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AN EMPIRICAL PHENOMENOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE EXPERIENCE OF
BEING UNEMPLOYED: A CRITICAL STUDY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT.

by

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To my parents for all they have
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ABSTRACT

Unemployment is a problem that confronts many western countries. The aim of this dissertation is to understand, on the basis of a phenomenological investigation, what it means to be an unemployed, white, South African citizen. These meanings are then seen and discussed against the background of the problems associated with the ideological structure within the country. How the latter relates to white employment and psychological life is also explored. The results demonstrate the negative impact unemployment has upon the psychological functioning of the individual. The results further show the despair such individuals face, having been 'denied' an accepted role within society.

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I am myself plus my circumstances, and if I do not save it, I cannot save myself. This sector of circumstantial reality forms the other half of my person; only through it can I integrate myself and be fully myself.

(Ortega y Gasset in Minuchin, 1974, p. 5).

INTRODUCTION

In following a critical approach, aided by phenomenological research the writer hopes to generate an holistic understanding of unemployment. Too often disciplines defective in creating the latter have been implemented to the detriment or neglect of the individual. By revealing the psychological implications of unemployment and supporting facts with personal descriptions, individual experience of being unemployed will be of prime importance. Acknowledgement will be made of the fact that unemployment remains an economic, social and political problem too. Critical psychology will form the basis for questioning as the value of such a stance falls beyond causal explanation and traditional research procedures. The essence of critique lies in self-reflection; encouraging through questioning a process of re-education. The researcher hopes to stimulate thought and insight into areas too easily forgotten, energetically distorted, and inadequately unearthed.

Critical psychology's foundation firmly entrusted within Freudian and Marxist thinking, counters many of the shortcomings of positivism. As Freud once commented; "These critics who limit their studies to methodological investigations remind me of people who are always polishing their glasses instead of putting them on and seeing with them", (Jacoby, R, 1975, p 59); reminds us of mans acquired, impoverished vision.

The criticism will focus partially upon man's acceptance of distorted

values i.e. materialism, over-emphasis of science and technology and the inappropriate assigning of psychology to scientific categories. It will also include a critique of the South African ideological configuration and contemporary conditions. Despite current turmoil within South Africa, the aim is not revolutionary but rather to procure a vision of disparity and irregularity within the social order.

It is the researcher's opinion, that unemployment represents a symptom of a social infrastructure that renders the majority hapless, accepting victims of oppressive forces they not ordinarily aware of. By unveiling some of the fetters to self-reflection and self-formative growth, the writer hopes to further enhance questioning and critical psychology.

Areas of interest will be the nature of modern man's position within capitalist ideology; his failure to evade its influence as well as the effect of technology and the pressure to work and provide.

Marxist insight will remain perennial in the critique of western capitalism. The issue of White unemployment fits within these broader parameters, but still has a fundamental connection with the political and ideological framework of the country.

This backdrop will create a means of understanding how an unemployed citizen, having been exposed to commodified life and materialism experiences non-participation and exclusion. Here it is apt to cite Richards, (1984), for his refined recognition of (employed) citizens

of late capitalism: "These citizens, some resignedly, some in a frightened commitment to happiness, move about their business through the rational networks of sociality in hopeless indifference to the devastation around, they are as someone put it 'deeply shallow'" (p 159).

The unemployed individual within late capitalism is positioned in a mode of living beyond his means. The ignorance of the core and peripheral influential factors prevents both the practical and theoretical alternatives for escape. It is hoped that the subject's revelations will demonstrate, along with the theory and models of unemployment, the crippling effect unemployment has on males without work.

The socio-political factors appear in many western countries as overwhelming agents in manipulating the lives of the masses.

'Survival of the fittest condemns the least fit. Unemployment already divides a nation by accident of birth or training. Those who were born in the north or too poor or immigrant families, those who had bad luck to join industries which were at their peak twenty years ago, those who find that they are 55 or 16 in 1984. These could become, by the luck of the draw, the sacrificial victims to this kind of passive determinism' (Handy, C., 1984, p 15.).

"If society makes jobs the pivot of existence and then cannot provide enough jobs, or share out the available jobs more fairly, or find alternative pivots for life, it is practising deceit" (ibid, p 15). Such a view within South Africa cannot be entirely dismissed, as the

country is presently incapable of providing jobs for the majority of its inhabitants. The deceit would also extend to the White population as the economy has failed to rectify and secure growth at a satisfactory rate. This problem will be discussed in the light of capitalism as the mode of production. The solutions to the unemployment problem have to be gathered from many fields of endeavour. Political moves towards a reinvestment in the economy and promotion of private enterprise, etc. would help alleviate the problem. However solutions will not be sought after within this study, rather the meaning of being a White unemployed South African citizen will be crucial. The inclusion of fundamental empirical facts and observations, critical content and phenomenological expositions of lived experience, will hopefully encourage steps towards alleviating the problem.

CHAPTER ONE
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This section focuses upon two central areas: a) the experience of unemployment which includes a section on the psychological impact and b) a critical psychological framework for understanding the experience of unemployment. The first section includes research on unemployment conducted in capitalism and the meaning of unemployment for individuals in western countries. The second area of interest centers upon a critique of ideology and an overview of the construction of human subjectivity.

a) THE EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Despite the interest shown by various experts in their respective fields, unemployment persists as a reality; statistically conspicuous, economically disruptive and psychologically debilitating. Moreover unemployment as an economic reality plagues industrialized nations world-wide. To question, firstly, how and why unemployment arises and secondly, to discern the groups and individuals who are unemployed or likely to be unemployed, requires insight into the functioning of the given social order and means of production. The economic postulations and models provide means for predictions and estimates, not to mention groundwork for interminable debate. The solutions to, and alleviation of, such socio-economic complexity although important, will not be sought after here.

Unemployment is often an unexpected, disruptive intrusion in the life of an individual, a time of stress, an experience of such great intensity that individuals struggle with the emotional turmoil and adjustment. Yet not all of the responses to, and experience of unemployment are fully understood.

Many researchers in the past and present have attempted to clarify the factors responsible for unemployment, and the consequences of the problem for the individual. They have often limited their studies to a particular sample; age, sex, geographic area, period of unemployment, or job search strategies, etc. In the process receiving both praise and criticism for their efforts. Yet why is unemployment such a difficult area to research and understand? At the outset the researcher faces many important decisions and limitations, many of which are unavoidable. No universal research design exists and despite similarities in experience, unemployment remains unique to; a) the context in which it occurs and b) the personality of the individual/s it effects. Despite the inherent limitations of research regarding the experience of unemployment, it has very often been described in terms of stages. Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) believe that the 'responses to unemployment constitute a process which goes through several stages, has become a basic concept in accounts of the psychological effects of unemployment' (p. 19). Research conducted in this area by Jahoda (1982) revealed that the reaction to unemployment occurs in six stages. She analysed 57 autobiographies of unemployed workers in Warsaw. 'The initial response is fear and distress; this is followed by numbness and apathy, gradually replaced by some adaptation and efforts to obtain employment. As the futility of such efforts becomes obvious, hope weakens. This is followed by complete loss of hope which gradually changes either to apathy or sober acquiescence' (p.22).

Other studies reveal a more 'specific framework describing the unemployed's experience. This is provided by Harrison (1976) who on the basis of his review of five studies, Sinfield (1970); Jones (1972); Heron (1975); Gould

and Kenyon (1972); Marsden and Duff (1975), postulated a transitional cycle which involves the sequence of experience of shock-optimism-pessimism-fatalism' (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, pp. 12-14). 'A more recent study by Hill (1977, 1978) provides a framework for describing the responses of people to unemployment. He describes three discernable phases which he claims are strikingly similar to those put forward by Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld in 1938' (ibid, 14).

It has been described as follows:

The 'initial response' lasting up to two months is said to be one of shock, denial, or holiday attitude. In the 'intermediate phase' lasting from nine months to a year inertia begins to take hold as applications for jobs are unsuccessful, and spare time becomes increasingly difficult to fill. Finally in the phase Hill calls 'settling down to unemployment' the anxiety and depression, often noted in the intermediate phase decline, as the unemployed person becomes resigned to life without work (Donovan and Oddy, 1982, p. 16).

Further research done by Katherine Briars (1977) cited in Hayes and Nutman, (1981) indicates that: "...the effects of long term unemployment on workers and their families gives additional support to the notion of a transitional cycle associated with job loss (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p. 15). The 'discovery' of stages demarcating the transition in experience of the unemployed, represents an example of a universally accepted finding and a possible means to understanding the experience. Unfortunately there are reservations with this approach. First, a detailed exposition of individual experience is lacking within the stages; they merely represent descriptions of what occurs at any particular time, and therefore uncertainty could well exist regarding the import stages have in contributing to a psychological understanding of the unemployed. Secondly,

there is strong support for a more flexible and accurate approach to the matter:

Swinburne (1981), from a detailed qualitative study of 20 unemployed managers and professionals, speculates a much slower phasic reaction...None of her group had reached a stage of pessimism or acceptance despite a few having been unemployed 12 months and over...Swinburne's study is particularly important because it is one of the very few which begins to tease out some of the subtleties of reactions to unemployment (Fineman, 1983, p.11).

In a similar way Hayes and Nutman (1981) discovered that the 'unemployed person perceived his or her situation as a particular reflection on themselves' (p.6). This is affirmed by Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) 'The most profound psychological effects of unemployment are on the way in which the unemployed individual comes to see himself' (P.42).

They provide an alternative approach:

The important task for psychology is not to identify and 'refine' stages but rather to identify the factors which determine transitions between them...Having suggested that psychologists should move from looking at unemployment in terms of 'stages' to looking instead for 'critical periods' in response to unemployment, we have to admit that we have scant evidence for the validity or usefulness of our suggestion (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 22).

However, evidence in support of the above supposition would probably rely heavily upon a behaviouristic approach, which could preclude contributions from other sources. Yet, despite the reservations and limitations of stage theory and behaviourism as means of explaining unemployment, both have value in contributing to an overall level of understanding of the problem, and in providing a framework for a more detailed examination. Furthermore, it stands to reason that the change from an individual shaping his response to unemployment, to instead he himself being shaped by that unemployment,

would occur in 'stages' as circumstances and responses to conditions change. This relates to the persons emotions and feelings with the passing of time. Nevertheless, answers to some of these research problems may rest with contributions such as Fineman's (1983) in approaching the matter. He prefers a 'stance that considerably elevates the status of differences and contingencies. It assumes the position that personal reactions and adaptations to unemployment are full of different passions...the assumption is made that a variety of factors contribute to the complexity of the impact and adjustment to unemployment; that, indeed, everyone is different. If clusters and patterns then emerge, all well and good' (p. 15).

For the above reasons and those offered by Kelvin and Jarrett's (1985) in approaching the topic, the researcher aims at identifying 'clusters and patterns' as well as the psychological adjustment of the individual to the problem. In so doing the following areas will assist in providing a framework in which the experience will be structured.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

How the individual is affected;

- 1) His perceptions of himself (self-concept and identity)
- 2) Relationships
- 3) The experience of time
- 4) Finances and the importance of money
- 5) Family functioning
- 6) Unemployment and health

The experience of unemployment, like the experience of work, has unique significance for the individual. However, the impact of unemployment can be equated with a loss. The severity of this loss is documented by various researcher's investigations, which frequently make reference to the following areas in defining and qualifying the experience: personality, previous working conditions, age, type of work, individual's perception of themselves and others, expectations within a career plan, family interaction, etc. In so doing an attempt is made in establishing the significance the various factors have within the complicated inter-relationship of individual and his/her predicament. The individual and his perceptions are crucial in understanding this network.

1) THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS PERCEPTIONS.

Although the repercussions of unemployment are vast and complex, there appears to be simple explanations for the causes. As the following explains: "Unemployment is riddled with ambiguities and ambivalences. The facts are mostly not in dispute, the problem is what to make of them" (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 43). In articulating the meaning of the experience individuals often speak of inter alia, loss, deprivation, negativity, failure, rejection, humiliation, waste, and distress. In this way the description of the experience is reflected in language, from which meaning is derived. Yet, how is this 'reflected meaning' lived out, and more importantly how does it affect the individual's perceptions per se? It is appropriate to start with an observation of Fineman's (1983):

A picture is presented of the loss of something that was an extension of oneself, carefully built up and nurtured, perhaps reflecting years of effort. Some talked of the absolute finality of their job loss. No other job could effectively replace something which was so firmly 'right' for them (p.42).

Fineman provides examples: "After 28 years in an enjoyable job, what on earth can replace it? It was so central to my life, for so long" (p.42). "I'm now bitter and desperate. I keep applying, keep dropping my aspirations, and keep failing" (ibid, p.40). Specifically related to the intent of the researcher's question, is Fineman's (1983) statement; "How people see their predicament will mirror their personalities in some way as will the nature of their relationship with their job" (p.47). Jahoda (1982) states this differently, "It stands to reason that the nature of the activity in which an unemployed person was previously engaged must have a bearing on the way in which he experiences it's cessation" (p.27). A further example encapsulating the above quotes is provided by Fineman (1983) "... I find myself thinking 'Who am I now ?'" (p.53). It is at this point that the unemployed individual may realise his predicament, has in turn, come to influence or shape him in some way. The person will also be cognizant of the loss of control in his life. Fineman (1983) continues by stating that 'Self-doubt pervades these accounts. A few attempts are made to externalize the difficulties, but the shadow which eventually lingers is over them. Their job loss says something about their competence - their decision-making ability, their interpersonal skills, their career choice, their proficiency in conducting their efforts, etc' (p.53). The individual appears to be restricted. It is in this restricted state that the person begins to see himself and his surroundings differently to his previously accustomed perspective. Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) provide insight regarding this point:

... perhaps the most basic fact about ourselves is that normally we do not see ourselves, but simply take ourselves for granted - just as for example we do not normally 'see' the furniture in our home: we are simply part of it, it is part of us. Conversely, possibly the most basic psychological effect of unemployment is that being unemployed itself induces increased self-consciousness, sometimes to a level which becomes disabling (p.45).

As a result 'it forces him (the individual) to examine his present position and to consider alternative futures' (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p.46). Therefore the individual has a unique disposition of being entirely 'alone' in facing his particular situation. The overriding feature of this, is that of negativity. Haworth and Evans, cited in Fryer and Ullah, (1987) indicate this by saying that '...within any group of people some individuals are not psychologically devastated by unemployment and some can overcome and tolerate the experience' (p. 242). This demonstrates that despite exceptions to the rule, the initial experience of unemployment remains negative. Further research provides proof:

Loss of work involves a major change in the way an individual relates to the world ... it deprives a person of a place to work, the company of workmates, an area of activity and interest, a source of income, a sense of purpose, and a sense of identity and self-esteem. It produces a multitude of changes and assumptions the individual makes about him- or herself and the way of relating with the environment (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p.116).

It appears that despite the shock and accompanying negativity, the unemployed individual is forced to adapt in order to survive. The process of adaptation, and the perceptions of the individual, of himself and the world, cannot be separated. They are of a symbiotically inter-related nature. A possible way of understanding this inter-relationship, and how the individual feels and relates to others, lies in the accompanying change in self-concept and identity. "The unemployed suffer not only from the absence of status but even more from an undermining of their sense of personal identity" (Jahoda, 1979: 313, cited in Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p.86).

Thus, what we have is the individual's personal identity being developed, managed, and affirmed through the status of a working person. When this status is removed it is

not simply a question of the individual who loses the status of a working person, but more importantly he or she loses the means by which the integrity of the self-image is maintained. It is in this sense, then, that the individual loses some of the control over how he or she is to be seen (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p.86).

The unemployed person may come to see himself through the eyes of others:

The assumption that an individual's self-concept is significantly defined by how he is seen, and especially by how he perceives himself to be seen by others, is central to any analysis of the social psychological effects of unemployment ... Though we may see ourselves as others see us, we also often take great care not only to present ourselves as we wish to be seen, but also as we believe we 'really' are, and we may seek to avoid those who do not see us as we see ourselves (Goffman, 1969a, cited in Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p.49).

The situation may be simplified, if the individuals experience is viewed in terms of: (a) a private world (thoughts, feelings, emotions, and family relationships) and (b) a public world (relationships outside the confines of the home and individual thought). It then becomes clear that it may be possible for a pronounced split to occur between the two experientially different ways of being-in-the-world. A person may wish to be seen by others as he in fact 'sees' himself. However, an unemployed person's 'identity' is under tremendous strain, and therefore not what it was whilst he was working. It may be an effort for the unemployed individual to present himself to the world as he did when he was employed. This dilemma may result in great stress, knowing that a discrepancy exists between his previous 'stable' identity and his newly acquired disposition. The person in all likelihood, attempts to maintain his previous 'identity' and patterns of relating, but this is made difficult by continual social pressure and his own self-doubt. Wicklund, (1975, p.238) cited in Kelvin and Jarrett (1985)

encapsulates these premises:

The initial reaction to the onset of objective self-awareness is postulated to be self-evaluation. If the salient discrepancy is negative, the person will be increasingly cognizant of that discrepancy, owing to self-focused attention. In terms of operations, the discrepancy will loom larger (p.48).

The repercussions of 'the discrepancy looming larger' would adversely effect self-confidence and the previously held opinion and perceptions of himself and others. Similar insight is provided by Hayes and Nutman (1981): '...as the loss of work involves more than the loss of a particular role, it spills over to threaten a whole complement of role relationships which through overlap with other role sets may encompass the majority of the individuals life space' (p. 88).

Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) expand on this by saying, '...the unemployed individual always seems to be somehow suspect: at best he is seen as probably in part to blame for his unemployment; and even if he is 'genuine' it is thought that he should be kept short, so that he keeps looking for work - otherwise there is the suspicion that he might just sit back and do nothing' (p. 95). Despite the resentment, anger, frustration, suspicion and the numerous other emotional responses to his humiliating situation, the individual faces the 'reality' of his plight too, '...psychologically most important of all, there is the profound invasion of privacy, by the bureaucratic enquires into one's financial position, family circumstances, relationships with cohabitants and the like' (p. 52).

It seems logical to suggest that there would also be a heightened awareness of the expectancy of invasion, as clearly, something has gone wrong. As a

result of the upheaval in the individual's life and the associated negativity, a process of questioning provides the person with answers relating to his or her circumstance. Unemployed individuals do reflect, and as a consequence they are aware of themselves, their circumstances, and how things have changed. How they deal with this change is the difficulty. Jahoda et al, 1933/72, provides evidence from their study of Marienthal: "...unemployment had induced an overall lowering of 'tone', physical as well as psychological; and it is clear from comments and diaries of these people that they were conscious of their deterioration" (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 68).

Because the individual is attuned to his changing environment and the ensuing personal struggle against it, his perceptiveness to change does increase:

...it is clear that the unemployed man not only sees himself as bored and frustrated, but that seeing himself like that (as well as actually being so) also makes him irritable. This irritability becomes a regular feature of day-to-day behaviour of the unemployed man: he is usually fully aware of it; it is talked about quite freely, both by unemployed men themselves and, where we know of them, by their families (Komarovsky, 1940, Marsden and Duff, 1975). In lay terms, such as 'he's a changed man', it is regarded as a change of personality; and although both the unemployed man and his family attribute the change to the situation, the unemployed man dislikes himself for it (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 69).

A possible reason for the irritability the person experiences may be related to his sense of aimlessness. Having no purpose, and being dislocated from his previous niche in life, in turn heighten self-awareness, inadequacy and therefore irritability. The significance of this self-awareness only gains true meaning in relation to (employed) others. "The unemployed do, of course, also have a relatively more objective view of others, as it were in

their own right: indeed it is only inasmuch as the unemployed can see others as such that they can use them as a standard against which they compare their own lot" (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 110). The stance adopted by the unemployed is one of distance; the person has literally become an observer in contrast to a doer. 'One of the features of the unemployed which Briar (1977) found in her sample was a strong desire for secrecy. This can be seen as a deliberate strategy to preserve their status as employed persons, and to protect themselves from being labelled as failures and from further degradation' (Briar 1977:56 cited in Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p.89). Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) mention two main themes related to this perspective, and how the unemployed view the employed:

First, 'they just don't know how lucky they are: they have somewhere to go each day, something to do; they have some sort of recognised place in society and self-respect; they have money, and can do things. Secondly, and closely related to the first, 'they don't understand: they don't understand what it is like not to have anything to do, not to have money, not to have a place in society; they don't know what it is like to feel that one has let down one's family, what it is like to be repeatedly rejected by employers. The unemployed individual's picture of others as 'lucky' is scarcely surprising (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 111).

What is not mentioned above is the implicit theme of the individual viewing himself as 'unlucky'. Rotter, (1966); Lefcourt (1976) cited in Kelvin and Jarrett, (1985) embrace the above point and also the issue of distance:

To see the world in terms of external locus of control is not a manifestation of a basic personality trait, nor is it necessarily even the result of actual experience: the unemployed have a very understandable vested interest in taking this stance, in order to preserve their self-respect (p. 112).

Kelvin and Jarrett, (1985) encompass the individual's perceptions of others

in that '...the unemployed individual's perception of others is that others simply 'don't understand' what it is like to be unemployed. To say 'they do not understand' is fundamentally to say 'they do not see me as I really am' which in fact reduces to 'how I see myself'. Inasmuch as he perceives others as not understanding, he believes it is some failing on their part' (p. 112).

They state further:

...unemployment is felt as a humiliation, not only in many of its practical consequences but also in its basic nature. That is not, however, because of the loss of some mystical dignity of work. The feeling of humiliation is a concomitant of the sense of being so very dependent on others, psychologically as well as materially - for it is a condition of childhood, not of mature men (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 50).

It is very clear that a person who loses his work, and along with it, a great deal that is of tremendous significance to him, results in grief and despondency. The fact that an individual is unhappy is, alone, sufficient in changing his perceptions of himself and the world. The sudden catastrophic alteration in understanding himself and his circumstances, like a disease, enters and contaminates other areas of the person's life too.

2) RELATIONSHIPS

As a consequence of the difficulties mentioned in the above section, the unemployed person discovers problems in relating to others and in how they in turn relate to him. This is understandable in reviewing the following statement: "...you are not human/when unemployed/. You're out of place. You're so different from all the rest of the people around that you think

something is wrong with you" (Jahoda, 1982, p. 24). Significant relationships are those which are meaningful and important to the individual. All relationships occur in a social context. The work environment is one such context where valuable social contact and inter-action takes place. Therefore, unemployment deprives an individual of a very meaningful aspect of his life, in that, '...individualism needs to be embedded in a social context to be valued at all. Outside the nuclear family it is employment that provides for most people this social context and illustrates in daily experience that 'no man is an island unto himself', that the purposes of a collectivity transcend the purposes of an individual. Deprived of this daily demonstration, the unemployed suffer from lack of purpose, exclusion from the larger society and relative social isolation' (Jahoda, 1982, p.24). The loss of contact, even with people whom the individual previously had difficulty with in relating to, are missed. "When an unemployed man says 'I miss the people at work. Even the people I didn't like, I miss them (Marsden and Duff, 1975, p. 177) he speaks about the absence of a category; when an employed man complains about his foreman, he objects to the quality of experience within the same category" (Jahoda, 1982, p. 39). Thus, the unemployed's experience of inter-personal relationships, is one of loss. It has been found that:

Those who are able to retain membership of their pre-redundancy work groups, as for example when the whole group has been unemployed and where they still have the opportunity to associate together, may find that these groups provide both social support and companionship (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p. 57).

Without this outlet the individual becomes frustrated. "More often, the experience of prolonged frustration translates into withdrawal from social contacts, bad temper and moodiness, all of them damaging to marital

relations and the upbringing of children" (Jahoda, 1982, p. 92). What is evidenced here is the ongoing deterioration in the person's ability to relate to others. The individual is thrust into a decline, from which he has no means to escape its momentum. In other words, the person in a process of reflection, is a witness to his own deterioration; "This involves coming to terms with the reality that things have changed. Where a change is experienced as a loss the process of letting go of old assumptions and identities can be a difficult and sometimes a painful one" (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p. 117). Moreover, the awareness of rapid deterioration in one's ability to relate to significant others, must have an impact upon self-esteem. Fineman (1979), formulated a model in which self-esteem and the ability to complete tasks were compared:

Fineman hypothesized that problems perceived as threatening to the self are potential stressors, that very low levels of self-esteem increase the individuals susceptibility for experiencing environmental demands as threatening and that low levels of self-esteem are associated with feelings of incompetence to deal with the environment...Fineman's model identifies a clear relationship between the individuals level of self-esteem and ability to master problems, particularly problems associated with unemployment (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p. 116).

It is evident that the unemployed person finds himself in a precarious situation, where emotional support, care and empathy are required. Unfortunately, as so often happens, people avoid situations of emotional turmoil and pressure. "As with alcoholism and drunks, we may have compassion with the condition as an idea, but we rarely know how to cope with it, and usually seek to avoid those who suffer from it" (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 43). Therefore, just when the individual desperately requires the support from his family and friends, he may find them unwilling and more often than not unable, to provide adequate support. The person in all likelihood

feels entirely alone and deeply depressed by his social isolation. In this state the individual is forced into a position of scepticism - where he doubts his self-worth, ability to relate, his friendships and the loyalty of others and even the love his family members may have for him. It is at this deep emotional level that unemployment has the power in 'destroying' the individual. It is understandable that the person has individual needs, and if these needs are not satisfied, especially emotional needs, then the destructive power of unemployment becomes so much greater. Jahoda (1982), states:

Several types of response to this ineluctable situation may occur: the unemployed may maintain their needs and may take over their resulting frustration on themselves or their families; they may gradually adapt to unemployment by relinquishing their needs; they may create or find alternative arrangements that meet their needs; they may revolt against their fate in organized fashion; they may engage in sporadic outbursts venting their frustration and accumulated diffuse hostility in riots and looting (p. 92).

