PERSON-PLACE TRANSACTIONS:

A Study of Place Meanings and Usage in Unemployment

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This thesis examines ways in which the experience of unemployment affects the experience of place. Taking a person-centred transactional perspective, it investigates transitions in place experience and the negotiation of place use and meaning in unemployment. A meta-theoretical framework is constructed within which the research is located. Based on place theory, it emphasises the importance of a contextual study of person-place relations in which people are seen as active agents dealing with the circumstances of their everyday life within the socio-physical grounding of places.

The research is comprised of three interlinked studies. Firstly, the content and structure of the socio-cultural context, in terms of social representations of unemployment, pointed to information on how places are used and evaluated in unemployment. Social representations, accessed through media reports and individual interviews with unemployed, employed and retired people, organisational workers and students, indicated the home, DSS, underground economy workplace, former workplace and pub as important environmental settings for the experience of unemployment.

Secondly, a study of the organisational context of unemployment revealed the local opportunity structure within which unemployed people are located. Services offered through twenty four organisational places were evaluated in relation to the needs and desires of unemployed people.

The third, and main, study concentrated on understanding problems, opportunities and life changes in unemployment and relating these to the meaning and use of places. A sample of forty four long term, unemployed, married men were visited several times over the period of a year. Using in-depth interviews and a multiple methods approach the men were encouraged to reflect on their own
experiences and discuss these freely. Initially, the investigation showed how the experience of unemployment helped to structure the use and meaning of six environmental domains integrated in unemployed people's geographical lifeworlds: the organisational domain; leisure domain; work domain; home domain; entertainment domain and the domain of everyday necessities. Interestingly, it was the extent of the geographical lifeworld which was associated with mental health rather than unemployment levels in the local geographical area.

The investigation of environmental domains again highlighted the important roles of the home, DSS, underground economy workplace, former workplace and pub in unemployment. These five places were subject to detailed investigation. Attention focused on the content and structure of place experience and then analysed processes through which place use and meaning were negotiated. Each place was shown to be a complex of many different meanings, both positive and negative. However, meanings were structured within a model of personal, social, physical and instrumental place experience. The influence of unemployment was traced in all structural components of the place model.

The negotiation of place use and meaning was revealed in analysis of social, psychological and actional processes. In particular, the role of action in place, processes of person-place appropriation and the influence of place based role-rule relations were explored. Transitions in place meaning and use were linked to the experience of unemployment through these processes.
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Chapter 1

Introduction
Stokols (1987, p. 61) claims that,

"It is important for psychologists to shift their focus from an exclusive emphasis on people's reactions to discrete stimuli and events to the ways in which these phenomena are qualified by the behaviour setting, life domains, and overall life situations in which they occur."

It is in this context of places, their use and meaning, environmental domains and overall life circumstances that the present study is located. The thesis presents a study of the way in which the experience of unemployment affects the experience of place. As such it explores transformations in person-place relations whereby the person and place constitute a meaningful, single unity (Wapner, 1987; Altman, 1989). It departs from most studies of unemployment in that it grounds the experience of unemployment firmly within the socio-physical environment.

For most people, unemployment fundamentally alters physical world experience with the loss of the workplace. No longer required to attend the workplace during the week, unemployed people must develop new relationships with the places which make up their world. New places are encountered (e.g., the DSS offices) and valued places may be lost from everyday usage (e.g., the former workplace). Some places continue to be used on a daily basis yet the person-place relationship may have been transformed through unemployment (e.g., the home). How do these new relationships come about? And how do these relationships affect the unemployed people concerned? These are the main research questions posed in this thesis.

Stressing the importance of life circumstances of unemployment involves adopting a rather different approach to the study of person-place relations because it requires an examination of all
places in the person's physical world. In contrast, most studies of place concentrate on one place or type of place in isolation of their geographical context. For instance, there are studies of home (Sixsmith, 1986), football grounds (Canter et al. 1989), parks (Joardar, 1989), office and work buildings (Sundstrum and Sundstrum, 1986), neighbourhoods (Renou, 1989) and a range of other places. Consequently, examination of the interconnectedness of different places in everyday life has been little researched.

Wapner (1981, 1987), Bonnes et al (1990) and Stokols et al (1983) have begun to elaborate this area by calling for an examination of the multiple environmental domains that comprise a person's environmental experience in an ecological inter-place perspective. Wapner (1981) in particular has studied the dynamics of transitional 'person-in-environments', taking a systems oriented, developmental perspective. He suggests that there are,

"...transitions where the perturbation to the person-in-environment system is experienced as so potent that the ongoing modes of transacting with the physical, interpersonal and socio-cultural features of the environment no longer suffice."
(Wapner, 1981, p223)

Unemployment has the potential to induce psycho-social transitions in the person's assumptive, social and physical world (cf. Parkes, 1971). But what those transitions might be and how they evolve is a matter of empirical investigation.

A life circumstances approach has other implications for the study of person-place relations. Firstly, it accepts the person as an active agent who uses places for their own reasons and objectives (Canter, 1988). Many of these objectives may stem from the circumstances of unemployment that surround their lives. Generally, life circumstances might be defined as those problems, opportunities and changes that people feel are important factors shaping their lives. As such,
transitions in person-place relations may be a direct product of individual and shared life circumstances in unemployment. Thus, a person-centred understanding of the experience of unemployment is required where people are treated as experts of their own experiences.

Secondly, the impact of life circumstances on person-place relations must be revealed. This emphasises change and the dynamic nature of person-place relations. In order to understand change, it is necessary to examine structural relations between components of the person-place unity and see how they are affected by unemployment. Moreover, processes involved in the transformation and negotiation of place use and meaning need to be investigated.

Finally, given its inter-place and life circumstance emphasis, the investigation takes a transactional perspective in defining the problem area and researching this as a holistic entity. The transactional perspective stresses a contextual approach. Psychological and phenomenological studies of place have shown the influence of socio-cultural (Altman and Chemers, 1980; Tuan, 1977) and temporal contexts (Werner et al, 1985) in structuring place experience. In this thesis, an exposition of the geographical, socio-cultural and temporal contexts of unemployment is important as they may help to structure the unemployed person's experience of place (cf Altman and Rogoff, 1987).

The theoretical basis of the thesis lies in place theory. However, as Canter (1986) has argued, place theories can benefit from an integration with theoretical developments in other fields in psychology. He sees value in a marriage of environmental and social psychology. Moreover, developments in the field of action theory also have the potential to enrich our understanding of place. Research into the nature of places has often examined place usage (Genereux et al, 1983; Bonnes et al, 1990; Gurstein, 1991). However, little attention is paid to the personal, social and cultural meaning of activities within the context of place. Yet the same activities may
have widely different meanings for different people, at different times and in different places (cf Rommetveit, 1981). Action theories (eg Von Cranach et al, 1982; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Harre et al, 1985) provide a conceptual understanding of action which includes overt activity, the goals behind it, plans, intentions and the beliefs and attitudes on which the meaning of action is founded. An analysis of action in place can progress beyond the simple association of activity and place into the more substantive area of the integration of meaning of action and meaning of place. Investigations of action in place have begun (Kaminski, 1982, 1983; Canter, 1988; Fuhrer, 1990) but much theoretical and empirical work is needed before a full understanding of conceptual issues is achieved. In this thesis, a meta-theoretical framework is developed which integrates social, environmental and action theory concepts. It outlines interdependent components of the person-place unity and describes processes through which place meaning and use are negotiated.

The investigation is organised around three interlinked studies. The main study took an experiential approach to investigating the impact of unemployment on person-place relations. Participants were long term unemployed, married men. These men were interviewed on several occasions concerning problems, opportunities and changes to their lives brought about by unemployment and their experience of person-place relations in unemployment. Where necessary, comparative data was collected from employed and retired people so that differences due to unemployment could be established. The geographical lifeworlds of unemployed people were revealed and five places evaluated as significant by the unemployed were then investigated in depth: the DSS; and underground economy workplace (new places experienced in unemployment); the home; the former workplace (a place lost from everyday usage); and the pub.

The second study was an investigation of the socio-cultural context of person-place relations in unemployment. This centred on social representations of unemployment, paying special attention to evidence of the environmental grounding of representations. Five different
social groups of people took part in interviews and an analysis of media representations was also undertaken. The third study examined the organisational context of unemployment. This involved interviews and documentary analysis of a range of organisational places in the field study area. Thus, the empirical work progressed beyond the level of subjective experience into social and organisational structures.

Aside from basic descriptive statistics and measures of association, the main form of data analysis was through content analysis (Krippendorff, 1980). Content analysis was used to reduce masses of qualitative data to manageable forms. Then three different multidimensional scaling techniques (cf Coxon, 1982) were applied: smallest space analysis; multidimensional scalogram analysis; and correspondence analysis. Each technique aided in data interpretation and modelling. Interpretations remained as close to the original data as possible using these techniques.

