

THE COPING PATTERNS OF THE UNEMPLOYED
ON THE CAPE FLATS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"[W]e must be wary of uncritically accepting the idea that the promotion and dissemination of social science knowledge are intrinsically good, moral and wise. The sooner we recognise that such knowledge is not truth divorced from the realities of time, place or use, the better will be our chances of making a truly responsible contribution to societal improvement" (Caplan & Nelson, 1973, p. 211).

"[T]he social scientists' acceptance of preselected and preformulated research problems adds credibility and legitimation to the values inherent in such conceptualisations" (Seidman, 1986, p. 248).

It should be recognised, that research - particularly research of social problems - is not conducted in a vacuum, but has consequences for the researcher, those who are the subject of research and for society at large. This is equally applicable for studies of unemployment. Therefore it is important to try and identify the assumptions and philosophies that are implicit in research, to describe their impact and limitations, and to justify their adoption for this particular study.

The attention paid to unemployment by social researchers has waxed and waned over the years, with more attention being given in times of high unemployment (Bartell & Bartell, 1985; Deem, 1985; Starrin & Larsson, 1987). The consequence of this has been a lack of an adequate body of theory to explain unemployment psychologically, since most studies were unsystematic and descriptive in nature, rather than being concerned with the formulation and development of theory (Bartell & Bartell, 1985; Jahoda, 1988; Payne & Hartley, 1987; Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988). In recent years, the psychological dimensions of unemployment has received much more systematic attention, particularly in Great Britain, America and Australia. As far as South African research is concerned, it would appear that the study of the psychological aspects of unemployment is still in its exploratory stages (see for e.g. Wilson & Ramphele, 1989).

The bulk of South African research on unemployment appears to have been from an economic perspective, and has been centered upon debating the measurement and extent of unemployment. Simkins (1978, p. 36) has divided the analysts of unemployment in South Africa into three categories: Those who believe that South African capitalism cannot produce substantial unemployment; those who believe that South African capitalism does produce substantial unemployment, and those who believe that South African capitalism must produce substantial unemployment.

Wilson and Ramphele (1989) labelled this first group the "market clearers". The latter two groups would fall into their "structuralists" category. According to market clearers, there cannot be unemployment in the long term, since the market must clear. Thus, temporary, frictional unemployment may occur as people change jobs, but unemployment cannot be structural in nature. According to the market clearers, individuals may also choose not to work if they regarded the market wage rate as too low. Then, they would be defined as economically inactive, and hence not included in definitions of unemployment, or alternatively would be regarded as voluntarily unemployed (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989).

Structuralists believe structural unemployment is a feature of the economy. They believe that the economy is unable to absorb a large section of the labour force in the long term. They are, therefore, interested in determining the extensiveness of unemployment (McMenamin, 1986; Wilson & Ramphele, 1989). Naturally, the theoretical position adopted by a researcher would determine his or her definition and method of measuring unemployment.

Measurement and Definition of Unemployment

Explanations of the lack of consensus of the size, cause and meaning of unemployment in South Africa have been attributed to incomplete and unreliable data, and the diversity of theoretical positions adopted by researchers

(Simkins, 1981). Market clearers would not be interested in measuring something they do not believe exists, while structuralists - acknowledging the reality of unemployment - would.

There is a wide discrepancy between the reported incidence of unemployment derived from different measures. Sources of discrepancy include data bases used and theoretical position adopted. But, probably the most significant differences arise from the definition of unemployment utilised.

McGrath (1979) identified five approaches to the measurement of unemployment derived from the work of Sen and Krishna. They are based on the following criteria: time, willingness, productivity, recognition and income. The time criterion is based on a maximum number of hours an individual can work to be regarded as unemployed. The willingness criterion regards people as unemployed only if they are willing to work. The productivity criterion is based on the productiveness of the worker. It is usually used to establish underemployment, rather than unemployment. The recognition criterion originated from a mission by the International Labour Organisation to Ceylon, where they noted that some (people claimed to be unemployed because they had jobs that did not offer them a steady income) and security.) Thus, the recognition criterion is based upon an individual's perception of him or herself as unemployed. Finally, the income criterion utilises a reference income level, and anyone whose income is below that level is

regarded as unemployed. Thus, these criteria determine the definition of unemployment and by implication, its measurement as well.

Time and willingness criteria are most commonly used in unemployment research, while the other criteria are more contentious. McGrath (1979) has criticised the recognition criterion, stating that higher income earners may also feel frustrated and insecure in their jobs, but that does not mean that they are unemployed. He has criticised the income criterion on several grounds: Firstly, the income level used as a cut-off point is arbitrary. Secondly, a lack of income due to unemployment must be distinguished from a lack of income due to other reasons such as low productivity. Finally, an individual who is unemployed, will not necessarily be poor, since he or she may have other sources of income.

Two prominent developments in the measurement of unemployment in South Africa have been the work of Charles Simkins, and the launch of the Current Population Survey. In 1978, Simkins highlighted the unavailability of reliable unemployment estimates for the population of South Africa as a whole. He identified several sources of unemployment estimates which had been used up until that time, including: registered African workseekers, population census statistics, surveys and projections. Simkins (1978) found all of them to be deficient.

"Generally, unemployment is defined as being made up of all the persons above a specified age who are currently

↓ out
Poverty
line.

available for work and are actively seeking work, but are not gainfully employed" (National Manpower Commission, 1988, p. 3). In developing countries, the criterion of "actively seeking work" is often relaxed (National Manpower Commission, 1988). It is when criteria to determine who is unemployed are operationalised, that differences arise in definition, reflecting underlying theoretical and ideological viewpoints.

Simkins (1978) used a definition of unemployment based upon the concept of under-utilisation. In this definition, the underemployed are counted with the unemployed but receive a lower weighting. An underemployed person is defined as someone who is "not fully involved in the economic system" (President's Council, 1987, p. 4) and includes people who are in subsistence agriculture and the informal sector. The under-employed do not perform as much work as they are willing or able to do (Carse, Philip, Lamberth, Mansell, Haynes & Rodanos, 1987).

Based on the concept of under-utilisation, Simkins (1978) used as his unit of measurement, number of man-years rather than number of persons. To determine the unemployment figure, Simkins deducted the weighted number of fully employed people (derived from the man years score) from the total labour supply. In terms of this calculation, two underemployed people working half a day, would effectively be scored as one fully employed individual and one unemployed individual. McGrath (1979) has submitted that Simkins has used inconsistent criteria in his measurement.

At one point he uses time and willingness criteria, and at others an income criterion. It has also been demonstrated that Simkins' figures are insensitive to fluctuations in the business cycle (Gerson, 1982). Bell (1985) has come to Simkins' defence by pointing out that an insensitivity to business fluctuations would not be unique to South Africa. Elsewhere, it has been pointed out that although Simkin's estimates do not reflect a downward trend during times of economic upswing, there is a deceleration of the rate of increase for these periods of economic decline (Bell & Padayachee, 1984).

Using his definition of unemployment, Simkins' (1978) estimation of unemployment at more than 22 percent raised a storm of controversy, arousing much academic debate and also motivating the Central Statistical Services to launch a monthly Current Population Survey (McMenamin, 1986; Meth, 1987; Wilson & Ramphela, 1989). One objective of the Current Population Survey was to determine the size and structure of the labour force, including unemployment levels (Bromberger, 1978). Prior to the Current Population Survey, the official basis of estimating the level of unemployment was the Population Census, which was conducted approximately once a decade (McMenamin, 1986).

The Current Population Survey uses two definitions of unemployment. The strict definition applies the following criteria to determine who is unemployed: A person is unemployed if she/he does not work but desires to work, has worked less than five hours in the past seven days, has

attempted to find work in the past month, is able to accept a position within one week, and is 16 to 64 years of age if male and 16 to 59 years of age if female (Bromberger, 1978; National Manpower Commission, 1990; President's Council, 1987; Republic of South Africa, 1984).

Thus, the Current population Survey uses time and willingness as criteria (McGrath, 1979). The strict definition excludes "discouraged workers" who no longer actively seek work, and those who are available to work and though not discouraged, believe no job opportunities exist, and therefore do not actively seek work (Carse, Philip, Lamberth, Mansell, Haynes & Rodanos, 1987). The discouraged worker differs from this latter group in that even if opportunities were known to exist, he or she would not be motivated to explore them. The second definition of unemployment used by the Current Population Survey - an expanded one - includes those people who wish to work, but are not actively seeking work (National Manpower Commission, 1990).

For the purpose of this study, two criteria were utilised to identify a person as being unemployed: someone who is part of the economically active population by virtue of his or her age; but does not fully participate in the formal economic sector.

It could be argued that such a definition of unemployment is far too broad, and would include the entire informal economy. But, firstly, this is a psychological study, and so it could be argued that a recognition

criterion is appropriate. That is, psychologically speaking, if an individual perceives him or herself to be unemployed, but does not meet all the economic criteria to be defined as such, the case merits exploration, since his or her self-identification with the unemployed could lead to the same psychological response as that of the economically defined unemployed person. Consequently, more economically precise definitions, though informative, are not vital for this study.

Secondly, as will be explained later, this study is exploratory in nature, examining the coping patterns of the unemployed. A broader definition would provide a larger research domain which could then include more unusual experiences of unemployment. These unusual cases may provide insights into how less effective copers could learn to cope more effectively with unemployment. This is the rationale for including some individuals who are involved in the informal economy. Someone employed on a regular, virtually full-time basis in the informal economy is more employed than unemployed and it would be difficult to justify his or her inclusion in an unemployed sample. On the other hand, those individuals who are active in the informal economy on an irregular, part-time basis, or on a small scale, and use this activity as a means of trying to cope with unemployment, could be included in such a sample. On the basis of regularity of payment by "employer", number of hours worked per day, and number of days worked per week, cut-off points were established to determine who in the

informal economy would be included in this study. A series of questions were asked at the start of an interview, to establish that a prospective interviewee met certain criteria before being included in the sample. These questions and their criteria, are provided in Appendix A.

The Unemployment Rate

Given the variety of possible approaches to the measurement of unemployment, it is hardly surprising that there is no generally agreed upon national unemployment rate for South Africa. Also, it is unfortunate that when statistics are provided, their derivation is not always specified.

In 1986, the government released revised Current Population Survey estimates of unemployment, stating that according to a strict definition of unemployment, there was estimated to be over one million unemployed - a rate of 18,1 percent (Meth, 1987). Yet, as at March 1990, the Current Population Survey claimed there were now 750 000 black, 17 000 Asian and 81 000 "Coloured" unemployed, while registered white, "Coloured" and Asian unemployed totalled 52 000 (Bureau for Economic Research, 1991). The National Manpower Commission (1990) quoted a figure of 865 000 unemployed during 1990, for the Republic of South Africa and the independent homelands. It has been suggested by them, that this figure is underestimated. They state that according to the Central Statistical Survey, there is an economically

active population of 12,5 million people. Less 8,0 million in formal employment, leaves 4,5 million. This figure compares favourably with Sadie who estimated that 37 percent of the labour force was not employed in the formal sector in 1990 (Keegan, 1991). The 4,5 million estimate includes the peripheral sector of the independent homelands (1,0 million) and the informal sector (2,0 to 2,5 million), leaving 1,0 to 1,5 million unemployed (8 to 12 percent of the economically active population).

Compared to these estimations, unofficial statistics that are available, show the enormous discrepancy between official and unofficial estimates. Moller (1988) quoted estimates of 55 percent of an economically active population of 17,8 million people, being unemployed in the year 2000, the estimate dropping to 45 percent in a no-sanctions scenario. Another calculation estimated that current levels of unemployment were already 44 percent of the economically active population (Leadership, 1991).

While these estimates provide a picture for the state of the whole country, there is reason to believe that there is much regional variation in unemployment size and trends (Claasens, 1979; Loots, 1982). It was alleged that the Greater Cape Town area is the only area in South Africa with a diminishing employment base (McMenamin, 1986). Based on the 1980 Population Census it was estimated that seven percent of the "Coloured" economically active population of this region was unemployed, the majority of them being youths. It should be noted that Population Census estimates

are regarded as very conservative (McMenamin, 1986). Other estimates place unemployment levels for the Western Cape at over 40 percent (Southern Light, May 1991). According to Keegan (1991), Wolfgang Thomas of the Small Business Development Corporation estimated that the number of unemployed in greater Cape Town - including subsistence earners - had now increased to 300 000 people. That is, 30 percent of the workforce.

By comparison, unemployment rose from 2,6 percent in 1970 to 3,8 percent in 1972 in the United Kingdom. It first exceeded 5 percent in 1976 and entered double figures in 1981 (Layard & Nickell, 1986; Minford, 1985; Moon, 1984; Sinclair, 1987). As early as 1971, the public ranked unemployment as one of the three most urgent problems facing the United Kingdom at the time, according to a Gallup survey. In 14 of the 28 polls conducted between April 1976 and April 1983, it was regarded as the most urgent problem, ranking second or third in the remaining 14 polls. From August 1980 onwards, it had always occupied pole position (Moon, 1984, p. 20). This comparison highlights the seriousness which should be attached to unemployment levels in South Africa.

In South Africa, the debate over unemployment levels has now been largely defused, with the recognition by the government that unemployment is a serious problem that requires urgent attention (National Manpower Commission, 1988; President's Council, 1987; Republic of South Africa, 1984; Robertson, 1991; Tiemann, 1991). To continue to argue

over the actual level of unemployment is therefore futile, since even based upon official estimates, it is unacceptably high, as the comparison to the United Kingdom illustrated. (Admittedly, the United Kingdom is an industrialised nation, while South Africa is still developing, but is this a reason to regard a high level of unemployment as acceptable?). Expertise should now rather be geared to solving the problem, rather than debating its magnitude.

There appears to be no doubt, that the unemployment situation in South Africa is cause for great concern. It is regarded as largely structural in nature, caused by a surplus of unskilled labour and a shortage of skilled labour (Spies, 1987; Terblanche, Jacobs & Beukes, 1988). It has been estimated that only ten percent of the economically active population can currently be accommodated in the formal economy (Gebhardt, 1991; Keegan, 1991). Combined with an estimated economic growth rate over the next few years that is insufficient to deal with unemployment through job creation (Leadership, 1991; Moller, 1988; Spies, 1987; Sunday Star Finance, 1991), it would appear that unemployment will be one of the most pressing problems for South Africa in the near future.

Recently, the government has also acknowledged the pervasiveness of unemployment, the gravity of the threat it poses, and the need to take action (National Manpower Commission, 1988; President's Council, 1987; Republic of South Africa, 1984; Robertson, 1991; Tiemann, 1991). High levels of unemployment has been blamed for a marked increase

in the crime rate in South Africa (The Argus, 22 March 1991), and is regarded as a serious threat to future political and economic stability (Robertson, 1991; Tiemann, 1991). There is a need for a concerted effort to deal with unemployment effectively. Urgent attention needs to be given to interventions in this area. This raises the question of what role psychology can play in addressing the unemployment problem.

Psychology and Unemployment Research

On a general note, Caplan and Nelson (1973) were among the authors to have discussed the implications of psychology involving itself in social issues. They argued that the definition of a problem determines what is and what is not done about a problem; that this definition, once legitimated, is difficult to replace - even if interventions are unsuccessful. They added that because of the linkage between problem definition and problem evaluation, if interventions are seen to be of little success, there is no way of establishing if the initial problem definition was invalid.

The consequences of incorrect problem definition and intervention strategy would be that solutions are ineffective, perpetuate the problem, or even worse, are iatrogenic (Seidman & Rappaport, 1986). Iatrogenesis refers to the negative effects of an intervention which arise and which potentially cause more problems than it attempts to

solve (Seidman & Rappaport, 1986). At least three iatrogenic consequences of psychology involving itself in unemployment research, have been identified. These consequences arise from the emphasis placed upon cognition in psychological theory, and its individualistic bias.

Internationally, psychological approaches to unemployment have been predominantly cognitive in nature. Jahoda (1988, p. 19) has described how the cognitive orientation of current social psychological theories are "in essence individualistic and unconcerned with the human ability outside of the laboratory to make use of social institutions for satisfying a variety of needs...". Referring specifically to unemployment theories she stated that "such concepts and theories ... have a bearing on only one dimension of the inevitably two dimensional interaction between individual psychological processes and institutional arrangements that constrain or enable the conduct of daily life. In their abstraction from social reality they cannot explain the terrible concreteness of the experience of unemployment" (Jahoda, 1988, p. 19). In other words, psychology could underemphasise the plight of the unemployed.

The second issue, is that psychology may blame the unemployed for being without work. Caplan and Nelson (1973) discussed the "'person-blame' causal attribution bias" of psychological research of social problems. Given psychology's individualistic cognitive bias, it can be expected that the basis of intervention into social problems

could have an individualistic bias, underplaying environmental factors. This analysis then could lead to ascribing the causes of the problem to the individual, since the psychologist is less likely to locate causality outside his field of expertise. Thus, training in psychology produces a "trained incapacity" in that the individual could be blamed for a problem that he or she is the victim of. Given the high regard generally ascribed to psychology, incorrect problem formulation would reinforce stereotypes of "problem groups" by society (Caplan & Nelson, 1973) and provide legitimacy to, or even reify, original, culturally based definitions of problems (Seidman & Rappaport, 1986).

A third issue has been raised by Dooley and Catalano (1988). They have suggested that teaching the unemployed how to cope with unemployment could be used as a method of social control, since it would discourage political action. They suggested that this is a very real possibility with organisations that are state sponsored.

In aggregate, Jahoda (1988), Caplan and Nelson (1973), and Dooley and Catalano (1988) would suggest that psychology has a tendency to blame the individual for the problem and to underplay the true nature of unemployment. Psychology could also hinder the resolution of the problem, through its introduction of individual, rather than collective interventions, thereby dissuading the unemployed from challenging the status quo. This then, implies that psychology's involvement in unemployment research, may have the effect of justifying non-interventionist policies.

Consequently, psychology has a particular responsibility to consciously question existing problem definitions and assumptions, and to not simply accept whatever is generally identified to be of relevance (Caplan & Nelson, 1973; Seidman & Rappaport, 1986). Seidman (1986) and Kidder and Fine (1986), among others, have identified several ways in which this can be achieved.

In summary, it has been argued that if psychology involves itself in social problems, it stands a good chance of promoting iatrogenic consequences - unless specific steps are taken to counter this. The potential dangers identified above, could promote a reluctance, or even aversion amongst psychologists who wanted to act in a socially responsible manner, from entering the domain of social problems. The questions that could be raised, are why study unemployment from a psychological viewpoint at all? Will not psychological interventions in the unemployment field also have iatrogenic consequences? Given these concerns, it is suggested that effective psychological involvement in unemployment requires several paradigm shifts, for psychology to be able to make a meaningful contribution to the current research on unemployment. Two paradigms in particular were adopted to achieve this: salutogenesis and empowerment. The implications of salutogenesis and empowerment for unemployment research are discussed below.

Salutogenesis

The concept of salutogenesis was first formulated by Antonovsky (1979). He suggested that health researchers should substitute a pathogenic paradigm with a salutogenic paradigm. The central question of what he calls the pathogenic paradigm is "what causes - and, implicitly or explicitly, what prevents - disease?" (Antonovsky, 1984a, p. 2). Alternatively, the question posed by the salutogenic paradigm is to explore how people manage to stay healthy (Antonovsky, 1979, 1984a,b; 1987a).

Traditionally, science and medicine have focused upon identifying the multiple causes of a problem, with the view to attempting to control or eliminate these causes (Antonovsky, 1972). This is the pathogenic paradigm. Antonovsky noted that Dubos had argued that since disease is a result of maladapting to an ever-changing environment (which produces new threats continuously), it was therefore necessary that greater emphasis should be placed upon improving man's ability to adapt. Consequently, Antonovsky (1972) began to study the etiology of breakdown. Antonovsky hypothesised that the disturbance of homeostasis never seemed to be resolved, and that this resulted in breakdown. He argued that it was therefore important to identify the generalised resistance resources of individuals, which enabled them to resolve problems. Given that the demands placed upon an individual are so varied, this move away from

etiological studies was a logical one. However, the paradigm was still pathogenic, since the focus was still on disease. It took several years, before a questioning of the assumptions of the pathogenic paradigm led him to reorientate his thinking and adopt and advocate the salutogenic paradigm, which was first explained in his book Health, Stress and Coping (Antonovsky, 1979).

In answer to the salutogenic question of what makes for health, Antonovsky presented an answer in the sense of coherence concept, which has been reworked since its original presentation (Antonovsky, 1979; 1984a;b; 1987a;b). Strümpfer (1990) has reviewed a number of constructs which can be regarded as salutogenic related, though many of them were not initially formulated in the salutogenic paradigm. What is pertinent for this study, is to identify the assumptions underlying the salutogenic and pathogenic paradigms and the implications of a shift in paradigm.

Implications of a pathogenic-salutogenic paradigm shift

Antonovsky (1984a,b) presents the following implications of a shift in paradigm from pathogenesis to salutogenesis. Firstly, the prevalence of pathogenesis has led to a dichotomy of health/illness. Salutogenesis replaces this, with what Antonovsky calls a health ease-dis-ease continuum. Secondly, pathogenesis has a very narrow focus in that a specific dependent variable is selected for study. Salutogenesis adopts a much more general approach in asking why people remain at a particular point of the health

continuum, or alternatively, why do they move towards the health pole. Thirdly, the pathogenic paradigm orientates the researcher to explore the multiple causality of a particular disease. The salutogenic paradigm assumes that stressors are ubiquitous. This motivates the research to reorientate his or her focus from a particular disease, to the resources that are available to cope with a wide range of stressors, instead. Fourthly, pathogenesis assumes that stressors are bad. Recognising the fact that all individuals experience a high stressor load, but also observing that individuals in such circumstances may even move towards the health pole, the salutogenic orientation regards a stressor per sé, as neutral. The stressor evokes a state of tension, but it is the response to the tension which determines in which direction the individual will move on the health continuum.

A fifth implication of pathogenesis, is that given the focus at any one time in a particular disease, there is a tendency to seek a solution for that disease only. Consequently, the contribution of psychosocial stressors to disease is underplayed or ignored, and the problem of overall adaptation is disregarded. On the other hand, salutogenesis obligates the researcher to search for generalised resistance resources. Finally, pathogenesis leads researchers to examine high risk groups to support their hypothesis, while salutogenesis demands the study of deviant cases - those who should be ill due to their belonging to a high risk group, but in fact are not.

Conceptualising Unemployment Salutogenically

Unemployment has traditionally been conceptualised in a pathogenic paradigm. This is evident in the emphasis placed on the investigation of the negative consequences of unemployment, and those variables which buffer this impact (see Chapter Two). However, it is possible that some of these buffering variables could be reconceptualised and applied to the salutogenic paradigm. Reconceptualisation of this nature has already been suggested by Strümpfer (1990) in a general review of evidence for salutogenesis. However, he did not refer to unemployment in particular.

Studies by Kilpatrick and Trew (1985) of the lifestyles of unemployed men in Northern Ireland, by Fineman (1983) of white-collar unemployment, as well as one by Jones (1989) which resulted in a typology of the adaptations to unemployment, represent an identification by these researchers of outcomes of unemployment that were not always negative. They identified a full spectrum of responses to unemployment: negative, neutral and positive. Although not explicitly conducted in a salutogenic paradigm, these studies tacitly acknowledge its potential applicability to the area of unemployment. This is a far cry from most unemployment research, which led Gurney and Taylor (1981) to comment:

It seems that most social commentators and perhaps many social researchers have been beguiled into believing (a) that our understanding of the psychological impact of

unemployment is complete; and (b) that such devastating consequences as plummeting self-esteem, rising drug addiction, alienation, despair and suicide are inevitable for all who have become unemployed... there is a danger that unchallenged assertions of this kind are shaping the expectations of the employed and of the unemployed and leading to self fulfilling prophecies. (p. 350)

This assumption of the inherently negative effect of unemployment, is also the impression gained from South African research (e.g. Moller, 1988; Rosmarin & Nunns, 1986; Wilson & Ramphela, 1989). To address this situation, this study advances the debate in psychology from explanations of the impact of unemployment and the exploration of buffer variables, into the arena of generating solutions by identifying existing competencies that individuals possess. Therefore, the research question posed, was what do individuals do to cope, given that they are unemployed, and to what factors can these coping strategies be attributed?

In this research, it was recognised that unemployment and its associated consequences, evoked a high state of tension to which the individual has to respond. It was further recognised that despite the high rate of unemployment in South Africa, somehow most people were still surviving. This study sought to explore the coping strategies utilised at the individual level to cope with the

stressors of unemployment. In this way, the question of unemployment was framed in a salutogenic paradigm.

However, it was also recognised that little research had been done on the psychological consequences of, and responses to unemployment, in the South African context. Consequently, this study did not only select out deviantly healthy cases for study (as salutogenesis would recommend). Rather, a wide spectrum of individuals was sampled to identify a wider - though perhaps less effective - range of coping patterns. This would also help to gain some understanding of the community of unemployed of which the deviant cases that emerged would form a part. The sampling procedure used is described in greater detail in Chapter Three and Appendix A.

Empowerment

Empowerment has been applied to a diversity of situations (Florin & Wandersman, 1990). The concept of empowerment has become a hackneyed term in South Africa, with little precision or consensus in its meaning among those who espouse it (Crompton, 1990). In its earlier use in psychology, it was difficult to define, and hence tended to be defined in terms of its absence, or by reference to examples (Gesten & Jason, 1987; Zimmerman, 1990). More recently, the term has been used with more precision, and indices related to psychological empowerment have been identified by Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988).

Part of the difficulty in defining empowerment, is that it has been applied to the community, group/organisational and individual levels of analysis (Couto, 1989; Wolff, 1987; Zimmerman, 1990; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). Consequently, a definition could be formulated for each of these levels of analysis. Also, different viewpoints on power and control have produced variations in the understanding of empowerment (Conger & Kanungo, 1988).

Definition of Empowerment

Conger and Kanungo (1988) defined empowerment as "a process of enhancing feelings of self-efficacy among organizational members through the identification of conditions that foster powerlessness and through their removal by both formal organizational practices and informal techniques of providing efficacy information" (p. 474). It has also been defined as a process by which individuals gain mastery or control over their own lives and democratic participation in the life of their community (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988, p. 726). Other definitions highlighted aspects of how control can be increased, such as through greater decision-making power (Gruber & Trickett, 1987), acquisition and control of resources (Rappaport, 1981), a sense of personal competence (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988), and increased choice (Black, 1987).

Individual empowerment is evidenced by "participatory behavior, motivations to exert control, and feelings of efficacy and control" (Zimmerman, 1990, p. 169). Zimmerman

(1990) drew a distinction between individual and psychological empowerment, suggesting that individual formulations are usually in the form of a personality characteristic, which ignored the contextual framework. Psychological empowerment, on the other hand, made allowance for environmental influences such as culture, and would therefore be contextually oriented.

According to Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988), constructs such as self- and political-efficacy, perceived competence and locus of control are related to empowerment. Combining personality, cognitive and motivational components of perceived control, Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988) selected 11 measures which were believed to be related to psychological empowerment and subjected them to discriminant function analysis. Results showed moderate correlations between these indices of empowerment, as expected, indicating that each measure identified a common and a unique aspect of empowerment.

Relational and Motivational Constructs of Empowerment

According to Conger and Kanungo (1988), power and control are viewed either as relational constructs, or as motivational constructs. This distinction produced two interpretations of empowerment. The relational construct orientation, interpreted power as the dependence between two parties. Thus, empowerment in this context would involve identifying the sources of power and developing strategies to reallocate these sources more equitably among the

parties. This view is predominant in management thinking, and when operationalised, is usually translated into participative management or delegation of authority.

The alternative view is of power as a motivational need. "Individuals' power needs are met when they perceive that they have power or when they believe they can adequately cope with events, situations, and/or people they confront" (Conger & Kanungo, 1988, p. 473). That is, empowerment occurs by enhancing an individual's sense of self-efficacy. One avenue for doing so, is through delegation of authority, as recommended by the relational interpretation discussed above. But the avenues are broader in scope than simply that. Empowerment involves enhancing feelings of self-efficacy through identifying and removing conditions promoting powerlessness by formal organisational interventions, or by informally providing efficacy information (Conger & Kanungo, 1988). Viewing empowerment as a motivational construct is the approach advocated in much of the psychological literature.

The Empowerment Process

Although indices such as that compiled by Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988) are indicative of the characteristics of an empowered individual, it needs to be emphasised that empowerment is a process, rather than a character trait. Several authors have described this process and the characteristics of a successful empowerment programme (e.g.

Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Couto, 1989; Hefner, 1988; Wolff, 1987).

One person to describe the empowerment process was Couto (1989). Referring to Riessman's work, Couto (1989) identified the first two stages of empowerment as pre-political. They involved individuals coming to the realisation that their situation is not unique, but is shared by others; and then beginning to relate to others who have the same need, in a supportive friendship. Hereafter, the political stages follow, where the individuals adopt new self-definitions and discover competencies in their group which can be used to deal with their need. New attitudes to authority and new causal attributions of their circumstances are formulated. There is a recognition that political and economic arrangements need to be altered to effectively address their needs and attempts are made to bring about the desired changes - hence, the reference to these stages as political. Thus, the problem becomes by and large externalised and demystified. Connections are drawn to other needs, so that solutions are seen to be in new economic-political structures. Activities are engaged in to bring this about.