Some of the subjects interviewed by Fineman (1983) 'projected a feeling of heavy inertia, of being overwhelmed with their difficulties and knowing they were overwhelmed.' (p. 71). This, too, may well result in frustration and overt aggression. Yet, how does this frustration affect the individual's relationship with others? There appears to be a 'lack of motivation and an air of despondency' (Fineman, 1983, p. 91). Anything which is contrary to a person's nature will create difficulty in a relationship. It is an unknown quality. It can very easily produce tension, anxiety, pressure, and conflict as the relational possibilities of a person become unpredictable. A further case study reiterates the above:

It has been hard times, because there have been times when I have just wanted to give up trying to

encourage - I've found sometimes that nothing I can say seems to convince Anna of her worth. We have found that relationships can become strained unless we are prepared to talk and pray things through together (Fineman, 1983, p. 93).

At times it may well appear to others as a thankless job - of giving and not receiving. Support for the unemployed person is a concern not only for himself, but others who are emotionally close to him too. It appears to be a very sensitive and delicate area, suitably confined to the intimacy of a relationship. However, in a time of crisis the support that is needed is very often not provided for:

The support desired can vary over time. Thus during the early feelings of shock or dismay many wished to be left alone to grieve in their own way. Thereafter a non-directive sympathetic ear seemed helpful for their personal re-organization. Still later on more direct practical advice could be the most appropriate form of assistance. Clearly, it is asking a lot of family members or friends to fulfil these various roles, just at the right time. Few had the knowledge or experience to do so. Few had ever seen their spouse or friend in such circumstances. The pre-unemployment role relationship had not been formed around such issues: they were strange and confusing to the potential supportee (Fineman, 1983, p. 108).

The inevitable personal strain experienced by the unemployed and significant others, re-organizes a relationship in such a way that the persons involved come to see each other, and their present relationship as fundamentally different in nature, to that of their previously established relationship. The issue of reciprocity becomes a concern for the unemployed person too. 'To participate without being able to reciprocate is to see oneself, and to feel, incomplete (Bakke, 1933; and Marsden and Duff, 1975, cite particularly good examples of this feeling). There are, therefore, clear-cut practical grounds which, in conjunction with their social psychological effects, lead the unemployed to reduce or even to withdraw from much of their one-time

social life. Unfortunately, this also creates the possibility that an unemployed individual may sometimes perceive his own essentially pre-emptive withdrawal as ostracism by others: there are the makings here of self-fulfilling prophecy' (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 54). In many different ways, unemployment is a form of chaos. There is disorientation and pressure, uncertainty compounded by self-doubt and lack of support from previously reliable sources. Kelvin and Jarrett (1985), clearly qualify the essence of this chaos in relationships, "...losing one's regular job removes one from a previously stable system of relationships, and renders invalid the sets of expectations and patterns of behaviour associated with it" (p. 57). It is markedly apparent that relationships are, indeed under extreme pressure during unemployment. Unfortunately, there is a limited amount of research in this area - especially friendship - which for numerous reasons has been neglected as a research area. It has been noted that it may well be almost impossible to research this issue. 'To work outwards, from the unemployed individual to his circle of friends, might often seem intolerably intrusive to him, and could be embarrassing to his friends: it is potentially too disruptive to relationships to be morally and therefore ethically acceptable' (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 81). It is salient to note that despite this issue remaining elusive to the researcher, this fact alone cannot dismiss all that occurs in a relationship as a result of unemployment. Fryer and Payne (1986) remind us of this possibility:

It is important to remember that unemployed people, though not in an employment relationship, are nevertheless in other social relationships which have rights, obligations, and activities. Family, friendship, community membership, and citizenship all carry sets of opportunities and duties. Personal and household care, childcare, the calls of family and public duty still continue (p. 240).

What can be ascertained from the unemployed person in regard to relationships, centers on the following:

Yet the phenomenon which distresses and demoralizes the unemployed is precisely the once-open relationship which, as they see it, has become guarded; the close contact who has become distant; the friendships that seem to have ended (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 81).

In sum, the individual views himself as being different to that of what he once was. In reflecting he arrives at a 'new' understanding of himself, his circumstances and others. The disintegrating and 'lost' relationships reinstate his position.

3) THE EXPERIENCE OF TIME

One of the most imposing problems for the unemployed is that of their experience of time. This issue is well documented in the literature; Jahoda (1982), Fineman (1987), Hayes and Nutman (1981), Kelvin and Jarrett (1985), Haworth and Evans, cited in Fryer and Ullah (1987), and further authors make reference to the issue of time. It is as though 'unemployment...breaks the pattern of their life, and when this pattern is lost they have thrown on them a responsibility which, in the case of most unemployed men, their working lives have no way qualified them to bear, the responsibility for organizing their own existence (Fryer and Payne, 1986, p. 245).

The fact that in most cases the unemployed person would rather remain working, emphasises the difficulty he has in facing the repercussions of a life style he did not choose. Fryer and Payne (1986) outlined in the previous section, stated that it is the expectations from the social

milieu, family and friends that remain the same. Yet, it is the individual who has to make an adjustment in responding to these very same demands from an unaccustomed position. The disorientation is due to many inter-related factors, but one factor that is prevalent is that of the experience of time:

Foremost...is the destruction of a habitual time structure for the waking day with the sudden onset of unemployment... Even before people begin to earn their living in employment the school system structures the day of the child; family and school co-operate - albeit with varying success - to impress on the young the value of punctuality and the need to fill the day with planned activities (Jahoda, 1982, p. 22).

It appears that the meaning of time exists in relation to the tasks an individual accomplishes during his or her day. Without structured activity, time is meaningless. Jahoda (1982) discovered this in her study of Marienthal "...unemployed men lost their sense of time...Time and time keeping had lost meaning" (pp. 22-23). The psychological implications of this loss of meaning in time creates the atmosphere for the loss of meaning in self: "I really feel so lost without a regular daily activity. It's all bits and pieces now. My work provided a long, absorbing day. I now lack a focal point in life. How long can I stand this ? (Fineman, 1983, p. 57).

Jahoda (1982) provides insight regarding this state:

Virtually all employment involves a fixed time schedule... But when this structure is removed as it is in unemployment its absence presents a major psychological burden. Days stretch long when there is nothing that has to be done; boredom and waste of time become the rule, particularly once the first shock has been overcome and the search for employment has been given up as futile (p. 22).

It is perhaps too simplistic to explain the unemployed's experience of time as meaningless. Structure, purpose and intentions, personality, activity,

inter alia, are contributory factors in considering the meaning time has for an individual. Employment provides a 'balance' wherein the person has a means to judge and reflect that which is meaningful to him or her, and in turn, what time means in relation to the priority given to the activities or tasks in a day. It is from this basis that an individual can draw a distinction between leisure and work:

The time experience of the unemployed, often matched by the time experience of the retired even when they do not suffer economic hardship, should therefore not be regarded as leisure. Leisure hours are a complement to working hours, not a substitute for them. Indeed, part of their appeal consists of their relative scarcity (Jahoda, 1982, p. 24).

Therefore a very important distinction can be made between what would normally be considered as leisure by the employed, and the unemployed's experience of time. Both are 'free time'. However, the one has been earned and is socially acceptable, the other is despised and socially unacceptable. This lived distinction is no more apparent than to the unemployed. Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) capture this feeling the unemployed have of time:

Much the dominant theme is of an almost obsessive pre-occupation with time - with the extent of it, with the inability to make use of it, with the sense that one is therefore merely 'killing' it. From the early thirties to the present day, research on unemployment has consistently documented the consciousness of the unemployed of the emptiness of their days (Jahoda et al., 1933/72; Kamarovsky, 1940; Marsden and Duff, 1975; Briar, 1977; Hill, 1978) (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 68).

A significant question that is bandied about nowadays is, 'What do you do with your time?' People today talk of 'quality time', 'free time', 'work time', 'play time', and 'time out' from something. Therefore, the structuring of time has become entangled with understanding our lives. To the shepherd or fisherman of the past, time was understood in relation to

the cycle of day and night, sunrise and sunset being important. To the worker and businessman these are givens which have no real bearing on the way in which they come to understand their lives. Working life has become all too complex. Thus, the worker who has come to understand his life within the complex working time structure, is lost, when removed from it. "The unemployed individual who incessantly watches television gets sick of doing so, and even sicker at seeing himself doing it; he is aware that he is merely killing time, and angry, and not least with himself, that he can find no better use for it" (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 67).

Again the theme of negativity appears:

These negative attitudes towards free time connected with unemployment are echoed by Ginsberg et al (Sofer 1970) when they observed that: 'What is a pleasure to the employed man - to be at home with his family - is a burden to the unemployed. With no job to report to, and no place in particular to go, the man who had previously been at home only evenings and weekends was now constantly underfoot' (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, pp. 19-50).

Accompanying the increased amount of 'free time' and the lack of structure and things to do, is an alteration in routine activities. In a study conducted by Fineman (1987) of laid-off and redundant men it was found that 'there was a wide variation amongst the unemployed on the following issues: the time they got up each morning and what activities occupied their spare time' (p. 53). The unemployed's perception of time varies from individual to individual. Some enjoy the freedom from routine and the flexibility; " 'I feel a sense of elation, I've been so occupied'; 'There's always plenty to do'; 'I don't know how I found time to work'; 'I'm working harder at home than at work'" (Fineman, 1987, p. 54). It would be accurate to say that the more active and optimistic unemployed individuals, are the exception

rather than the rule. A possible explanation for this is provided by Fineman (1987): "These statements raise an important issue. Time structure, activity, and purposefulness (or temporal disintegration, inactivity, and purposelessness) all tend to occur together, coalescing to contribute to the total experience of unemployment" (Fineman, 1987, p. 55). Routine appears to be important in providing structure and meaning to the experience of time, although in Fineman's (1987) study the subjects gave rather sketchy accounts of it: "'I have breakfast at 8:45, have a look in the greenhouse, get the paper, look for jobs, write if there are any, have a sandwich lunch if I bother, and dinner at five. Each day's the same...'" (Fineman, 1987, p. 57).

A further characteristic of being unemployed is that the individual often loses track of time: "'Time seems irregular', said one man; 'sometimes you lose an hour, sometimes the day drags awfully" (Fineman, 1987, p. 61). "As a result of unemployment I have watched Alan change from a very active person, into someone who just wanted to sleep all day, very often not getting up until late morning, then moping around until evening when he would sit and watch T.V.'" (ibid, p. 85). This alteration in the individuals perception of time and the significance of activities associated with it, contribute to the 'feeling' of being unemployed. Meaningful activity appears to be a factor moderating the negativity of unemployment. 'Both Swinburne (1981) and Fryer and Payne (1984) in independent studies affirm this' (Fryer and Ullah, 1987, pp. 243 and 244). For the unemployed, time becomes a concern; their attention is drawn to it and their effort to adjust and cope reiterates the disorientation that unemployment has upon the individual.

4) FINANCES AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MONEY

There are several ways an individual comes to understand his position as unemployed. Possibly the most frightening realization for the person is the prospect of not receiving a regular income, and the associated loss of security. The social and psychological ramifications of financial insecurity are evident in the personal accounts of the unemployed:

'We can't really manage financially - we've run out of resources now. We even get handouts of food parcels from our parents. The system is against me...', 'I'm beginning to worry about money. I'm having stomach upsets, backaches, and headaches - things I've never had before.' 'I certainly don't feel I have an exciting capital sum. Just enough to keep me alive while I find another job. But where's my income now?' 'My redundancy money is slipping away with nothing to show for it - this really worries me (Fineman, 1983, p. 54).

The over-riding feature in facing the lack of money, is one of anxiety. The individual is anxious, worried, and concerned. In some instances the person is even frightened of the situation, and his perceptions of his future. The self-doubt and insecurity experienced by the unemployed may be explained by a) the loss of a firm base in life and b) a loss of regular income. Earning money is a necessity in life, and a job, or some form of employment are favoured means of accomplishing this. The severity of this loss depends upon the individual's values, needs, expectations and desires, not to mention his home situation and family responsibility. For example, it is probable that an individual who does not particularly want to work, and is happy without material goods, will be less perturbed about unemployment, than the person whose life is entrenched within a capitalist mode of functioning; relying ponderously upon money as a resource. It would be reasonable to expect that many more are bound financially to repayments of loans and bonds, relying on

money for their basic survival, than those who disregard the *status quo*, and seek out survival through other means. Frequently the individual is trapped in his precarious, financial dilemma, having no realistic alternative for escape, but to find work. The search for work is a solemn endeavour; "That the intensity of a sense of deprivation, financially and psychologically, is greater in unemployment is already indicated by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the unemployed want a job" (Jahoda, 1982, p. 48). Additionally, the unemployed male loses his position as breadwinner and the extent of his financial loss is felt within the family too. This is evidenced in the following ways: '...not being able to buy new clothes and not being able to live up to normatively prescribed family roles...Everything feels as if it comes down to money in the end' (McKenna and McEwen in Fryer and Ullah, 1987, p. 202). In essence it is the living standards of the unemployed which are sure to change. Notwithstanding insurance benefits and social security provisions (which in the main are insufficient), the unemployed encounter a lowering in living standards. However, the area is complex and difficult to define; "Living standards are not easy to define or measure, nor is there any agreed normative minimum level against which actual living standards can be compared. However it is possible...to assess a number of indicators of living standards including income, expenditure, possession of various consumer durables, use of credit and the extent of indebtedness" (Cooke in Fryer and Ullah, 1987, p. 151). It is possible to expound upon the financial functioning within the family, but this would deviate from human experience. What is of concern here is the way the individual feels about his financial deprivation. Fryer and Payne (1986) specify what the person loses financially without work: 'Money is increasingly necessary as more and more aspects of leisure and family life are expropriated, packaged, and sold back to people in the role of

consumers. There are many other not immediately obvious, material or financial benefits of employment...At a more abstract psychological level, earned income can be experienced as reinforcing a legitimate social role and acknowledging in a tangible way the value and status of an individual's contribution to society' (p. 237). The person may be in a position where he cannot accurately list what he or she has 'lost', but in a sense the individual will be aware of the loss at an experiential and social level. The problem is twofold; first the person is deprived of his consumer role and associated materiality (dealt with in greater detail in the discussion) and secondly he is forced to re-evaluate himself and his self-concept. Essentially the problem is social: society has provided the individual with opportunity and security, and simultaneously divested him of it; "Unemployed people do not just lose a valued positive status of being employed, as equally do retired people, but also gain a negative one, still associated for some with deviance, scrounging, and failure of the will" (Fryer and Payne, 1986, p. 239).

In a very real sense a person without money, unemployed or not, is 'down and out'. Conjoined with the hardship of unemployment, the individual is forced further into a bleak and depressing position.

5) FAMILY FUNCTIONING

A great deal could be covered in this section as a dearth of literature exists relating to family functioning and unemployment. The researcher will be as selective as possible. It is pertinent to briefly re-cap, as all the

previous sections coalesce to a greater or lesser extent, in the family context. First, the individual has come to see himself as fundamentally different to that which he was, when he was working; as his circumstances have changed, so too has his perception of himself. Secondly, the individual's experience of relationships has changed, as he has fewer social encounters and greater stress in his existing relationships. Thirdly, time has taken on new meaning. Finally, he has lost his income, and his ability to buy, and any social status accompanying this position. Segregated from the hub of social and economic functioning, the married, unemployed person seeks refuge with loved ones. It is fitting to begin with an observation by Bakke (1933) cited in Fryer and Payne (1986):

...unemployment does not destroy family harmony it merely acts as an irritant on whatever tendencies are already present. Bakke also stresses the resilience of the family which, it is suggested, adjusts to unemployment via a succession of stages: almost as soon as the family is attacked by the disease of unemployment, the restorative process is set in motion aimed at the renewal of the ability of the family to fulfil it's economic and social functions (p. 242).

In this way, it is often the family that provides support and enthusiasm for the person, sheltering him from the social pressure, possible rejection and disapproval. This is not to say that the family is itself protected from the social pressure. It is the researcher's view that it is important to see the family as a unit; built upon a social, cultural and perhaps religious foundation too, but autonomous and unique in the sense of it comprising individuals. Family units differ vastly in the way they function. A definite 'balance' exists within a family unit. In this sense, if something were to

happen to one of the members of the family, then the marriage unit, and family as a whole would be forced to adapt. In a broad sense this is what occurs with unemployment:

Schlozman and Verba (1979) concluded...that unemployment was associated with increased family stress, particularly in the long-term unemployed...Supporting statements for this view can be found in Caven and Liem (1938); Fagin and Little (1984); Komarovsky (1940); Liem and Liem (1979); Trausky and Piedmont (1967) (Fryer and Payne, 1986, p. 258).

Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) state this differently:

As regards marriage, the consensus of evidence is that unemployment increases tensions between husband and wife, and that this may bring to breaking-point relationships which were already fragile: but that, in other instances, marriage and family gain a greater sense of general closeness through the very difficulties of unemployment, and despite its undoubted particular stresses (Komarovsky, 1940; Briar, 1977, cited in Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 59).

A very important distinction between 'other relationships' and those within the family, is made by Jahoda (1982): "...family relations are as a rule much more emotionally charged than with others in employment. For better or for worse, family relations enrich or impoverish emotional life..." (p. 26). This is an intriguing statement well worth considering when reviewing Hayes and Nutman's (1981) position regarding the family:

In the early phases of unemployment, the usual rhythm of family life tends to maintain...Any changes in relationships within the family during this period are usually for the better. The father sees more of young children and the bonds between them are often strengthened. The wife usually accepts her husband's plight and supports him both within the home and outside...

Yet, the situation changes with time:

...financial problems present themselves, and the

necessity for increasingly severe adjustments becomes obvious...The wife delegates domestic chores to the children and begins to assume duties previously reserved for the husband...Consequently the husband's status begins to decline in the eyes of both his wife and children (p. 146).

This last point is fundamental in understanding how the father feels. It is stated forcibly by Komarovsky (1940), cited in Kelvin and Jarrett (1985); "Where his 'authority' rested on his role as provider, that authority, or respect, is often much reduced - occasionally but only occasionally - to the level of contempt" (p. 79). Further comment is provided: "His family, then, sees the unemployed individual as having 'a problem', and to that extent he is a problem to them - as a person, and not simply because he is, for example, failing in his economic role" (ibid, p. 79). This has additional repercussions not only in the way the individual relates to loved ones but how they, in turn, remind him of his position. 'Families are prone to conflict, especially between the unemployed and his/her spouse. Suspicion and guilt are usually experienced in this duality' (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p. 147). The feelings of being utterly alone, of not being understood, and as a consequence feeling deeply hurt, must obscure the individual's physiognomy of the world and others, and leave him feeling isolated from the social world and his family. Fortunately it does not appear from the literature that this extreme situation is the norm. However, the research on family interaction remains limited, as the area is a private endeavour. Adults are not alone in their suffering, their children too, share the burden of unemployment:

...on the effects on children Madge (1983) concluded that the evidence overall warranted a recognition that remaining unemployed...led to...increased pressure on their social relationships leading to poorer performance at school and worsened emotional and physical health (Fryer and Payne, 1986, p.258).

One of the subjects of Jackson and Walsh's study, in Fryer and Ullah (1987), revealed the following on children: "I think children suffer in more ways from unemployment in material things than do adults, because I can always go without...A kid...thinks now!" (p. 196). The heartache and pain of unemployment surfaces in the family; the added tension and stress, the anticipation of suffering and of change, are sufficient in modifying the existing dynamics, for better or worse. However severe the disruption and hardship though, the ability to cope should never be under-estimated:

The real problem of unemployment for many families is how to change the family system in order to allow constructive lifestyles outside paid employment...Johnson (1981) presents a case of the family of Betty Morgan and Jack Brown...Their relationship appeared complicated and confused, but he shows how both partners were using employment and unemployment as means of maintaining their relationship (Jackson and Walsh, in Fryer and Ullah, 1987, pp. 208 and 209).

In a real sense his wife and family are all the unemployed individual has left in his life. As one person describes:

Having stuck it out, now I think we're closer than we've ever been. Those first two years were very bad and I wouldn't like to go through them again. But having gone through them I think we're better people for them (Jackson and Walsh, in Fryer and Ullah, 1987, p. 213).

6) UNEMPLOYMENT AND HEALTH

Interesting in the impact of unemployment is the question of health. Of all the areas, it is possibly the most subjective and speculative. It is made problematic by the fact that one can differentiate between physical and mental health. Both are surmised to be adversely affected by unemployment.

Hayes and Nutman (1981) believe that: "Whilst research into the health consequences of unemployment is, at present time, meagre, we feel that what evidence there is, is sufficient to support the proposition that some deterioration in health is a probable consequence of involuntary job loss" (p. 64). The probability of the consequences of unemployment upon health was addressed as early as 1518 by Thomas More, and later in 1872:

Poulet (1872) commented that unemployment is a 'terrible calamity' at the thought of which the victim 'feels strangled, shakes, trembles with emotion'. Poulet goes on to describe in more detail how a worker reacts to actually losing his job 'He trembles, grows pale, gets goose flesh... When he collects his last pay he cannot speak, his teeth are clenched, he holds back a torment of tears...In the street his legs gave way, he totters like a drunk' (cited in Garretty, 1978)
(Fryer and Payne, 1986, p. 241).

Issues of interest when reviewing the effect unemployment has upon a person are: stress, and associated life-changes, depression, illness susceptibility and suicide, the environment, and age, etc. Notwithstanding, the importance of the interaction of these factors and their significance regarding health, it is too vast an area to tackle here, essentially for reasons that medical science cannot provide answers to.

The area of stress has been comprehensively researched and some of the findings are of relevance here:

...Adolf Meyer,...developed the idea of plotting his patients, 'life charts' (the record of significant events in their biographies). He was able to show that his patients were more likely to become ill soon after a cluster of significant life changes than would be expected by chance. Developing these ideas Harold, G. Wolff was able to put forward evidence that, "stressful events" by evoking

psycho-physiological reactions played an important causative role in the natural history of many diseases' (Holmes and Masuda 1973 : 162; in Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p. 71).

It can be concluded that unemployment is a stressful life change, and that it may well 'cause' or precipitate physical and mental illness. In a study conducted by 'Strange (1977) evidence of fatigue, diminished appetite, weight loss and ulcers were reported' (Hayes and Nutman, 1981, p. 76). What is more pertinent to this study though, is the possible effect unemployment has on mental health. Noteworthy is the occurrence of depression and suicide: "The studies in this area have coincidentally shown the unemployed to be more affected by depression than the employed. Feather (1982) used the Beck Depression Inventory and found the employed to score about 5.5 out of a possible maximum of 63, while the unemployed scored around 11" (Fryer and Ullah, 1986, p. 249). The researcher believes that the emotional strain and severe adversity the unemployed person experiences places undue stress on the body and physiological functioning. Further, the person prone to a higher level of general stress is therefore at a higher risk of suicide, than that of the individual who is not subject to unwanted adversity and pressure:

Platt argues that if unemployment is not a triggering event it may still be a significant aetiological factor in that continuing unemployment may cause an increase in vulnerability to suicidal behaviour. This does not mean that in some cases unemployment might not still be the direct cause of the suicide: Yap (1958) studied 136 cases of suicide and found unemployment to be the main precipitating cause in seven of them (Fryer and Payne, 1986, p. 251).

It is important to note that the research that has been conducted in this section occurred within Western capitalism. Therefore, the themes and patterns that emerge are of a particular configuration; the subjects are from a specific cultural, socioeconomic background and subject to the ruling class and the prevailing ideology. Likewise the results of this study reflect similar patterns as South Africa espouses Western capitalistic ideology.

b) CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY

The purpose of this section is not orientated towards the validation of a particular theory, nor to further any contentious philosophical debate, although it would be of relevance to explicate the ideas of such theorists as Wilhelm Reich, Foucault and Lacan. However, space and the means to integrate such discursive theory are prohibitive. Mention of their contributions will be made with specific relevance to subjectivity. More central to this section will be the construction of a critical perspective (fundamentally neo-marxist), with specific reference to structuralist and post-structuralist thinking. This will represent departure from conformist thinking and orthodox psychology. Central to this cause will be an analysis of the deceptive nature of ideology at the level of the subject. Despite existing criticism of Althusser's formulations and ideas, specifically those levelled at his inability to transcend structuralist marxism, the debate regarding science and ideology, his pre-Freudian concept of the human individual, the attempt to break theoretically with economism and historicism and the

assertion that his formulations are a break with marxism itself, his formulation of ideology interpellating individuals as subjects will remain central to this argument. Marxist analysis of social structures are also vital to this endeavour, specifically how the social formation is constituted by material productivity and determinate practices. The introductory pages will focus upon critical psychology which will provide the backdrop for what will follow: the analysis of the formulation of human subjectivity, and the implications of how a critical perspective informs an understanding of the experience of unemployment within a western capitalist society.

Individuals are born into a society, culture and an ideology. They are intricately part of this system as their understanding of their reality is spawned from within a lived-world context of experience, language, symbols, images, emotions, rituals and associated meaning. The individual cannot be viewed as a separate, atomised entity, 'but as part of the social processes which constitute society' (Leonard, 1984, p. 23). "Marx writes that the human essence 'is not an abstraction inherent in each single individual (but) in it's reality...is the ensemble of social relations" (Marx and Engels, 1968, p. 29 in Leonard, 1984, p. 23).

In an account by Lacan cited in Henriques et al (1984):

...the child uses his or her first words to establish, in fantasy, control over the loss of the object which gave satisfaction. As the words displace the original object, we see the first step in the process of repression which forms the unconscious; entry into language inaugurates the production of subjectivity (p. 215).