This thesis is divided into three sections: theoretical; methodological; and empirical. Chapter 2 sets out the philosophical underpinnings of the thesis, its transactional perspective and attempts a theoretical integration of place theories in the form of a meta-theoretical framework. Within this, social and cognitive psychology and action theories are discussed in reference to the person-place. This framework indicates problem areas and issues for empirical research and provides a guide for data interpretation and understanding. The value of the theoretical framework is that it allows for a problem oriented approach while maintaining theoretical guiding principles. Study design and methodological issues are discussed in Chapter 3. A social area analysis documents the fieldwork location, sampling procedures and characteristics are presented and the multiple methods used are detailed. A multiple methods approach was used to ensure that the methods were appropriate to the type of data sought.
Chapter 4 begins the empirical investigation. In this, an experiential approach is taken and the main life circumstances of unemployment are revealed. Contextual analyses are presented in the following three chapters. Chapter 5 looks at the socio-cultural context of unemployment in the form of social representations. Chapter 6 analyses opportunities and disadvantages in the local organisational context both from the perspective of the organisation and from unemployed clients. Chapter 7 explores the geographical lifeworld of the unemployed people in terms of the places used, their meaning and the integration of environmental domains in unemployment. The remaining empirical chapters focus in-depth on action within places and the negotiation of place meaning. Chapter 8 looks at the negotiation of meaning within new person-place relations. The DSS and the underground economy workplaces provide two very different sources of data. Chapter 9 investigates the nature and structure of the person-home unity in unemployment while chapter 10 shows how transitions in home meaning and usage come about. Chapter 11 details the important role of the former workplace and pub in unemployment. Finally, chapter 12 summarises the main empirical findings and discusses a number of conceptual and methodological developments for the understanding of person-place relations.
Chapter 2

PERSON-PLACE RELATIONS: A META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Introduction

2. Transactional Person-Place Relations

3. Contextualising the Person-Place Unity:
   i) Socio-cultural Context
   ii) Temporal Context
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4. The Person: Agency and Life Circumstances

5. Place: The Meaningful Environment
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7. Overview and Conclusions
1. Introduction

Rather than adopt a single theory and impose this on empirical data with consequent difficulties in establishing the influence of researcher assumptions (cf Couclelis, 1986), a meta-theoretical framework is developed which will,

"...outline the bounds of the possible in any given area, help organise and integrate piecemeal empirical knowledge, help clarify the meaning of what is known, suggest which issues are researchable, which problems are in principle solvable, which are the questions worth asking."

(Couclelis, 1986, p96)

The meta-theoretical framework presented here helps to organise empirical knowledge and theoretical concepts involved in an understanding of complex person-place transactions. It outlines the boundaries of the area by considering the various contexts to person-place relations. It then looks at possible components of the person-place unity. The person is seen as an active agent acting within the context of their own life circumstances. Then, physical, social, personal and instrumental components of place are discussed as well as the general ambiance of place experience. Finally, processes operating in the generation of place meaning and usage are considered. The theoretical framework is then applied to the particular problem area of transitional person-place relations in unemployment.

The framework is grounded in Heidegger's philosophy (translation, 1950). The fundamental principle is the unity of subject and object, or person and world as opposed to the dualism of Cartesian philosophy. Heidegger uses the word 'Dasein' to encapsulate the idea of a subject object unity with the idea of the persons essential existence as human or 'Being'. Dasein has no qualities or attributes as things have, only characteristics which are possible ways for it to be.
The fundamental structures of Dasein have important implications for the person-place unity. Firstly Dasein is already immersed in the world ('Being-in-The-World'). Dasein is not in the world as a separate entity would be in a container. Dasein DwellS in the world, that is engages and is absorbed by it. The world matters to Dasein because each co-constitute one another. This concept of mattering, which Heidegger calls 'Concern' is a cornerstone of his work. It explains how people are related to things in a practical, concerned way through our purposive, action-oriented nature. People act in a world which has significance for them.

Heidegger goes on to discuss Dasein's way of being in the world. He introduces the concept of transparent coping. This describes the basic way people encounter the lived world as interwoven complexes of functional things which are structured in accordance with interests, needs, desires, motivations etc. Things or objects are 'ready-to-hand', used for purposes without conscious reflection. A style of living is adopted through transparent coping, ie by dealing with life circumstances in the real world. Here, coping is a function of purposive activity in a significant world.

Transparent coping necessarily involves other people. Dasein is a social Being who transacts in a social world (a 'with-world'). People have an empathetic ability to relate to each other as similar Beings. Heidegger believes that as humans we are concerned with other people, and we care for them.

Acting in the world, dealing with life, involving others all takes place within the temporal context of past, present and future. The past is brought to the present in memory and taken on into the future in our expectations about the world. The significance of the world, our care of others, our concern for things is located with a matrix of time and derives meaning from this.

Heidegger's philosophy involved the construction of a special language to escape the epistemological confines of conventional
discourse. Although difficult, it is precise and provides insights into human experience within a real world. The conceptualisation of this thesis has relied on Heidegger's philosophy, but has not attempted to use his terminology. Rather the thesis follows his ideas which can be summarised as follows:

the person is an agency immersed in the world;
the person-world unity is meaningful;
people are socially located Beings;
relations in the world are forged through dealing with and acting in the world;
people act within social and temporal contexts.

The following sections of this chapter explore these areas of theoretical interest, drawing on previous research and empirical studies to articulate relevant concepts and to achieve an integrative framework which can be usefully applied to the person-place unities.

2. Transactional Person-Place Relations

Recent work in environmental psychology (Altman and Rogoff, 1987; Wapner, 1981; Stokols, 1988) has emphasised a transactional perspective. This perspective is particularly suited to the overall philosophical background to this thesis as it emphasises person-environment unity and the agency of the person within a holistic research enterprise. The person and place form an indivisible unity based on mutual dependency. The place is nothing without the person just as the person is nothing without the place as each co-constitutes the other (Valle and King, 1978). The person-place unity is viewed as a dynamic of interdependent elements or components. These interdependent elements exist on different levels, the psychological and the non-psychological (Fuhrer, 1990; Kaminiski, 1987), each with their own characteristics. As such, people in places are interpreted in terms of the place as a
physical/spatial locus for action, endowed with meaning and organised in relation to the person's needs, plans and desires. A set of concepts is needed for interpreting person-place relations which can cope with both psychological and non-psychological characteristics.

Transactionalism stresses the dynamics of human agency together with the dynamics of the environment. Person-place relations are seen as a function of on-going transactions between the person and environment. Transactions include the person's past, present and future thoughts and experiences and inherent qualities of the social and physical world. Person-place transactions are structured around ongoing changes in the person's life and changes in the environment which promote transformations in person-place relations (cf Wapner, 1981; Stokols, 1986; Aitken, 1990). Changes are conceptualised as an inherent part of the person-place unity and not an outcome of separate elements acting on one another in a linear causal model. By emphasising change, transactionalism escapes the 'comparative statics' (Cullen, 1978) of constructivist methodologies which look only at static 'snapshots' of reality, taken out of all context (cf. Aitken and Bjorklund, 1988).

Transactionalism deals in contextualism and holism. It suggests that 'the transactional whole' is the area of study comprised of interdependent factors set within specific (ie non generalisable) contexts (Altman and Rogoff, 1987). Thus, it demands a contextual analysis of the person-place, including the context of the person's life circumstances and socio-cultural, temporal and environmental contexts (cf Wapner, 1981).

Moreover, transactionalism rejects psychological fragmentation (Shotter, 1975) and begins with an event, place or phenomenon as the focus of research. In this respect, the person-place is investigated as a confluence of spatial, social, psychological and temporal processes. As such it is seen as unique. Transactionalism holds that the uniqueness of an event often provides more insights
than the more usual pursuit of generalities (Altman and Rogoff, 1987).

Finally, in transactional research, the person is the focus of attention and it is from their perspective that empirical work begins. People are viewed as experts on their own experiences of person-place unities. Meaningful person-place relations are viewed from the perspective of the experiencing person.

The components and processes involved in person-place relations are the subject of much theoretical debate in both environmental psychology and behavioural geography (Fuhrer, 1990; Schoggen, 1989; Canter, 1988; Stokols and Shumaker, 1981; Russell and Ward, 1982; Moore and Gollege, 1976). The transactional perspective has been much discussed, but disappointingly few empirical studies can be described as transactional in nature. Perhaps this is due to difficulties encountered in conceptualising and conducting contextual, holistic, experiential research into dynamic processes of person-place relations (Altman, 1989; Aitken and Bjorklund, 1988). Wide ranging transactional studies often require a conceptual and methodological eclecticism and research designs must be tailored to fit the problem enabling results to converge to a homogeneous, logically consistent interpretation. Despite this, Altman (1989) encourages transactional research, even if all aspects of a transactional world view are not fully achieved. Fortunately there are some transactional studies (Wapner, 1981, 1987; Zonn, 1984; Oxley et al, 1986; Aitken, 1990) which point the way to empirical research. These studies show that a full exploration of the contexts of the person-place unity is essential if person-place relations are to be fully comprehended.

