a privileged one. Furthermore, the separation under current circumstances (where S can seldom see her family and child) is unpleasant, but bearable in view of the extreme repression and separation that S anticipates when Martial Law is declared. Although S's family were not actively involved in political activities themselves, they accepted her involvement without creating tensions in this regard.

For S having a child adds a dimension to being in hiding that makes it emotionally more troublesome. Being in hiding severely impairs S's role as a mother. She experiences a conflict between wanting to attend to the needs of her child at home and not being able to go there due to the realistic threat of being detained in the process. Not being part of her child's development or not being able to care for the child as well as having to enquire after the latter's well-being lead to S feeling as if something of great personal consequence has been taken away from her - as if she has lost something precious.

S is concerned about the financial difficulties at home which have resulted from her being in hiding. From financially supporting her parents, S has become the one who needs financial support. Now her parents have to support themselves, take over S's financial responsibilities and look after her child without the financial means to do so. This depresses S. Not only does she feel of no benefit to her parents, she also feels she is an additional burden on them. Although S's parents understand the situation, it has sometimes to some extent led to a degree of discontent on their side.

S's relationship with her boyfriend has not been affected, because they still see each other. She does not feel predominantly lonely or companionless, since she regularly spends time with a number of activist friends with whom she has a lot in common; discussions of home town issues break the

loneliness for S. When she does feel dejected or lonely, she makes use of the interpersonal resources available to her and shares her feelings with friends whose companionship she enjoys and finds supportive. However, from time to time S feels sullen and unsociable and needs to be on her own to reflect upon things.

Before S recently became more self-reliant, she depended on other people for providing food and shelter. Staying with people who do not share her political involvement or life in hiding (and are therefore unable to perceive the meaning of her existence in hiding) is problematic for S. These people refuse to shelter S for fear of being visited by the police and getting into trouble themselves when they realize she is in hiding. The following experience illustrates this: when S stayed with her sister, she perceived that the latter was sometimes upset. Although S did not know why, she thought it possible that her sister felt S was not offering enough in return, despite the fact that S contributed financially as often as she could and helped a lot with domestic tasks. S had contemplated getting a room of her own, but did not do so before the problematic, strained relationship reached a point where her sister told her to find another place to stay. Although S had sensed the inevitability of this eventuality in tensions that had become apparent, she was caught unexpectedly because she was not financially prepared to sustain herself immediately. However, this prompted S to rent a room of her own. She realized that although she could not really financially afford to live on her own, it would be safer. S subsequently lost this room on account of her political involvement and held her sister responsible, because the latter was indirectly responsible for the landlady finding out about S's political involvement.

S feels her sister has surrendered her to the security forces and has left her to fend for herself, knowing very well that S cannot support herself financially and does not have a refuge. This leads to a feeling of enmity towards her sister. Since S does not want to expose her vulnerability to people whom she feels have betrayed her and whom she regards as enemies, she

accepted the situation without any discussion and without becoming upset.

For S staying with people means that she gets to know people as they are - their weaknesses and the extent of their political commitment.

S misses the freedom and space she had at home to do as she pleases - she cannot exercise this freedom at the places where she is staying, since she needs permission for doing what she wants to do.

It is very important to S still to be able to continue her political activities and to assist her people despite the fact that she cannot work openly and publicly. Her ability to assist her community practically and directly has been severely curtailed by the limitations which being in hiding imposes on her. On the one hand S does not find fault with hiding in this respect, because (unlike detention) it still enables her to work politically. She is angered by the severe restriction of her work and the frustration of her objectives on the other hand. Nevertheless, being in hiding has not diminished S's political commitment - she is determined to fulfil her role and responsibility in the struggle and attends events where her own safety may be at risk.

Necessity dictates the nature of S's work to be characterised by a lack of trust in people and an intense awareness of security and caution. S is angry and feels slightly despondent in view of the fact that progress which has been made in her home town was crushed by desructive police interference to such an extent that political work will have to be reinitiated on a fundamental level.

S misses the community in which she used to work and longs to return to them. She is concerned about the people and the possibility that her and other activists' absence might be perceived by the community as them being abandoned and left in the lurch. Uncertainty regarding the people's allegiance is another great concern for S: she suspects that allegiances of

the past do not necessarily hold true any more and that erstwhile comrades might now well be collaborating with the State. S feels that the former relationship of mutual confidence and cooperation between activists and the community has been broken due to police interference in the form of forcing activists to abandon the community and by undermining their credibility in their absence. The creation of this division angers S and she blames the State for causing this rift between activists and the community. This separation not only troubles S, but also severely hampers political work in view of the failed attempts to re-establish contact and be of some assistance to the community.

S's activities and freedom of movement are severely curtailed in view of the danger of being recognized by the police. She has to be extremely careful and constantly feels insecure and prepares herself for detention wherever she goes, because for S the possibility of being detained lurks around every corner and in every car.

S's situation in hiding has improved since she is able to support herself. She finds it difficult and is reluctant to articulate her emotional experience of being in hiding. She wanted to go through the experience of hiding, but now she longs for the time before this unpleasant experience and is confronted with her own helplessness in changing the situation. Nevertheless, S takes the responsibility of being in hiding upon herself without harbouring ill feelings towards the struggle or anybody. She compares her position to that of Nelson Mandela and finds strength and motivation to continue her political work, despite severe repression, in the example set by the latter.

S endures being in hiding in view of a more repressive period when it will be impossible to do some of the things which are still possible in hiding at the moment. She realizes that staying in hiding under heavily repressive conditions is inevitably part of the struggle; she knows what the realities of being an activist mean and is prepared to endure the unpleasantness of being in hiding. However, for S knowledge of

the realities does not alleviate the difficulty of coping with the real situation and she is sometimes overcome by sorrow for no apparent reason.

Although S feels overpowered and beaten by the State to the extent that she feels she is of no assistance whatsoever to the people who used to rely on her, the necessity of going into hiding gives her a sense of accomplishment - a feeling of having made a significant contribution to the struggle.

S experiences disturbances in her menstrual cycle when she is troubled or concerned about something or unable to resolve an issue, as well as disturbances in her sleeping pattern - i.e. a loss of sleep for no apparent reason.

For S the confinement and restrictions of being in hiding are similar to those of detention. She wanted to go through the experience of being detained. As it turned out, it was an extremely unpleasant experience in desperate physical conditions. This experience informs S's awe of detention and strong aversion to being detained again - more because of the inability to be of any assistance to her people while she in detention, though.

However, S sometimes feels that she just has to go through detention if it would mean that she could return to a normal lifestyle and be with her family. When she thinks about it more rationally, she notices the limited privileges and freedom of being in hiding as opposed to the appalling conditions in detention and prefers being in hiding.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

S experiences being in hiding as a separation from home - her family, child and the community. In not being part of their world, S has lost a part of her world that is very dear to her and longs to regain what is lost.

For S this is a material loss which is not accompanied by an

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experience of being emotionally distant. S is still close to the lost part of her world in the sense that her experience of being in hiding is closely related to the consequences of her absence from the world of others (her family and community) and their experience thereof.

Thus, although S's worlds of home and hiding are literally miles apart, they are deeply intertwined on an emotional level.

SUBJECT 4 (Male; intermittently in hiding for approximately eight months - depending on organisational tasks. Not in hiding when interview was conducted.)

SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

For S being in hiding meant being caught in a conflict where various forces out of his control each asserted their opposing influences upon his existence. S did not see any avenues for resolving the conflict in one way or another. He was in a position where he couldn't win: all the possibilities were problematic and equally unfavourable.

On the one hand S longed to return to a normal lifestyle, but on the other hand the consequences ruled that out in view of the fact that the losses would be too great - the physical harm, frustration of a disrupted academic career and the consequent uncertainty that the future held.

On another level S felt he should use his time more productively in a political sphere rather than an academic sphere in anticipation of the fact that being detained would ruin his academic progress in any case. However, on the other hand he resisted this feeling and realized the importance of giving preference to his studies over his political activities despite the uncertainty of whether he will be able to complete his academic year.

For S the uncertainty of whether he will be able to write his

final examination was a great concern which seriously hampered his ability to devote his undivided attention to his academic work and to study consistently. Furthermore, S's emotional and physical state was detrimental to his academic work. He was unable to alleviate any of this and was preoccupied with the unpleasantness of being in hiding.

The necessity of leading a confined existence as a result of the fear of being recognized and detained was conducive to S's experience of being in hiding as an unpleasant situation. He was constantly troubled and found nothing about his life in hiding pleasurable. He felt depressed and dispirited and experienced lengthy confinement to the same place as unstimulating and boring. Fear and tension remained part of his daily existence and were accompanied by increased observance and attentiveness and a constant preoccupation with security precautions to prevent him from being exposed.

Specific incidents which enhanced S's tensions were not uncommon and S constantly experienced feelings of unsafety, uncertainty and a loss of control over his life. He felt safer when he stayed in town as opposed to the township and tried to minimize the risks of going into the township by going at night and by visiting people whom he could trust.

S experienced physical correlates of his mental states in the form of general physical discomfort and weariness, headaches, a loss of appetite and sleeplessness. Prior to going into hiding S had a history of acute attacks of increased sympathetic psychological functioning. For S the highly stressful experience of being in hiding enhanced the intensity and duration of these attacks to such an extent that he was sometimes unable to fulfil his responsibilities.

A problem which was specifically related to being in hiding for S, was the fact that he resorted to alcohol in an attempt to overcome sleeplessness. This turned into a bout of drinking and spread to the use of alcohol to relieve boredom during the day as well. In this regard S felt that the rules which regulated his and his friends' conduct were less strict: the

confinement and lack of constructive political activities were conducive to spending unproductive days of doing nothing and excessively indulging in alcohol. This was the form which informal socialization and relaxation with other political activists took.

S avoided social contact, because he could not trust people and felt that exposure to a large number of people was a safety risk. He consequently had contact with only a limited number of people and missed the interpersonal stimulation offered by seeing a larger variety of people. S was not happy with this situation, but safety considerations necessitated it.

S's conversations centred around formal issues that had arisen and did not leave room for a relaxing, informal or intimate relationship with the limited number of people whom he did see. Thus, for S the relative lack of close interpersonal contact in hiding led to feelings of isolation and boredom and sometimes severe feelings of loneliness. He felt that he did not benefit from efforts to comfort him. S's depression and loneliness were enhanced by staying in his own room, which was in a quiet, remote part of town, and he preferred to stay in a room where the social isolation was less severe, although he still could not interact or become familiar with people around him. However, he found merely their presence reassuring and was not constantly aware of being in hiding.

S's relationship with his girlfriend was adversely affected despite insight into the external strains upon the relationship. The fact that S was in hiding created practical difficulties for them to spend time together and they did not see each other as frequently as before. S did not want her to visit him in his room for fear of exposing the place where he was hiding, and visiting her in her room had to be accompanied by extensive security precautions in order to prevent S from being seen or discovered. Furthermore, the external strains as well as S's emotional and physical state affected the relationship qualitatively in the sense that (unlike before) the relationship was characterized by tension and a strained

atmosphere within itself. S felt that the relationship was breaking up. More political demands were made upon S after the declaration of the State of Emergency, because fewer activists were available. S's political responsibilities thus sometimes meant that he had to leave town for a few days and had to spend less time with his girlfriend. He felt that his girlfriend perceived the way in which he handled the practical difficulties and strain imposed upon the relationship as an indication that he was more committed to his political activities than to the relationship. She perceived this and the possibility of S being detained as a threat to their relationship. S thus felt that his girlfriend did not understand the rationale behind his political commitment under such severe repressive conditions - something which was shared by his parents.

S did not see his family as frequently as he used to and although he did not have a strained relationship with his parents in this regard, he felt slight pressure from them to devote more time to his studies and less time to his political activities.

For S engaging in political tasks was a constructive way of spending his time which kept him from escapist activities like excessively indulging in alcohol. Although S's political activities were disrupted, they were kept alive by a working relationship with other activists.

S was constantly afflicted with fears around detention and interrogation. He was concerned about the information already obtained by the security police and how that would affect him and the information that he could or should not give.

S feared interrogation because of the ensuing physical injury that he would suffer due to the brutal nature of the interrogation process. He saw being detained as his destiny and the only control that he had in the matter lay in attempting to delay it. He looked with disgust upon the initially appalling material conditions in detention and was also concerned about maintaining a relationship with other

detainees in prison.

S felt unhappy and worried about the effect of detention on his academic career - it would delay the attainment of his prime objective at present: obtaining a degree. He felt that detention would be easier to cope with without the burden of an unfinished academic year and his desire to delay being detained was motivated by the fact that he wanted to complete his first year at university in order to be better equipped to continue studying in prison.

S's preoccupation with attempts to resolve the inherent conflicts of being in hiding was not rewarded with a solution, but he felt that he had coped under difficult circumstances in hiding despite the fact that he felt helpless and despondent in view of the total absence of ways to resolve the situation. He was confident that new ways of working would enable him to continue his political activities without having to go into hiding and did not anticipate a continuation of being in hiding in the future.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

For S hiding was the scenario in which a number of conflicting strands intertwined, i.e. the longing to return to a normal existence as opposed to the realization that it was impossible and the complex interplay between the prospect of detention, his academic, political and interpersonal priorities respectively. This conflict situation provided the framework in which other experiences manifested - e.g. the loss of a large part of S's close interpersonal world, his emotional and physical discomfort and his attempts to relieve all of this by resorting to escapist behaviour.

SUBJECT 5 (Male; in hiding for approximately five months - no longer in hiding when essay was written.)

SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

Despite the fact that S had prior warning of impending State

action, the extent of preventative measures required from him and the intensity of the impact which it would have on his existence, came as something of a surprise for S.

S was forced to lead a very confined existence - his freedom of movement, social circle and recreational activities were severely curtailed. Thus, his world became smaller and centred around immediate necessities in order to maintain himself in hiding. For S this was difficult to cope with - he was denied the opportunity to actualize other dimensions of himself, with the result that his existence became one-sided and limited to only partial expression of himself.

For S being in hiding was in one respect a bout between himself and the security police; he experienced it as a challenge not to be beaten at this. His most immediate experience on being confronted with the necessity to go into hiding was one of stupefaction and uncertainty as to how the situation should be handled. However, in view of the demands made by the immediacy of the crisis and the necessity to respond promptly, this gave way to an experience which made a lasting impression on S - a physical and emotional experience of tense excitement and heightened awareness in the face of impending danger. When the immediate danger was averted, S came to terms with the unfolding of a long expected, yet unknown situation and the finality and formidableness thereof.

Initially S was constantly mentally absorbed in anticipating security action and contemplating precautionary measures which would ensure his safety. At first and shortly before coming out of hiding it was difficult for S to cope with the uncertainty as to whether it was realistically necessary to go into hiding or realistically safe to come out of hiding respectively. He felt a bit foolish in view of the possibility that he might be over-reacting. This initial uneasiness was relieved when the uncertainty disappeared in view of overwhelming indications that S was realistically in danger of being detained; but S remained uncertain as to the extent to which he was in danger of being detained and he was still not sure when it would be safe to come out of hiding. In view of

this uncertainty S felt that the external, organisational incentive to stay in hiding helped him a lot not to succumb to the temptation of taking the risk of coming out of hiding.

In hiding S adopted a nomadic lifestyle without a fixed home. Despite the fact that it became relatively unsafe, he eventually settled down in a place from which it was easy to operate and where he felt comfortable and at home. For S his home, and especially his room, had a special significance - it was a place of his own that had to remain part of his world. He missed his home and the experience of just being there, doing normal, mundane things. S was upset by the fact that his home was no longer familiar due to alterations made by people who looked after it; it was no longer an expression of himself - his preferences and mode of being. S felt like a stranger in his own home.

For S being in hiding was a qualitatively different stressful event, which predominantly led to a very vivid, distinct experience of tension as a result of facing an external threat. S was always aware of continuously feeling anxious, which manifested through his body. For S it felt as if his body had become saturated with tension. This was a physically debilitating experience which affected his normal activities.

S realized the importance of physical health - he was sensitive to messages from his body and took care of himself physically. S's normal psychosomatic pattern of coping with stressful situations was absent in hiding. However, being subjected to the stress of being in hiding led to disturbances in S's sleeping pattern: initially the stress exhausted S and led to excessive sleeping, whereas S suffered from sleeplessness later - the duration of which lasted longer than under S's normal experience of stress.

S was very cautious and avoided unnecessary exposure to the danger of being detained. For S the necessity of acting in a security conscious way made all activities more strenuous and often time-consuming. S felt more at ease when his safety could not be jeopardized by the fact that people knew about

his whereabouts and therefore preferred to prevent his place of hiding from becoming widely known, and to take the initiative in contacting people rather than the other way around. S thus made himself unaccessible for security reasons.

However, for S taking marginal risks was a necessary, physically and emotionally stimulating, exhilarating experience which released tension and helped him to cope with being in hiding. Moments which are highly valued in S's memory are occasions where he went for a walk when it was relatively safe, yet risky and upon which he regained an experience of freedom and enlivenment.

Being in hiding made a profound impact on S's interpersonal relationships - his social world became much smaller because his interpersonal contact was limited to people whom he saw in the course of his political activities. S had an untroubled relationship with people who shared an understanding of repressive conditions. In order to sustain himself in hiding, S learnt to ignore some inhibiting social habits and readily made use of people's hospitality. S has the highest regard for these people on account of the spontaneously supportive role that they played in maintaining him in hiding.

The fact that S gained insight in himself and others due to the revelatory nature of threatening conditions was a constructive experience which justified the negative aspects of being in hiding for S.

S still experienced being in hiding as something which he largely went through alone without sharing his experience of the stress with or revealing it to others. For S this was due to the fact that hiding is not a phenomenon which attracts much attention in the presence of more extreme consequences of repression, and secondly, the necessary element of secrecy makes hiding a vague, incomprehensible phenomenon for most people. In sharing the experience of someone in a similar situation, S not only bridged the gap which set him apart in his experience; it also gave him the necessary perspective to realize how awesome and formidable hiding is.

Due to the qualitative unusualness of experiencing the consequences of repression, S experienced a gap in his relationship with people who were not in the same boat and therefore unable to comprehend the essential nuances of being in hiding.

S feels he was more caught up in his own daily existence and did not respond as readily or potentially with the same emotional depth as in the past to people with whom he had close contact in hiding - his need for interpersonal contact manifested and was satisfied in a more superficial, direct way.

S found his occupational role quite demanding and used the help of others in fulfilling his other responsibilities. The fact that he had to return to his office on a regular basis initially made him feel very vulnerable and anxious. Various aspects and consequences of S's life in hiding enhanced pre-existing strain in his occupational relationships and prevented him from being in a position to attempt resolving the tension. For S the experience of the remoteness of other people's world in relation to the intensity of his separate existence under political repression, manifested strongly in his occupational relationships. This as well as practicalities inherent in being in hiding led to a lack of communication between S and his colleagues.

S's organisational role changed from being involved in actual activities to being involved in planning and providing ideas.

S felt ambivalent about the prospect of being detained: for him being detained had a quality of delusive impressiveness and appeal on the one hand, yet on the other hand it was repulsively frightening and unsettling. For S being in hiding was a manageable experience, but he sometimes feels that being detained might have been easier to cope with.

S's reluctance to go back into hiding after he had resumed a normal style of living showed him that being in hiding was a more profound experience than he had realized at the time: his

immediate response to this prospect was an intense experience of aversion and rejection thereof, as well as feelings of dispiritedness and dejection which manifested in a half-hearted attempt to go into hiding again.

S experiences a sense of self-satisfaction (reinforced by his perception of external feedback) in view of the competent way in which he coped with being in hiding and his organisational responsibilities under very difficult local conditions. He ascribes this to his constructive, creative approach. S feels that his sense of responsibility towards others and concern for how they coped with being in hiding took his mind off his own problems and helped him to cope with being in hiding.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SITUATED STRUCTURE OF BEING IN HIDING:

For S being in hiding was predominantly a highly stressful experience which was largely incomprehensible for others and which removed his world from that of others; it was a formidable, awesome experience through which S largely went alone and the profundity of which he only realized afterwards.

S was constantly feeling anxious and experienced the stress in a qualitatively different, physically debilitating way.

S's world became smaller in the sense that large parts of his existence fell away - a part of his interpersonal world, his experience of being home and other ways in which he expressed himself.

For S being in hiding was also a revelatory experience which enhanced his insight in himself and others and with which he coped constructively and creatively.

5.2. Extended description of situated structure of being in hiding

Being in hiding represented a severely altered mode of

being-in-the-world for the five subjects who gave an in-depth description of their experience in hiding. It had a profound impact on various integrated dimensions of their individual existences - the way in which each of them related to and experienced their world as a whole and parts of that whole; i.e. their social/interpersonal world, political world, experience of the self and their experience of practical-material, routine aspects of their world and daily activities. For them being in hiding severely disrupted the established, integrated structure of their world and the way in which they actualized themselves in that world; it was a profound, emotionally rich experience.