Gabel (1975) enhances the meaning of this: "...the thought of the child,

which is less socialized than that of the adult, is less dependent on the conditions of existence; at the same time, since it is less dialectic, it is curiously closer to ideology" (p. 43). The social formation with its history, its discursive presence, associated meaning and future meaning, beckon as 'reality' in the first utterances of the child. In distinguishing between himself and other, he distances himself from that which already exists (reality), in the same way the child identifies (assumes) an image and in the process becomes both a perceiving I and a perceived I. The way is paved for the distinction between ego and subject and their realization through language and reflection. The seeds of power-knowledge relations and power-desire relations are sown. The child is inserted into 'the ensemble of social relations' and that of the symbolic. The process is a complex one.

CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Critical psychology views man as in totality and accounts for the numerous influential factors (political, economic, ideological, etc.) that contribute to the social formation and the underlying mystification and contradiction of man within society. It gathers its strength from a diversity of disciplines and established fields of thought. It is based upon the epistemology of critical theory, which in itself is not yet a unified or self-consistent school of thought. The discontinuities and tensions fail to dissolve and make way for a 'cook book critical psychology.' The content is conceptually difficult and inherently discursive, with constant overlapping and undercutting of inter-related

theory and ideas. However, it draws the critical force from the following fields; marxism, psychoanalysis, politics, economics, sociology, philosophy, structural anthropology, critical theory, modern social theory and psychology to form a powerful counter to positivism, knowledge specialization and the notion of the autonomous ego as centre of self-understanding and 'psychological truth.'

It's task according to Ivey (1985) is simple to understand: "The self-reflective critique of the ideological constraints on the individual and collective self-formative process in the interest of conscious self-determination" (p. 2). This task by nature is linked to a) the above mentioned theory (as knowledge) and b) the practical reality (experience) and c) the individual as a functional entity within the social system. It challenges the **status quo** and the particular social constitution (capitalism) in which certain meaning and value of lived experience comes to fruition. It purges the attempt to separate the individual and society, and counteracts this scientific endeavour by inviting critical analysis of the ideologically hidden social mystification, and in so doing unveils the system of power through which society is ordered. It is via this challenging and questioning of the existing order of things and traditional psychology that a metamorphosis in thinking is made possible, and emancipation more feasible. Critical theory is expressly neo-marxist because 'just as psychoanalysis cuts through the mystifying veil of surface appearance to illuminate the resistant unconscious meaning beneath, so does Marxist analysis expose

the self-deception of bourgeois ideology and illuminate the hidden resistant truth of domination at the heart of our cultural unconscious' (Ivey, 1985, p. 3). Critical theory is incorporated into a schema. Craib (1984) elaborates as to its basis: "It is based upon the idea that there is something which is essentially human, the ability to work together to transform our environment. This provides us with a means by which we can judge existing societies and criticize them" (p. 168). Therefore critical theory provides a means for emancipation of subjects who are ordinarily involved in the 'mechanisms' of society. This indicates that societies that embody domination (capitalism) have an imbalanced class structure, in that each serve different socio-economic interests. Implicit in this hierarchical structure is the Marxist notion of exploitation. The domination, oppression and exploitation are not simply revealed in social functioning, but are in fact hidden or disguised in class structures. It is only when one considers what Althusser terms Repressive State Apparatuses that domination and exploitation are realized through explicit violence. Ivey (1985) writes of the deceptive nature exploitation has in capitalism; '...the reality of exploitative socio-economic relations becomes obscured and mystified by particular forms of (false) consciousness or ideology that justify or sanction historically contingent circumstances by portraying these as natural or inevitable' (p. 4).

Critical psychology in very broad terms contracts specific formulations of process and content. The content is that which constitutes the social

formation and all it embodies; the man made structures as well as man made ideas (psychology, politics, economics, etc.). Mediating within and between the content and process are concepts such as ideology, culture, etc. which are functional within language, thought and the confines of the practico-social context too. The process is the important element in critical psychology. It is interlinked with its purpose (re-education), as it provides 'critically informed self-reflection which results in subjects attaining insight into their once ideologically obscured circumstances of domination' (Ivey, 1985, p. 5). It provides understanding and insight into existing orders which are normally taken-for-granted and defined as 'reality'.

The value that a critical perspective has lies in the unveiling of the contradictions which are found in social formation and human interaction. Leonard (1984) provides a sober account of this:

Recognizing contradictions enables us to avoid an over-socialized view of human beings and to give our attention not only to how the individual is 'moulded' to fit the requirements of the social structure, but also how she resists and submits that structure in daily life (p. 27).

Detail regarding this process is gathered from Marcuse in Held (1980):

Critical theory functions at two fundamental levels. It seeks first, to grasp the social world in its immediacy - the reified and fetishized world of appearances. Second, it abstracts from these abstractions and centers its analysis on essential social relations and practices which ensure the production of society (p. 244).

Wexler (1983) maintains this position by inferring that 'the first

dimension of a critical social psychology therefore dispenses with the vacuous abstraction 'society', and begins with a theory of society which leads to an examination of relational processes' (p. 80). In this way '...critical theory distinguishes its goals from sectarian interests and allies itself with those social groups and individuals who are part of the struggle for a rational society' (Held, 1980, p. 245). The researcher wishes to digress slightly and draw attention to Fineman's (1983) observation: "Yet if a man is starving from lack of work you do not read him a text on the evils of capitalism" (p. 73). Despite the logic of this statement it nevertheless reflects a position that reveals a possible reason for unemployment without recognizing it. Fineman is not a critical psychologist, and the conventionality of his statement reveals this. But how much better would our understanding of unemployment be (within capitalism) if we unveiled the 'evils' of this system? Ironically the unemployed would probably be part of 'the struggle for a rational society' and wish for a change in circumstance. This cannot be isolated from the larger social formation. Thus, critical psychology rather than treating symptoms addresses the root of problems.

In the accomplishment of this goal, critical psychology selects certain content over and above 'scientific knowledge'. It is the content of critical psychology that produces its discursive properties, and generates the possibility for self-reflection and emancipation. For this reason it mediates between the hermeneutic approach (with its emphasis on intentionality) and the empirical-analytic search for causal

determinants. In simpler terms, 'critical psychology exists as a mixed discourse that combines statements of force (causation) with statements of meaning' (Ivey, 1985, p. 9). For the above reason psychoanalysis is an example of a science that establishes a 'structure for self-reflection and guidelines for the development of critical social theory' (ibid, p. 9). It thus provides a model for critical psychology. The scope of this study however restricts a thorough review of Habermas, Marcuse, other Frankfurt School members and an integration of Freud and Marx.

The essential features of a critical psychology may be reviewed:

It is a mixed discourse. It constructs a critical process from within this discourse with the intention of unveiling social contradictions. Capitalism especially embodies domination, exploitation, repression and disguises any means for grasping the relationship of certain hegemonic and social institutions and the power invested in them. It transcends orthodox psychology, technocratic rationality, technical science and political hegemony, and in so doing provides a perspective from which ideological framing of subjective experience maybe articulated. It seeks meaning that is already socially constructed by forces that render it elusive. By unpacking this 'social construction' the fetters to self-formative growth are revealed and in the process of mediation articulated outside of psychologism, sociologism, reductionism, social determinism or humanism. In sum: 'critical psychology locates the source of the problem in the history of society and the solution in the public self-reflection and enlightened socio-political praxis' (Ivey, 1985, p. 14).

ALTHUSSER ON IDEOLOGY

Althusser's contribution on ideology has theoretical, historical, and political significance. His formulations were timely in the sense that the discussion of ideology was dominated by two contrasting positions. The one position originally presented by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* and furthered by the Frankfurt School was that of ideology as 'false consciousness.' It was '...the function of criticism and political practice...to expose the 'lie' of ideology and promote the truth of the reality of social relations (in capitalist societies)' (Hayes, 1989, p. 85). The other position on ideology was that of Lenin whose conceptions according to Larrain (1979) were of such a nature that 'ideology was in danger of losing its critical function' (Hayes, 1989, p. 85). What is important here is the fact that these two theories provided the context for Althusser's formulation.

His theory is a general theory of ideology from within the perspective of dialectical and historical materialism. The theory explains the social and economic basis before presenting the relationship between ideology and the individual. 'From Marx we gain a view of human beings as actively relating to the world and changing it. However, in much Marxist writing emphasis is placed upon collective intentions and purposes expressed in class struggle, whereas the individual is viewed as determined by external economic and ideological practices' (Leonard, 1984, p. 65). Althusser does not denigrate Marx's original thinking, but builds upon it

by highlighting areas such as State functioning in reproducing the conditions and relations of production. The significance of Althusser's theory of ideology for psychology according to Hayes (1989) 'is that it is one of the few theories which articulates social and subjective factors in the explanation of the functioning of ideology' (p. 86).

A useful idea of Marx's, which represents a starting point for critical psychology is as follows: "(The) duality between self-expression and social relations underlies the Marxist contention that people both create the social world, within certain limitations, and are also created by the social world" (Leonard, 1984, p. 87).

Althusser proclaimed that he was presenting what Marx really said and in this way differed from other modern Marxists who claimed they developed or interpreted Marx. What is relevant here is the fact that Althusser's theory of ideology is firmly entrusted in structuralist Marxism. This means '...that the experience we have of being the authors of our action is in some sense mistaken or 'ideological' and that what really happens is that underlying social structures determine our actions, work through them and that our actions serve to reproduce and maintain these structures...' (Craib, 1984, p. 123).

It is useful to state Althusser's original thoughts especially those found in Lenin and Philosophy, and then situate them within the context of this study. The two most crucial premises are:

1) "Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser, 1971, p. 153).

2) "Ideology interpellates individuals as subjects...Meaning there is no ideology except for concrete subjects, and this destination for ideology is only made possible by the subject" (ibid, p. 160). These two points will be addressed following the exposition of another of Althusser's formulations, that of his Ideological State Apparatuses (abbreviated by Althusser as I.S.A.s). They refer to the following social institutions:

- '- the religious ISA (the system of different churches),
- the educational ISA (the system of the different public, private schools),
- the family ISA,
- the legal ISA,
- the political ISA (the political system, including different parties),
- the trade-union ISA,
- the communications ISA (press, radio, and television, etc.),
- the cultural ISA (literature, the Arts, sports, etc.)'

(Althusser, 1971, pp 136-137).

Althusser believes Ideological State Apparatuses 'function by ideology.' He continues by saying, 'If the ISAs 'function' massively and predominantly by ideology they are unified by ideology...beneath the ruling ideology, which is the ideology of the 'ruling class'' (ibid, p.

139). He draws a distinction between ISAs and Repressive State Apparatuses which function by coercion, force and violence. Both ISAs and RSAs are to be found functioning in South Africa. It is important to note the emphasis Althusser puts on 'functioning by ideology' in contradistinction to being under State control. He unveils the illusory interconnectiveness of the ruling class, the State, ideology, and the individual and social structures (ISAs). What may appear to be 'private' is in fact 'public' in the sense that ideology draws no distinction between their function. Althusser pays particular attention to one of the ISAs: "Nevertheless, in this concert, one Ideological State Apparatus certainly has a dominant role, although hardly anyone lends an ear to its music: it is so silent! This is the school" (Althusser, 1971, p. 146). He also focuses upon the family as an ISA and in fact combines the two to form what he believes to be one of the most central Ideological State Apparatuses: 'the School-Family couple' (ibid, p.146). It is useful to re-cap briefly: According to Althusser 'All Ideological State Apparatuses, whatever they are, contribute to the same result: the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. of capitalist relations of exploitation' (ibid, p. 146). In this way his focus on the school and family as instruments of socialization is warranted, simply because the child is exploring his environment, has boundless energy and is most vulnerable to being 'informed'. This 'ideological information' becomes the cornerstone of our social understanding. The assimilation of ideology in the child in this way is very close to 'instinct'. Therefore the relations of production and exploitation in capitalism becomes

'second nature'. Vern in Henriques (1984) states this in another way: "These Ideological State Apparatuses (produce) individuals as subjects in such a way that they (participate) in reproducing capitalism" (p. 96).

Let us return to Althusser's attempt to understand the operations of ideology at the level of the individual. The key concept used by Althusser is borrowed from Lacan's psychoanalytic work; that of the imaginary, which is linked to the symbolic and Lacan's previously mentioned mirror phase. 'What Lacan says is that our desires as adults and young children are obviously real experiences and emotions for us, but they are connected through the process of repression to a prior order - the 'imaginary order.' The 'imaginary order' in both Lacan and Althusser does not refer to fantasy or illusion, but refers to our objective and material process' (Hayes, 1989, p. 88). Althusser explains this as follows:

...all ideology represents in its necessarily imaginary distortion not the existing relations of production (and the other relations that derive from them), but above all the (imaginary) relationship of individuals to the relations that derive from them. What is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live (Althusser, 1971, p. 155).

However, the main thesis of Althusser is: 'Ideology interpellates individuals as subjects.' (Althusser, 1971, p. 160). It is the way in which Althusser conceives the relationship of ideology and subject that is of concern here. A distinction must be made between individual and

subject. For Althusser the 'subject' has an 'abstract and historical meaning...a subject of a particular discourse. The individual on the other hand refers to...concrete individuals in the world' (Hayes, 1989, p. 89). While the relation between ideology and the subject is complex and dialectical, Althusser gives primacy to the subject as constituting ideology. Hayes (1989) provides a practical example of Althusser's theory: '...parents respond to the child as both an individual and a subject. The child is a subject for the parents in so far as there is a social meaning attached to 'having children', and rearing children. The parent's relationship to their child are not always, individual and emotional, but are often determined by social factors...It is the social and ideological practices which intervene between parents and their children and which interpellates children not as individuals, but as subjects' (p. 89). This is stated by Althusser: "...the category of the subject is only constitutive of all ideology in so far as all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting concrete individuals as subjects'" (p.160).

It is in this manner that the worker (and the unemployed) are 'hailed' (by ideology) as productive (and potentially productive) subjects, and not individuals. In this sense individuals are already subjects.

O'Meara (1983) situates this in the South African context:

Different ideologies interpellate different subjects. Thus, for example, both the literary and popular forms of one ideology may hail individuals as 'Hey there, you Afrikaner', whilst in a different ideology the same individual may be hailed (or constituted) as a different subject: 'Hey you there, fellow worker'. In this conception, ideology is the means through which individuals live out their relation with their real conditions of existence... (p. 15).

In South Africa individuals are hailed from within a complex political structure. This holds true for Habermas: "The political system has incorporated an interest - which transcends latent class boundaries - in preserving the compensatory distribution facade" (Habermas in Held, 1980, p. 266). Individuals in South Africa are recruited from within a repressive, conservative socio-political framework - to be productive, patriotic citizens. Their compliance is ideological and the inability to participate within the socio-economic network, a failure. Technocratic ideology informs without reflection, and in this way South Africans of all races are informed in a specific way. The class structures (which are largely racial boundaries) demarcate the segregation of different socioeconomic interests and represent an imbalance of a capitalist nature. The cultural segregation appears to be a political excuse in maintaining the present order of things. The person is a subject in believing the order of things is right and just, precluding the opportunity for alternative individual thinking. As O'Meara (1983) confirms: 'Their actions in reality occur through such ideas (thinking)' (p. 9). The purpose of such conformity may be linked to the term O'Meara uses: 'psychological security' (p. 8). South Africans of all races have become increasingly aware of their cultural differences, and have attached meaning to them in their effort to preserve them as they believe they should be preserved. To corrupt any one of these cultures is synonymous with the corruption of 'psychological security'. This is of particular relevance to the ruling class, who have their 'own support' for maintaining the present ideological configuration. Therefore, the

key concept in South African Nationalist ideology appears to be preservation - to preserve the present mode of production, cultural and religious heritage in the interest of the ruling class. This self-preservation usually occurs within the individual ideologies that work in the different cultural and racial groups. Afrikaner nationalist ideology is an example of this. However they have become fragmented as dissension and differences have increased within the changing political climate and as a consequence cohesion within the groups has decreased.

The notion of ideology requires further attention. Ideology is part of the process of social formation; it is constituted between, within and by man.

Ideologies are seen as systems of representations which signify a set of relationships which are real but which hide another set of relations between people which are no less real. They are not seen as merely 'disguised metaphors of class relations', but as having a reality of their own, an internal patterning, **sui generis** (Sharp, 1980, p. 92).

The nature of ideology comprises inter alia language, material conditions, modes of production, reproduction, hegemony, class struggle, symbolism, subjectivity, historical and dialectical materialism. The inter-relatedness of all it encompasses and represents is by nature problematic. It is at a meta-level of analysis that man grapples with the comprehension of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. Furthermore, the formulation of the nature of ideology in concrete terms (language) becomes self-restrictive

as meaning is simultaneously derived and lost in the process of articulation. Therefore, language is a limited means of encapsulating the essence of ideology. As Jakobson in Coward and Ellis (1979) states, "Language...is not reducible to a formal system" (p. 62). It follows then that the conceptualizing of ideology is a difficult process as well as being abstract at the practico-social level too. But language must not be de-emphasized in its role it has within the social context. 'Habermas stresses that language is one of the most crucial media through which the social life of the human species unfolds' (Held, 1980, p. 271). He believes, 'The evolutionary disjuncture between human and animal occurs because of the (human) socio-cultural stage of linguistic communication development' (ibid, p. 271).

The deceptive nature of ideology appears to be in its constitution within structures of linguistic intersubjectivity and the simultaneous irreducibility of its meaning to 'a formal system.' Furthermore, 'emancipation entails...dissolving systems of distorted communication (Held, 1980, p. 227). In essence ideology is ingested instead of recognised as something 'acting upon' at the level of the subject. It fails to provide agents a 'true knowledge' of the social structure. Rather it inserts them into their practical activities in support of the structure. As Coward and Ellis (1979) furnish:

Thus the function of ideology is to fix the individual in place as subject for certain meaning. This is simultaneously to provide individuals with a subject-ivity and to subject them to the social structure with it's existing contradictory relations and power... The individual thus lives his subject-ion to social structures as a consistent subject-ivity, an imaginary

wholeness. Ideologies set in place the individual as though he were this subject: the individual produces himself in this imaginary wholeness, this imaginary reflection of himself as author of his actions (p. 76).

This is most apparent in a capitalist society. Poulantzas in Swartz (1977) extends this theme of deception. "Ideology is present to such an extent in all agents' activities that it becomes indistinguishable from their lived experience." (p. 109). Poulantzas fails, however, to fully elaborate upon the relationship of lived experience and ideology. This in fact could be re-phrased as ideology structures lived experience. In the 'negative sense, it is a socially constituted self-misunderstanding that denies the individual recognition, appropriation and realization of his/her real needs and possibilities.' (Ivey, 1985, p. 4). Another facet of ideology, relating to the above, is emphasised by Badad, Birnbaum, and Benne (1983), "Ideology... obstructs the process of self-enquiry. Most ideologies are complete belief systems that provide an entire cognitive orientation, prescribe 'right' and 'wrong' answers to most issues, and demand - explicitly or implicitly - compliance with their norms and values" (pp. 55-56). This is important in that ideology then blocks reflection beyond that of technocratic goals and thus restricts any understanding of its nature. Horkheimer and Adorno in Held (1980) recognise the culminated effect of these ideological processes upon the individual: "The individual 'is tolerated only so long as his complete identification with the generality (the social totality) is unquestioned'" (p. 106).

These themes and ideas have to be situated in a context which simultaneously explicates the nature of ideology and reveals the

subject's central, pivotal inter-relationship within the social totality. The use of the terms central and pivotal reflect a position which must be conceived as de-centred (a term which is explained through Lacan's thinking). De-centred means: "...constituted by a structure which has no 'centre', except in the imaginary misrecognition of the 'ego', that is, in the ideological formations in which it 'recognizes' itself". (Dallmayr, 1981, p. 23). It is from this perspective that the unemployed individual discontinues to be the 'pivot' of the consistent ideological structure. He is displaced within the social system that has created the possibility of displacement. What is indicated here is that the person is no longer a fully functional, productive part of the relations of production. From a marxist perspective the person is shifted from the position he previously occupied in the social relations (the inter-relationship with his fellow man and material conditions). This ideological shift is intently experienced at the practico-social level too. The individual is deprived of his working role and then arbitrated according to his previous productive position consistent with the ideological superstructure. In a capitalist society the person's self-worth is equated with his labour power. Deprived of an ideologically acceptable means for expressing and realizing his 'self-worth', he loses it. This is affirmed by Hayes and Nutman's (1981) report of the undermining of the individual's status and damages to self-esteem as a result of unemployment and the forced dependency upon others and the State. Coward and Ellis (1979) provide an important characteristic of ideology: "Ideology...puts the subject in the position of a homogenous

subject in relation to meaning, a subject who thinks himself/herself to be the point of origin of ideas and actions" (p. 77). In other words the subject claims that which is ideological for him or herself, or conversely has already been claimed by ideology. This process is outlined in O'Meara (1983) where ideologies are described as having arisen from everyday experience. 'They mirror and guide such experience in both a partially adequate yet misrepresented way, they do not adequately represent the conditions of existence of such everyday experience.' He adds 'Here is the source of the illusory nature of ideology.' (p. 13). To the unemployed subject his 'feelings' and 'thoughts' may represent the inception of self-persecution and guilt, and also the condemnation of what he understands society to be. The individual is no longer capable of being consistent with what has been ideologically 'prescribed' and that which is simultaneously part of him. He doubts that which he has come to believe, which in fact, is ideological. Thus, his expectations about work and himself are not fulfilled. Jahoda (1982) encapsulates this premise:

...having experienced genuine satisfaction in their previous employment nothing but the restoration of the **status quo** may appear to them worthwhile. If that **status quo** fails to materialise, frustration may accumulate beyond a tolerable level, and explode - depending on personality predisposition - into self-punishment or other punishing acts (p. 97).

Viewed from within a Marxist framework the subject is only a 'free agent' (in a capitalist society as the social relations are exchange relations) when he or she is part of the imaginary relations to the real relations

of production. Whilst unemployed the subject remains in the illusory nature of his relations, yet is deprived of his role in the real relations of production. The position of being deprived of a productive role and the experience of 'what is given' in everyday experience culminates in a misrepresented, immobilized, 'unfree agent.' The individual's formulation of what is 'right' and 'wrong', 'good' and 'bad' (which is ideologically rooted) positions him in the 'wrong', 'bad' category as unemployed. The experience of unemployment in an ideological sense is 'self-created', in that the experience only exists because the person has worked, wishes to work again, and in order to work again must be subject to the forces of production which have already 'dealt him a low blow'. Venn in Henriques et al (1984) elaborates:

Yet as soon as we use the term unemployment we have already classified those out of work, indeed we have already selected certain norms constructed within economic discourse which define who is to count as unemployed...an eminently political issue...Thus we have on the one hand a discourse or variety of discourses concerning the economy's construction of unemployment as a concept and an object of theory using/modifying previously established norms (p. 112).

Yet, how does the individual fit within these discourses ?

The above question is particularly problematic as the area of discourse and the individual is exceptionally difficult at a theoretical level. Its explication requires reference to varied sources which demand careful structuring and analysis, some of which will be provided for here:

...the subject itself is the effect of a production caught in a mutually constitutive web of social practices, discourses and subjectivity; it's reality is the tissue of social relations (Venn, 1984, p. 177).

In this quote by Venn (1984) is the use of the word 'caught.' It is also to be found in a statement made by Coward and Ellis (1984): "The subject is **caught** in the moment of enunciation, and is in some way contracted by it, put in place by it." Hidden within this notion of being 'caught' is the complexity of socially accepted definitions (of 'roles' and 'identities') and the deceptive nature of appearances. They disguise or mask the 'multiple positionings to a multiplicity of subjectivities...the different subject positions and different power relations played out in them' (ibid, p. 117). 'What is indicated here is that 'there (is) no necessary coherence to the multiple sites in which subject-positions are produced, and that these positions might themselves be contradictory' (Henriques et al, 1984, p. 203). In other words the position the individual has within society, which is related to the forces of production and his or her 'role', are constituted in ideology as part of a discourse which simultaneously provides allowance for 'positioning', yet precludes explanation in its nature of appearance. This is interlinked with the practice of ideology which 'succeeds when it has produced a 'natural attitude', when for example the existing relations of power are not only accepted but perceived precisely as the way things are, ought to be and will be' (Coward and Ellis, 1984, p. 68). This is a process 'of producing subjects who think and feel themselves to be free; it is because ideology can presuppose a consistent subject, the origin of ideas and actions, that we represent ourselves as free even when there is evidence to the contrary' (ibid, p. 68).

Reich sought to 'uncover the concrete mediation by which ideology was materialized and anchored in the individual' (Jacoby, 1975, pp 90-91).

He did this by placing psychoanalysis within a social context. 'Indeed in Reich's work we find the first attempts to theorize the relationship between the forms of human subjectivity and their relation to the productive process' (Henriques, et al, 1984, p. 209). He spoke of terms such as 'production' and 'reproduction', the former referring to 'the cultural and ideological necessities that are concretely produced by the society, but hang, so to speak, in the air, while reproduction refers to the manner and mode by which ideology is translated in the everyday life and behaviour of the individual' (Jacoby, 1975, pp 91-92). Unfortunately, Reich 'began to succumb to the reification he sought to undo' (ibid, p. 91).

The social totality has an inherent resistance to change its contradictory nature. The convenience of this resistance is to be found in that which is socially accepted and politically acceptable, which culminates in a society which is 'free' at the surface level of the contradictions and the deception it creates. The unequal distribution of power reinforces the contradictory nature of capitalist functioning (in terms of unemployment) and to what Henriques (1984) refers to as 'contradictory subjectivity.' He provides the practical example of motherhood:

Indeed, the interesting question is whether the priv-
ledging of mothers - an act which seemingly accords
more power to women - may not at the same time part-
icipate in the subjugation of women by reinforcing
their role as mothers and tying them to that position
(Henriques, 1984, p. 118).