The rest of this chapter outlines the meta-theoretical framework utilising empirical work and debates ongoing in person-place research. In line with transactionalism, it contextualises the person-place unity, discusses the components of person and place and emphasises the processes on which person-place relations are founded.
3. Contextualising The Person-Place

Rosnow and Geogourdi (1986) argue for a contextual orientation in psychology. However, much person-environment research is content to explore places or environments isolated from their various contexts. Transactional and other research has pointed to a number of important contexts to the person-place unity. These include the socio-cultural context (Oxley et al., 1986; Wapner, 1987), the temporal context (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981), the organisational context (Aldwin and Stokols, 1988) and the geographical context (Aiken, 1990; Aiken and Prosser, 1990). Each of these contexts is discussed below.

i) The Socio-Cultural Context

Fuhrer (1990) makes a strong argument for the inclusion of socio-cultural contexts in his theory of ecological psychology. Although Fuhrer (1990) discusses this in terms of behaviour settings, his comments apply as much to person-place unities. He suggests that social conventions, norms and values play an important role in the general structuring of behaviour settings as they provide guidelines and expectations about the ways in which settings can be used. Canter (1988) makes much the same argument in relation to action in place. In addition, he recognises that socio-cultural contexts can influence the meaning and design of places through individual cognitive representations of place.

Both Canter and Fuhrer turn to social representations (Moscovici, 1961; Moscovici, 1988) as shared conventions, norms and values which provide a socio-cultural context for person-place unities or settings. Social representations have an existence that is essentially social in nature stretching beyond the cognitive processes of individuals yet also expressed in shared cognitive representations. They are,
"...cognitive systems with a logic and language of their own...They do not simply represent 'opinions about', 'images of' or 'attitudes towards', but 'theories' or 'branches of knowledge' in their own right, for the discovery and organisation of reality...system(s) of values, ideas and practises with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly, to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and their group history."

(Moscovici, 1973)

As repositories of socio-cultural norms etc, social representations help to bridge the gap between psychological and non-psychological phenomena. That is, they provide a way of integrating psychological concepts with social-cultural structures (Moscovici, 1988).

Social representations are generated through the two processes of anchoring and objectification. Anchoring refers to the way in which unfamiliar ideas are aligned with familiar ideas, being reduced to, "ordinary categories and images to set them in a familiar context" (Moscovici, 1984). In this way, the unfamiliar is rendered familiar. Objectification is a process in which abstract concepts are psychologically transformed into concrete ideas and experiences, so that they, "seem to be visible without being so; similar while being different; accessible yet inaccessible" (Moscovici, 1984). As Moscovici (1984) says, the materialisation of an abstraction is one of the most mysterious features of thought and speech, "...based on the art of turning a representation into the reality of a representation, the word for a thing into the thing for a word." Together anchoring and objectification help to create a familiar concrete world from an unfamiliar and abstract set of phenomena, contributing to the discovery and organisation of reality.
Moscovici suggests that social representations are created and re-created in communication between people and in this he places great importance in the role of language. However, language is not the only form of communication through which social representations may emerge. The development and negotiation of meaning between people, artifacts and places can be considered as a form of communication. As such, transactions between people, things and places may have consequences for the development of social representations.

One further form of communication to consider in the (re) creation of social representations is that of action. Action is a form of communication operating within the person-world relationship. Moscovici (1984) recognises the importance of action when he proposes social representations as prescriptors of potential action in the world. Fuhrer (1990) suggests a strong link between social representations and action claiming that social representations are,

"collective representations, or socio-culturally shared symbolic imagery of ideas and beliefs that represent action-related components of regulation on the aggregate level. As social representations, both social conventions and norms are similarly structured to a rule-guided action-structure, and are a means of social control"
(Fuhrer, 1990, p526).

Action as a dynamic process not only uses information, such as that offered within social representations, but also generates information which becomes part of the persons base of knowledge about the way in which the world is structured and how it functions. Much of this information is shared between people as they realise similar consequences of similar actions and may become social property as it enters the public domain. It is this intermingling of individual and social representations which offers scope for understanding the ways in which societal structures and processes such as social representations can influence individual action and visa versa. For
example, the person who knows, perhaps through social representations, how a celebrity acts in public, may emulate those actions as they gain in social popularity. Aligning themselves with social representations of a particular social group gives information on how to carry out individual actions. In the present context, being unemployed is not only a personal experience, but a social one in that it designates the person as part of the social group of unemployed people and can prescribe, through the medium of social representations ways in which unemployed people are expected to act. The potential then exists for each individual unemployed person to act in accordance with social representations of unemployment. This is not to imply that people follow the prescriptions of social representations in a stimulus response mode. Rather, they can use the knowledge and evaluative base of information in social representations to structure and/or achieve fulfilment of their own goals. Thus, social representations may structure appropriate individual action for the attainment of goals within the context of the social world.

The social appropriateness of individual actions is, however, dependent upon the time and place within which actions occur. Fuhrer (1990) sees social representations as a form of social control over action within particular behaviour settings. This suggests that social representations and related action structures do not operate within an environmental and temporal vacuum. Indeed, Canter (1988) proposes that social representations have a physical, environmental component containing knowledge and ideas about locations and places. In a contextual psychology, action is firmly grounded in environments (Canter, 1987; Kaminski, 1982; Fuhrer, 1986, 1988).

The socially acknowledged appropriateness of action within one time-place context may well be inappropriate in another. For instance, there is evidence of shared knowledge concerning appropriate places to achieve specific goals (Gorta, 1985). This is one basic tenet of script theory (Schank and Abelson, 1977). A script is a general event representation derived from and applied to
social contexts in which concrete, standardised events are represented with sequences of goal directed action appropriate to a particular spatial-temporal context. It may follow that socio-culturally prescribed actions are mediated in places through social representations. An exploration of the ways in which social representations integrate with place based action is a step towards understanding the complexities of bringing the wider socio-cultural context to bear on person-place relations.

An examination of social representations in person-place research may contribute by providing both a socio-cultural context and a prescription for place based activities. But which social representations in person-place research should be studied? Exploring social representations of places would be theoretically unsound as they would, of necessity, include an elaboration of place based activities. Rather, those social representations which most clearly express the socio-cultural context of peoples lives would be suitably distanced from a focus on places while at the same time allowing prescriptions for place usage to emerge. In this thesis, social representations of unemployment are examined as they are expressive of the socio-cultural context of unemployed peoples lives.

Unemployed peoples expectations of themselves derive as much from cultural norms and beliefs as from personal beliefs. Indeed, the very existence of the DSS as an institution is based on a cultural response to unemployment and poverty. By studying social representations of unemployment, it may be possible to reveal a representational structure based on a mapping of socio-cultural conventions, norms, beliefs and values about unemployment onto place based meanings and activities.

ii) The Temporal Context

In recent years the temporal dimension of person-environment relations has increasingly been addressed, although not always from the same perspective. Werner, Altman and Oxley (1985) discuss time
boundaries in relation to the home. In this, the temporal dimension influences the quality, duration, pace and rhythm of action at home. Lawrence (1987) takes a more wide ranging temporal perspective in his research on housing and home. Here, the historical context of buildings are seen as the embodiment of social ideas and cultural norms which are revealed in the symbolic meanings of places to people. A further operationalisation of the temporal perspective lies in environmental autobiographies (Lawrence, 1987; Ladd, 1976). Ladd has used personal environmental histories to integrate a person's home with socio-cultural variables relating to self-development and place identity.

Fuhrer (1990) takes up the argument for temporal boundaries to person-environment unities. He draws on Wicker's ecological (1987) work in framing research questions about the life cycle of behaviour settings: how do they start? why do people modify, leave or terminate them? Such questions are predicated on the interaction of time and action in places and call for concepts in environmental research which can cope with change. In this, the temporal dimension includes past history and present functioning of behaviour settings, but most importantly, it stresses the ongoing transformational dynamics of person-place relations through time.

Unfortunately, Fuhrer cites no empirical data to support his ideas. However, there is a whole geographical research domain which has attempted to document time-space relations, 'Time Geography'. Time geography (Hagerstrand, 1978; Carlstein 1981; Parkes and Thrift, 1980) represents a non-psychological approach that attempts to explain human activity in explicitly spatial and temporal terms. Hagerstrand (1975) claims that a person's activity is constrained by the time-space organisation of the environment. Three types of constraint are identified:

- **Capacity constraint.** The personal capacity to pursue an activity at a particular time and place.
Coupling constraint. These define where, when and how long an activity occurs in order to accomplish it, along with people and objects who need to be present.