The severe physical-material confinement or restriction was reflected in the shrinkage of the subjects' social, political and personal worlds. In other words, the loss of freedom of movement and freedom of engaging in a broad range of recreational, social, political and other activities resulted in the loss of large, important, sometimes precious parts of their worlds. The scope of their existences became smaller - their lives centered around immediate necessities in order to maintain themselves in hiding. Hiding limited their expression and actualization of themselves; it denied them the opportunity to be themselves as whole persons.

The way in which each subject had to fulfil his/her responsibilities was severely impaired and underwent a qualitative change in hiding - they were frustrated in the attainment of their immediate objectives. Thus, being in hiding imposed severe limitations and strain upon the subjects' individual roles in their lives - roles that were of specific importance or significance to each of them in his/her existence (e.g. the role as a student, a mother or supporter of the family, a political activist, an occupational role etc.).

For two of the subjects the curtailment of especially their political roles meant that a fundamental constituent of their self-definitions had fallen away in hiding: their perception of themselves underwent a qualitative change in view of the

significance of their political roles - not only as part of their existences, but also as an integral part of their self-concepts - and the severe curtailment of the latter and their other roles. They experienced serious doubts and uncertainty as to how to define themselves as well as a decrease in positive self-worth and feelings of self-devaluation. Being in hiding also touched on their experience of the physical self in that it led to diminished attention or awareness and concern about physical appearance. For one subject this was due to the realization that his physical appearance in hiding was no longer a voluntary self-presentation, but that it was prescribed by the very nature of being in hiding.

For some subjects being in hiding in one way or another enhanced their self-insight - either by revealing aspects of themselves, or by being conducive to introspective self-analysis. For one subject this was a constructive experience, whereas the other one felt that positive integration and actualization of the outcome of his critical self-analysis was impossible in hiding and he was left feeling more unsettled.

Something that was related to a changed perception of the self was some subjects' perception of their existences: they experienced themselves as predominantly leading a passive, unproductive life.

All the subjects strongly relied on other people to maintain themselves and their activities in hiding - especially on a very practical, material level (e.g. in being provided with food and shelter), but also on an interpersonal, general supportive level (e.g. in being provided with emotional support, information, entertainment, etc.). Some of the subjects experienced this dependency as potentially being put in an insecure, vulnerable position. Although it was experienced with varying degrees of intensity, it remained problematic to a certain extent. It was, for individual reasons, in some cases related to an experience of uncomfortableness and strain in the subject's relationship

with the people upon whom he/she was dependent for material support. E.g. one subject found it difficult to relate to these people because they were not people whom he had chosen to include in his social circle and his acquaintance with them was only incidental. Another subject felt uncomfortable and guilty because he thought his presence was experienced as an imposition and that the people retained bitter feelings in this regard.

The fact that being in hiding demanded an unstable, nomadic lifestyle together with the consequent experience of homelessness was, again, experienced with different degrees of intensity. The experience of not being home was difficult to cope with for subjects for whom being home had a special significance (e.g. if it was associated with family and friends or if it was a special, familiar part of the subject's world). They missed being home and longed to be there, just doing normal things and experiencing the freedom of space and self-expression.

A related experience was the way in which the place of hiding was perceived: for one subject the loss of relationships in his world enhanced his awareness of the unique qualities of a particular place and his awareness of relating to his place of hiding in a particular way. He experienced himself as being caught in an environment that he did not want to find agreeable; he prevented himself from becoming attached to it by creating a dislike in his place of hiding in order to make his inevitable departure easier.

In view of the objective threat of being detained, all subjects were preoccupied with ensuring their own safety - they were intensely aware of security and took great caution to prevent their movements and whereabouts from becoming widely known. Some subjects noticed increased observance and attentiveness or heightened awareness of their surroundings in themselves.

The prospect of detention played a multi-dimensional role in the experience of being in hiding. It elicited ambivalent

feelings of different intensities: on the one hand it was the motivating force behind being in hiding and was experienced with emotions ranging from fear and awe to strong aversion in view of the extreme confinement, unpleasant material conditions and the unsettling effect it would have on the subjects' lives. On the other hand the prospect of detention was experienced by some of the subjects as something which would relieve the instability, insecurity and unpleasantness of being in hiding and which would enable them to resume a normal lifestyle and regain lost areas of their lives upon their release. This led to an irrational feeling of being prepared to endure detention as a result of general feelings of uneasiness and of having had enough of hiding. On a more rational level detention also served as a contrasting experience which highlighted the limited privileges and freedom in hiding and made the latter more preferable and bearable in view of the qualitative difference between detention and hiding.

One of the most predominant aspects of being in hiding which was commonly shared by subjects who were in hiding in their home town, was the profound interruption of the flow of a broad range of their interpersonal relationships and the general way in which they actualized themselves in their social worlds. The most noticeable phenomenon was that a large part of this social reality fell away in hiding, whereas in some cases the remaining parts were qualitatively transformed.

Due to the nature of being in hiding the subjects' interpersonal contact was severely limited; most subjects only interacted with people who were part of their support network or whom they saw in the course of what had remained of their political activities. The result of this was a loss of a large part of their social network. Thus, their interpersonal worlds became remarkably smaller.

For some the qualitative change in the remaining parts lay in the fact that the commonly shared way of relating to friends gave way to interaction which centred around the constant awareness of being in hiding and hiding itself became the

basis of the relationship. In other words, the reality of hiding permeated social intercourse; communication focused on and became dominated by aspects directly related to being in hiding or formal issues that had arisen and did not leave room for a relaxing, informal, light-hearted relationship. For one subject this meant that the nature of erstwhile emotional support assumed a more material form, focusing on aspects of hiding. He consequently did not feel at liberty to reveal his emotional experience.

Something that was related to this was the experience of hiding as a phenomenon which set one apart from other people in one way or another - especially from people who did not experience or had no conception of the effects of political repression. It manifested in an experience which was articulated as such by most of the subjects - an experience of isolation and loneliness or the experience of being in hiding as something which one largely goes through alone without being able to reveal one's experience or to find comfort and fundamental emotional support.

For one subject the reversal of night and day in his life highlighted his separation from the normal world - he felt out of step or out of rhythm in relation to the lifestyle shared by the majority of people. For him this led to an experience of a particular nature and depth.

For some subjects the experience of being enclosed to a certain extent in the immediacy of their own existences in hiding led to an awareness of a measure of emotional bluntness or a lack of emotional sensitivity in some areas of their interpersonal contact. Some of the subjects articulated a lack of trust in people as a precautionary measure that was necessitated by security considerations. Other subjects' conduct was also to a certain extent characterized by caution in this regard.

Under normal circumstances the initiation of social intercourse is a mutual act in the sense that it is from time to time shared by both parties. However, by its very nature,

being in hiding affected the way in which the subjects' social intercourse was initiated. Depending on individual circumstances some of the subjects either felt that they had been deprived of their ability to initiate or structure an aspect of their relationships, or on the other hand, one subject preferred to take the initiation of social intercourse solely upon himself.

Being in hiding severely undermined some of the basic elements in sustaining an intimate relationship for two of the subjects: i.e. the regularity of contacting each other and spending time together. Furthermore, it severely curtailed the social and recreational options open to the couple and generally imposed concrete, external difficulties upon the relationship. All this added a dimension of strain to the relationship which made it difficult to maintain the former qualitative aspects of such a relationship in hiding. One of the subjects felt that the emotional and physical changes in himself were also detrimental to the relationship in addition to the external strains imposed upon it.

Due to the revelatory nature of threatening situations, hiding uncovered people as they were and some of the subjects felt that they had gained insight in people who shared parts of their experience. Furthermore, the demands made upon certain areas of the subjects' relationships enhanced pre-existing strain in these areas or opened up areas of strain, depending on individual circumstances. The subject who was continuously in hiding in another city experienced the separation from her community in a particular way: for her the former relationship of mutual confidence and cooperation between activists and the community was broken. Thus, a rift was caused between her and her community.

Another very significant factor in most of the subjects' experience of being in hiding was the disruption of their political worlds. Most of them articulated their political roles as being a very important, integral part of the way in which they actualized themselves. The fundamental impairment and curtailment of this role in hiding was a profound

difficulty to cope with for some of the subjects.

The severe limitations which were imposed upon their former political roles brought about a qualitative change in the essence of the way in which they lived out their political convictions. Again: direct, practical political activity largely fell away in hiding and depending on individual circumstances, the subjects were forced to take a qualitatively different role upon themselves - in some ways a more remote form of political participation. For some of them this left a void which led to pronounced feelings of being estranged from their political reality and political selves as well as feelings of political uselessness.

However, the subjects continued their political activities within the limitations imposed upon them and did not experience a qualitative change in the extent of their commitment to their political work.

For most of the subjects being in hiding presented a number of conflict situations, the content of which depended on individual circumstances in their lives: most of them experienced in the first place a strong conflict between the longing to return to their normal lifestyle and roles and the realization that objective conditions made this impossible in view of the dire consequences of such a step. In the second place, given the context of being in hiding, some subjects were forced to make difficult decisions regarding the most preferable way to structure their existences in hiding. These decisions were based upon a complexity of conflicting interests in the interplay between political, personal, interpersonal and safety considerations. For these subjects the outcome of the decisions could not resolve the conflict situation satisfactorily in view of the fact that all the possibilities were undesirable and unpleasant.

The multi-dimensional, profound impact which being in hiding had upon the existences of the subjects was an overpowering, formidable phenomenon which elicited a very rich emotional experience for most of the subjects. It was a destabilizing,

unsettling experience which led to uncertainty (especially regarding the future as well as other aspects of their existences in hiding) and feelings of insecurity and a loss of control in a number of respects. A number of subjects articulated feelings of frustration and helplessness in view of the omni-present hold of hiding. Besides feelings of isolation, loneliness and dependency which were mentioned earlier, some subjects experienced feelings of sorrow or grief as well as anger at the State. Most subjects experienced feelings of depression, dispiritedness or despondency. For one subject the intensity and scope of these feelings was a qualitatively new experience: his ability to cope positively and constructively on an emotional level with disappointing occurrences had been debilitated - he felt in general intensely bad, apathetic and emotionally handicapped and tired out. Another subject also articulated the emotionally debilitating effects of being in hiding.

Being in hiding was a highly stressful event which led to an awareness of tension, anxiety, fear and general feelings of emotional uneasiness. For some subjects this strongly manifested through their bodies: they experienced physical correlates to their emotional state in the form of specific, stress-related psychosomatic patterns of a qualitatively different intensity and duration than under their normal experience of stress (e.g. disturbances in their sleeping pattern, general physical discomfort and weariness etc). For a few subjects this was a physically debilitating experience which adversely affected their activities.

Some subjects experienced a change in their normal behavioural patterns (e.g. one subject became irritable whereas another one engaged in escapist activities like the excessive use of alcohol.).

Despite the fact that being in hiding was an extremely unpleasant and estranging experience which presented numerous difficulties to cope with and general personal discomfort, most of the subjects articulated acceptance of the finality of being in hiding; some subjects articulated it as a stark,

sombre, dismal, unenchanted reality, but they saw it as an inevitable part of their political world. Many of them experienced it as something which called upon them to adjust and to cope with the situation - something which they felt they did well. For some this was facilitated by comparing their experience in hiding to something worse (e.g. detention) or by comparing their experience to that of people who, in their minds, suffered more severely under repressive conditions (e.g. political prisoners). However, cognitive acceptance of the reality of being in hiding did not necessarily alleviate the difficulty of coping with the practicalities - it remained a profoundly unsettling experience for all the subjects.

5.3. Essential description of situated structure of being in hiding

For the five subjects being in hiding was an extreme intervention which was imposed upon their existences and which brought about a qualitative transformation in the individual subject's mode of being-in-the-world - not only in terms of practicalities, but also on a deep experiential level.

It was a phenomenon which touched on fundamental parts of their experience of themselves and their individual worlds and the way in which they actualized themselves.

For them it essentially entailed a loss of relationships and roles which resulted in an experience of a measure of encapsulation or separation from the world of others. It was a profound, multi-dimensional disruption of the structure of the subject's existence which infused a rich emotional experience.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION:

This chapter will be devoted to looking at the experience of being in hiding within the framework of the literature review on the psychological experience of a stressful life event. However, the following must be kept in mind:

It became clear in the course of the empirical part of the study that the experience of being in hiding is more than just a stressful life event. There are fundamental themes in the experience of being in hiding which add a qualitatively different dimension to it in addition to the obvious similarities with the experience of a stressful event: e.g. the loss of large parts of the individual subject's relationships, roles and space in which to actualize him/herself, the profound effect that it had on the subject's perception of the self and the dependency element to name only a few apparent aspects. In other words, despite the fact that being in hiding is per definition a highly stressful experience which will subsequently be discussed within this framework, it would be reductionistic to think of being in hiding predominantly as only a stressful event. It must be stressed that this should be kept in mind throughout this chapter.

The notion that the phenomenon of being in hiding can never be separated from the political reality in South Africa was reaffirmed - not only by virtue of the fact that the political reality is the context in which hiding takes place as was posited earlier, but also in view of the significance that the subjects attached to their political roles and the disruption thereof in their experience of being in hiding. For the subjects State repression of political opposition was not a remote theoretical construct; it was a very immediate, intense factor which directly touched them deeply in their daily existences in hiding. The larger socio-political context adds another dimension which contributes to the intensity and severity of being in hiding as a qualitatively unique

stressful event.

The large-scale transformations in the subjects' psychological and physical environment which demanded adjustive behaviour in the absence of ready-made coping patterns constituted the stressful nature of being in hiding. The intensity and severity of their experience depended on objective as well as subjective factors; i.e. the interaction between the characteristics of hiding as a stressor and individual factors - e.g. the individual's personal and situational resources and subjective interpretation of being in hiding.

The empirical data explicated and confirmed the severe impact of hiding as a stressor. This is due to the fact that it was clearly a very important, multi-dimensional intervention which pervaded the lives of the activists for a period of time which was long enough to have a strong cumulative effect.

Another point which becomes apparent as one looks at the empirical data is the fact that despite thematic similarities, each individual subject had a unique experience in hiding - not only in terms of material, practical differences, but also on a level which related to the intensity and depth of the experience and the way in which they coped. This was due to the unique environmental and psychodynamic processes which played a role in the psychological development of the subjects as well as supportive elements specific to their situation in hiding.

It is evident that the level of stress in hiding was high enough to affect the subjects' psychological and physiological well-being - by far not to an extreme extent, though. Especially three characteristics of a stress reaction manifested in the subjects' experience of being in hiding: the holistic, emotional and task-orientated dimensions of a stress reaction. In other words, the individual subject experienced being in hiding as an integrated unit. Their experience entailed a strong emotional component and their reactions were primarily directed at dealing with the requirements of the stressor. Reactions directed at protecting the self from hurt

and disorganisation manifested in individual cases as well; e.g. psychological damage-repair mechanisms (e.g. crying) and defence mechanisms which are particularly pertinent to stress situations (e.g. suppression and emotional insulation).

The emotional experience of the subjects reflected the nature and depth of their overall experience of being in hiding. The individual differences in the subjects' emotional responses can be ascribed to differences in past learning and the perceived significance of being in hiding.

Most of the emotional responses to stress identified by other researchers were confirmed in this study: e.g. an initial experience of numbness or stupefaction in an individual case and more commonly shared feelings of fear, anxiety, anger, sadness or feelings of loss or grief for the previous situation as well as acceptance of the reality of the situation and the identification of reasonable avenues for effective activity which enhanced confidence in the subject's ability to cope with the situation. The normal sequence of these emotional experiences was reflected in the immediate, short-term reaction of one subject: he experienced an initial period of disorientation with feelings of passivity and helplessness which was followed by an attempt to master the situation and finally, a stage where an accepting, realistic orientation was achieved.

The occurrence of the feelings of depression can, amongst other things, be attributed to the fact that, for the subjects, hiding was an uncontrollable event which represented highly probable aversive outcomes or very improbable positive outcomes or both for an indefinite period.

The additional feelings of isolation, loneliness and dependency which manifested in the experience of being in hiding support the argument that hiding is a qualitatively different stressful event.

There does not seem to be an indication that any of the subjects' adaptive abilities have been overwhelmed due to

being exposed to a severe stressor for a relatively long period. There are indications that the subjects went through the first stages of psychological decompensation - the stages before psychological disintegration actually takes place: in the first stage the subjects were alerted and coping mechanisms were mobilized. Characteristics of this stage were fairly common in the subjects' experience of being in hiding - e.g. emotional arousal and increased tension, heightened awareness and vigilance etc. Aspects of the second stage of resistance also manifested in the experience of being in hiding: the subjects found means to deal with the stressor and were thus able to resist substantial lowering of integrated functioning. There were indications of strain; e.g. psycho-physiological symptoms and experiences of emotional and physical debilitation.

Thus, the subjects were able to withstand stress without serious impairment of integrated functioning. Three of the categories of generalized resistance resources manifested clearly in the empirical data (i.e. artefactual-material, valuative-attitudinal, and interpersonal-relational to a certain extent) whereas two were implicitly detectable (i.e. physical and emotional). The subjects' stress tolerance or frustration toleration might have been increased by the following resistance resources: in the first place, the subjects had access to and readily made use of external resources and support systems - especially for material support. However, due to the loss of large parts of their interpersonal relationships and the experience of a measure of encapsulation or being separated or set apart from the world of others, personal support fell away to a large extent or underwent a qualitative change for some subjects. This is one of the inherent aspects which touches on the essential quality of being in hiding and which adds to the difficulty of coping with it: the ironic fact that it is a situation where there is a definite need for emotional support, yet that support is to a certain extent precluded by the very essence of the experience.

The complex nature of environmental support was also

illustrated in the empirical data: external support did provide tangible assistance for the subjects who received the direct assistance of others in coping with being in hiding; however, it also to a certain extent added to a measure of uneasiness for some subjects in view of the uncomfortableness of their relationship with people upon whom they are dependent. The phenomenon that affiliation serves as a stress reducer in fear situations was also specifically illustrated in the experience of one subject: he articulated the experience of arousal decrease in the presence of others as opposed to increased uneasiness when he was in a secluded place for long periods.

Secondly, evaluation as one component of the cognitive processing of being in hiding (or the individual's subjective perception of being in hiding) was another factor in the resistance of stress. This manifested overtly in the experience of especially one subject: he coped with his experience by deliberately (and not necessarily truthfully) convincing himself of the "virtues" of his disrupted, severely restricted life in hiding and the "vices" and "absurdities" of a normal existence. Previous research (see chapter 3) has indicated that positive thinking of this nature may temporarily be psychologically beneficial, although its actual impact on psychological adjustment to a stressful event remains uncertain.

However, the same subject also particularly emphasized the unpleasant qualities of his place of hiding and cognitively convinced himself of the emotional ease with which he would be able to move to a new place. He thus cognitively created a not necessarily realistic dislike in his immediate physical environment. In the light of previous research, this might have been conducive to the lowering of the subject's psychological well-being in hiding.

A third and very important factor in the subjects' resistance to the stress of being in hiding, was their political commitment. We have seen that commitment is one of the existential personality variables most relevant to stress

resistance. This clearly manifested in the empirical data: the subjects believed in the truth, importance and interest value of their political work and they accepted the personal discomfort of being in hiding in view of this. In other words, for the subjects the stress of being in hiding was mitigated by a sense of purpose that prevented them from giving up their allegiance, even in the face of great pressure. They knew why they were confronted with hiding and were prepared to endure the unpleasantness in view of the fact that their current discomfort (psychological and otherwise) was in the service of some future ends which are of positive value.

On the other hand, the feelings of uncertainty and loss of control over their lives might have been one of the primary factors which enhanced the stressful nature of being in hiding. Research has indicated that uncertainty increases stress and the perception of a lack of control creates anxiety. In hiding the combination of these two effects was probably instrumental in eliciting the stress effect.

The uncertainty and lack of control manifested in two dimensions of the subjects' experience: in the first place in a dimension which related to the subject's ongoing life and future and in the second place in a dimension which related to the context of hiding itself and the way in which to structure it. The latter was reflected in the conflict around decisions regarding preparatory activity which might have the beneficial effect of reducing the unpleasantness of being in hiding.

The subjects relied on individually specific coping mechanisms to deal with hiding. Overall these coping mechanisms seem to have been active or approach coping strategies. In other words, it included behavioural effects to deal with hiding and cognitive attempts to manage the appraisal of being in hiding. (E.g. logical analysis, problem-solving action etc.) This, again, was conducive to adaptation in hiding.