[Moller (1990) has suggested that trade unions can play an important role in empowering the South African unemployed and replacing their lost identity.] In a series of attitude surveys she conducted nationally between 1987 and 1989, the unemployed suggested that union assistance can be rendered through lobbying, job securement and placement, providing

financial relief and by establishing informal support groups. Informal support groups have the potential of following the empowerment process described above.

Empowerment approach of this study

A question to consider at this stage is why adopt an empowerment orientation towards the unemployed? It is firstly suggested that the empowerment philosophy is highly compatible with the salutogenic paradigm (Antonovsky, 1979) and secondly, that these two orientations may facilitate an effective intervention in the area of unemployment, by psychologists.

This study was conducted according to some of the guidelines offered by Wolff (1987) and Hefner (1988) to facilitate the empowerment process. As recommended, it was important to start where people were at and also to not assume that they necessarily wanted to be empowered. According to Rappaport (1981) "we have been far too willing to intervene, label and tell others how to cope with life without understanding how the diversity of settings in which people actually do live well, operate" (p. 19). Consequently, he recommended that time be spent observing, describing and collating information prior to intervening, otherwise the intervention may be more damaging than constructive. Therefore, this study is an exploratory one, to observe, describe and collate information on the unemployed in a local community. Thereafter, an assessment

can be made of the feasibility and appropriateness of an empowerment programme for the unemployed.

Rappaport (1981) suggested that empowerment implied that people have many potential competencies that would emerge, given the opportunity to do so. This implied that poor functioning could be attributed to the social structure, or a lack of resources inhibiting the exercise of inherent competencies (Rappaport, 1981). This required that local, rather than universal solutions be identified to facilitate the effective utilisation of potential competencies. So-called experts would have to turn to "non-experts in order to discover the many different, even contradictory solutions that they use to gain control, find meaning, and empower their own lives" (Rappaport, 1981, p. 21).

The similarity of empowerment to salutogenesis can clearly be seen here. They both attempt to identify and develop the competencies of individuals which make for well-being, rather than trying to find remedies for perceived defects. Both orientations demand a more equitable restructuring of the researcher/subject relationship, with the subjects of research being seen as a source of local expertise. Both salutogenesis and empowerment, would recognise that the definition of a social problem is time, place and context bound (Seidman & Rappaport, 1986).

To summarise, it has been argued that the victim blaming tendency of psychological applications to social problems can be avoided by adopting an individual competency

orientation inherent in the salutogenic paradigm and empowerment process. Further, such an approach shifts the unemployment debate to focus squarely on the exploration, identification and evaluation of potential solutions that can be adopted by the unemployed individual.

It was demonstrated earlier that the structural basis of unemployment in South Africa is now widely accepted, even in government circles. In the South African situation this partly defuses Dooley and Catalano's (1988) submission that individualistic psychological interventions may inappropriately delay macro-economic unemployment interventions. Perhaps more significantly, it is expected that constitutional negotiations expected to start in South Africa in the near future will have to address economic issues, and many prospective parties at the negotiating table are expected to call for economic restructuring. Although the primary level of intervention in unemployment should be a macro-economic one, the pervasiveness of the problem, and the current socio-political situation may well warrant a multi-level intervention. It has, therefore, been suggested that psychology could contribute meaningfully, by adopting a competency assumption of the unemployed.

Outline of the thesis

It has been illustrated in this chapter, that there is wide consensus that unemployment in South Africa is a problem that needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

So far, the adoption of a competency approach in unemployment research has been motivated for, making specific reference to salutogenesis and empowerment orientations as a means of achieving this. In the following chapter, the literature on unemployment will be reviewed. Much of this research has been conducted in America, Great Britain and Australia, from a pathogenic orientation. Unfortunately there have been very few local studies of unemployment in psychology.

Chapter Three presents the methodology of this research, discussing the reasons for choosing the grounded theory methodology as well as describing how this process operates in theory, and how the present study deviated from the textbook approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967). Interviewing was the primary source of data collection. The advantages and limitations of interviewing are also discussed. Chapter Four presents the results of the grounded theory methodology, laying the groundwork for a theory of coping. Chapter Five concludes this study, proposing a model of unemployment coping and identifying areas for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

COPING AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

"... the implicit, or explicit theoretical approach which underlies much of the job loss literature is a deprivation model ... unemployed, individuals are assumed to be inactive, unstructured and passive (Jahoda, 1982). Thus the issue of what individuals themselves do to cope with job loss is seldom raised or addressed. Instead, individuals are typically asked only to report what happens to them as a result of losing their jobs ... or the circumstances that they find themselves in when the job loss occurs ... Consequently, we know far less about the prevalence or utility of individual action or coping strategies..." (Leana & Feldman, 1990, p. 1156-1157, original emphases).

In this chapter, a review of the literature on coping and unemployment will be presented under three main sections. The first section will examine the literature on coping. The second section will deal with the experience of unemployment. Finally, the third section will review what work has been done in the overlap of these two domains of literature, namely coping with unemployment.

Coping

No existing model could be found where coping had been applied to, or developed from research on unemployment. Therefore, in this section, general models of stress and coping will be adopted and modified, to derive a model of coping that could be applied to unemployment.

Coping can be defined as "the process of managing external and/or internal demands that tax or exceed the resources of the person" (Folkman, 1982, p. 96). Currently, coping is most often conceptualised as a response to a stressful or negative event (Endler & Parker, 1990). In earlier research, coping was predominantly conceived of as a defense mechanism (Endler & Parker, 1990) or as a personality construct. According to Rohde, Lewinsohn, Tilson and Seeley (1990) the concept of coping has been portrayed as being similar to constructs such as competence, problem solving ability, hardiness, anti-depressive behaviour and learned resourcefulness.

In this chapter a stress based model of coping with unemployment will be presented. The occurrence of unemployment is seen to produce several potential stressors which the individual needs to cope with.

Firstly, the assumptions underlying the model will be discussed. These assumptions are made explicit for two reasons. Firstly, to confirm whether they are compatible with the salutogenesis paradigm, and secondly, because they

describe many important characteristics of the coping process.

Coping assumptions

The following assumptions have generally been recognised as applicable to coping: that coping is a process rather than an outcome; that this process attempts to achieve a state of homeostasis; that this process operates in an open system (or ecological environment); and that it is phenomenological and relational in nature.

Coping as a process

In 1982, Folkman claimed that the emphasis in coping research up until that time had been on the trait approach to coping, trying to identify those traits characteristic of those individuals who cope effectively. According to Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, De Longis and Gruen (1986) the main distinction between trait and process orientations is the emphasis placed upon the psychological and environmental contexts. Trait-approaches view coping as a characteristic of the person, and consequently situational variation is underplayed. In the process-approach, context is of extreme importance. Appropriate coping responses are assessed on the basis of environmental and psychological demands. Folkman argued that a trait approach does not explore the actual coping processes engaged in. These processes would have to be inferred or assumed, based on the

relationship between the trait and outcome variables (Folkman, 1982). Traits, therefore, are an inadequate basis for the development of a theory, and consequently of limited utility (Carver, Scheier & Weintraub, 1989). As a result, there has been a shift in emphasis in more recent research to look at coping as a process (Endler & Parker, 1990).

Folkman (1982) has identified two components of the coping process: what is happening in a specific encounter (focusing on the cognitive appraisal and management of the situation), and how this appraisal and management changes as the encounter develops according to coping interventions or environmental changes. In identifying coping as a process, the dynamic, interactive nature of the variables is emphasised; rather than their static outcome.

Homeostasis

The coping process is usually based on the assumption that the organism seeks to restore homeostasis. Homeostasis refers to the assumption that the natural state of an organism is one of equilibrium, and that it is natural for the organism to react to a disequilibrating force in such a way as to try and restore equilibrium (Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman & Mullan, 1981). The occurrence of disequilibrium and the consequent process of readjustment, has the potential of producing stress, which can be manifested both physically and psychologically.

This assumption does not apply in a salutogenic paradigm. Salutogenesis recognises that stressors are ubiquitous (Antonovsky, 1979). Therefore, the organism is not simply having to encounter the occasional stressor that disturbs its status quo., Rather, the organism is in a constant state of entropy and seeks to establish a negative entropic state rather than one of equilibrium (Antonovsky, 1979). Also, salutogenesis suggests that on occasion, the organism may prefer, or even initiate what may be regarded as a state of disequilibrium in order to move towards the health pole of the health ease-dis-ease continuum (Antonovsky, 1979). One such situation would be when the organism feels under-loaded.

Thus, rather than seeking equilibrium, the organism is assumed to seek to maintain its position on the health continuum, or else to move towards the health pole (Antonovsky, 1979).

Phenomenological Perspective

A phenomenological perspective assumes that to be fully understood, the coping process also needs to be examined from the perspective of the individual (Holahan & Spearly, 1980). Individuals differ in their interpretation and valuation of situations. This, in turn, governs to some extent, the response chosen to deal with the situation. Unemployment is not a uniform experience, but individuals are subject to different stressors that are appraised uniquely by each individual. The phenomenological

assumption is central to coping models derived from Lazarus, who formulated the concept of "cognitive appraisal" which determines coping behaviour (Holahan & Spearly, 1980). However, the ability of individuals to accurately report their own coping strategies retrospectively has been questioned (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, De Longis & Gruen, 1986; Kessler, Price & Wortman, 1985).

Coping is Relational

Building upon the phenomenological perspective of coping, it can also be stated that coping is relational. That is, the importance of a situation is determined by the individual's appraisal of what is at stake in relation to their perception of the availability of coping resources to manage the situation (Folkman, 1982). Unemployment is an individual experience, influenced by many contextual factors, including the availability of resources (e.g. finances, social support, personal characteristics).

Coping in an Ecological Framework

Holahan and Spearly (1980) have identified at least three more assumptions underlying coping models which are derived from an ecological framework. Firstly, circumjacent contexts beyond the specific situation under study, influence that situation and therefore need to be accounted for. Secondly, behaviour is determined by the individual, the environment and their interaction. Thirdly, not only do

the environment and the individual affect behaviour, but they also interact and hence modify one another. All components of the coping process are dynamic, mutually reciprocal and bi-directional (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen & De Longis, 1986).

The Coping Process

Folkman (1984) has described two core components of the coping process. These components are cognitive appraisal and the coping response. According to Folkman and Lazarus (1985, 1988) there is an overlap between cognitive appraisal and coping response and they are not conceptually independent. Many coping responses have an appraisal function and appraisals have a coping response function. Furthermore, appraisal and response are integrated in any given "transaction" (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen & De Longis, 1986).

Cognitive Appraisal

In accordance with the phenomenological assumption, the individual determines the meaning of an event by the cognitive appraisal process. There are two types of appraisal which Folkman (1984) refers to as primary and secondary appraisals. The primary appraisal is the determination of whether an event is regarded as irrelevant, positive or stressful. Stressful appraisals are based upon the harm/loss, threat or challenge potential of the event

(Folkman, 1984). Harm/loss and threat appraisals are associated with negative emotions while challenge appraisals are pleasurable. Primary appraisal outcomes are determined by individual beliefs and commitments, (particularly beliefs about control) and situational factors (especially the character of a harm or threat). Some of the more important characteristics are the 'harm or loss' novelty, its likelihood, its time of occurrence and the ambiguity of the expected outcome (Folkman, 1984).

Secondary appraisal involves the evaluation of the coping resources and options available (Folkman, 1984). Coping resources are social or psychological in nature (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Resources are not to be confused with coping responses but refer to what can be used by the individual from his or her coping repertoire in the face of a threat (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Social resources include family, friends, fellow workers, neighbours and voluntary organisations who are regarded as a potential source of support by the individual (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Psychological resources are the personality variables "that people draw upon to help them withstand threats posed by events and objects in their environment" (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978, p.5). Folkman (1984) further identified other personal resources, such as physical resources (e.g. health, stamina) and material sources (e.g. money, tools and equipment). In secondary appraisal, these coping resources are assessed according to their potential to meet the demands imposed by the event. In other words,

the individual determines whether the event can be controlled with the available resources or not.

There have only been a few attempts to formulate cognitive appraisal inventories. Based upon Folkman and Lazarus' (1980) study and a review of the literature, Folkman and Lazarus and their colleagues (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen & De Longis, 1986; Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, De Longis & Gruen, 1986) constructed a 13-item measure of primary appraisal, identifying potential stakes involved in an encounter. They measured cognitive appraisal and explored its relationship to coping responses and to outcome measures. Their findings describe how primary and secondary appraisals are related to the choice of coping response and to the outcomes of the encounter. Individuals who appraised a situation as changeable, utilised more problem focused forms of coping, while those who perceived that they could make no changes to the situation resorted to more emotion-focused forms of coping (Folkman, 1984; Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; 1985; Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, De Longis & Gruen, 1986). Another study by Vitiliano, De Wolfe, Maiuro, Russo and Katon (1990) found contrary results: that there was little relation between appraisal of changeability and the coping response.

Coping Responses

According to Pearlin and Schooler (1978, p.5) coping responses are "behaviors, cognitions, and perceptions which people engage when actually contending with their life-

problems. The psychological resources represent some of the things that people are ... Coping responses represent some of the things people do....". Two major functions of coping responses have been identified by Folkman and Lazarus (Folkman, 1982, 1984; Folkman & Lazarus, 1980, 1985): altering or managing the source of stress, and controlling the emotional response to the problem. These functions have been termed problem-focused and emotion-focused coping, respectively. Although both functions of coping are operate in almost all situations (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980, 1985), the individual's perception of the personal control that can be exercised will determine which function is emphasised (Folkman, 1982). Problem and emotion focused coping both include cognitive as well as behavioural strategies (Folkman, 1982).

Endler and Parker (1990) identified three basic coping functions, rather than two. They view problem focused coping as adopting a task orientation, while emotion-focused strategies are person oriented. The third basic function they identify is avoidance.

The assessment of coping responses has received a great deal of attention in recent years, particularly as researchers compile and validate coping inventories. Amirkhan (1990) identified two approaches utilised to derive inventories of coping responses. The first, a deductive approach, identifies a set of hypothetical categories which are regarded as mutually exclusive and exhaustive. This is then tested. A second approach identifies and documents the

coping responses utilised by a particular group, or in response to a particular stressor, and then clusters these statistically to derive general strategies. Using these methods, several self-report inventories have been developed recently, by among others: Amirkhan (1990); Billings and Moos (1981); Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989); Endler and Parker (1990); Folkman and Lazarus (1980, 1985, 1988); Miller (1987); Pearlin and Schooler (1978) and Rohde, Lewinsohn, Telson and Seeley (1990).

Many of these scales have psychometric weaknesses (Endler & Parker, 1990; Carver, Scheier and Weintraub, 1989) and the utilisation of these inventories in many research designs failed to assess the actual process of coping (Kessler, Price & Wortman, 1985). However, no one coping inventory can, or should be regarded as the final word (Carver, Scheier & Weintraub, 1989). In fact Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989, p.280) state: "There are too many different ways to deal life's adversity to be able to measure them all in one inventory... Diversity among measures should be contained only by limits on insight into the nature of the coping process...". A diversity of coping responses is positively regarded. In fact, Folkman and Lazarus (1981) believe that inflexibility (or high consistency of coping behaviour) could actually be associated with pathology. Problem focused coping responses in particular, are characterised by great diversity, due to the influence of the situational context (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen & De Longis, 1986).

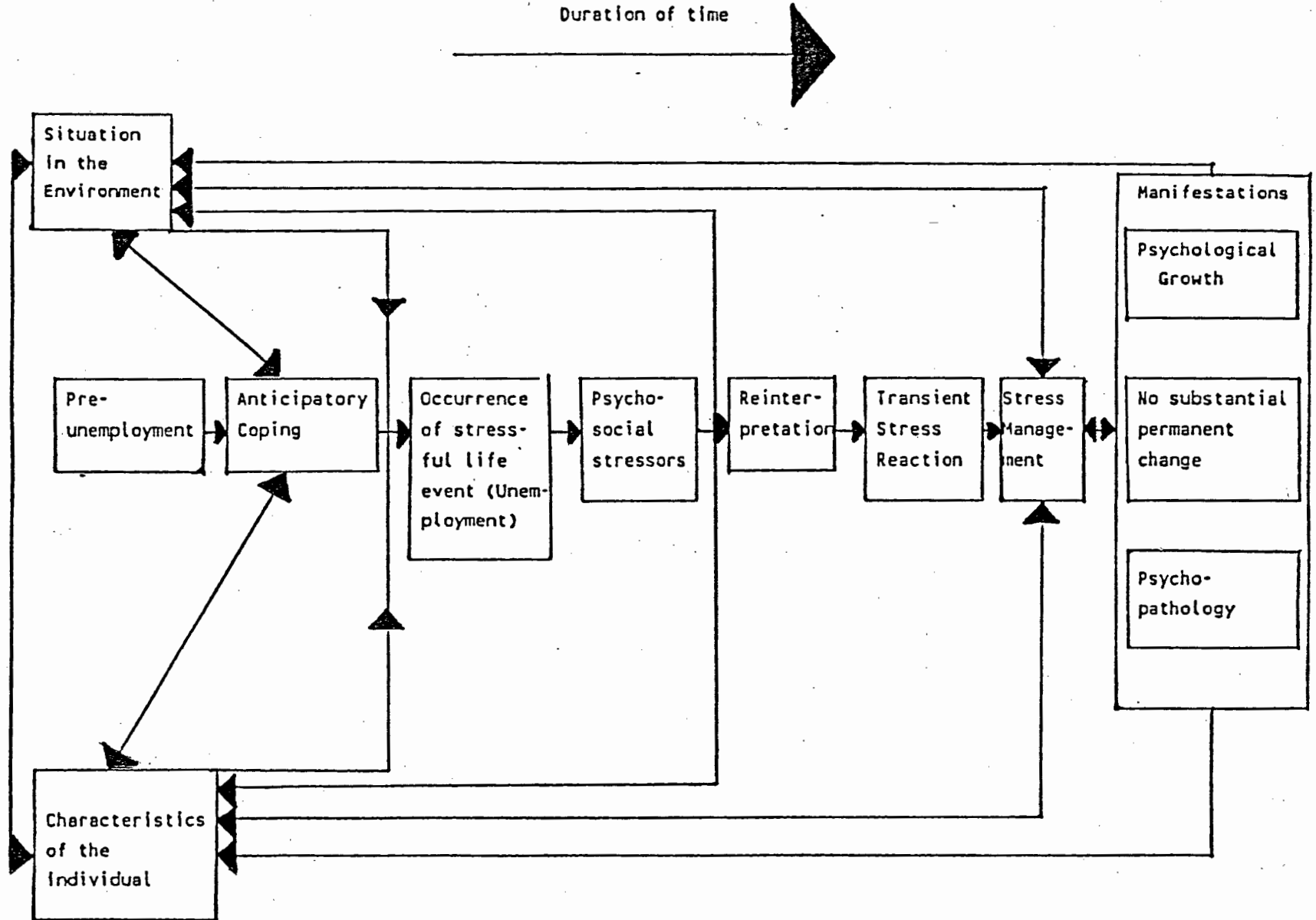
Although use was not made of any of these inventories as a measuring instrument for this study, it may be useful to develop such an inventory for unemployment, in future research. One inventory that is worth mentioning in particular, was developed by Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989). They utilised a theoretically based approach to derive the following 13 dimensions: Active coping, planning, suppression of competing activities, restraint coping, seeking social support for instrumental reasons, seeking social support for emotional reasons, venting of emotions, behavioural disengagement, mental disengagement, positive re-interpretation and growth, denial, acceptance and turning to religion.

A Proposed Model of Stress and Coping

Based upon the coping process described above, a model of coping with unemployment was developed (see Figure 1). Dohrenwend's (1978) model of social stress was used as a foundation, but several modifications have been made to underscore the coping assumptions enumerated above, and to make the model more relevant to coping. Pearlin and Schoolers' (1978) work on the coping process was integrated into this model.

Pearlin and Schooler (1978) have identified three localities where coping may occur. Firstly, there are responses changing the situation producing the stress.

Figure 1
 A model of the stress and coping process



Adapted from: Dohrenwend (1978); Pearlin & Schooler (1978).

Secondly, there are responses controlling the meaning of the experience after the occurrence of the event, but prior to the emergence of stress. Finally, there are responses that attempt to manage the stress that occurs. These have been incorporated into the model and are respectively labelled anticipatory coping, reinterpretation, and stress management.

Dohrenwend's (1978) model had originally identified potential points of intervention into the stress process. These have not been included here, purely to bring greater parsimony to the model and to enhance the clarity to the coping component of the process.

In Dohrenwend's model, a stressful life event arises from the interaction of the individual with the environment. With unemployment, the stressful life event is obviously the occurrence of unemployment. Dohrenwend recognised "that an individual may take part in creating the very events that appear later to cause him (or her) to undergo psychological change" (1978, p. 4). Based on the relational assumption above, stress is not regarded as "a property of the person or environment, nor is it a stimulus or a response. Stress is a particular relationship between the person and the environment" (Folkman, 1984, p. 840). In other words, unemployment itself is not stressful, but rather, the relationship it produces between the individual and environmental factors may produce stress. The occurrence of a particular event (i.e. unemployment) may establish a stressful person-environment relationship. Cognitive

appraisals may mean that this relationship is interpreted and reinterpreted in such a way as to produce a transient stress reaction.

In her formulation, Dohrenwend distinguished between the stimulus initiating a stress response, and the reaction to the stimulus. Here, a distinction is made between the person-environment relationship producing stress, and the stress reaction. Once the stress reaction has occurred, the individual could then also attempt to manage the stressful situation. This stress management is the third locality of coping, identified by Pearlin and Schooler (1978).

Besides interacting to produce stress, individual and situational factors also mediate the stress management process, with one of three alternatives resulting: psychological growth, no change of a substantial or enduring nature, or psychopathology. Situational mediators include material and social supports and handicaps. Dohrenwend identified the following psychological mediators: values, coping abilities or disabilities and aspirations. Dohrenwend's psychological mediators have been broadened to include other personal characteristics.

The process described in this model is not unidirectional, but rather, there is a dynamic interaction between environmental, psychological, mediating and manifestation variables. Accordingly, an outcome is only illustrated when "the model is envisioned as proceeding through a temporal sequence" (Holahan & Spearly, 1980., p.677). While this temporal sequence may be captured in a

time lapse of relatively short duration, it is also ongoing, and longer term outcomes may be observed.

In her model, Dohrenwend (1978) proposed that the immediate reaction to a stressful life event was essentially transient. This proposal was based upon empirical evidence found studies of the reaction of communities to disasters (Dohrenwend, 1978). Brenner and Starrin (1988) thought that the unemployed would experience increasingly higher levels of stress. They expected that stress should continue to increase to chronic levels, due to the daily problems associated with unemployment. However, they discovered that stress levels eventually tapered off, as individual's adapted to unemployment, but stabilising at a significantly higher level than that reported by an employed control group.] This would support Dohrenwend's (1978) assumption of transience, but also recognises that some of the reactions do not occur immediately, but emerge and lapse over a longer period of time. This longer time frame has been depicted by the time line at the top of the model.

Once again, this model assumes a pathological outcome to the unemployment event. This study recognises the event as stressful, but the emphasis is on the mediating variable which will enable individuals to cope - in spite of the disasterous effects of unemployment.

The Experience of Unemployment

In this, the second section of this chapter, the literature pertaining to the experience of unemployment will be reviewed. It is suggested that understanding the meaning attached to work will help to explain the experience of job loss and unemployment. Therefore, the meaning of work is examined first, before proceeding to review the literature relating to the anticipation and occurrence of unemployment, factors contributing to this experience, and the outcome variables commonly associated with unemployment.

The Meaning of Work

It could be argued that before we can understand unemployment, we need to understand why people may want to work in the first place. Jahoda (1979) for one, has suggested that the absence of the benefits of work is the cause of the negative effects of unemployment. Therefore, in this section, work motivation and work values of individuals will be explored, before discussing the meaning of job loss and unemployment.

Work Motivation

Vroom (1964) has suggested that the properties of employment work roles have the potential to motivate an individual to

want to work. The implication of this statement is that work is beneficial to the individual - if these properties are evident. The properties he identified as having the potential to motivate include wages, the expenditure of mental and/or physical energy, the production of goods and services, the opportunity for social interaction and the definition of social status.

While compensation is an economic incentive to work, Vroom refers to studies of lottery winners which indicate that although these individuals could afford not to work, they nevertheless returned to work after a short period of leisure. In other words, work can be attractive for non-pecuniary reasons as well.

According to Vroom (1964), opinion is divided on the consequences of energy expenditure. Based on general theories of behaviour, one set of opinions suggested that the expenditure of energy is satisfying, while another suggests it is dissatisfying. Vroom noted that these opinions were hypothetical and based upon "unlearned mechanisms". He referred instead to learning theory, which suggested that punishment/reward contingencies have affective connotations. For example, individuals who hold a Protestant work ethic would see work as giving glory to God, while materialism would imply that individuals see work as an avenue to wealth (Vroom, 1964).

Vroom has suggested that the production of goods and services may make work intrinsically satisfying, meeting

growth needs or a need for moral purpose (i.e. see to the happiness and well-being of others).

Work also affords the opportunity to the individual to interact socially. This not only satisfies affiliation needs, but also allows the individual to exercise influence, be liked, and care for others (Vroom, 1964).

The final property of work identified by Vroom is that it gives the individual social status outside of the work place, providing social acceptability and respect. Vroom suggested that this is particularly important for men, but that cultural norms play an important role here, as well. Finnegan (1985) and Kumar (1984) have suggested that society has come to equate work with paid employment only, devaluing other forms of work in the process.

In the more contemporary literature, Warr (1987) has developed what he has called a "vitamin model" of environment and health. He suggests that an inadequate amount of "vitamins" would produce ill health. Once an adequate level was received, health would plateau, while excessive levels of certain "vitamins" could be harmful. He proposes nine categories of environmental "vitamins"; namely: opportunities to control activities and events, opportunity to utilise skill, the existence of externally generated goals, variety in activity, environmental clarity, availability of money, physical security, an opportunity for interpersonal contact, and a position in a social structure, that offered social esteem. Many of these factors are

properties of work, and can be seen to overlap with those properties identified by Vroom (1964) above.

Work Values

Ensminger and Celentano (1988) pointed out that cultural factors shape the meaning of events such as unemployment. In countries where the Protestant work ethic is prominent, work is viewed as meaningful, beyond the mere provision of a living (Jahoda, 1979). It is highly valued, and therefore contributes to one's psychological well-being (Ensminger & Celentano, 1988). According to Layton (1986), in industrial societies a male's self-identity originates primarily from his occupation. High Protestant work ethic individuals also hold certain views on the unemployed. They see them as being unemployed due to laziness or a lack of effort, thereby blaming the unemployed for their unemployment (Heaven, 1990). Presumably, it would be very distressing for these individuals if they then became unemployed, themselves.

Should an individual hold positive work values, any adverse impact of unemployment would be exacerbated for them. Individuals would be deprived of the latent benefits of work (Jahoda, 1979), and may not be able to fulfill their role obligations (Ensminger and Celentano, 1988). In addition, they may be looked down upon by others for violating a cultural expectation if work is regarded as a norm (Jones, 1989).

Empirical results support suggestions that where work is valued, the impact of unemployment is aggravated. In an

American study, Liem and Liem (1988) found that individuals who had had more interesting jobs that challenged them, were most depressed at initial stages of job loss and also four months later. In a British study, which used more direct measures, Jackson, Stafford, Banks and Warr (1983) found that employment commitment mediated the association between unemployment and low psychological well-being. People with high employment commitment experienced greater absolute changes in their distress scores when their employment status changed. In predicting distress and anxiety, employment commitment individually accounted for the greatest amount of variance in Warr, Banks and Ullah's (1985) research. They found that employment commitment was significantly associated with the well-being of the unemployed. Warr and Jackson (1987) have suggested that by reducing the value a person attaches to having a job, may decrease the pain associated with failing to obtain one. Leana and Feldman (1990) found that job attachment had a significant impact on the reaction to job loss for their American sample of retrained workers.

Part of the greater distress arising in those who value work could arise from a greater effort exerted to find employment (Baik, Hosseini & Priesmeyer, 1989). This is supported by an earlier study by Feather and Davenport (1981), who found that unemployed Australian youth who saw work as attractive and were highly motivated to get a job, reported higher ratings of depressive affect when they failed to secure employment.

At the opposite end of the debate on work, it has been argued that work could be degrading and alienating (Jahoda, 1979). Dooley and Catalano (1988) even recommend comparing unemployment with sustaining certain kinds of employment to see which is the least harmful, a view shared by O'Brien and Feather (1990). Certainly, not all work experience is beneficial and the quality of life associated with being employed may not always be positive (see Barling, 1986, for example). Jahoda (1979) has suggested that negative work experience could be due more to the organisation of work, than to work per se. This highlights a distinction which has been drawn between work and employment. Work is an activity, while employment is an exchange relationship with its associated social controls and rituals (Hartley, 1980a; Pym, 1974). Thus, even if workers feel alienated in an employment relationship, they may still prefer a working status to a workless one. Some substantiation for this view is found in the fact that communities in urban areas, rural villages and resettlement areas of South Africa identified unemployment as one of the major problems they experienced (Ntoane & Mokoetle, 1984), suggesting that having work is generally preferred to not having work. Further support may be found in Liem and Liem's (1988) suggestion that workers in alienating jobs with little personal control, may view job loss as a final insult, confirming for them the perception they held that they were viewed as objects, not people.