A further elaboration of discourse (of which the distribution of power is an essential part) needs to be given, as discourse is vital to understanding how ideology constructs subjectivity. It is precisely the nature of how it works, rather than what comprises discourse that is of concern here. Hollway in Henriques et al, (1984), believes 'Discourses make available positions for subjects to take up' (p. 236). Foucault provides more insight by suggesting "...that the social sciences are discourses and practices that help construct the various apparatuses and institutions that together form 'society'" (Venn, 1984, p. 106). It makes sense then to say that subjects 'take up' their positions within these various 'institutions and apparatuses'. Burniston and Weedon in Swartz (1977) provide valuable insight: "The subject finds its subjectivity affirmed by all institutions with which it is in contact. By contrast, the institutions which reflect the abstract, impersonal necessities of the expansion of capital have only a distant, and often an antagonistic relation to the structures of subjectivity" (p. 227). This leads to the formulation 'that the production of discourses and that of subjectivity and of sociality (are) indissoluble' (Venn, 1984, p. 106). The acknowledgement of the inter-relationship of the social, individual, discourse, ideology and subjectivity provides the synthesis of these historically meaningful 'structures' and in the process ascribes meaning to their constellation and functioning. Foucault's genealogy retraces 'these mutual dependencies in concrete instances and thus provides an account of the specific conditions of the emergence and production of discourse' (Venn, 1984, p. 108). In more accessible terms the human subject co-exists within the social constellation of science,

materiality, history, knowledge and power - all that constructs discourse and functions within ideology. At this point it is salient to reiterate Marx's ideas of viewing human essence as 'the ensemble of social relations'. The 'wholeness' provided by Marx and furthered by the post-structuralists is a counter to that of reductionism and scientific analysis propounded by traditional psychology in its conception of 'man, minus society', and its inadequacy in providing any psychological explanation outside that of the autonomous ego.

This assists in returning to a critical interpretation of unemployment. Living a life that is socially acceptable may be limited in providing any deeper meaning of the social system than that already constructed in lived experience. Socialization by nature is uncritical. The unemployed individual therefore, has no real conception, at a theoretical or practical level, of the processes of power relations, social formation, discourse, dialectics, subjectivity or anything ideological. He is constituted in a social process within forces and tensions he doesn't fully understand. An example of this is found in Hayes and Nutman (1981): "I never used to give it much thought before but I **don't know where I am going anymore and what's the point of life**" (own emphasis) (p. 49). In a sense the individual is no longer considered a person, but as the depersonalized symbol of the system of unemployment values. The person can only understand his plight by recourse to logical, rational, socially determined, uni-dimensional means. He knows nothing other, and is nothing other than his collective understanding of himself in relation

to that which he understands as 'real'. That which gives rise to his understanding of 'real' is ideologically rooted in a pre-reflective understanding of his fragmentary lived experience, i.e. 'working', 'eating', 'sleeping', 'procreating', 'relating', 'feeling', 'not working' - 'living'. As Habermas in Held (1980) affirms: "...individuals acquire their competencies not as isolated monads but by growing into the symbolic structures of their life-worlds" (p. 278). His education is part of the ideological structure that renders him uncritical and subject to the contradictory forces. Without the means of making them intelligible, he becomes a victim of a psychologically dislocating experience within an exploitative, repressive, contradictory social network.

CHAPTER TWO
THE MEANING OF WORK

It is a challenging task understanding the meaning of work. As Ginzberg (1970) suggests, "No single or even complex definition can capture the multiple facets of work" (p.229).

For the above reason, foundations of work as gleaned from Christian philosophy, will assist in two ways. Firstly as a means of understanding the ideology of work as a foundation of work within contemporary capitalist production, and secondly as a means to compare past and present views of work. Phenomenological descriptions of the meaning of work for individuals will be covered, as well as a marxist understanding of work. An investigation of work within industrial capitalism, will form a means to situate constructively the psychological, material and creative needs of individuals within a larger contradictory social network.

Work may be approached from various perspectives. Today it has become popular to prefer an economic view of work in preference to a phenomenological or humanistic view. This is a characteristic of advanced economic functioning and contemporary culture. Rapid change and innovation especially within industry and technology, has developed a computer age, equipped for efficiency and time saving, of production and consumerism; "In complicated modern industrial societies, the relationship between work and survival becomes more and more tenuous, yet we generally subscribe to an economic theory of work: that people work in order to provide goods and services in return for money, which they spend on goods and services..." (Anthony, 1977, p 5.).

The producer / consumer relationship essential in the maintenance of capitalist society, is important in the complex forms of interaction and transaction, that distinguish present working conditions from those in the past. In other words, simple distinctions between production and consumption, not to mention work and production are increasingly difficult to make, without considering ulterior and peripheral influential factors.

The virtues of work were enhanced by Christian values: "Accursed shall be the ground on your account, with labour you shall win your food from it all the days of your life... you shall gain your bread by the sweat of your brow" (Genesis: 3:17).

Work has a connection with theology, a means to supplying food and spiritual contentment; " It was a discipline, it contributed to the Christian virtue of obedience. It was not seen as noble, or rewarding, or satisfying, its very endless tedium was spiritually valuable in that it contributed to Christian resignation" (Anthony, 1977, p 37). It therefore assumed a mundane position, as a part of the general social and spiritual framework.

The transition from the feudal system to one of a market economy, challenged previous standards and beliefs. The modification of principles of work brought about by such events as the industrial revolution paved the way for commercial enterprise. With the accompanying importance of economic man a change in the ideology of work occurred too:

Work had every advantage. It was good in itself. It satisfied the selfish economic interest of the growing

number of small employers or self-employed. It was a social duty, it contributed to social order in society and to moral worth in the individual. Work was becoming a standard cliché, cure all (Anthony, 1977, p 44.).

With development among world wide economies a collage of values became enmeshed with the new standards and requirements of the changing systems. Adaptation was a key issue, along with alternative views of work and its meaning.

Marx's materialist conception of history and an understanding of economic production within capitalism, provides a basis for critique of western ideology of work and capitalism itself. The notion that people's material lives determine their ideas and supporting institutions, is a crucial premise in Marx's materialist perspective:

In the social production of their existence, men inextricably enter into definite relations which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which arises a legal and political superstructure. The mode of production of material life conditions forms the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness (Marx, cited in Gurley, (1979), p 2.).

Moreover, it can be stated that: 'Marx is essential in understanding man's productive interchange with nature (specifically the class divisions of capitalist society with its institutions of private property, division of labour and the concept of alienation). In dealing with alterations in value, he believed the process of production/labour power, reproduced the equivalent of its own value and also

an excess surplus value' (ibid, p 5.). This 'rate of profit' highlights the exploitative means of production within capitalist societies. Although Marx was centrally concerned with the worker; the labourer, his explanation of the dynamics of the productive system reflects upon the wider social implications of a given order. It is the latter aspects of Marxist theory relating to alienation, domination, exploitation and oppression, rather than the purely theoretical content of economic Marxism that is of interest here. A well directed start would be within the existential basis of Marxism and more accurately with the issue of production and consumption. 'Man stands alone from the rest of nature, in that he produces the means of life. That is, he produces objects, for consumption. In the animal, production and consumption are one act. Yet with man they are separate. In producing objects man becomes alienated and this expression of his life becomes an alien power over him. The object is externalized; an exteriorization from the body; 'inside' almost an archetypal loss which is at the root of all alienation. It is at the root of all buying and selling of labour. The whole system of capitalist production is based on the fact that the workman sells his labour power as a commodity' Marx, *Capital*, Vol.1. (1967), p 182, cited in *International Phenomenology Society*, (1977), Vol. 37, p 333.

The above may be situated within economic alienation, a process directly linked with the role of labour, most exemplified in capitalist production. Marx emphasized the importance of work, as a process through which people create their world, and as a result fulfil themselves. The inconsistencies within capitalism have to be unveiled

to comprehend the contradictions of work within such a system. Marx, outlines the conditions of capitalist society, that 'cause' changes in the work situation and in the individual's social relations. It is these conditions which transform labour into an alienated activity:

- A) Private property and especially private ownership of the means of production.
- B) The process of the division of labour, a consequence of the development of the productive forces.
- C) Subordination of labour to the market laws of capitalist society as a result of human labour being arranged into a commodity on a par with all other commodities.

Further distinctions can be made, i.e. Alienation may be sub-divided into two processes:

1. Exteriorization. In the 1844 manuscripts, Marx sees exteriorization as constituting the process by which work is external to the worker. By this, Marx means that work is no longer part of the individual nature and that as a result the individual cannot be fulfilled in work.
2. The second process is seen as disposal by the worker of labour power when it is sold as a commodity. The worker is able to confirm himself/herself by subordinating his/her products and activity to the domination of an alien entity, money. Herein lies the basis for the concept of the fetishism of commodities developed in Capital. By fetishism of commodities, what Marx refers to is that when money becomes the universal exchange object, it becomes a commodity usually with a value independent of what it represents a symbol of power (Irvine, 1985, p 38).

One may question the applicability of the above and Marxist theory in general to a middle class population i.e. South African whites. The impact of Marxist economic theory, specifically exploitation, domination and alienation is felt by the worker, who 'sells' his labour as a means of profit for the capitalist. However, the universality of the dynamics of production and consumption, alienation, money as a symbol of power etc., extends upwards into the sector of business organizations and white collar work. The repercussions gain new status in the form of fetishism of commodities, reification, deferred gratification etc. "Marx ... argued that capitalism and more broadly, the division of labour by modern technology alienated man by, 'taking away the object of production from him, thus depriving him of his species life, or his human essence'" (Wrong, 1971, p. 220.).

The consequences of the above for work within capitalist society and more significantly the influence upon individuals who have lost their jobs within industrial South Africa, will be dealt with in the final chapter. Suffice it to say, that Marxism, particularly a neo-marxist stance, provides the means to show the degree to which modern man has become mesmerized by real or imagined power, the possession of money, success and admiration from others and the consequences of a distorted value system and set of beliefs.

In order to illuminate the 'need' or motivation to work, as well as the meaning of work for the individual in a larger context, it is necessary to refer to particular theories.

For instance Hendrick, (1943), a neo-Freudian in Wrong (1971) formulates

his ideas upon Freudian psychoanalytic theory. Freud was once quoted as saying '...that the two most vital human functions are the ability to love and the ability to work, but of course he wrote many volumes on the former and almost nothing on the latter' (Wrong, 1971, p. 182).

However, Neff (1971) provides the following;

...from the earliest infancy, the human being commits an enormous amount of energy to the enterprise of controlling and exploring his environment and appears to derive a great deal of "primary" pleasure from doing so. He believes therefore that classical psychoanalytic theory must be amplified by postulating a 'mastery' or 'work instinct', an in-born drive to do and to learn how to do (Neff, 1971, p. 181).

'Lantos secures a more exact account by stating that development from pleasure in sheer activity to pleasure in achievement takes place during Freud's Latency period (middle childhood). It is during this period of development, that children begin to learn that objects of adult gratification, are not directly available, but must be 'worked for'. Lastly, it is essential here to note Erich Erikson's 'Industry Stage', the period when the child begins to move out of the family to master the technology required to live in the adult world. The arena is the school and the new developmental task is that of becoming a productive person' (Neff, 1971, p. 180).

However, relying on one definition alone would circumscribe an holistic understanding of human personality and the meaning of work. The researcher would not disregard any theoretical psychoanalytic observations as concerns the 'inner drive to work' and satisfaction derived thence. Emphasis though, would be placed upon socialization;

the status, position and importance of work in fulfilling 'human needs', be they creativity, purposefulness etc., but more importantly the means to obtaining security, status and material wealth. This view is substantiated by the trends which have beset modern man, i.e., the declining importance of spirituality and religion (consequently the changing values of work and the meaning of work), increasing concern for economic prosperity and technological progress. Noteworthy are the wise words of Weber, cited in Wrong (1971), which are worth quoting in full:

The puritan wanted to work in a calling; we are forced to do so. For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate everyday morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic condition of machine production which today determines the lives of all individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic acquisition, with irresistible force... In Baxter's view, the care for external goods should be on the shoulders of the "saint like a giant cloak, which can be thrown aside at any moment. But fate decreed that the cloak should become an iron cage" (p. 218).

Having briefly sketched the changes with time and possible motivation to work, along with a simple outline of some of Marxist principles, it is pertinent to refer to the psychological significance of work. An understanding of work must fit into the total landscape in which it occurs. Contemporary conditions are of technological advancement, established industry and futuristic sophistication. The intrusion of the computer and many lesser innovations have revolutionized many work settings and appear to assume more significance with time. The resulting

networks, co-operations, businesses, monopolies and their inter-connections, have 'colonized' the world, providing endless jobs for persons fulfilling roles within the 'working production lines' and 'cogs' of the industrial world. In simple terms, the individual provides a skill or service in maintaining the larger economic functioning and survival, in so doing deriving security and an income from which to procure individual prosperity and harmony. Today the 'gearing towards' a certain product, to be marketed and distributed to be sold, is of prime importance. It is pertinent here to refer to the phenomenological descriptions of work. The relevance of this perspective is to demonstrate work as a way of 'being at' the world described and distinguishable from other ways of being present.

Buytendijk (1969) in Helldorfer (1972), provides an introduction to a phenomenological understanding of work. "Our appearance, the way we manifest ourselves, "speaks" of and bears witness to our world and our existence, our intentions and our feelings. Even if we do not wish to speak to others, of these things, our appearance continues to speak to them" (p 194.).

Work is characterized by an 'analytical' penetrating stance. The individual has a goal to reach, an end to achieve. Bodily existence reveals the work attitudes of purposefulness, alertness and concentration. An analytical perspective is necessary as the person has to shape the world anew in order to achieve his/her goal. Work presence is also a thoughtful presence. Numerous studies illustrate the effect of

thoughtless work. 'Friedman and others show that as work becomes separated from thoughtful participation, activity becomes more mechanical and machinelike. Insofar as work is impregnated with thought, it is human work. Work is also an emotional experience of the world. The resistant element of the world, the fear of failure, the experience of frustration and other similar experiences make involvement in work highly emotional' (Helldorfer, 1972, p. 196). He further states:

The emotion brought forward in my work is a significant indication of the extent to which work involves me in the world. In psychoanalytic thinking, flight from work is characteristic of an escape from the world ... When the on going and interrelated nature of work and love, with their emotional involvement, becomes dichotomized and fragmented, my experience tends towards the pathologic. Lethargy, sleeplessness and inappropriate affect are cited as beginning stages of psychic unhealth which clarify the essential inter-relationship between work and emotion (Helldorfer, 1972, p. 197).

Furthermore, work demands a stance that is characteristically aggressive, with the world as resistance; as something to be overcome. 'One has to 'get hold' of the world, shape it, control and change it using hands, literally and figuratively. The world of work necessitates courage and determination to overcome obstacles. The world offers resistance. By encountering the resistance in work, one is inserted bodily and spiritually into the world. It is work and the resistances of the world to one's efforts that consistently modulate one's desires, imagination and fantasy' (ibid. p. 198).

The bodily and spiritual involvement in work, represents the phenomenological meaning and description of man being-in-the-world, as

active and creative. A traditional interpretation of the meaning of work, would be more accurate in expounding upon the gratification gleaned by the individual. In simple terms, what work offers the individual.

In a world of complexity, changing values, contradictions, ambiguity and uncertainty, individuals are 'almost commanded' to comply with some mode of sustaining the mechanisms of contemporary society. The majority of people have to work in order to survive, to provide a service or skill in order to receive remuneration. The demands and ensuing gratification assume a particular configuration:

If you want to know a man, if you find him excellent,
why you've got to do something together, you've got to work
(William Carlos Williams, *A Voyage to Pagany*, cited in Tolson,
1977 p. 47).

Further, the significance of work for men is demonstrated below:

For every man, the outcome of his socialization is his
entry into work. His first day at work signifies his
'initiation' into the secretive, conspiratorial solidarity
of working men (Tolson, 1977, p. 47).

For men, work has a certain seriousness, intricately enmeshed with the masculine culture; man's existence involves lifelong commitment and responsibility. It represents their 'rightful' position within culture and society, exposing them to means of obtaining respect, status, success and an identity. An extract from everyday life reiterates the significance of work for modern man: How often do we ask on first meeting a stranger what he/she does? As if their occupation determined their entire existence. That our relational possibilities and

conversation hinge upon the status of the individual. This has specific significance for men. 'Firstly 'manhood' is achieved at an emotional distance from the domestic world; as physically a man leaves home to go out to work. Secondly, fixed routines support and protect rigid, masculine stereotypes. An interesting feature, undermining traditional working routines and challenging masculine roles, is that of 'work' and 'leisure' (dealt with later in this chapter). Lastly, man's sexuality is also regulated by his basic commitment to work. The complexity of that commitment is highlighted by the experience of unemployment, when a man's whole existence is thrown into crisis' (Tolson, 1977, p.55).

The importance of work for modern man, reaches further than material comfort and becomes a 'part of the person', attaining psychological status, influencing the individuals understanding of himself and his relatedness / stance to the world and others. This draws attention to Russell Jacoby's (1975) awareness of social influence upon individuals:

Roles are not merely adopted by the subject as a facade that can be dropped with a little willpower. They are an alienated mode of behaviour custom fit for an alienated society. The neat division between roles and real selves reduces society to a masquerade party. The social evil reaches into the living fibres; people not only assume roles, they are roles (p. 68).

What meaning has work then within industrialized capitalism, besides providing identity (as a role), security, independence etc. As Ginzberg (1971) states (and confirmed by research in this study) "...men derive important satisfaction from contact with their co-workers, not only on the job, but in travelling to and from work, and through social

relations of the job" (p. 270). Work presents many extrinsic attractions for men, which in themselves enhance the meaning of work for them. The routine, and security are examples of extrinsic value to the worker, not to mention the ability to buy; to fulfil his role within society as a consumer.

What Marx says about the effects of work upon the working classes applies also to the middle classes. In the middle class work becomes a means to promote 'privatism.' Middle class persons use their wealth to fabricate a world in which they can exercise some choice and have some power. One exercises choice over what one will consume and own and one also chooses those with whom one will share one's possessions ... It isn't that one pursues a standard of living because it is intrinsically valuable. The truth is rather that the standard of living becomes the means for sustaining the illusion that there is some value to identify with' (Rubinoff, 1971, p 175). The mystification apparent in capitalist societies seems universal; citizens aspiring to levels of 'privatism', success and power.

A position of power entails 'freedom' and the important pursuit of leisure. Recreation, free time and participation in pleasurable activities represents the 'package deal', available as an escape from the drudgery of work; a means to relax and 'enjoy life.' The world of leisure enticing man to spend money and time within a pleasurable 'compartmentalized expensive' sphere of life; yet demanded to perform 'unpleasurable' work within the larger commercialized sphere, forms a constellation of unsatisfied needs.

Carolyn Gratton (1971) says : 'It is sometimes said that leisure will enable man to regain his sense of self; Seligman, points to the problem in that leisure, having been split off from work, has become a social problem. It's purpose, the regeneration of the human being, has been denied or debased since regeneration can only be realized when leisure confronts work which is meaningful not when it is merely an escape from the oppression of the industrial system. All contemporary leisure manages to supply is the consumption of goods and an escape from industrial routine essentially a utilitarian diversion. Leisure which ought to be a serious activity, has been corrupted by the technology of industrialism and thereby converted into unfree engagements of time. Ironically also, those whose productivity is highest, work to support the leisure of those who are compelled to enjoy it. To support his view that leisure has been forced into the commercial world, Seligman surveys the typical American family spending patterns on leisure activities. He sees in fact that time must be 'killed' a revelation of man's final separation from a world he did not make'(p. 154).

It is obvious that the world of work fused with the system it perpetuates involves the individual to a degree that he/she is harnessed with a life long commitment to contribute to society. The majority today have to prepare to meet the challenges of tomorrow, to accept conditions and values that already exist. It appears that individual choice rattles down to an acceptance of acquired and inherent values and needs. However, the satisfaction of creativity, purposefulness etc., appear to be moulded conveniently into a popularized self-actualizing category. The point to

be made encompasses Heidegger's philosophy, in that modern man has little cognizance of how modern technology has entered and complicated his life. Although the world as an industrialized cosmos, seems to have largely left behind the drudgery and toil of labour and monotonous industrial work (which prompted Marx into motion), a new era of more subtle forces of indoctrination and oppression have formed. The magnitude of career choices, 'freedom' of working conditions, hours and equipment, disguise 'more of the same', but within illusory flexibility and individual choice. The 'freedom' and space created does not allow the average worker simply to leave or resist the system. But what would he have to gain if he did ?

It is impossible to alter the industrial system as we know it. Man cannot escape that which he has created. The influence he has, is only in the pace of progress, direction and degree of sophistication reached. One can refer to futurist predictions, which foresee a phenomenal alteration in work as we know it today. Yet the optimism of humanizing work in the future, fails to obfuscate the potential destruction and ongoing 'violence' modern technology has upon psychological life.

One may say the meaning of work is continually changing, correspondingly man adapts to new expectations and challenges. To say that work is fulfilling and psychologically gratifying today, for all who participate in the advanced technological environment, would be a gross generalization and misconception. Again it could be argued that work has never satisfied everyone no matter what the conditions or historical

period. But the pressing incidents of psychopathology, violence and disruption, unemployment irrevocably tied to a 'working environment', speaks of imbalance and disfiguration. The blatant corruption and injustice of a given means of production, say capitalism, with exploitation, oppression and the pursuit of capital gain, only represents one piece of a puzzle.

A view of this corruption is provided below:

In describing man's loss of genuine community through the invasion of his life by technology and automation, the author points out that man's existence assumes anonymous quality that clashes violently with human nature. This dissociation is evident in the art of modern man that calls attention to the spiritual darkness and emptiness that he faces. The pervasiveness of modern technology makes self-awareness and genuine individuality a virtual impossibility. Seligman quotes Karl Jaspers who says the age of technology bears witness to a "catastrophic descent to a poverty of spirit, humanity, love and creative energy" (Gratton, 1972, p. 254).

How far has man progressed from drudgery and toil of the past? Work may be more pleasurable, flexible and less physically demanding, but the mystification of advanced technological work environments, now requires more service occupations; social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists etc., in order to maintain the 'balance.' The result is that few understand the multifarious factors; their value and influence upon present man and the world, psychological life, human nature and everyone's future.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

The subject under investigation is that of experience - human experience of a lived reality, of being unemployed within a given social context. The phenomenological procedure offers a way of restoring human experience to a position of understanding; to remind man of his lived reality, and to see man in relation to a world of shared meanings. The natural sciences endeavour to be rigorous, systematic and exacting in all research procedures. The foundational tenet within natural science is one of reductionism; the notion of understanding a phenomenon only in a reduced form of fundamental elements or constituents. It is empirical, which means that the point of departure for the study of behaviour is through controlled observation and the variables to be manipulated must be perceived by the senses. The experimental view is positivistic; speculative content must be dismissed or translated into empirical and mechanical laws. The foundation of psychology lies within the natural scientific paradigm and the aforementioned axioms and in assuming this rigorous perspective, man has become an isolated object of explanation. Natural science has afforded us a knowledgeable perspective; unfortunately a perspective that has little relevance to our human psychological life and experience. This scientific isolation from human experience is demonstrated below:

The scientists actual living takes place in a world of solid, tangible and substantial matter, yet he denies that he has lived world experiences when he adopts his scientific, theoretical attitude; as an ordinary citizen, he affirms his everyday experience of his world, but as a scientist he denies them (Valle and King, 1978, p. 15).

Experience for phenomenology is real, it is already out 'there in the

world.' An individual is always directed toward and involved in the world. Experience is not a mere epi-phenomenon of the brain, nor a physiological correlate. It is not encapsulated within us; man goes beyond himself in relating to things in the world. "The fundamental point of departure of phenomenologically based research from traditional natural scientific research, is that priority is given to the phenomenon under investigation, rather than being secondary to an already established methodological framework" (Stones, 1985, p. 9).

Critical psychology gathers both phenomenological (meaning) and positivistic nomothetics (causes). Nevertheless, no adequate research procedure amalgamates the two and as experience lends itself appropriately to phenomenological understanding, the latter was applied when investigating what it means to be unemployed. "The phenomenological approach to research is characterized by an attitude of openness for whatever is significant for the proper understanding of the phenomenon" (Kruger, 1984, p. 11). The method uses processes of intuition, reflection and description. However, as Stones, (1985) states: 'It is essential to point out that there is no one phenomenological method. Rather there is a certain philosophical framework or approach within which phenomena are understood at a certain level of complexity. The manner in which the phenomenon is elucidated is the province of phenomenological methodology, where the emphasis is not how best to apply the pre-established method or procedure, but rather on how best to clarify and illuminate the phenomenon perceived, in other words, the phenomenon is considered to precede the method' (p 6.).

The phenomenologist adopts as his role a transcendental attitude.

The researcher tries to suspend (bracket) his scientific preconceptions and any suppositions, by making them explicit. This phenomenological reduction (bracketing) provides a means of moving from a natural attitude, through to a transcendental one. As a qualitative approach, phenomenological research is primarily descriptive; describing the meaning implicit in experience, as it presents itself in its immediacy. The researcher must explicate the meaning contrary to analysis which would be reductionistic. It must be realized as Kruger, (1984), states, "... that to do sound phenomenological research, the researcher should have a high degree of interpersonal sensitivity" (p.15). Intuitive and sensitive promoting of dialogue, without 'contaminating', the subject's revelations is of crucial concern. In this study the basis of research was the interview, and care was taken in the construction of questions.

Procedure.