Authority constraints. These limit access to space-time locations.

Moreover, time-geography stresses that every activity has a particular duration and that the person has a limited ability to do more than one thing at once. In addition, movement over space uses time (Carlstein, 1981). By stressing the logistical and organisational problems imposed by the temporal context, time-geography attempts to explain the 'choreography' of existence (Pred, 1977) within a constraining environment. In previous perspectives, the temporal context is one which endows meaning and structures activities. In time-geography, time is a medium of enablement and, more particularly, constraint.

So far, the temporal context has dwelt on the past (personal and socio-cultural histories) and the present (rhythm, meaning, enablement and constraint). Gjesme (1983) adds a future orientation to this. He suggests that the ability to foresee and anticipate, to make plans and organise for future possibilities enable a better adaptation between people and the world. Thus, the person is able to bring the effects of future time into the present. This has implications for person-place relations. The person's orientation towards the future can affect the types of goals or plans they make and thus the places they use in the attainment of goals.

The work outlined above shows that a study of the temporal context in person-place relations is complex. It must embrace a past, present, future orientation as well as address the rhythm and duration of activity, meaning, enablement and constraint.

iii) The Organisational Context
The organisational context can be viewed as a special form of socio-cultural context which specifies societal response to social issues such as unemployment. Organisations can be recognised as one environmental domain available for use. Organisations are socio-physical places with their own actional dynamic which structures their very existence (cf Giddons, 1982). Generally, they are organised according to both formal and informal aims and policies which structure their usage.

In unemployment, the use of various organisational places can provide for important social, familial and individual needs. Indeed, there are a diversity of organisations dealing with problems raised in unemployment from financial support (the DSS), advice (the Citizen's Advice Bureau), welfare (social services), and employment aid (the job centre, employment workshops), to leisure provision (the sports centre), political activity (Centre Against Unemployment) and educational opportunities (college, Workers Educational Institute). How these organisations act together as an environmental domain from which unemployed people gain support and advice is as yet unknown. Some studies suggest an under-utilisation of organisational resources. Ashby (1985) is critical of the organisational response to unemployment,

"What sort of special measures are provided to help long term unemployed people? Given the seriousness of their plight, it might seem reasonable to assume that most of them get some sort of help, yet this is not the case".

(p6)

Underutilization of organisational resources has been a research finding across a number of studies (Baloch et al, 1985; Ridley and McCarthy, 1986; Dhooge and Popay, 1987). Evidence from these studies suggest that welfare, finance and employment counselling are significant areas in which unemployed people want and seek help. However, there are many other needs which organisations can fulfil
in unemployment such as relief from boredom, finding a purpose in life and personal development.

To gain benefit from unemployment organisations, the person has to live within an adequate organisational context. The unemployed person needs to know about and have access to the places which house organisations. Moreover, they must conceive of the organisation as relevant and capable of helping them to fulfil personal goals and aims in life. It may also be necessary for the organisation to be socially acceptable. The organisational context surrounding each person, based as it is upon knowledge, access, and evaluation, is unique. The person's expectations of the places, experiences and evaluations of them contributes to the person's unique perspective on their own organisational context. For instance the person who knows where the job centre is located, how it works, what it offers and evaluates it as a pleasant and helpful place is much more likely to use it than the person who does not know where it is, what it is for, or evaluates it as an unpleasant and unhelpful place to be.

Thus, any study of organisational contexts needs to investigate the aims and policies of the organisation and how it operates on the one hand and how client groups conceive of it and use it on the other. An understanding of the organisational context of unemployed people, the meaning of organisations and their usage is necessary if a full account of person-place relations in unemployment is to be achieved.

iv) The Geographical Context

Much of person-place research has concentrated on one type of place such as home, hospital or neighbourhood. Studies have abstracted one place and looked at it as a self-contained phenomenon. Often sub-populations are sampled in respect to their experiences,
evaluations or use of the place eg. the elderly (Rowles, 1978), nurses (Kenny and Canter, 1981) or youths (Weinreich et al, 1988). By disengaging one place from its geographical context, environmental research has tended to emulate mainstream psychology in its penchant for exploring psychological processes as isolated phenomenon which then lack a conceptual unity (Shotter, 1975; Neisser, 1981).

A transactional approach argues for a contextualised environmental psychology and this applies as much to places as it does to psychological processes. Stokols et al (1983) argue for research into the multiple environmental domains which are part and parcel of everyday life. Home, work, leisure settings are all environmental domains implicated in daily routines and practices. Wapner (1980) adds that these domains or 'worlds' are coordinated and integrated so that a person perceives his world as a totality rather than a disparate set of places. Researching the integration, coordination and significance of multiple environmental domains for everyday life is difficult. It involves an investigation of the complexity of the geographical world of people-in-places together with an exploration of the socio-psychological processes ongoing in person-place relations.

In order to tackle this complexity, a problem area within person-place research and a linked sub-population can be identified. All the places used by the sample of participants in everyday life can then be identified and a preliminary analysis made of their usage and meaning. Then key places within this geographical lifeworld can be explored in terms of processes involved in person-place relations. In this way, significant places are investigated in the context of everyday life. This is the approach taken in this thesis. Person-place relations in unemployment forms the problem area, places used by long term unemployed participants are elicited and investigated. As a result, five places are identified as significant geographical lifeworld domains within the context of personal concerns of everyday life. Person-place processes within these
domains are explored in terms of place usage and the negotiation of meaning.

Using a geographical context approach opens up person-place research to different sorts of questions as it emphasises an interdependence between personal life circumstances, temporal and socio-spatial contexts. If a person is recognised as living within a whole context of places, then what is the relationship between the person, the context and their life circumstances? How do different places relate to each other? How do people move through the context of places that make up the physical grounding of their world? What implication does one place have for the other? Are moods, emotions and feelings affected as a person leaves one place and enters another? How do people integrate new places into their geographical context? What happens when places are lost from it?

There are some indications that moving from place to place has implications for the way people think about and experience places. Firstly, it is suggested that the way people move through their environments reflects the objectives and goals directly related to their own life circumstances. Sometimes, life circumstances may dictate radical changes in the geographical context of life. As Parkes (1971) suggests, life events may be accompanied by changes in the person's assumptive and physical world.

Changes in the physical world of place usage have as yet been under-researched. However, Wapner (1981) has shown that transitions in life circumstances impact on the environmental meaning and usage. The impending move from university to work is one example. Students who have a plan for their future after university are more disengaged from the university environment than students who have no clear plan. However, Wapner does not consider the problem of person-place transitions from a wider geographical lifeworld context, so it is not clear how people use the variety of places available to them in dealing with changes in their life circumstances.
Life changes involving the physical environment may be stressful as physical environments are normally seen as enduring, stable entities (Proshanski et al., 1979). This does not imply that environmental change is always a negative event, even when the impetus to change is negative. Aldwin and Stokols (1988) propose a pattern of positive and negative, long and short term responses to environmental change such that the whole composite pattern of effects need to be evaluated. This implies a focus on the nature of change as well as the consequences of change in personal and environmental terms.

Changes in the geographical context of life may result from lack of need or opportunity to use places, or from changes in the way places are experienced due to cognitive, emotional re-evaluations, or changes in activities in place. Some places may become supportive of the person's requirements, plans and goals while others are restorative in reducing mental fatigue (Kaplan, 1983; Hartig et al., 1991) or become locations which emphasise stress and worry. In unemployment, the workplace is lost and the DSS office is introduced into the geographical lifeworld of the unemployed. Some places, such as the home, may be used and experienced in different ways than they had been prior to the unemployment. The way people adapt to changes in the geographical context, how they use and conceptualise places and how new place meanings are negotiated are all areas for investigation.

4. The Person

In this thesis, the person is viewed as an agent who is actively engaged with and in the world rather than a mechanism reacting to phenomena. The person is,

"primarily a doer, emmersed in the world as an agent, who has the power to act on the world and to change it to accord more with his own needs and interests...relying for his existence on living in a
state of exchange with his surroundings—being able to influence them but also being influenced by them."
(Shotter, 1975, p31)

Taking an agency model of man implies a rejection of stimulus-response or information processing approaches in favour of a focus on people themselves and what they do, rather than on what their cognitive processes do for them (cf. Shotter, 1975). In much of psychology, people seem like a product of fragmented processes: remembering, perceiving, deciding and so on. Rarely are they portrayed as agents with a continual sense of their own being, engaged in their own interests and purposes, experiencing and interacting in the world from their own point of view.

As an agent, the person is actively engaged in constructing their own way of living. This takes place within the context of real world places, social settings, and temporal dimensions. As such they have to deal with their life circumstances which have a history, an everyday presence and an expected future. As people they approach their world through the medium of thoughts, feelings and emotions, beliefs, attitudes and values. They have particular self identities and specific ways of dealing with events. Moreover, they have intentions, plans and goals and structure their world accordingly.