Not all individuals hold a Protestant work ethic, and as a result, their view of unemployment and its impact upon them is different. Several lifestyles have been identified, which place no value upon work (e.g. Bluen, 1983; Marks & Glaser, 1980). Roberts, Duggan and Noble (1982) described a spasmodic work culture which they could identify amongst youth in Britain. It was characterised by a series of short term, temporary jobs that were terminated voluntarily. This was not to say that these youth were voluntarily unemployed, but rather that the constraints of limited opportunities had been internalised. These constraints related to family background, schooling and community. Roberts, Duggan and Noble (1982, p. 2) state: "They are competently educated and counselled to cope with unemployment, albeit by families, peers and education's 'hidden curriculum' rather than through the deliberate efforts of statutory agencies".

Conditions of high unemployment can produce a decline in the significance of work to individuals and a subsequent change in the social status of the unemployed as a group, making unemployment more acceptable (Feather, 1982). Furthermore, long term unemployment has been reported to lead to value changes, which reduce the importance placed on work and employment commitment (Dowling & O'Brien, 1983; Feather, 1982). This soothes the pain of job search failure (Warr & Jackson, 1987).

Pre-Unemployment and Anticipatory Coping

Even before unemployment occurs, individuals are affected by unemployment, and have to learn to cope with these effects. In fact, Dooley, Catalano and Rook (1988) discovered that unemployment not only affected those unemployed, but all wage earners. During times of economic downturn, distress arose in anticipation of job loss and from a deterioration in work conditions. In their study, Iversen and Sabroe (1988) reported that many of the health consequences associated with unemployment were found amongst employed people as well. Part of the reason for this, is that the unemployment process can be seen to begin when employees become aware that there is going to be retrenchment at their place of work (Joelson & Wahlquist, 1987). Joelson and Wahlquist (1987) conducted interviews with retrenched Stockholm shipyard workers and their families. These studies give us some insight into the experience of the early stages of the unemployment process. They state:

"It is a period of agony of varying strength. Rumours about possible decisions and actions are circulating. Reliable information is not available. You have to decide whether you should try to look for another job or not. Sometimes you have too little to do. You hover between hope and despair" (p. 179).

Clearly, this anticipation of a retrenchment announcement is stressful (Bluen, 1983), and can produce physiological symptoms of stress such as high blood pressure, uric acid and cholesterol levels (e.g. Hayes & Nutman, 1981).

Longitudinal studies of company shutdowns demonstrated that anticipation of job loss was associated with negative reactions in psychological well-being (Brenner & Starrin, 1988; Iversen & Sabroe, 1988). In fact, in Brenner and Starrin's (1988) results, the severest reactions to unemployment were immediately before the shutdown, with some alleviation thereafter. The actual notification of termination may have even be greeted with relief, if the individual had finally received an answer after a period of waiting and insecurity (e.g. Joelson & Wahlquist, 1987).

Occurrence of Unemployment

The most common initial reaction to unemployment seems to be one of shock and surprise (Sinfield, 1981). Frequently this will occur prior to unemployment, when an employed individual is informed that he or she is to be laid off. When there is no clear criterion for selecting those who may be dismissed, it is possible - as in Joelson and Wahlquist's (1987) study - that individuals will formulate self-defective explanations.

The occurrence of unemployment has been viewed as consisting of a multitude of stressful life events, rather

than one single event (Bluen, 1983). A change in employment status may have repercussions in other spheres of life and may precipitate life events such as a change in social status, having to sell up house, or financial strain (Ensminger & Celentano, 1988), or it may threaten the individual's identity, self-esteem and social network (Iversen & Sabroe, 1988). Undesirable life events and economic changes in particular, are associated with stress and behavioural disorders (Dooley & Catalano, 1980; Vinokur & Selzer, 1975), while the greater the number of life events experienced and the personal adjustment required, the greater the risk and likelihood of illness (Vinokur & Selzer, 1975). Research has demonstrated that the unemployed have higher levels of reported distress and stress symptoms than the employed (Bluen, 1983; Brenner & Starrin, 1988; Kessler, House & Turner, 1987).

Ensminger and Celentano (1988) explored the variety in the type of impact that unemployment could have, by formulating five hypotheses based upon a model by Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend:

- The victimisation hypothesis implied that unemployment could cause psychopathology directly. Ensminger and Celentano (1988) believed this model was inapplicable to unemployment, as they felt unemployment was not sufficiently extreme an event to produce psychopathology on its own.

- The vulnerability hypothesis stated that only individuals with inadequate coping resources would be distressed when faced with unemployment.
- The additive burden hypothesis suggested that unemployment not only affected the individual's psychological well-being directly, but also affected coping resources. This in turn rendered the individual more vulnerable to unemployment, and thereby indirectly caused poorer psychological well-being.
- The chronic burden hypothesis proposed that endemic stress (Fried, 1982) produced by daily living conditions such as poverty or low education was more stressful than a life event such as unemployment. Hence, the occurrence of unemployment would be of negligible additional impact.
- The event proneness hypothesis suggested that unemployment was not the cause of psychopathology, but the result of it.

In their study, Ensminger and Celentano (1988) examined three of these hypotheses. The victimisation hypothesis was excluded due to its perceived inapplicability, and the event proneness model could not be tested, given the cross sectional nature of the study. Their results supported the additive burden hypothesis, but not the vulnerability or chronic burden hypothesis. Their sample consisted of male and female Americans, all of whom had dependents under 16

years of age, and were receiving unemployment compensation benefits.

The type of unemployment that occurs, also has implications for the experience of unemployment. For example, cyclical unemployment tends to be viewed as temporary, while structural unemployment may even lead to the permanent exclusion of many people from the labour market (Jones, 1989/90). Also, the possibility for someone who is structurally unemployed to return to work at his or her previous income level and status, is more remote, than if he or she was unemployed due to cyclical changes in the economy (Jones, 1989/90).

The type of unemployment also determines to some extent where the unemployed are drawn from. In countries where unemployment is predominantly structural, a smaller proportion of unemployment will arise from job loss, while a significant and growing proportion of the unemployed would be school leavers, who may have had no working experience at all.

Job loss and leaving school are the most common sources of unemployment, but other sources also exist. One source which has tended to be neglected in the literature, was observed in this study. There were middle-aged women attempting to re-enter the job market after a long absence, or for the first time. Often these women had previously been occupied with child rearing or had not wanted, or not needed to work previously.

The source from which unemployment originates should be given greater attention, as it appears to be a significant determinant of the impact of unemployment. For example, Winefield and Tiggemann (1989b) found that there was no overall decline in psychological well being in the transition from school to unemployment amongst Australian youth. They explained this by hypothesizing that in their sample, unemployment was partly voluntary since the youth searched for a suitable job. Hence, the experience of unemployment was less traumatic. Sinfield (1981), on the other hand, found that older men who had lost their jobs felt ashamed, and there was a strong stigma attached to being unemployed. They tended to emphasise that they were redundant, not unemployed.

The cause, or source of unemployment that has received the most attention in the literature so far, is job loss. One explanation for this is that most of the published research on unemployment has been conducted in first world countries, at times of rising unemployment (Jones, 1989/90; Starrin & Larsson, 1987; Warr, 1987). Therefore, the type of unemployment studied has mainly been of a cyclical rather than structural nature. However, according to Svensson (1987), future trends suggested that structural unemployment would eventually become a global phenomenon, and so far less unemployed men and women would have experienced job loss. Many of them would not yet have had the opportunity to work in formal employment. This fact should be borne in mind as the literature relating to job loss, is now considered.

Reaction to job loss

The earlier understanding gained of the reason why people work and the value they attach to work, serves as a background to examining the reaction of the individual to job loss. Early models explaining the impact of job loss were formulated during the Great Depression and were presented as a three-stage model (e.g. Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938). Initial shock was followed by optimistic job search. If job hunting was unsuccessful, then pessimism, anxiety and distress followed. As the period of unemployment lengthened, fatalism developed.

Many years later a similar pattern was still accepted, though with some reservations being expressed. Hill (1978) described a pattern of initial trauma and denial being followed by optimism and euphoria. As this euphoria waned and the prospect of long term unemployment became more of a possibility, inertia, depression and a sense of futility increased. Finally, the individual began to settle down to being unemployed and any necessary life style adjustments were made.

The fact that initial shock of job loss may be followed either by optimism or by pessimism may, according to Sinfield (1981), be attributed to outcomes such as age, health, resources available (finances being an particularly important resource), knowledge of the local labour market, extent of informal networks and the current demand for skills possessed.

Sinfield (1981) suggested that the conventional description of job loss of shock-optimism-pessimism-fatalism had not been tested and validated, but had simply been accepted uncritically. There was a need for empirical validation of the model. The uncritical acceptance of the model could perhaps be explained by its intuitive appeal and face validity.

More recently, there has been speculation concerning the validity of this job loss process model. Breakwell, Harrison and Propper (1984) and Leana and Feldman (1990) have criticised the methodology upon which it has been based: most of the relevant studies were cross-sectional and utilised biased sampling procedures. Cross-sectional studies cannot be used to adequately derive and describe a longitudinal process. More recent studies with refined methodologies, have not supported the conventional job loss model (Breakwell et al., 1984; Leana and Feldman, 1990; Stokes & Cochrane, 1984).

The job loss models can be viewed as descriptive models of outcomes. Warr, Jackson and Banks (1988) called for more attention to be given to the processes that give rise to these outcomes. According to O'Brien (1985) there are few theories about the psychological functions of work, employment and unemployment. Jahoda (1988) calls for greater emphasis to be placed on formal theory rather than description, as "descriptions shade into explanations that often remain tacit or ad hoc..." (p. 17). One theory that

has received much attention in the unemployment literature is Jahoda's (1979) Deprivation model. This model offers one possible explanation for the adverse effects of job loss just described.

Deprivation model

The deprivation model was based on the assumption that there were benefits to working which an unemployed person would therefore be deprived of. Jahoda (1979) distinguished between manifest and latent benefits of work. She believed that it was primarily inadequate manifest functions of work (e.g. pay) that were responsible for negative feelings toward work, while latent functions accounted for positive feelings. The latent functions she identified were the provision of: a time structure, individual goals and purposes, personal status and identity, activity, and an opportunity to share experiences and make contacts (Jahoda, 1979, p. 313). Other authors have identified similar latent work functions to Jahoda (e.g. Hayes & Nutman, 1981).

In an exploratory study of unemployment conducted in Cape Town, Irvine (1984) found that many of his interviewees reported effects of unemployment that could be ascribed to the absence of latent work functions. Similarly, in their study of Stockholm shipyard workers who had been retrenched, Joelson and Wahlquist (1987) found that even in the early stages of unemployment, several "identity forming factors" were threatened, namely work as a time structuring factor,

work as proof of competence and knowledge, and work as a structure of relations.

The distinction between latent and manifest consequences of work was tested recently, but was not empirically validated (Kuhnert, 1989). This could be due to change in the structure of employment in more recent years, which has a more explicit recognition and reward of intrinsic aspects of work (Kuhnert, 1989). Even so, the lack of differential validity of latent and manifest consequences of work does not imply that the unemployed are not in a deprived state of existence. In fact, since the rewards available to the employed worker are not available to the unemployed, the assumption that the unemployed were deprived, would be confirmed (Kuhnert, 1989).

According to O'Brien (1985), the psychological impact of job loss was due not only to the loss of work activities (and their associated latent benefits), but was also related to past job experiences. It has been suggested that the content of work is a significant variable overlooked by Jahoda. O'Brien (1985) based these views on the work of Bakke in the 1930's which he believed has not received the attention it should have, and furthermore, had been misinterpreted. According to O'Brien (1985), the practical effect of Jahoda's position would be to recommend giving the unemployed a job, any job. Bakke (according to O'Brien, 1985), on the other hand, would have extensively qualified the type of job that would be suitable, since the content of work shapes the psychological development of the worker. In

a more recent study, O'Brien together with Feather (O'Brien & Feather, 1990), demonstrated that whether employment had positive benefits or not, was in fact determined by the quality of employment. They stated that the latent function theory of Jahoda was vague in relating the latent benefits of work to typical personality inventories and affective measures used in unemployment research. Also, it had concentrated upon the general structure of employment at the expense of task content.

Re-employment

Several studies found a significant improvement in psychological well-being when the unemployed were re-employed (Caplan, Vinokur, Price & Van Ryn, 1989; Ensminger & Celentano, 1988; Iversen & Sabroe, 1988; Jackson, Stafford, Banks & Warr, 1983; Kessler, Turner & House, 1988; Payne & Jones, 1987). However, this is not a consistent result (Kessler, Turner & House, 1988). The transition into a new job can be stressful in itself (Liem & Liem, 1988), and as found by Dooley, Catalano and Rook (1988), can be associated with increased negative psychological symptoms. Leana and Feldman (1990) suggested that it was likely that when the unemployed were re-employed, they would lack the organisational commitment and job involvement they had had previously, and that these effects may even be passed on to others in the unemployed individual's social network.

O'Brien's (1985) cautionary note on the need for a suitable job - not just any job - should also be borne in mind. In his study of white-collar unemployed, Fineman (1983) found that those who took the first job that became available often regretted this decision and were in worse health six months later, than those who had been continuously unemployed for that period.

In some circumstances, the unemployed have adapted to their situation and find a return to work particularly difficult. This was demonstrated by Liem and Liem's (1988) study. They found that those individuals who had been re-employed after four months unemployment were much relieved. However, those who were re-employed after six months unemployment did not demonstrate the same relief. It would seem that they had begun to adapt to unemployment effectively and found re-employment to be stressful, given new work-related difficulties which they had to encounter.

Long-term Unemployment

Unemployment is regarded as long-term after a period of at least six months continuous unemployment (Payne & Jones, 1987). It is most prevalent in conditions of structural unemployment. There are mixed findings regarding the change in the impact of unemployment over time. One stream of thought suggested that as unemployment increased in duration, its impact would become more aversive. Another

school of thought suggested that the individual would learn to adapt to an unemployment lifestyle.

Given the occurrence of new daily stressors and their accumulation, one would expect that the effects of unemployment on well-being would increase over time, producing chronic stress (Bluen, 1983; Brenner & Starrin, 1988). There is some evidence for this. Fryer and Warr (1984) found that cognitive difficulties increased with unemployment duration. Kessler, Turner and House (1988) reported that those unemployed for the longest period of time reported the lowest level of health. Rowley and Feather (1987) found that length of unemployment was associated with increased financial strain, lower self-esteem, increased psychological distress and a poorer utilisation, purpose and structure of time.

But some research has suggested that adaptation could occur, and that the adverse effects of unemployment seemed to stabilise after three to six months (Liem and Liem, 1988; Warr & Jackson, 1984; Winefield and Tiggemann, 1989b). This stability seemed to endure until about twelve months whereafter a further deterioration in psychological well-being was reported (Brenner & Starrin, 1988; Liem & Liem, 1988; Winefield & Tiggemann, 1989b). Yet other studies show that after six months unemployment, there is a significant decline in psychological well-being (Layton, 1986); while Jackson, Stafford, Banks and Warr (1983) concluded that continued unemployment seemed to lead to little additional

stress. In their sample, unemployment duration ranged up to two and a half years.

Several authors have identified a range of potential outcomes which occurred during the experience of job loss. In his study of white collar unemployment, Fineman (1983) identified three impacts of unemployment, two being negative and the third positive. They were feelings of rejection and failure, loss and thirdly, unemployment as an acceptable or positive experience.

Jones (1989) presented the widest range of outcomes, acknowledging that unemployment could also be a positive experience. On the positive side were those who regarded unemployment as a "blessing in disguise", since they were free from an unsatisfactory job situation, or because they used the experience to change the direction of their career. For two groups, unemployment was a more neutral experience. Firstly, the "unaffected" were generally older workers with a high socio-economic status, who also saw themselves as optimists or survivors. Secondly, the "cyclers" were workers engaged in work of a seasonal nature. Thus, they had become accustomed to experiencing short periods of unemployment and planned accordingly.

The remaining two groups identified by Jones (1989) experienced high stress as they attempted to adapt to unemployment. The "anxious but coping" group were very worried about their financial status and also perceived work as a key component of their identity. Job loss led to a loss in self-esteem, fear, a feeling of rejection due to the

stigma of unemployment, loneliness, inactivity and social isolation. The final group were those who engaged in "dysfunctional adaptations" of either compulsively seeking a job, or otherwise losing all motivation to do so, sinking into inactivity and social isolation.

Other typologies (Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988; Warr & Jackson, 1987; Winefield & Tiggemann, 1989b) have not taken account of the possible positive outcomes of unemployment. They reported unemployment to be only an adverse occurrence, with three potential outcomes: constructive adaptation, resigned adaptation and despair. Constructive adaptation is associated with, for example, the development of interests outside the labour market, expanding social networks and becoming involved in hobbies or voluntary work. Resigned adaptations included a reduction in employment commitment, a lowering of aspirations, autonomy and competency, withdrawal from job search, and avoidance of new situations. Those individuals experiencing despair exhibited very low levels of aspiration, autonomy and competence, and reduced well-being. They could be considered to display "non-psychotic mental ill health" (Warr & Jackson, 1987, p.233).

From these mixed findings, we can conclude that unemployment duration in itself does not determine the psychological well-being of the individual. Rather, the specific situational factors developing over time, and

personal characteristics determine what effects will occur (Breakwell, Harrison & Propper, 1984). These situational factors include age (Warr & Jackson, 1987), employment commitment (Warr & Jackson, 1987), financial strain (Rowley & Feather, 1987; Warr, Banks & Ullah, 1985; Warr & Jackson, 1987), social networks and the social stigma attached to unemployment (Sinfield, 1981; Warr, Banks & Ullah, 1985; Warr & Jackson, 1987) and the adequacy of state welfare provision available to the unemployed (Warr & Jackson, 1987; Winefield & Tiggemann, 1989b). In South Africa, unemployment insurance is often inadequate and inefficiently administered (Jaffee, 1984). Feather (1989) has listed several studies which show a correlation between low affective well-being and worries about money.

Re-employment and continuous unemployment have been presented here as two longer-term outcomes of unemployment. Clearly, they are not the only two outcomes of unemployment, though they are the most obvious. Other possible outcomes include under-employment (President's Council, 1987), spasmodic employment (Roberts, Duggan & Noble, 1982) and non-employment. Most definitions of unemployment presume that unemployed individuals are available for, and actively seeking work (National Manpower Commission, 1988). Sometimes this definition is relaxed to include those not seeking work, but available to work (National Manpower Commission, 1988). Over and above these discouraged workers and those ignorant of job opportunities (Carse, Philip,

Lamberth, Mansell, Haynes & Rodanos, 1987) are groups of people who place no, or little value on work. These groups include hippies, surfers, motorcyclists, beggars and those on permanent State aid (Bluen, 1983), as well as Rastafarians (Roberts, Duggan & Noble, 1982), gangsters and housewives who have domestic employees. These groups can be referred to as the non-employed as they do not wish to engage in an exchange relationship of work for remuneration. Marks and Glaser (1980) interviewed members of four of these groups, namely hippies, bikers, surfers and criminals, matching and comparing them to "straights". The purpose of their study was to identify antecedents of chosen joblessness. Factors identified include a norm of low personal achievement, class-cultural differences, being first born in the family, the image and influence of their father and peer pressure at school. Surprisingly, work experience seemed to be of little significance in the formation of alternative lifestyle values.

Contributory Factors to the Unemployment Experience

So far, attention has been given to describing the meaning of work and the experience of unemployment. At this point, research on some of the factors that contribute to the experience of unemployment, will be reviewed. These factors have been classified into two broad categories: the environmental situation and individual characteristics.

Once again, it should be emphasised that most of the literature in this area is based on a pathological orientation, rather than a salutogenic approach.

Environmental Situation

According to the assumptions of the coping model outlined above, situational factors influence the experience of unemployment and hence the coping patterns of the unemployed. Not only do environmental circumstances give rise to unemployment (e.g. job loss), but they also give rise to some of the stressors associated with unemployment (e.g. changes in social network). However, they can be resources too, which mediate the potential impact of unemployment. These situational variables can in turn be affected by psychosocial stressors, the stress management process and the manifestations of this process. Situational and personal factors can also affect one another. In this section, the literature related to two situational variables will be examined, namely the unemployment rate, and social support.

Unemployment Rate

The effect of the unemployment rate upon the impact of unemployment is a complex one, with several dynamics counteracting one another. A further complicating factor is that the rate of unemployment is perceived by the individual

independently of official and unofficial statistics, and is based primarily upon personal experiences (Cohn, 1978).

Two sets of effects of the rate of unemployment have been observed. In conditions of high or rising unemployment, length of unemployment duration increased (Moen, 1979), there were lower prospects of finding a job, and hence there was less motivation to look for a job (Dooley, Catalano and Rook, 1988; Leana & Feldman, 1990). In a recent study conducted by Leana and Feldman (1990) in America, they found some support for their hypothesis that the higher an individual perceived the rate of unemployment to be, the more negative the reaction to job loss. On the other side of the coin, there was less stigma attached to being unemployed (Sinfield, 1981), the individual was more likely to attribute unemployment to economic conditions than to personal failure (Cohn, 1978) and communities seemed to develop a greater resilience and cohesiveness in the face of a common threat (Leana & Feldman, 1990; Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988). Given these contrary dynamics, an increase in the rate of unemployment has been associated with better health in a British study (Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988) and a decline in well-being in an American one (Liem & Rayman, 1982). In conditions of low or declining rates of unemployment, the dynamics described above would work in the opposite direction. But, an economic upturn associated with falling unemployment rates could also be stressful, given adaptations which need to be made to a new job (Liem & Liem, 1988), possible re-employment at a lower occupational level

(Fineman, 1983; Liem & Rayman, 1982) and remaining unemployment while others are re-employed (Liem & Rayman, 1982).

Social Support

Generally, the effect of social support in stressful situations has been simplistically addressed in research studies. According to Monroe (1983, p. 92): "Different associations between support and disorder may be found, depending on the type of design used, the control variables taken into account and the type of disorder under study". Measures of social support have been developed in an ad hoc manner, according to the need of particular research studies and are primarily quantitative in nature, ignoring the qualitative dimension of social support (Holahan & Moos, 1982). Also, social support has most often been measured only subjectively, rather than also including an objective dimension (Ensminger & Celentano, 1988).

The ad hoc approach to measurement of social support, has probably arisen from its imprecise conceptualisation. Barrera (1986) has identified three broad categories of conceptualisation: Firstly, social embeddedness, referring to the social connections of an individual; secondly, perceived social support, referring to the cognitive appraisal undertaken by an individual of the availability and adequacy of supportive ties; finally, enacted support, referring to the actual assistance received from others. Different measures based on different conceptualisations of

social support can yield different information, as was found to be the case with at least one study (Cummins, 1988).

Several studies looking at the relationship of social support and unemployment have been conducted. Social support motivated and encouraged people in their looking for a job (Caplan and Vinokur, 1986). Kessler, Turner and House (1988) reported that social support among unmarried, unemployed people in Michigan, significantly reduced the impact of current unemployment on ill health. Caplan, Vinokur, Price and Van Ryn (1989) found that social support buffered the impact of unsuccessful job search in a broad American sample.

Utilising a measure of predominantly perceived support items, Gore (1978) discovered that social support reduced the severity of affective and physiological health responses to unemployment, in a longitudinal study of the shut-down of two American companies. Using perceived and embedded measures of social support, Holahan and Moos (1982) found that the quality of social support predicted psychosomatic complaints and depression. Linn, Sandifer and Stein (1985) used a measure of perceived support in the Veterans Administration Study conducted in Miami. They discovered that unemployment stress was aggravated by a low level of perceived support.

Several studies of unemployment have used measures of actual support rendered. The Sheffield studies of Warr and Jackson (1987) found that those unemployed men who reported having more contact with friends and relatives outside of

their immediate family, showed improved mental health, as measured by the General Health Questionnaire. Bolton and Oatley (1987) found some support for this stress buffering formulation of social support in their British study of unemployment. They found that the quantity of social interaction reported by the unemployed was related to depression. However, their measure of emotional support and marital status, did not predict depression. Liem and Liem (1988) reported that the marital relationship moderated the emotional distress of workers. Jones (1989) found that individuals employed in industries characterised by regular cycles of unemployment (e.g. actors) had developed a reference group that was understanding and empathetic towards their situation.

Atkinson, Liem and Liem (1986) conducted a study on unemployment utilising all three conceptualisations of unemployment identified by Barrera. They also challenged the assumptions that social support levels remain unchanged when stressful events are experienced and that social events and social supports are independent of one another. They found that perceived social support was associated with unemployment, although enacted support did not differ between groups of different employment status. Continuously employed respondents had larger social networks than re-employed respondents, who in turn were better socially embedded than the continuously unemployed. While the size of the social networks did not differ much over time, those of the unemployed and re-employed were subjected to a

greater degree of flux as new friends and relatives were added, while previous co-workers and old friends were lost. As unemployment duration lengthened, the marital quality of white collar workers seemed to deteriorate, but they began to receive more help for their problems. While network size did not change, blue collar workers reported a significant decline in the frequency of contact with their network.

In a longitudinal study, Atkinson, Liem and Liem (1986) examined the effect of unemployment on a sample of blue- and white collar families in the Boston area. The men in the sample reported changes in social support with the occurrence of unemployment. This should be expected, given that job loss would affect at the very least the individual's work-oriented social network. Observing the effect of unemployment duration on the white-collar subsample, they reported that as unemployment duration lengthened, there was a decrease in the quality of the marital relationship and a greater tendency to be receiving help with problems.

Madonia (1983) reported that often the unemployed desired to share their problems with someone, but because this state of dependency would remind them of their unproductiveness, they tended to remain alone and irritable. Thus, social isolation resulted from the occurrence of unemployment and was aggravated by personal choice. In addition, maladjustment to unemployment may affect an individual's social attractiveness to others (Holahan & Moos, 1982). This, together with the stigma of

unemployment, may also produce changes in social support. All these factors may result in a situation wherein an unemployed individual has inadequate social support, at a time he or she needs it most.

One source of social support unique to an industrial setting, is that derived from trade unions. Trade unions could negotiate favourable terms of retrenchments, offer financial aid and job seeking services, and provide a sense of support and belonging (Bluen, 1983). However, if unions are not seen to be of benefit to unemployed workers, they often terminate their membership to save on the cost of membership fees (Bluen, 1983). A local example of union support has been that of the Metal and Allied Workers Union establishing a co-operative for fired BTR Sarmcol workers (State of the Nation, 1987).

In summary, the complex and dynamic nature of social support needs to be explored further in its relationship to unemployment. Social support needs to be defined precisely and attention needs to be given to the types and timing of support emerging, as the process of coping evolves (Jacobson, 1986).

Individual Characteristics

Unemployment stress arises from the relationship of personal and environmental variables. As with the situational variables, personal factors include an array of variables that could give rise to unemployment, produce potential stressors, mediate the impact of unemployment stressors, and

which in turn could be affected by the stressors, mediation process, manifest outcomes and situational variables. Judging by the literature, personal variables have received more attention in psychological research of unemployment. This is to be expected, given psychology's individualistic bent. Two psychological variables that have often been researched, are self-esteem and locus of control. A number of demographic characteristics have also been examined.

Self-Esteem

Evidence has been presented which indicates that unemployment is associated with low self-esteem (Braginsky & Braginsky, 1975; Breakwell, Harrison & Proper, 1984; Cohn, 1978; Hartley, 1980b; Jahoda, 1979; Madonia, 1983). However, there were frequent qualifications to this association. Often changes in other areas of the individual's life which accompanied unemployment, could have explained, or mediated, the fall in self-esteem (Bluen, 1983; Feather, 1982; Gurney, 1980). Given these extraneous variables, it is not surprising that some studies have found no significant relationship between employment status and self-esteem (e.g. Hartley, 1980b; Linn, Sandifer & Stein, 1985; Shamir, 1986b), or unemployment duration and changes in self-esteem levels (Patton & Noller, 1984; Shamir, 1986b).

Given the inability of research to demonstrate a strong relationship between employment status and self-esteem, some researchers investigated the possibility that self-esteem

consisted of two components, one positive and the other negative, and that only the negative component would be affected. No sound theory was suggested, nor existing empirical evidence offered, to explain the rationale of this splitting of self-esteem into two components. Anyway, the results of such studies proved to be inconclusive (see Shamir, 1986b, for this debate).

Given the weak relationship between employment status and self-esteem, it has been proposed that self-esteem effects may not be related to a change in employment status, but rather to unemployment duration. Gurney (1980) and Winefield and Tiggemann (Tiggemann & Winefield, 1984; Winefield & Tiggemann, 1989a, b) studied school leavers in Australia and found that although those who were unemployed did not show a lowering of self-esteem as their unemployment duration lengthened, those who had managed to find employment, experienced a significantly greater improvement in self-esteem. However, in another Australian study, Patton and Noller (1984) found contrary results. The level of self-esteem of unemployed youth was inversely related to the number of weeks they were out of work. They suggested this discrepancy may be explained in terms of the individual's motivation to find a job and the associated impact of unsuccessful job search on self-esteem.

Unfortunately, self-esteem research has been further complicated by a failure to specify or define self-esteem (Hartley, 1980b). Clarity is required in this regard. Cohn (1978), for example, formulated a model to explain the

change in self-attitude brought about by a change in employment status.

According to Cohn's (1978) model, changes in employment status, and the resultant role performance changes, impacted upon components of the individual's self-concept. If the impact was regarded as important, this could lead to a change in expressed self-attitude. This impact was lessened by the relative importance of alternative components of the self-concept which remained unaffected, and by the externalisation of causal attribution to the status change.