In conclusion I would like to stress the unique nature of each subject's experience of being in hiding. This was due not only to differences in environmental factors, but also to the

subjects' individual characteristics. Although the importance of understanding personality variables as personal resources in the experience of being in hiding is not the focus of this study, it should not be disregarded completely, since it has been demonstrated that a certain constellation of various crucial personality characteristics equips the individual to cope with stress.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

This study is predominantly a descriptive account of the experience of being in hiding which is situated within a broader socio-political context. Its main value lies not only in the fact that it enhances an understanding of the experience of being in hiding, but also in the fact that it is a direct explication of one example of how power relations and relations of domination permeate the existence of the individual, which is particularly relevant to current conditions in South Africa.

As such it reaffirms the necessity for Psychology to address a broad range of issues from a Critical Psychological perspective and specifically for South African Psychology to conduct large scale research of a socio-political nature from a critical perspective and not as passive observers - e.g. research on militarisation, the internalisation of irrational forms of domination, the development of activism, the psychological effect of police and military presence in the townships etc. - the possibilities are endless.

One shortcoming of this study is the fact that potentially rich descriptions were not included in the empirical analysis due to a number of factors ranging from language difficulties to the fact that it was in a few cases practically impossible to follow up essays with interviews. (These essays have been included for interest's sake in Appendix E.) Another obvious shortcoming is the fact that there is no dialogue with psychological research on this specific topic for reasons which were outlined earlier. This opened up the possibility for the qualitatively different essence of the experience of being in hiding to become lost in the framework of research on stressful life events.

Although the advantages and obvious suitability of the chosen methodology by far outweigh the limitations, it might be valuable to follow up this study with research which would

elucidate the more quantitative aspects, now that we hopefully have a thorough understanding of the qualitative aspects and depth of the experience of being in hiding - e.g. the magnitude of the phenomenon and psychological effects.

Life on the run

Drawing: JEFF STACEY

For hundreds of people, the State of Emergency has meant a twilight existence of perpetual hiding — a night here, the next night elsewhere; a borrowed car, a disguised appearance. Former journalist GAVIN EVANS, now a senior member of the ECC, provides some glimpses of his own experiences as a reluctant runaway

ONE NIGHT AT



AN obscene phone call at midnight on June 12 started the State of Emergency for me.

My flatmate and I had been receiving a constant flow of mysterious, abusive and sometimes threatening late night calls for the previous month — ever since my return from the United States, where I had represented the End Conscription Campaign as part of a United Nations-sponsored visit.

But this call was more ominous than usual. The voice ended its string of obscenities on a slightly mocking note: "I'll be seeing you a bit later tonight, hey?"

The first inkling of the possible significance of this remark came 30 minutes later when a friend phoned to say her husband had been detained. It was becoming clear that the expected crackdown was upon us. But, being engrossed in legal studies, I was reluctant to move.

At last the phone rang again. This time it was a friend from Cape Town, telling us that a large contingent of soldiers and Security Policemen had just departed with my brother, Michael, in tow. He had been informed that he was being held under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

It was then that my flatmate and I resolved to forego the promised early morning banana eggnog and pack our bags. Within 10 minutes we were out of Yeoville and in our places of temporary refuge. My flatmate was detained at work the next morning and was held in solitary confinement for two weeks before being released.

I managed to avoid detention, but only just. I had had the rather absurd idea that Sunday afternoon was a time

of rest — even for the Special Constable. It was the fourth day of the State of Emergency and my temporary supply of underpants had reached its limit. I took a chance and gave myself a few minutes to replenish supplies. I was careful to lock and bolt the door behind me.

But as I was about to leave the flat from New York phoned to check how things were faring. I had much to say and spoke for ten minutes. Seconds after I replaced the receiver

The flat is on the second floor. Before I had been locked in but the jump seemed too long. This time things were different

I heard that unmistakable knock. I was having a funny how the Branch always having a go at bashing out the door even on a Sunday afternoon. A friendly tap would be far more likely to elicit the desired response which there's ample time for (boo).

Anyway there was no time about this knock. And I was accompanied by a rattling of window panes nearest the door. The sound of an apparent attempt at forcing the burglar back clearly time to unfreeze.

The flat is on the second floor. The window opposite the door faces Louis Botha Ave. Before I had been locked in the jump seemed far too long to contemplate. Clearly this

APPENDIX B

Mental disorders arising from the war of national liberation in Algeria - Frantz Fanon.

Frantz Fanon (1963, pp.200-250) illustrates how the struggle for national liberation in Algeria became a favourable breeding ground for mental disorders. Even during the calm period of successful colonization regular and important mental pathology, which was the direct product of oppression, manifested. Fanon speaks in this regard of the "colonized personality" and the political and economical non-existence of the native population. "Because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly 'In reality, who am I?'" (p.200)

The disturbances noted by Fanon can be classified under the heading "reactionary psychosis". Thus, prominence is given to the event which gave rise to the disorder. "It seems to us that in the cases here chosen the events giving rise to the disorders are chiefly the blood-thirsty and pitiless atmosphere, the generalization of inhuman practices and the firm impression that people have of being caught up in a veritable Apocalypse ... These are reactionary psychoses ... but here we must give particular priority to the war ... The hitherto unemphasized characteristics of certain psychiatric descriptions here given confirm, if confirmation were necessary, that this colonial war is singular even in the pathology that it gives rise to." (p.202)

Fanon questions the notion of the relative harmlessness of these reactional disorders. He emphasizes that his experience supported the notion of "the frequent malignancy of these pathological processes. These are disorders which persist for months on end, making a mass attack against the ego, and practically always leaving as their sequel a weakness which is almost visible to the naked eye." (p.203)

Fanon presents his observations (covering the period 1954-9) in the form of a series of case studies. These case studies cannot be reproduced here and should be read in detail in the original publication in order to grasp the complexity and full significance thereof. The following is an attempt to draw out some of the symptomatology as identified by Fanon.

Series A represents cases who had clear symptoms of mental disorders of the reactionary type and includes the following: insomnia, persistent headaches, depression and impotence in an Algerian following the rape of his wife by a French soldier; undifferentiated homicidal impulses found in a survivor of a mass murder and marked anxiety psychosis of the depersonalization type after the murder of a woman while temporarily insane. Other symptoms in this particular series include anxiety, depression, suicide attempts, fear of persecution, nightmares, tendencies towards excessively violent behaviour etc. All these cases were directly related to specific incidents which were inextricably part of the liberation struggle in Algeria.

Series B depicts cases in which the event giving rise to the illness was in the first place the atmosphere of total war in Algeria: e.g. the murder by two Algerian children of their European playmate, accusatory delirium and suicidal conduct disguised as "terrorist activity" and behaviour disturbances in refugee Algerian children - the children of fighting men or of civilians killed by the French. Fanon noted the following symptoms in these children: a very marked love for parental images, a noticeable noise phobia, a longing for peace and affection, sleeplessness and sleep-walking, periodical enuresis and sadistic tendencies.

Widespread puerperal psychoses (mental disorders which occur in women around childbirth) were also found. The disorders took various forms - e.g. states of agitation which might turn into rages, deep depression and tonic immobility with attempted suicides, anxiety states, delusions of persecution or an impression of immanent death etc.

Series C deals with disorders which appeared immediately after or during torture. In the category of indiscriminate preventive torture the following symptoms were found: agitated nervous depressions, loss of appetite arising from mental causes and motor instability. Torture by electricity resulted in the first place in localized or generalized cenesthopathies: "These patients felt 'pins and needles' throughout their bodies; their hands seemed to be torn off, their heads seemed to be bursting, and their tongues felt as if they were being swallowed." (p.228) Secondly: apathy, aboulia and lack of interest were noted. Patients were inert, unable to make plans, they had no resources and lived from day to day. A third symptom was electricity phobia (e.g. fear of touching a switch, turning on a radio etc.).

Psychiatric symptoms following intra-venous injections of Pentothal ("truth serum") were as follows: verbal stereotypies (e.g. repeating sentences like "I didn't tell them anything. You must believe me.") accompanied by a permanent anxiety state; clouded intellectual or sensory perception; fear amounting to phobia of all private conversations, and inhibition.

The next category deals with the psychiatric consequences of brain-washing. Psychiatric symptoms encountered were phobia of all collective discussions (inhibition, reticence and mistrust of such an occasion) and the inability to explain and defend any given position. "Thought proceeds by antithetic couplings. Everything that is affirmed can, at the same instant, be denied with the same force." (p.233)

Illnesses of a psychosomatic nature are grouped together in Series D. As Fanon succinctly put it: "Today, we know very well that it is not necessary to be wounded by a bullet in order to suffer from the fact of war in body as well as in mind." (p.235) Psychosomatic symptoms encountered include numerous cases of stomach ulcers, nephritic colic, menstruation trouble in women, intense sleeplessness caused by idiopathic tremours, paroxysmal tachycardias and a generalized contraction with muscular stiffness.

Frantz Fanon's observations are specific to the Algerian struggle for national liberation. However, they serve as an example of how the consequences of oppression and resultant legitimate protest pervade the physical and mental health of the individual. As such they explicate the psychological costs of a liberation struggle - something which is not merely an object for passive observance, but which demands our critical reflection.

APPENDIX C

Verbatim transcript of interview conducted with Subject 1.

Okay, just to start off, can you describe how this has affected your life?

Ya, I was thinking about this. I think there's three major aspects which it's ... but it's ... I kind of broke that down into three major areas: The first is a sort of domestic area and that involves things like what time you get up in the morning - you know, the more mundane parts of your everyday kind of life. Obviously being in hiding has affected that quite fundamentally. The most important things that it has affected is that I don't have a home, all right - I mean I still have one, but my belongings are scattered, you know. I have a few belongings, obviously, but, for example, my belongings are scattered all over XXX and a couple of other places in the country. I don't have any one place to go back to and I'm leading a very nomadic form of existence. I live in other people's houses from ... from YYY which is the base from which I actually operate. Okay, we'll come back to that just now, but that's broadly the first aspect.

I think that's really been the least important, but maybe again ... I'll elaborate on that in a moment.

The second area is obviously a kind of social area, affecting basically my social activity, my social relations with people. Socially both in terms of sort of interpersonal relations or close interpersonal relations, sexual relations and so on, and also within just one's operations in social circles. And that's the second area that has actually been affected. Again, that has been severely disrupted, you know. I no longer have any kind of consistent or coherent social life at all. Particularly, you know, what's happened is that my whole social ... or the essence of my social existence ... I've got friends in other centres, obviously. I've got a couple of close friends. I suppose having specifically actually ... having lived in XXX, I developed, I suppose, quite a vast

social network, because people have come here, they stay some time and they live in other centres. So I know a lot of people in other centres. But my closest friends obviously live in XXX. And particularly living in hiding in XXX, which is a particularly intense form of hiding - it's very small in XXX.

There's no way really that I can have any form of social or purely social activity. But I think when I was in hiding in ZZZ or YYY - okay, that might be a bit different - in fact, it is different for people there, 'cause I met people in hiding there and they don't have to confine themselves as totally as I do here, because they're just a hell-of-a lot bigger than this place is, you know. They can go to the odd restaurant; they can go to the odd movie; they can meet people socially from time to time and still be in hiding. In XXX I can do none of these things at all.

And so, with the exception of a couple of interpersonal - close interpersonal, emotional, sexual kind of relationships - I actually have no kind of social relationships whatsoever. And so there has been a very severe disruption, you know, at that level.

And then finally ... you know, the final, the third and final sort of area which has affected my life is ... has to do with politics - in terms of my political role. Now, you know, for me being a political activist as I have been essentially for the last four years ... I mean the main spread of my life has been political work - at least four years. You know, just the fact that I really ... There's been a severe change in the form of political activity. It's no longer really what it was. Again, I'll elaborate on this a bit later, but it's no longer been what it was. And also, I have to spend a lot of time outside of the region. Largely because, again, XXX is so small and so on. I think if I was living in ZZZ and in hiding in ZZZ it would be different. A lot of it would ... you know, my sort of colleague activists, as it were, don't have to spend a lot of time outside of ZZZ or outside of QQQ when they're in hiding there or even outside of YYY. Whereas, because of the smallness of XXX, I ... if I were to live successfully in

hiding, I just have to spend a lot of time out of the region. So it's been quite a big disruption and that's been sort of the ...

And how do you feel about it - the fact that you don't have a home or social relationships and so on?

I think, okay, if I can go back to the three categories - the domestic, the social and the political: again, the domestic, the effect of the domestic and how I feel about it haven't been in the least serious. The major problem is that I don't have a home, but personally (and I think it's related to the kind of person one is) that hasn't been a major problem for me. I know someone else, for example - A. She found that actually a major problem. A, just the kind of person that she was, wanted ... it was for her very important to have a room of her own where she could go back to, things of her own, a kind of little home base. For me that hasn't been a major problem. It hasn't ... ya, it's been the least of my worries, essentially. The ... although there has been related problems there, which again, I'll talk about a bit later, but ... which is: the fact that one doesn't have a home tends to make you more dependent on other people, because you're staying in their houses. And that actually produces a couple of sort of quasi-psychological sort of effects, I think. But I'll talk about those a bit later. Overall, the domestic lack of a home has been the least of my problems, although it has been slightly of a problem; but I think it's very much an individual thing.

Socially, again, this has been a kind of big problem. As I said earlier, my general social activity - interaction - has become extremely limited. And ... you know, I can't really describe (I don't think) the effects of that with a great degree of accuracy. I think one does feel ... I don't know ... isolated, I suppose; I'm not sure. I can't really tap on a very concrete symptom of that particular disruption. I mean I can't do that, but it's ... it has been a problem. One does get socially kind of isolated. And there's frustration, sure - a lot of frustration. I mean ... you know, often you actually

want nothing to do more than actually go out and see friends of yours and interact socially and stuff like that.

But I kind of found that a bit more of a problem earlier than I actually do now in some ways. Overall I think the most direct effect of that, I guess, has been a certain kind of isolation which you feel.

By that, do you mean a kind of loneliness? Can you describe the isolation?

Ya, I wonder what I mean by that. Maybe it is a kind of loneliness. I don't feel ever strongly alone. I don't feel strongly like ... ya, I mean hell-of-a lonely. I don't know. I haven't really felt that. It's more ... it's so difficult to explain these things. It's more ... it's not a problem in and of itself; it's insofar as it relates to other kinds of feelings ... I suppose ... or that it's part ... I don't know. The word is sort of over-determined. I don't know if you know ... basically that ... a sociological thing refers to the process whereby one effect is the result of very many different kind of causes. Now, there is a particular kind of psychological effect which again I'll talk about ... (I've set aside an area for this; I'll talk about it a bit later) which I feel are ... is an over-determined effect: it's produced by a range of different causes. It's very difficult to pick out exactly which of those ones are ..., because they're all related to each other.

Okay, I would say that a disruption of my social network, the fact that I have very little social existence, that I don't ... it isn't as if I've grown away from my friends. When I do see my friends in situations now - even really in social situations and in political situations and so on - it isn't as if there's been a big change in my relationships. That hasn't happened. Maybe because it hasn't been for so long - it's only been for eight or nine months now. So it isn't as if there's been a huge change in my relationships themselves. It's just, the relationships are no longer very strong entities in my life. I suppose ... you know, they don't play a major kind of

role.

And I think that has played a certain role in producing a kind of sort of depression which I will actually talk about a bit later, okay. What I ... if I could summarize - it's been a rather long ... if I could summarize: I think the fact that my social life has been severely disrupted, that it has actually been negated in a lot of ways, has been one factor which has actually produced - or has helped to produce - a kind of psychological symptom - which I'll talk about a bit later - which I would call depression or melancholy - any of the two.

Okay, so on the one hand there has been a disruption - a social disruption. The other aspect of my social life is clearly my close sexual, emotional, you know, interpersonal relations. Now, I know you've got a kind of separate category of those, so we'll maybe talk about those a bit later. But those, again, have been severely disrupted. I'll talk about it ... a bit about that ...

And then final ... finally there's this ... the political dimension again. And that has been ... that kind of political displacement has played probably the most important kind of ... it's been one of the most important factors in producing, again, this kind of psychological state which I will talk about just now. You know, the fact that ... you know I have developed a political role which has, ya, over the past four or five years which was a pretty ... pretty coherent thing. It had ... you know, it was really pretty clear as to what it was. It was very important for ... it was what I was doing ... it was essentially what I was all about. Alright.

Now, with being in hiding on the one hand, that hasn't just been doing the same kind of things but more quietly. It hasn't been that at all. It's been ... it brought about quite a big change in the nature of what I've been doing recently. And it has meant ... okay, so that ... the disruption of my political work has, I think ... I mean it's kind of fucked me over a bit, you know. It's been quite a problem, you know. It severely ... it generates severe questions in your head as to

what you're doing, as to the worth of what you're doing and so on and so forth.

Again, it's ... it's ... part of it is this ... has this kind of regional dynamic, but you know ... a lot of my political work has been in the Eastern Cape. Now that I had to move out of the Eastern Cape, I can no longer do the kinds of things full time that I was doing. So you kind of end up feeling, "Well, what the fuck am I doing, okay, anyway? What is going down?" You know, "What is the point for me to actually keep on doing that sort of thing in hiding?"

So that is a very important part of your definition of yourself and now that it has been disrupted, that sort of ...

Ya, clearly. What I'm saying is I don't think that is just being in hiding or not being in hiding. It's been quite specific to my case. You know, I think if I was just in hiding and doing very much ... If I was a township activist, for example, living in RRR township and ... being in hiding obviously would be a different thing. It would simply be doing slightly different - mainly the same kind of, but slightly different - form of work, but in a more quiet and more security-conscious kind of way under more stressful kind of conditions. For me, again, it hasn't been ... it hasn't just been doing the same kind of things under a slightly more stressful existence. It means a whole disruption of that political framework in terms of which I was actually operating. I'm not saying that it's been, again, I have nothing political to do or ... or ... you know, it has been as severe as that. It hasn't at all, but it's meant, again, a disruption to that political kind of role and that has led to problems with that per se.

Ya, you were actually sort of touching on various other aspects that I have formulated that we can discuss later. Just something about this ... this ... I assume that being in hiding in XXX is a bigger risk than being anywhere else in the country?

Yes, right.

Are you ... are you able to relax to some extent if you are in other centres?

Yes, ya.

Do you have a kind of normal life there - relatively normal?

Ya, not more normal. I mean, I've got to be careful in other centres. I can't live a totally normal life. Look, in two senses it isn't normal: in the one sense in that it's not totally open; I've got to be careful as ... I don't have to be anything like as intensely in hiding as I am now, but at the same time I got to be careful. Otherwise ... I mean ... I don't ... My existence isn't public knowledge, and so on and so forth. I've just got to watch myself. The other thing, though, is that it's not normal because it isn't ... it isn't my home, it isn't my place of living, it's not where all my friends are. Again, although ... when I live in other centres I can, say, do social things, but my essential social network isn't there; it's in XXX. So it's abnormal in that respect. Ya, I mean it doesn't ... it can't be described as a normalization in that sense, because I can be more open, more relaxed, but I certainly can't live the kind of life I was living in XXX.

And again, those very important social aspects that has been ... you know I can, say ... I've got a lot of friends, a lot of acquaintances, but it's very different to ...

The quality of life ...

Exactly, ya. The quality of social relationships is quite different, really, because it's people you see occasionally, it's nice to jol with and so on, but it's not the people you are really close to.

Okay, we have sort of touched on some of the aspects, but I'm just going to go through them. Have you noticed any changes in

yourself over this period?

Ya. Okay, look, I think, maybe I should here just go through ... I mentioned earlier the things like ... this various disruptions have ... I think is underlying a certain psychological syndrome. Let me just run through what I mean by that - by psychological symptoms. Again, if I can repeat in slightly different words; you know, the kind of disruption of the structure of my life in all these sections (the domestic, the social-stroke-interpersonal and in the political), you know, that disruption and the consequent lack of stability that it leaves me with ... I'm totally unstable; it's very difficult for you to make very many forward plan ... very many forward plans, you know. I don't know what I'm gonna be doing in three or four months' time. I actually don't know exactly where I'm even gonna be living at that stage.

So this is a very concrete instability - an actual, practical ...