In terms of the person-place unity, people bring to the place all that it is to be human. They bring with them their thoughts and feelings, beliefs, values and identity. They also bring with them their objectives surrounded by the circumstances of their own life. Canter (1984, 1988) stresses the purposive nature of person-place relations. He asserts that people use places with particular objectives and these objectives structure their use and evaluations of places. A person's objectives for place use mainly derive from the events and circumstances of their life.

It is in this sense that the concept of 'subjective life stage' has been applied to environmental psychology, relating to the spatially
and temporally bounded phases of a person's life associated with plans and goals (Stokols and Shumaker, 1983). Each life stage is related to specific places and activities including home and work. Changes in the subjective life stage have got the potential to affect experience and use of environmentally linked domains.

Proshansky et al (1979) began to map out the role of the physical environment in life crisis experiences. In this he suggested the life crisis (as defined by the person) can be a result of environmental change, as Fried (1963) found in his study of grieving for a lost home. Physical settings can also be an indirect cause of life crisis. Proshansky gives the example of a person who loses their mobility and then realises how difficult it can be to negotiate the physical environment. Finally he suggests that life crises occurring as a result of socio-cultural and psychological events can be exacerbated or perhaps mitigated by the physical environment, as in the case of the partner of a marriage breakdown who has to leave the family home. Marital breakdown and divorce can result in the termination of familiar patterns of activity both inside and outside the home. Epstein (1974) refers to this as a social, emotional and physical uprooting, indeed a form of social exile in which the person "passes into what is in effect another country" (p217). The interrelationship between life crisis event and experience of the socio-physical environment are hinted at in this work.

Wapner (1978, 1981, 1987) has worked on the notion of environmental transition for many years. He proposes that changes in life circumstances can bring about transitions in place experience as evident in his work on the impact of changing life circumstances such as entering college, leaving college, entering a nursing home, a nursery school and the migration of adolescents. His work has shown how future plans can change the way present environments are construed. Students with plans for their future after leaving university showed a greater propensity towards self-university distancing than those without articulated plans for their future (Wofsey, Rierdan and Wapner, 1979). Moreover, at the level of social
interaction, he has shown how the transition from home to university involves a gradual loss of people significant to home with a corresponding increase in those significant at university.

Another study focused on environmental coping with transition from work to retirement (Wapner, 1981). This study found that the organisation of multiple worlds or environmental domains can be characterised in three ways: fused (complete interpenetration); isolated; and integrated (worlds are distinguishable yet interrelated). Different saliences, experiential relevances and meanings occurred in the transactional relationship between person and place. Despite a theoretical interest in multiple world domains, most of Wapner's work concentrates on transition from an old to a new environment. The wider geographical context of environmental domains is not considered, so important transitions occurring throughout the person's world may be missed. Moreover his work rarely explicates the person's view of the transition as a personally critical life event or set of circumstances.

Wapner and other environmental researchers (Stokols, 1987; Canter, 1988; Altman, 1988) have all stressed person centred research in environmental psychology, yet few empirical studies have taken this conviction to their conclusion i.e. that the person, their feelings and thoughts, attitudes and values, life events and life circumstances must all form part of the transactional research process. A more holistic view of the person needs research attention, otherwise the 'person' in person-place research is reduced to little more than a highly tuned 'environmental experiencer'. Thus it is important to understand what is happening in the person's life and how they are dealing with it, in conjunction with their experience, use and evaluation of places and environmental domains.

5. Place: The Meaningful Environment
Having discussed the issues surrounding a contextual and person-centred transactional study of person-place relations, the various components of place need to be considered within the meaningful texture of everyday life.

The idea that environments, or places, are meaningful comprises much theoretical and empirical work in geography and environmental psychology. The manifestation of space in meaningful psychological, social and cultural units is generally called 'place' (Canter, 1977, 1988; Relph, 1976; Stokols, 1981) whereby places are physically, socially, psychologically and instrumentally meaningful to people.

Wherever a person goes, they are encapsulated by the meaningful texture of their world, they are always in places. Paolo-Portogese (1975), cited in Norberg-Schulz (1980), defines space as a system of places and Relph (1976) writes that, at a primitive level, space is a series of egocentric places. But Donat (1967) warns that places never conform to tidy hierarchies of classification. They tend to intermingle, one with the other such that a chair in a room is just as valid a place (Hoggart, 1959) as a hospital (Kenny and Canter, 1981) a town (Soczka et al, 1988) or a city (Bonnes et al, 1990).

Whatever their physical/spatial configuration, places are psychologically meaningful phenomena. Meaning in the built environment has been a theme for a number of books and papers (eg Rapoport, 1982). Meaning is codified in the style of architecture (Groat, 1982; Naser, 1989). However, the study of meaning in environmental psychology has not been confined to architectural aspects of the built environment. A number of studies have researched meaning from the more holistic perspective of place.

Phenomenological researchers such as Tuan (1977), Relph (1976), Buttimer (1980), Seamon (1979, 1982) and psychologist such as Canter (1977, 1988), Proshansky et al (1983), Altman and Rogoff (1987), Wapner (1987) and Stokols and Schumaker (1981) have all contributed conceptually and methodologically towards establishing
The study of meaning and use of places or person-in-environments high on the research agenda. Consequently, a large variety of places have provided the focus of (often experientially oriented) research such as football grounds (Canter et al, 1989), streets (Oxley et al, 1986), parks (Joardar, 1989), residential homes for the elderly (Wilcocks et al, 1987), and neighbourhoods (Aitken, 1990). All these studies emphasise that places have a multiplicity of interrelated meanings and a range of significances in human terms.

The richness of data on place meaning is quite substantial, as the mounting evidence of the meaning and use of home suggests. Empirical research into the meaning of home for young people (Sixsmith, 1986), the elderly (Rowles, 1978, 1984; Sixsmith, 1988) and middle classes (Hayward, 1977) has pointed to commonalities of experience and meaning across diverse sections of society as well as idiographic, personally relevant meanings. For example the home is commonly conceived of as a place of deep emotional and psychological significance, a place of belonging, happiness, privacy, security and identity. It is strongly associated with family and family life, with social interaction and community. Finally, it is often viewed as a physical dwelling place with spatial proportions which impact on activities and usage of the home environment. The home as a spiritual haven is an example of more idiosyncratic meanings which are nevertheless personally important within the individual frame of reference (Shepard and Watson, 1982).

These sorts of shared and individualistic meanings of home cohere around three experiential domains of personal activities, thoughts and feelings, social life and physical/spatial characteristics (cf. Sixsmith, 1986). The personal, social and physical meanings of home indicate the deep psychological significance of home in everyday life.

Understanding the meaning of home brings environmental research closer to the concerns of real people as they live their lives. Their experiences and phenomenological concerns about their homes are translated into a texture of meaning which can then provide the
background to their encounters with the world (cf. Buttmer, 1987). By revealing meaning in person-place relations (based as much in physical as in psychological and social domains) our concerns in the world as we experience it are revealed. Thus, the meaning of places constitute an important part of our psychological and social life grounded in a physical reality. The next section investigates the ways in which places are meaningful. The place literature suggests five different components: the physical; social; personal; instrumental; and ambient place.

i) Physical Components

All places have a physical form (Canter, 1977; 1988) which has particular characteristics. Gibson (1979) defines these in terms of the medium (solid, liquid or gas) and substances (soil, rock, sand, oil, wood etc.) out of which places and objects are constructed. Different mediums and substances have different characteristics, different visual appearances and so on. The characteristics of substances are many: viscosity; density; elasticity; hardness; plasticity; and cohesiveness. Gibson also stresses the surface of objects (ie the interface between different substances and medium) and the layout, or arrangement, of the physical world. This means that physical phenomena have shape, texture, colour and so on.

Together, characteristics of the medium, substance, surface and layout contain information for people and animals such that they permit locomotion, vision, sound, smell and a whole range of behaviours. Thus the physical environment is meaningful in that it has an ecological reality in relation to animals and people. This is the basis of Gibson's theory of affordances discussed in section 7.1 of this chapter. Gibson says,

"The perceiving of an affordance is not a perceiving of a value-free physical object to which meaning is somehow added in
a way that no-one has been able to agree upon; it is a process of perceiving a value-rich ecological object. Any substance, any surface, any layout has some affordance for benefit or injury to someone."

(Gibson, 1986, p140)

Affordances can constrain the use of objects or environments in certain ways or suggest possibilities for use. Gibson insists that 'meaning' is a consequence of the complementarity between person and the physical environment. Fuhrer (1990) argues in a similar way when he elaborates the close tie between meaning and the topographical environment. The meaning of behaviour settings and actions derive, he suggests, from the denotative and connotative meanings of non-psychological objects within them and the topography of the milieu. The topography includes both fixed feature elements and semi-fixed feature elements along with their arrangement. These set the opportunities and constraints for action which people interpret from the setting.