Using grounded theory, Hartley (1980b) identified four categories of self-esteem that occurred amongst a sample of unemployed managers and professionals. Firstly, there was a low self-esteem group who were low in morale and self-confidence, were pessimistic, and often felt depressed. Secondly, a defensively high self-esteem group, who denied their difficulties, putting on a front of bravado. Thirdly, an intermittently-reduced self-esteem group who went through periods of low self-esteem, depression and self-doubt. These periods were often related to events such as job rejection and were of short duration. Finally, there was a high, or moderate self-esteem group who were optimistic and seemed to be enjoying being unemployed. Most often, these individuals were of higher economic status and had been unemployed for a short period. Such a categorisation as this, highlights the individual nature of the impact of unemployment and its subsequent complexity.

Self-esteem may not only be affected by unemployment, but could, in reciprocation, also mediate the impact of unemployment. Fineman (1979) described a cycle of increasing stress, leading to lower competence, leading to a fall in self-esteem, completing a circle by producing increased levels of stress. Low self-esteem then could increase the likelihood of viewing environmental demands as threatening (Fineman, 1979). A finding by Kessler, Turner and House (1988) that a positive self-concept reduced the impact of unemployment on ill health, while the absence of self-denigration protected against anxiety and depression, provides support for Fineman's model. Shamir's (1986b) study of highly educated Israeli adults who were unemployed, found that self-esteem was a significant moderator of the relationship between employment status and psychological well-being.

Locus of Control

The concept of locus of control refers to the locality of peoples' attribution of the cause of events: either to themselves or to the external environment. Internals - or those with an internal locus of control - attribute causality to themselves, while externals attribute causality to outside forces (Spector, 1982). The locus of control concept has tended to be value laden, with externals being viewed in a negative light and internals in a positive one (Antonovsky, 1979; O'Brien, 1985).

Jahoda (1979) has reported a shift in the unemployed from external attribution to self-blame, as unemployment duration increased. Similarly, a study by Tiggemann and Winefield (1984) reported that although there were no differences in the locus of control of unemployed versus employed Australian youth, they observed that over time, both groups in fact became more internally oriented. This would increase the likelihood of self-blame in the unemployed sample. Studies by Patton and Noller (1984) and Winefield and Tiggemann (1989a) found contrary results. They reported that there were differences between the employed and unemployed in their locus of control. The unemployed were more externally orientated in their attribution of causality and control when compared to the employed. However, their results differed in the long-term changes they reported. As unemployment duration lengthened, external attribution also seemed to strengthen in Patton and Noller's (1984) study, while Winefield and Tiggemann (1989a) found external locus of control measures fell over time.

Patton and Noller (1984) suggested that these seemingly contradictory results can be explained by time discrepancies: reasons for becoming unemployed were externally attributed, while unsuccessful job search later on, led to self-blame. However, it is also possible that external attribution may lead to an ignorance of opportunities that are available to regain control (Patton & Noller, 1984) and a reluctance to actively search for a job. Here, self-blame would be less likely.

Based on Bakke's work, O'Brien (1985) has challenged these views on the interpretation of the effect of locus of control on two counts. Firstly, he suggested that classification of locus of control should be into at least three categories, not two, namely externals, internals and realists. He argued that the unemployed tended to recognise the limitations of their circumstances and operate within those boundaries to change what they could. Some unemployment interventions encourage the unemployed to be more internally oriented. If their perception of causality was in fact accurate, trying to change an accurate perception of reality would lead to reality being misperceived (O'Brien, 1985) and would probably frustrate the unemployed, who would then try unsuccessfully to operate beyond the boundaries of their limitations.

Secondly, O'Brien (1985) believed none of the contemporary scales to measure locus of control sampled a wide enough range of life spheres, and often omitted consideration of the work situation - which would naturally be pertinent to unemployment studies. Furthermore, these scales did not indicate the accuracy of the individual's perception, and hence it could not be determined if the perception they held was realistic or not (O'Brien, 1985).

O'Brien's criticisms are highly relevant, and devalue the current utility of the locus of control concept to some extent. They call for a contextually grounded assessment of locus of control, which includes the sphere of work in its measurement.

Demographic Characteristics

Differences in unemployment experiences associated with several demographic variables, have been examined by researchers. These include age, gender, socio-economic status and race.

Age. In several studies conducted in Britain, America and Australia, the impact of unemployment has generally been found to be more severe for middle-aged people than for youths or older individuals (e.g. Fryer & Warr, 1984; Liem & Rayman, 1982; Warr & Jackson, 1984, 1987; Winefield and Tiggemann, 1989a).

Studies of unemployed youth in Australia and Britain tend to suggest the following character of youth unemployment. While employment often represented long awaited independence for adolescents (Patton & Noller, 1984), there was usually still the option of relying upon parents for financial support, in the event of job loss or unsuccessful job search (Warr & Jackson, 1987), and consequently to be sheltered from the effects of financial hardship so often associated with unemployment (Winefield & Tiggemann, 1989a). Furthermore, given that the youth have a less strong commitment to paid employment (Warr & Jackson, 1984), fewer responsibilities and an established social network from school, unemployment is usually less severe for them (Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988).

The middle aged - men in particular - seem to be most severely affected by unemployment. They are reported to have the greatest cognitive difficulties (Fryer & Warr, 1984), the poorest mental health and subjective well-being (Hepworth, 1980) and more intense stress effects (Liem & Rayman, 1982).

There were several reasons proposed for these findings of a more severe impact of unemployment in the middle-aged. Firstly, they were under more financial strain, and thus had a greater desire to find a job (Warr & Jackson, 1984). Therefore, they seemed to be more active in job seeking and showed higher levels of employment commitment. Secondly, the middle aged were less able to adapt to unemployment. Family commitments and their role as family breadwinner restricted their flexibility and the options available to them (Warr & Jackson, 1987).

Older persons, aged 55 to 65 years of age, appear to be less severely affected by unemployment. In two studies, some were embittered, feeling they had been "put on the scrap heap", but most welcomed the opportunity, viewing it as early retirement (Hepworth, 1980; Warr & Jackson, 1987).

It should be noted that age, and other demographic variables are not causal variables per se, but stand as proxy for underlying processes that need to be clarified and expounded upon (Warr & Jackson, 1984). That is, they are not explanatory variables, but marker variables (Breakwell, Harrison & Propper, 1984).

Gender. Historically, there has been less attention paid to women in the workplace than to men. One reason for this is the late emergence of women into the labour force (Bartell & Bartell, 1985). Similarly, little attention has been paid to women's unemployment (Bartell & Bartell, 1985; Starrin & Larsson, 1987) and there has been little comparison of the impact of unemployment on men and women (Ensminger & Celentano, 1990). Studies of unemployment have usually focused on married men, because of their traditional economic role in the family (Ensminger & Celentano, 1990).

Research evidence is too meager and inconclusive to be able to establish at this stage, whether there are gender specific experiences of unemployment (Bartell & Bartell, 1985; Hamilton, Broman, Hoffman, & Renner, 1990; McGhee & Fryer, 1989; Starrin & Larsson, 1987). There is some evidence that women generally experience more psychological distress than men, but that men suffer more psychological consequences with unemployment than women do (Ensminger & Celentano, 1990; Kessler, Price & Wortman, 1985).

It has been suggested that gender differences that may occur are more likely to be context specific, rather than attributable to gender as such (Ensminger & Celentano, 1990; Feather, 1982). Ensminger and Celentano (1990) found that several hypotheses that they had formulated on gender differences, were not borne out in their study of unemployed men and women which was conducted in Baltimore in America. Breakwell, Harrison and Propper (1984) believed that there

were no significant sex differences in their study, simply because both sexes experienced similar contexts of unemployment.

Two notable contextual factors which may lead to gender differences in unemployment are the extent to which there is gender-based discrimination and gender role norms (Hamilton, Broman, Hoffman & Renner, 1990). One area of gender role that has received some attention is whether women saw themselves as part of the labour force or not. If they regarded themselves as part of the labour market, then unemployment seemed to affect them in the same way as it affects men (Bluen, 1983; Patton & Noller, 1984). If women's labour force status was compatible with their attitude or preference, they should have better health than if there was an incompatibility (Ensminger & Celentano, 1990).

Layton (1986) believed that unemployment threatened men more than women, because in industrial societies, the male's self-identity originated primarily in the occupational realm. It was suggested that men see work as more central to their lives, the male sex role and the masculine identity (Ensminger & Celentano, 1990; Feather, 1982). But working women may no longer see the traditional female role of housewife as an alternative for them (Starrin & Larsson, 1987).

Some studies have identified gender differences in studies of unemployment, but they may not be generalisable. Stokes and Cochrane (1984) stated that their finding that

women coped better with unemployment than men, may be attributed to the conservatism of their British sample. Warr, Banks and Ullah (1985) found that British unemployed females reported more distress, depression and anxiety, higher employment commitment, lower unemployment orientation and less activity than males who were unemployed. In a Northern Ireland study, males were found to spend more time out of the house than the females in the sample. This was also linked to well-being (Kilpatrick & Trew, 1985). In their study of unemployment conducted in Scotland, McGhee and Fryer (1989) identified different financial roles of men and women.

Observing the state of women's unemployment research, and noting that sex differences in the realm of work stem largely from culture-based gender-role definitions, Bartell and Bartell (1985) proposed a developmental systems model of unemployment, integrating socio-cultural, work, nonwork and ontogenic factors as determinants of the psychological response to unemployment. This model could serve as the basis for further research on gender issues in unemployment.

Also a neglected area in unemployment research, has been a gender comparison of the impact of unemployment on the spouses of unemployed individuals. Significant gender differences are expected here, especially in families upholding traditional roles, where the husband is regarded as the main breadwinner.

Socio-economic status. It has been suggested that middle-class workers would be worst affected by unemployment, due to financial problems, the violation of values, and the threat posed to their strong occupational identity (Bluen, 1983). A positive work identity could be fostered by interesting work that allowed personal control to be exercised. Liem and Liem (1988) discovered that those who had had more interesting and challenging jobs, tended to show greater depression immediately after job loss and in a four month follow-up. O'Brien (1985) believed that only those workers with skills, would miss their work tasks, since these skills had allowed them to develop a sense of personal control. Therefore, they lost more financially and in terms of work deprivation when they became unemployed.

However, it has been counter-argued that middle-class skilled workers have more financial cushions than unskilled and semi-skilled workers (Bluen, 1983), and that it is therefore the lower classes that are most affected by unemployment. Lower skilled workers would find it more difficult to find alternative work (Bluen, 1983). It would appear then, that lower skilled workers are most affected by the financial ramifications of unemployment and greater difficulty in acquiring another job, while middle-class unemployed are more affected by the status loss, unemployment stigma and loss of work benefits, associated with job loss.

Given those different processes at work, it is debatable as to which group is more severely affected.

Hepworth's (1980) study revealed that unskilled and semi-skilled workers had poorer mental health and subjective well being than those in skilled, white collar and management classes. Once again, it must be recognised that socio-economic status is a marker variable and not an explanatory variable. The processes and context of unemployment underlying socio-economic status and skill level need to be further expanded upon.

Race. In South Africa, studies on the psychological aspects of unemployment are scarce (Moller, 1988), let alone studies which have compared the unemployment experiences of different race groups. Some studies in other countries have considered race as a variable (see Ulbrich, Warheit, & Zimmerman, 1989). Generally, non-Caucasians are reported to suffer more adversely from job loss (Leana & Feldman, 1990). However, the researcher felt, that given the deep divisions and disparities between race groups in South Africa (see for example Wilson & Ramphele, 1989), reviewing studies of other countries in any depth, would if anything, underestimate the effect of race on the experience of unemployment in South Africa.

Statistics show that by far the greatest portion of the unemployed in South Africa are from the Black population. This is to be expected, given the demographic composition of the country. However, it is also this group which reflects the highest unemployment rate (e.g. Bureau for Economic Research, 1991; Meth, 1987). It is also probable that Black

unemployment differs from that experienced in the many industrialised countries, and from the experience of unemployment by South African whites. The study of Black unemployment, is therefore an area that should receive more attention in future research. The need for more research on this aspect of unemployment is reinforced by the following counter-intuitive findings.

Moller (1988) reported that Blacks enjoy a poorer quality of life compared to all other race groups. She suggested that becoming unemployed may, therefore, not affect their general condition to any great extent. This would be consistent with Ensminger and Celentano's (1988) chronic burden hypothesis.

On the other hand, whites - who generally enjoy a higher standard of living - are not unaffected by unemployment. Rosmarin and Nunns (1986) conducted an aggregate level study using data of white South Africans, which showed a relationship between unemployment and stress related factors. (This study by Rosmarin and Nunns, was restricted to a sample of the white population group, so that it could serve as a replication for studies by Brenner in the United States.)

Outcome Variables of Unemployment

Unemployment usually has ramifications in several interacting spheres of the individual's life. According to Kessler, Turner and House (1987; 1988), there has been no

systematic research to identify the main stresses and strains related to job loss. Based on the literature, they identified four possibilities: financial strain, marital strain, strain associated with social isolation and strain due to an increase in the number of life events. In their study, only financial strain was found to be a significant mediator of ill health.

The impact of unemployment, is often negative, but need not always be the case. Positive effects can occur, at least in the short term. Fineman (1979) cautioned against simplistically viewing all unemployment contexts as adversely stressful situations. Sometimes unemployment was welcomed (e.g. Fineman, 1979; Jones, 1989). The stressfulness of a life event depends on the context and the individual's vulnerability to that situation (Bluen, 1983).

Much of the research on unemployment has been purely descriptive in nature, describing observed outcomes. "Given that the outcomes of unemployment have now been extensively charted, there is an increasing research need to examine the processes that give rise to different levels of those outcomes" (Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988, p. 64). As attention is now given to attempt to "charter" the potential outcomes of unemployment, if attempts have been made to specify the processes giving rise to these outcomes, these will be discussed as well. These outcomes have been categorised into seven sections: psychological, financial, social, physical health and behavioural spheres. Once again, the reader is reminded that the pathogenic emphasis

that is evident in this section, has occurred because past research has been biased in that direction.

Psychological

There has been much criticism on research conducted examining the psychological impact of unemployment: Studies were primarily descriptive, lacking in theoretical explanation of underlying processes (Jahoda, 1988; Payne & Hartley, 1987; Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988). In their synopsis, Kessler, Turner and House (1987, p.949) wrote: "A considerable amount of research documents the negative effects of job loss on both physical and mental health. Yet we know comparatively little about the mechanisms through which these effects occur."

Where theories were utilised, they were mainly cognitive in orientation and underplayed the social reality of unemployment (Jahoda, 1988). Most methods used, relied upon some form of self-report (Jahoda, 1988). Yet, the unemployed are unlikely to be willing to describe the full impact of unemployment, especially to a stranger (Sinfield, 1981). Much of the research was also conducted unsystematically, making comparisons extremely difficult (Feather, 1982; Jahoda, 1988; McGhee & Fryer, 1989).

Some of the psychological effects of unemployment which have been documented include depression (Bolton & Oatley, 1987; Feather, 1982; Feather & Barber, 1983; Feather & Davenport, 1981; Kessler, House & Turner, 1987; Kessler, Turner & House, 1988; O'Brien & Feather, 1990; Oliver &

Pomicter, 1981; Reynolds & Gilbert, 1991) distress (Baik, Hosseini & Priesmeyer, 1989; Ensminger & Celentano, 1990), anxiety (Kessler, House & Turner, 1987; Kessler, Turner & House, 1988; Madonia, 1983), dissatisfaction with life (Dooley & Catalano, 1980), poor cognitive performance (Fryer & Warr, 1984), deterioration in self-confidence (Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988) and boredom (McGhee & Fryer, 1989). Self-esteem, stress and locus of control effects have already been noted. Yet others psychological effects listed by Madonia (1983) include pessimism, anger, confusion, disorganisation, dependency, self-degradation, frustration, tension and apathy (c.f. Oliver & Pomicter, 1981). In several studies, the General Health Questionnaire has been used as a measure of psychological well-being (e.g. Aubry, Tefft & Kingsbury, 1990; Ensminger & Celentano, 1988; Kilpatrick & Trew, 1985; Breakwell, Harrison & Propper, 1984) and seems to be becoming increasingly popular in studies of unemployment using quantitative methods.

Many factors have been identified which mediate the harmful effects of unemployment, including the length of time since job loss, employment commitment, social relationships, the unemployment rate, gender, social class and ethnic group (Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988). The empirical research which utilised these variables has been reviewed elsewhere in this chapter, and therefore does not require to be repeated here. Inactivity also seemed to affect mental health. Hepworth (1980) found that if the unemployed person could occupy his or her time, this was

positively associated with mental health, while Warr, Banks and Ullah (1985) suggested that being able to keep busy, led to lower distress, depression and anxiety.

According to Riegle (1982), many studies show an association of unemployment with increased incidence of alcoholism and drug abuse, which he suggested are resorted to, to deal with depression and boredom. However, Warr (1987) believes that the general pattern of results on alcohol consumption reveals no change, or otherwise a reduction in consumption. There are suggestions that although the quantity of alcohol consumed may not increase, it was consumed more rapidly (Warr, 1987). Warr (1987) believed that a polarized pattern may be found, with heavy drinkers drinking more and light drinkers cutting down. Kessler, Turner and House (1988) found there was no association between unemployment and drinking, drug use and suicide ideation amongst people who lost their jobs through no fault of their own, but for the sample overall there was a significant relation. This finding tentatively suggests that alcoholism may be a determinant of unemployment, but that unemployment does not usually cause alcoholism directly, as is often assumed. However, this hypothesis was formulated from one study's findings. Further validation of this hypothesis is required, given the widely held association of unemployment and alcoholism.

A current debate in the psychological effects of unemployment, has been whether the individual is affected more by the experience of job loss, or by the failure to

find work. Winefield and Tiggemann (1989a) concluded from their study of Australian youth that the failure to find a job was traumatic for them, rather than the actual experience of job loss. It should be noted though, that their sample was aged between 15 and 17 years. There is evidence to suggest that older - and particularly middle-aged persons - are more affected by the occurrence of job loss than the youth are (Bluen, 1983; Fryer & Warr, 1984; Warr & Jackson, 1984, 1987). Nevertheless, this does not detract from the significance of job search experiences, and Winefield and Tiggemann's (1989a) results have highlighted the importance that job search experiences can play in the lives of the unemployed.

Research has shown that unsuccessful and persistent job search is associated with increased stress (e.g. Baik, Hosseini & Priesmeyer, 1989; Fineman, 1979; Leana & Feldman, 1990) loss of self-esteem (Feather, 1982), depression (Baum, Fleming & Reddy, 1986; Feather & Barber, 1983; Feather & Davenport, 1981) and a stronger externalisation of the causal attribution of unemployment (Feather & Barber, 1983). Other evidence suggests that greater self-blame may occur, rather than an externalisation of causality (Feather & Davenport, 1981). Fineman (1983) also suggested that failure in job search may lead to hopelessness, helplessness and humiliation.

These consequences of unsuccessful searching for a job, could be explained by symbolic failure (Fineman, 1979). This was particularly apparent among those who saw work more

attractively (Feather & Davenport, 1981). Unacknowledged resumes tended to be particularly depressing (Jones, 1989) and unsuccessful job seeking wore down morale and motivation (Jones, 1989). The model of learned helplessness (e.g. Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978) may have a useful contribution to make in explaining job search experiences. This possibility is explored further in Chapter Four.

Although apathy and fatalism were the most frequently reported outcomes of unsuccessful job search, an alternative viewpoint was that adaptation occurred, with more realistic attitudes and behaviours being adopted in circumstances of job scarcity (Warr, Banks & Ullah, 1985).

The bulk of research on the psychological effect of unemployment, has assumed that the effect will be negative. But, unemployment need not always be a negative psychological experience (e.g. Fineman, 1979; Jones, 1989), and could offer the opportunity for an individual to re-evaluate his- or herself, and their career path (Jones, 1989; Madonia, 1983). Even when it was a negative experience, the individual generally displayed great resilience and adaptation to unemployment (O'Brien, 1985). They were not mere victims of circumstance; unable to alter the situation in some way. Caution is therefore called for, in assuming that devastating consequences arising from unemployment are inevitable (Kagan, 1987). In their commentary of the defects, neglects and prospects of unemployment research, Gurney & Taylor (1981) state:

"There is a danger that unchallenged assertions of this kind are shaping the expectations of the employed and of the unemployed and leading to self-fulfilling prophecies" (p. 350).

Financial

One of the most commonly reported consequences of job loss, has been a fall in income and a subsequent lack of finances. According to Bakke, lack of money, rather than an absence of work activity, was the major cause of distress amongst the unemployed during the Great Depression (in O'Brien, 1985). It seems to be particularly difficult to endure unemployment when it is associated with poverty (Warr & Jackson, 1987). For example, in a study of working class Scottish families out of work, money was identified as the primary source of distress (McGhee & Fryer, 1989).

However, Ullah (1990) suggested that studies on the financial aspects of unemployment have failed to distinguish between objective and subjective measures of financial deprivation. Objective measures are based upon actual income, while subjective measures amount to the individuals report of financial strain. In examining these studies, Ullah (1990) observed that it was mainly in studies utilising subjective measures that an inverse association of financial strain with well-being was reported. In studies using objective measures, very few have shown a relationship to well-being (Ullah, 1990). In his own study of white

Australian male and female teenagers, he found no independent association between income and psychological well-being, while on the other hand, financial strain was associated with well-being. Financial strain - a subjective measure - has been associated with falling morale (Jones, 1989), a depressed mood (Liem & Liem, 1988; O'Brien, 1985), higher distress (Payne & Hartley, 1987; Rowley & Feather, 1987; Warr, 1984; Warr & Jackson, 1987) and lower affective well-being (Feather, 1989). In their study of Americans who had been laid off work, Leana and Feldman (1990) found that financial distress was associated with physiological distress, intense perceptual reaction and decreased emotional arousal.

For the unemployed, the effect of income loss is often manifested indirectly, rather than in a direct manner. Given a fall in income, the unemployed and their families often need to adapt their lifestyles, leading to poorer levels of well-being: They tended to engage less in activities requiring money such as visits to pubs, club membership and participation, trips, theatre, and reciprocation of social obligations (Feather, 1989; Jahoda, 1979, 1988; Kilpatrick & Trew, 1985; Madonia, 1983; McGhee & Fryer, 1989; Warr, 1984). Also, they then tended to devote more attention to job search (Warr & Jackson, 1984). It has been suggested that it is these forced lifestyle changes, rather than income loss per se that can cause distress to the unemployed.

However, in his study, Ullah (1990) found little support for this indirect association hypothesis, although he admits, that as a group, teenagers - who made up his sample - do not experience the greatest financial burden, compared to other age groups.

McGhee and Fryer's (1989) study of families suffering from unemployment focused on financial matters as a dominant theme. Lack of money led to distress both directly and indirectly. There was a struggle to provide daily necessities and an inability to meet other needs (e.g. clothes, furniture) and pay debts. Arguments about money led to marital disharmony, parents deprived themselves to meet their childrens' needs while leisure and recreation now proved to be unaffordable.

Looking to the longer term effects, Warr and Jackson (1987) suggested that the unemployed always developed financial routines and limitations which stabilised the effect of finances on mental health. They believed other factors would then emerge at that stage as more significant determinants of mental health. However, this stabilising effect has not been validated in other studies. Jahoda (1979) found that budgeting was progressively abandoned, rather than regulated, as unemployment lengthened. Also, the adoption of a monotonous routine due to financial constraints, could be distressful in itself. For example, McGhee and Fryer (1989) found that the routineness of diet was particularly distressful for families.

Social

Given the social isolation and loneliness often associated with unemployment (Jones, 1989; Moller, 1988), it is likely that an accompanying lower sense of social support will aggravate the situation (Linn, Sandifer & Stein, 1985).

Financial constraints arising from unemployment have been identified as a source of inactivity and social isolation. In addition, job loss can lead to the individual losing contact with the social institution and network of the workplace that had played a central role in his or her life (Jahoda, 1988). School leavers seem to be more fortunate here, as they appear to be able to maintain social contacts from school, more easily (Warr, Banks & Ullah, 1985). This type of social support is an important buffer to the impact of unemployment and unsuccessful job search (Caplan, Vinokur, Price & Van Ryn, 1989).

An important social sphere for most individuals, is their family. Most of the research looking at the impact of unemployment upon the family, has been conducted in America. Two exceptions to this, are McGhee and Fryer's (1989) study of Scottish families affected by unemployment and Moller's (1988) research in South Africa.

The unemployed individual's family as a whole, could be affected by unemployment. The burden of unemployment is shared by the spouse and children, though not necessarily evenly (McGhee & Fryer, 1989). Initially, the family is drawn closer together to give one another mutual support in encountering unemployment (Madonia, 1983). There may also

be positive effects flowing from the increased time the unemployed family has with his or her family (Kessler, Turner & House, 1987). However, this supportive environment usually does not last long and estrangement, arguments, tension, disharmony, conflict, role strain, disorganisation and depression can occur as unemployment duration lengthens (Aubry, Tefft & Kingsbury, 1990; Dooley & Catalano, 1980; Liem & Liem, 1988; Liem & Rayman, 1982; Madonia, 1983).

Marital relations become particularly strained by the occurrence of unemployment, with an increased incidence of separation and divorce associated with unemployment (Aubry, Tefft & Kingsbury, 1990; Elder & Caspi, 1988; Liem & Liem, 1988). Initially wives of unemployed men were not severely affected, but after several months they began to show signs of anxiety, depression and sensitivity about the marital relationship (Liem & Liem, 1988; Liem & Rayman, 1982). There is also some evidence to suggest that unemployment could affect the sexual functioning of men (Morokoff, Baum, McKinnon & Gilliland, 1987).

Moller (1988) has examined the experience of unemployment on South African families. In interviews conducted by Moller (1988) in Soweto and in the Durban and East London areas, it was reported that particularly middle-aged men experienced intensely negative effects of unemployment because they could not provide for their families. Due to the family's economic hardship, these men were more avid workseekers, and were less selective in their

choice of casual or permanent work. Men were also pressured into job search by the withdrawal of family affection.

Physical Health

In studies of unemployment that reported on physical health, a pattern emerged of the adverse impact of unemployment, producing primarily stress related ailments. Unemployment has also been associated with generally poorer physical health (Kessler, House & Turner, 1987). There was also an increased likelihood of illness amongst the unemployed as compared to the employed in Kessler, Turner and House's (1988) American study and Rosmarin and Nunns' (1986) South African aggregate study. However, in Warr, Jackson and Banks' (1988) British study, ten percent of the sample reported an improvement in health. This improvement was ascribed to the removal of negative aspects of their previous job.

Some of the physical effects that the unemployed have reported, include a loss of appetite, sleep and sexual interest (Linn, Sandifer & Stein, 1985), as well as alcoholism and increased smoking (Liem & Rayman, 1982). These symptoms were indicative of the stressfulness of unemployment for these individuals. The unemployed have also been more prone to psychosomatic illnesses such as somatisation factors (Linn, Sandifer & Stein, 1985), insomnia (Linn, Sandifer & Stein, 1985; Liem & Rayman, 1982), high blood pressure, neurasthenia (Liem &

Rayman, 1982), dermatitis, eczema, headaches, high blood pressure and ulcers (Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988).

Rosmarin and Nunns (1986) conducted a study to explore the relationship between economic fluctuation and psychopathology amongst white South Africans. Their results established a relationship between unemployment and variables measuring suicide, cirrhosis of the liver, homicide and cardiac disease mortality.

In another study, Linn, Sandifer and Stein (1985) found that although the unemployed had the same number of diagnoses as the employed, they reported having more medications, days in bed and visits to the doctor. Doctors seemed to help to fulfill the patient's social and emotional needs, in addition to their medical needs (Linn, Sandifer & Stein, 1985).

Behaviour

Jahoda (1979) identified several latent benefits of work, which were discussed earlier. These can be used to identify potential behavioural changes which may occur with job loss; including a loss of time structure, a lack of purposeful activity and a change in social behaviour and patterns of interaction. There is some evidence to suggest that unemployment is associated with idleness (Madonia, 1983), a disintegration of a sense of time and time structure (Feather & Bond, 1983; Hartley, 1980b; Jahoda, 1979) and less purposeful use of time (Feather & Bond, 1983).

Furthermore, in her study, Hepworth (1980) found that the best predictor of mental health was the ability of the unemployed to occupy their time. Keeping busy would appear to lead to lower distress, depression and anxiety (Warr, Banks & Ullah, 1985).

It has been suggested that unemployment is associated with a less purposeful use of time. Feather (1989) conducted a study to investigate the behavioural changes accompanying job loss in a sample of Australian men. This sample became more involved in meal preparation, shopping, watching television, reading newspapers, books and magazines, gardening, home repairs and doing jobs for friends and neighbours. Compared to McGhee and Fryer's (1989) study, the men in Feather's (1989) study seemed to be less concerned about "intruding upon their partner's domain", but assisted in the domestic activities. Feather also found there was little change in physical activity, and activities related to establishing and maintaining social contacts. The study found that psychological well-being was positively associated with activities that had clear goals, and negatively associated with passive activities. Kilpatrick and Trew (1985) had reached similar conclusions in their earlier study in Northern Ireland. Those men who kept active and spent more time away from the home showed higher levels of psychological well-being. They identified four behavioural types: Passive, Domestic, Social and Active, which each showed increasing levels of well-being, respectively.