Yes - it's a material instability. But it kind of ... and that's an effect of these ... these manifold disruptions that I was talking about. So that complex of disruption and instability, okay, you know, I think, has produced a set of kind of ... of feelings and so on which maybe I can just run through. I'll, you know ... they're kind of all related together, I suppose:

The first is a kind of depression, okay. Now, this is what I find quite interesting - I have never been a person that has, prior to I suppose about six months ago, who could identify with a feeling of depression. When people talked to me, "Look, I'm feeling depressed now," I didn't really know what they meant, okay. I certainly had times at which I felt a bit down and so on. But those were always related very much to concrete kinds of episodes. If something didn't go so well, okay - something politically or socially, whatever the situation was - then I wouldn't feel so good about it, okay ... and it was very related ... it was a concrete kind of thing. But over the last six months I have begun to develop a state of what I

think people mean when they say they're feeling depressed. And by that I understand a feeling which you actually feel generally just done, okay. You feel just *kak* about things. You just feel emotionally the kind of feeling "bit in your belly"; of just feeling shit and unenthusiastic and unmotivated and just *kak* about the ... about things - independent of any particular happening, of any particular event. All right. It can in ... all cases are sparked off by a particular event, all right. Something happens that doesn't go so well, all right, and so that sparks it off. But you know, in the past when it's always been ... when that has sparked it off, I think about it, I work out - almost in a rational sense, a fairly abstract way - what is good, what is bad, what needs to be done about it and that's it, okay. I would work through it and emotionally I'm fine.

I found that I'm unable to do that now; or not unable to do that so much as ... say ... it doesn't end up going that kind of path at all. It ends up me just feeling consistently shit about it. So, and even after ... I'm not even just thinking about a particular event; but about things in general. It's sparked off by a particular event, but it escalates onto this general emotional state of what I understand people mean by depression.

The first thing is I've never had that before. I've never been that kind of a person. And it has developed from quite ... quite recently.

So you actually feel that you can't resolve the situation? It's just an ongoing ... you can't sort of work through ...?

Ya. I think that's part of it. But again it's not, I think ... the point I want to stress is it's not related to a resolution of that particular problem, okay. It's ... It becomes ... it's sparked off by that problem, but it becomes a general state of mind, you know. I can ... and even if I do - if I look at the problem, I am still able to actually rationalize it in the sense of ... of looking at it reasonably and abstract and work out what needs to be done and so on. But nevertheless, even

having done that, it doesn't actually resolve ...

You don't feel better?

Ya ... necessarily ... it doesn't really do that. I still feel in a kind of depressed way. I don't know what the psychological process is that has actually gone on to produce ... what it is. I just don't, but I think it's ... it resulted in this, again, this disruption, instability kind of problem.

So the first thing is this ... is depression. Related to that is a kind of anxiety syndrome I think - where I actually feel quite ... I hassle a lot more about small things than I used to. Something small would go wrong: say I have a bit of a ... something small politically won't go exactly as planned; something ... say my relationship with my lover, okay, will just ... something just, you know, a very small issue that crops up and I hassle about it for a whole day, you know. I mean ... or ... and it's related to this thing: say, that can be one of the small things that sparks off this kind of depressive feeling. And whereas before, you know, I might've felt a bit bad for a little while, but I would have forgotten about it, or it wouldn't have been an issue for me in my life. Now I tend to brood a hell of a lot more about it. I tend to have a kind of anxiety about it more than I used to. So that's the second kind of change.

Again, another sort of feeling (I think this is all of general interest; I don't know how much the other ones are shared by me ... or by other people in a similar situation, but I know the other one that was felt very strongly by A before she was picked up) and that is ... it's this kind of ... a resignation: a feeling almost that you'd actually just rather be hashed and get it over with inside jail, okay. That you kind of just feel look, fuck, I mean of a ... you aren't quite sure of exactly the worth of what you're doing in the first place. Even if it is - look at it rationally - it is ... it's worth while the stuff that you're doing. But you kind of ... that gut buoyancy about what you're doing is kind of gone a bit because of this disruption thing. That's a ... you know,

the kind of stress factor: that you feel constantly pressurized and you're worried and there's nothing you can do and so on and so forth, you know. Almost ... you do get this feeling sometimes that, look, fuck, you actually would be better off inside of jail. At least in two senses: firstly, that you wouldn't have to worry about things the whole time and secondly, just in the sense that, you know, when you come out at the end, you'd be able to make some concrete plans about your life, all right. Whereas at the moment it's very difficult to make such plans at all. And that's a problem. I find it a big problem where, you know, I'm not able to actually plan very much what I'm gonna be doing. You know, I don't like such a situation at all. I have to know where I'm going. And you kind of feel at least when you go into detention, when you come out, you can plan where you're going.

So this kind of uncertainty is a problem?

Ya, it is a problem. It is a definite problem. I for one feel that. I ... it's more than just for me. I know a lot of other people that actually find it to be a problem. And I think, you know, again, just to refer to A's example, I know she felt a hell-of-a lot ... her first feeling on being detained was one of relief - as far as I understand, and I think she was actually a lot happier inside than the period just before. I think A's an extreme example, though. I don't think that everyone is like that at all. But, I think that through all of us in the situation this kind of thread actually runs where you come to a stage where you just feel, fuck, I mean - rather just go inside, close this chapter and you know, maybe when you come out you'd be able to plan things.

A kind of fourth syndrome is this kind of ... sometimes ... sometimes you just feel a bit angry about it. Now, this is like, kind of the least important thing. I mean, you just feel a kind of ... a sort of response of anger to the system and so on and so forth. That's minor stuff. I don't think that's particularly worth ... it's not a very pronounced thing that produced ... But the fact that they can actually fuck your life up - which they can and they have; I mean, they fucked up

a lot of my relationships with people. They fucked up ... they fucked up everything essentially. And that does produce a feeling at some stages of anger.

How do you handle that anger?

It just goes away. I mean ... I mean, there's nothing you can do about it. Also, I've never been a person for like getting fully angry about this kind of thing, you know. For me it's a fact of life. I understand why it happens, you know. I'm basically ... they're involved in a fight; I'm involved in a fight. We're at opposite ends of it and they're gonna do what they can to screw over what I represent, you know. And that involves screwing me over and ... because of our effect on political change you know. So getting angry doesn't really help very much, you know. It's never been a big feature of the way in which I practise politics in my life ... very much ... and so ...

And then the final aspect, I suppose, is one of melancholy. I mean, I don't know what the correct word is. I don't know whether melancholy is at all the right word. But ... a kind of feeling of - almost a sort of corny word - the feeling almost of sorrow. It's related to the feeling of isolation that I mentioned earlier. You know, all these things come ... you might say I'll be feeling on a particular day ... I'll have a particular state: there're elements of depression; it's got elements of anxiety; elements of this melancholy; elements of this isolation.

I don't feel like that the whole time at all - I'm not saying that. It doesn't happen often, but on some days something just sparks off and I just feel shit and I feel a combination of these kinds of factors, you know. And it's ... it's a very *kak* feeling. It really is.

It can be sparked off by something: for example, there's ...you know this - what's his name? - Simon, Paul Simon-ou from Graceland, okay. Now, when I was in XXX, you know, for a certain period last year (that thing had come out quite

recently) ... and it was played quite often in the house in which I was living, you know. And to this day I actually find it a little bit of a strain to actually hear that record. And none at all at the time - it just recently developed to the extent where it just evokes this kind of feeling of ... of ... all of these things. Not so much the depression thing as more the kind of melancholy-isolation number.

Because it was quite ... it was a good time, but it was a very intense time. A lot of things happened, you know, during that. But this kind of song, this record ... actually I find it difficult to listen to it, because it evokes kind of weird feelings. It really does. Ya, it does.

There's an immense sorrow about it. I don't know what it is; it's just that you feel a bit ... something. You also feel ... There's a feeling of ... Insecurity, I suppose, underlies a lot of this. You just aren't sure where the fuck you're gonna end up quite soon; or what's gonna be happening to you, because you're not sure about planning. The stability ... the lack of a concrete social network in terms of which you're actually acting, the lack of consistent interpersonal kinds of relationships and so on ... they make you feel, I suppose, very insecure in lots of ways.

You ... well, you've mentioned your emotional state and other changes that can be due to the fact that you're in hiding. So that sort of has been covered. How do you cope emotionally? I mean when you ... do you just wait until this feeling sort of passes or how do you ...?

Ya, that's really it. I mean, I don't have a set way of handling it. I found that it kind of washed away. It comes and goes for various lengths of time, you know, insofar as some particular incident does ... in so much... insofar as a particular incident can spark it off; at the same time, I suppose, if things, maybe even unrelated things, actually go quite well, it can make me feel good again. All right. You know, normally it's just ... I feel *kak* for a day and the next day I'm feeling okay, you know. It kind of just goes. I don't

... I don't have a very worked-out mechanism for handling that kind of syndrome at all. What is quite important ... what is part of my close interpersonal relations (of which I will talk just now), but those have been quite important, I suppose, in settling that kind of particular thing. But I don't have a set mechanism which I kind of resort to.

I noticed - in the period before the State of Emergency was declared - that you were very sort of jumpy and tense and so on; and I remember you were talking about, you know, getting a dog and erecting fences and so on. Was it actually ... how did it change when you knew that, well, this is it - I have to go into hiding? Was it better in a sense or ...?

No. I mean, you know, by no means. You know, I would like nothing better than actually to come out of hiding. I just don't like it at all. It's necessary and so on, but it's ... particularly in ... because of the way ... my specific case (the XXX scenario): being out of the region, or ... a couple of things I already mentioned, you know. It's fucked my life up and I actually don't like it. And I didn't find it better being in hiding at all. I mean, the other thing ... I got over the process I kind of established: I think for the first ... a little while ... the first kind of couple of months and so on ... it kind of wasn't too bad, you know. I find it actually more difficult to handle as time goes on. Well, I suppose I was very caught up in the whole process of being in hiding. It's a new kind of experience. You adapt to a whole lot of things at the beginning. That's all past now. I'm sitting with a rather ... a rather cold and rather sullen reality of living this kind of disrupted, isolated, unstable kind of existence for a long time and there's no glamour involved in it at all. And in fact, I find it more difficult to actually, I think, come to terms with it now, you know. I think I'm probably going to be - in the near future it should be a bit better, because I, you know ... It relates to quite material decisions that I make: sort of like where I'm gonna be living and so on. But if, for example, I leave the region, you know, for some time - for a number of months (I'd like to actually do that), which is a possibility, all right. It won't happen right away,

but it is a possibility that it might happen in the near future. You know, I relocate somewhere else and I'll kind of settle down more to a stable existence there. Gradually I've had to reconcile myself to the kind of changes that have actually been taking place.

But it doesn't get better - it gets worse?

Ya, ya. I think ... What I say is I think at the moment it's been worse. It's been getting worse for me to actually handle, but I think that if I do go through some kind of shift and that reconciliation is not just - it's a mental thing - but it actually takes on quite a material form. When I move somewhere else and I settle down and take on a different kind of day to day form of existence in which I can begin to develop slightly new social circles ... political circles ... Maybe things are a bit more stable, a bit less insecure and so - then it may get a bit better, you know.

Okay, can we get back to your interpersonal relationships. The fact that you don't see the people regularly - your friends and so on - and there's always the possibility that you might not see them again in case of your being detained or so; has that affected your ... the quality of your relationships with other people?

You see, I think ... I don't think it's, again - there hasn't been that much of a change at the level of my close friends, all right. By which I don't mean acquaintances and I don't mean lovers, all right. There hasn't been that much of a change in the quality of those relationships. It's been ... ya. When I see people it's almost as if I haven't ... left; I haven't ... not seen them for some time. Things are actually very cool. The problem is more in just not living out those relationships on an everyday basis.

Maybe we can just go back - I was thinking now, during the interview ... but you know, I suppose there's quite a lot of ... a feeling of loneliness involved in it. For me it hasn't ... Ya, one does feel, I suppose, a bit lonely. You asked the

question earlier and I think maybe you're right; maybe one does actually feel ... maybe I have felt quite alone you know ... at the end of the day. That isn't because relationships that I have are not ... I don't live them out consistently. They're not there on an everyday basis, you know. If I'm in XXX, I don't see much of those people socially. When I do - even when I see them on a political occasion - that actually in itself has been ... well ... there has been a big disruption to it: but they're not a feature of my ongoing existence, right.

So that's actually been a central feature of this loneliness, isolation - not so much the quality, but the fact that it is not an ongoing part ...?

Right, right ... of my life at the moment. Ya, I think that's what social relationships are all about, you know: it's about being an ongoing feature of ... I mean, those things actually ... it actually produces what you are; in a way it gives that meaning and ... when that meaning gets taken away, you're left feeling quite insecure, I suppose.

Okay, that's the first thing. Then on a sort of closer extreme, you know - with lovers, I mean - being in hiding just fucks those up, okay. It fucks them up fundamentally, you know. Examples ... I mean, you know, I had quite a long-standing relationship with, you know, J and that just kist out; I mean, that just kist out essentially because of the State of Emergency, okay. It also was always a problem, because we were living in different centres and so on last year, but the reason why it finally actually dipped out was because of the problems that the Emergency actually imposed on it.

I mean, I couldn't remain in regular contact with her - security was too tight to actually do that, you know. I could not even say how much time I'd be spending with her at any time. At least before, although there were differences, but one could say ... one could like make arrangements about spending time together and so on. That is just all totally out

of the window and ... so the thing which finally drove out the relationship - more than just finally - I mean, it fundamentally like influenced it. What I say is I don't think if there wasn't an Emergency declared, we would have broken up when we did. We wouldn't have. I'm not sure we would have broken up at all. It was the Emergency that fucked that up.

You know, on the other hand ... ya ... I'm involved with someone else now and that's ... that has been very good; it has been very important. Again it hasn't been a problem, because we haven't been living in different places, but there are strains in the relationship, there are a lot. We can't jol together, you know at all. We can't live out a normal social existence as, you know, people who are involved would actually just do. So it gets very, you know ... It had ... it had a funny kind of beginning. It evolved in a rather sort of strange way. It was affected by ...

And I think adapting on occasions when, say, we move ... we've been out of the Eastern Cape and it's been ... the adaptation to the social situation actually ... it was a bit of a strain as well. There've been lots of problems. You know, I know it's good and it's been important to me, but it's been ... it has been fundamentally fucked up by the whole Emergency. And the possibility exists that that exact thing is going to happen. We may be torn apart, as it were, because, you know ... if I go out of the region and so on, it's not gonna be sustainable any more, and that's a strain - that's a very big strain.

Then, you know, on the other extreme - on the sort of outer extreme, though - actually with general social relationships ... acquaintances rather than friends ... or people who you are friendly with, but who are not your close friends ... I think that's been quite problematic as well. I think you become quite ... you become a bit more insensitive, you know, to people, I think. You're kind of caught up a bit ... I don't know ... I found that I'm probably a bit more insensitive to people during this time. I'm a little bit less tuned into things that are done and vibes and so on, you know. That can

be even in kind of meeting-situations in which you tend to use a subtle kind of approach ... where it can be ... just generally, ya. There have been problems there. There really have been. It makes for a kind of ... almost because your head is a bit preoccupied with other things, you know; you're under a bit of stress. Ya, you're just not ... not as tuned into that kind of thing.

And then there's been, again, I mean this ... I mentioned this whole dependency kind of syndrome ... that's, you know, I mean it is awkward. You can't constantly actually be depending on other people for things like accommodation or so. It really is ... I think, you know, if that kind of friendship revolves ... It's very difficult to actually ... to be involved in a relationship with those people. It becomes a bit awkward to some extent.

Just to get back to your relationship with lovers - you mentioned the practical strains that you ... the fact that you can't spend as much time together and so on. Do you think that perhaps the emotional changes in you, could that also affect the relationship - that you could be more demanding or something like that?

That's a good question. It might, I suppose. I haven't really thought of that before. I don't think I have objectively become more demanding, because I very much ... I ... I don't like being in that kind of situation in a relationship at all; I don't like making demands on another person of that kind. It makes me feel run out of control ... a little bit subordinate in some sense, which I'm not prepared to be in any kind of relationship, you know. So I'm quite careful about that. So I don't think that it's made me, if anything, it's made me more demanding of ... I don't think so, no ... I don't ... I don't think it's ... the change is in me.

I think in a material sense, they have. I mean, if someone comes in and talks, you know, and I'm feeling depressed, I mean, that obviously comes across. But I don't talk about it very much. I don't say anything about it or ... I don't ... I

don't go into it. It's always not been a problem for me. I know what's going down. I know what the problem is. I know what it's related to, okay, and I don't think it would be a substantial relief if I discussed it in a big way. I mean, I will discuss my ... what I'm feeling about certain things, obviously. I will talk about it emotionally ... and I do talk emotionally, but, you know, I don't lay a lot of that on my lover at all. Well, I will talk quite a lot about what I'm feeling, but I don't lay that kind of trip in general on people. I don't think that's ...

I suppose the other way in which, I suppose, I have been a bit demanding is that ... in contradiction to and almost because of my situation of general instability, I've wanted things in the relationship to actually be quite clear and quite ... I want to know - like confidently, say, you know, when am I gonna see you, when am I not gonna see you. I don't want to be left hanging in something which I'm not sure what's gonna be happening. Like, maybe she's gonna come round; maybe she's not, you know.

It's a very concrete thing which has been quite difficult to handle and that has been ... that very much ... you know ... I'm in one place which I can't move out of. I can't go and visit her at home at all. It's been very much me hanging there. That ... it's actually added a very ... quite an important dimension to things. Now, I've never had that situation before at all, okay - in which I'm parking off there and the other person, I suppose, has a kind of decision of whether they're gonna come round or not. It's never been like that. And it's something that made a ... there's a material effect that it actually has. That hasn't been, you know, I mean ... it's actually not a problem at all. It was a fact in the beginning of the relationship that's ... obviously has led to unclarity and I was not quite sure what was going to be happening and so on. And it caused some anxiety for me at that stage, but since then it's been ... it hasn't actually been a feature or an issue at all. But ... none ... I actually forgot ... what was I essentially talking about?

About whether the emotional change in you might have affected ...

Ya, but more specifically ... I'm actually referring to ... this whole issue of me being ...

You were talking about being more demanding or ...

Ya. I've lost that essential theme. But essentially where ... I don't think it's been ... Ya ... What I was saying is the one ... yes ... the area in which I have been ... in which I wanted things quite clear so I know that I don't have to do worrying about that or expect that and so on and so forth, you know. And I suppose that's almost become ... almost as an offset to my lack of stability in other areas and I wanted things to be quite set and clear at that level. It was one area in which I do have some kind of control and, you know, I don't feel completely out of control, because I've got enough things to ... actually ... my head's got enough things to actually pick up on.

You mentioned the fact that ... that you are dependent on other people for basic things and it becomes awkward. How do you react to that? How do you feel about being more dependent?

Look, I just feel shit about it. I don't like it. It's not a situation in which I've been in, ever really, in ... in my past. And I just don't dig it. I don't dig it. Ya. I don't. It's just in very material things: it's accommodation; it's transport; it's certain arrangements that have to be made through intermediaries and stuff like that, you know. You feel a bit guilty about it, almost. You feel that you ... You do feel guilty. You feel that you're imposing on other people, which in a sense you are, I mean. You are something of an imposition. Either you're borrowing their car or you're living in their house, or whether they've got to take time out of what they're doing to arrange some special meeting for you with a third party or something like that, you know. It's ... you feel guilty of the position you're in. You suspect all this even if people don't feel that way; you suspect that

there may be some underlying resentment of the imposition that you're placing on people. You feel awkward. But you've got to do it. You've got to do it. The secret is, you obviously try to find some place as independent as possible, and in some areas that's more possible than in other areas, you know. For example, you know, certain people in hiding have placed a very large load on their kind of contact people, on people who're acting as intermediaries. I try to eliminate that as much as possible. I tend to actually do a lot of things on my own, even if it involves marginally more risks. I'd rather do that than constantly have someone waiting on me. But there are other areas in which you can't do that, okay. Accommodation is obviously the key one in XXX. I mean, it's because of the size of the place. You don't have big, anonymous blocks of flats you could just go into. You know, so ... There are these kinds of ... So you ... overall, you don't feel good about it, but there's not much you can do about it.

Something that's sort of related to this, but on a different level - I mean, you have to rely on people to be extremely discreet about your whereabouts. Your safety does not entirely depend on yourself; you are at the mercy of others. How do you feel about that? Does it make you feel vulnerable?

No. Not really. Vulnerability ... that's ... has not been a problem. I get pissed off if people make ... are indiscreet, okay. I get pissed off when they make security fuck-ups. I get very angry about that. I'm not talking about things which they can avoid ... I mean which they can't avoid. I'm talking about things that they can avoid, you know. That ... that kind of irritates me. But at the same time you almost actually feel quite resigned about it, you know. You feel, look, I mean, fuck, you do what you can to ensure that you are security tight; you allow other people to do what they can to ensure that security is tight. You know, if it fucks out, it fucks out - you're gonna get bust. You do what you can, you control what you can and if there's a problem, then there's gonna be a problem and you're gonna get bust. The vulnerability thing has not been much of a worry; I mean, you'll check again and if you feel you could avoid that, you actually rectify that

problem both because you should, you know, if you want to be secure, and also because you feel unhappy enough about it to actually go and tune the person. But over and above that, I mean, it's not a hell of a kind of thing.