This study aims at describing and understanding what it means to be a white, unemployed, lower-middle class, male, South African citizen. The phenomenological approach involves entering the subject's Lebenswelt; their everyday lifeworlds, obtaining descriptions of how exactly they experience their world.

A. The Research Question.

The subjects were asked to describe, in as much detail the changes that unemployment had brought about and how their lives had altered from being

employed to a state of worklessness. The interview was semi-structured, in the sense that questions were placed under three broad headings, No. 1 General; No. 2 Personal; No. 3 Political/Economic.

1. General questions were asked of a biographical nature and were of no real phenomenological significance; merely information relating to and elaborating upon the subject's predicament. eg. What was your occupation? How long have you been unemployed for?

2. The personal section was presented as informally as possible, the researcher stressing that he was not a clinical psychologist and that anything the subject may reveal, would be of relevance to the project. Within the course of dialogue, the individual was urged to be as honest and open as possible and was often asked to elaborate upon certain themes. Questions such as the following were asked :

Describe your daily routine: how do you spend your time? How does it differ to that of when you were employed? What occupies your thoughts every day? Do they differ say in the morning when you wake up, to when you go to bed? if so how? How has being unemployed affected your role within your family? In other words, can you describe any changes in the way you relate to your wife and children? How do you feel now that you are no longer a breadwinner? How did you feel when you lost your job? What do you feel your future holds? What is really meaningful / important in your life today?

3. Socio-Economic and Political.

Great care had to be taken upon entering the domain of politics. Many subjects refused to commit themselves, whilst the views of others had to be disregarded, for it was sensed that they were expressing views contradictory to how they really felt, or were evasive and noncommittal. The questions were structured in such away as not to confront or pressurize the individual, thereby attempting to evoke dialogue and promote expression of feelings eg. a) Have you ever thought of changing your political party? b) Did you manage to get to the poll last election? c) What changes would you like to see being implemented in South Africa?

Upon completion of the interview, the subject was requested to complete the following; " Write down your experience of the interview which you have just had. You could, for example state your feelings towards the interviewer and the interview situation, as well as any other feelings you have towards the situation in which you have participated" (Kruger, 1979, pp 126-127). Disclosures made at this stage were found to be invaluable, as the researcher was able to judge the interview and the merit of what was revealed. It was found in some cases that there was a stark disparity between this written representation made by the individual, and the impression he made during the interview.

B. The Subjects.

White unemployed citizens from the Port Elizabeth area, were traced with the help of the Department of Manpower, Port Elizabeth. Four subjects were chosen out of eight that were approached. They were classified as

lower-middle class according to Riordan's (1978) classification of socioeconomic status. (See Appendix). The subjects who refused to answer all the questions, or were thought of having swayed from remaining true to their feelings; evading issues of personal concern, were not considered. Those who were considered were honest, willing, articulate participants prepared to share their experience and have someone listen to them. Their ages ranged from mid-30's to early 50's all were married with children.

C. Data Analysis.

The Duquesne research methodology, as outlined by Giorgi, was closely adhered to. This method seeks to describe and understand psychological meaning inherent within individuals' lived world contexts. The interview technique advocated by Stones, (1979) helped the structuring and presentation of questions. Further, Kruger (1984), and Valle and King (1978) assisted in clarification. The data obtained was carefully transcribed into written format, whereupon it was subjected to qualitative analysis, the experience neither denied, denigrated nor transformed in any way. In order for a deeper understanding to emanate from the original text, the researcher had to remain true to semantic presentation, yet illuminate that which was implicit, vague or barely hinted at, through the process of explication. The researcher had to adopt an accepting stance, empathetic, intuitive and insightful, in so doing, creating a framework which would not do violence to the person. The aim was: "...to observe, to comprehend,

then to render explicit, what was initially seen vaguely in the first comprehension" (Stones (1979), in Kruger, (1979) p 113.).

1. Sense of the Whole.

Reading of the written protocol is the first step. An ability to understand the language of the subject and to comprehend the text in its entirety is required. The general sense grasped is not interrogated nor explicated. Primarily it serves as a foundation for the next step; the discrimination of natural meaning units.

2. Discrimination of Natural Meaning Units within a Psychological Perspective.

Because the explication and analysing of a whole text, cannot occur simultaneously, one has to break it down into manageable units. The natural meaning units that emerge as a consequence of the analysis are spontaneously perceived meaning within the protocol.

The adoption of a psychological attitude towards the description implies that psychological reality is not ready made in the world, but rather that it has to be created by the psychologist. Because, the everyday world is richer and more composite than the psychological perspective, the explication could easily verge on sociological or anthropological interpretation, depending upon the interests of the

researcher and the perspective adopted. A psychological analysis involves an individual way in which one behaves and experiences life situations. The meaning unit discriminations are noted whenever the researcher upon re-reading the text, becomes aware of a change in meaning of the situation for the subject, that appears to be psychologically relevant or sensitive. In this step no language form changes in any way. It is imperative for the method that the discriminations take place first, before further interrogation and that they be done spontaneously.

3. Transformation of Subjects Everyday Expressions (n.m.u.'s)
into Central Themes.

The researcher reflects psychologically on the given meaning units, still expressed essentially in the concrete language of the subject. The researcher transforms the meaning of each unit from everyday naive language (what is said), into language expressing a psychological perspective relevant to the phenomenon being investigated (what is meant), the aim being an expression of psychological acuity as regards the meaning or theme inherent within each particular meaning unit.

4. Constituents of Situation expressed more directly in terms of
Investigated Phenomenon.

In this stage, similar themes recurrent within the protocol are grouped together, thereby avoiding repetition, affording clarity and precision in

the step that follows.

5. Synthesis of transformed meaning units into a consistent statement of the structure of the Phenomenon being Investigated. (Situated Structure).

The penultimate step of the articulation, is the synthesis and integration of all the insight contained in the transformed meaning units or central themes, into a consistent description of the psychological structure of the phenomenon. The situated structure must implicitly encompass all the central themes, it thereby emerges from a process of explication as an accurate description of a lived psychological experience.

6. The Extended Description. (General Structure).

In this final step a synthesis and integration of the situated structures occurs. The General Structure circumscribes all common themes contained in each explication. From this succinct description, one can grasp the essential meaning (psychological) of what it means to humanly experience being unemployed.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS

The protocols of the unemployed individual's experience are presented followed by the explicatory work, the qualitative analyses, the specific descriptions of the situated structure and finally the general structure of the experience of what it means to be unemployed.

In the qualitative analyses, the discriminated natural meaning units of the protocols are presented in the left hand column, followed by the constituents relevatory to the structure of the experience and expressed more directly in psychological language, in the right hand column. The specific descriptions of the situated structure are synthesized from the qualitative analysis of each protocol, and finally the insights achieved from the four specific descriptions are organized into a consistent description of the meaning of being unemployed as a general description.

SUBJECT A

1. Age: 36 years
2. Retrenched: April 1986
3. Occupation: Area Sales Manager
4. Qualifications: Dale Carnegie course for Personnel Relations Management Course 1983
5. Previously unemployed: 1985 for five months
6. Married: wife does not work
7. Children: 2 daughters, aged 8 and 5 wife expecting
8. Present income: nil besides charity and some assistance from parents overseas.

PROTOCOL 1.

Personal Description

My daily routine while I was working, consisted of waking the children, having breakfast, then dropping the kids off at school. Because I work from home, most of my day was spent as such. I consciously maintain this routine now that I am unemployed, in order not to fall into the trap of getting bogged down and feeling helpless. Once I've dropped the kids off at school I spend the mornings scanning the papers for jobs, possible employment and phoning the various employment agencies.

I think a lot about myself and my thoughts do differ a lot during the day. Especially after the weekends, when I find myself thinking a great deal about whether the job I have applied for is the right one, and I do

question my worth. Is this one going to reveal some positive results? There have been days when I have felt that everything has gone wrong and I get depressed, fortunately my wife notices these things, motivating me to snap out of it. She has been a tremendous help. She reminds me that we still have a roof over our heads and food on the table. We have not gone hungry yet.

When I think of other people, especially of other race groups, who are in worse conditions, I think how fortunate I really am. And as much as I would like to help them; being in the similar situation as them, I can't. But I think how good God is to us for what we have.

What concerns me at the moment as regards being unemployed is lack of security. Knowing that you have a stable income makes such a difference. The routine of having work, with your day departmentalized, I feel more secure and my day seems orderly. Whereas now I have more time, the day seems to pass more slowly. The danger of assuming a negative outlook seems more daunting. My relationship with my wife and children has been difficult at times, but I feel it has brought us closer together. My wife and I have become enriched by the fact that I now realize some of the pressures she is under, especially household chores which I was unaware of. I appreciate that she has a different kind of pressure. In sharing some of this responsibility, our love for each other has increased and we have become closer. The same can be said for my children; when I was retrenched last time, it was during the school holidays and my eldest daughter would come and sit on my lap; "Don't worry Daddy, you'll find other work." The fact that I am not the breadwinner anymore, was a very difficult thing to come to terms

with; suddenly having the roles reversed was extremely difficult especially not receiving any income. People have been very generous, yet I feel inhibited and inadequate and it disturbed me for a very long time. I was discussing this with our minister and he said we must be careful not to deprive others of God's blessings and giving that we have to share with others. This helped me put it in perspective, yet it is still difficult. I would much prefer to provide for my family, than to be a burden on them and others. I have learnt to receive as graciously as it is to give to others. I feel others look upon me with a degree of admiration. Others have often said that they do not know how they would cope given the circumstances. Correctly or incorrectly, I have been able to subdue my true feelings, where I have felt frustrated and uptight. I try and display a degree of confidence.

I worry about not having a roof over our heads, this constitutes my biggest fear. I also worry about my family's future, I have often wondered about it and I really don't know, I have been thinking about it a lot and one of the thoughts that has crossed my mind is whether I want to continue within a sales career, or enter something completely different, and it's a very confusing question to answer. At this stage, I just want to take one day at a time, I have a general idea of what I want to do, as prior to my last retrenchment, I had my whole life mapped out. I had everything worked out. This is my career, I would get my marketing diploma, and a year ago it all seemed rosy. With this last retrenchment, I really don't know which way to go, yet I still have some objectives which I would like to pursue.

When I send out my C.V. for job applications, I feel quite positive, yet

at times I also feel inadequate and I start wondering whether I am in the right field or not, should I be going back to school to improve my qualifications? If I do, how am I going to support my family? It is one question after another and I have become very confused and despondent. Every day I anticipate news of a job in the post, but I am starting to get weary now. I also get depressed, yet the type of training I have had in management has in a way positively reinforced an optimistic outlook. Losing my job was a tremendous blow and how to cope with depression is a constant thought. I just try and lift myself up from the dirt and face the next challenge and this is what I find very difficult to maintain. The uncertainty of the future often leaves me feeling vulnerable which leads to me feeling depressed. It comes in waves; sometimes I feel okay, but then I am overcome by a sense of lacking direction, emptiness and maybe even panic. I do get frustrated at times. I don't really know how we manage to keep a roof over our heads; I am in debt, but somehow we manage. We do receive a small amount from the church and also from my parents overseas. I do feel apprehensive asking for financial assistance from my parents, because of previous conflict as regards a money dispute between my father and grandfather I would rather just leave things. It is difficult as a breadwinner to accept any kind of assistance.

I often think about who to blame for my situation. I see it as an economic fact. If a company doesn't have money, it cannot afford to keep all its staff. One of the biggest expenditures is their wage bill, so if they can start trimming that, then some people have to go. It is an economic reality; something we have to live with. I felt disappointed as regards my employer's management as they were not totally honest with

me. I still relate to my friends in the same way, despite the fact that they are still employed by the same company. Yet I do find a change in the way they relate to me. It is an air of tension, although I don't feature in company life I've been retrenched whereas with them, it's as though they are next in line. Maybe I remind them of the possibility.

I can't think of any enjoyable times I've had since being unemployed. I feel that I have been restricted in many ways, the first to come to mind is my company car which I no longer have. It's not the case of getting in the car and going, my wife and I have to plan our trips carefully, accomplishing as much as possible in one trip, hereby conserving petrol. I find I have time, yet because there is no money, I can't do the things I would like to and in a way my freedom is restricted. This is very annoying. The most meaningful thing in my life today, is my relation with God, secondly my family and thirdly my activities at the church. I'm aware of the changes in the way that my wife and children respond to me and situations that may arise within the family. I'm aware of the stress the family's under, this is reflected in the deterioration of my eldest's school work and the moods and mournfulness she sometimes expresses. Although my routine is a great deal more stable in that I don't spend time away from the family, she has days where it is difficult to communicate.

I feel the country is very much in political turmoil. Yet maintaining the same outlook I have in my situation, I am optimistic and I think we can sort things out. There is still a lot to be done, and I am very

concerned with the influence the right wing has. What even disturbs me more is the indoctrination that occurs in the educational system. I have thought of changing my political party, as I feel my present needs and desires are not being met. I am from an Afrikaans background, my wife is Canadian, and I attended a bilingual school. I've come to appreciate the Afrikaner as I have worked with him. But having spent time overseas I've come to realize how privileged white South Africans are. I think the blacks should have some say in running the country as I try to treat everyone with respect.

NATURAL MEANING UNITS

CENTRAL THEMES

1, My daily routine while I was working, consisted of waking the children, having breakfast and then dropping the kids off at school.

Routine tasks occupied S's daily activities whilst still employed.

2, Because I worked from home, most of my day was spent as such. I consciously maintain this routine now that I am unemployed, in order not to fall into the trap of getting bogged down and feeling helpless.

S maintains routine at home, avoiding the trap of getting bogged down and feeling helpless.

3, Once I've dropped the kids off at school, I spend the mornings scanning the papers for jobs, possible employment and phoning the various employment agencies.

S spends mornings scanning papers for employment and phoning employment agencies.

4, I think a lot about myself and my thoughts do differ a

Unemployment forces S to think about his

lot during the day.

- 5, Especially after the weekends, I find myself thinking a great deal about whether the job I have applied for is the right one and I do question my worth. Is this one going to reveal some positive results?
- 6, There have been days where I have felt that everything has gone wrong and I get depressed, fortunately my wife notices these things, motivating me to snap out of it. She has been a tremendous help. She reminds me that we still have a roof over our heads and food on the table. We haven't gone hungry yet.
- 7, When I think of other people especially other race groups, who are in worse conditions, I think how fortunate I really am. And

life situation and himself.

After weekends, S questions his personal worth and thinks about whether the job/s he has applied for are suited to him.

There are days where S gets depressed, fortunately his wife notices his condition, motivating him and reminding him of more positive things.

S realizes how fortunate he is when comparing himself to other race groups in

as much as I would like to help them, being in a similar situation as them I can't. But I think how good God is to us for what we have.

similar restricting predicaments, and he thinks how good God is to him and his family.

8, What concerns me at the moment as regards being unemployed is lack of security. Knowing that you have a stable income makes such a difference.

S is concerned about the lack of stable income and security.

9, The routine of having work, with your day departmentalized, I feel more secure and my day seems orderly.

Work used to structure time for him.

10, Whereas now I have more time, the day seems to pass more slowly. The danger of assuming a negative outlook seems more daunting.

Now without work, S's day passes more slowly and the danger of being negative seems more daunting.

11, My relationship with my wife and children has been difficult at times, but I feel it has brought us closer together. My wife and I have become enriched by the fact

S's relationship with his wife and children has been difficult at times, yet in sharing household responsi-

that I now realize some of the pressures she is under, especially household chores which I was unaware of. I appreciate that she has a different kind of pressure. In sharing some of this responsibility, our love for each other has increased and we have become closer.

- 12, The same can be said for my children, when I was retrenched last time it was during the school holidays, and my eldest daughter would come and sit on my lap; "Don't worry Daddy, you'll find other work."
- 13, The fact that I am not the bread winner anymore, was a very difficult thing to come to terms with; suddenly having the roles reversed was extremely difficult especially not receiving any income.
- 14, People have been very generous, yet I feel inhibited and inadequate and it disturbed me for a very long time.

bility, they have been brought closer together and their love has grown.

S found that previous unemployment had promoted positive responses from his children and brought them closer together.

S found it difficult to cope with the fact that he was no longer a breadwinner.

S felt inhibited and inadequate to be dependent on others, yet he

I was discussing this with our minister and he said we must be careful not to deprive others of God's blessings and giving that we have to share with others. This helped me put it into perspective, yet it is still difficult.

15, I would much prefer to provide for my family, than to be a burden on others. I've learned to receive as graciously as it is to give to others.

16, I feel others look upon me with a degree of admiration. Others have often said that they do not know how they would cope given the circumstances.

17, Correctly or incorrectly, I have been able to subdue my true feelings, where I have

gained a clearer perspective on consultation with his minister.

S has learned to receive as graciously as he gives, yet he would still prefer to provide for his family than to be a burden on others.

S feels he is admired by others, as he has been told how they would not know how to cope given his circumstances.

S suppresses his true feelings, and attempts to display confidence,

felt frustrated and uptight.

I try and display a degree of confidence.

especially when frustrated and uptight.

18, I worry about not having a roof over our heads, this constitutes my biggest fear. I also worry about my family's future.

S worries about a possible catastrophe for self and family.

19, I have often wondered about it and I really don't know, I have been thinking about it a lot and one of the thoughts that has crossed my mind, is whether I want to continue within a sales career, or enter something completely different, and it's a very confusing question to answer.

S is confused about his career future.

20, At this stage, I just want to take one day at a time, I have a general idea of what I want to do, as prior to my last retrenchment I had my whole life mapped out; I had everything worked out. This is my career, I would get my Marketing Diploma, and a year ago it seemed rosy.

Prior to his last retrenchment, his life seemed planned, with his future career secure, but now his confidence in his future has been undermined.

- 21, With this last retrenchment
I really don't know which way
to go, yet I still have some
objectives which I would like
to pursue.
- 22, When I send out my C.V. for job
applications, I feel quite positive
yet at times I also feel inadequate
and I start wondering whether I am
in the right field or not, should I
be going back to school to improve
my qualifications? If I do, how
am I going to support my family?
- 23, It is one question after another
and I have become confused and
despondent. Everyday I antici-
pate news of a job in the post
but I am starting to get weary
now.
- 24, I also get depressed, yet the
type of training I have had in
management has in a way
positively reinforced an
- Unemployment forces S
to reconsider his
career direction
leaving him with only
broad objectives.
- S feels confused and
questions his career
choice, his adequacy
and the prospect of
studying to improve
his qualifications,
and its implications
for his family.
- S becomes confused and
despondent and has be-
come much less hopeful
of finding a new job.
- Although S experiences
depression he has been
trained in a field
which helps him main-

optimistic outlook.

25, Losing my job was a tremendous blow and how to cope with depression is a constant thought. I just try and lift myself up from the dirt and face the next challenge and this is what I find very difficult to maintain.

26, The uncertainty of the future often leaves me feeling vulnerable which leads me to feeling depressed. It comes in waves; sometimes I feel okay, but then I am overcome by a sense of lacking direction, emptiness and maybe even panic. I do get frustrated at times.

27, I don't really know how we manage to keep a roof over our heads; I am in debt, but somehow we manage. We do receive a small amount from the church and also from my parents overseas.

tain a positive outlook.

Losing his job was a tremendous blow for his self-esteem and with depression as a constant problem, now finds it difficult to face challenges.

The uncertainty of S's future leaves him feeling vulnerable, depressed and ambivalent and he experiences a lack of direction, emptiness, panic and frustration.

S does not know how they manage to survive, being in debt and only receiving small amounts from the church and parents.

- 28, I do feel apprehensive asking for financial assistance from my parents, because of a previous conflict as regards a money dispute between my father and grandfather. I would rather just leave things.
- 29, It is difficult, as breadwinner to accept any kind of assistance.
- 30, I often think who to blame for my situation. I see it as an economic fact. If a company doesn't have money, it cannot afford to keep all its staff. One of the biggest expenditures is their wage bill, so if they can start trimming that, then some people have to go. It is an economic reality, something we have to live with.
- 31, I felt disappointed as regards my employer's management as they
- S feels apprehensive about asking for financial support from parents because of a dispute regarding S's father and grandfather.
- Accustomed to the breadwinner role, S finds it difficult to accept any kind of assistance.
- S blames the economy for his loss of work and sees it as real, as something to live with.
- S was disappointed with dishonest management

were not totally honest with me.

who dismissed him.

32, I still relate to my friends in the same way, despite the fact that they are still employed by the same company.

S feels he relates to his friends as he always has, despite his unemployment.

33, Yet I do find a change in the way they relate to me; it is an air of tension, although I don't feature in company life, I've been retrenched whereas with them it's as though they are next in line, maybe I remind them of the possibility.

S finds his friends relate to him differently; a tension between them he believes is a result of his unemployment serving to remind his friends, of the possibility of them losing their jobs.

34, I can't think of any enjoyable times I've had since being unemployed.

S can't recall any enjoyable times since being unemployed.

35, I feel that I have been restricted in many ways, the first to come to mind is my company car which I no longer have. It's not the case of getting in the car and going, my wife and I have to plan our trips carefully, accomplishing as much

S feels restricted in many ways, the most notable being unable to travel as freely as before, as a part of his life has become questionable.

as possible in one trip, hereby conserving petrol.

36, I find I have time, yet because there is no money I can't do the things I would like to and in a way my freedom is restricted. This is very annoying.

Despite having more time S finds his freedom restricted by lack of money.

37, The most meaningful thing in my life today, is my relation with God, secondly my family and thirdly my activities at the church.

The most meaningful thing in S's life is God, followed by his family and Church activities.

38, I'm aware of the changes in the way my wife and children respond to me and situations that may arise within the family. I'm aware of the stress the family's under; this is reflected in the deterioration of my eldest's schoolwork, and the moods and mournfulness she sometimes expresses.

S is aware of the changes within his family, the stress the unit is under is reflected in the deterioration of his eldest's schoolwork and the moods and mournfulness she sometimes expresses.

- 39, Although my routine is a great deal more stable in that I don't spend time away from the family, she has days where it is difficult to communicate.
- Although S spends more time with his family, communication with them has become difficult.

Constituents of situation expressed more directly in terms of being unemployed.

Protocol 1 (Grouping of themes).

- 1,9 The tasks that occupied S's daily routine enabled S to feel more secure as his day seemed orderly.
- 2,10 S maintains his routine at home, avoiding the trap of getting bogged down and feeling helpless, yet his day passes more slowly and the danger of being negative seems more daunting.
3. S spends mornings scanning papers for employment and phoning employment agencies.
- 4,5 Unemployment forces S to think about his life situation and himself, discovering his thoughts differ throughout the day. He questions his self-worth and thinks about whether the job/s he has applied for are suited to him.
- 6,24 There are days when S gets depressed, fortunately his wife notices his condition, motivating S and reminding him of more positive things. He has also been trained in a way

which helps him maintain a positive outlook.

7. S realizes how fortunate he is when comparing himself to other race groups in similar restricting predicaments, and he thinks how good God is to him and his family.
- 8,13, S is concerned about the lack of stable income and security, and finds it difficult to cope with the fact of losing the role of breadwinner, as he would prefer to provide for his family.
- 11,12, S has found, despite difficulties at times, that his wife, children and himself have been brought closer together and their love for each other has grown.
- 14, S felt inhibited and inadequate to be dependent upon others, yet he gained a clearer perspective on consultation with his minister.
- 15, S has learned to receive as graciously as he gives, yet he would still prefer to provide for his family than to be a burden on others.
- 16, S feels he is admired by others, as he has been told how they would not know how to cope given his circumstances.
- 17, S suppresses his true feelings and attempts to display confidence, especially when frustrated and uptight.

- 18,26 S worries about a possible catastrophe for self and family, which often leaves him feeling vulnerable, depressed, ambivalent, empty, frustrated and lost.
- 19,20, Prior to his last retrenchment, S's life seemed planned, 21,22, with his future secure. But with his confidence in his future undermined, S questions his career choice, the prospect of studying, his adequacy to improve his qualifications, and its implications for his family.
- 23, S becomes confused and despondent and has become much less hopeful of finding a new job.
- 25, Losing his job was a tremendous blow for S, and with depression as a constant problem, now finds it difficult to face challenges.
- 27, S does not know how they manage to survive, being in debt and only receiving small amounts from the church and parents.
- 28,29 S feels apprehensive and finds it difficult accepting financial support from others, especially his parents, because of a previous family dispute between S's father and grandfather.
- 30,31 S was disappointed with dishonest management who dismissed

him, and blames the poor state of the economy for his loss of work, seeing it as real, as something to live with.

32,33 S feels he relates to his friends from work as he always has, yet finds they relate to him differently; a tension between them and himself he believes, is a result of his unemployment serving to remind his friends of the possibility of them losing their jobs.

34, S can't recall any enjoyable times since being unemployed.

35,36 Despite having more time, S finds his freedom restricted by a lack of money as a part of his life has become questionable.

37, The most meaningful thing in S's life is God, followed by his family and Church activities.

38,39 Spending more time at home, S is aware of the changes and stress within the family, in that communication between him and his daughter, has deteriorated, and by her schoolwork and the moods and mournfulness she sometimes expresses.

SITUATED STRUCTURE.

SUBJECT A.

The subject felt secure in his working routine. In maintaining a routine he has attempted to carry on living his life as if he were still employed. Lived time passes slowly for him, and with more time to think, the danger of being negative is real.

Unemployment forces the person to reflect and think about his situation and himself. During his changes in thought he questions his self-worth and suitability to work. Unemployment depresses the person. His depression is lived as a questioning of role and meanings, as he has become pessimistic as regards getting a job. He is despondent and confused, and with a loss of morale he finds it difficult to face challenges. Fortunately his wife motivates him, helping him forget his predicament, reminding him that they are still living despite his worklessness. The subject compares himself with others, and is thankful for how good God is to him and his family. The person experiences a difficulty in no longer being the breadwinner, earning money and having security. Whilst working the person felt his life was planned, with his future secure. With the loss of confidence in his future, he questions his decisions; of career choice, the prospects of studying, his adequacy to improve his qualifications, and the implications of his actions for his family.