Coping with Unemployment

In this, the third section of this chapter, the literature related to coping with unemployment is presented. It should be recalled from the first section, that no model of the unemployment coping process could be found in the literature. Several authors have commented upon the neglect of research on unemployment to explore potential interventions into the unemployment arena, and have recommended that future research should be oriented in this direction (Caplan, Vinokur, Price van Ryn, 1989; Feather, 1982; Feather & Barber, 1983; Kessler, Turner & House, 1987; 1988; Leana & Feldman, 1990; Liem & Rayman, 1982; Rosmarin & Nunns, 1986). Certainly, it has been the aim in this review and in the study as a whole, to emphasise the coping aspect of unemployment.

Attention is now paid to possible ways in which the individual may manage stress, as well as unemployment interventions by outside parties, which have been attempted, or recommended. These coping mechanisms and interventions have been clustered into the following categories: individual job search, individual adaptations, the establishment of social and economic institutions and assistance provided by third parties. Macro-economic measures will be largely ignored, given that this study is primarily interested in the psychological dimension of unemployment.

Individual Job Search

Job search often begins with the occurrence of unemployment. Joelson and Wahlquist (1987) found three main attitudes to looking for a new job, amongst the Swedish shipyard workers they interviewed, who had received notification of their retrenchment, but had not yet been retrenched. Firstly, there were those who adequately appraised their possibilities, contained their worries and waited until they found a suitable job. Secondly, there were those who waited too long, perhaps hoping to keep their old job but then found themselves without work as the day of termination approached. Thirdly, there were those who took the first job that they could find, because they were unable to stand the worry of becoming unemployed.

Some researchers have focused upon the methods used by the unemployed to find work. In interviews with the unemployed, Sinfield (1981) discovered that the majority of interviewees believed that there was no single right way to search for a job, and that luck was a significant factor in determining success. This attitude was bound to lead to a degree of fatalism being expressed, particularly by the unskilled (Sinfield, 1981). However, the interviewees still acknowledged the importance of informal contacts and social support as contributory factors in job search success.

While luck may well be a factor in job search success, Azrin, Flores and Kaplan (1975) have demonstrated through an

experimentally designed intervention, that a job search programme is more effective than individual efforts. They believed job search requires a complex set of skills, which the unemployed often did not possess, and therefore had to be taught. In a job-seeking programme, Azrin, Flores and Kaplan (1975) found that those who participated in the programme were more effective than those who searched for jobs by their individual effort. Effectiveness in this study was based upon duration of job search, starting salary and skill level of the job. A key component of their programme was the "buddy system", which ensured continual individual support. In a more recent job-seeking programme designed for older job seekers (ages ranged from 50 to 62 years) in the United States, Gray and Braddy (1988) found that the job club was an effective means of facilitating employment of older workers.

Caplan, Vinokur, Price and van Ryn (1989) have presented a process model which serves as a framework for interventions designed to help people to cope with job loss and unsuccessful job search. In an experimental application of this model, Caplan, Vinokur, Price and van Ryn (1989) found higher rates of re-employment among the experimental group when the post-test was conducted. Those of the experimental group who were still unemployed when the post-test was conducted, had higher levels of job-seeking motivation than the control group members who were still unemployed.

An avenue of job search that is open to the unemployed, is registration with the Department of Manpower. The Department of Manpower assists those work seekers who have registered with them in their attempts to find a job, giving greater attention to those who are serious about getting work. Between November 1989 and October 1990 they placed 111 000 work seekers in employment (National Manpower Commission, 1990). Similarly, some employers may involve themselves in outplacement programmes (e.g. Taber, Cooke & Walsh, 1990).

Individual Adaptations

Individual's responses to unemployment, are not restricted to job search. Starrin and Larsson (1987) used grounded theory to study the reactions of Swedish women to unemployment. They observed the following four patterns, based on two core variables - relation to wage labour and relation to alternative activities: The "give uppers" were no longer committed to wage labour, and lost interest in other activities. They no longer thought it was possible for them to get a job, and had lost control over their everyday life. The "clenchers", on the other hand, remained committed to and gave priority to job hunting. They were unable to replace job loss with other meaningful activities. The "refocusers" had been able to find other activities that were of interest and enjoyment. They no longer actively looked for work, but would take a job if they were offered

one. The final group were the "ambivalents" who were committed to wage labour, but had also found the housewife role meaningful.

In a study conducted by Leana and Feldman (1990), of two samples of people drawn from Pennsylvania and Florida who had been retrenched, 20 items describing coping behaviours loaded onto six types of behaviour during factor analysis. These six factors were: self-initiated job search activities, seeking education and/or training, investigating geographic relocation, applying for financial assistance beyond unemployment insurance, community activism, and seeking social support. Their results showed that individuals tended not to be proactive in dealing with job loss. Their results also suggested that some coping may be stressful in itself. For example, searching for a job may prove to be frustrating, and going back to school, embarrassing (c.f. Baik, Hosseini & Priesmeyer, 1989).

Some other individual coping processes that have been identified, include confrontation (Fineman, 1979), educational inoculation (Dooley & Catalano, 1980), reappraisal of meaning (Jones, 1989) and mastery (Brenner & Starrin, 1988).

In a pilot study for this research, Mokgehle (1990), used grounded theory to investigate the coping strategies of a group of unemployed African males in Pietersburg. He identified seven categories of coping. Four of these did not meet the needs of the unemployed sample. They were: firstly, drawing upon savings and investments; secondly,

seeking to alter or control the situation (e.g. fighting against dependency, or persevering in job search); thirdly, pessimism and resignation; and finally, being trapped by the status of previous employment held, and now refusing to accept a job of lower status. The remaining three categories did meet some of the needs of the unemployed and their family. These effective coping patterns were: dependency, involvement in the informal sector/entrepreneurship, and finding casual or temporary employment.

In South Africa, with limited opportunities in the formal sector, many people are turning to the informal sector to earn a living. Official statistics estimated unrecorded economic activity amounted to be worth a minimum of R16 billion in 1989 - equal to 8 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (Hartzenberg and Leiman, 1990). By aggregating several area surveys, May and Stavrou (1990) estimated that 32 percent of households in formal settlements and 39 percent in informal settlements participated in the informal sector. This figure is inflated by individuals participating in both the formal and the informal sectors in order to survive, and therefore, is not limited to those who are purely in the informal sector (May & Stavrou, 1990). Referring to a 1988 study they conducted in the Durban area, May and Stavrou (1990) identified the following categories of informal sector operators: producers, distributors, transporters, legal services (e.g. shoeshiners, carwashers, entertainers),

illegal services (e.g. prostitutes, protection racketeers), financiers, "dream merchants" (dagga-dealers, suppliers and growers), and criminals (e.g. pickpockets, burglars).

In interviews that Moller (1988) conducted in three metropolitan areas in South Africa, the highest perception of well-being was found amongst the self-employed. She suggested that this may be related to the financial security offered by self-employment and the accompanying improvement in self-esteem. Although the self-employed enjoyed a better quality of life than even the regularly employed, Moller (1988) noted that self-employment had usually been a forced career choice. In a survey conducted by Bromberger (1984) in the Pietermaritzburg area, it was found that many of the unemployed had become involved in paid work of one type or another (e.g. building, hotel work).

Establishment of Social and Economic Institutions.

Jahoda (1979) identified several social institutions which are associated with unemployment. These included communes, the informal economy and organised crime. Madonia (1983) has also recommended the establishment of self-help groups and Winfield (1981) suggested that unemployment centres should be established. Currently in South Africa, co-operatives are gaining in popularity and are increasingly seen to be appropriate forms of unemployment interventions (e.g. Franks & Shane, 1989; Jaffee, 1988; McIntosh, 1990; South African Metalworker, 1986).

Besides providing social support, these social centres and formations have other potential benefits and services that could be offered, including time structured activities (Jones, 1989), counselling services (Dooley & Catalano, 1980; Jones, 1989), educational activities (Brenner & Starrin, 1988; Dooley & Catalano, 1980; Hepworth, 1980), financial planning and savings clubs (Franks & Shane, 1989; Jones, 1989; McGhee and Fryer, 1989), and a means of generating an income.

Third Party Assistance

Besides determining economic policy measures, the government has addressed the unemployment situation through various direct interventions. In the 1990/1991 financial year, R150 million was allocated to the "Special Job Creation Programme", half of this set aside for training. This training programme has resulted in R460 million being invested in the training of nearly 1,3 million unemployed persons between 1985 and 1990 (National Manpower Commission, 1990). Its main objectives were to train people to hold a job and to increase their employability (Barker, 1989). A rough estimate was that 30 percent of these people were placed in employment after training (National Manpower Commission, 1990).

A similar project has been conducted in Britain. Stafford (1982) reported on a Youth Opportunities Programme launched in Leeds, designed to offer training and work

experience to 16 to 18 year olds, thereby enhancing their employability. She found that there was a significant improvement in the employment prospects of these participants, and that participation in the programme also alleviated the detrimental psychological effects of unemployment.

Other South African government initiatives in unemployment include housing projects, regional development aid by the Development Bank of South Africa, and decentralisation incentive schemes (National Manpower Commission, 1990). There have also been several appeals to the government to establish a comprehensive public works project, or large scale housing scheme (e.g. Abedian & Standish, 1987; Donaldson, 1987; Natrass, 1987). There appear to be problems attached to this type of project (e.g. Donaldson, 1987; National Manpower Commission, 1990), and the government has not yet undertaken an initiative on the scale that has been recommended (National Manpower Commission, 1990). Private agencies have recently initiated similar projects on a smaller scale, with some success (e.g. Makanjee, 1987).

Employers also have a role to play in the unemployment arena. A variety of interventions which could be adopted by employers, have been identified to either prevent unemployment, reduce its impact or reduce the duration of joblessness. Interventions include work sharing, or reducing hours worked, retraining programmes, early retirement offers, outplacement programmes, giving advanced

notice of impending retrenchments with favourable settlements, and offering financial planning services (Dooley & Catalano, 1980; Iversen & Sabroe, 1988; Jones, 1989; Moen, 1979; Taber, Cooke & Walsh, 1990). In their Florida sample, Leana and Feldman (1990) found some evidence suggesting that outplacement and advanced notification had positive effects, but generally, they found largely non-significant results of employer assistance. They suggested that this assistance may have been too little, too late.

Taber, Cooke and Walsh (1990) described the formation of a community services council in an organisation which gave advance notice of plant shutdown. The council was established to identify the needs of workers and the potential resources available to meet these needs, to provide counselling if needed, and co-ordinate an outplacement programme. Two counsellors manned the counselling service, which was based in the plant and operated until a year after the shutdown was initially announced. It functioned as a boundary spanner between the workers, employer and human service agencies. Its activities included counselling, outplacement and workshops on topics like resume preparation and credit counselling. However, primary responsibility for solving problems was left in the hands of the worker. Overall, the programme was perceived to have had a positive impact on the ability of workers to solve their problems.

Besides being involved directly with their own employees, employers have, together with the government,

supported and funded development agencies which are involved in job creation activities. These agencies are quite numerous, and include amongst others, the Small Business Advisory Bureau, the Small Business Development Corporation, the Triple Trust Organisation and the Small Business Forum (National Manpower Commission, 1990; Southern Light, 1991). Since its establishment, the Small Business Development Corporation has created over 249 000 jobs - over 37 000 of them in 1990 (National Manpower Commission, 1990).

As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, unemployment in South Africa is widespread, and primarily of a structural nature. It has been suggested that school leavers may be prepared for possible unemployment by changing their attitudes on unemployment, so that "unemployed" is seen as an acceptable term of reference (Irvine, 1984). In a British study, Roberts, Duggan and Noble (1982) found evidence that youths were already being prepared for unemployment by their peers, families and a "hidden education curriculum". Certainly, in areas of high unemployment, some form of informal education in unemployment is likely to have been experienced.

Trade unions also have a role to play in unemployment interventions. It is also widely expected of them to in fact become involved in preventing job loss and in assisting the currently unemployed (Moller, 1990). Community organisations have also offered help of a limited nature to the unemployed. For example, Advice Offices have offered information and guidance to the unemployed and assisted with

Unemployment Insurance claims (Irvine, 1984). Some organisations such as COPE (Counselling Opportunities to Progressive Employment) and Community Education Resources, have also produced workbooks which provide information on unemployment and give practical advice on how to deal with unemployment.

Conclusion

This chapter was only written in its present form after data had been collected and analysed. This concurs with the grounded theory methodology (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Although some of the literature had been read and written-up beforehand, this was then rewired to fit the above framework. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to transform information which was originally derived in a pathogenic paradigm. Presenting the information on unemployment in a coping framework, may help to bring about the reorientation advocated in this study. Rather than asking the unemployed to report what happens to them, this framework poses the question of what the unemployed do to cope with unemployment. It is evident that less attention has been paid to identifying and evaluating the coping patterns of the unemployed. It is hoped that the coping model presented here may facilitate a more systematic approach to examining unemployment coping.

Even a cursory glance through this chapter reveals many gaps in the body of literature. Some of the elements of the coping model have received little attention in unemployment research, while others have been more comprehensively explored. There has also been a tendency for more recent research to study variables that moderate the impact of unemployment. The individualistic bias of psychology is also evident. Compare, for example, the amount of information on individual versus situational characteristics.

It has been unfortunate that unemployment has been so neglected by South African psychologists, as this review serves to illustrate. It is also possible that there will be a tendency in future for unemployment to be examined in the broader framework of poverty, prompted by the Second Carnegie Inquiry Into Poverty and Development. This remains to be seen, but it is hoped that this chapter has helped to identify future research opportunities.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In the previous two chapters, it was suggested that psychology has paid little attention to the problem of unemployment in South Africa. This was in spite of the prevalence of unemployment in the country, the fact that it is a long term structural problem, and that it can potentially be addressed at many levels - including the individual level, where psychologists are most competent. But it was also noted that the individualistic bias of psychology has potentially iatrogenic consequences for research on social phenomena such as unemployment. It was suggested that a competency assumption of unemployment - achieved through a salutogenic paradigm and an empowerment orientation - was one way of reducing the likelihood of adopting a victim-blaming approach in unemployment research.

It was also suggested that this competency approach could be operationalised by looking at what people do in response to unemployment, rather than looking at what happens to them when they become unemployed. It was for this reason that the review of unemployment literature was deliberately framed in a model of coping.

The aim in this study was to explore some of the coping patterns used by the unemployed, and to then generate a theory of unemployment coping that is applicable to the local community from which the sample was drawn.

Selecting an Appropriate Research Method

Over the years, the view had developed that "qualitative research merely provides fodder for quantitative researchers and so occupies a lower rung on the epistemological ladder" (Bryman, 1984, p. 84). Initially, several factors combined to elevate the status of quantitative approaches. Research norms placed value on that which could be viewed as scientific and objective (Downey & Ireland, 1979). This produced an obsession with reliability (Hari Das, 1983), which was easier to demonstrate using quantitative methods. Also, advances in statistical methods encouraged the collection of data to which these more sophisticated statistical techniques could be applied (Hari Das, 1983).

More recently, however, there has been an increasing tendency for qualitative research to be presented as an alternative *modus operandi*, rather than as a subordinate one to quantitative approaches (Bryman, 1984). Despite the supposed advantages of quantitative methods, researchers have become disillusioned with quantitative research orientations (see, for example, Fineman & Mangham, 1983; Hari Das, 1983; Van Maanen, 1979; Downey & Ireland, 1979). Increasingly, researchers have opted to conduct qualitative, phenomenological research (Bryman, 1984), and quantitative research is no longer viewed as inherently superior to that which is of a qualitative nature.

Similarly, it was not simply assumed that a quantitative approach was inherently more suitable for this study. Bryman (1984) has identified two bases for choosing a suitable research method. One is an epistemological approach, and the other a technical approach. Using epistemological criteria, the researcher would consider whether the methodology was appropriate for the philosophical foundation of the study, while technical criteria consider the relative superiority of methods by comparing one to the other. Selection of a method on technical criteria, therefore, examines the appropriateness of a method for the particular research problem (Bryman, 1984; Downey & Ireland, 1979), and is based upon the researcher's personal judgement of appropriateness, rather than on an epistemological basis (Bryman, 1984). Bryman (1984) has warned that researchers often blur and confuse epistemological and technical criteria. Thus, it should be stated emphatically, that if a method is chosen on technical grounds, debating the epistemological status of the techniques is futile.

In motivating for the choice of the grounded theory methodology, this research followed what Wicker (1989) has referred to as a "substantive theorizing" research path. That is, the choice of method has been given third priority, after first choosing the substantive area of unemployment and preferred conceptual domains. Nevertheless, the assignment of the selection of a methodology to a lower priority position does not mean that it is not important at

all, but rather that the range of options available is more limited. Therefore, the choice of method in this study is constrained by other concerns given greater importance, and so its selection is determined upon technical, rather than epistemological grounds.

Grounded theory was seen to be an appropriate methodology for the following reasons: Firstly, grounded theory facilitated an empowerment approach to research. It encouraged research subjects to be viewed as a source of expertise, and it is their knowledge and experience, obtained from interviews, which served as the basis for the development of a theory. This equalised the relationship between researcher and interviewee (Rappaport, 1981). Secondly, the aim of this research was to generate new theory, rather than validate existing theories. Grounded theory was designed for this very purpose by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Thirdly, grounded theory facilitated the formulation of a localised theory - producing theoretical accounts of small fragments of the world (Turner, 1983) - which was an objective of this research.

These last two reasons need further explaining. It was suggested in earlier chapters, that little research has been conducted in South Africa on the psychological dimensions of unemployment. It may have been possible to import theory generated internationally, and validate its relevance to the South African situation. However, it was recognised that theory is time, place and context bound (Seidman & Rappaport, 1986), and while "exotic" theory should not be

dismissed by South African researchers, it should not be reified either. Grounded theory provides a way of generating theory of local relevance, while also allowing research conducted elsewhere to inform the formulation of the localised theory, which is grounded in data. In so doing, grounded theory does not glibly accept existing theoretical formulations as the lens through which to view the research domain, but requires that the data create new theoretical lenses and serves as the basis for evaluating the appropriateness of existing ones.

Grounded theory is a mode of investigation, establishing procedural norms for data collection and analysis (Turner, 1983). It does not prescribe what technique should be used to collect the data, and in fact recommends that a combination of techniques may be useful (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Turner, 1983). On technical grounds, there can be some merit in utilising a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in a research strategy (Bryman, 1984; Hari Das, 1983), but this cannot be justified on epistemological grounds (Bryman, 1984). In this research, semi-structured interviews were the primary method of data collection.

Given the array of research methods and epistemological foundations that a researcher can choose from, and the uniqueness of the context of a research problem, it is impractical, if not impossible, to specify absolute method-selection criteria. Morgan (1983a, c) argued that the evaluation of a selected approach cannot be based upon the

assumptions of a particular epistemology. Criteria beyond epistemological foundations need to be the basis of evaluation. Morgan (1983b) identified five bases of evaluation of research strategies: firstly, synthesising methods to maximise strengths and reduce weaknesses; secondly, attempting to identify a supreme strategy (advocating epistemological supremacy); thirdly, a contingency approach which judges a strategy by the usefulness of its assumptions and knowledge; fourthly, a dialectic approach which combines competing perspectives to derive a new mode of understanding; and finally, an approach that states that anything goes, and that every strategy may have something to offer.

If evaluative selection strategies are utilised, Morgan (1983d) offers the following selection criteria: The strategy should enable the researcher firstly to focus on action and change; secondly to empower individuals, and thirdly to place premium on empirical data. In advocating the appropriateness of grounded theory, it is not suggested that grounded theory has any claims to being superior to other methods. Instead, the pragmatic considerations identified above suggested that grounded theory is a suitable approach for this study. This is Morgan's (1983b) contingency approach to method selection. But the selection of grounded theory has the added advantages of encouraging action and change by its development of locally relevant theory, and by the emphasis it places on empirical data generating the theory.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory was developed to provide an alternative to the research norm of the day. This involved the verification of existing, ungrounded formal theories derived by logico-deductive reasoning, or speculation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 1971; Layder, 1982; Scott, 1971). According to Layder (1982), grounded theory served two primary functions. Firstly, it acted as "an insurance against theoretical stagnation" and secondly, it established a "tradition of field research as a means and locus of theoretical discovery".

The starting point of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory, was that the adequacy of a theory depended upon the research process that was used to derive it. Therefore, they presented a methodology of generating theory, based upon the data that were collected. Hence, the theory's hypotheses and concepts are derived from the collected data and are established during the course of the research process by collecting, coding and analysing the data concurrently. This empirical approach to theory development would ensure that a theory is produced that would be applicable and relevant to the situation under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This approach contrasted with traditional logical-deductive approaches which derived their hypotheses from existing theories, which, by implication, biased data collection and analysis in favour

of verification (Charmaz, 1990). In adopting this position on the development of theory, grounded theory explicitly rejected a priori theorising, which placed artificially preconceived boundaries around the development and discovery of theory (Layder, 1982).

It was argued by Layder (1982), that if an empiricist approach was adopted in grounded theory, this would limit what could be discovered to the observable, phenomenological, experienced world, and would exclude unobserved structures and mechanisms which are also of relevance. Therefore, Layder (1982) suggested that a post-empiricist position be adopted by grounded theorists, which recognised that there was an interaction between existing theoretical knowledge and the field research. Through field research, the researcher would be able to generate concepts and theory from the data, but its meaning would not be given to them exclusively by the people who are being studied (Layder, 1982).

Grounded theory also acknowledges that the researcher enters the field with personal perspectives which could potentially shape the research process. This fact is accounted for by not assuming a "tabula rasa" view of enquiry. However, these personal perspectives are not reified, but instead are subjected to scrutiny and then used to build analyses (Charmaz, 1990). For this reason, only after data collection, is the literature reviewed to explore ways of analysing the data. This delay of the literature review helps to prevent the researcher from entering the

field with strongly held, unchallengeable, preconceived ideas (Charmaz, 1990).

The grounded theory methodology rests upon two interrelated procedures: theoretical sampling and constant comparison. These procedures will now be examined, and it will be pointed out where this research has deviated from the textbook approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967). In this section, the references made to the theory that emerged, are purely to illustrate how grounded theory was applied. In the next chapter, a more comprehensive account of how the theory emerged from the data, will be given.

Theoretical Sampling

Grounded theory introduced a unique form of sampling. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), when generating theory, the number of cases studied to derive the concept are not that crucial. "A single case can indicate a general conceptual category or property; a few more cases can confirm the indication" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 30). Thus, the randomness and representativeness of the sample used, is not that important for the generation of theory. Provided the theory was based upon data, this theory would endure - albeit in a modified form - but it would never be totally refuted by the collection of more data.

Initial data are collected by broadly framed questions, which if proved to be irrelevant, are replaced by new ones. Later on, questions will become more focused as the theory

begins to emerge (Charmaz, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Charmaz (1990) recommended delaying theoretical sampling until an in-depth understanding of the issues at hand was achieved from initial sampling. Theoretical sampling would then be used purely to develop concepts, rather than to collect general information as well. After initial data are collected, then only is further collection planned. Coding and analysis of these data lead to the theory emerging, which directs further sampling efforts.

The criteria upon which theoretical sampling is based, are theoretical purpose and relevance (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In other words, it is the extent to which further sampling would contribute to the development of the theory that determines whether sampling should be continued or not, and if so, where this sample should be drawn from. It is the researcher who determines during the research process, if further sampling should take place - based upon the directions indicated by the emerging theoretical categories (Charmaz, 1990). Thus, the researcher is not a passive observer, but actively alters the observed reality being researched (Charmaz, 1990).

In this study, theoretical sampling could not be used in its pure form. An initial sample was compiled by CAFDA (Cape Flats Distress Association), a welfare organisation. This was really a convenience sample, which provided access to the community under study. In addition to this initial convenience sample, further interviews were also conducted. The selection of these extra interviewees was on the basis

of theoretical sampling principles. The composition and selection of the final sample is described in the next chapter.

Categorising the data being collected, and comparing these categories, produces the emergent theory. Each category is composed of several sampling groups. Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommended that sampling particular groups should cease when the category reaches theoretical saturation, that is, when additional data are not developing the properties of the category any further. At this point, new groups are sampled for another category. However, there is a tendency to collect data for other categories before there is sufficient data for the first. Additionally, new categories may emerge even very late in the research process. The question, then, is should these categories also be saturated? As a guideline, Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommended that only the core theoretical categories should be saturated as much as possible.

There can be no pre-planned, prescribed set of groups for most of the categories. Only at the completion of the research can the number and type of groups be identified. To develop a category as fully as possible, a wide, diverse range of groups should be selected, but with the research goals in mind. A conscious selection of groups can control the generality of the conceptual level under study and the scope of the population. Controlling group similarities and differences determines the identification of categories and their properties. Minimising group differences helps to

establish the basic properties of a category. Maximising differences then helps to elaborate on this established framework.

Constant Comparison Method

Constant comparison is used in combination with theoretical sampling. Its aim is to generate categories, properties, and hypotheses which form the basis of the theory being generated. Glaser and Strauss (1967) identified four stages in this procedure. Firstly, incidents applicable to each category are compared. Then categories and their properties are integrated. Thirdly, the theory is delimited, and finally it is written.

Comparison of Incidents

The first step involves comparing an incident with previous ones, and then coding it into as many categories as possible. Charmaz (1990) suggested that line-by-line coding could be used, as this will help to ensure that the researcher's theoretical development remains grounded in the collected data, thereby preventing the researcher's preconceptions from becoming the theory. Rather than using line-by-line coding, each idea expressed or action described by the interviewee was coded.

Charmaz (1990) further suggested that coding should be based upon processes, actions, assumptions and consequences, rather than upon topics. This will ensure that the analysis

will be more accurate and more conducive to the development of theory. As the number of incidents grows, comparing of a new incident to each category of incidents would aid in generating the properties of the categories.

At this point, through constant comparison and continued questioning, codes or categories are raised to a conceptual level through the specification of the conditions under which the concept occurs, through providing explanations for the occurrence, and by making predictions of when it will occur (Charmaz, 1990). This forms the basis of the theory that emerges. The decision as to whether a code should be raised to a conceptual level or not, is based upon its contributions to describing an event, process or relationship. This is established by pursuing it further in later data collection, and by relating it to other conceptual categories (Charmaz, 1990).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) have given two rules to guide the comparison of incidents. Rule one is that while coding an incident for a category, it should be compared with previous incidents in the same and in different groups of the category. Rule two is that if conflicts in the emphasis of the thinking of the analyst arises, he or she should stop coding and record a memo of the thoughts, taking as much time as is necessary to do so.

Memo writing is a vital component of grounded theory, providing the opportunity to record ideas, questions and intentions, and to define what is explicit and implicit in the data (Charmaz, 1990). It serves as an opportunity to

reflect on the information gathered thus far, and to strategise for future data collection. Several memos were written, both during the interviewing period and thereafter, when continuing with the data analysis and theory development.

These memos were particularly important, given the manner in which the sampling procedure was arranged. CAFDA arranged that interviews took place in a different geographic area every few days, trying to contact the people in that particular area who were in the client list. Therefore, it was not always possible to follow one idea through from one interview to the next by selecting an appropriate interviewee for the next interview. Instead, several themes were developed concurrently, the characteristics of the interviewee determining which theme was most pertinent to that interview. Thus, writing memos helped to monitor the progress being made in the development of each theme, and to identify what was to be explored next with an interviewee that "fitted" a group under that theme.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommended developing a continuum of categories, identifying their dimensions, conditions, consequences and interrelationships. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), two types of concepts emerge, those drawn from the language of the research situation, which is the current terminology utilised to describe the process or behaviour; and those that are constructed by the analyst and are usually explanations for the behaviour or process.

Charmaz (1990) has cautioned the researcher against prematurely committing him or herself to a particular set of categories before there is an intimate familiarity with the data. During data analysis, it was observed that there were groups of individuals who appeared to be exposed to similar unemployment stressors, or who appeared to utilise similar coping patterns. These patterns were explored, and the conditions under which they occurred, specified. Interview questions became more closed, and so a theory began to emerge.

Following Glaser and Strauss' (1967) advice, attempts were made to develop a continuum with groups that emerged. This was achieved with some success. The continuum has served as the basis for the core theory that was developed in this study. Several other themes had also been explored, but did not provide as comprehensive an explanation.

Integration of Categories and Theory Delimitation

The second step of theory generation is to integrate categories and their properties (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). If theoretical sampling and analysis were conducted concurrently, then the integration of the theory would occur naturally, since questions will be geared to collect data that will fill in the gaps existing in the theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Hereafter, the theory is delimited at two levels, those of the theory and of the categories. The theory is modified to bring clarity, remove irrelevant details and elaborate on

others. Reduction occurs as a smaller set of higher level concepts emerges, producing a more parsimonious theory with a wider scope of applicability. As the theory emerges in this way, so the number of categories will also be reduced, according to the delimitations of the theory. In attempting to place the various groups on a continuum, it had been possible to identify a smaller set of concepts, which became the core of a model of coping based on the concept of personal control.

Writing the theory

At this point, the researcher can begin to write the theory. Here, three requirements need to be fulfilled: The analytic framework must form a systematic substantive theory, it must be accurate and it must be presented in a useable form (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Writing and rewriting of the theory can be viewed as a continuation of the discovery process, since further insights into the data may be gained and incorporated into the theory, problems identified, assumptions made more explicit and concepts tightened up (Charmaz, 1990). The format of the presentation of the theory is derived from a literature review conducted by this stage and the theory is framed to show its relation to this body of literature (Charmaz, 1990).