You mentioned being busted, I mean, is that sort of at the back of your mind?

No, I think it's not really. It relates to this point that I mentioned before when I was talking about the stress factor. I don't hassle constantly about being bust. I don't do that. I go through infrequent occasions in which I confront the prospect of being inside of jail. I don't like the thought of it, all right, you know, and I kind of think, fuck, you know, I actually ... I don't dig this. But that happens, as I say, infrequently. As a general kind of thing I don't worry about it. I don't ... I'm not ... I don't have a lot of stress and so on. There are times, I mean, if you hear a funny knock at the door, you know - you hassle, you know ... you shit yourself, but ... and I suppose I do get a bit jumpy. I get jumpy when it comes either to leaving a place or going back. If I leave the Eastern Cape and I come back to the Eastern Cape, I get more jumpy on those occasions. If I'm about to leave - say I've got another three days to go - then I ... the stress does actually build up a bit until I'm actually gone. For a day or two before I actually return, again, the stress actually builds up. But it ... it's not an ongoing feature of my ... of my psychological state at all. I don't hassle about it constantly. It's not a major, major feeling, you know, for me. It's just ... But I suppose, when I sit down and think about it, then it's, you know, actually a prospect. But it's not something that's constantly on my mind.

Okay, we've talked about your definition of yourself and so on previously ... earlier. How does this experience of being in hiding and disruption of your political life ... has ... has that affected your ... how you feel about yourself - your self-concept?

Look, I don't think I can add very much to what I've said

about that, okay. I mean, I think that it's, you know, it's had these effects. It throws up these kind of questions in your mind. You sometimes actually do feel a bit useless, even if you're doing something political in another centre. That's the strange thing - even if you're doing some or other ... it's not the same; it's not seen to be a political existence. And so, you know, you kind of do ... one does kind of feel a little bit useless and you question the validity of what you're about and what you're doing and so on. Particularly, as I say, in the context of ... where you've developed, you know ... the last four or five years have been all about this kind of thing, you know. That's been what you're all about. It's kind of like a psychological alienation of labour, you know. You're alienated from your product, you're alienated from your work and so on. I mean, you know, just take that in a psychological sense - the political ... actually the context ... it's almost quite valid.

I think, just one thing about the kind of self-worth number is that what it has done, is tended to make me become quite a lot more introspective at times than I think I've been in the past as a person. There are times in which I go through quite severe self-critiques, obviously. The kind of person that I am, okay. I would look at my weaknesses and I would grin on them and so on. That sounds like almost quite a positive thing to do. And in one sense it is, but the problem is that it's not happening under conditions which lead to a whole lot of quite positive resolutions about that and hence positive action about that. It's happening under conditions which all tend against that actually happening. It's happening under conditions in which you're feeling insecure anyway; but I think a partial insecurity breeds this kind of introspection, okay. But at the same time it isn't very conducive to working the whole thing out very positively. That's the problem. You end up just feeling quite ... quite *kak* about yourself in a lot of ways, you know. It isn't as if you're leading a normal life in which you can take those often quite accurate self-criticisms and act on them and live them out and actually be quite, you know ... be just like, the result. You know, on the contrary: it's happening under conditions where there's no

way you can do that kind of thing, so it leads to just more a feeling of just being fucked over. I mean, you fuck yourself over of just feeling quite shit about yourself, quite bad about yourself, and without any avenue for resolving the whole thing productively. So it's a double-edged sword: on the one hand it's got its positive things about it in that it is opening up the kind of areas of self-criticism. On the other hand it's quite a negative process, because it isn't as if you can react to those, and it leaves you actually feeling more depressed and bad and so.

You can't actually realize these new insights ...

Ya, exactly. You can't realize them.

Something that might seem to be a very irrelevant question, but it just occurred to me. Your physical appearance has changed dramatically. Has that had any effect?

Not really, I don't think. I think I'm far less conscious of myself physically now than I was before the Emergency - far less. I don't think I've ever been an amazingly physically conscious person, but at the same time I've always, I suppose, had an eye on myself and what I looked like. I suppose my body has been quite important to me - I've always been ... important in ... in like keeping fit and so on. I mean, I did a lot of things: I used to run; I used to do karate; I did exercises at the gym and so on and so forth. I don't do any of that stuff at the moment at all, you know. I can't go to a karate club; I sometimes go to a gym if I'm out of town - just sometimes. I sometimes run if I'm out of town. I can't do either of those if I'm in XXX. And you know, something ... I'm a lot less fit than I used to be. I put on a bit of weight since the Emergency was declared.

And I actually really, I don't think ... I think I care far less what I look like, you know, facially as well, you know. It's just not an issue. There was a time in which it was quite a crisis. I mean, you know, there was a time in which it was very acute - a choice that one makes between personal vanity

and security, okay. I mean, you're either going to be secure which means you're gonna change and you're gonna end up looking a hell of a lot (I think obviously) less attractive than one did ... did before. Now that wasn't even a choice for me. It's just that you realise that there are those questions. Once you've kind of gone through that - once you realise that, you know: the criterion according to which you ... you're making yourself appear physically, is not one in which you'd like to appear; it's the way in which necessity dictates that you actually appear in terms of security considerations. Once you've made that choice, I think you actually begin to worry or care far less about how you appear physically.

I don't think it's a good thing. I don't think it's a good thing at all, because I think it's ... it kind of leads to a slightly ... I think there's ... it's kind of a lack of self-worth kind of syndrome, you know. You're not feeling particularly good about yourself. It kind of plugs into that. So I don't think it's very good at all. But it happened.

It probably reflects the fact that you've lost contact with some part of yourself.

Ya, maybe.

Or not lost contact, but that you feel different about yourself in a sense. Your experience of yourself as an activist - you have touched on this and your role in the struggle and so on. In terms of commitment and so on - you have mentioned that you doubt your usefulness and so on, but in terms of commitment specifically ... has there been ...?

What you're asking ... whether the kind of way it has affected me has actually led me to question my commitment to the struggle broadly, okay.

Ya.

No, not at all. Look, let me just clarify: I'm not sure of ... when I talk about doubting my self-worth and so on, I mean

that as a ... that is almost a psychological aberration. If I look at that rationally, if I stand back and I look at it, it's not really an issue. I don't ... it isn't the fact that I'm doing negligible work politically or that I'm doing things which are useless and hence, rationally, I've got good reason to actually doubt the worth of what I'm doing. It isn't like that. It's just that there have been severe disruptions to what I have been doing politically and that has led often to this kind of psychological state where, as a result, you actually do doubt it. But as I say, I think it's an aberration. It's a psychological syndrome as opposed to anything which should reflect a real reality, okay. This point of clarity is important, because it's the backdrop against which the general commitment thing can be seen. It hasn't led me to think, look - I mean - fuck, now I must drop the struggle; I've had enough of this, you know; it's fucked me around and I want to get on with my personal life - largely because my personal life is my political activity. I can't imagine a personal life in which I'm not actually politically ... politically involved - fundamentally politically involved. But what it has done is made me take quite a far more long-term perspective of things, all right. It's made me come to the realization that in fact, probably throughout this year, I'm gonna be going through some kind of turning point process. It's related to very, very concrete questions about the struggle, you know. The struggle is not gonna be over soon. The struggle is going to carry on for a long time in this country. And it isn't as if it's gonna run away from me or anything like that. So I needn't hassle too much about that kind of thing. It's just that I'm gonna have to reconcile myself to accepting probably a slightly depleted form of or level of political activity - certainly over the next ... over the forthcoming months; possibly even over ... over the forthcoming years. So maybe it might be quite important for me to actually take a kind of ... almost short-term break from politics. It may be important for me, for example, to go overseas at some stage and spend time there. That decision doesn't stem from ... at all from a kind of doubting in the ... of my political struggle. It stems from just reassessing my political role in the long term; realizing that you know

things are gonna take a long time and you know ... it wouldn't be a problem for me to actually do that kind of thing. And in the long term it actually may be more productive. In the short term it does pose a problem for me, because it does mean a lessening, as I said, a depletion of what I've been doing in the immediate past for the whole time. It is subtracting a little part of my life and transforming it into something else. But that's ... that just derives from a quite realistic assessment of the nature of the struggle at the moment - of what we're going through and of the kind of role one is going to have to play in the future. It doesn't stem from the feeling that I'm ... you know, I'm fucked in a political context.

So you actually just use the situation and work with it.

Right, ya.

Okay, just sort of the last question that I'd like to ask. You've mentioned that people like A for instance were actually tired of being in hiding. How do you feel about spending an indefinite period in hiding?

Not good, you know. I'd rather not have that at all. You know, I mean, I don't feel good about that at all, but it might just have to happen. I mean, I've got to make hard choices. I really do. I've got to make the choices in which none of the options are desirable, essentially, for me at all, you know. Even the decision ... if I, for example: I either stay in XXX under the conditions of staying in XXX which are for example ... I mean ... the up-side of staying in XXX is that, you know, I'm so close to my lover and so on and so forth. The down-side is the stress; the possibility of being bust and so on. And the other part of the up-side is clearly the political work that I'll be doing here and so on. But again the down-side is the possibility of being bust in doing the political work. So either it is that or I choose to actually leave the region, okay. The up-side to leaving the region is that I'm more secure and so I don't have to hassle; there's less stress and so on. The down-side is the lover factor,

being away from her and so on, you know, and also the whole political thing - although I might be able to become politically involved in another centre, I don't know, you know. So all of these choices are difficult ... difficult ones to make. None of them I want to make; all of them I have to make. I don't like the possibility of being in hiding indefinitely, but there's nothing you can do about it, you know. That's really it, you know. I realize it's ... the feeling of almost wanting to be inside is, I suppose, a bad feeling - it's not a good feeling. It leads to not being security tight. It's not a rational feeling. It's a feeling ... there's nothing that you will achieve by being inside, and so on. It's very much, again, it's a kind of aberration. So rather don't feel it ... but I don't like the prospect.

Ya, and the fact that these aberrations as you call it ... the fact that you ... that they'll probably get worse or ... How do you feel about that? Will you be able to go on like this - with this psychological state?

I don't know; I mean, what else can you do? I will be able to go on because I have to and that's all there is to it. And I don't think, you know ... I think that, you know ... I've just gone ... I've gone into these things - it's not as if all these things actually affect my ... I mean they do affect me fundamentally, I suppose, but they're all entirely handleable for me, you know. They certainly are. The kind of person ... I could be a kind of person, I suppose, for which they're not really handleable. For me they are and you know, so there it is.

So it's not a problem?

It's not a funda ... it's a problem; it's a big problem for me, but it's a handleable problem, you know. I'm not gonna fuck out, to put it that way. I'm really not.

Okay, thank you very much.

APPENDIX D

Structured units of analysis: Subjects 2 - 5.

SUBJECT 2 (Integration of essay and interview)

Going into hiding represented three types of challenges to me: adapting to changes (severe) in social life; adapting to changes in time table (night vs day), i.e. objective factors; adapting to changes in my political relationships with organisation.

Are these the three major areas in which your life has been affected?

Ya, I would say so. I'm not sure about the scientificity of those categories, because it's more that all the different areas that were affected can be grouped under these broad, three categories. There's a lot of overlap - when is something a political relationship and when is it a social one?

Changes in social life: Going into hiding means that the personal support mechanisms traditionally operating become submerged in the new social priority of adapting to constantly changing households and faces, which you never have the ability to develop a social trust with, nor do you necessarily want to establish that trust with people you are thrown together with circumstantially.

Whereas previously your relationship with individuals is based on a shared set of social beliefs and direction, in hiding, the predominant aspect of your relationship with friends becomes the deed of hiding itself. In other words, the relationship between friend and friend becomes one between "person in hiding" and "person in contact with person in hiding" and/or "person also in hiding". This effect cannot be underestimated. Conversation becomes centered around your conditions in hiding and the relative security of your situation.

Whereas before ... where personal support for you would be personal support in the sense of perhaps discussing with you your own problems and working on that level; whereas now personal support actually doesn't mean that at all. Personal support means assisting in some way with your hiding. So from discussing with you a problem (if you should have one), it actually now means coming round with food or informing you that "Look, there's a strange car parked in the road" and so on. So it's actually in a sense ... it's still personal support, but it's not personal emotional support. It's sort of ...

... centres around hiding?

It becomes the focus.

It means that sometimes you just think that there is actually no one that you can communicate with. You're frustrated and you come up with something that you would like to discuss with someone. Like that you're actually feeling very shit and tired and sick and tired of this etc. etc. But then you get a feeling that you can't discuss that with anyone; firstly because you're not going to see anyone for the next five or what hours ... a certain number of hours - by which time the momentum of the issue had perhaps lapsed. And secondly, it doesn't seem correct to display weaknesses. The state of the organisation generally and everyone else is a bit haywire - it's quite bad. You see how the person is feeling tired himself and you realize, "Ya, I'm feeling frustrated and tired ...". You can do nothing with it. You can't resolve it; you can't change it - any of the concrete circumstances continue to exist. You can't build an extra room on to the house you're staying in and furnish it and ... What I mean ... it's there, it's there and ...

Can you elaborate on your relationship with "the people you are thrown together with circumstantially" as you put it?

Firstly you can't actually work out a rhythm for relating to those people, because they're totally different people if your

hiding is any good - they'll be totally different types of people from each other. In other words, if you decided that you're only going to stay with middle-aged, white males who seem to be ... you're simply going to create a pattern. This is more to avoid this thing - so you do end up staying with totally different types of people. You're not staying with one ... they're totally different.

So you can't work out a set theme of how to relate to the people you're staying in hiding with anyway. And as a result there's no ... it's quite temporary. And yet it's not so temporary - it's often more than two weeks or whatever. It's not long enough to become friends with someone you see flittingly and yet at the same time your entire ... you're hell-of-a dependent on this person. If they had to say to you, "Leave now, get out of my house; I don't want you here," you will actually be in a major, major crisis. You would have belongings in suitcases and from a security point of view you'd have to actually go out into the streets - midday potentially. So the potential danger of not having a good relationship with these people is immense.

But yet, you don't necessarily feel that you want to ... they're not the kind of people that you would choose to relate to. You simply have to. And as a result you don't ... you can't necessarily trust them - not in the sense of they'll expose you or ... but socially you can't say to them, "Gee, I'm feeling terrible today." You have to be happy, hunky-dory, very happy with the situation and terribly pleased with them.

Usually you make up some kind of story about why you're in hiding - completely artificial things that you are saying to them; which they probably know are artificial, but they actually don't necessarily want to, either, have any such relationship with you, because separately, you're also just an arbitrary ... you're also a potential danger to them.

Would you like to add anything to what you had said about your relationship with friends?

Ya, it's actually probably the most major thing. Obviously you remain friends, but the most major preoccupation in shaping all things is this big kind of doom "in hiding". Whereas when you're not in hiding, you're not always conscious of being in *F*. One doesn't perceive people walking into the house relate in a particular way to this being *F*. It doesn't work like that. And as ... whereas in hiding, actually it does. And anyone that you actually relate to - your first thought is does this person know or not know that I'm in hiding? If not, then I must stick away in the cupboard; if so, then I must explain. But it's always "being in hiding". One's personal contact person: they come and the first thing they'll say and you will say is to do with hiding. Obviously you actually don't ... there's nothing else. There are no sports ... it isn't an issue ... it's just not. Sport or music - you don't discuss music. You become hell-of-a serious.

Your world actually becomes very small?

Ya, hell-of-a tiny.

In the relationship "person in hiding" to "contact person" you become extremely dependent, like an infant in a cot being brought food and playthings. All the basic things come from usually (a) the person or (b) the house. Firstly - their advice that you're dependent on and then almost a particular kind of kindness to you and so ... And then you're dependent for food; all those ... or communication.

You must understand that when I was in hiding it was ... I was very badly ... it wasn't a very well organised affair in that the first time I actually saw more than three people at once was after two months, which is totally not necessary. And then that was - anecdotal - on that occasion it was about five hundred/three hundred people that I saw all of a sudden in *D* and that was completely ... it was just the strangest thing. But, so you actually become very dependent on these individuals for food and communication, information, newspapers, little surprises that they would bring: that pack of cards that you mentioned three days ago is suddenly there.

Also, if they start not coming, you'd be in a crisis - a total crisis.

It seems as if there's almost a feeling of insecurity in your relationships?

Ya, what I say is if they were to stop coming ... perhaps it does reveal an insecurity, but also - it reveals a different thing which is that one of my constant fears was that people that were contacting me will be detained. And I simply didn't want that to happen. I would have to go out and ... in retrospect - now that I'm out of hiding - it wouldn't be such an awful thing, but it was a crisis at the moment. And that was the real thing. I know the kind of sense in which you mean. I don't ever think that I thought that people might simply not ... decide not to go for a day or whatever. That was never ... that was more the people being detained.

Further, the initiative in social discourse is removed, since you can seldom choose when and in what circumstances you will see people.

One thing is that I decided not to have a relationship during hiding. Simply because it would happen in such a difficult environment ... a strange environment with too many potential strains, additional conflict and a situation which is very much unstable. That was a decision that I stuck to throughout and ... It's a major change - I always had a relationship and now suddenly ...

Did that leave an additional gap?

Ya, definitely ... definitely.

Did you actually miss the emotional support of that kind of relationship?

Ya, ya ... emotional support, and you could only get it from that particular variety of relationship.

Changes in objective factors: the major adaptation here is from a day-time to night-time activity. In the day you have to learn to sleep, and you must learn to stay up nights. Objectively you are then "out-of-sync" with the normal world, and your social/political activity becomes an "abnormal" intervention in the lives of others.

Circumstances are so changed in your time-table through all of this ... it's so changed from what would be a normal timetable. In other words, you're feeling that the rest of the world is in fact getting up at seven in the morning, working through the day and going to sleep at nine - that you're actually out of kilter with this whole thing and there's something quite frightening in that somewhere. I'm not sure ... you can almost say that you're on a different plane.

But somewhere there is quite a ... perhaps it's actually a feeling that you are ... maybe it's ... I don't know. I don't want to get weird or anything. It almost challenges you ... that you are a challenge to the correctness of your whole ... everything. This fact that as a consequence of holding particular beliefs and as a consequence of living them out in a particular way, you are now ... your lifestyle is now totally the opposite of everyone else's. It's that sort of ... a little bit. It's not a major preoccupation. It's a feeling of ... you aren't normal, whereas you'd like to believe that any normal human being who applied their mind would behave in that way that you're behaving in South Africa today, because it's rational etc.

It now becomes blatantly obvious that you're one of the very few that actually are behaving in this ... a particular way and that the societal norms ... that's different. Maybe that society - or the people out there - are actually ... they're each more different to you. Whereas in the past it was a security that there are a lot of areas of identification with each person: all those transactions like going into shops and saying hello to people who aren't activists - you know; buying at the shop and going to supper - all those rituals that are just normal things which you would do as an activist ... which

you'd normally do as an activist. Which actually means that you're in hiding a ... more ... you're more severely an activist than anything else.

And that's quite ... there's a fear... It's almost like a feeling of being punished; like you're being punished by something ... maybe historically, I don't know. As if you're incorrect; as if it had come to be that you had opposed someone's ... and this simply indicates to you that somewhere along the line you had stuffed up. You should never have been in a situation like this regardless of whatever you do.

That's of course something that you can ... it's not, as I said, a preoccupation - you can easily rationalise that: it's unjust and bla bla. These are little fears that come up in a situation where you perhaps have a lot of time to think about it.

And then myself ... my politics have had a very particular relationship with my parents. For example ... and they were a constant preoccupation, because they didn't know about this. And I would have to contact them, pretending to be normal. "Ya, ya, I'm working hard ... it's hot today ... did you have any rain bla bla." It only exacerbated this thing for me, because there was a challenge to me: I am certain of what I'm doing; I'm certain of being normal and they would disagree with that and say it's simply bullshit. This was actually similar to actually admitting that I feel different and I acted in that way.

An element of disruption comes out clearly in your essay - can you elaborate on this disruption?

Ya, it's actually ... at first it's actually quite a major thing. At first when one goes into hiding it's quite a major disruption, because now you're entering totally ... well, new circumstances - at least for most people - the ones who hadn't been around for a while.

And then you actually condition yourself not to place any ...

ya, that's the thing: you condition yourself not to place any value in your environment. So you mustn't ... you can't grow to like your room. You'll think, "Ya, this is just like home." At first you do that: "This is not too bad, there's a telly and bla bla... it's quite nice paintings on the wall," and if it's a room that you can occupy yourself, you can actually begin to change it - things like that. But that ... in the long term it's actually bad, because then when you ... you constantly are going to have to change probably, and all you're doing is you're creating crises for yourself - like moving from things that you became attached to. So eventually what you do is actually don't attach any value whatsoever to the houses; constantly remind yourself, "I could leave here this evening and feel nothing."