Interestingly, Fuhrer includes a role for 'things' or objects in his work, an area which is often neglected (Graumann, 1974). Nevertheless, the socio-psychological significance of things has been empirically researched by Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) indicating the great significance of objects in everyday life.

The physical/spatial environment has been the focus of numerous studies of environmental meaning, although in most cases, this is conceptualised as an objective environment separate from the person, quite different to the complementarity which Gibson and Fuhrer espouse. Hillier et al (1984) suggests that different spatial systems provide different possibilities for people to act and come into contact with each other. Although his work is overtly deterministic, it does represent one way in which the spatial environment is quantitatively measured in its own physical/spatial terms and from which meaning is extracted.
Canter (1983), from an experiential perspective, also stresses the role of physical/spatial contexts in providing for and encouraging activities and interpersonal communication. For him, the functions of place are a consequence of the way spaces are interconnected (Canter, 1983). For example, communication between staff at work can be facilitated or constrained by the physical/spatial work environment (Canter, 1983). Moreover, the physical design of the office must be able to accommodate new equipment. Canter and Davies (1982) showed that when spatial provision for word processors was inadequate, functional capacities between person and place are affected.

Canter (1983) also considers the symbolic meaning of places. He claims that physical form and spatial layout help people to understand the place and its function. For instance, in the DSS the counter signifies a barrier between staff and claimants and shows the claimant where they must queue and the social relations expected. The physical layout and spatial dimensions play an important symbolic role here, but only when people understand their own roles in the place and the activities which are required.

ii) Social Components

Throughout much of the earlier work in environmental psychology the study of individual perception and cognition lay at the centre of environmental experience (cf. Holahan, 1982). More recently, the social nature of environmental experience has come to the fore. Canter (1986) notes the origins of an environmental social psychology in which the mutual influences of social and individual processes are stressed. Given that people are social beings (Mead, 1934) enmeshed in a social life (Harre, 1979). It is not surprising then, that the social component is an frequent and important component of place experience. This is evident for different levels of environmental scale from work places (Sundstrom, 1986), to hostels, (Tyerman and
Canter, 1986), hospitals (Kenny and Canter, 1981), neighbourhoods (Lee, 1978, Aitken, 1990), the city (Bonnes et al, 1990) and the home (Sixsmith, 1986). Even when people are alone in a place, such as the elderly living alone, memories of husband and family give the place a social dimension (Sixsmith, 1988).

Whether the study is focused on the meaning of place (Sixsmith, 1986), environmental change (Aitken, 1990) or place usage (Bonnes et al, 1990) research often shows that it is the other people in the place that affect the way it is experienced. As social beings an important aspect of any place is the way it facilitates or hinders contact with others. The symbolic and functional orientation of a place are critical in designating its social nature. For example some places may be private, individually oriented places, or more socially inclined to interpersonal relations for couples, groups or crowds (cf. Stokols, 1981).

But more important than how many people are in a place, is the type of people and their relations to one another. Social contact between the family at home is very different to that of the working group in the office. This may be due as much to the organisation of the physical environment (Canter, 1983) as to values, norms and habitual practises governing different environmental situations (Altman and Chemers, 1980). For example, communication between designers and clients has been stultified by the norms and practises of their relationship, encapsulated within their language (Hodges, 1991) and design presentation (Lawrence, 1987).

As indicated by Hodges and Lawrence, contact and communication within places can be formalised within the physical environment by the roles relationships people adopt. Canter (1986) calls these environmental roles to emphasise the point that social roles are always contextualised within places. Some role-place associations are strongly fixed in our social order, ensuring that people gain information about the social and functional life of places. This is certainly the case with hospital staff and patients, where expectations about behaviour within the hospital is strongly linked to
environmental roles. Even in critical situations such as hospital fires, role relationships and linked behaviour are maintained with hospital staff continuing in their caring role of investigating alarms and assisting patients (Canter, Breaux and Sime, 1980).

Furthermore, places are replete with underlying rules which govern both individual and social activity appropriate to the place (Canter 1986, Fuhrer, 1990). These rules, often linked to actions, exist in the minds of people in the shared belief that other people value them (Collett, 1977). For example, households are run smoothly drawing on negotiated rules accepted by all the people living there concerning things like cleaning and tidying, cooking, repairs and childcare (cf. Allen, 1989).

Place based rules are often associated with environmental roles indicating not only appropriate behaviour but who the appropriate behaviour refers to (Canter, 1986). Through the medium of environmental-roles and rules, social contact and activity is contextualised within places. A place is not simply a container of social relationships but a dynamic individual, social, physical and spatial phenomena.

iii) Personal Components

Craik (1981) characterised person-environment interaction in terms of variables constituting three systems: the personal; societal; and environmental or physical. Despite much work on the social and physical/spatial components of place, few studies have come to grips with the personal place. The personal place has received some attention in the literature on meaning and use of home. Sixsmith (1986) studied the meaning of home using a multiple sorting task technique. The various different meanings of home were subjected to multi-dimensional scaling. A tri-partite structure of home experience emerged in which the personal, social and physical home were
identified. The personal home was represented by personally significant meanings such as happiness, belonging, self expression and personal responsibility.

The experience of places in highly significant terms may not be restricted to home. The personal significance of the workplace has been documented numerous times (cf. Sundstrum, 1986). Coffee houses, the pub and the general store (Oldenburg and Bissett, 1980) have all been described as 'home away from home' (p268) where people can find relaxation, enjoyment and are appropriated by people as their own personal place.

The appropriation of place (Korosec-Serfaty, 1985) implies, indeed requires, the notion of the personal place in referring to intense psychological investment and bodily involvement in a place through usage and cultivation. Place cultivation (cf. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981) describes the essence of person-place transaction as the tending to, care and concern for a place which binds person and place closely together as a personally relevant unity.

iv) Instrumental Components

One of the important starting points of this thesis was the model of man as intentional, purposive agent within their own life circumstances. As such, experiences of place are mediated by the person's own cognitive, emotional and goal oriented nature. Places are used and experienced purposively by people in accordance with their plans and objectives. Places are experienced and consequently evaluated as instrumental when people use them as tools or instruments with which to achieve their goals (Wapner et al, 1981). When Kenny and Canter (1981) looked at nurses evaluations of the hospital ward, they were researching the instrumental environment of the ward.
The degree to which a place operates as an instrumental environment can vary. The instrumental environment of some places such as the bank or the DSS are highly developed whereas the instrumental environment of the home is more diffuse. The position of the place within an organisational context is an important factor here. The DSS is part of a social-cultural organisation whose aim is to provide for social welfare and as such it has specific rules, directives, guidelines etc. which help it to operate. Home, on the other hand, is not part of a formal organisation and so has few set rules and regulations concerning its instrumental functions. Nevertheless, social, cultural and familial values, expectations and beliefs provide an informal instrumental environment within the home setting. This is evident, although not fully developed, in research on the meaning of home in which the instrumental environment of home might be characterised in terms of privacy, comfort or relaxation (cf. Sixsmith, 1986).

The key to understanding instrumental qualities of place lies in analysing both the person's goals and the instrumental environment of the place together. This is not an easy task given that people may have multiple objectives for being in places (Canter, 1988) and some places can offer a range of complex, interrelated functions such as the home. However, it is possible to gain insight into instrumental aspects of the environment through an understanding of meanings and activities associated with the place together with an evaluation of the socio-cultural and organisational context of the place.

v) The 'Ambience'

If a place is to function adequately in terms of social communication and activity, then it must be appropriately serviced. Canter (1983) refers to the thermal, luminous and acoustic aspects of the place as necessary 'services'. Sixsmith (1986), in an experiential study of the
meaning of home, revealed other important services and facilities such as telecommunications and television. The integration of services and the way they are experienced may be termed the 'ambient environment'. The integrated role of services in a place has consequences for the way the place is experienced and evaluated. The social consequences of a noisy workplace can be lack of communication and feelings of isolation (Jones et al, 1981). The consequences of a noisy, cold and dark workplace can only be imagined as environmental research has largely been restricted to discrete aspects of the ambient environment.

There have been many studies of the acoustic, (Jones et al, 1981; Weinstein, 1982), luminous (Veitch and Kaye, 1988) and thermal environment (Sherman, 1985). Traditionally, research in these areas have not generally evaluated the environment as a multi-variate phenomenon (Ittelson, 1973) and have tended to look simply at 'comfort' or 'satisfaction'. More recently, studies have adopted a more complex, multi-variate approach using both experimental, interview and field study techniques (cf. Heijs and Stringer, 1988; Gifford, 1988). Some studies have taken a phenomenological perspective, such as Schafer's (1977) work on soundscapes. In these, the bodily experiences of place are considered as important dimensions of intentionality (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Seamon, 1982). Despite this, the ambiance of place in terms of texture or smell has not been researched. Indeed, the holistic ambiance of place in terms of sound, thermal comfort, light, texture, smell and other facilities is rarely evoked.