The next chapter will describe in greater detail how the theory was developed. Initially, the concepts which served as the basis for this theory, were lay concepts (viz. independence and dependence). However, as the

literature was used to develop this theory, several theories were discovered that used concepts that are not usually part of the vocabulary of lay people, but that effectively captured ideas that the researcher was trying to integrate into the theory. Layder (1982) has stated that certain concepts remain the domain of the researcher. This was not to imply that it was impossible for lay people to acquire this knowledge as well, but rather that they are not currently knowledgeable of these concepts. Hence, lay concepts and sociological (or psychological) concepts do not have to necessarily be connected, but the concepts used should contribute to an understanding of the research domain.

Interviewing

The main reasons for selecting the interview method of data collection, were that the objectives of the study were to explore and identify the coping strategies which the unemployed utilised, as the unemployed described them, themselves. Given its benefits, interviewing logically lent itself to these objectives. Two principal characteristics of interviewing are its non-standardisation, and its effective use of relationships that are fostered by the interviewer, as a basis for obtaining data (Dean, Eichhorn & Dean, 1967).

These advantages that interviewing has, make it suitable to use with grounded theory: Given that an interview is not standardised, it was possible to reformulate the problem, categories and interview structure as the research progresses. There was also an increased possibility of avoiding misleading or meaningless questions, and of avoiding blundering into delicate situations. During the interview, it was also possible to corroborate or modify information by providing the interviewee with feedback. As a method of data collection, the interview provided flexibility in the selection of interviewees; the acquisition of more in-depth material; the late inclusion of information which initially appeared to be irrelevant, but turned out to be valuable later on (Dean, Eichhorn & Dean, 1967). Using interviews provides an increased ability for the researcher to vacillate between data collection and analysis; and to more accurately and effectively use variables that were difficult to quantify (Dean, Eichhorn & Dean, 1967).

Additional advantages of interviewing, are that accurate and complete information can be collected immediately. If the interviewee does not have a clear understanding of the question, the interviewer can assist in this regard. The interviewer has greater control over the research process, and the interview provides greater opportunity to immediately evaluate, the validity of the information collected (Gorden, 1980).

The interview method of data collection can be facilitated by the interviewer in a number of ways: By effectively communicating his or her expectations to the interviewee; by displaying a sympathetic attitude towards the informant; by meeting the interviewees' need for meaning, recognition and esteem in the interview; by offering to the interviewee a new experience of being interviewed; by allowing the interviewee to vent emotional tensions; and by rewarding the interviewee extrinsically (Gorden, 1980).

However, the interview process can also be hindered, if the interviewee would prefer to be spending his or her time on some other activity; if divulging certain information would harm his or her self-esteem by being met with disapproval, lowering personal status or by acknowledging what had been repressed previously (Gorden, 1980). Other potential hindrances occur if the information would infringe upon etiquette norms; if relating of information would be traumatic; or if information had been forgotten, or confused, or was of a nature that was difficult to recall (Gorden, 1980). It is particularly difficult to recall unconscious behaviour such as custom, habit, behaviour that occurred under acute emotional stress, or immediate, unwitting response-behaviour (Gorden, 1980).

With the unemployed, an interview lends itself to effectively utilise many of the facilitators identified above. However, many of the inhibitors can also function and the interviewer needs to be sensitive to this.

The unemployed usually struggle to fill their time and would be more inclined to complain of inactivity and a lack of time structure, than of being too busy to be interviewed (see Chapter Two). But, the interviewer needs to keep the timing of the interview in mind (Gorden, 1980). With the unemployed, time-related factors that needed to be considered, were job search activities, excessive sleeping habits and social activities of the unemployed, which all had the potential to inhibit access to the individual.

The locality of the interview has the potential of influencing the interview. With respect to locality, there was limited control over this aspect of the interviews, in the present study. Prospective interviewees were approached and interviewed at their place of residence, where they were visiting, or out on the street. Naturally, there are numerous uncontrollable disturbances in these places, such as telephone calls, visitors, passing traffic, curious bystanders and distractions of infants being cared for. I could only make the best of these situations, since the unemployed could not readily be motivated to report to a central interviewing locality to be interviewed.

The unemployed could find it difficult to divulge information of their experience of unemployment if it had been particularly trying for them (Sinfield, 1981). They would also cover up information which they believed would be met with disapproval (e.g. alcoholism or family violence). Some unemployed may also be reluctant to be interviewed if

they believed they have nothing to gain directly by doing so.

Many of the unemployed who were first interviewed, seemed to hope that the interview would culminate in a job offer - even when the purpose of the interview had been explained to them. Therefore, at the onset of the interview, it was explicitly stated and repeated that the interviewer could not, and was not offering employment. Thereafter, the interviewer proceeded to explain the purpose of the interview, how they had been selected. It was also pointed out that the interview material would be kept anonymous. At this point, permission to make a tape recording of the interview was also obtained, explaining that this would only be for private use, and that their anonymity was assured.

Characteristics of the interviewer determine the impression interviewees will initially hold about the interview, and what they will be willing to divulge. Characteristics which could cause interviewer bias include sex, age, ethnicity, social class, manner of dress and speech (Gorden, 1980). Gorden (1980) argues that these characteristics are only of significance to the degree that they affect the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, and thereby hinder communication.

The researcher was a young, white adult male of an English middle-class background. The respondents were both males and females of the "Coloured" community. Their ages varied from 15 years to 65 years, and they lived in lower

economic areas. Many of the interviews were conducted in Afrikaans - the first language of respondents and second language of the researcher. Thus, the interviewer and interviewees differed on most of the characteristics which Gordon (1980) identified as potential sources of interviewer bias.

This raises the question of whether a more suitable interviewer could not have been used. Given that a grounded theory methodology was being followed, it was believed to be more practical for the researcher to conduct the interviews, rather than hiring someone more in character with the interviewee sample to do so, even though there was a risk of interviewer bias. In addition, several factors enhanced the credibility and acceptability of the interviewer. Initial contacts were provided by CAFDA from their client list. CAFDA has a credible, established name for itself in the areas wherein the interviews were conducted. Therefore, in interviews with current or ex-CAFDA clients, the interviewer's presence and motives were often legitimated by association with CAFDA. In interviews with individuals who had not been CAFDA clients, association with the organisation still proved to be beneficial. Over and above this, in some of the areas where interviews were conducted, the researcher was accompanied by the CAFDA social worker who operated in that particular area, and was introduced to the prospective interviewee by him or her. There were a few cases where the interviewee had had a negative association with CAFDA. For example, a CAFDA social worker had removed

one interviewee's children from her care. But even in such cases, CAFDA served as a common reference point, and since the researcher was not fully identified with CAFDA, but was only related in some way to them, respondents utilised the opportunity to express themselves and vent their emotions with respect to CAFDA. While being sympathetic towards them, the researcher could then steer the interview to the source of their problem, and then eventually, on to the topic of unemployment.

Over and above this, interviewer bias was reduced by the interviewer deliberately conducting the interview in the language preference of the interviewee; by explaining the purpose and potential benefits of the research study as well as its delimitations; and by explaining what the interview would cover, prior to obtaining permission to continue with the interview. In this way, the interviewees were provided with a choice of participating in the interview, or not. This selected out those who did not want to be interviewed. By explicitly stating that there would be no immediate, direct benefit to the interviewee, nor any negative repercussions from the interview, an appeal was made to altruistic motives. Therefore, those who were interviewed were more likely to speak with greater liberty, but also with less inclination to provide socially desirable responses.

Sample Selection

Given that this study used grounded theory, a random sampling procedure was not of necessity (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The initial sample was drawn up by CAFDA social workers from their client lists. They selected out clients who they believed may be unemployed. The employment status of the potential interviewee was established at the start of the interview, to ascertain whether the person could be classified as unemployed for the purpose of this study. Several questions were asked to establish this (see Appendix A). This initial sample was, therefore, a sample of convenience, which gave the researcher access to the community.

But prospective interviewees were not limited to those on the CAFDA-client list. Rather, the researcher used these as access points, and if other suitable prospects were identified, they were incorporated into the sample. Their suitability was then determined according to the criteria of the theoretical sampling procedure.

From a list received from CAFDA of 68 clients, 45 of these were successfully contacted and interviewed. The remainder were unavailable at their place of residence, had moved, or were now employed. These 45 interviews were supplemented with an additional 29 interviews with

individuals who were contacted while attempting to locate the CAFDA clients. Thus, a total of 74 formal individual interviews were conducted. In addition, three group interviews were held with gangsters in Parkwood (n=10), Lavender Hill (n=7) and CAFDA Village (n=14), and numerous discussions were held with local residents and social workers. Some valuable information was obtained in this way, but since not all of these people were unemployed (e.g. the social workers) and their demographic details and other information was not obtained through a formal interview, they have been excluded from the sample statistics presented in the next chapter. Thus, the "official" sample of this study (n = 74) only includes formal, individual interviews.

The interviews were held on the street, in the home of the interviewee or a friend that he or she was visiting, and at the CAFDA sewing training centre. Interviewees resided in CAFDA Village (n = 20), Seawinds (n = 12), Parkwood (n = 11), Vrygrond (n = 8), Grassy Park (n = 7), Steenberg (n = 7), Heathfield-Retreat (n = 5) and Lavender Hill (n = 3). These suburbs are situated in and around the Retreat area of the Cape Flats, near Cape Town. Accommodation types of the sample included private houses, rented municipal houses and flats, and wood and corrugated iron squatter shacks - erected in backyards, or in the Vrygrond squatter camp.

Conclusion

The research methodology used in this study was selected, because it was seen to be best suited to the aim of this study, which was to explore the coping patterns of the unemployed, in order to generate a theory of coping. Applying grounded theory to the data collected through interviewing, ensured that the resultant theory would be derived from the data and would be of local relevance.

The choice of grounded theory also had an impact on the composition of the sample, which was by implication not random nor representative. This should be borne in mind by the reader when considering the results of this study, which are to be presented and discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter will describe the outcome of the grounded theory process, which has been presented in the previous chapter. An attempt has been made to draw upon as wide a range of unemployment experiences as possible. This achieved a broader understanding of how the community examined in this study experienced and coped with unemployment.

In this chapter, the data are examined and presented in accordance with a number of themes that emerged during data analysis. In grounded theory, the data are viewed from many angles by taking different "slices" of the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Through this process, a variety of themes emerged from the data. What were regarded by the researcher as the core themes, are then further developed, and form the basis of an emergent theory which will be presented later. Two types of data analysis emerged. Firstly, biographical analyses produced several themes. The second type of data analysis was socio-economic, and focused on the sources of income that the individual received. This produced a theme of independence-dependence which was recognised as the core theme of this study.

Biographical Analysis

In this section the following themes will be examined: gender, age, education, the duration of unemployment and religion.

Gender

Both males (n=33) and females (n=41) were interviewed in this study. It was observed that gender accounted for significant differences in the coping repertoires of the unemployed.

Women

The traditional role of married women has been that of housekeeping and child rearing. Although they also played an important role in the economy, they were rarely the main breadwinner of the family.

Women found it much easier to maintain their identity and sense of self-worth after job loss than men, since they could take on the role and identity of housewife. This was often easier for females to do, since the family was usually less affected by her job loss if the husband, as the family's main breadwinner, was still employed. Most of the men had been the main breadwinner, and so could not really afford not to be employed.

While females appeared to more easily adjust to a life outside of formal employment, they also appeared to find it

easier to generate their own income. Males, on the other hand, tended to be more dependent on others for employment. Part of the reason for this was the ease with which traditionally female activities could be transformed into income sources at a very low capital outlay and without having to acquire additional specialised skills. Females mainly earned income from sewing, knitting and baking. On the other hand, the few men who were generating their own income were doing repairs, or had a spaza shop - requiring a special skill, capital, and/or equipment.

Given that if one of the marriage partners is working it was usually the male, and that traditionally female businesses can be launched from a lower capital outlay, it would be expected that mostly females would be involved in income generation from home. Initial capital outlay could also be obtained from their husband's income.

Therefore, for several reasons, participation in the informal sector was easier for females than for men. Unemployment also does not appear to be as great a problem for women as for men. It is possible that if the unemployed could reconceptualise their problems, they may be able to cope more positively. Weick (1986) has suggested that if problems are conceived to be large in size, people may be overwhelmed and feel unable to do anything about the problem. On the other hand, if problem size can be downscaled or subdivided, the individual may feel able to control it, and he or she will embark upon some action. From the data collected, it appears that females can more

easily conceptualise the problems associated with self-employment on a smaller scale.

Gender differences were also observed between those men and women who were involved in casual or part-time work. Most of the women who were doing casual work were domestic chars. They were usually working for one employer, once or twice a week and had a relatively long job tenure. They were still classified as unemployed, because of the number of days and hours they were working (see Appendix A). Some of the unemployed women explained how difficult it was to get char work. According to them, prospective employers usually enquired among their friends for suitable candidates. Otherwise, if someone was leaving their employ, they asked that person to recommend someone. These tendencies made this market difficult to penetrate, but they reported that once one had established a credible record, with good references and contacts, after a period of unemployment it was much easier to find work again.

Semi-skilled and unskilled women seemed to have fewer casual employment options than men. The most popular form of casual work sought was char work; but as mentioned, this type of work was generally quite difficult to come by.

Men

The husband usually filled the role of breadwinner for the family. Also, his personal identity and sense of self-worth tended to be formed to a large extent by his work identity. This seemed to apply to men as a whole, with the exception

of some of the younger interviewees. Consequently, work loss was a negative stressor for men in particular, threatening their identity.

If an unemployed father had children to support, unemployment was much more stressful for him, as he lost control over providing for their welfare. This threat to his role of family provider also threatened his self-esteem. Even if the children were very supportive, the father felt worthless for not being able to provide for his children. For example, O said: "Ek voel afgehaal as my kinders my vir geld vra en ek kan nie gee nie." (I feel worthless/brought down when my children ask me for money and I am unable to give it to them). In several cases, it appeared that this experience of worthlessness as a parent led to excessive drinking and drunkenness. While avoidance coping patterns were evident in these cases, in other cases it was this concern for their family's well-being that was a driving force in the father's perseverance in job search. The reason for this high level of motivation may be explained by reactance theory (Brehm, 1966, 1972), as was the case with the middle-aged group to be discussed later on in this chapter.

These findings on the experience of unemployed fathers, also lend support to a previous South African study. Moller (1988) has examined the experience of unemployment on South African families. In interviews conducted by Moller (1988) in Soweto and in the Durban and East London areas, it was reported that particularly middle-aged men experienced

intense negative effects of unemployment, because they could not provide for their families. Due to the family's economic hardship, these men were more avid workseekers, and were less selective in their choice of casual or permanent work.

The following range of coping patterns were noted amongst unemployed men to deal with the threat that job loss posed to their identity, their esteem and their role as family breadwinner. For some men, it was vital to regain their work identity, and they actively engaged in job searching, persevering therein, despite repeated failure to acquire a full time job. This was noted to be the case particularly with those seeking casual work. They felt driven to fulfill their role as family breadwinner.

Others did not actively seek employment. Various formulations of learned helplessness theory, originally presented by Seligman (1975), as well as reactance theory (Brehm, 1966, 1972) can be applied to explain why the individuals tended to give up looking for work.

A few of the men who were not involved in job search, excused their unemployment status by professing a selectivity in the type of job they were looking for (despite widely held perceptions of job scarcity). For example, one man was only looking for a job outdoors, while another was looking for work located in an area where he would not have to travel by train. He maintained it would be too unsafe for him to travel. The egotism formulation of learned helplessness (Frankel & Snyder, 1978; Mikulincer,

1989a; Snyder, Smoller, Strenta & Frankel, 1981), has suggested that low motivation may arise from the individual exerting less effort into their task, in order to protect his self-esteem. If failure in, for example, job search arose, they could then simply attribute this to a lack of effort. However, it should be qualified, that although these individuals may have given up serious attempts to find employment, this did not automatically imply that they had given up all attempts to cope with unemployment.

Other men were not active in job hunting, because they had lost their work due to ailing health. Consequently, they were unable to continue work in the same field as before. Job loss was perceived by many of them to be permanent, even though they could probably work in less strenuous jobs. In these cases, learned helplessness may have been generalised by them so that it now interfered with learning (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978; Barber, 1989). The perceived permanency of their loss was particularly difficult for them to come to terms with, and so they frequently resorted to disengagement coping patterns. This could be explained by the non-contingency formulation of the learned helplessness response outcome (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978; Maier & Seligman, 1976; Seligman, 1975). One such case was N. He began to drink heavily and once attempted suicide by taking an overdose of sleeping pills.

Disengaging mechanisms reported in other interviews included excessive sleeping, avoidance of the home

environment and drug abuse. Yet others had learned to accept their situation. N also started to do so eventually, after receiving psychiatric counselling and much family support and understanding. In the process of acceptance of the permanency of unemployment, there was often a reappraisal by the individual of his situation and a redefinition of himself as either being on an indefinite holiday from work, or retired.

Another coping response pattern observed amongst the unemployed men, involved the individual creating a "pseudo-employment" role for himself. For example, Z offered his services as a handyman to neighbours, and O cultivated a vegetable garden. Both Z and O spent a great deal of time engaged in their respective past-times. Other men became involved in doing repairs around the house and also took on duties which their wives had done previously, such as washing and grocery shopping. Most of these activities were not compensated financially. One of the outcomes suggested by reactance theory, suggests that the individual may engage in behaviours related to the freedom that has been threatened, to suggest that he or she could very well have engaged in the threatened behaviour (Wortman & Brehm, 1975). (This response will be referred to here as reorientation, to distinguish it from the first, direct form of reactance identified.). "Pseudo-employment" could very well be explained as a form of reorientation, in terms of reactance theory.

A problem related to unemployment that occurred only among males, was a reversal of traditional family roles. Although they had been and were still looking for work, some of the male interviewees had been unsuccessful in their attempts so far, while their wives had been able to obtain employment in the interim period, or had retained the employment they had held previously. In other cases, men had been laid off from heavy labour due to their ailing health, while their wives continued working. One elderly man who had been laid off, remained at home caring for his two young foster children, while his wife was at work. Therefore, these males were unemployed, while their wives were working. With their wives employed, these men had taken on the duties usually performed by their wives, notably that of housekeeping and childcare. Thus, a reversal of traditional roles had occurred, so that wives had become the main family breadwinner and husbands the housekeeper.

Given the situation of unemployment, one would expect that there should be a change in family roles, with men becoming more involved in domestic life. There is some evidence for this in the literature (Feather, 1989; Liem & Liem, 1988) but these results are not consistent, suggesting a lack of role flexibility in some marriages, even modern ones (Aubry, Tefft & Kingsbury, 1990). Liem and Liem (1988) found that although there were initial changes in the division of labour in families, these were not accompanied by changes in the norms of the spouses. Rather, males often felt that they were intruding on their partner's domain at

home (McGhee & Fryer, 1989). In this study, the men were not really concerned about intruding upon their spouse's domain. Rather, they were reluctant to do what they regarded as women's work.

As a consequence, one of the biggest changes that men who found themselves in a situation of role reversal experienced, was strained family relations - especially in their relationship with their spouse. These men experiencing role reversal did not seem to particularly enjoy housework or childcare, and in fact complained of its routineness. But they felt obliged to do it, to ease the burden of work that was upon their wives. However, they deliberately communicated the feeling that they believed that they were doing their wives a favour. In their eyes, this would not be a permanent change in responsibility and they would definitely be looking for work for themselves in the future. On the other hand, they were accused by their wives of socialising too much and not looking for a job actively enough.

The following are some of the coping strategies that they utilised to deal with this necessary role reversal: There was a realisation that the situation had to be accepted, at least temporarily, while the wife was the main breadwinner. Thus, the husband engaged in the necessary domestic activities, but made it obvious that they were reluctant to do so. Those who were healthy enough to work, were involved in active coping strategies to change the situation, such as searching for a job. In other cases,

behavioural disengagement was resorted to, by seeking solace with friends, away from the domestic environment. Marital disharmony was also reported to occur from time to time, with the venting of emotions which had built up in both parties.

While it was previously reported that females who were casualising, tended to be involved primarily in char work, while the males tended to be less selective in the type of casual work they were wanting or willing to do. The work of men engaged in casual jobs was characterised by a great variety of jobs of short duration with many different employers. This was because the kind of work they were doing was usually short-term or contractual. Once the project was completed, their employment was also terminated. A few had managed to secure casual jobs of a more permanent nature, such as gardening. But then, as with the char workers, this was only once or twice a week.

Thus, these men were actively involved in searching for a permanent job, according to a particular strategy. Their primary means of job enquiry was in commercial or industrial areas, going from one business entity to the next. Sometimes newspaper advertisements or friends would give them leads on vacancies, but they claimed that these were invariably filled by the time they arrived there.

These men allocated hunting for a permanent job, top priority. But, as important a priority as job search was, these men could not afford to dedicate all of their time to it, due to financial constraints. Some income had to be

earned to support their family, and if possible, to also finance transportation to and from their job search area. Sometimes, there was only enough money for food and so they had to walk great distances in their search for work. At other times, they were unable to obtain casual work and had to go without food, while continuing to look for work. Occasionally, loans could be made from friends or neighbours, but this would then have to be paid back out of their future income. These men were not receiving state aid and those who received some support from family members, found this to be inadequate.

Thus, the pattern of casual work observed was one of finding temporary work of any nature (e.g. building, gardening or security) and any duration. On completion thereof, they then looked for a permanent job for a few days. Because of an inability to depend on others for support, these men were compelled to try and provide for themselves in the way described above. For them, unemployment meant living from hand to mouth.

In conclusion, the gender of the unemployed person played a significant role in determining how they were affected by unemployment and what strategies were adopted to cope with these effects. Many of these differences were related to the traditional roles of men and women in the family. Traditionally, men were seen as the breadwinner of the family, and so unemployment threatened the identity of the male more than that of the female. Therefore, men

attached greater importance and urgency to seeking employment than women did. In turn, women found it easier to follow nonemployment alternatives, which they were better equipped to succeed in, and more willing to attempt. Traditional work roles also explained the different trends in the type of temporary or casual employment engaged in.

Age

Another theme that was explored, was that of the effect of age on coping patterns. Three broad age categories were identified, namely the youth (n=28), middle-aged (n=32), and older interviewees (n=14). The ages of youth ranged from 15 to the mid-20's, and they were mainly unmarried. The middle-age group then consisted of those in their 30's to late 40's. They were mostly parents who had children who were reliant upon them as breadwinners. The older age group were mainly in their 50's and early 60's and had few, if any children in the house, still financially dependent upon them.

During data analysis, it was observed that the different age groups varied in their work values, motivation, and job search efforts; as well as in terms of social coping. According to Vroom's (1964) theory of motivation, two determinants of motivation are the valency attached to a particular outcome by the person, and the expectancy that his or her actions will realise their intended outcome. The valency of an outcome refers to the

anticipated - not actual - satisfaction that it will provide. This theory was useful in explaining the motivation of the different age groups to acquire employment. That is, differences in the valency and expectancy attached to work resulted in different levels of motivation between the age groups.

One conceptualisation of the motivation to work has been employment commitment. Employment commitment can be defined as the extent to which a person desires to be engaged in paid employment (Stafford, Jackson & Banks, 1980). In a study of unemployed British school leavers, Stafford, Jackson and Banks (1980) demonstrated an inverse relationship between employment commitment and self-reported general mental health. This result was replicated in a later longitudinal study (Jackson, Stafford, Banks & Warr, 1983). In the longitudinal study, they also found that those with the highest level of employment commitment who were unemployed and then found employment, demonstrated the greatest improvement in mental-health on becoming employed. Other studies conducted in Britain and Australia have confirmed that higher employment commitment is associated with lower levels of well-being amongst the unemployed (e.g. Feather & Davenport, 1981; Warr, Banks and Ullah, 1985). Although a relationship of well-being and employment commitment has been demonstrated in previous studies, it has only accounted for a small portion of the variance in psychological well-being (Shamir, 1986a). In this study,

many differences in the coping patterns of different age groups, could be ascribed to employment commitment.

The Youth

The youth appeared to attach a lower valency to employment than older interviewees. One reason for this appears to be related to the fact that they had little, if any work experience. Most were school leavers, or had worked for only a short period of time. For those who reported having been able to find work, employment duration was at most two years in a full-time job (median = 9 months). Five adolescents had not yet worked in formal employment. Amongst those who had worked, they reported that the work they engaged in was not what they envisaged for themselves as a career. Applications for jobs they aspired to were most often unsuccessful. They had, therefore, resorted to doing whatever work they had been able to acquire. Although their working experience was sometimes a positive experience, it was generally viewed as a temporary measure to tide them over, until a more attractive opportunity presented itself. Therefore, based upon their experiences, the youth generally did not attach any great value to employment, and hence did not display much urgency to acquire a job.

Work seems to be meaningful, beyond simply providing an income (Jahoda. 1979). Layton (1986) suggested that in industrial societies, a man's self-identity originates primarily from the workplace. Consequently, unemployment would threaten their self-identity. There are also

indications that women who regard themselves as part of the workforce, would be affected in the same way by unemployment as men are (Bluen, 1983; Patton & Noller, 1984). One could expect therefore, to find some relationship between age (as an indicator of work experience) and the affects of experiencing unemployment.

Among the younger interviewees - both males and females - work-centered identities were not very strong. This was to be expected, given that they had had little work experience. In the absence of a work-centered identity, it would be expected that the youth would develop an identity from elsewhere. For young females experiencing unemployment, their mothers often became a role model, and they were delegated many household duties, including those related to child rearing. Males, on the other hand, seemed to develop their identity through their peers, rather than their parents. This was particularly noticeable with the young gangsters, who displayed a unique set of values, manner of dress and language.

Among the other young unemployed people, it was clear that their work valency had been reduced by their experience of unemployment, in that they had been forced to make career decisions that required that they moderate their previous career aspirations. This factor, together with the fact that they had only experienced little need to provide for themselves financially, made them more inclined to rely upon their parents rather than to actively search for employment.

Several of the youth were involved in gangs. Gangsterism is prevalent on the Cape Flats. Police have estimated that there are 63 gangs in the Cape Peninsula, with a combined membership of 60 000 young men (The Argus, July 2, 1990). The gangsters who were interviewed, tended to be mainly in their teens. Although their situation exhibited many of the same characteristics as the other youth, their involvement in gangsterism and the implications thereof, made them unique in comparison to the other young people interviewed.

Each gang had a territory which it controlled and aggressively defended. As a result, there was sharp rivalry between neighbouring gangs, with frequent gang fights. Knives seem to be the most common weapon used, but more and more gangsters were now acquiring guns.

Individuals seem to be drawn into the gangs from a young age, with most gangsters being teenagers or in their early twenties. Gang rivalry was prevalent in local schools and often disrupted the education of the gangster. One gangster explained how he had been expelled for stabbing a member of a rival gang with a pencil, in the classroom. Peer pressure from fellow gangsters out of school also increased the propensity to leave school.

These circumstances affected the employability of the gangster and his ability to search for a job. Gangsters typically had criminal records, low education levels and little if any job experience. Their dress and appearance, especially their tattoos and severely "shoe polished"

(dagga-stained) palms, also seemed to affect their employability. The mere fact that one resides in an area rife with gangsterism was even reported to influence job selection decisions.

The gangsters reported that the only viable way they could acquire casual or permanent work, was if someone else arranged it for them, through nepotistic practices. The existence of territorial boundaries affected the mobility of gangsters who may be searching for a job. In addition, it was unsafe to travel alone, especially on public transport. This served as a disincentive for both searching for a job and wanting employment, given the high risk of being attacked and robbed by rival gangs. It was also virtually impossible to leave the gang, since the individual would then not only be at risk from rival gangs, but his own gang would then also be a threat to him. The gangsters interviewed, reported that there were some gangsters and also older ex-gangsters who were working. In these instances, they had their own private transport, or access to company transport and travelled to and from work in groups.

As with the other youth, the gangsters interviewed also identified a deterioration of their relationships with their parents. This was often characterised by rebellion and strife. One gangster described how, on returning late one night with friends from a disco, his father refused to allow him to return home, and set all his clothing and possessions alight. Since then, he had been living at a friend's house.

There had been previous altercations between them. One parent described the attitude of the gangster towards their parent's generation as follows: They say "Moenie ons vertel van die ou dae nie. Ons lewe vir nou." (Do not tell us about the old days. We live for now).

The economy of the gang and sources of income for the gang were also explored. There was a strong reliance upon their parents to provide for them. In addition to this, income was generated by the gang through the sale of drugs, theft, muggings and housebreaking. Shebeens operated in the gang's territory, but the gangsters claimed that they served only gang members. Loans could also be made from other gang members, but with the understanding that they would be paid back. Gambling was also common as a source of entertainment and a way of making "easy" money, or losing it.

The gangsters clearly did not attach much valency to employment. Firstly, they held the view that workers were underpaid on the whole, and that they would probably also be if they acquired work. Referring to the upper class whites, one gangster stated his views on employment as follows: "Die Laanies steel die geld wat jy verdien.... Jy gaan na die ander gebiede en sien 'n groot vet huis en 'n groot motor, en net een man bly in die huis, en jy sien hoe net een man in die motor ry. Hulle lewe in rykdom." (The Larneys steal the money that you earn....You go to the other areas and see a big fat house and a big car, and only one man stays in the house, and you see how only one man drives in the car. They live in wealth.)

Secondly, they believed that if they did work, there was a strong possibility that they would be robbed of their earnings. They also believed that in their travelling to and from work, their lives were at risk daily. Their concern for their safety is understandable, given the rivalry between gangs and the consequences of being caught alone by a rival gang. One of the community workers described an incident he had witnessed while travelling on the train. A group of gangsters climbed on to the train. Noticing a member of a rival gang at the other end of the carriage, one of them commented to his companions: "I smell an enemy". They then walked across the carriage and stabbed their "enemy" a number of times, before climbing off the train at the next station.