Money is a problem and he feels apprehensive accepting financial assistance from others. Despite having more time, this lack of money has

restricted his freedom. His relationship with God has become the most meaningful aspect of his life. The person worries about a possible catastrophe for self and family. This uncertainty as regards his future leaves him feeling vulnerable, depressed, ambivalent, empty, frustrated and lost. The person denies his true feelings, displaying confidence when feeling frustrated and uptight. Enjoyment has gone from his life.

Confined to his home, he is aware of the changes and stress within the family, eg. communication with his daughter has deteriorated, as she experiences changes in mood. Despite difficulties, the person has found that the conditions at home have brought his family closer together. Unemployment has also disrupted the subject's relationship with friends, as a tension exists between them and himself. This he believes is a result of his unemployment serving as a negative reminder of the possibility of them losing their jobs too. The person feels inhibited and inadequate in being dependent upon significant others, yet his minister helped him gain a clearer perspective on his situation. He feels he is admired by others, as they have revealed how they would not know how to cope given his circumstances.

The subject was disappointed with dishonest management who dismissed him, and blames the poor state of the economy for his loss of work, seeing it as real and as something to accept.

SUBJECT B.

1. Age: 50 years
2. Retrenched: 10 months
3. Occupation: Internal Sales and Store Controller
4. Qualifications: Std. 8
5. Previously unemployed: no
6. Married: wife works
7. Children: one dependant, 15yr old daughter, married son and married daughter
7. Married: Wife works
8. Income now: Nil.

PROTOCOL 2.

Personal Description.

I am quite an outgoing person, who really enjoys the company of others. I also get great satisfaction from family life. My daily routine while I was employed, would consist of waking in the morning, bathing and shaving etc., I had no worries about a monthly salary and it was a pleasure to get up every morning. While I was still with the Steel Company which I worked at before joining my former employers, I was working long and tedious hours. Further, I had quite a lot of responsibility. After leaving this firm (joined the opposition), my job entailed less responsibility, and I enjoyed it far more. I found the work more stimulating and an extra bonus was a company vehicle.

Now that I am without work, it is no pleasure for me to wake up in the mornings, I have nothing to look forward to. I always hope and pray that there will be something in the newspaper, where I can phone and make an appointment for an interview, hoping to God that I will be fortunate. However the type of work that I'm accustomed to doing, just isn't available in P.E. and if a job is available, I am competing with so many other applicants. The fact that I'm fifty years of age does not help matters either. The chances of me getting the position are practically nil.

Because I have so much time on my hands, I think a lot about my situation. Also with my wife at work all day, and the daughter at school, I am alone in the house. With the days turning into weeks and the weeks into months, I have often quite honestly thought of, sort of ending it. I have already gone so far as to go into my garage to look for a hose pipe, in order to connect it to the exhaust of my car; sit back and ending it all. But then I think of my wife and daughter; I'm not going to achieve anything by committing bloody suicide. Yet these are thoughts you get because you get so frustrated, so angry and I say to myself, look the fact that I'm unemployed is not my bloody fault, I wasn't fired, I was retrenched, along with a lot of other people as well. I ask myself why me? I do feel bitter, I feel I'm missing out on so much in life. I have also lost interest. For me to wash my car or work in the garden, it becomes an effort and I don't have the inclination to do any bloody thing. I can't even sleep properly, I find my mind is too occupied, with the worry of where can I find a job and when? It's a hell of a thing. The day you are told that you are going to lose your job, your whole life seems to shatter. I can't describe the shock. With time, I

have just grown more despondent.

I'm convinced that I will be fixed up with a job, but when? Am I going to battle for the next 10 months? I have become very miserable, I find I have nothing to tell my wife when she gets home, she can tell me what type of day she has had, but my day is usually boring or lousy. I find it extremely demoralizing not to be in the breadwinner position; I feel awkward as I don't believe in living off a woman. I can't provide the family with even the necessities, this makes me angry, I feel restricted; it would be better if I was physically tied up. I discover that I'm questioning myself; who am I? What am I? I'm helpless, not even able to relate to others about the way I feel.

I do a lot of thinking, I have never thought so much in all my life, as in the last ten months. I have also found that because I'm not speaking to people daily that this has affected me. I don't think as clearly as I used to, my mind's become stagnant. I can't even do a simple task like reading, I can't concentrate anymore. In fact I have no inclination to do anything. I can see it has affected my wife, I have become a worry to her, she is pressurized to support the family.

I feel others take pity on me, but they don't really give a damn. I try not to phone friends in case they think I'm beginning to rely on them, they have problems of their own and I don't think they are interested in mine. I have noticed that the few friends I do have, have sort of pushed me aside. Ralph's unemployed, he's got a problem, so what, I'm alright Jack. I can't relate to them like I used to, I begin to feel that I have a problem, that there is something wrong with me,

that I'm inferior in some way.

My main worry/concern is losing my house, it's taken me years to save enough money, to buy my first little house, this one I'm sitting in. I don't know what I would do if I lost my house, how would I ever start again? I don't think I'm strong enough to start again.

I wish I knew what my future holds. I've even gone so far as to go to a fortune teller, (something I've never believed in, I think it's a load of crap). Yet I'm so concerned about my future, I was prepared to pay to listen to her. As yet, nothing she said has come true. I really wish I knew what the future holds for me, and my family. I pray more now than I ever have. I go to church, but not as often as I should. I have even questioned the Lord, asking why he is doing this to me. Is this a test that I'm going through? I get the hell in, why are you doing this to me? I usually feel guilty afterwards, and I apologise for what I thought. It's not easy and as the days pass it becomes more difficult.

The day I lost my job, I experienced terrific anger. I realise that my move as far as companies are concerned was not well timed, but how was I to know that the economy was going to change so drastically, and that the iron and steel industry would be so hard hit? The day I was told by the Manager, I could have ... I felt like hitting his head right off his shoulders ... grabbing him, pulling him right over his desk, giving him the worst clout of his bloody life ... just making one big mess up ... flattening the whole bloody building. This is what I would like to have done. But I listened to what he had to say, I was shocked I couldn't believe it. He wasn't nasty, look it was difficult for him

to tell me, 'sorry you have to go'.

But still I have thought of all kinds of things I would liked to have done ... If there was no law and order in the country and I had a weapon, I would have taken great delight in blowing his brains out, and no doubt I would have taken great delight in seeing his brains splattered on the wall ...I would have pumped all the bullets into him, just to make sure this guy is dead. It's a hell of a shock to a man, to come home and tell your wife and child that you are now unemployed, it's indescribable.

The only people I can really relate to are other people who are also unemployed, we can understand what we are going through. I often lie down hoping that I will be able to sleep the day away. I look forward to my daughter returning from school, and my wife later in the evening, because I'm so bored and depressed. I long for company, just to reassure me that I'm still living, that it isn't all a nightmare. I hate the bloody radio and the paper, there is nothing exciting in my life anymore, it's too much for me. I'm angry with everyone not only myself. I am aware of this especially in the interviews I have gone to. The swine has got to know all my personal details, and then he says he will let me know. Nine out of ten haven't got the common decency to get back and inform you that you haven't got the job.

It hurts me when others offer me financial assistance. I feel like a beggar without actually begging. My eldest son and daughter have both offered assistance, but it is not a very nice thing, when will I be able to repay them? Thank God we are not starving, but we are not

buying the things we were accustomed to. You have to watch every cent.

Being turned down job opportunities, just reinforced all the negative thoughts that I have about myself. People feel sorry for me and this is the last thing I want from anyone. I don't enjoy myself as much as I used to when I was employed, in that I find it difficult to forget my present state - it's always with you. What makes this worse is that we seldom go out, not even to the drive-in, or even for a drive on say Sundays.

All I want is a job, I don't even demand a salary, just something to keep me occupied, to be myself again, to bring home money at the end of the month.

The most meaningful thing in my life today, is seeing my wife smile, and my daughter smiling more often than she does now. Knowing that we still have each other. We have become a lot closer since my unemployment. I'm lucky in that we have still remained quite cheerful, my daughter often joking with me. I have become more irritable, I'm not as cheerful as I used to be. Things aren't as funny as they used to be.

I think the non-whites, to be bloody crude about it, the kaffir, has gone mad the way he has, has also landed the country in a bloody mess. There are also a lot of them unemployed, but the native, to my way of thinking couldn't give a damn ... the fact that he has the white

man to take care of him, and this is a fact. The native is the type who, whether he is earning R50,00 or R1000,00 a bloody week, is told he is out of a job, doesn't affect him - he lives he couldn't care. If I were unemployed for five years and starve to death, he could be unemployed for fifty bloody years and still survive. Why? Because he has got so many things going for him. People are giving every day to the unfortunates, and I know who the unfortunates are. Let's be honest, no black in Port Elizabeth or anywhere else in the country will starve to death. All he has to do is go the Welfare places, and he is given his blankets, his mealie pap, he's given everything. Also the fact that they have resorted to burning their own people and all the strikes ag, this country is in such a bloody mess - the political scene hasn't helped. We've had our present government since 1948, I like to think we know what we've got, we don't know what the hell we are going to get. I don't know if this government were to resign tomorrow whether, if you put someone else in their place it would be any better. I mean Van Zyl Slabbert with his big mouth, and Colin Eglin, I read a bit in the paper and watch T.V. and to me a politician is the biggest rogue on bloody earth.

If I could change things in this country, my God, I would. My needs and desires are not being met, I would alter things to suit me. I have always worked with the native, not so much the coloured, and I firmly believe he is not the easiest person to get on with. And as far as I'm concerned, he never will be - he is getting worse. He is more demanding which is just making things more difficult for himself.

Today money is the thing, without money what do you do? If I had money, I wouldn't feel the way I do.

NATURAL MEANING UNITS

- 1, I am quite an outgoing person who really enjoys the company of others. I also get great satisfaction from family life.

- 2, My daily routine while I was employed, would consist of waking in the morning, bathing and shaving etc. I had no worries about a monthly salary, and it was a pleasure to get up every morning.

- 3, While I was still with the steel company which I worked at before joining my former employers, I was working long and tedious hours. Further I had quite a lot of responsibilities.

- 4, After leaving this firm (joined the opposition), my job entailed less responsibility, and I enjoyed it far more. I found the work more stimulating, and an extra bonus was a company vehicle.

CENTRAL THEMES

S is an outgoing, sociable person, enjoying the company of others and his family.

S's routine whilst working would consist of daily activities, having no financial worries it was a pleasure for him to get up in the morning.

Whilst S was at his first employers, he had long hours and greater responsibility than at his former employers.

After leaving this firm and joining the opposition S's work entailed less responsibility and he enjoyed it far more, finding the work more stimulating.

- 5, Now that I am without work it is no pleasure for me to wake up in the mornings, I have nothing to look forward to. Being without work, the day has no structure, and S has nothing to look forward to.
- 6, I always hope and pray that there will be something in the newspaper, where I can phone and make an appointment for an interview, hoping to God I will be fortunate. Whilst searching the newspaper, S hopes and prays that he will be fortunate in finding a job.
- 7, However, the type of work that I'm accustomed to doing just isn't available in P.E. and if a job is available, I am competing with so many other applicants. The work S is accustomed to is not available where he lives, and if there were work, S would be competing with many other applicants.
- 8, The fact that I am fifty years of age does not help matters either. The chances of me getting the position are practically nil. S's age is a hinderence to re-employment.
- 9, Because I have so much time on my hands, I think a lot about my situation. Also with my wife at work all day, and the daughter at school, I am alone All alone, and with so much time on his hands, S thinks a great deal about his situation.

in the house.

10, With the days turning into weeks and the weeks into months, I have often quite honestly, thought of, sort of ending it. I have already gone so far as to go into my garage to look for a hose pipe, in order to connect it to the exhaust of my car; sit back and ending it all.

11, But then I think of my wife and daughter; I'm not going to achieve anything by committing bloody suicide. Yet these are thoughts you get because you are so frustrated, so angry

12, and I say to myself but the fact that I'm unemployed is not my bloody fault, I wasn't fired. I was retrenched, along with a lot of other people as well.

13, I ask myself why me? I do feel bitter, I feel I'm missing out so much in life.

With time passing, S has seriously contemplated suicide, having gone so far as to find a means of doing it.

S thinks of his wife and daughter, and realizes that suicide is not a solution, yet often thinks of it as he is so frustrated and angry.

S feels bitter inspite of the fact that losing his job was not his fault.

S questions why he was retrenched and feels bitter as he is missing out so much in life.

- 14, I have also lost interest. For me to wash my car or work in the garden, it becomes an effort and I don't have the inclination to do any bloody thing. S has lost interest in life and all inclination to do any kind of activity.
- 15, I can't sleep properly; I find my mind is too occupied with the worry of where can I find a job and when? The theme of finding a job has become quite dominant.
- 16, It's a hell of a thing. The day you are told that you are going to lose your job, your whole life seems to shatter. I can't describe the shock. S's job loss was a tremendous, indescribable shock, his whole life seemed to shatter.
- 17, With time I have just grown more despondent. With time S has become more negative and despondent.
- 18, I'm convinced that I will be fixed up with a job, but when? Am I going to battle for the next ten months? S believes he will find employment, but is uncertain as regards his future.
- 19, I have become very miserable I find I have nothing to tell my wife when she gets home, she can tell me what type of day she has had, but my day is usually boring or lousy. The ordinary pattern of his life has been drastically changed by the fact that he has no job.

- 20, I find it extremely demoralizing not to be in the breadwinner position; I feel awkward as I don't believe in living off a woman. S finds not being the breadwinner extremely demoralizing and feels awkward living off his wife.
- 21, I can't provide the family with even the necessities, this makes me angry, I feel restricted; it would be better if I were physically tied up. S feels restricted and angry as he can't provide his family with necessities, and feels it would be better if he were physically restricted.
- 22, I discover that I'm questioning myself; who am I? What am I? I'm helpless, not even able to relate to others about the way I feel. S discovers that he is questioning himself, and feels helpless in not adequately conveying his experience to others.
- 23, I do a lot of thinking. I have never thought so much in all my life as in the last ten months. S has never thought so much about his life as in his time of worklessness.
- 24, I have also found that because I'm not speaking to people daily that this has affected me. I don't think as clearly as I used to; my mind's become stagnant. S has found that his mind has become stagnant through lack of personal contact and communication with others.

- 25, I can't even do a simple task like reading. I can't concentrate anymore. In fact I have no inclination to do anything.
- 26, I can see it has affected my wife, I have become a worry to her, she is pressurised to support the family.
- 27, I feel others take pity on me, but they don't really give a damn.
- 28, I try not to phone friends in case they think I'm beginning to rely on them, they have problems of their own and I don't think they are interested in mine.
- 29, I have noticed that the few friends I do have, have sort of pushed me aside, Ralph's unemployed, he's got a problem, so what, 'I'm all right Jack'. I can't relate to them like I used to.
- S can't concentrate even for simple tasks and has lost the energy to live.
- S's wife has the pressure of supporting the family and S notices the effect of his worklessness upon her.
- S feels others pity him, yet do not have his concern at heart.
- S doesn't contact friends, avoiding them thinking that he is beginning to rely on them, as he believes they are disinterested in his problems.
- S has noticed his friends have ignored him and he is also unable to relate to them as he used to.

- 30, I begin to feel that I have a problem, that there is something wrong with me, that I'm inferior in some way. Unemployment has left S feeling inferior to others as it has become a problem.
- 31, My main worry/concern is losing my house, it's taken me years to save enough to buy my first little house, this one I'm sitting in. S's main concern is losing his house, as it took him years to save enough money to pay for it.
- 32, I don't know what I would do if I lost my house, how would I ever start again? I don't think I'm strong enough to start again. S doesn't know what he would do if he lost his house, as he doesn't think he's strong enough to start again.
- 33, I wish I knew what my future holds. I've even gone as far as to go to a fortune teller, (Something I've never believed in; I think it's a load of crap). S wishes he knew what his future held, and has confided in a fortune teller despite believing against it.
- 34, Yet I'm so concerned about my future, I was prepared to pay to listen to her. As yet nothing she said has come true. Concerned about his future, S payed to hear her, but nothing she said has come true.
- 35, I really wish I knew what the future holds for me, and S wishes to uncover his future, frequenting church

my family. I pray more now than I ever have. I go to church, but not as often as I should.

36, I have questioned the Lord, asking why he is doing this to me. Is this a test that I'm going through? I get the hell in, why are you doing this to me?

37, I usually feel guilty afterwards, and I apologise for what I thought. It's not easy, and as the days pass it becomes more difficult.

38, The day I lost my job, I experienced terrific anger.

39, I realize that my move as far as companies are concerned was not well timed, but how was I to know that the economy was going to change so drastically, and that the iron and steel industry would be so hard hit.

and praying more often now than he ever has.

S questions the Lord, asking why he has been put through his torment, and is angered by the feeling of being tested.

S feels guilty, and apologises for his thoughts, yet finds it more difficult to cope with time.

S experienced terrific anger the day he lost his job.

S realized he made an ill-fated move changing companies, but S could not have predicted the economic changes and the impact upon his field.

- 40, The day I was told by the Manager, I could have ... I felt like hitting his head right off his shoulders ... grabbing him, pulling him right over his desk, giving him the worst clout of his bloody life ... just making one big mess up ... flattening the whole bloody building. This is what I would have done.
- 41, But I listened to what he had to say, I was shocked I couldn't believe it.
- 42, He wasn't nasty, look it was difficult for him to tell me, 'sorry you have to go'.
- 43, But still I have thought of all kinds of things I would liked to have done ... If there was no law and order in this country and I had a weapon I would have taken great delight in blowing his brains out, and no doubt I would have taken great delight
- On being told that he had lost his job, S experienced terrific aggressive impulses towards his manager, having the urge to physically attack him, destroying life and property.
- S was shocked, unable to believe what he had been told.
- S sympathises with the person who had to tell him.
- S describes how he would relieve his anger and aggression by shooting and deriving pleasure, from killing his ex-manager.

in seeing his brains splattered on the wall ...I would have pumped all the bullets into him just to make sure this guy is dead.

- 44, It's a hell of a shock to a man, and to come home and tell your wife and child that you are unemployed, is indescribable. S finds the shock as well as informing his wife and child of his unemployment indescribable.
- 45, The only people I can really relate to are other people who are also unemployed, we can understand what we are going through. S finds he can only really relate to people who are also unemployed.
- 46, I often lie down hoping that I will be able to sleep the day away. S often hopes he could sleep the day away.
- 47, I look forward to my daughter returning from school, and my wife later in the evening, because I'm so bored and depressed. Bored and depressed, S looks forward to the return of his wife and daughter.
- 48, I long for company, just to reassure me that I'm still living, that it isn't all a nightmare. S longs for company in reassurance that his life is not all a nightmare, and that he is still living.

- 49, I hate the bloody radio and the paper, there is nothing exciting in my life anymore, it's too much for me.
- 50, I'm angry with everyone not only myself. I am aware of this especially in the interviews I have gone to. The swine has got to know all my personal details, and then he says he will let me know. Nine out of ten haven't got the common decency to get back and inform you that you haven't got the job.
- 51, It hurts me when others offer me financial assistance. I feel like a beggar without actually begging.
- 52, My eldest son and daughter have offered assistance, but it is not a very nice thing, when will I be able to repay them?
- 53, Thank God we are not starving but we are not buying the things we were accustomed to.
- S finds it all too much for him, as there is nothing exciting in his life anymore.
- S is angry with himself and others and is aware of this in interviews, where he reveals his personal details and is rejected or not even contacted afterwards.
- S feels hurt, and degraded when offered financial assistance.
- Even with family members offering assistance, S feels uncomfortable, and uneasy about repayment.
- S thanks God that they still have food, yet money becomes very important as they are

- You have to watch every cent.
- 54, Being turned down job opportunities, just reinforces all the negative thoughts I have about myself.
- 55, People feel sorry for me and this is the last thing I want from anyone.
- 56, I don't enjoy myself as much as I used to when I was employed, in that I find it difficult to forget my present state - it's always with you.
- 57, What makes this worse is that we seldom go out, not even to the drive-in, or even for a drive on say Sundays.
- 58, All I want is a job, I don't even demand a salary, just something to keep me occupied, to be myself again, to bring home money at the end of the month.
- unable to buy items they were used to.
- Being rejected by companies, reaffirms S's negative thoughts about himself.
- S does not want others to feel sorry for him.
- S doesn't enjoy himself as much as he used to, as he finds it difficult to forget that he is unemployed.
- What aggravates his position is a restriction in freedom.
- S would like to be employed again, to be occupied, and be himself again.

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| 59, The most meaningful thing in my life today, is seeing my wife smile, and my daughter smiling more often than she does now. | The most meaningful aspect in S's life is to see his wife and his daughter smile. |
| 60, Knowing that we still have each other. We have become a lot closer since my unemployment. | S's family is much closer since his unemployment as they realize they still have each other. |
| 61, I'm lucky in that we have still remained quite cheerful, my daughter often joking with me. I have become more irritable, I'm not as cheerful as I used to be. Things aren't as funny as they used to be. | S is lucky in that his family have remained cheerful, yet S, despite his daughter's cheerfulness, has become more irritable and less joyful, failing to find things funny. |

**Constituents of situation expressed more directly in terms of
being Unemployed.**

Protocol 2. (Grouping of Themes).

- 1, S is an outgoing, sociable person, enjoying the company of others and his family.

- 2, S's routine whilst working would consist of daily activities, and having no financial worries, it was a pleasure to get up in the morning.

- 3, Whilst S was at his first employers, he had long hours and greater responsibility than at his former employers.

- 4, After leaving this firm and joining the opposition, S's work entailed less responsibility and he enjoyed it far more, finding the work more stimulating and having an extra bonus of a company vehicle.

- 5, Being without work, S finds no pleasure in waking up as he has nothing to look forward to.

- 6, Whilst searching the newspaper, S hopes and prays that he will be fortunate in finding a job.

- 7,8 The work S is accustomed to is not available where he lives and his age is a hinderence to re-employment, as he has to compete with so many other applicants.

- 9,10 S has never thought so much about his life as in his time
11,23 of worklessness and with his wife and daughter away, S has seriously contemplated suicide, having gone so far as to find a means of doing it. Yet, S thinks of his wife and daughter and realizes that suicide is not a solution, yet continually thinks of it as he is so frustrated and angry.

- 12, S feels bitter inspite of the fact that losing his job

was not his fault.

13,16 S's job loss was a tremendous, indescribable shock, his whole life seemed to shatter and he questions why he was layed off, as he feels bitter missing out on so much in life.

14,15 S has lost interest in life and the energy to live. S
25. can't concentrate on even simple tasks as the theme of finding a job has become quite dominant.

17,19 S has become miserable and despondent as the ordinary pattern of his life has been drastically changed by the fact that he has no job.

18, S believes he will find employment, but is uncertain as regards his future.

20,21 S finds not being the breadwinner extremely demoralizing and restricting, and he feels awkward and angry as he can't provide his family with necessities and feels it would be better if he were physically restricted.

22, S discovers that he is questioning himself and feels helpless in not adequately conveying his experience to others.

- 24, S has found that his mind has become stagnant through lack of personal contact and communication with others.
- 26, S's wife has the pressure of supporting the family and S notices the affect of his worklessness upon her.
- 27,55 S does not want others to feel sorry for him, as he feels others pity him, yet do not have his concern at heart.
- 28, S doesn't contact friends, avoiding them thinking that he is beginning to rely on them, as he believes they are disinterested in his problems.
- 29, S has noticed his friends have ignored him and he is unable to relate to them as he used to.
- 30, Unemployment has left S feeling inferior to others as it has become a problem.
- 31,32 S's main concern is with losing his home, as it took him years to save enough money to pay for, and he would not know what to do if he lost it, as he doesn't believe he is strong enough to start again.
- 33,34 S wishes he knew what his future held and has even payed and confided in a fortune teller, despite believing against it.

35,36 S thanks the Lord that they still have food, yet unable to
37,53 buy what they want, money has become very important. S
prays more than he ever has, but questions the Lord asking
why he has been put through his torment and is angered by
being tested. S feels guilty and apologises for his
thoughts, yet finds it more difficult to cope with time.

38,40 The day S lost his job, he experienced shock and terrific
41,43 anger, as he could not believe what he had been told. He
44 experienced terrific aggressive impulses towards his
ex-manager, having the urge to physically attack
him, destroying life and property.

39, S realizes he made an ill-fated move changing companies,
but S could not have predicted the economic changes and
the impact upon his field.

42, S sympathises with the person who had to tell him.

45, S finds he can only really relate to people who are also
unemployed.

46,49 S finds it all too much for him, as there is nothing
exciting in his life and he often hopes he could sleep the
day away.

- 47, Bored and depressed, S looks forward to the return of his daughter and wife.
- 48, S longs for company in reassurance that his life is not all a nightmare and that he is still living.
- 50, S is angry with himself and others and is aware of this in interviews, where he reveals his personal details and is rejected or not even contacted afterwards.
- 51,52 S feels hurt, uncomfortable and degraded when offered financial assistance; even with family assistance, S feels uneasy about repayments.
- 54, Being rejected by companies reaffirms S's negative thoughts about himself.
- 56, S doesn't enjoy himself as much as he used to, as he finds it difficult to forget that he is unemployed.
- 57, What aggravates his position is a restriction in freedom.
- 58, S would like to be employed again, to be occupied and be himself again.
- 59,60 The most meaningful thing in S's life is to see his wife and daughter smile. Knowing that they still have each

other, they have become closer with S's unemployment.