And in fact, you even begin to - this is another thing - you begin to stress the problems of the particular place. So you'd constantly be thinking, "The house is actually not such a good place," in preparation for your move. You actually satisfy a certain need that you create for yourself that this wasn't such a good place. And that may not necessarily be the case.

It's actually ... has a gloomy character as it were, but it's quite important. You're - it's another thing - and that's you're sitting in a room that you actually don't want to like, and once you're in it, there's nothing you can do. And to some extent you almost ... or you are almost ... you have a personal relationship with the room, because simply, you don't have other personal relationships that you could enter into. What I'm saying is not that you like talk to the room, but in a sense you ... regard it in a particular way. And then actually it becomes quite an icy, cool way of regarding it - or not very cool ... but there's that kind of feeling.

Adapting to changes in political relations: As an activist one's life (concretely) becomes a series of political events like meetings, seminars and informal discussion about the political goods of a movie or book. This is seriously undermined. Most open meetings become security problems and informal discussions don't happen naturally. Political

communication usually happens through some or other third party and most direct involvement is curtailed. This for me, was probably the most serious problem to deal with.

Whereas organisation has become a way of playing out your convictions, you are denied this channel, and begin to feel "out of touch" and at sea.

Once again, I think this has to do with my particular variety of hiding, which involved quite a long time not attending meetings and also seeing a very small number of people. Both of which meant effectively not directly encountering politics in the sense that I would ... a person would come to me and say that at the meeting yesterday the following areas were discussed and give me a broad report. Or alternatively you simply don't have the political discussions on a personal level - that you would meet someone in the street even, and you'd say "Have you read today's *H* - the article on *P*? What do you think? I think it's appalling and just the thing you can expect... anyway, cheers." You're not constantly keeping up to date which is a very important thing with particular developments - repressive developments, because they happen so fast. You need to know information about what's happening and who've been picked up and the circumstances and where they've been and so on.

And so ... you're limited to third parties. And then, perhaps the most significant thing is that political participation means actively engaging in politics; in other words, debating questions and debating positions and you simply can't do that. The meeting is reported to you, and then you can comment on the meeting: "It seems that the direction is this and this ..." But you can't actually change anything; you're not engaging in the actual discussion. This interaction with your comrades is actually not worth very much. Someone might raise a vague point related to that area at the meeting, but ...

And so you feel like you're stuck in this little cell or room and something being brought to you and you're just sort of vegetating. It was just ... it is hell-of-a frustrating. What

I actually did was in a simple way I evolved a lot of what I consider to be political tasks of my own: reading and producing things and ... But that worked totally different to what I thought I should be doing. It was the only things I could do, which ... it is a hell-of-a ... I think it's probably ... I don't know - I keep saying that this is the worst thing - but it might probably easy have been the worst thing.

And what happens is that, conventionally, for an activist or for myself to some extent, normally one submerges or - I don't want to use your psychological terms - or represses personal emotional feelings etc. where they interfere with political work. Normally that's fine. I think that's correct. It's a problem when people don't do that - lots of problems develop very easily in organisations. So normally one is ... one ought to be engaging in some form of ... personal analysis and the question of how would that interfere with the political. So therefore you have some kind of rational plan of how you are constituted as a person. Now, however, you continue to repress your personal feelings for an added variety of other reasons to do with hiding and you continue to repress even more a whole lot of personal things. But also it's not because it's interfering with your political activity either - you don't have political activities. You can no longer argue that ... rationally argue ... How you're constituted as a person now becomes totally meaningless. You're not a political activist in any sense in the way that you were: you don't attend the meetings, you're not involved in political decisions. You're merely a sort of commentator.

I must stress that this actually changed during hiding. I reached a point eventually where I attended meetings, but this initially ...

So what are you? You presently don't have much of a personal life; politically you're not doing anything. It means that you are simply by and large absorbing amounts of commodities, information and so on and not producing a hell-of-a lot. That situation eventually changed.

Overall: hiding demands the ability to adapt to severely altered social and political circumstances. Consequently its effects depend on the extent to which you are able to repress your natural desire for a "relatively normal" life. It simply means that you must learn not to want what you can't get. Perhaps it's very much like a child which grows up learning various ... not to want certain things which they can't get. It's no good for a child in the townships to want a Mercedes Benz, and they very soon learn not to want it. So it's just that sort of thing ... that's how you feel all the way along.

And you learn you try to get certain things - an environment that's comfortable - and then eventually it doesn't work, so you learn not to want an environment that's comfortable or you learn not to want to operate during the day. You actually have to begin, conversely, to like operating at night. "You feel so much fresher at night bla bla; five nights without meetings, hurray! Get a good day's sleep - at night you can concentrate better," and all this kind of hogwash. So that, eventually, I actually want to ... "Who wants to get up during the day?" that kind of thing. "It seems so absurd that everybody else has this need" ... and ya, "I don't want to go to movies ... What are movies? Movies are a lot of shit. You sit there, they're produced in Hollywood and they sell the most absolute crap about society ... they propagate a set of values... Who wants to go to movies?" That kind of thing; all these things.

The romance of hiding fast gives way to insecurity and helplessness. Over time mechanisms are developed to cope with this and isolation becomes something you either like or pay for not liking.

*Can you elaborate on your emotional state during this period?
What kind of feelings did the whole experience evoke?*

It's difficult, because it evokes feelings now, but you don't ... if you're in hiding, you don't develop any feelings about it, because you can't - any feelings other than false feelings that it's actually not too bad, because you actually can't. Because you know that if you do ... It's the one thing that

you ... that I would never have thought when I was in hiding is that "Fuck, hiding is ...", maybe because I haven't been in hiding for so long - it was relatively short. If it had been longer, maybe eventually it would come to that; but you don't ... you actually have to ...

... detach yourself?

Ya, Ya. Now, afterwards - now where it's no longer a problem ... now I could say hiding is shit. It's terrible and it's actually ... it's alienating and, ya ... a list of things. It's not a problem, because I'm no longer in hiding; I'm comfortable. If I was in hiding, you can never actually undermine it. The challenge is too big and it's there and it won't go away. It challenges you; just leave it.

Was it a conscious effort? Were you aware of the fact that you are suppressing these feelings for the sake of being in hiding?

Ya.

So in a sense you were actually aware that it's shit and all that?

Ya. But another important thing was, it was politically appropriate. It might have been shit, alienating etc. etc., but it's politically appropriate. I think that's a general thing that activists seem to develop - is that lending my car out might be shit bla bla, unnecessary - not unnecessary, you know what I mean - but it's politically appropriate, therefore you do it. So there's always a sense of what you're doing is correct, although it might be shit. It's like shooting a horse with a lame leg.

You specifically mentioned insecurity, helplessness and isolation - could you elaborate on that aspect of your experience?

I know that all these general categories apply: isolation, helplessness, dependency. I think it would be a measure of the

success to which I actually repressed these things, but I don't remember specific emotions like hatred for bla bla - I could if I thought hard enough, but the emotional changes are ... are big; they are big.

I was very irritable and short on that level and ... quite jealous of people that weren't in hiding. And there's all those emotional states ... and quite traumatized by the people that were detained - the two people from my house - *J* and *T* in particular.

And in fact, that's one thing ... that detention is the ultimate motivator for hiding. Just the fact that these other people are now in detention and you feel like complaining about hiding ... it's ridiculous.

There is a definite feeling of concern of how I and they would have changed over time. And I was very worried about how I would have changed just generally. Like when I go back, people would talk amongst themselves about the way I have changed. And then I made a conscious decision that I would actually be as normal as possible ... absolutely nothing would appear ... not a single change.

So again you suppressed your emotional responses? What became of all these unresolved feelings?

I don't know, I suppose you sort of binge on them, but it's quite a private one. I suppose after slowly coming out of hiding, you actually ... I don't perceive that anything ... But I think it's also because I've actually remained ... maintained a lot of that repressional role. These are things which I would still ... which I now regard as all necessary ... to have experiences in hiding I can repress without major problems - a sort of forced test period. And certain things obviously weren't quite ... weren't always repressed, but I can. But I don't think it's a problem. It stands on the list of what an activist would do, or anyone in that situation.

After hiding, of course, an equally traumatic process of

re-adapting has to take place. Coming out of hiding was for me ... it developed in a number of stages: going into town once a week, then twice a week, then a few times and then every day. So it wasn't all abrupt during that period. I wanted to shop and eat out and go to movies and all that kind of things. I actually shopped a lot. I bought so many things - clothes and so on. I don't know why shopping was such a particularly nice activity; not only acquisition - you have your own choice: "I want that one ... no, I actually want ..." You know what I mean? Similarly with eating. You can go into a restaurant, you can choose yourself ... so people don't bring you these wrong things. "I don't want a cheese-burger, I want a mushroom-burger. I actually hate the cheese-burger," because it's not your choice. Anyway ...

Also, you are required to develop a security consciousness and live in trepidation or else face heavy penalties.

What role did the prospect of being detained play in your experience of being in hiding?

That's your material motivation for hiding - it's not motivated by some whim of your organization. You know that people are being detained and they've been detained and you could be detained ... it's also why you'd go into hiding. So it is not entirely a personal thing, but it's largely. I still have yet to see someone say, "No, I won't go into hiding and object to the organization's decision."

Actually it's a situation worse than hiding - that's how I would define detention. I don't have a picture of detention at all, but I imagine to myself: take hiding, take away the contact people and the fact that you're staying in a house with all sorts of nice things ... take that away and make your contact person a policeman. And take away all the nice little surprises ... the chow, bla bla; take out the mirror, the bed ... I actually had that ... consciously had to do that: there's a difference between this room and a cell - this room has a view over town, it doesn't have bars at the windows, you have cupboard space. You actually have quite a lot of things

to do: I can walk in the garden ... So ya .. you do ... in that sense this cold picture that you have of detention is actually quite a heavy one, because you have this picture of hiding - which is not the same thing obviously - which constantly confronts you as being quite a shit thing. It's quite a severe change in your normal ... and you imagine that in fact detention is much worse than even that. And then really ... Jesus! detention is bad and you wouldn't like to be picked up. It's a very strong drive. The things you would do not to be detained are actually quite ... I'm trying to think of an example ... In one place that I was staying I was actually contemplating running out at the back of the house to the railway line and jumping a train ... these kind of ... it was obviously not realistic, but it actually ... I had thought about it: how do you jump a train? What speed must it be going before you mustn't jump ... and trying to reconstruct the steps and the ... that kind of thing. Conversely ... it plays a dual role - this thing of detention. On the one hand it is the basis of your biggest fears; on the other hand it actually also .. it makes your situation not as bad. It makes your situation really all right. It makes your situation not as bad as the worse situation of some of the close friends that I have. And then also ... it adds a dimension of reality ... it's not a game ... which is quite nice.

In conclusion, is there anything that you have thought of in the meantime that you would like to add?

There was one thing I found that was quite serious ... personal appearance and brushing your teeth and those kind of things would become irregular and slowed down and that type of thing. I don't want to paint a picture of sort of Alcatraz type of picture, but just slightly .. not massively. But sometimes I'd notice that I haven't shaved and you'd go to sleep and realize you hadn't brushed your teeth, and you'd just kind of fall asleep .. these normal activities become very much ...

SUBJECT 3

How did being in hiding affect your life?

Since the seventeenth [June 1986] I haven't seen my people. I've got a family. I've got my mother, my father, my brothers and my sisters. I've got a kid. She's three years old - the kid. So it's not easy for me sometimes, because sometimes my kid is sick - I've got to go home. I can't go home because the police are always going there to check if I'm not there for one night. So it's not easy for me.

I've been staying in friends, but should the friends know that you are in hiding and the police are looking for you, they start ... they are being funny again, because they said, "No, you are going to let the police come into our place" and all that. "We don't want to be in trouble" and all those things.

So it's how it is to be in hiding. It's not easy. Should a person find out that you are in hiding, next day she's telling you, "No, I can't keep you".

I've got an experience now, because I'm seeing the true colours of people. I see this hasn't got the backbone - she doesn't ... I can see now that this one is not involved in politics. She pretends to be in politics, but when the time comes, you see that no, she's not - or whoever it is, is not in politics.

It's not always easy to stay with other people, eh?

Who doesn't understand you ... it's not easy. People who understand ... it's easy to stay with people who understands you, but when they don't understand you ... people who are not in the same category - who are not in hiding and who are not politically involved - it's not easy, because they won't understand you.

Now I'm not staying with anybody. I've just ... I'm renting a room and I'm staying there. I'm doing everything there -

buying food. Before that I was dependent on the people and when sometimes the person comes in and she's funny, and then you just feel, "Esh ... I don't know why this person ... person feels funny," because sometimes she feels funny. You are not free to do anything in her house. If you feel hungry, you can't cook unless she says you must do this. But when I was at home, I was just free to do anything I want to do at home. It is not easy to stay with people. Even though you are related to them. It is not easy. That's why I just said, "Ag ... I must rent a room for myself" and then I can say even if I have nothing to eat today, I don't mind; but as long as I'm staying safe.

There were problems. I always thought of getting a room for myself, but I didn't. There was a problem where I lived and then ... I don't know what happened, but my sister just told me to get myself a room and all that. I was not prepared when she told me to get a room. I was not prepared to get a room that very moment, because I didn't have means of getting to rent a room and to get some furniture and all that. So it was soon. I didn't think I was going to be living on my own at this stage, but I thought of doing that.

I don't know how I felt, because I just didn't answer him. I didn't ask him, "Why do you say I must get a room?" and all that. In fact, I knew all along that that was going to happen, because I had ... this friends who are in hiding - they liked going to my place. They used to go there. I saw her ... when they are there she won't even greet them. So I just thought sooner or later she is going to tell me to get myself a place. I was waiting for that, but I didn't ask him why ... ask her why she wants me to get a room. I just stayed silent. I didn't show her, because I just thought now she's an enemy. I was told not to show an enemy that you are weak - like the system. I just thought, now this is my sister, but now today she's telling me to get out of her place and get myself ... a place for myself knowing that I'm not working.

I just felt thrown out in the streets to the wolves, because when she told me to go out, she's taking me to the system;

because I don't know where to go. Even now, now that my landlord has told me she can't keep me because I'm politically involved - that is part of my sister's work, because she threw me out of her house and now the next thing the landlord hears that I'm politically involved and then she told me, "No, I'm not keeping you in my place." But, you know, I just accept things. I don't show a person how I feel. I'll never do that, because I know that this person now - should he say you must get out of here - you are my enemy. So I'll never show you I'm weak.

I just feel whenever I got money, I used to give her some and then I get myself ... I leave pocket money for myself. But I just felt maybe she feels I am not good, but I was doing everything for her: looking after her kids, cleaning her house and doing all that when she's at work. Sometimes you don't know how you feel, so I don't know how I feel. I really don't know how I feel about that. I just cool it ... I like to take things cool.

You are not free to go. There are things you can't do when you are in hiding ... there are lots of things you can't do. If I want to go to the G now, I can't - maybe the policemen will know me. If I saw a group of policemen coming in front of me, I've got to hide, because I don't know whether they are policemen who know me. I used to even not come near A. I was just afraid to come even near, because it was just that I ... even if I saw a JK or JY car, I just run, because I may think that those are SB's from Y. Wherever you go you are ... you've got to look where you go, because you think maybe there's a policeman who knows you. Like in Y - I'm not free in Y, because lots of policemen there knows me, and special branch policemen. I'm not feeling safe. Wherever I go, I used to make it a point that I've got a jersey ... I've got some warm thing with me, because I don't know whether I'll be back ... whether the policemen will get me on my way. But I just don't ... I never feel safe.

Can you say a bit more about the way in which your interpersonal relationships were affected?

My family were not politically involved; I was the only one in politics at home. But they heard - when I was detained, they heard that I'm in politics. So they are not funny about that. They just accept me as I am. But I've got friends here - my relations ... they're good. Some of ... in fact, most of my friends are the people who are in hiding. I've got a lot of people who are in hiding. So a lot of my time is spent with them. I see them because they are here in Z; so I see them regularly. So I'm not lonely as such, because I've still got other comrades. When I feel depressed I go to them and talk to them. I'm not always lonely. When I'm lonely - even if there's no job here, I just come and stay, because here I feel ... I feel ... I like it when I'm here. I just come here and spend the rest of my day ... even if I'm not working. I just come and stay here. I'll just come and talk to the people here. The people here are nice and I talk to them.

How do I feel ... I don't know .. in fact I don't know how to put it. There is something I feel about that. What's so difficult of the thing is that ... in fact I miss my parents and I also miss my ... the people I used to work with. It's not only my parents, but the other comrades who I used to work with - the other people who are in X. Now sometimes I just feel hey, these people will think now, since we are in hiding, we've left them with no ... all the leaders have left them there. Nobody to help them. For they used to come to us with their problems and all that.

How was your relationship with them affected?

I can say it is affected, because before we were detained, I had a lot of trust with the people I was working with and with the other ... with all the people of X. They had trust in us and we had ... we were trusting them in anything, because when we ... if we said to them, "Comrades, we want this to be done" ... and they were believing in us. They knew we can't say they must do a wrong thing. But now we ... I feel now I haven't got that trust in those people now. Because I don't know who to trust now in X. Because the police has changed the minds of our people. That's why I can't say I was working with F and

she was all right then. I can't say that, because I don't know why she's there and what she's doing there now. And I don't know whether she's working with the system now, because lots of our people are working with the system. I think some of the people there are missing us. We do get reports. I do miss some of the people. I've got friends. There are comrades who are in hiding here from X - students. So I'm not that lonely, because sometimes we have ... we are having our own meetings here and then we discuss X and all that. So I'm not that lonely, because we meet regularly.

My boyfriend is also here. He's also in hiding. It doesn't affect our relationship, because we still see each other and we are working. He's also working. He goes to meetings in J and everywhere. We are still working. That's what counts. We are still doing something for our people.

How do you experience being in hiding?

Well ... how to put it ... I don't know. But I feel when the police are looking for you, you feel you are the most important part of the struggle, because they don't want the people who are not in the struggle. I just feel no, maybe I was doing something for my people. That's why the police are looking for me. So I'm not blaming anybody or the struggle, because I was in the struggle. I just feel what has happened to me is what happened to people like Nelson Mandela. So that means I've still got to work for my people. Even if I'm underground, because Nelson Mandela was working underground. So I've still got to work.

How do you experience the fact that you can't see your family?

That's the worst part of my life, because it's not easy to stay without your family. It's not - it's really not easy. Especially when you used to stay with your parents. But I can't do otherwise. I've got to stay in hiding; the system doesn't allow me to go out. But it's really not easy. Especially when I've got a kid at home. But when you enter into the struggle, you know that someday or whatever, things

like this will happen. Well, ... it is not easy for me to talk about my family. I miss them really ... I miss not to be at home. It's like ... I'm also in detention. It's ... being in hiding is just like being in detention. You can't see your family, you can't do this, you can't do that.

But it's not hard, because sometimes I can call my mother to come with my kid. I last saw my kid about January ... early January. So it's not so ..., because sometimes I can see my people - most of my family. But it's not ... suppose my father dies tomorrow, or my mother - whoever - I can't go home to bury them. That is what is not easy for me. For instance, the week after last week ... last week but one ... my sister-in-law - it was his funeral ... last week but one. I couldn't go there; I wanted to go, but I couldn't.

As a mother, how do you experience being in hiding?

That also is not easy, because when you are a mother, you just want to see your child growing. You don't want to ask, "How is my child today?" and all that. You want to see how she's treated and when she's ill, you want to be there with her. But when you are in hiding, it's not easy for you. You just hear over the phone that she was sick ... she was sick and went to the doctor and you are not there. It's just not easy to be a mother when you are in hiding ... sometime I just say *D* and *E* - it's nice to them, because they have no kids; because there's no ... they haven't got much problems, because they have no kids. It's not easy really for me - I've got a kid.

It's not easy to tolerate being in hiding sometimes, because just for me ... when you think about the kid and all that ... it's not easy really to be a mother. You can't ... you just feel ... I don't know, but ... I don't want to talk about that things ... but it's as if they are taking your kid away from you. And when you used to be with your kid every day, and now you can't see him and the months are passing and you don't see your kid ... then you ... I don't know what ... how you feel, but ... you just feel they were taking something important in your life, because my kid is very important in my life. You

just feel sometimes that they've taken something very important in your life. But it's all-right at the same time, because you know when you enter into the struggle, you say, "Wherever I go, I know it's either I die or I'll be jailed or I'll have to hide." I knew all those things, but when they come into practice it's not easy. It's really not easy. When you're there, you sometimes have to hide from the system. You have to run away. And you knew that will happen sometime. You wanted to experience that thing also, but now sometimes you just feel that ... like lifting the State of Emergency if you can ... if you could - but you can't - so that things are turned back.