Combined with this low valency, was a low expectancy of being successful in job hunting, given the economic climate and their low employability. In addition, job hunting was virtually impossible for them to conduct, as explained earlier. Together, these factors resulted in low employment commitment.

It was not possible in a study of this nature, to assess whether low employment expectancy resulted in low valency being attached to work, or not. Future research may be able to shed some light on this aspect. What did emerge though, was that a non-employment ideology formed part of the gang subculture. This ideology, by implication, changed the meaning of unemployment for those who have chosen gangsterism as an alternative way of life. (Admittedly, in

this decision, they had limited options and little freedom of choice.)

To summarise, the gangsters seemed to be trapped in a set of circumstances that they saw no way out of, and their prospects of acquiring employment were remote. One clear response of the gangsters was aggression. This aggression was directed at society at large, rather than previous or prospective employers, and was manifested in various ways: They were involved in various criminal activities; gang "politics", rivalry and fighting; and family conflict and rebellion. One of the behavioural responses suggested by reactance theory, was that the individual becomes hostile and aggressive towards the agent perceived to be responsible for the removal of the freedom (Wortman & Brehm, 1975). Perhaps, because these agents were not easily identifiable, this aggression was directed mainly towards society at large, their family, and rival gangs, rather than former, or prospective employers. Consequently, coping with unemployment was overshadowed by a daily struggle to survive on the street.

The Middle-aged

The middle-aged members of the sample exhibited the highest employment commitment, particularly some of the males. One reason for this high level of commitment was their strong work-centered identity. Another important factor relates to the degree to which an individual could afford to be dependent upon others, or to what extent others were

dependent upon him or her. It is this middle-aged group which is the backbone of the family's economy. Hence, they felt compelled to work. The fact that they are the backbone of their family's economy and that they have a strong work-centered identity, explains why the middle-aged would persevere the longest with searching for a job. One man said that he wanted "to earn his own keep" in order to be able to "preserve his humanity". He further explained that he would feel like a coward if he was unable to provide for himself and his family and the state had to support him.

One theory that helps to explain this behaviour of the middle-aged, is reactance theory. Reactance theory was formulated by Brehm (1966, 1972). According to this theory, threatening an individual's freedom will arouse him or her motivationally. This arousal has been called reactance. The level of reactance will be determined by, among other factors, the seriousness of the threat being posed, the importance of the freedom being threatened and the implication of the threat for other freedoms that the individual enjoys. Given the restriction of a freedom, reactance theory suggests that that freedom will become more attractive to the individual, who may then attempt to engage in the eliminated freedom. In this context, employment would be the "freedom" that had been threatened and was now being protected.

These men still valued work per se, for instrumental reasons, even though there was now less prestige attached to employment for them. If moderation of career aspirations

was required, this was probably more difficult for older interviewees to deal with than for the youth, since they had been employed at one stage, and now were obliged to take on work of any nature, so that they may be able to provide for their family. But on the other hand, the fact that they had worked previously, meant that they have had at least one successful job hunting experience. This would motivate them to persevere when confronted by repeated failure, since they would have a higher expectation of successfully acquiring employment.

Perseverance in job search, can be explained by referring to Bandura's work on self-efficacy. Bandura (1977, 1982, 1986) distinguished between self-efficacy, which is a judgement of one's capability to accomplish a certain level of performance and response outcome expectations - the likely consequences of such behaviour. Response outcome is also an important determinant of the individual's motivation to act, and would determine how long a particular course of action would be pursued for. A positive outcome-expectancy judgement and a positive self-efficacy judgement will produce "assured, opportune action" (Bandura, 1982, p. 140). A positive outcome judgement and a positive self-efficacy judgement combination would be applicable to those men who had done casual work or who had work experience in semi-skilled and even skilled jobs. One wonders whether they would have persisted as much to try and acquire formal employment, had they not had this experience and acquired skill. This previous experience had resulted in

a higher value being attached to work, as explained already. Also, they had succeeded in finding a permanent job and casual work before and expected to be able to find another one. Thus, they were motivated to persevere in job hunting. Previous job experience could serve as a source of self-efficacy information, giving them greater confidence in being able to acquire that type of work, and hence motivating them to search for a similar type of job.

To summarise, then, the centrality of employment to the identity of the middle-aged, appeared to originate from their work experience and their breadwinner role in the family. This in turn, motivated them to actively persevere in their efforts to find work.

The Older Unemployed

The older unemployed individuals seemed to look forward to an "early retirement" if they were unable to find another job within a relatively short period of time, and if their children were able to support them. Thus, in the longer term, there was a tendency to rely upon either the state (through the provision of a pension) or their family, rather than to become more self-sufficient. They believed that they had made their contribution to the family, and that it was now time for the family or state to provide for their needs. Although they still desired to work to keep themselves occupied, they no longer felt obligated to work. They tended to become more domestically oriented; spending time with their spouse, reading and watching television.

To summarise, the following conclusions can be drawn from this examination of the theme of age. When the unemployed were grouped according to age, the value and identity of work, as well as the role of the individual in the family, were observed to account for differences in the experience of unemployment and the corresponding coping patterns. The middle-aged unemployed seemed to be most affected by unemployment, given the importance of work to them, and the role they played as the backbone of the family's economy. Younger interviewees had had little, if any work experience. Those who had worked, had not always valued this experience and so they were not as severely affected by unemployment as the middle-aged. Also, they could quite easily resort back to being dependent upon their parents, rather than pursuing the measure of independence that employment offered to them. The older interviewees often rationalised that they had made their contribution to their families. Given that their health was ailing and they were getting on in years, they were often content to settle down to a more sedate lifestyle at home. Thus, they no longer valued work as highly as they had before and perceived their role in the family as changing from provider to recipient.

Education

Differences associated with the level of education of the sample were explored to determine whether education was indicative of different coping patterns or not. It would be expected that those individuals with a higher education level would be able to cope better with unemployment. There are a number of reasons that could be offered as to why this might be so. Firstly, the unemployed may have more skills and resources at their disposal to cope with unemployment, if they are of a higher education. Secondly, those with a higher education should have a higher market value, and hence have a higher probability of succeeding to find employment. Thirdly, literacy should facilitate the job search process. The literate individual would be able to receive a much wider spectrum of information on job leads, since printed media could also be used. Finally, education may be a loose indicator of socio-economic status and financial well-being.

Generally, interviewees were of a low education level. Reported educational level achieved is summarised in Table 1. It appeared that those of a higher education were not necessarily better equipped to cope with unemployment. Perhaps post-matriculation qualifications would have provided skills and knowledge that served as more effective coping resources, but the tertiary level of education was not represented in this sample.

Table 1

Level of education

Education level	Frequency
No education	4
Sub A - Sub B	2
Std 1 - Std 3	15
Std 4 - Std 5	10
Std 6	8
Std 7	10
Std 8	12
Std 9	3
Std 10	1
Unknown	9
Total	74

Note: "Std" is used as an abbreviation for "standard", referring to the level of education.

Although education levels were low, it was noticed that it was mostly the older interviewees who reported having left school at the primary-school level, while the younger interviewees usually had completed at least one year of high school education. Despite having the higher level of education, many of the younger interviewees perceived that the level of education that they had achieved was still insufficient to make them attractive on the labour market. Work experience seemed to be more valued at the level of work they were applying for. It was the older interviewees who generally had a lower education level, but more work experience. They therefore seemed to be more attractive prospective employees and were most active in searching for employment.

It was suspected that literacy may affect job hunting patterns. Job vacancies advertised in the newspaper often required qualifications or experience that even those with a high school education were lacking. The interviewees reported that those few jobs for which they were suitably qualified, were invariably filled by the time that they phoned to make enquiries, or arrived at the work site to make application. Consequently, very few people reported having successfully utilised the newspapers to find jobs. One theory which may explain this process, is an information processing formulation of learned helplessness (Sedek & Kofta, 1990). According to this theory, if an individual continually receives self-contradictory information, he or she will eventually not take any action based upon the

information received. In this case, it was as if they were receiving information on vacancies that did not exist.

The most common method of actively searching for a job was to make on-site enquiries. Interviewees reported going from factory site to factory site, or shop to shop in a particular area looking for work. This method of cold-calling was bound to lead to a high rate of negative responses, which proved to be discouraging, and reinforced a belief that there were simply no jobs available. This belief was also affirmed by the high rates of unemployment that the unemployed observed in their areas of residence, and by the reports of other unemployed people of their inability to find jobs. It is no wonder then, that so many interviewees reported that they were discouraged in their job search endeavours. This process of becoming discouraged, may be explained by the non-contingency conceptualisation of learned helplessness (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978; Maier & Seligman, 1976; Seligman, 1975). The unemployed perceived a non-contingency between their job search efforts and the outcomes thereof.

Since the youth appeared to be poorly qualified educationally to enter the job market, one may wonder why they did not continue at, or return to school. Only one of the interviewees in this sample had matriculated. Most of the youth had dropped out of school between standards five and eight. In an attempt to answer this question, the younger interviewees were asked to explain why they had chosen to leave school before completing standard ten.

A variety of reasons were given for leaving school, including disruptions caused by class boycotts, boredom, the influence of friends out of school, wanting to find a job to support their family financially, finding school too difficult to complete, and falling pregnant. The disruptions to their education caused by boycotts, influence of friends, boredom and struggling to cope at school, were compounded by the inadequacy of the education system. Classrooms were overcrowded, so that the pupil received little personal attention. If they were absent, their absence was hardly noticed by the teacher.

Several other interviewees ascribed their leaving school to the fact that the family could not afford to have them at school. There was a perception by their parents, that they were not able to meet the costs of studying. Furthermore, some parents seemed to think that they would not be able to survive as a family, if the child did not contribute financially to the family unit. As a result, children were taken out of school to find employment. In this way, education level was indicative of socio-economic status. Low socio-economic status resulted in a low education level being attained, which in turn contributed to a higher incidence of unemployment amongst those of lower socio-economic standing.

Nationally, attributing school leaving to economic circumstances seems to be quite common in South Africa. In the Third Alternative education survey report, more than half of male and female children aged 14 to 21 years said

that the major reason they were no longer attending school was because of poverty, or that they could not afford it (The Black Market Report, 1990).

Elder and Caspi's (1988) empirical work on income loss during the Great Depression in the United States showed similar patterns of older children being drawn into the workplace instead of completing their education. Their study also described how a family may adapt during times of economic hardship produced by unemployment. Economically, families became more labour intensive. "[N]ew modes of economic maintenance included the entry of mother and children into productive roles as earners; the involvement of children in household operations, from food preparation to laundry and cleaning ... and a reduction in expenditures. As a whole, these changes entailed a major shift in responsibilities from father to mother and older children" (Elder & Caspi, 1988, p. 32).

To conclude, the education level of the sample was low. Therefore, the benefits of education were limited. As a result, education has not contributed greatly to our understanding of unemployment coping patterns.

Duration of Unemployment

The first theme to be explored was that of the effect of the length of unemployment. Table 2 presents a summary of the duration of unemployment reported by the interviewees. This period ranged from two months upwards,

with a few exceptional cases of people who had not ever been employed in the formal sector. By international standards, six months or more of continuous unemployment is regarded as long term unemployment (Payne & Jones, 1987). Only 16 of the 74 interviewees had been unemployed for six months, or less. Thus, by this criterion, the majority of the sample were long term unemployed.

Firstly, those individuals who had reported that they had been unemployed for six months or less were examined, to see what they had in common (see Figure 2). This group consisted primarily of single youth (n=6) and married men (n=7) who had children to support. The remaining three people who had been unemployed for only a short time, were a young widow, a middle-aged divorced man, and a single woman in her mid-thirties.

Two major patterns were observed amongst the short-term unemployed. The youth were not particularly perturbed by the fact that they were unemployed, and did not seem to be seriously attempting to find work. They behaved much the same as they would if they were on a holiday from school, spending much of their time socialising with friends who were also unemployed (they have been discussed as a group already, when age was explored as a theme).

Table 2

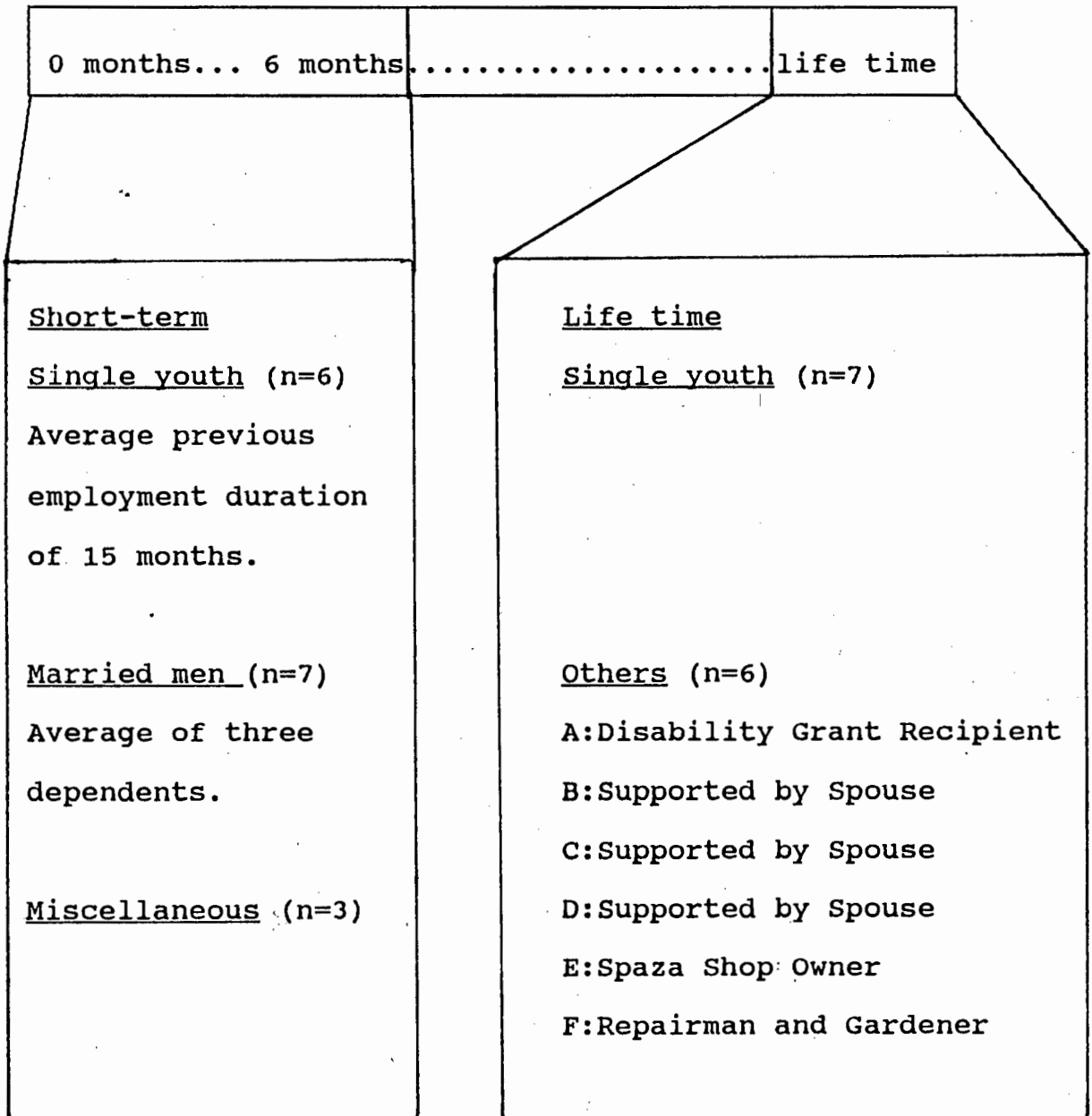
Duration of unemployment

Duration	Frequency

0 - <2 months	0
2 - 6 months	16
7 - 9 months	3
10 - 12 months	10
13 - 18 months	3
19 - 36 months	14
37 - 60 months	4
61 - 120 months	4
More than 10 years	6
Never worked	5
Unknown	9

Figure 2

Sample groupings according to duration of unemployment



The older group who had been the family breadwinners, were more disturbed by unemployment. They devoted more time and energy to job search than the younger group had, but over and above this, they had not thought through, or fully comprehended what unemployment implied for them. They were clearly unsettled, and were still trying to plan and make adjustments to unemployment. For example, one man was in the process of making enquiries about applying for a disability grant. Those who had been unemployed for longer and could qualify, were already receiving a grant. Another man was receiving some form of financial contribution from his former employer, but he was not sure what it was. He had not yet enquired as to what it was and how long it would continue for. A third man was still struggling to come to terms with the possibility of his being permanently unemployed.

Some of the literature would suggest that individuals learn to adapt, as their period of unemployment lengthens, although there is some debate as to just when this adaptive process begins to show positive signs (Liem & Liem, 1988; Warr & Jackson, 1984; Winefield & Tiggemann, 1989b). Other researchers have suggested that the negative effects of unemployment upon well-being would steadily increase, producing chronic stress (Bluen, 1983; Brenner & Starrin, 1988).

If short-term unemployment was characterised by disorganisation, it was surmised that those who had reported that they had never been employed, or had been unemployed

for several years, would be well adjusted to this as a way of life.

Amongst the youth who had never been employed, it was observed that they did not differ much from those short-term unemployed youth who had worked before. But amongst the rest of the life-time unemployed, it was observed that they had adapted to a life of unemployed. However, the form that this adaptation took, varied tremendously. For example, one individual had started a spaza shop, another was earning an income as a repairman and gardener, while a third lived off a disability grant. The remaining three life-time unemployed were married women who had been supported by their husbands, but, motivated primarily by financial reasons, had recently entered the job market. Thus, they too were accustomed to a nonemployment lifestyle.

To conclude, although there was some evidence of a dichotomy of disorganisation/adjustment associated with the length of unemployment at both extremes of a duration of employment continuum, this pattern was not as clear in the central area of this continuum, where the bulk of the sample lay. Other factors seemed to contribute to a greater extent to explaining coping patterns. For this reason, duration of unemployment was not regarded as a core theme in this study.

Religion

Some of the interviewees described how their religion, or their trust in God, helped them to cope with

unemployment. Religious affiliations provided a source of coping, particularly through the social support that was offered. Some of the unemployed who were church members, reported receiving regular visits from their minister, deacons, or fellow church members. L described how many of the people in his road were at the same church. On one night a week, they held a prayer meeting in their street, which rotated from house to house. Consequently, they were a much more closely knit and interdependent neighbourhood than would otherwise be the case, and provided support to those who were experiencing hardships such as unemployment.

Religion was not only important for the social support it offered. It allowed people to place control over their lives in the hands of God. Several of the interviewees testified to their "trust in the Lord" and to His provision for them in meeting their needs. For example, F described how when she was not serving God, her children often went to bed without food. Now that she had recommitted her life to God, she saw His provision for her family: Without fail her children now had a meal at night.

The "sense of coherence" (Antonovsky, 1979; 1984a; b; 1987a) offers some explanation for the salutogenic effects of a belief in God. Although they may have been in a trying period, trusting in an omnipotent God may convince the unemployed that God is still in control of the situation (Antonovsky's "comprehension" component of the "sense of coherence"). Placing their trust in God for their well-being, further increased their "sense of coherence"

(Antonovsky's "manageability" component of the "sense of coherence"). This stronger sense of coherence helped them to further persevere under hardship.

Although the role of religion does provide some insight into the coping patterns of the unemployed, only a minority of people expressed some form of relationship between their experience of unemployment and their religious beliefs. Therefore, religion could not be regarded as a core theme for this study, but instead appears to be a variable explaining individual differences.

Socio-economic Analysis

So far in this chapter, the themes arising from the biographical analyses have been presented. Through a socio-economic analysis, a theme of independence-dependence emerged.

During the interviewing, it was noted that many of the problems that the interviewees had to deal with, were related to the loss of income brought about by unemployment. This was to be expected, given that the sample for this study was drawn from the lower socio-economic class. Examining where the individual derived his or her income from, revealed some important coping patterns.

Each individual was, on average, receiving an income from nearly three different sources. Some of these sources consisted of small contributions, while others were noted to be their primary source of income. (That is, the source(s)

of income which accounted for a major portion of their total income.) Table 3 summarises these sources, and the number of individuals reliant on that source as their primary source of income. Since this table refers to sources and not to individuals, the total exceeds 74, as some individuals had more than one primary source of income.

Although most of the sample had a small number of financial sources, and only one or two primary sources, there were some interviewees who were the exception, and did not have only one or two primary sources. Instead they had many sources of income of a great variety in nature. This was due to the inadequacy of any single source to meet their needs. These individuals were creative, innovative and action-orientated, being able to identify, utilise and even create financial opportunities.

However, these individuals who received multiple sources of income were in the minority. The majority of the sample received income from one or two primary sources. What was particularly striking about these sources, was that most of them were not self-generated. There was a high degree of dependency upon someone else. As summarised in Table 3, there were 62 dependent primary financial sources reported, as opposed to 17 that were self-earned (i.e. independent).

Table 3

Frequency of primary financial sources

Source	Frequency
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
<u>Dependent</u>	
a) <u>Family</u>	
Spouse	14
Child	6
Parent	19
Other family or friend	3
b) <u>State</u>	
Disability	5
Maintenance	7
Unemployment Insurance	2
Foster child	4
Pension	2
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
	62
<u>Self-earned</u>	
Home production/sales	4
Odd jobs	1
Char work	3
Casual jobs	8
Boarders	1
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
	17

Among these self-earners, some of the activities could be described as being reliant upon other people's enterprises, rather than them taking the initiative to begin their own enterprise (e.g. those who had casual jobs). This finding prompted further examination of the issue of dependence-independence.

Independence-Dependence Continuum

Based initially upon their sources of financial support, a variety of groupings were emergent in the sample. These included income generators (n=5), casual workers (n=10) different forms of family dependence (n=38), as well as those dependent upon state aid (n=14).

There was also a group that clearly needed support from someone else, but this support was either not forthcoming, or it was turned down. This group will be referred to as the "strugglers" (n=7).

A breakdown of these groups is presented in Figure 3. Each one will now be discussed in turn.

Income Generators

Common to all individuals grouped in this study as income generators, was that their primary source of income was self-generated. However, there was a great variety in how they had generated their income.

D was an ex-convict. He had served sentences in several prisons and prior to that, was in a number of

reformatory schools. He was released from prison three years previously. He had never worked in formal employment, and had been unable to since his release, since he did not have an identity document. D claimed to have ceased his criminal ways. He said he no longer steals, but now only "steals with his eyes" ("steel met die oë). By this, he meant that he had learnt various skills from observing others at work. He now earned money by applying these skills to repair electrical and mechanical appliances, and shoes. He claimed that his skill at repairing was now of good repute and so work was brought to him. Also, if friends referred a client to him, he gave them a share of the profit. He did gardening as well, to supplement this income. In this way, he ensured that he had sufficient work to do, from which to make a living.

While D was primarily involved in repair work, R operated a spaza shop. He used to help his father run their family business, and with this experience, had now established his own business. He believed the keys to his success were not to get involved in too many enterprises at once, and to progress at a gradual pace. He began by breeding chickens and selling their eggs. Later, he sold the chickens and purchased a stock of goods, to establish a small trade store from his home, which he was currently operating.

Figure 3

Breakdown of groups of independence-dependence theme

Income Generators (n=5)			
Casual Workers (n=10)			
Family Dependents (n=38)	Child		(n=5)
	Parent		(n=19)
	Marital		(n=9)
	Conjugal Partner		(n=5)
State aided (n=14)			
Strugglers (n=7)			

The remaining three income generators were involved in the home production of goods. These were sold to a clientele which had been established over the years, drawn primarily from the surrounding communities. In all three cases, their endeavour began as a part-time activity while they benefitted from another primary source of income. Only when this source became unreliable, was the home-based production of goods expanded. For example, C had been sewing to raise funds for a school feeding scheme that she had begun. She was sewing for the teachers of the schools and for her friends. Her husband was an alcoholic, and was unable to keep a steady job. C said: "I realised that I could not depend on my husband and so I had to start depending on myself". Consequently, she expanded her sewing activities until she was able to earn a living from it.

In the sample, some of those who were involved in income generation and many who intended to start up a small business in the near future from their home, ascribed their decision to do so, to their inability to find employment. For example, S had matriculated and had wanted to study further. Unfortunately for her, her applications to tertiary institutions were unsuccessful. She had, therefore, been unemployed since matriculating. S was now attending the CAFDA sewing course, and she viewed this as an opportunity to relaunch a career as a designer. She intended to start by setting up her own business from home. Other trainees in the sewing course who had previously been unemployed, were

also intending to start their own business at the conclusion of the course.

Currently, none of the income generators was seeking formal employment, though some had attempted to do so, without success in the past. Hisrich (1990) suggested that the decision to begin an entrepreneurial enterprise may be motivated by a disruption in the career or lifestyle of an individual. Certainly, one such disruption would be the occurrence of unemployment.

Given the strong likelihood of its applicability to income generators, the literature on entrepreneurship was consulted. Recent literature reviews of entrepreneurship have criticised the trait approaches as inadequate in acquiring a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of entrepreneurship. They suggested that too much attention has been focused upon the individual. Instead, they recommended that contingency factors should be explored (Scherer, Adams, Carley & Wiebe, 1989), that the focus be placed upon explaining the entrepreneurial process, rather than describing the entrepreneur (Johnson, 1990), or that a behavioural approach should be adopted (Gartner, 1989).

While recognising the value of a change of perspective in entrepreneurial research, the critics were not suggesting that the traits that had been identified were totally irrelevant, but rather, that on their own, they offered an inadequate explanation of the phenomenon of entrepreneurship. The assumption of trait theorists, was that there was a particular type of person who became an

entrepreneur. It appears that it is essentially this assumption which is now being challenged by critics, who are calling for attention to be paid to other contingent factors.

Many characteristics of entrepreneurs have been suggested - and disputed - and some of these are seen to have a bearing on this research. Those seen to be of relevance to this study are independence/autonomy, parent's occupation, risk taking propensity, total commitment, use of contacts and connections, and "know-how" (Gartner, 1989; Mitton, 1989). Not all of these characteristics were identified in each interview held with an income generator, but they were indicative of at least some of the reasons why these individuals chose to generate their own income and were successful in this venture. Evidence supporting each of these characteristics will now be presented.

The literature suggests that entrepreneurs desire to be independent. One of the women involved in sewing from home described how she had resorted to this venture as a livelihood because her husband was unreliable and did not bring in a steady income for the family. She chose, therefore, to become independent of him financially, by expanding what had merely been a pastime into a livelihood. She did not really have much option, but to become more independent. However, D did have an option of returning to his mother's house and remaining dependent upon her for his welfare. Instead he chose to earn a living for himself, even though this was perhaps the more difficult alternative.

There is some evidence to suggest that parent's entrepreneurial activities motivated the individual to become an entrepreneur, in at least equipping them with some of the skills required to generate an income. Sometimes, they had also seen that it was possible that a living could be made from these activities, and so the prospects of engaging in this type of activity was less threatening to them. As a youngster, R had worked with his father in his shop and learned skills required in running a successful business. Similarly, some of the women intending to set up a sewing business from home had been taught by their mothers how to sew.

The entrepreneurship literature suggests that entrepreneurs have a propensity to take risks. In this sample, only one individual was identified who had decided to leave formal employment to start her own business. In the other cases, the income generators had been unemployed before embarking upon a full-time entrepreneurial activity. Furthermore, they did not report having taken much risk in starting their business. There was rather a tendency for them to "do what their hands could find to do" when they found themselves in a situation of need. This activity had then expanded into a more viable form of income generation. Invariably, they began on a small scale, which involved a minimum capital outlay. For example, many of the women doing sewing, had usually owned a machine with which they had sewed clothing for their family. Thus, little evidence of risk taking was found, be it in the outlay of capital or

the involvement in an activity they were unfamiliar with. By comparison, it was interesting to note that one of the reasons why other unemployed individuals chose not to begin an entrepreneurial activity, was because of their perception of the risks involved in an activity of this nature.

Income generators demonstrated total commitment to their activity. Generally, these people were extremely hard working and active, particularly if they were involved in production activities. The low productivity and low profit margin which they worked according to, required that they work long hours to be able to earn enough income to survive on. Given this time commitment, they could not afford to actively search for employment in the formal sector. Thus, they had had to fully commit themselves to their entrepreneurial activity, as their primary way of earning a living. (Perhaps in this sense, there was also some risk attached to entrepreneurship.)

Embarking on self-employment required long hours and hard work, yet it was noted that these women were also actively involved in other endeavours, which were often voluntary in nature, and for which they were not financially compensated. For example, X used her car to transport people to the hospital in an emergency, or if they were unable to get there any other way. Often her passengers could not pay her for this service.

What was very evident, was the (potential) income generator's use of contacts. C, who had done sewing to raise funds for a school feeding scheme, had sold her

products to the teachers at the school. When she expanded her operations she already had an established market. She also had a contact through which she acquired free material (off cuts). Many of the women on the CAFDA sewing course described how they had been sewing for family friends and relatives in their spare time, before embarking on the course. This would be their initial client base, once they began their business. D also received a large portion of his business through friends, who referred potential customers to him.