61, S is lucky in that his family have remained cheerful, yet S, despite his daughter's cheerfulness has become more irritable and less joyful, failing to find things funny.

SITUATED STRUCTURE.

Subject B.

The subject is a social person, who enjoys other's company. His routine whilst working consisted of daily activities. Having no financial worries his routine was pleasurable. After leaving his place of work and joining the opposition, the person's work entailed less responsibility and he enjoyed it far more.

Without work the subject finds no pleasure in waking up as he has nothing to look forward to. Whilst searching the newspapers, he hopes and prays that he will be fortunate in finding a job. The unavailability of work and his age trouble the subject and he has become negative about his chances of re-employment. The subject has never thought so much about his life as in his time of worklessness, and when alone, has seriously contemplated suicide. Despite being frustrated and angry and having these thoughts the person values his family too much and realizes that suicide would not be a solution. The subject's job loss was a tremendous indescribable shock, his whole life seemed to shatter, and he questions why he was laid off as he feels bitter missing out on so much in life. Consequently the subject has lost interest in life and the energy to live. He can't concentrate on simple tasks as the theme of finding a job has become quite dominant. The subject has become miserable and despondent as the ordinary pattern of his life has been drastically changed by the fact that he has no job. Despite being optimistic about finding employment, he is sceptical about his future. The fact that the subject is no longer the breadwinner is extremely demoralizing and

restricting and he feels awkward and angry, as he can't provide his family with necessities. The subject questions his identity and feels helpless in being unable to convey his experience to others. He has found that his mind has become stagnant through lack of personal contact and communication with others. Further, his wife is now burdened with his responsibility of supporting the family. The subject is negative towards others and resents pity being taken on him. He avoids his friends as he no longer relates to them as he used to and feels they are disinterested in his problems as they have ignored him. Unemployment has left the subject feeling inferior to others as if he has become a problem. His main concern is security; if he were to lose his home he is uncertain of whether he would have the strength to start again.

The future plagues the subject. He thanks God for what they still have, yet financially restricted, money has become very important. The subject prays, but questions the Lord about his predicament which later leaves him apologetic and guilty. The subject realizes he made an ill-fated move changing companies. The day he lost his job he experienced shock and terrific aggressive impulses towards his ex-manager; having the urge to physically attack him, destroying life and property. Nevertheless, the subject does have sympathy for the person who informed him. Moreover, the subject finds that he relates well to people who are also unemployed.

As there is nothing exciting in his life, the subject often hopes he could sleep the day away. He longs for company to allay his boredom and depression and to reassure him that is isn't all a nightmare. He is angry on revealing his personal details to others, as rejection reaffirms the individuals negative thoughts about himself. He feels hurt, uncomfort-

able and degraded when offered financial assistance from others. The subject is not as happy with himself as he used to be, as he finds it difficult to forget that he is unemployed. Restriction of freedom has aggravated his position, to an extent that the subject almost pleads for re-employment, to be occupied and to be himself again. The most meaningful thing in the subject's life is seeing his wife and daughter smile, knowing that they still have each other, they have become closer with his unemployment.

Despite their happiness, the subject has progressively become more irritable, less cheerful and his sense of humour has depreciated.

SUBJECT C.

1. Age: 41 years
2. Retrenched: July 1985 -
3. Occupation: Artisan
4. Qualifications: Std. 7
5. Unemployed previously: 1968 for 4 months
6. Married: wife works
7. Children: two, son of 19, daughter of 16
8. Present Income: Nil.

PROTOCOL 3.

Personal Description.

Being unemployed has been the biggest upset in my life. I have only really appreciated work, now that I'm without it. I miss the routine and especially the company at work. Although there are advantages of staying at home, I miss being able to go out whenever I feel like it. It's as though all meaning has gone out of my life.

My routine was relatively fixed whilst at work; I would start at 8:30 a.m. and finish at about 4:00p.m. Thinking back now, I was enthusiastic about my job, not only did it provide for my family, it also gave me a satisfaction. Now that I'm unemployed, I drop the daughter off at school and fetch the wife from work in the evenings. During the day I visit a friend who is also unemployed; we manage to do odd mechanical work. I

have also found that I do most of the housework and cooking. The first couple of weeks, it was like being on holiday, but it's past that stage now. I sometimes wonder whether I will ever get a job again. It's a kind of empty feeling you get inside and I do get very anxious and discontent. Looking for a job has lost its excitement, everything has become boring. It's very embarrassing for me to tell people that I'm unemployed. I feel ashamed. It's constantly on your mind, suddenly your life takes on a new outlook, I'm sitting in a different boat!

I have also noticed a change in the way my wife responds to me, it's as though she is living through my difficulty as well and she is also terribly anxious. Not being in a position to provide for my family is heartbreaking; the wind has been taken out of my sails completely - it's very difficult in P.E.

My biggest worry is running out of money. Ford looked after the people they layed off, providing them with a bonus cheque, etc., but that money has long been used up. I still like to hope that there is a chance that I will find employment, but I'm not as optimistic as before. I notice the effects on my children especially my daughter, she wears the same clothes practically every day, changing little things here and there so that people don't notice. My son is the same, we haven't been able to provide them with anything new. The things just add up. I do get depressed, it's as though I'm standing still and everyone around me is moving. Everything seems pointless and I get agitated far easier now. One is also

constantly aware of things being against you, especially where payment is concerned, the rent and other bills are very intimidating. I was aware that I was going to lose my job, so in a way I was prepared for it. Yet I was still incredibly disappointed and upset and after a couple of months it really dawned upon me. Being rejected in job interviews is also soul destroying.

I would blame the company for my loss of work; their policies as far as trade unions are concerned haven't helped me at all. The blacks are also to blame as they are having more say as far as their work is concerned. I find most of my friends from work are now also retrenched and I can relate far better to them than the ones who are still employed.

I feel the country is going through difficult times; things are in the open more and I think the government is under far more pressure than it ever has been. I don't know whether it is because I'm unemployed, but things seem far worse. Put it this way, I wouldn't like to be in P.W.'s shoes.

I think we should take hold of the situation before things get out of hand. By this I mean ... there are changes occurring, the reason I lost my job is because of these changes. I think the government must take hold and not just let everything we know slip from us. Of course there is pressure, but what is our future if we just give in to pressure?

NATURAL MEANING UNITS

CENTRAL THEMES

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| 1, Being unemployed has been the biggest upset in my life. I have only really appreciated work, now that I'm without it. | Unemployment has been the biggest upset in S's life and he only really appreciates work, now that he is without it. |
| 2, I miss the routine and especially the company at work. Although there are advantages of staying at home, I miss being able to go out whenever I feel like it. | S misses the routine, the company and although there are advantages of staying at home, S yearns for freedom. |
| 3, It's as though all meaning has gone out of my life. | S's life is meaningless. |
| 4, My routine was relatively fixed whilst at work; I would start at 8:30 a.m. and finish at about 4:00 p.m. | S's working routine was relatively fixed. |
| 5, Thinking back now, I was enthusiastic about my job; not only did it provide for my family, but it also gave me satisfaction. | On reflection S was enthusiastic about his job, as it was satisfying and he provided for his family. |
| 6, Now that I'm unemployed, I drop the daughter off at school and fetch the wife | Unemployed, S drops his daughter off at school and fetches his wife in the |

- from work in the evening.
During the day I visit a friend who is also unemployed; we manage to do odd mechanical work.
- 7, I have also found that I do most of the housework and cooking.
- 8, The first couple of weeks it was like being on holiday, but its past that stage now. I sometimes wonder whether I will ever get a job again.
- 9, It's a kind of empty feeling you get inside and I do get very anxious and discontent.
- 10, Looking for a job has lost its excitement, everything has become boring.
- 11, It's very embarrassing for me to tell people that I'm unemployed. I feel ashamed.
- 12, It's constantly on your mind, suddenly your life takes on a new outlook, I'm "sitting
- afternoon, doing odd jobs with a friend during the day.
- S finds he does a lot of the household chores.
- Initially it was like a holiday, but now S wonders if he will ever find work again.
- S describes the emptiness and feelings of anxiety and discontentment.
- Looking for work has lost excitement and everything has become boring for S.
- S feels ashamed and embarrassed about his worklessness.
- Being without work is constantly on S's mind, as his life has taken on a differ-

- in a different boat".
- 13, I have also noticed a change in the way my wife responds to me, it's as though she is living through my difficulty as well and she is terribly anxious.
- 14, Not being in a position to provide for my family is heartbreaking, the wind has been taken out of my sails completely - it's very difficult in P.E.
- 15, My biggest worry is running out of money. Ford looked after the people they laid off, providing them with a bonus cheque etc., but that money has long been used up.
- 16, I still like to hope there is a chance that I will find employment but I'm not as optimistic as before.
- 17, I notice the effects on my children, especially my daughter, she wears the same ent physiognomy.
- S has noticed his wife's anxiety and changes in the way they relate, as if she was living out his torment.
- S describes not being able to provide for his family as heartbreaking, as all enthusiasm for his life has waned.
- S's biggest worry is running out of money, as the remuneration he received from his former employers has long since been used up.
- S still has hope of finding work, yet is not as optimistic as he was before.
- S notices the effect of his unemployment upon his children, unable to provide any-

clothes practically every day, changing little things here and there so that people don't notice. My son is the same, we haven't been able to provide them with anything new.

18, The things just add up. I do get depressed, it's as though I'm standing still and everyone around me is moving.

19, Everything seems pointless and I get agitated far easier now. One is constantly aware of things being against you, especially where payment is concerned, the rent and other bills are very intimidating.

20, I was aware that I was going to lose my job, so in a way I was prepared for it. Yet I was still incredibly disappointed and upset and after a couple of months it really dawned upon me.

thing new, they continually wear the same clothes, changing little things so that others don't notice.

S experiences depression and with everything adding up against him, he feels he is stagnating.

Everything seems pointless for S, who, agitated by his predicament, finds he is intimidated by bills and payments, as he feels things are against him.

Despite being warned of his jobloss, S was incredibly upset and disappointed and with time he really has become aware of his situation.

- | | |
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| 21, Being rejected in job interviews is also soul destroying. | S finds rejection from job interviews soul destroying. |
| 22, I would blame the company for my loss of work, their policies as far as trade unions are concerned haven't helped me at all. The blacks are also to blame as they are having more say as far as their work is concerned. | S blames the company for which he worked and the increasing say of the black workers and trade unions for his retrenchment. |
| 23, I find most of my friends from work are now also retrenched and I can relate far better to them than the one's who are still employed. | S finds he can relate far better to his fellow retrenched friends than ones still with work. |

Constituents of situation expressed more directly in terms of
being unemployed.

Protocol 3 (Grouping of Themes).

- 1,5 Unemployment has been the biggest upset in S's life as he only really appreciates his work, now that he is without it. He found it satisfying as he was enthusiastic and able to provide for his family.
- 2, S misses the routine, the company and although there are advantages of staying at home, S yearns for freedom.

3,14, S describes not being able to provide for his family as
19 heartbreaking and is agitated by his circumstances;
intimidated by bills and payment. He feels that things are
against him and finds no meaning in life as everything
seems pointless.

4, S's working routine was relatively fixed.

6,7 Now unemployed, S drops his daughter off at school and
fetches his wife in the afternoon, doing odd jobs with a
friend during the day. S also finds he does a lot of
household chores.

8, Initially it was like a holiday, but now S wonders if he
will ever find work again.

9,10 S describes the empty feeling he has inside, anxiety and
discontentment as looking for work has lost all excitement,
and he has become increasingly bored.

11, S feels ashamed and embarrassed about his worklessness.

12, Being without work is constantly on S's mind, as his life
has taken on a different physiognomy.

13, S has noticed his wife's anxiety and changes in the way
they relate, as if she was living out his torment.

- 15, S's biggest worry is running out of money, as the remuneration he received from his former employers has long since been used up.
- 16, S still has hope of finding work, yet is not as optimistic as he was before.
- 17, S notices the effect of his unemployment upon his children. Unable to provide anything new, they continually wear the same clothes, changing little things so that others don't notice.
- 18, S experiences depression as things seem to add up against him and he feels that he is stagnating.
- 20, Despite being warned of his jobloss, S was incredibly upset and disappointed and with time he has really become aware of his situation.
- 21, S finds rejection from job interviews soul destroying.
- 22, S blames the company for which he worked and the increasing say of the black workers and trade unions for his retrenchment.
- 23, S finds he can relate far better to his fellow retrenched friends than ones still with work.

SITUATED STRUCTURE.

SUBJECT C.

Unemployment has constituted the biggest upset in the subject's life, only really appreciating his work now that he is without it. The subject misses the satisfaction of work and enthusiasm in providing for his family. He further misses the routine, companionship and freedom.

The subject is heartbroken by his inability to provide for his family and is agitated by his circumstances, intimidated by bills and payments. He feels things are against him and finds no meaning in life as everything seems pointless. The subject's life has no set routine. Initially it was like a holiday, but now he wonders whether he will ever find work again. He describes the empty feeling he has inside, the anxiety and discontentment, as looking for work has lost all its excitement and he has become increasingly bored. The subject feels ashamed and embarrassed about his unemployment. With his changed lifestyle, being without work is constantly on his mind. He has further noticed his wife's anxiety and changes in the way they relate, as if she were living out his torment. His biggest worry is running out of money. The subject still has hope of employment, but his optimism has waned. He is also aware of the lack of money and the inability to buy commodities.

The subject gets depressed as things seem to add up, as if he were standing still and everyone else were moving. He was incredibly upset, disappointed and worried about his job loss and with time has become

aware of his detrimental position. Further, he found rejection from job interviews soul destroying.

He also discovered that he can relate better to his retrenched friends than those still employed.

SUBJECT D.

1. Age: 43
2. Retrenched: January 1986 -
3. Occupation: Sales Rep. Co-ordinator
4. Qualifications: Standard 9
5. Unemployed previously: No
6. Married: wife employed
7. Children: 3 daughters, ages 4, 7 and 11
8. Present income: Nil.

PROTOCOL 4.

Personal Description.

Without a job, is like you have nothing, your life has been removed and all you are left with is time and no where to go. I try and be my old self, but I have become confused and cannot seem to think the way I used to. I dream of being re-employed, having as much money as I wanted, buying whatever I wished and going wherever I wanted. Whilst working I never really had to worry about my day, it was organized and passed quickly. I looked forward to going off in the morning and returning in the evening. Now I feel like a prisoner in my own home. I ask myself why me? As if there were something wrong with me. It's difficult to compare how I felt whilst working, to now, as I've forgotten how smooth everything was, it feels like I've been unemployed for a life-time. One is made to feel insecure without an income, I have become helpless, I

rely on my wife. I try not to take self-pity on myself but I suppose I feel guilty in a way for not finding work. My wife notices that I have become agitated and that I try to be happy, but I become angry and short tempered with her and my children. I know I shouldn't, but they have placed pressure on me too. I think that not being independent; able to choose what you want to do and see, is the most annoying aspect of being unemployed. I'm also worried about my future and concerned about the state of my family. My children mean so much to me and I feel I'm letting them down as well.

I get depressed. With things so costly, the added pressure on my wife, people thinking that I might be lazy or incapable of work, are all thoughts that depress and makes me sad. I was shocked the day I lost my job. I couldn't believe it had happened to me. I was left feeling empty and lost, without anyone to turn to for help, everything lay on my shoulders. I had to face this problem myself. Those were the thoughts I had when I was told, it's like someone spinning you around in all directions and then sending you off in one you're not used to.

It's the shock and anxiety and then a period when you calm yourself and then feel angry and perhaps resentment. Well, more resentment towards my former employers. I found it difficult to face my wife and children, as my problem became theirs too. As the months have passed, I have continued to search for work, it's all I have to do and it's something constructive and time consuming.

There are times when I'm optimistic, I might have a good interview or I think I'm not all that badly off, but it's difficult as you can't forget

that you are unemployed, it's constantly with you. I have lost enthusiasm to do activities that I used to and without money I can't buy things that might help keep me occupied. I would say I've lost energy, I can't remember getting excited about anything in my recent past, my days are all the same. Obviously, boredom and an immense feeling of loneliness has worried me.

I think the political situation has deteriorated in a way, especially the last few years. I'm not a racist, but there have been many changes that I have seen in the job market and in South Africa, and the black has far more today than he ever had. Despite these changes, there is still pressure on the South African government from people abroad. I don't think they really know what's going on in this country, and whose business is it of theirs anyway?

I would like my children to have a future here in this country but if there were change in government, how would I know that there would be a future? I'm concerned about extreme views. I would much rather take a 'middle of the road view'. Giving the blacks more rights but being allowed to live the lives we want to live. We must take steps forward, without rushing into things, as there is a lot of violence particularly in this part of the country. Although I don't agree with all the government is doing, for one, more money should be available for the unemployed and pensioners. But they're under tremendous pressure and they need our support.

NATURAL MEANING UNITS

- 1, I enjoyed my work very much as I had contact with people and made many friends.
- 2, Without a job, is like you have nothing, your life has been removed and all you are left with is time and nowhere to go.
- 3, I try and be my old self, but I have become confused and cannot seem to think the way I used to.
- 4, I dream of being re-employed having as much money as I wanted, buying whatever I wished, and going wherever I wanted.
- 5, Whilst working, I never really had to worry about my day, it was organized and seemed to pass quickly. I looked forward to going off in the morning and returning in the evening.

CENTRAL THEMES

S's work was enjoyable as he met lots of people and made many friends.

Without work S feels he has nothing, that his life has been removed, left only with time and nowhere to go.

S tries to be like he was whilst working, but has become confused and unable to think the way he used to.

S dreams of being employed again, having as much money and freedom as he wants.

S had no worries whilst working and looked forward to going to work and returning home, as his day was organized and seemed to pass quickly.

- 6, Now I feel like a prisoner in my own home. I ask myself, why me? As if there were something wrong with me. S feels like a prisoner questioning his job loss as if he were at fault.
- 7, It's difficult to compare how I felt whilst working to now, as I've forgotten how smooth everything was, it feels like I've been unemployed for a lifetime. S has forgotten how smooth things were for him, as he feels he has been without work a lifetime.
- 8, One is made to feel insecure without an income, I have become helpless, I rely on my wife. Without an income, S feels insecure and helpless having to rely on his wife.
- 9, I try not to take self-pity on myself but I suppose I feel guilty in a way for not finding work. S attempts not to take self-pity, but feels guilty for not finding work.
- 10, My wife notices that I have become agitated and that I try to be happy, but I become angry and short tempered with her and my children. I know I shouldn't, but they have placed pressure on me too. S's wife notices his agitation and his attempt to be happy and he finds he is angry and short tempered with her and the children, as they have pressurized him too.

- 11, I think that not being independent; able to choose what you want to do and see is the most annoying aspect of being unemployed.
- 12, I'm also worried about my future and concerned about the state of my family. My children mean so much to me and I feel I'm letting them down as well.
- 13, I get depressed. With things so costly, the added pressure on my wife, people thinking that I might be lazy or incapable of work, are all thoughts that depress and make me sad.
- 14, I was shocked the day I lost my job, I couldn't believe it had happened to me. I was left feeling empty and lost, without anyone to turn to for help, everything lay on my shoulders. I had to face this problem myself. These were the thoughts I had when
- Not being independent and free are most annoying for S.
- S is worried about his future and his family as they mean so much to him. He feels he is letting them down.
- S is depressed by the cost of living, pressure on his wife and others thinking that he might be lazy or incompetent.
- S experienced shock and disbelief on being told of his job loss and felt lost, empty and lonely knowing that it was his problem he had to face alone.

I was told.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 15, It's like someone spinning you around in all directions and then sending you off in one you're not used to. | S describes unemployment as complete disorientation. |
| 16, It's the shock and anxiety and then a period when you calm yourself and then feel angry and perhaps resentment. Well more resentment towards my former employers. | S was first shocked and anxious and later felt anger and resentment towards his former employers. |
| 17, I found it impossible to face my wife and children, as my problem became theirs too. | S found it difficult to tell his wife and children as his problem now became theirs too. |
| 18. As the months have passed, I have continued to search for work, it's all I have to do and it's something constructive and time consuming. | S has continually sought work as he finds it is an activity which is constructive and time consuming. |
| 19, There are times when I am optimistic, I might have a good interview or I think I'm not all that badly off, but it's difficult as you can't forget that you are | S sometimes feels optimistic when he has a good interview or considers that he is not so badly off, but still finds he can't forget that he is unemployed. |

unemployed, it's constantly
with you.

20, I have lost enthusiasm to
do activities that I used
to and without money I
can't buy things that might
keep me occupied. I would
say I've lost energy I can't
remember getting excited about
anything in my recent past,
my days are all the same.

S has lost energy and enthu-
siasm for activities, as his
days all appear the same and
he has no money to buy any-
thing to keep him occupied.

21, Obviously, boredom and an
immense feeling of loneliness
has worried me.

Boredom and loneliness worry
S.

**Constituents of Situation more directly expressed in terms of
being unemployed.**

Protocol 4 (Grouping of Themes).

1,5 S's work was enjoyable, he had no worries and looked
forward to going to work and returning home. He met lots
of people and made many friends and his day was organized
and seemed to pass quickly.

2, Without work, S feels he has nothing, that his life has
been removed, left only with time and no where to go.

- 3,7 S tries to be like he was whilst working, but has forgotten how smooth things were, as he feels he has been without work a lifetime and has become confused, incapable of thinking the way he used to.
- 4, S dreams of being employed again, having as much money and freedom as he wants.
- 6, S feels like a prisoner questioning his job loss as if he were at fault.
- 8, Without an income S feels insecure and helpless having to rely on his wife.
- 9, S attempts not to take self-pity but feels guilty for not finding work.
- 10, S's wife notices his agitation and his attempt to be happy and he finds he is angry and short tempered with her and the children, as they have pressurized him too.
- 11, Not being independent and free is most annoying for S.
- 12, S is worried about his future and his family as they mean so much to him.
- 13, S is depressed by the cost of living, pressure on his wife

and others thinking that he might be lazy or incompetent.

- 14,15 S experienced shock, anxiety and disbelief on being told
16, of his job loss and felt lost, empty and lonely, knowing
that it was a problem he faced alone. S describes it as
complete disorientation and felt anger and resentment
towards his former employers.
- 17, S found it difficult to tell his wife and children as his
problem now became their's too.
- 18, S has continually sought work as he finds it his only
activity which is constructive and time consuming.
- 19, S sometimes feels optimistic, when he has a good interview
or considers that he is not so badly off, but finds he
can't forget that he is unemployed.
- 20, S has lost energy and enthusiasm for activities as his
days all appear the same and he has no money to buy
anything to keep him occupied.
- 21, Boredom and loneliness worry S.

SITUATED STRUCTURE.

Subject D.

The subject's work was enjoyable, as he had no worries and looked forward to going to work and returning home. He met people and had many friends. Also his day was organized and passed quickly. Without work the person feels he has nothing, that his life has been removed, left only with time and no where to go. The subject has lost his identity as a working man, incapable of thinking as he used to, he has forgotten how smooth things were, as he feels he has been without work a lifetime and has become confused.

He dreams of employment, having as much money and freedom as he wants. Unemployment imprisons the subject and he questions his job loss as if it were his fault. He feels insecure and helpless without an income, having now to rely upon his wife. Feelings of guilt are experienced with his inability to find a job. His wife notices his agitation and his attempts to be happy and he finds he is angry and short tempered with her and the children.

Loss of independence and freedom are most annoying for the person and he worries about his future and his family too. The subject is depressed by the cost of living, pressure on his wife and loss of credibility in others eyes.

The subject experienced shock, anxiety and disbelief on being informed of his job loss, and felt lost, empty and lonely, knowing that it was a

problem he had to face alone. He describes unemployment as being completely disorientating. He also had feelings of anger and resentment towards his former employers. The person felt guilty in expressing his problem to his wife and children. He has continually sought work as he finds it his only activity which is constructive and time consuming. Despite being unable to forget his worklessness, he feels optimistic after a good interview or when considering that there are others worse off than himself. He feels a loss of energy and enthusiasm for activities, as everything is monotonous and he has no money to buy anything to keep him occupied.

GENERAL STRUCTURE

In the situation in which unemployment is experienced the person is denied his working mode of being-in-the-world. This arises from the realization that the person has lost his job, as unemployment is thrust upon him. He is restricted to a reflective awareness of an alteration in daily routine and loss of structure; as previously fulfilling activities no longer support the person and make his day enjoyable. The physiognomy of the world for the unemployed person is characterized by the world presenting itself as uninviting. In feeling deprived, disorientated and demoralized the world is seen as meaningless. It is a lonely experience compounded by an alteration in temporality; time seems to drag, as lived time is disproportionately longer than clock time. The person has an appreciation for the past that he is denied living out in the present, and the future, as he feels he is stagnating and yearns for his previous working routine, being with others, and personal satisfaction associated with work. The person's world view is limited as he focuses and dwells in a here-and-now lived reality; his thoughts, actions, and general mode of being are stuck in an undesired mode of being-in-the-world. An attempt is made to restore some structure to an unaccustomed routine. This is hampered by a lack of energy in living openly towards a desired future, as well as a lack of money enabling him to do so. The person's primary attunement is to re-establishing his working identity in an accustomed working routine, as he actively searches for re-employment. The person constantly re-evaluates his existence. He questions his ability to work and doubts his self-worth in relation to others. His openness to the

world is blocked by a limiting perception of self as inferior and worthless. Negativity is experienced towards himself, the world, his future and others. There is an initial experience of shock, anxiety, disbelief and disappointment. Following this is a search for responsibility for his loss of work; having feelings of anger and resentment towards significant others instrumental in the dismissal. The gravity of this emotional experience is subsequently lived out in a more reflective, thoughtful mode as the person reconsiders and is cognizant of the deterioration of his world. The person becomes unhappy with himself. This is reflected in feelings of depression (relating to his unfavourable situation; lack of money, freedom, ability to concentrate, the prospect of real and imagined rejection, a desire to shut out his awareness of the world, a perceived loss of credibility in other's eyes, loss of security and self-confidence, and an inability to have control over his destiny in his life as he used to), shame (on being dependent upon others), anger and guilt (arising from an inability to support his family and on revealing his situation to others), insecurity (in being without an income, uncertainty of the future, and loss of his working identity [no longer being the breadwinner]), and fear (at the prospect of a possible catastrophe for self and family). Living out an unwanted and boring existence, without status and pride, the person loses hope in restoring his previous life-style and may contemplate suicide as a means of escape. The vulnerability, emptiness, frustration, and hurt precipitate a need or reliance upon God or significant other, as there is a desire for his experience to be understood. He is unable to relate to others who fail to share his perspective on the world; as previous

friendships with employed others become awkward, difficult and tense. The relationship between unemployed others and himself however, fosters a more positive experience of mutual understanding and shared meaning. Concomitant with this alteration of previous friendships is a change of relationships within the family; as individuals are confronted with the pressures of living out an unaccustomed life-style. There is a lived seriousness in the home, accompanied by a deterioration in communication between family members, increased anxiety, irritability, and stress as the responsibility for providing is thrust upon a significant other. There is also a denial of the unemployed person's true feelings as he attempts to maintain control over his life; readjusting to an (unemployed) being with others. The experience brings the family closer together. Their togetherness provides inspiration and hope for the person.