Well, if I say ... I can ask the kid to come to me. It's not ... I think it will be hard for me when it's the martial laws. But now it's still not the ... it's not that hard by the State of Emergency, because I can go to Y and see my family. I can go ... we can go and meet some of my family ... you can do that. But there's a time coming, like when it's the martial laws - after the State of Emergency there will be martial laws - then ... that will be the time ... I don't know how I'll feel then, but I think that will be the most part of ... hard part of our struggle, because we won't be seeing any of our ... we'll have to move every year to other places very far from our parents ... That way we can't see them. I think that's when we'll feel ... It is bad, but it is not that bad. It is not that bad as when it will be martial laws, because when it is the martial laws, it will be very bad. But it is bad even now, because it is not easy to stay without your family.

For instance, I was working - I was the only person that was working. My father and my mother are both pensioners. And they've got to feed my kid on their old-age pension. I've got accounts at home. That's what makes it difficult at times. But it's not that difficult, but it is difficult. Because when I think about my accounts and my parents having to look after my kid and the money they're getting is not enough, then I really ... I really feel down at times. Not having to help my parents ... in the money they're getting they have to pay all the

accounts I had, because I was buying groceries for them every month, paying rents, doing everything. But now I can't do that any more. I'm just as helpless as a dead person to them. I feel helpless to my parents because I can't do anything for them. And it's me who's just asking. When it's the old-age pension I have to ask them to send me money, because I can't live. Even ... I've got to get money even here, because I'm staying with people - I've got to eat, I've got to do things. So sometimes I do feel helpless.

You know, you feel down when you can't do anything for your people. And then you just feel like ... you're just as dead to them. But I do talk to them. They do understand the situation, but sometimes they said, "We don't have money. Why are you not working? You are the one who used to help us." One thing, they used to send me accounts every day. Then I asked them, "Why do you send these accounts to me, because I can't ... I'm not working every day, so I can't pay them." Then they, "What must we do with them?" And even now the people - the Oxford people - were there. They want to take my TV back. I got a TV for my family. They want to take it back, because since last year I'm not paying the account. So those things make me ...

Sometimes - like when you are in detention for a long time - you are moody. You don't feel like talking to other people sometimes. Sometimes ... I don't know whether it's when I'm thinking about X or what, but I just ... for a time when I want to be alone and to just think. And I don't want to talk to anybody then. I just want to be alone and think straight. I think other people will say I'm moody at times. But it's what being in hiding does to people.

Sometimes I just feel like crying a lot. I don't know for ... what for, but I just feel like crying a lot. Like when there's a misunderstanding with the people you live in ... I just think, "Esh - if I was at home, nothing of this sort would happen." Not that I'm blaming in hiding. Not that. But just ... if I was at home, nothing of this sort would have happened and all that. You don't always feel happy, really.

But it's better now, because I'm having the jobs - I can live by myself. I don't know how long this will be ... But it's all-right now. Only that I do miss my family. I sometimes feel like going back - whether I'll be detained ... I see that later. Sometimes I want to force matters and go home. When I want to go home, when I think about my family, then I just feel like breaking all the rules and go home, whether they detain me or not ... I don't care. One time I wanted to go home very bad. I really wanted to go home. I was missing my parents like hell. So I just said to my mother, "No, I'm coming next week. I'll rather they get me so that I can stay at home and ..." Then my mother said, "No, don't come." Then I wanted, I just wanted to get out of hiding and go back home so that the police can get me and then they'll release me after some time. Then I can stay with my parents. But then my mother didn't ... said, "No, you can't do that." So it's always my mother who's saying, "No, don't do this, don't do that." But otherwise ... it's when I'm thinking about that ... it's only at that time when I'm just feeling like seeing my family ... but tomorrow, then its all-right. I just think again: no I can't go inside, because when I'm inside there's nothing I can do ... but here I'm free. I can have hot ... warm food, but in jail I won't have all the things I have. It's nice to be out at the same time also. It's not easy to be inside. Here I can eat what I want - in hiding, if you've got the means. But in detention ... Shesh! they cook dirty food; you have to eat that food and you can see that it's dirty. It was cooked by dirty people in dirty pots. You just think you don't like that.

I think when you're in hiding you must just accept the situation you're in, because there is a time when we will be in much harder hiding like this ... than this one. I think this part of our hiding is just the start. We are still going to a very difficult one where we can't even see our people, because now it's not that difficult if you want to see some of your people. I can see ... my brothers are here; I've got sisters. I can see some of my family. So there are times when we won't be able to see our people. So it's still nicer than being in detention. And you can do a lot of things while you

are in hiding ... You can work underground.

In what way was your political activity affected?

I'm working - I do work underground. We are trying to organize even though we are in hiding. It's not that ... I don't blame the hiding, because if I was in detention, I was not going to be working. I was not going to organize inside. But now I can organize people in hiding. I still want to work. I do - I go to workshops; I go even now, while I'm in hiding - I go to places like T, to conferences.

So you are continuing with your political activities?

Ya, it hasn't stopped and it won't stop. I'll work, because I can't turn the clock backwards. I'm in the struggle. I've got to continue in the struggle. People like Nelson Mandela - it's not even a year that I didn't go to my place - but look at people like Nelson Mandela: when did they last meet with their ... stayed with their family? Now they're just seeing each other. He can't touch his wife. It's not easy for them. But I can stay with my boyfriend, because he's also in hiding. I stay with him. But still, Mandela is not staying with his wife. Mandela was in hiding and Winnie was in the other side of ...

We had to change the way we worked, because when we are not in hiding, we were just working. We didn't care what is happening. But now we should be careful of how we are ... even the way of approach, because you can't trust people now. So you've got to be careful how to approach this person. Even in our meetings, we should be careful who we attend meetings with and how we go to those meetings. The other people mustn't know that you are in hiding.

I sometimes feel defeated by the system, because it has crushed us and we are just helpless to our people. We can't do anything for the people. And we used to do everything for the people. Now the people don't know who to go to. And I sometimes think about our people in the township - how they

feel that we have left them with nobody to ... And when I think about the work we have done in X that the police have crushed and then I get mad - because we've done a lot of work there and we've been very far. We've done a lot of work in X and then the police came and crushed us. I get angry at the system for doing all that: crushing all the work we've done ... because we are very far in X.

Now the system ... I can say the system has divided us. When I think about the work we have done and what the system has done to our people ... because now the system has divided us. The most ... the majority of people were believing in us, but now I can see half the people have no belief in us any more, because that's what the system has done to them. When they detained us and the other people who were in hiding, they said, "Look, where are your leaders, don't do ..." and all those things - criticizing the leaders. "Where is D and where is the other people - those leaders," and all that. I get mad at them because they wanted to divide us. Otherwise there's nothing they can do for our people, because they are doing nothing even now. Instead a lot of blood is ... they are killing a lot of people there. And when we were there there was no killings in X. It was just an organized place. But now ... shit! It's unorganized and I don't know, even if the State of Emergency can be lifted, where we'll start. We'll have to start afresh from the grassroots.

How does this anger specifically relate to your being in hiding?

Because it's ... the whole work for me has to be in hiding. Otherwise we were happy living there with our people - helping our people with their problems which they don't know to do ... to help. Being in hiding, I can't do anything for the people who are in X, but I do ... I can do a little for them here in hiding. But I do attend meetings and we discuss things, but I can't go to apply the things in ...

So your work has been limited?

Ya, it is limited. That's what makes me feel angry, because before the State of Emergency I was just free ... working. I was working free. There was no limits in my work - I was just working, but now ... It affects me sometimes, because we want to organize people - reorganize people in X for instance now, but I can't go there as an organizer of the women; I can't go and organize the people there; I can't go and organize the youth there.

So we've got to reorganize from the scratch, but we can't go there. When we call the people to come this side so that we can have some meeting with them, they don't respond to that. All those things they come into our heads and then sometimes I get worried, but I don't know why. When we asked them to come to Z so that we can talk to them - so that we can solve some of their problems and all that, report what is going on in X while we are in hiding - but there's nothing we can do for them, because they don't come. So we don't know what's going on in X. Even that is another problem, because we don't know what's going on. We don't know whether the people are all changed and they have entered in this reinforcement. We are getting worried about that, because we don't know what's going on.

What role did the prospect of being detained play in your experience?

Well, detention is another hell-of-a thing. But I always wanted to ... whenever a person tells me about something, I do want to experience it. I wanted to experience detention. So I was detained for two weeks with E. We were detained together last year. I don't want to be detained again. Not that I am scared, but when you are detained you are ... there's nothing you can do for your people. But it's not nice to be in detention. They don't treat you nicely. You sleep in a ... Here! It's not nice to be there.

Have you noticed any changes of a physical nature?

Nothing changed. Only that sometimes when I've got a problem

that I can't solve, when I'm worried about something, I'm just having my periods, that's all. Otherwise there's nothing changing. I just have my periods for as long as I'm in that mood. If I ... ten days I'm worried about it ... whenever I've got a worry I will menstruate a lot. And sometimes at night ... I won't sleep at night. I don't know whether I'm thinking about ... for instance, last night I don't sleep. I don't know, maybe I slept for two hours. I didn't sleep the rest of the night. I don't know what was wrong with me. I've got times like that when I can't even sleep. What I was thinking about, I don't know.

SUBJECT 4

How did you experience being in hiding?

One thing that actually became noticeable to me is that I slightly became demoralized. I felt very bad. I did want to go out, but I knew the effects. One thing I don't ... I wouldn't like is being beaten up. So I knew I was being looked for, so I'll be beaten up for some information. I felt on the one hand I'll be losing; on the other hand I'll be losing my academic year, and that will frustrate me - being detained in my first year at university and not knowing what I'll do six months after my release or something. So I felt a bit demoralized. And staying for instance in one place for a very long time, you just feel ... you don't know what to actually do.

One way I could say we were ... our morals was actually lowering. Since I actually had nowhere to go and my movement wasn't free, at times we used to come to this room, and stay here to have some drink and stay for the night. On the following day we can't move out. We've got to stay around here and somebody will ultimately come and fetch us maybe late on the following day. So one thing we have got to do ... we just stay here - chat a lot of rubbish, stay drinking the whole day - nothing really constructive we actually can do politically. There's nothing - we should just stay here, drink and ... This is the only relationship with the comrades we can have where

we can actually relax and be able to sleep ... yes.

I can't manage with my school work. I must relax, because I couldn't even start ... once ... if I'm in that state (I would say depression or what) I can't even start; I am just thinking about the whole shit. So I ... my mind - it isn't stable in a way.

Can you elaborate a bit on this aspect?

What I could say is, since the ... most of the time you are just thinking about worries, problems. There's nothing you can enjoy in whatever you are thinking of. Then you start ... it actually affects my physical body. I even get tired; and the problems of not falling asleep - that's a problem. You feel fatigue after the whole thing.

I actually felt ... I was actually in a dilemma - in a situation where I found myself all in problems, because on the one hand when foreseeing that I am ... there's a great likelihood of me being detained in the near future - I'm going to lose my academic year. So I tend ... I feel ... when studying I feel no, I'm actually wasting my time. I could contribute this time towards the struggle, because I'm definitely going to be detained some time. This year is just a wasted year for me. On the other hand I tried to fight that: this is very important; I must try to complete this year and I must write.

I was quite nervous. I felt I was in a dilemma of some sort. I was in a dilemma where I didn't know which side to pull to and I was ... I felt actually trapped. I had no way out of this whole thing. It was actually a problem. And working inside me ... always calculating, saying: no, some people say no, why don't you go out - say to some other place like X for holiday. And I felt if I have to go, the organisation will definitely be affected, because most of the leadership is inside; so I had to sacrifice. Because when they come out, they're going to ask questions: "Why was this, why was this? What actually happened?" So there had to be some people who had to stay

around.

That uncertainty resolves around the whole issue that my life is actually ... there are various trends pulling my life in various directions: I've got to be studying. The studying of which I'm not sure whether I'm going to write at the end of the year or not. That's been cut out with somebody who is already in detention. And I felt ... I just stay and relax, keep a very low profile in any political activities. One thing that's going to happen to me is I am going to be detained, because I've seen people who have done just ... that were detained. So I would rather be detained, go to detention knowing that I have done something. I actually did accept that I was going to be detained sometime. But I could ... should just prolong the time - complete my academic year at least. Then after that I could ... it's then that I could relax.

It actually affected my studying last year quite a great deal. Because most of the time it ... each time I take my books to start reading, I start to think about these things: am I going to write at the end of the year or am I just wasting my time now? It actually affected my concentration. I was not feeling good, because my main aim of being here at *F* this year is just completing my degree. Now, having to stay in detention for six months or something is going to prolong my duration. So it's ... I was thinking of such things all the time. I couldn't study. I couldn't use my normal, just a normal pattern of studying. There were days I couldn't study - say for two or three days ... without doing anything. For instance, staying the whole night without sleeping, having to attend lectures on the following day; unable to go out and take exercise to relieve the tension that I have ... yes.

I couldn't see any way out. I couldn't see any way out. I actually felt quite okay during the festive season - Christmas, New Year period when I moved out of *G*. Then ... I went to *Z*. There I was quite free and it's then that I started feeling quite okay. And I recovered quite a lot. The people I was meeting were actually saying, "No, man, don't worry about this." They actually could understand the problem I have ...

I'm having and some of them actually had it. So though they were trying to console me in a way, I felt it's doing me no good in any way. But I think if I had a chance of living a free life - just moving freely - I would have been quite okay. For instance, just like now: I'm just moving freely, because I've come to understand that these chaps don't know me facially. They ... it is the name that they have, so I'm quite able to move freely and feel quite relaxed.

It affected me in that I had to concentrate on everybody in the street. Wherever I am, I had to try to fight it - not to be absent-minded in any way. When driving, I've got to notice each and every car: the car behind me and the one coming in front. Everybody ... I just had to ... "Who is it? Who is it?"

You said your emotional state affected your physical body. Can you elaborate on this point?

My drinking rate started rising up a little bit, because I felt at times I couldn't sleep. Because I did risk a few times to sleep in the township. I had to, because my room is small and we had to have some sessions with other comrades. So we have to get a room and stay there for something like three days, discussing some issues or drawing out pamphlets; and ... at night you feel you can't sleep. That's one problem. And we are thinking, "No, the police have been to my place," and you don't know whether they know ... they've heard you are here. So I just feel very much uneasy to an extent that I can't sleep. And I have to take some drugs. I once went to the day clinic ... day hospital. They gave me tablets, but I didn't want to take the tablets, so I decided to take a little bit of wine. And that tend to some sort of ... being a drinking spree. And tending to take up liquor during the day when I've got nothing to do. There's ... I actually don't know what to do with myself. Yes. Ever since I've been out of hiding I don't have that problem any more.

I managed in very difficult times last year. Probably ... number one: I have a tremour - a problem of a tremour and I inherited it from my parent. Now, last year I went to the F

psycho-clinic. Then they say no, it's not a psychological problem - it's a physical one. So I should go to the doctor. I met a specialist in Z and he actually said, "No, this will actually be static and it won't get better." Because I can't be using pills all the time, so I should just neglect it, take a lot of exercise - that's all.

So that's one thing that used to give me a problem. I get a panic, shake, the whole body trembling. I just sweat ... all that. For instance, at times ... driving past the road-blocks ... I just realised when looking at my rear-view mirror, there's a SB van ... motor-car driving right behind me. And I could manage ... I was very much fortunate in that I could disguise - driving different vehicles and the clothing I'm actually using. But the fear remained there.

The tremour that you mentioned - was it in any way affected by the fact that you were in hiding?

It became worse in that if, for instance, I got a shock now, it actually affects me ... I get ... it affects me for a very long period. So at times I have to drive from here to Z and I get such a shock that I can't even drive. I should just stay and relax, so that's ...

Is this tremour triggered by stress and tension and specific events?

Yes.

Were you aware of any other physical changes?

A headache and loss of appetite and I can't think of any other ... and you just feel fatigue most of the time. The whole body is aching - you sleep on this side and turn around and you just feel the bed is rather uncomfortable and you come to use the chair and you've got nothing to do. That's the sort of feeling I used to have.

How did being in hiding affect your interpersonal

relationships?

You don't have very close contact with people. One thing that I actually noticed is that my life was rather becoming lonelier by the day, because I couldn't go out to any social activities in the township. Because people would just say, "No ...". That's one thing that makes me feel a bit out - when people tell me, "Hey, the police have been to your place four times this week," or something like that. So I avoid social gatherings. I couldn't go to any place ... public places.

I could go to the township - say by night, I get transport and I go there. One thing that actually forced me at times to go to the township is just to get in contact with some people. For instance, if I happened to have an appointment with you for, say, today at five o'clock and you happen not to come, I don't know what has happened to you and that night I can't just sleep in a ... be in a relaxed mood. So I ... and in the township I couldn't just go to anybody. I just had to go to definite people that I knew it was safe going to.

I felt safer here in town. For instance, this room belongs to my sisters; I used to come here when the situations become ... when things become more serious in the township. Because my room is actually very far away out on the side next to *D* - somewhere there. It's much quieter there, but here I feel quite a number of people move up and down here and the people working here ... so I can talk to them and I feel I start to forget a little bit about the fact that I'm in hiding. But if I'm in my room for instance, it's then that I become more depressed as a result of being alone - just alone.

So you can actually have more social interaction here?

Not social interaction as such, but the fact that there are people moving up and about here. There are just more people around, but for my own safety I just have to ... so that they don't become curious of ... say: "Hey, why are you here?" because the schools have closed such days. But I feel much better when I actually see people rather than staying alone in

my room.

My contact with people is, point number one, is being that I didn't like people in the township talking about me any more for security reasons. So I felt the more contact I have with people, the more am I likely to be in a problem in one way. I tried to avoid any social gatherings - trying to avoid social contact as much as possible. And that being definitely ... not being something I feel good about, but because of my security ... I'm thinking of my security reasons on the one hand.

We used to be about three, four or five at most. And it's quite boring staying or meeting a very limited number of people. It didn't actually affect me emotionally as far as I could recognize, because I didn't actually have a real problem. It was just that I was just feeling very lonely and at times I don't know what to do. Just feeling lonely was the main thing, because I couldn't trust anybody then. So it's a matter of cutting down on people you meet.

And the quality of your relationship with the two or three people that you did see?

It was quite okay, except that it was ... it didn't ... it couldn't come to a very friendly, close level as it would in a case where I'm with my girlfriend or something. Because it was ... all the meetings were actually discussing problems cropping up now and again and such things. So it didn't actually... it couldn't come to a very friendly level where I could just relax. At times I just feel we must relax, then we start drinking, playing music... But otherwise it didn't work that much with me.

You mentioned your relationship with your girlfriend - was it affected in any way?

It was definitely affected. One way in that I don't actually involve my girlfriend in any of my political activities. So if I take her to my room, quite a number of people will know ... come to notice that I'm staying in that room where I'm

actually in hiding. So I don't want her to know my room. I can't go to her room. If I happen to go to her, I must come by night and go away very early. And somebody must lock from outside. That's what we usually used to do, because she has a lock and stable - so you put a padlock from outside and somebody comes at round about four to unlock and I move out. It's either get out very early in the morning or very late. So that everybody that is in it doesn't actually know I've been there.

And at times I felt very much uneasy in that. Even just ordinary footsteps of somebody passing next to the room ... just should ... just keep quiet ... watch what was actually coming. And we've got to stay with the light off so that nobody thinks ... people think there's nobody inside. And keep our voices low. So that was the sort of thing.

I think the relationship was actually affected to some extent. Though I actually made her to understand the prevailing conditions. Otherwise it was affected in a way, because we couldn't see ... meet often and even if we do, the relationship isn't actually as it used to be. It's not a free atmosphere as it used to be. It's less amicable almost. There's quite a lot I fear of than I used to. And feeling that my relationship with my girlfriend is actually getting into tatters now. She can't understand why am I actually devoting myself more into politics when things are becoming so bad, rather than keeping a low profile. That's the same attitude the parents had.

It definitely deteriorated, because for instance, if I'm here in this room and a message comes saying that somebody has to go to *H* and I'm the only driver around - reliable comrade - so I've got to drive to *H* and stay in *H*, maybe for three, four days. And staying with people who are also in hiding in *H*. And it's very much quite unsafe to move around with a foreign registration. So you just park the car there and stay all the time indoors.

Are you saying that all kinds of practical events put a strain

on your relationship?