A wider perspective has been taken to the ambient environment with respect to services and facilities eg. office equipment such as word processors (Canter and Davies, 1982) and new technology within the home environment for home workers (Ahrentzen et al, 1989; Bulos, 1990). These studies have shown the difficulties involved in creating an environment in which services and facilities are optimal. For example, Allen, (1986) and Hakim (1988) found that women home workers usually have to combine domestic and work space. This
caused storage difficulties especially when pressure for family use of home facilities clashed with pressure to set up workstations in the home. Accordingly, Bulos (1990) found that some home based workers had improved the services and facilities of their home to accommodate working practises eg extra phone lines, electric plugs etc. Clearly, the home has to contain adequate services and facilities to cope with its multi-usage in domestic and work spheres.

It is the combination of these environments of light and sound, warmth and smell, services and facilities in association with people that gives the place its ambiance, its possibilities for action and its matrix of meaning. Place research needs to identify salient aspects of the ambient environment in its totality and reveal their role in person-place relations.

So far, the theoretical analysis of place has articulated the qualities of the socio-cultural, temporal, organisational and geographical contexts of person-place relations. The person was examined as a social being and a powerful agency with plans, objectives, thoughts and feelings operating within particular life circumstances.

The meaningful components of place have been explicated, including the physical/spatial, social, personal, instrumental and ambient environments. But, how does place meaning come about? Many studies simply describe the universe of meanings associated with places. Some do attempt to investigate the ways in which place meanings arise. However, most present a 'snap-shot' view at a single point in time (cf Cullen, 1978). It is rare to find research which traces the dynamics of meanings in terms of how they change in the context of life circumstances and person-place relations. The negotiation of meaning in person-place relations presents a fascinating area of environmental research which has yet to be fully developed.
Four processes involved in the negotiation of place meaning and use are discussed below: affordances of place; place appropriation and place-identity; action in place; and place based role-rule relationships. All four have been implicated in the discussion of place above. These are not independent conceptual areas, rather each has a necessary relationship to the others in the negotiation of place meaning and usage in person-place relations.

6. Processes

i) The Concept of Affordances

The theory of affordances offers one way in which to understand meaning in person-place transactions. Affordances can be defined in terms of the patterns of opportunities and constraints existing between the physical/spatial environment and the person. Gibson's theory emphasises the ecological link between people and the natural world, where the environment is composed of, and directly perceived in terms of, units of meaning.

The theory of affordances (situated within an ecological approach to perception) asserts the intentionality of perception at the same time as denying the existence of mediating objects or structures between person and environment (cf. Turvey et al, 1981). Thus it recognises phenomenological intentionality while demanding a systematic description and analysis of the physical/spatial environment. For Gibson, perceiving is 'perceiving of', 'awareness of' someTHING. Perception is an intentional act based on direct perception of the environment rather than a psychological re-construction of environmental stimuli. People directly perceive invariants or structures in the sensory array that specify the properties of the environment. It is these 'invariants' that convey meaning. Perceiving
of affordances is the perception of value-rich, meaningful ecological objects.

At a basic level, Gibson suggests that paths afford movement, objects can afford barriers to movement, surfaces can afford support, equilibrium, posture. Thus, affordances imply behaviour. At a more complex level, Gibson talks of the ecological niche, that totality of affordances referring to how and where an animal lives and uses the environment. Gibson also discusses the world in terms of places, that is meaningful spaces having different affordance structures. For instance, the physical and spatial constitution of the place, together with objects in it, may afford danger or refuge for those inhabiting it.

In this, Gibson contradicts the mainstream constructivist viewpoint (cf. Neisser, 1976; Fodor and Pylyshyn, 1981; Schmitt, 1987) which states that perception is a process of constructing information from primary stimuli through cognitive representations of the environment. However, Gibson himself implies some form of constructivism in some of his examples of affordances. For example, a post box affords posting letters only within a cultural context that includes letter writing and a postal system which is understood by the individual. Schmitt (1987) argues that such an affordance cannot be perceived without prior knowledge and understanding of the implicit function of an object. Thus, some affordances may rely on cognitive processing and representations, especially if these involve complex person-environment relationships situated within cultural contexts.

Kaminski (1983) and Fuhrer (1983) have applied the theoretical principles of the theory to complex phenomena in their exposition of 'ecopsychology'. Ecopsychology brings action and environment together using the theory of affordances to link the two. In this, affordances are described as the 'objective givens' of the environment which allow, challenge or constrain action. Action and environment are linked when the person is aware of the affordance structure of the environment and is able to deal with it. When
changes occur within the environment (eg. climatic) or through human intervention, the person must match their actions to the environmental requirements if they are to function adequately. Thus, a mutual relationship between person and place is mediated by the dynamic affordance structure.

Kaminiski adds to the theory of affordances the notion of the person as a functioning, active agency directly involved in coping with their environment and of pursuing goals in relation to the structure of affordances in places. This implies both cognitive and operational components of action linked to affordances.

ii) Place Appropriation

The theory of affordances specifies a meaningful tie between person and environment. This may operate directly at the basic level of support and movement, but a phenomenological interpretation is required when more complex relationships are involved. The concept of 'appropriation' (Korosec-Serfaty, 1975, 1985; Graumann, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Werner et al, 1985) is useful here as it operates through the transactions of person and place. Appropriation means the act or process of taking something as one's own and through this act, a self-realisation and development (Graumann, 1976). Whether meanings are initially directly perceived or subject to a process of construction, they can become deeply personal and significant. The appropriation of place involves a process through which physically or spatially located meanings become personally significant. 'A place' becomes 'my place' in the psychological investment of self identity.

However, the concept of appropriation does not reside solely with the individual, since a dialectic is implied. Meanings are not simply 'investments' from people in a one sided process of 'personalisation' in which place reflects self identity. Rather, places are as much
appropriated as they are appropriating (Petit, 1976) within the web of reciprocal meanings of person and place. The process of appropriation between person and place involves the development of reciprocal meanings through person-place transactions. Meanings are created as people act within and come to understand the qualities and characteristics (and affordances) of place. These meanings become personally relevant as the process of appropriation occurs. For example, the home becomes a highly significant personal and family place for many people (Sixsmith, 1986; Sixsmith, 1988). But how might place appropriation occur? A number of ways in which place appropriation takes place can be suggested:

Appropriation Through Usage: A place affords various uses. Use of a place usually results in knowledge about the physical properties, spatial dimension and social and cultural contexts of the place such as rules, conventions and interactions between people. Factual knowledge about the place is supplemented by tacit knowing of the experience of the place: what it feels like, what activity is appropriate to it and how it functions. A thorough knowledge of the place is a sound base from which places can be used in the attainment of goals. Place use predicates familiarity, an intimate and unreflective transaction with the place (Sixsmith, 1988). Being in the place and using it, can have the consequence (intended or more usually unintended) of an investment of self in place. The place becomes part of the physical grounding of identity or as James (1910) says 'the material self'. The significance of this mode of appropriation is evident in Korosec-Serfaty and Bolitt's work (1985). They found that being 'burglarized' left residents feeling that their home was no longer their own.

Appropriation Through Organisation and Marking: Spatial demarcation and organisation are cornerstones of place appropriation. Whenever people create a home they organise their space in order to make it significant and meaningful for themselves and others. They bring in furniture and personal objects which are organised in relation to the rooms of the house and to practises within those rooms. Cleaning
and maintenance of the home may also be considered as a form of marking the home with signs of cleanliness. Marking and organisation are bound by two factors: the physical limitations of the place; and social-cultural models of what a place should be (Haumont, 1976). Space can be organised in terms of cultural models such as the public/private domain or the allocation of environmental roles (Madigan and Munro, 1990). For example, at home the privacy of the bedroom contrasts with the public sitting room, and the wife's role in the kitchen with the husband's den.

Appropriation Through Cultivation: Appropriation through cultivation signifies an intentional transaction between person and place or object (Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981). Cultivation sees the value of objects and places in terms of their capacity to facilitate the achievement of goals. Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton identify the "cultivation of objects as the essential means for discovering and furthering goals" (p231). The intentionality of the person is expressed through cultivation of places or objects in the light of an end goal. Another aspect of cultivation which is not overtly intentional and goal oriented concerns the caring, concernful relationship between person and place. The person 'tends to' the place, maintaining, shaping, modifying or altering it without ulterior motive other than that they care for it. Cultivation in this sense may mean improvement, development or self expression for the person and the object or place. When a person cultivates a habit of tending plants, both the nature of the plants and the nature of the person can be enhanced by the transaction. The meaning of the object or place becomes realised in the activity of cultivation.