CHAPTER FIVE
DISCUSSION

As can be inferred from the results, unemployment has a direct bearing upon the lives of individuals. This is apparent by the impact and disruption being without work has upon the individual; his perceptions of himself, relationships, the experience of time, family functioning, health and finances. Unemployment occurs in a society where work is no longer a taken for granted activity, rather it is a valued and privileged involvement in the world, as the individual derives personal satisfaction, affirmation of identity and reward in the form of money. Unemployment arises when this involvement in the world is denied.

The experience of unemployment as a white, South African male is essentially one of a loss of structure and meaning in life. There is also loss of hope, a deterioration in the quality of life, changing relationships with friends and within the family, blaming of others for loss of work, re-evaluation of identity and life world, and a realization of being in an inferior and detrimental position within society. The situation is compounded by the lack of support from society, and the day to day living without security and money. The over-riding despair and sadness of the unemployed is also apparent. As the phenomenologically derived results form the kernel of this study, the psychological implications of unemployment upon white South Africans will be addressed.

Mention must first be made of the political arena. All the subjects spoke of the political situation in South Africa, but since the information regarding political issues was one of opinion and not lived experience (the subjects were asked their opinion as regards the present South African political situation as a backdrop to their experience as unemployed), the information gleaned did not lend itself accurately to phenomenological exposition. Their statements however, poignantly reflect an accepted and almost universal understanding of contemporary conditions prevailing within the country, notwithstanding a facile antagonism directed at government policy. In chapter two, a relationship between political hegemony and economic functioning was established. All the subjects showed signs of imbibing the prevailing ideology, except Subject A, who had spent time overseas and as a consequence, it is submitted by the researcher, is more aware of the political injustice and indoctrination. In supporting the government, the remaining subjects failed to perceive any causal connection between their state of unemployment and their support for the *status quo*. This provides proof that the over-riding ideology is that associated with the ruling class and the capitalist mode of production, and not the lesser fragmentary ideologies that prevail within certain cultural and racial groups within South Africa.

Moreover, they believed the present government to be the solution to the prevailing malaise:

Subject B: "We've had our present government since 1948, I like to think we know what we've got, we don't know what the hell we are going to get. I don't know if ... you put someone in their place it would be any better."

Subject C: "Although I don't agree with all the government is doing, for one, more money should be available for the unemployed and pensioners, but they're under tremendous pressure and they need our support."

The researcher believes that the subjects are unaware of alternative ways of viewing the ruling party. They are positioned within the illusory nature of ideology. As was reviewed in the literature the unemployed individual only understands that which appears in the form of 'reality' and has little knowledge of the processes that constitute this 'reality.' This is evident both in the literature and in the results of this study; subjects became confused, lacked an understanding of their purpose in life and questioned the meaning of life itself. By ingesting the media (T.V. and newspaper), the subjects merely endorse the ideology of the ruling party and the mode of production. The fear of relinquishing white supremacy compounds allegiance to Afrikanerdom, which itself is in a state of fragmentation and change. This conservative view of reform and change, ironically supports the present socio-economic situation the unemployed person no longer truly benefits from.

Subject C: "I think we should take hold of the situation before things get out of hand. By this I mean ... there are changes occurring, the reason I lost my job is because of these changes."

Most of the subjects blamed the economy for their retrenchment and failed to elaborate further.

Subject A: "I often think about who to blame for my situation as I see it as an economic fact."

Others viewed it as an intrusion by black workers and trade unions, into the working preserve of employment, they previously occupied. Or still further, simply blamed the blacks:

Subject B: "I think the non-white, to be bloody crude about it, the

Kaffir, has gone mad the way he has, has also landed the country into a bloody mess."

Subject C: "I would blame the company for my loss of work, their policies as far as trade unions are concerned, hasn't helped me at all. The blacks are also to blame as they are having more say as far as their work is concerned."

By supporting the political ideas of the ruling party, the subjects not only refrain from alternative political ideas and critical thought, but endorse the values and lifestyle the society 'demands.'

The subjects all struggled with the changes they had to face as a result of unemployment. The psychological effects of their trauma compares with previous research in this area.

Although not completely adhering to the stage theory, the subjects of this study did show signs of passing through phases in unemployment and similarities in experience with other subjects from previous studies in the area. Subject C, for example, described unemployment as initially being like a holiday. Furthermore, all the subjects pondered and doubted their future, and generally experienced difficulty adjusting to their circumstances. It was noted by the researcher that some subjects were more optimistic about their state than others. Although this is apparent in their descriptions, it was more noticeable in the interviews. In particular their home environment, state of dress, approach and willingness to express themselves revealed a great deal about the severity of their plight.

Evidence of the similarities between this studies findings and other

research in the field, relates to the six areas discussed in the review of literature. The first aspect relates to the individuals perception of himself and others. Two important themes are evident in the results which relate to the literature in this area of perceptions:

1) Questioning and 2) Being-stuck-in-the-world. They are implicated in distorting the persons previous physiognomy of the world. The person questions his self-worth and ability which in turn reminds him of his previous working identity and his present isolated, restricted existence. His self-worth is evaluated in relation to previous activities and significant others. As the person is no longer in a desirable position he experiences an alteration in the way he views himself in relation to others, and how he perceives them to be. Difficulties arise through this distortion. Fineman (1983), Hayes and Nutman (1981) and Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) all make reference to these observations. In essence they mention the loss, deprivation, self-awareness, the resultant re-evaluation of identity, status, and the concomitant emotional reactions by the unemployed to their situation.

Correspondingly, the subjects of this study mention how they feel:

Subject B: "Being turned down job opportunities just reinforces all the negative thoughts I have about myself."

Subject D: "I try to be my old self, but I have become confused and cannot seem to think the way I used to."

This self-reflection occurs within the mode of being stuck. There is an associated lack of contact with others and the outside world, as a great deal of energy is directed inwardly rather than outwardly towards others.

Relationships become phenomenologically different for the unemployed. Previous studies conducted by Jahoda (1982), Marsden and Duff (1975), Fineman (1983), and Hayes and Nutman (1981) focused upon the disturbance of unemployed's previous balance in relationships and the precise nature of how unemployment affects interpersonal relations. The fact of the matter is that the individual is deprived of the work environment and often through his re-evaluated circumstances and lack of money, the social context too. It must be noted that a change in emotional disposition occurs and it becomes difficult for significant others to be able to relate to someone in the same way when that person has effectively become a stranger. Fineman (1983) reported '...it is asking a lot of family members or friends to fulfil these various roles, just at the right time' (p. 108). The isolation which results from the withdrawal from social contact has a profound emotional impact. This emotional turmoil surfaces within relationships which often rely upon emotional input and commitment from both parties. The change for the worse, or the perceived change for the worse, especially relating to emotionally fulfilling relationships is very disparaging for the unemployed.

Subject B: "I have noticed that the few friends I do have, have sort of pushed me aside..."

Subject C: "I have also noticed a change in the way my wife responds to me, its as though she is living through my difficulty..."

The third issue of significance in the psychological effect of unemployment, is the experience of time. As was mentioned in the review of literature, unemployment destroys the pattern of the person's life.

The results of this study forcibly reiterates what is found in the literature.

Subject A: "Whereas now I have more time, the day seems to pass more slowly."

Subject B: "Because I have so much time on my hands, I think a lot about my situation."

The habitual time structure is important in structuring meaning in modern life. The unemployed in this study lost their life structure (working tasks) and the associated meaning. The 'tasks' that fill unemployed time are purposeless in relation to those that occupied the working man's day, and simultaneously provide little meaning for the person and his understanding of time. In this way time for the unemployed becomes problematic as he cannot structure it meaningfully nor can he view it as leisure and relax.

Family life was mentioned by all four subjects. In many respects what was revealed compared favourably with what Bakke (1933) cited in Fryer and Payne (1986) discovered: '...unemployment does not destroy family harmony it merely acts as an irritant on whatever already exists' (p. 242). What was found in this study was that family members became closer, with their love for each other having grown in difficult times. This does not dispel the added pressure or the possibility of greater friction between family members, it does, however, show that the subjects in this study were fortunate in having secure, supportive, understanding families. The added stress in the family had led to enrichment rather than impoverishment and conflict. This positive response of the family to

the adverse conditions reveals an ability to adapt. The father was forced to adapt in no longer being the breadwinner:

Subject A: "The fact that I am not the breadwinner anymore, was a very difficult thing to come to terms with; suddenly having the roles reversed..."

Subject B: "I find it extremely demoralizing not to be in the breadwinner position; I feel awkward as I don't believe in living off a women."

Subject C: "Not being in a position to provide for my family is heartbreaking..."

The wife too, has to adapt to the provider role and the children have to adapt to the entire shift in family balance.

Health is the fifth aspect of concern. As it was reviewed unemployment and health is a subjective area with little conclusive evidence. The subjects of this study generally appeared to be in reasonably good physical health - they still had food and the shelter of a home. However, some of the disturbing aspects related to their mental health. For example subject B's contemplation of suicide, and the other three individuals complaining of depression and restlessness. There is no doubt that they experienced high levels of stress, which in the long term could have adverse consequences for their health. Another possible detrimental feature of their unemployment may relate to their level of inactivity. The subjects complained of having nothing to do and lacking the energy and enthusiasm to partake in any activity. This too, may accentuate the possibility of sedentary health related problems.

What can be ascertained is that the subjects were not functioning in their usual mental state. This was compounded by negativity and the resultant depression.

The individual is forced to leave the secure, hospitable routine of work for near solitude and restrictions on freedom. One of the most pressing problems for the unemployed is the lack of regular income. As revealed in the results, lack of money has far reaching effects and could be said to be responsible for many of the symptoms associated with unemployment. The researcher would say that a large number of the subject's complaints such as sleeplessness, depression, family tensions, and fatalism, could be linked with their anxiety over their lack of money. Their concern for money was stated very clearly:

Subject B: "Thank God we are not starving, but we are not buying the things we were accustomed to. You have to watch every cent."

"All I want is a job .. just something to keep me occupied, to be myself again, to bring home money at the end of the month"

"Today money is the thing, without money, what do you do? If I had money I wouldn't feel the way I do."

Subject C: "My biggest worry is running out of money."

Although it has already been established that work provides both intrinsic and extrinsic pleasure for the employed, money as an influential factor cannot be overemphasized.

"Money is the universal, self-constituted value of all things. It has therefore robbed the whole world, humans as well as natural, of its own value. Money is the alienated essence of man's work and being, this alien essence dominates him and he adores it." Marx cited in McLellan, (1980) p 22.

To be removed from society as a consumer, deprives the individual of an important position within industrial capitalism. He is unable to fulfil his material needs. The inability to buy is highly restrictive and the individual feels he is being left behind, or is missing out on life. It is appropriate here to refer to Van Den Berg, (1974), who addresses Marx's issues of privatism in a consumer society:

Consumers of all countries unite. It does not sound very convincing ... Unite? Go home is better advice. Go to your well equipped home, your bungalow, your apartment, your boat, your caravan. Scatter! Disperse! for we are separated. We are not one. We just call ourselves one. The bungalow, the boat, the caravan, they are the least disturbing manifestations of our separateness ... Are we not moving toward a streamlined, perfectly cared for, neat, humane, peaceful, dull, spiritless, yawning time? We pray that it is not true.
(Van Den Berg, 1974, p 164).

Unfortunately this description of modern life may have already arrived. The complication for the ex-consumer is obvious: he is unable to fit securely within the rest of society, to 'keep in line' with the pace and direction of progress and be fully immersed within the 'false equality.' The agitation, restlessness and despair expressed by the subjects reveals not only an exclusion from the work place, but from society at large.

This position is affirmed by Erich Fromm who sees 'human relations as essentially those of alienated automatons, each basing his security on staying close to the herd and not being different in thought, feeling or action. While everybody tries to be as close as possible to the rest, everybody remains utterly alone, pervaded by the deep sense of

insecurity, anxiety and guilt which always results when human separateness cannot be overcome' (Fromm, 1975, p 74). This 'false consciousness' or awareness of 'pseudo-togetherness', undoubtedly plagues the person without work as he no longer fits the pattern established within social functioning. The person is almost an outcast, incapable of enjoying the 'buying capacity' and 'freedom of choice' of commodities that are shared by millions of working individuals.

Subject B: "I long for company, just to reassure me that I'm still living, that it isn't all a nightmare.

'Our civilization offers many palliatives which help people to be consciously unaware of their loneliness. First of all the routine of bureaucratized, mechanical work, helps people remain unaware of their most fundamental human desires, of the longing for transcendence and unity' (ibid, p 74). It is useful to refer briefly to Kovel, (1984), for a critical perspective of bureaucratic rationality, within contemporary capitalism. To begin with administrative rationality (prevalent today within South African social and economic structure), '...has become the great mediating mode between subjective and objective existence. Without creativity, spontaneity, or the capacity to make anybody happy, it becomes the primary glueing force of contemporary culture. As long as it works, there is a rough equivalence between the amount of subjective autonomy it demolishes and the ego support it provides and this suffices to keep a reasonably intact population of producers and consumers in line within the prevailing order of things' (p 118.).

Kovel further states:

Moreover, by eliminating or otherwise alienating the need for human labour, bureaucratic capitalism leads to an increase in unbound time. It attempts to administer this (mainly through education and the culture industry), but the attempt never succeeds ultimately because the centre of psychological gravity has shifted to more primitive mental levels (Kovel, 1984, p 118.).

'Furthermore, bureaucracy maintains the given order in that there is a more or less continuous attempt to manage the inter-relationship between areas of functioning i.e. the subjectivity and the objectivation of capital. Kovel's perspective is not that people desire the administrative bureaucratized mode. It is rather that administration protects them against the desires they cannot stand, while it serves out, in the form of diluted rationalizations, a hint of the desire and power lost to them' (ibid, p 105.).

This process occurs at the level of Althusser's ISA's. The administration mode emanates from within the apparatuses and institutions of society. It provides a framework for the working person and represents something which was meaningful and desirable for those who were expelled from its forces.

To return to the issue of man longing for transcendence and unity, Fromm continues by saying: 'Routine alone does not succeed in this, man overcomes his unconscious despair by the routine of amusement, the passive consumption of sights and sounds offered by the amusement industry, furthermore, by the satisfaction of buying ever new things and

soon exchanging them for others. Modern man is actually close to the picture Huxley describes in his 'Brave New World'; well fed, well clad, satisfied sexually, yet without self, without any except the most superficial contact with his fellow man guided by slogans which Huxley formulated so succinctly such as; 'Never put off until tomorrow the fun you can have today.' or 'Everybody is happy nowadays.' Man's happiness consists of having fun. Having fun lies in the satisfaction of consuming and 'taking in' commodities, sights, food, drinks, cigarettes, people, lectures, books, movies all consumed, swallowed' (Fromm, 1975, p 74.).

In the same light, Jacoby, (1975) captures the spirit of happiness today, "The subjective happiness in its immediacy, the happiness that satisfies the individual, is already objective in that it does not arise from the deep reserves of the non-social individual, but from the entanglement of the individual with social structures and tensions. Happiness over a new car is happiness that has been drilled in, not spontaneously hatched" (p. 129.).

Fromm elaborates on this theme:

The world is one great object for our appetite, a big apple, a big bottle, a big breast, we are the sucklers, the eternally expectant ones, the hopeful ones and eternally disappointed ones. Our character is geared to exchange and to receive, to barter and to consume, everything, spiritual as well as material objects, becomes an object of exchange and of consumption (Fromm, 1975, p. 75.).

It may be established that the individual without work and therefore

without a regular income, is deprived of fulfilling his consumer role. But the implications go further still; Kruger, (1987) provides an accurate scenario of the 'Affluent person.' Within his description he captures the routine and style of life followed by many white South African couples. For those unable to live according to the standard set within society, or lack one or other of the 'qualifications' necessary to 'enjoy themselves', only dreams, aspirations and the hope of attaining the path to sophistication, style, status, material wealth, respect, leisure time etc., are left. Yet what is wrong with a high standard of living, or the pursuit of it? The life style epitomizes health, beauty, sophistication, good taste, intelligence, freedom, freewill, and choice, to many the ideal way to present themselves to others and the world. A passport to happiness, transcendence, fulfilment, prosperity and possible recognition and praise from others. To stand opposed to the interest of what is correct and satisfying, or to pursue an alternative lifestyle, exposes one to condemnation as a non-conformist. As Kruger, (1987) describes the affluent life style:

It is a life in which human relationships reach no real depth. It is a life rich in contact, even friendship, but poor in real inner communion with fellow man. It is an escapist outward bound existence which has banished the knowledge of the reality and the immediacy of death; in which the will to meaning in what you are doing right now is absent. It is a true reflection of a new society which ties its norms to needs that can be catered for in a rational manner and leaves the spiritual sector of society empty (p 101).

It is also a society developing a throwaway culture, promoting narcissism and borderline personality disorders. Furthermore, it is a life devoid of critical thought.

At first glance, the unemployed are seemingly spared these disguised pitfalls of contemporary culture, the competitiveness, tensions, superficiality, emptiness and false gratification. This would possibly be so, if there were an accepted alternative to the consumer society. A few may value the free time or lack of pressure (although none of the subjects mentioned any positive attributes of being unemployed). The odds weigh strongly against the workless, as they are denied following the accepted lifestyle:

Subject D: "I get depressed, with things so costly, the added pressure on my wife, people thinking that I might be lazy or incapable of work, are all thoughts that depress and make me sad."

Subject B: "I ask myself, why me? I do feel bitter, I feel I'm missing out so much in life."

Jacoby's (1975) clarity as regards the impression society has upon the individuals, as well as his concise commentary of the mystification inherent within advanced capitalism, underpins the critical content of this study:

The private individual, free to pick and choose, was a fraud from the beginning, not only were the allotments already picked and chosen, but the contents of the choice followed the dictates of the social not the individual world. The private interest is already a socially determined interest, which can be achieved only within the means provided by society ... Even as society announced it, the idea of the individual as an autonomous being was ideological. The unemployed like the employed, were to think that their lack of luck, or their luck, was due to their private abilities and was not determined by the social whole. No less are the private hopes, desires and nightmares, cued by public and social forces. The social does not "influence" the private; it dwells within it (Jacoby, 1975, p 104.).

Jacoby's 'critical wit' cuts away at the ideological obscurity and mystification, as he further instils an understanding of life in contemporary society. He provides a basis from which the existing order of things is brought into question.

'To get in touch with one's feelings, (a slogan much bandied about today as if it were a missing part of individual psychological configuration) hopes to affirm an individual existence already suspect. Self and mutual affirmation and confirmation work to revitalize experience denatured long ago. Bewitched by the commodity, the individual turns into one. The atomized particle called the individual, gains an afterlife as an advertisement for itself' (ibid. p 105).

The unemployed individual stagnates within society's 'ever new' repetition of progress; an ill-equipped 'commodity' motionless within the ebb and flow of life. The options, possible excitement, gratification and experience bombard him in his stationary position. His frustration and disillusionment find no outlet. Left in an introspective state, his lifeline to 'life' previously conjoined so inextricably with money, is severed by worklessness, with re-employment the only means to re-establishing this desired position within society.

This points to a formidable and depressing picture of contemporary western culture, not just for the unemployed, but also for those who manage to earn an income. It is possible here to follow a philosophical

and critical perspective, however, the researcher is of the opinion that whilst alternative social systems remedy a large number of contradictions of capitalist production, they in fact generate their own problems and ambiguities. Moreover, the repercussions caused by the technological era are largely inescapable.

The problem of unemployment is practical in nature the reasons and causes can be attributed to the real events within social, political and economic parameters. The effect (accompanying the psychological classifications) have practical experiential significance too, for the individual.

The issue here, is the person's imperceptibility and almost total ignorance of 'wider social functioning,' and fetters to personal growth, which in turn lead to the development of commodity relationships, reification and false consciousness.

In other words, the philosophical and theoretical approaches should, to enhance a full understanding of unemployment, be viewed along with the lived world contexts and practical implications for the person. The dialectical relationship between a person's understanding of 'normality' and social reality, provides the backdrop to many of the abovementioned contradictions. The individual is deeply concerned with his material and practical conditions, his anxiety in this regard exacerbated by the desire to return to normal social functioning and to fulfil his right to work.

CONCLUSION

The devastation of unemployment is evident in the impact it has upon the individual. In interviewing the subjects of this study the researcher discovered some of the meaning of this tragedy. In a phenomenological sense they failed to conceal their lived agony as the emotion revealed itself through the subject's presence and surroundings. Their attempt to construct a logical picture which described their experience gave expression to this agony.

The South African situation is unique in many respects, especially regarding the diversity of the population groups and the rapid rate of socio-economic and political change. In this way research of this kind reflects a changing scenario; it cannot encompass all the related fields or provide comprehensive results. It does however, represent a potent form of enquiry by integrating critical psychology, the psychology of unemployment and the phenomenological method of enquiry. They coalesce in providing insight as regards individual experience and social functioning.

Unemployment in all likelihood will prevail as long as the capitalist mode of production presides. The experience of unemployment will also assume a particular pattern as individuals who are subject to a certain ideology attempt to make sense of their experience from within the ideology's elusive parameters. Therefore, opportunity does exist for research into the dynamics of the given social order and individual experience within it. Research of greater depth and detail than presented here, could investigate the experience of unemployment for all race groups in South Africa from within a critical framework. Perhaps

the isolated ideologies under the larger umbrella of capitalist ideology have different influences upon the racial groups and individuals within them. In this way, they would influence individual perceptions of 'reality' and experience. Further studies could also incorporate explorative work within the field of critical psychology - to work within the tension of theory and practice, individual and social or subjective - objective dialectics. It is a constant challenge to work within such dialectical, radical theory and implement that which is philosophically relevant at a socio-practical level.

This study edged towards an understanding of unemployment from within a critical framework. A great deal more detail could have been included regarding critical theory and psychology of unemployment. There are members of the Frankfurt School whose contributions unavoidably had to be excluded. Furthermore, a dearth of political, economic, sociological and South African history could have been broached in providing background for this study. Again the scope of this dissertation was too limited for the inclusion of this information. A limitation of this thesis was the neglect of empirical data (nomothetics) relating to the etiology of unemployment, and perhaps preventative measures relating to the economic, sociological and psychological levels. A recommendation for research in this area could be the inclusion of a larger sample from major centres around the country. This might reflect the different ideologies influence in the various centres, for example Johannesburg is generally regarded as 'business' centre, whereas Cape Town is the cultural centre. Materialistic (ideological) expectations therefore vary according to the city one lives in. Thus, the experience of unemployment in the different centres would differ according to the social pressures

and the individual's expectations (the influence of the prevailing ideologies).

Another possible improvement to this particular form of research would have been to include a pro-active element. The present study by nature is re-active in that it focuses upon the experience of unemployment which has already occurred. A pro-active approach would strive to pre-empt the possible affects of unemployment upon the individual and provide a means to equip the individual in a time of unemployment. This would provide a form of re-education and ideally eliminate the ideological framing that occurs within a capitalist society.

In the process of completing this study, the researcher gained valuable insight into traditional psychology, an appreciation for critical theory, the Frankfurt School philosophy and the experience of what it means to be a white, unemployed, South African citizen.

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APPENDIX A

Section A - Classification of breadwinner's occupation

Section B - Classification of breadwinner's education

Section C - Classification of socioeconomic status

Section A

Classification of breadwinner's occupation.

<u>Occupation classification</u>	<u>Score</u>
Top professional, executive, administrative and technical occupations	9
Professional, administrative and managerial workers	8
Independent commercial	7
Lower grade administrative, technical and clerical, with limited supervisory and administrative responsibility	6
Artisans and skilled workers with trade qualifications	5
Routine clerical and administrative workers, service and sales workers	4
Semi-skilled production and manual workers	3
Un-skilled production and manual workers	2
Not commercially active or productive	1
No response	0

Section B

Classification of breadwinner's education.

<u>Education qualification</u>	<u>Score</u>
University attendance	7
Post matric training (not university)	6
Matric	5
Apprenticeship	4
Junior certificate	3
Primary school	2
None at all	1
No response	0

The scores from Section A and B are added together and scored according to the scale (Section C).

Section C

Classification of socioeconomic status.

Lower	Middle	Upper
2 - 10	11 - 13	14 - 16