Yes. For instance, at one time I had ... for instance during this recent shooting in the township - when I heard those shots I was with my girlfriend. I was just shaking the whole night. I couldn't sleep. Now, one thing is, I felt I have no car, so I can't go out ... risk coming to town on foot and at the same time the police could raid ... there could be a raid on that day. And if I risked going out, I might be one of the people who might be shot. So I ... there's no one side which is actually safe. Whether I'm staying there for the night, I'm quite ... I'm very much unsafe. As much as when I'm going out.

How did this affect your relationship with your girlfriend?

One way that it affected the relationship is that since we couldn't meet so often, she actually felt I was more concerned with the struggle ... more than I was actually ... more than I actually love her. So she did feel ... she was in a very insecure position as I take her. The feeling that any time I might be detained and it means I won't be around for something like six months to even a year.

I really couldn't be in a relaxed mood anyway. For instance, I couldn't move last year in the township on foot. Every time I go, I must get a car. And I can't keep on using your car, because people will know me and that also creates problems in that if I use your car, the people ... to the people in the township it's not ... they don't know it and that tends to draw attention again. So all the time you just feel that uneasiness ... that tension.

And in fact, on the greater part it's because there were fewer hands after the Emergency, so my girlfriend tended not to see the reason why I'm actually moving away from her during the time when more people are detained. But on the other hand, I felt there are no people to do this, so I was actually supposed ...

My relationship with the family was quite okay. But the thing

is, they actually ... not that they are actually conservative, but their commitment is not the same as mine, and they saw me as somebody who's actually devoting myself fully into politics and neglecting things like schoolwork or something. They wanted me to move a little bit ... to keep a bit of a low profile sort of. So that worried them quite a lot. And with ... staying without seeing them, because I used to see one member of the family two weeks, three weeks.

So you saw less of them?

Yes, very much.

You mentioned particular incidents that led to your feeling very tense. Did this happen quite often?

It happened quite a number of times. For instance in the township it's not rare that you hear gunshots at night - in the evening. So each time there are such things they actually affect me in a way. I start feeling sort of being in a state of insecurity. I felt my fate was coming, but it's a matter of prolonging this period. So it's not me to decide where I'll be on the following day, because I couldn't be sure whether I'll be detained on the following day or any other time. So I've always felt in a state where I was ...

... uncertain of what was going to happen?

Yes.

How was your political activity affected?

Politically my ability was actually affected. It was disrupted, but not ... it didn't stop. The only thing that brought it up is the people I ... the other comrades I had a relationship with - those with whom I still had contact. So they always came out and said, "Okay, tomorrow I will want to meet you at such and such a time." So I've got to come out. But, for instance, if there's nothing to be done for the whole week, if there's nothing we can do - it's just staying there,

drink ... and you cannot just keep on drinking, because it also has other side-effects.

Has your self-image - your experience of yourself as a person been affected by the experience of being in hiding?

No, I don't think it was affected in any way. I can't think of anything.

What role did the prospect of being detained play in your experience?

That's one thing that actually occupied my mind for the greater part of the time. And that ... there was nothing I could think of. Each time one person is detained, I just think no, if I'm detained ... so that one will be questioned ... so and so will definitely be questioned on these things. And now, will he involve me? This ... the sort of thing I'm thinking of. Now, if I happen to be detained, which information should I keep to myself? Which information can I give? What have the people who are already detained given? What information are they giving? I was having those battles in my mind, which actually contradicts with what I said earlier of trying to fight my absentmindedness. Because I did reach the stage of being absentminded, though I'm actually fighting it.

One thing I was positive of is I am going to be detained some time. But it's a matter of prolonging my period outside. That's what occupied my mind for the greater part of the time.

Why was that?

Number one: I don't want to find myself in a situation where I'm forced to give information, because in such a case even if I give all the information they asked for, they're still going to beat me up. And I don't want to be beaten up and that ... I hate being beaten up. It's the one thing I hate. Number two: the physical conditions in ... the material conditions in detention. For instance, I used to think no, if I happen to be detained now, it means I'll have to stay at K with ...

sleeping next to a bucket which is blocked for the whole week, waiting there for one policeman or another to come and fetch me for interrogation and that would happen for a week. And thinking about what will actually happen when I'm taken ... transferred say to Z. The people there would want to know what's been happening outside. I tell them and we would come to a stage where we'll have nothing to say to one another.

And I felt I didn't want to lose my academic year. I wanted to complete my first year at least, because ... so that I could actually know what's actually being done at university. So even if I'm detained after that, I could proceed studying ... get a study permit inside. So what I was actually striving for is not to be detained until the end of the year.

How do you feel about spending another good few months in hiding?

Otherwise, this year the conditions are different in that since we have adopted some new strategies of operating, it's very much difficult for me to actually be exposed in any way. One thing that's actually possible is just being caught red-handed let me say - something of that nature. Otherwise, not a matter of the system actually looking for me, because they know I've been involved in such and such a plot or something.

Does that mean you won't have to go into deep hiding?

I definitely won't. I don't see myself in that situation again.

SUBJECT 5 (Essay)

I had not quite expected that I myself would have to go into hiding. There was a lot of tension in the air for quite some time before the announcement of the State of Emergency.

Being on P where reasonable elaborate security arrangements

were made, I was not totally unprepared for some sort of state action. I nevertheless did not quite expect it to come so soon, and that it would hit me so directly as well. I was asleep on the night before the State of Emergency was declared and remember being awoken by the sound of a telephone and my housemate's voice calling me, asking whether I wouldn't answer it. I was told - it was about two in the morning - by some unknown person phoning from Z that two P members had been detained, one in Z and one in R. I told my housemate, who asked what I was going to do, which I didn't know. My initial reaction was one of being somewhat dazed. I went and sat down on my bed to try and think, but a moment later he burst into the room, saying, "Get some clothes on!" Within five minutes we were outside, still in the process of dressing, we said goodbye and went our separate ways.

The sensation of walking through the empty streets of X that night is one I will not easily forget. There was the possibility of a branch car lurking behind every corner. (I had to cross the centre of town with its well lit streets to get to the one safe place I could think of.) I remember very vividly the sensation of adrenaline pumping (a tense excitedness) and a heightened state of awareness. I was fortunate to be taken care of by a comrade in the same organisation but without any profile in town and whose place was therefore safe. We sat churning over the developments for quite a while - the sense of "Ja, this is it," what one had been expecting in a way without knowing what form it was going to take, and getting used to the enormity of it all.

The first week or so I spent most of the time sleeping. The tension was an immense drain on my energy. And when I was awake, I spent the whole time thinking over my own security arrangements. That, for more than a week, was just about my sole preoccupation, going over and over again and again in my mind the same details, about what I had heard of security police action in town, trying to work out what their mode of operation was.

The most dominant feeling during the whole period of hiding

was tension. It was a very immediate tension, directly related to a very specific threat, and as such differed from the type of stress I had been used to. Since having had a duodenal ulcer in December 1980 I have been coping with stress symptoms: stomach problems, insomnia and sleeping too much, more or less in tandem. All these stress symptoms disappeared when I went into hiding - during that whole period I never had to use medication for my stomach. The tension I was experiencing instead, however, was always present - something I was always aware of, in my limbs, tiredness and a sense of hyperactivity. It was a physical state of being [tense] quite unlike anything I had experienced before - an enduring state of being tense that never let off, after a while I had forgotten what it was to be without it. After a few months my body started feeling very tender, as if it had gone soft inside. The best description of this that I could come up with was that I felt as if my whole body was marinated with tension.

I had to get used to the fact that in such a state I was not able to do as much as I normally would be able to do. I was simply not physically capable of getting all that much done, with the result that my whole existence was reduced to looking after a few basics. This comprised preparing the lectures I had to give, seeing to the needs of my organisation and other comrades in hiding, and looking after my own security. When I had to start lecturing, this took up most of my energy. For the other matters I was able to rely on the support of others, specifically my support person who did most of my running around for me. One had to strategise and concentrate most of your energy on strategic thinking, leaving the performance of tasks to others. My basic organisational role was therefore a strategising one, discussing with others what had to be done, more than one of actually going out and doing a lot myself. Whatever I did do, involved much more effort than it would normally, as one had to visit people unexpectedly, which meant that quite often one would not find someone in, which was very time-consuming if one walked there by a very roundabout route.

What might have helped a lot was that I was in some sort of

position of responsibility, and felt that I had to see to the needs of others in the organisation. I spent time talking to people about how they went about hiding and looking after themselves. This became necessary when I discovered that there were some who had not approached the matter in the best possible way. Being in a position where you play a supportive role for others probably prevents one from worrying about yourself. I also spent a lot of time discussing the other people involved in the organisation with my support person, and I learnt a lot about the dynamics involved and about people. I found that this type of threatening situation brings out a lot in people. One gets to know them very well. The fact that I learnt such a lot, not only about others, but also about myself, was one of the very positive aspects of the hiding experience, I felt, which made it worthwhile.

My relations with other people were radically affected by being in hiding. Because my time was spent seeing to my organisational responsibilities, it was basically those people with whom I was organisationally involved that I made regular contact with. My social world shrank to those people that were also involved in politics. It became quite difficult to relate to people who weren't in fact, for those who weren't themselves involved didn't really understand what it was all about. Hiding and having friends detained was such a different experience from what people are normally used to that the only ones one could really talk to about it were those who were sharing the same experience. I experience specifically in my work situation in a department where none of the others were involved in politics (in organisations, that is) that there was very little understanding for my situation, and that they were continuing to live a life that was so far removed from what I and other comrades were being confronted with so dramatically, that one could not really expect them to understand. The result was a complete breakdown in communication with my colleagues, which was exacerbated by the fact that I was not so directly contactable and never around in the department or any place where I might normally be expected to be found. This made me extremely vulnerable with respect to my position in the department as my absence

prevented me from countering any attempts to discredit me and the fact that I was not teaching under normal conditions created gaps for those who were looking for points to criticize me on. These dynamics were possibly aggravated due to fact that my hiding and being looked for gave me a certain political status that I was begrudged.

With respect to those people that were involved organisationally and thus in the same boat, and those who were involved with support work for detainees and those in hiding, and also those liberals who felt that they had to do something under the emergency conditions, being extreme as they were, my relationship was a very good one. These people were all very supportative and coming forward to offer help. They were, in fact, amazing. I had to learn quite soon that I was not in a position where I could afford to be too polite, or bashful, and that I had to be forward enough to ask for what I needed, be it a meal, a place to sleep, or some other favour.

Being able to cope with hiding and helping to keep the organisation going, improved my esteem amongst other activists. It is quite clear that I rose a lot in many of their estimations. Hiding in a small town is not something that many people thought possible. From the start I applied myself to it, trying to be as professional about it as possible, learning and improvising as I was going along. The fact that I saw it as a challenge probably contributed a lot to help me cope.

Hiding gets a bit much after a protracted period because one's activities are concentrated solely on survival - one's own survival and that of the organisation - with the result that many areas of one's personality and interest do not receive any attention. One's life becomes restricted to what is only part of yourself - that part that is involved in politics.

The ever present tension also brings with a measure of insensitivity. I started noticing in myself after a while that I was being less sensitive in my interactions with other people than was usual. Preoccupation with your own survival

also makes one more self-centered. This pertains not so much to the area of doing things for other people, as to one's preparedness to get emotionally involved with them. As a matter of course I found myself spending a lot of time with certain people who played an integral role in my support system, or people that happened to be accessible and helpful. Under normal circumstances spending a lot of time with someone, as I did with a couple of people, would possibly develop into a relationship. I did not however have any inclination towards that end, my being with people fulfilled a much more immediate need of simply being with people. I was living from day to day.

My health held out okay. I was very careful about it and took medicine when the slightest symptoms appeared as one could not afford to get ill. I suffered from insomnia - something that had come and gone before the Emergency. Before I had been able to get off sleeping pills again before finishing the prescription. During hiding I was not able to; it was only after it was all over and I had come out of hiding and went on holiday at another part of the country that I managed to get off them.

The one problem with hiding is that it is not so overtly dramatic and attention-catching as being detained. At the time a lot of attention was focused on detainees. People in hiding, on the other hand, do not experience much fuss being made about them. Other people who are organisationally involved do show a lot of understanding and sympathy, but it is in the nature of hiding to keep quiet about things, not to tell people of your whereabouts or what you're up to etc. With the result that not everyone understands exactly what is involved, and one tends not to talk to many people about it. The cumulative effect of the ongoing tension is also something that is not obvious to outsiders, as one keeps on acting normal all the time. Spending some time with someone who also went into hiding some time later than I did in the same town, and discovering the similarity of the symptoms she was showing, especially the way she was feeling, brought me extremely close to that person (to the extent that I could

pick up all her feelings). It was only by noticing from the outside what effect hiding was having on this person that I started realising what a hell of a thing it actually was.

I seemed to cope pretty well with hiding under extremely difficult conditions - which meant not going outside during the day, only moving around at night, never going into any shop, restaurant or movie house, not attending any parties (going away for the weekend instead to some seaside cottage when the weekend was going to be filled with partying) and moving only amongst a very small group of people - one simply had to. Coming out of hiding was quite tricky as one never really knew when it would be safe. In fact, one of the problems about hiding right from the start is that one doesn't really know whether you are being looked for or not. I felt a bit silly in the beginning, going into hiding so suddenly - I didn't quite know whether I wasn't perhaps over dramatising things, and whether the whole exercise was really justified. It was only when the person taking care of my house was taken in for questioning, when the security police tried to pull off a trick to get hold of me and questioned him about my whereabouts, and when shortly after that security police were waiting in cars, ostensibly reading newspapers, outside a flat of which I had been given the keys (they could only have been waiting for me) that I really knew that I was in fact being looked for. That made me feel a lot better and a lot less silly about hiding. The problem of how long they would go on looking for me, remained, however. I was forced to go back to my office during regular office hours after about four months. The first few days sitting there not knowing whether they were going to arrive, were extremely tense. Gradually I got used to the idea that they were not going to come and get me on campus however. There followed a period during which it was quite uncertain whether they would still pick me up - it was quite clear that they were not going to go out of their way, but the possibility still remained that they would not let the opportunity slip by if I crossed their way. Not knowing whether it isn't safe yet, creates a lot of uncertainty. It was a great help that I was under organisational discipline concerning my hiding and that it was not solely my own

decision.

One tends to play it safe and hide for longer than might be necessary. During hiding one also, as a matter of course, always plays it safe, taking no unnecessary risks. I felt much happier being the only one who knew where I was (apart from the person I was staying with) and when I would be where - I never felt comfortable relying on others where my own security was concerned and therefore avoided using contact persons. I found it much better to be the one who contacted others while I myself remained uncontactable. I don't know if I would have survived however if I never took any risks at all. In fact I thrived on it. Taking risks (calculated, safe risks, of course) involves an element of excitement and gets the adrenaline going, making one feel much more alive than when one is just sitting around being safe and tense. The moments that I treasured most was when I went off on my own in the middle of the night, after twelve when the whole town was asleep and no-one on the streets, and just went for a walk. I felt a sense of freedom and exhilaration then, especially those few times that I decided to chance it and walk right across the centre of town, which involved crossing all the main, well lit streets. This probably helped a lot.

Hiding makes a much greater impact on one than one realises at the time. This became clear to me a few weeks after I had come out of hiding and had been living at home again. There was a phone call at three one morning to tell about the detention of people from the same organisation in Z. Someone came into my room to tell me, but I could not the next day remember anything about it. Evidently I just said something like "Oh shit" and went back to sleep again (I was on sleeping pills at the time). When I was awoken the next morning with the further news that people had been picked up in Y as well, my immediate response was an extremely strong feeling of: no, not again. Though I had coped very well with hiding, I suddenly felt that it was not something I wanted to go through again. I was quite depressed that whole day - I went into hiding immediately, but not really applying myself with the same dedication as formerly. I went to R to tell everyone down there to go into

hiding, stayed there for the night in a house that was not completely safe - the house of a recently detained person (it was unlikely that they would turn up there, though), and when I returned to town, I told everyone that I was in hiding and went back home where I simply drew the curtains and refrained from answering the phone. I very strongly did not feel like repeating the whole hiding episode at all.

Part of my method of hiding had been to move around quite a lot. That means that one doesn't really have a fixed base. I used to go back home every now and then (something that only the few people living there knew about) just to see my place again and look into the cupboards and go through a few of the normal motions of being there. It was quite disconcerting that the people who had moved in there to take care of the place changed it round considerably. Especially the fact that there was nothing to eat when I got there, and that a quite different type of food was being kept in the cupboard, and that the whole style of the place had changed so that I didn't quite feel at home there any more. When I was asked whether someone could rent my room I objected vehemently. I needed it to be there for me, even though it was being slept in by others from time to time. I tended in the end not to move around as much as in the beginning, staying at one place which was very conveniently situated and where I felt very at home, much more than I should have and even though I was often seen there. I left even my closest comrades under the impression that I was in fact staying elsewhere.

It was quite a challenge to hide well and to stay out of the clutches of the security police - one doesn't want to lose out to them in a way. The whole thing about being detained was quite dramatic and had its attractions along with its horrors and uncertainties. Not everyone managed to handle hiding very well. Even though I think I did, I sometimes wonder whether I wouldn't have preferred to be detained.

APPENDIX E

Additional material: (not analyzed in study)

Essay 1: (Verbatim copy)

The psychological experience of being in hiding:

Here I am writing an essay on the topic: being in hiding and yet I like people and enjoy being of service to them - the irony of it!

I can start by saying that I like being on my own, that is in hiding. This I can say to be caused by the fact that I am sort of person who feels most uncomfortable in the company of people I am not closely related to like close friends or acquaintances.

The kind of feeling that I get as a result of this is that I tend to feel isolated and inferiority complex eats on me. Another feeling I tend to experience is that because I like people but at the same time prefer to keep to myself I feel good after I've helped somebody out - this act of kindness to others sort of make me feel very good. This is perhaps a justification for my "aloofness".

Being summarily I can say that being in hiding is one of the most terrible feelings one experiences. If there were a cure for this terrible disease I would definitely go for it.

Essay 2: (Verbatim copy)

BEING IN HIDING

This is a result of a step or action that a person has committed. The demands and claims of some strong bonified inhabitants could be a thorn in the flesh and very subversive to other stable land owners.

Truely there are honourable and vulnerable individuals who can't resist it anymore, who feel possetive and ready to sacrifice to the interest of the people. He or She might have omitted to calculate the immediately sufferings and endurance engaged in it. At first glance, it looks very rewarding, patriotic and unavoided.

Whenever you are in hiding for any reason, you definitely miss company, progress and comfort. A 30 yrs old woman who had been in hiding for a long spell explained, "I think I'm untrustworthy and miserable. You know, I even miss the affectionate touch of my husband. My contemporaries don't turn up, I feel like a blacksheep amongst the white. Some people think that I am irresponsible and think less of my family." On one hand you are afraid of the police and on the other, you fear the people. One guy who is in hiding at present said, "I was a heroe and an Idol, but, now, no one trusts me and I don't trust anybody as well. I wish I could drop dead now but I can't take away my life. I wish I could be taken away to a far place, where I would be cared for, because here I feel strongly that, the world has ended and I have no peace and place and dignity in this world. There is no one to cheer me up, I am a victem." Being in hiding also affects your general health condition, especially your mental power with regard to your sense of reasoning. Even your personal zone is somewhat extensively affected. Your emotions are destroyed and hampered when you see your other friends getting on peacefully in life.

Essay 3: (verbatim copy)

Well hiding is never, and will never be a nice thing of course its a good experience because it teaches one discipline in the sense that you feel like going somewhere, but you that once spotted by those working for the system, then you are doomed. So you have to do certain things at certain time.

Secondly you have to be nomadic because once spotted be sure of security or SADF early next moring

With your family, relatives, and friends its seldom to unite. Then freely it is even difficult even to change your clothes, because your presence around might land you in cells if you are not careful. So you just have to be slippery always.

Then we developed a Base system, when few sleep together. Here we discussed some of our problems, especially our system of education But what is strange is that, nobody knows where the next base will be, of course this is because the securities may find us meeting. But what I like not only the education system that we discuss will also discuss some of the Community problems

Be in hiding is boring sometimes because you have to avoid places of interest, but you know that when you are involve in a struggle a lot has to be sacrificed you end up consoling yourself

Sometimes you can find yourself as a fool you keep on hiding because of the rumour, that the securities were looking for you Probably they came for just a minor inquiry or misidentification, or wanted to know the whereabouts of your friend.

But the good thing is that, you get respected, regardless of how deep involved in the struggle. Even if given a speech in a gathering what you say is very apprecicable even if what you say is out of context

All in all it teaches one hard ways of living, never to depend to someone else and to be careful what you say, and to know your rights to get freedom you just have to go under very strains, which may even cost your life

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UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL:

- * Broadening the base: the work among whites.
- * National Democratic Struggle: the general theory.
- * The role of white democrats in the National Democratic Struggle.
- * The State of Emergency (1986-)