The final characteristic of entrepreneurs that was of relevance to this study, was "know how". Without fail, the income generators interviewed had become involved in activities that they had the skills for. It was mentioned that D had learned how to do electrical and mechanical repairs in prison. The women doing sewing, already had sewing skills and/or were developing these skills further on the CAFDA sewing course. It was this factor of "know how" that also made it easier for women to become involved in entrepreneurial activities. Many of their domestic skills could be transformed into methods of income generation. This factor was discussed in more detail previously, when gender issues were considered.

It could be said that the income generators were earning their own income, because they believed that they were capable of doing so, and were willing to work hard and persevere. Others who were not income generators, did not

have this belief about themselves, or the drive to persevere. Bandura defined self-efficacy as "peoples' judgements of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances" (1986, p. 391). Thus, the individuals' perception of what they are capable of (i.e. their perceived self-efficacy), will determine if they will act in a particular situation, or not and for how long they will continue therein.

The question that could then be raised, is how an individual acquires a high sense of self-efficacy. Bandura (1977, 1986) has identified four potential sources of self-efficacy information: It may be attained enactively, through vicarious experience, through verbal persuasion, or by the interpretation of physiological signals. It is suggested that some of the characteristics of income generators that were discussed above, have served as sources of self-efficacy information. Their parent's occupation could have been a source of vicariously attained self-efficacy information. By seeing what their parents could achieve, they may have learned to expect that they could do likewise. It was described how they had taken to activities that were readily available, that had been hobbies previously, or that they had "know how" for. These activities were then gradually expanded. This process is indicative of enacted self-efficacy information: previous successes build up the individuals' confidence in themselves

and challenge them to extend themselves a little further in the performance of that activity.

Other characteristics are indicative of a high sense of self-efficacy, rather than being a source. Examples here, are the high degree of commitment and hard work, as well as the desire to be independent.

While much is learnt about income generators by identifying those factors that are relevant to their choice of and success in entrepreneurship, it is also informative to note those variables that were not relevant. For example, there was great variety in education level (no education at all, up to standard eight), age (27 years to 56 years), past experience and methods of income generation adopted. While these variables may also be related to self-efficacy, they are not always the most important ones. This was the case in this study.

Despite finding that so few people were involved in income generating activities, it was observed that income generators seemed to be coping most effectively with unemployment. It was also this group to which the competency assumption of this study applied most aptly, and which also showed the greatest potential for providing ideas for the development of intervention strategies.

Casual Workers

The casual workers have been discussed extensively already, given the significant differences in the casual work engaged in by men and women. These people were not content to be

dependent upon someone else for their well-being. Often they were the breadwinners themselves. Rather than attempting to generate their own income, they chose to look for casual work. Thus, a measure of independence was achieved, but not to the extent of that of the income generators. Although they had entered into an exchange relationship to derive their income, they were still very reliant upon the workgiver for their well-being.

Family Dependents

The impact of unemployment on members of the family of the unemployed individual, is significant. Most of the research looking at the impact of unemployment upon the family, has been conducted in America, with only a few exceptions (e.g. McGhee and Fryer, 1989).

According to the literature, the burden of unemployment is shared by the spouse and children, though not necessarily evenly (McGhee & Fryer, 1989). Initially, the family is drawn closer together to give one another mutual support in encountering unemployment (Madonia, 1983). There may also be positive effects flowing from the increased time the unemployed family has with his or her family (Kessler, Turner & House, 1987).

Unfortunately, this supportive environment usually does not last long and estrangement, arguments, tension, disharmony, conflict, role strain, disorganisation and depression can occur as unemployment duration lengthens (Aubry, Tefft & Kingsbury, 1990; Dooley & Catalano, 1980;

Liem & Liem, 1988; Liem & Rayman, 1982; Madonia, 1983). It was therefore not surprising that McGhee and Fryer (1989) recommended that the family unit be utilised as the unit of study of unemployment.

In a few cases in this study, a consequence of unemployment was that the family unit was divided. In one case, the wife had left her husband, because he could not provide for her. In another case, division of the family was necessary to ensure that the children were adequately cared for. For example, one man had left his children in the care of his sister. In some cases, where one of the parents was unemployed, social workers had intervened and removed children from the care of their parents, because they were not being cared for properly. Besides being unemployed, these families were experiencing problems in other areas of their life as well and were particularly distressed by the problems they were encountering. But the parents seemed to be unable to improve their circumstances, in order to be able to receive their children into their care again.

Although the family was affected by unemployment, they were also an important source of support for the unemployed. It was already noted above that the unemployed youth tended to be highly dependent upon their parents, particularly for their material needs. There were other individuals who were also dependent upon their child, spouse or conjugal partner. These groups of family dependers are discussed further, here.

Parental dependers

Most of the adolescents interviewed were financially dependent upon their parents. Given that their financial responsibilities were carried by the parental figure, adolescents felt less personal pressure to find a job. There was also a shared perception of job scarcity amongst them and generally a low commitment on their part to job searching. The reasons for this low commitment to employment were discussed earlier in some detail, when considering the youth.

Despite a low employment commitment on the youths' part, their parents tended to greatly pressurise them to obtain work. They exhibited a great urgency to see their children employed, or occupied productively in some other way. As discussed when considering the reasons for not completing high school education, families have often adapted to economic hardships by becoming more labour intensive. This included having older children enter into productive roles (see Elder & Caspi, 1988). Experiencing economic hardship in the home, appeared to be one factor motivating parents to pressurise their children to find work.

The youth also complained that their parents accused them of not trying hard enough to find a job, and were frequently questioned on their attempts and progress in job search. Consequently, several of the youngsters reported deteriorating relations with their parents. This was often

the most significant change they had experienced since becoming unemployed. One youngster was obligated to go out every day to enquire for a job. Every evening his parents would ask him where he had been to enquire about employment and what progress he had made. However, in many cases, the child had in fact, not made any serious attempts to find work, explaining that there simply was no work to be found and that a lack of job experience made him or her unlikely candidates for any jobs that may be available. As a result, the parents were often more actively enquiring about job prospects for their child, than the unemployed youth was. In one such instance, a mother had managed to arrange for her daughter to attend the CAFDA sewing course.

There were other factors which could also be attributed to this deterioration in family relationships. For example, some of these unemployed youth were now at home a great deal more than before and this distressed their parents, particularly mothers who were more likely to be at home with the child during the day. Parents perceived that their children's lives were being wasted by remaining out of employment, and this upset them.

Child dependers

Some middle aged interviewees were financially dependant upon their children. For some of these individuals, their only source of income was from their children at that point in time. In other cases, this income was supplemented by other minor income sources. One person supplemented her

son's financial contribution by doing sewing, while her husband who was unemployed sought casual work.

Given the instrumental support provided by their children, unemployed parents responded in a variety of ways. Those younger in age and those who received more tenuous financial support from their children felt a greater pressure and motivation to find formal employment, or to develop alternative sources of income. In those instances where financial support was more stable, there was no urgency to find employment and the individuals began to orientate themselves towards a life of semi-retirement. Their lifestyle became more domestically orientated and they often cared for their grandchildren while their children were at work.

Marital dependance

A breakdown of the marital status of the sample is presented in Table 4, according to age and gender. No distinction was drawn between those who had never been married, those divorced and those widowed, but they have all been incorporated into the category of "unmarried". This was because there were only three cases of divorce or separation reported, and no cases of being widowed.

Table 4

Marital status of the sample

Age (Years)	Married	Unmarried

Females		
Under 18	0	1
18 - 19	0	7
20 - 29	2	8
30 - 39	5	10
40 - 49	5	0
Over 49	2	0

Sub Total	14	27
Males		
Under 18	0	2
18 - 19	0	4
20 - 29	2	5
30 - 39	2	4
40 - 49	5	2
Over 49	7	0

Sub Total	16	17

As can be seen in this table, the sample is biased in favour of younger unmarried females. This bias arose from the original CAFDA convenience sample. Four of these unmarried females were living in with a man.

There were no interviewees less than twenty years of age who were married. This is not particularly unusual, given the size of the sample and the lower probability of people being married by this age. It is also to be expected that there would be fewer older people who were not married.

In the gender theme presented earlier, note was taken of instances where a reversal of traditional roles had occurred, with the husband being unemployed while the wife was employed. The more usual occurrence in this sample, was to find women who were unemployed, while their husbands were employed. In many cases, they had been out of formal employment for several years, usually to raise a family. Some had not even been in formal employment before. Their reasons for looking for work at this stage were to meet the rising cost of living and to improve the quality of life for their family.

One obstacle they had experienced to any previously intended job search endeavour, was having to care for their children. Those who were still raising young children, explained that if they were to find a job, they would hire someone to care for the children, if they were unable to leave them in a relative's care while they went to work.

During the day, they were primarily engaged in domestic activities such as housecleaning, cooking, washing and

childcare. Except for the fact that they expressed a desire to work and were looking out for possible employment vacancies, they could be regarded as typical housewives. Therefore, the main problems they encountered as unemployed individuals were in making ends meet financially, and the frustration of not finding employment.

There is evidence to suggest that marital relations become particularly strained, when the husband became unemployed. Initially, wives of unemployed men were not severely affected. However, after several months they began to show signs of anxiety, depression and sensitivity about the marital relationship (Liem & Liem, 1988; Liem & Rayman, 1982), and there is an increased incidence of separation and divorce (Aubry, Tefft & Kingsbury, 1990; Elder & Caspi, 1988; Liem & Liem, 1988).

Moller (1988) has examined the experience of unemployment on South African families. In interviews conducted by Moller (1988) in Soweto and in the Durban and East London areas, it was reported that particularly middle-aged men experienced intense negative effects of unemployment because they could not provide for their families. Due to the family's economic hardship, these men were more avid workseekers, and were less selective in their choice of casual or permanent work. Men were also pressured into job search by the withdrawal of family affection.

Dependence upon conjugal partner

Four females were interviewed who were each living with a man they were not married to. They referred to the man as their boyfriend, not their husband, and reported that they were single.

Three of these women had never held permanent jobs, the one having never worked at all. None of the women could report any recent serious attempt to find a job, though most expressed a desire to work. In one exception, it was stated by the interviewee, that although her boyfriend insisted upon her finding a job, she was not really interested in working again. He worked night shift and often worked in the day as well, to earn extra income. Another stated that because of the problems she was currently experiencing at home, she did not want to work at present: One of her sons was addicted to Mandrax. If this problem was resolved then she would definitely attempt to find work.

The rationale for examining these individuals as a group, was to compare them to the married women who were interviewed. Work conducted by Barrow (1986) suggested that there may be significant differences between these groups. She reported:

"Afro-Caribbean women have challenged the stereotypes of passive, dependent women, stressing instead their resourcefulness and economic autonomy. Thus female-headed, consanguineal households and extended networks are emphasised in contrast to male-

headed nuclear family units; multiple serial or occasionally concurrent conjugal unions to marriage and monogamy; female employment, occupational multiplicity and a variety of sources of income to dependence on a male partner; individualism in contrast to shared patterns of earning, spending, saving and property-owning; self-assertion and involvement in economic and community affairs to submissiveness, passivity and home confinement; creativity and adaptability to acceptance and conservatism." (p.165)

Therefore, the primary intention of examining these conjugal unions as distinct from marriages, was to try and identify whether their formation was a deliberate survival strategy of these women or not, and to see if these women were also engaged in activities to obtain economic autonomy. This was found not to be the case. The pattern of these conjugal unions did not differ significantly from those of the married, husband-dependant women. Their relationships could virtually be viewed as common law marriages. These women were not striving for economic autonomy, and in fact were content to be dependent upon their boyfriend, financially.

However, there was one other interviewee who was not living with her boyfriend at the time of the interview, but

demonstrated some of the characteristics of the type of lifestyle preferred by the women described by Barrow.

P was single and had three children to support. The children were from two fathers and each of them, voluntarily made a monthly contribution to support the children. In addition to this, she and her children were staying with a pensioner, and he, too, provided for the children. It seemed that he was unaware of the money she received from the fathers and that she could be spending it on herself only, not the children. P earned a sizeable income as a photographer, being hired for local social events. She had left her previous job to do photography full-time, only to find it was not lucrative enough. Hence, she was now once again seeking formal, full-time employment.

P seemed to have quite an independent lifestyle, not even being tied down by her children. The pensioner complained that P often left the children in his care for days at a time, without even informing him in advance, without his agreement thereto, and without informing him of where she would be or when she would be returning. She appeared to have tremendous drive and energy, a large social network and to value economic autonomy. Therefore, although she did not own property, she certainly displayed many of the other characteristics identified by Barrow (1986).

State Aided

The unemployed were receiving several forms of financial support that were provided by the state, including

disability grants, foster grants, unemployment insurance, pensions and maintenance grants.

Maintenance was received in three conditions - when the parents could not support their children from the parent of a child, or a divorcee following court proceedings, and for foster children. Nine women reported receiving child maintenance grants, and for most of them, maintenance grants were their primary source of income. In many instances, pregnancy had been the cause of job loss and having to now look after young children was a main obstacle to job search. The majority of them hoped to be able to find work again in the near future and would then place their children in a creche, or in the care of family, or friends.

Four households interviewed had adopted foster children. In all four cases, the foster parent(s) received income from at least one other source, which was as important, or more important than the foster care money. Also, at least one of the parents was at home to take care of the children during the day and did not go out to work. Thus, they were highly dependent upon the grant and their family for support. Social workers suspected that in many of the cases they had to deal with, foster children were adopted for the income that would be received through the grant, rather than for the sake of the children. Given that a foster parent received some form of income for the child, foster parenting could be regarded as a form of employment by some individuals. There were also allegations by social workers that some adoptions that occurred within a family,

were on paper only, to enable parents to receive additional compensation from the foster grant. None of these incidents were evident amongst this sample, but it would be of interest to know how widespread this practice is, and whether it is the unemployed who are utilising the welfare system in this way, to cope with their situation.

Some of the unemployed had been forced to give up their work, due to sickness or injury. Their status at present, was usually that they were state aided, receiving a disability grant. They were confronted with a unique set of circumstances: the double burden of unemployment and ill health - which required a unique set of responses. It was very difficult, if not impossible for them to acquire permanent work in the future, given their medical history. Should they succeed in doing so, they would lose their disability grant. They believed that this would jeopardise the possibility of them reclaiming it later on in life - should the need arise. In looking for employment, they usually were trying to get casual work which would not jeopardise their receipt of a disability grant. While this was a valid reason for not looking for full-time employment in the same field they had been involved in before, many of the disabled unemployed did not seem to be able to appreciate that they may still be capable of doing other work. Learned helplessness theory (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978; Barber, 1989) suggests that the realisation that a particular outcome was uncontrollable (e.g. job loss due to a health disability), may also produce motivational,

cognitive and emotional deficits which can be generalised to new situations, and may then interfere with new learning (e.g. employment in another type of work) .

The poor health of some of these interviewees, implied that they remained indoors, or near the home engaged in more passive activities such as listening to the radio, watching television, reading, resting and holding conversation with members of the household, neighbours or visitors. These activities were also common among other interviewees, but were especially important to those unemployed due to their poor health, since this restricted many of their activities.

According to one resident in Parkwood, many people received a disability grant, whether they had a disability or not. She also alleged, that much of this money was spent in the shebeens. The four people in this interview sample who were receiving a disability grant, appeared to be receiving it on legitimate grounds, for physical or mental illness or ailments. Their length of unemployment varied from two months up to 16 years.

Surprisingly, only three interviewees were receiving unemployment insurance. They had been unemployed for between two and eight months, following between two-and-a-half and 34 years service. It was interesting to note that all three were involved in part time casual work, but did not seem to give much attention to searching for full-time, formal employment. Perhaps their receipt of unemployment benefits served as a disincentive, in this regard.

Some of the people who had resorted to receiving state aid, felt humiliated. Disability grant recipients in particular, felt that their application for the grant was also a tacit acknowledgement that they were unable to support themselves financially. They found this very difficult to come to terms with. But even so, receiving state aid of one form or another, alleviated much of the burden imposed by unemployment, by reducing financial stressors. It also appeared that the majority of individuals were, in fact, content to be dependent upon the state.

Strugglers

It should be noted that the sample was drawn from lower socio-economic areas. For most of the sample, income loss affected job search strategies, the family, social networks, general activities such as recreation, as well as major expenditures (which had to be curtailed). But there was a group who were particularly devastated by the effects of unemployment, and had to make drastic lifestyle adaptations, over and above these changes. They have been called the "Strugglers". The following case studies are presented to illustrate the hardships experienced by some of these strugglers, to show how unemployment interacted with other life stressors, and to identify the nature of some of their coping patterns.

J had been out of work for nearly a year. Her husband was an alcoholic and physically assaulted her. As a result of injuries sustained from the assaults, she could not go to

work. She had eventually been dismissed for high absenteeism. Her husband was still working, but spent all his money at the shebeen. Therefore she relied on her daughter for financial support. Their water and lights had been disconnected, a company had instituted legal proceedings to reclaim their furniture obtained on hire purchase and her children had been removed from her care. She had now also started to drink, because she felt helpless to do anything about her situation.

M had the same problem with her husband as J had - he was an alcoholic and assaulted her. She described how she had been unable to pay off accounts and was unable to purchase school equipment for her son. The family had had to adapt their diet and subsisted on rice, and bones that were made into a soup. She too, felt there was nothing she could do about her situation and had given up.

Some of the men in Vrygrond squatter camp were living a very frugal existence. Their diet consisted of bread and tea, which they tried to supplement over weekends with meat and vegetables. One man's wife had left him and their children, because he could not support her. Out of necessity, he had left his children in the care of his sister, because he could not support them. Not wanting to be an additional burden to her, he moved to the squatter camp, rather than staying with her as well. Here he had accommodation with a friend at a nominal rental. He looked for casual work and paid half of any income he earned to his sister.

Most of the strugglers seemed to be unable to change their circumstances, and consequently were highly distressed, or had become apathetic and given up. Other than two of the men in Vrygrond who were involved in searching for casual work, few made any attempt to change their circumstances. Some explanation for this phenomenon is offered by learned helplessness theory. The original formulation of learned helplessness hypothesised that learned helplessness was mediated by the perception of uncontrollability (Seligman, 1975). Clearly, these individuals perceived their situation to be beyond their control. They had perceived their situation as unchangeable and permanent. A consequence of learned helplessness appeared to be disengagement behaviour. This was evident in the form of idleness, daydreaming, drinking and social isolation.

Given learned helplessness, one would expect that the individual would be more willing to receive help, than be resistant to any help that was offered. But it was noticed with the Vrygrond interviewees, that there was a reluctance to seek help for themselves, or to make use of the assistance that was available to them. Rather, they wanted to deal with the situation themselves. One man said: "Ek sal eerder sukkel om self reg te kom" (I will rather struggle to "come right" on my own). If they were able to manage by themselves, this response would be understandable, but in many situations they were clearly unable to do so.

Manageability refers to "the extent to which people perceive that resources are at their disposal that are adequate to meet the demands posed by stimuli" (Antonovsky, 1984b, p.118). These resources may be under the individual's control, but they do not have to be, provided they are in the control of a legitimate other - be it God, a spouse, a friend, formal authority - who is seen to have the individual's interest at heart (Antonovsky, 1979; 1984a; 1987b; Strümpfer, 1990). This suggests that an individual may have a higher sense of coherence - and hence stronger resistance resources - by abdicating personal control to a legitimate other. That is, abdication may be an effective form of coping. In the case of the Vrygrond men, they were incapable of, or unwilling to rely upon others, and hence were not coping as effectively as they could have been.

Conclusion

It was discovered that the groups discussed above, varied in their level of dependence of the extent that they relied upon others or themselves for their well-being. Thus, they could be arranged onto a continuum of dependence-independence. The high incidence of dependency was most noticeable. It was observed that in many instances, different generations of a family were highly interdependent and supportive of one another, financially. Besides intergenerational interdependencies, familial support was

also provided by a spouse of the unemployed. Furthermore, some of the unemployed were dependent upon state aid.

It was also observed that in most cases of dependency, the individual was not particularly concerned to reduce these levels of dependence. While such dependence may be natural enough, the lack of independent initiative is particularly disconcerting in an economy where only one in ten entrants to the job market can be accommodated in the formal sector (Gebhardt, 1991; Keegan, 1991).

At the independence end of the independence-dependence spectrum, were those who strived for financial independence or self-support, namely the income generators. Even when they could qualify for State support (e.g. one lady could get a disability grant), or could turn to their family for help, they chose rather to earn their own income and thereby retain financial independence. One reason for this could be past experiences of unreliable support from others, as with X. Another reason is the healthy sense of self-worth that arose from being able to support themselves, and an unwillingness to have it eroded. Dependence was viewed as dehumanising.

Amongst the strugglers, there were two standpoints which could be identified: Firstly, those who appeared to be receiving inadequate support and had appeared to give up. Secondly, those who did not want assistance from others, choosing rather to struggle on in trying to provide for themselves. With both of these standpoints, it was evident that these people were incapable of providing for

themselves and, for one reason or another, did not receive adequate support. Thus, their case could be described as one of insufficient dependence.

Casual workers also expressed a measure of independence. Their sense of independence was evident both in their continued efforts to support themselves through acquiring casual work, and also in their perseverance at searching for permanent, full-time employment, rather than developing dependency relationships.

Contrasting the groups in terms of their degree of independence or dependence, proved to be a useful exercise. The theme of independence-dependence can also explain a great deal of the trends observed in the coping patterns of this sample. Therefore, this theme was regarded as the core theme of this study and serves as the basis of a proposed theory to be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

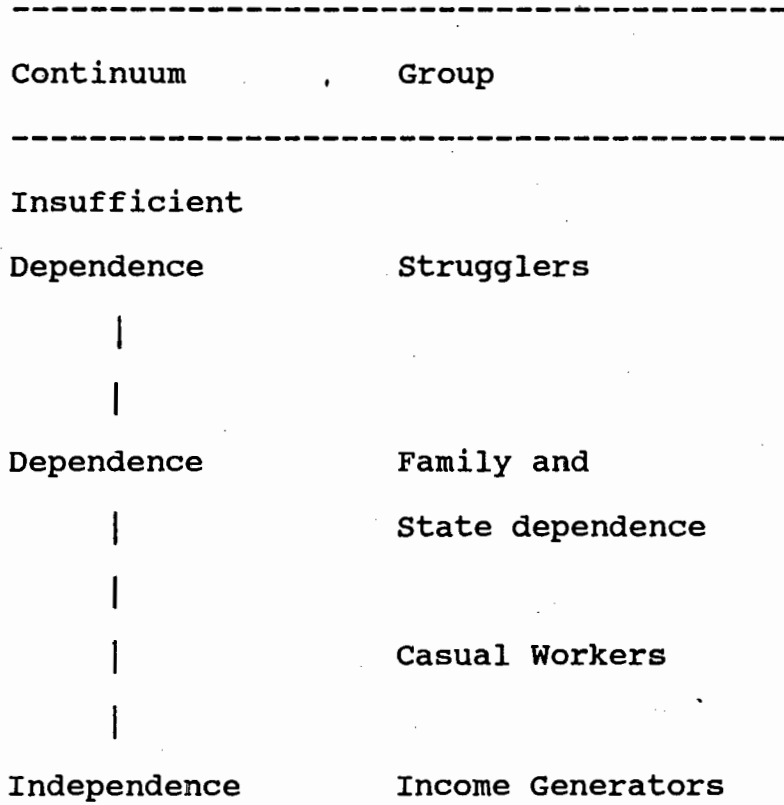
CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, a proposed theory of unemployment coping will be presented, based upon the findings and discussion of the previous chapter. In that chapter, there were essentially two approaches to data analysis that emerged. The first approach was biographical and the second was socio-economic. While the biographic analysis provided some valuable insight into the experience of unemployment, it was the socio-economic analysis that best described and accounted for the coping patterns that were observed. Through the socio-economic analysis of the data, a continuum of independence-dependence was developed. This continuum is depicted in Figure 4. When the results were discussed, various conceptualisations of learned helplessness theory were referred to, to describe the tendency to move in the direction of dependence, while reactance theory was used to explain movements towards independence.

An important characteristic of the income generators, was that - for various reasons - they believed that they were able to provide for themselves. That is, they had a high sense of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy was defined as the judgement of one's ability to accomplish a certain level

Figure 4

Independence-dependence continuum of emergent groups



of performance (Bandura, 1977; 1982; 1986). Several factors were identified earlier, that were attributed to this increased sense of self-efficacy amongst the income generators.

The majority of the sample were categorised in groups that displayed dependency patterns of coping. Some of these interviewees were semi-dependent, like those who were doing char work or other forms of casual work. In the case of the casual workers, there was an exchange relationship between them and the work-giver who they were dependent upon, suggesting a degree of self-sufficiency. But, in the majority of cases, the unemployed were not doing any work in exchange for the income they were receiving. This income came primarily from family members, or the state.

How can this high tendency to form dependent relationships be explained, when implicit in many theories of control has been the assumption that having personal control would be salutogenic, and its absence pathogenic? This is evident in for example, the locus of control concept, where internality is often more highly valued in Western culture (Antonovsky, 1979). Given this assumption, it would seem strange that so many individuals would choose to develop their dependence upon someone else, to provide for their well-being - as was indeed the case here.

However, Antonovsky (1979) has suggested that the assumption that a lack of personal control implies poorer well-being, is culturally biased. Cultural differences appear to explain the choice of dependency coping patterns

in this study. While in many Western societies, independence and self-sufficiency is valued in this sample a culture of interdependence was prevalent. It appeared that economic hardships had fostered strong family interdependencies, in particular.

According to Antonovsky (1979), a crucial element of personal control, was whether or not those in control were seen to have legitimate power, or not. This legitimacy was determined by the perception of whether or not one's interests would be served in the long run by the "power-holder" who was being relied upon. This implies, that how an individual interpreted a set of circumstances, would determine his or her preference for more or less personal control (Burger, 1989, Thompson, 1981).

When an individual chose not to rely upon others for his or her well-being, they tended to be at one of the two poles of the continuum. Either, he or she effectively provided for themselves through income generation, or otherwise struggled to even survive. Antonovsky's (1979; 1984a, b; 1987a) "sense of coherence" was used to explain this, specifically the manageability component. The point that emerged, was that in some circumstances, the individual was unable to manage alone, and it was then in his or her interest to develop dependence relations. Failing to do so led to despair and hopelessness at worst, and a survival-struggle at best.

While this study was not longitudinal, there are suggestions that over time, an individual may move up or

down the independence-dependence continuum. Wortman and Brehm (1975) have integrated learned helplessness theory with reactance theory, identifying the different conditions under which each applies. The basis for this integration was an individual's evaluation of the importance of an outcome, combined with the expectancy of control over outcomes. High expectancy of control would initially produce reactance, when the individual was exposed to an uncontrollable event. However, repeatedly failing to regain control, would reduce control expectancy and motivation along with it, leading to the emergence of learned helplessness. Wortman and Brehm (1975) suggested that if greater importance was attached to an outcome, this would produce a more severe case of learned helplessness, when expectancy of control fell to a level that demotivated the individual to the point of giving up. It is interesting to note that Wortman and Brehm's integrated model has already been applied to unemployment by Baum, Fleming and Reddy (1986), in an American study. They concluded that their results supported a two-phase response to loss of control (job loss): reactance in the early stages of unemployment and helplessness later on. A possible area for future research would be to validate this model in a local longitudinally designed study.

To summarise: Coping patterns were observed to fall along a continuum from independence to dependence. Most people managed to develop a sense of coherence, which

helped them to gain some level of control over their environment. Often this involved fostering dependency relationships. Depending upon others was often the most viable form of coping, in conditions where individual resources and competencies were scarce, and where few opportunities were offered to develop a higher sense of self-efficacy. Where experiences provided self-efficacy information, there were stronger tendencies to develop independent patterns of coping.

In the further development of a model of coping, other factors should also be taken into account. Some of the biographical variables discussed in this study would be relevant, notably age and gender: Some of the youth appeared to cope effectively with unemployment and its consequences, through the formation of gangs. This may be morally unacceptable, yet appeared to be an effective form of coping for them. The middle-aged people interviewed, appeared to have the greatest struggle with unemployment, given the reliance of both younger and older age groups upon them. Gender differences also contributed to an understanding of the patterns of coping. Women appeared to more easily develop a strong sense of self-efficacy than men, given that there was a wider range of options available to them.

Throughout this study, an assumption of individual competency has been upheld. This assumption influenced the choice of an appropriate conceptual domain and even the

choice of a suitable methodology. Rather than developing a more precise understanding of the experience of unemployment, it is believed that this study has contributed to addressing the problems associated with unemployment by focusing on coping patterns. It is hoped that more studies in the domain of unemployment will adopt this approach in future, so that psychology can eventually move from explanation to effective intervention; from asking "What is wrong and why?" to asking "Whence the strength?" (Antonovsky, 1979, p.7).

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Appendix A

The following questions were asked at the beginning of the interview to establish whether a potential interviewee could be defined as unemployed, according to the definition used in this study:

* How old are you?

(Respondents older than 65 years and younger than 15 years of age were excluded.)

* Do you work for someone and receive payment from them? Do you work for them on a regular basis, or only on days when they need you?

(Respondents answering in the affirmative to the first question and who worked on a regular basis were excluded.)

* How many hours a week do you work?

(Interviewees who worked on average more than twenty hours a week, were excluded.)

* How many days a week do you work?

(Interviewees who worked three or more days a week were excluded.)

* How long have you been unemployed for?

(Only those unemployed for at least a month were included. It was assumed that those unemployed for less duration would not yet have adequately formulated strategies for coping.)

Over and above these qualifying questions, the researcher confirmed during the course of the interviews that the interviewees were willing to work, should a suitable opportunity arise for them.