The concept of place appropriation lies in organising and marking a space as a personal place, by using it unreflectively or for goal achievement and by tending to it. By doing so, the place may be incorporated as part of self and self identity. Proshansky et al (1983) have developed the notion of place identity as a more psychologically oriented theory pertaining to appropriation. Place identity is proposed as a sub-structure of self identity which is
dependent on certain aspects of place such as cognitions about the physical world, memories, feelings, attitudes, values, meanings and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to physical settings. Proshansky et al suggests that place identity develops through people thinking and talking about places they have experienced. This implies that the development of place identity is an overtly cognitive process. Place appropriation however, embraces cognitive processes as well as processes of action and user experience. Thus far, place meaning and use has been discussed as a function of affordance structures and place appropriation. Neither of these process contain a specific role for the influence of social structures and contexts in the transactional development of place meaning and use. In the next section, the social milieu is brought to bear on the negotiation of place use and meaning.

iii) Place Based Role-Rule Relations

It has already been argued that the role of the socio-cultural context needs to be considered in the analysis of person-place transactions. It has been suggested that conventions, norms and values, formalised into the lay theories of social representations provide expectations and guidelines about ways in which places are used (cf. Canter, 1988; Fuhrer, 1990). As such social representations provided for a social structuring of person-place relationships which can be realised through individual action in place. Behaviour in places is not random, indeed, Barker (1960) has said that the best predictor of a person's behaviour is knowledge of their environmental setting.

The influence of social processes in structuring activity has received theoretical and empirical attention. Canter has formalised the role of the social milieu in place research by developing the notion of environmental role-rule relationships. Environmental roles describe the contextualisation of social roles within particular places. People take on roles in order to facilitate the achievement of their goals.
When people assume a particular role, the role generally pertains to specific environments and situations. In this context, the environmental role might be seen as the major indication of the person's reason for being in a place (Canter, 1984). Moreover, roles are linked to appropriate actions carried out within places. For example, gender roles linked to home specify activities expected of wife and husband in respect to domestic organisation (Pahl, 1984; James, 1989). Canter argues that many individual actions are structured by the possibilities (and one could add, the constraints) of the role within given social, spatial and organisational contexts. In order to function adequately, the person taking an environmental role must be aware of the social acknowledged and shared expectations about the performance of the role and its realisation through action. That is, they must share in social representations concerning the context of their role based action. For example, the role of lecturer at university and actions carried out in pursuance of that role are structured by norms and values associated with lecturership, the physical setting of the university, contract regulations and role partners such as students.

It is the environmental role linked to action in place that brings together personal goals and social-psychological structures which help to guide the experience and conceptualisation of places. Thus the meaning of a place differs according to the role a person assumes in the place. Gerngross-Haas (1982) showed in a study of a school that different environmental roles can lead to different conceptualisations, evaluations and usages of places. Accordingly, it is important to understand the roles people assume and the personal meanings surrounding those roles to gain an understanding of the meaning and experience of place. Indeed, Canter (1984) sees the environmental role as a key aspect of individual variation in person-place research.

The notion of environmental roles is not independent of another important element in the social structuring of person-place relations: place based rules. Place based rules refer to norms, conventions or
maxims which, through socially shared understanding, regulate activity in a place (Linneweber, 1988) and govern the kinds of social contact and activity permissible. The close linkage between rules and actions are integrated in Fuhrer's (1990) notion of rule guided action structures operating within behaviour settings and oriented towards the satisfaction of goals.

Place based rules are often associated with environmental roles indicating not only appropriate behaviour but who the appropriate behaviour refers to (Canter, 1988). Behaving in association with place based role-rule relations ensures that the people achieve their objectives for being in the place and that the socially designated functions of the place are carried out. It is through the notion of place based role-rule relations that social influences on action and place meaning are recognised. This ensures that the structuring of action is not determined entirely by personal goals but critically involves social-environmental factors within the socio-cultural context of everyday life.

Often it is only when circumstances disrupt the everyday running of a place that the underlying role-rule relationships come into focus as processes which underpin action in place and the negotiation of place meaning. When unemployment strikes, existing role-rule relationships within the household between husband and wife can become transformed. The employed 'breadwinner' who often conceives of and uses the home for relaxation and leisure activities, may become someone responsible (at least in part) for cleaning and tidying (Wheelock, 1990).

The three processes outlined so far have indicated ways in which place use and meaning are negotiated. The have involved notions of individual self determination as well as environmental and socio-cultural factors. One key factor in common with all three has been the critical role of action as an ongoing process at the intersection of personal goals, social structures and mechanisms and environmental contexts. In the next section, goal directed action is
presented as a key process linking the person-place relationship together.

iv) Action and Place

The significance of action in person-place relations has already appeared in the concept of affordances, processes of place appropriation and place-based role-rule relations. The important role of action has also appeared in the discussion of the five components of place: physical; social; instrumental; personal and place ambiance. Consequently, an understanding of action in place is necessary in any transactional study of person-place relations.

The concept of action is distinguished from that of behaviour in theories of goal directed action (cf. von Cranach, 1982). Behaviour (or activity) is considered only as the observable component of action. A number of other components are as important as behaviour when attempting to investigate everyday action. These include the goals which motivate behaviour (von Cranach, 1982), action plans which sequence and structure behaviour (Miller, Galanter and Pribram, 1960), intentions to act (Kuhl, 1985) and the meanings, attitudes and values which surround action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) and fit it within its socio-cultural, temporal and environmental contexts (cf. Canter, 1988).

The motivation for many actions can often be found within its goal directed nature. Goals are the imagined consequences of the end of a course of action, they are what the person hopes to achieve by carrying out action. Goals may refer to long term personal changes, for instance self defining goals (Gollwitzer and Wicklund, 1985) refer to directions in which the person wishes to change (eg. to become a musician, a mother, a conscientious person). Other goals are more focused, perhaps on the everyday management of life (eg. to satisfy hunger or thirst, to relax). Of course the person must also have an
intention to act and may form a cognitive plan of action. The plan sequences each step of the action until the end goal has been achieved. Goals, intentions and plans are predicated upon attitudes towards and beliefs about the action and how it fits within its social, cultural and environmental contexts. Goals, action plans and activities must be responsive to the dynamic qualities of these contexts. Von Cranach (1982) posits the existence of cognitive monitors which evaluate the effects of action within its contexts and feeds forward into the direction of future action. Thus, while the person is in a large part responsible for their action, action is only understandable within its contexts. Despite much interest in the nature of action, relatively little is understood about the way in which socio-cultural and environmental contexts play a role in initiating and sustaining action.

The socio-cultural context has been considered by Harre (1980, 1982) and Von Cranach et al (1982). They point out that socio-cultural conventions, rules and norms both inhibit and encourage action. These sanction certain forms of action while disapproving of others. If any course of action is to succeed (ie. reach its goal) within its socio-cultural context it must take into consideration these conventions, rules and norms. Social representations, as repositories of conventions, rules and norms structured into lay theories concerning social events, situations or phenomena, may well provide the sort of socio-cultural information which people understand and bring to bear on the inception and formation of their own actions. As Harre (1980, 1982) stresses, action is rarely an isolated individual event, rather it is social action as it draws in its creation form its socio-cultural context.

Furthermore, a person's actions are frequently conducted in association with other people. People co-ordinate their goals, plans and activity with those of other people in highly structured ways (Graham et al, 1980) so that interpersonal contact is both regulated and productive. Shatter (1982) sees this as 'joint action', a dynamic process of creativity in which people initiate and co-ordinate their
activity by mutually following and creating the rules for its development. He says that action is, "a continuous sequence of transformation rather than a sequence of discrete events" (p31) where people share meanings and influence each other as they interpret the actional process in which they are engaged.

Social, joint action is located within particular situations. Nowakowska (1981), Ginsburg (1980) and Argyle et al (1981) have all developed the notion of situated action. Understanding action requires an understanding of the possibilities and constraints offered within the particular situation. Moreover, situations are open to individual interpretation in connection with the goals a person wishes to pursue (Gorta, 1985).

Both actions and their situations are grounded within the physical environment of places (Canter, 1988). Generally, action theories have paid little attention to the contribution of the physical environment. Yet some studies indicate a relationship between the two. Baird et al (1976) and Bonnes et al (1990) have documented an association between behaviour and place. People associate particular activities with particular places. The physical component of place is important here in allowing, constraining and symbolising modes of place usage. Weinstein and Pinciotti (1988) have demonstrated the strength of this relationship in showing how the re-design and re-building of a former schoolyard influenced types of children's play activities.

Going beyond the behaviour component of action, Genereux et al (1983) conclude that people distinguish places on the basis of related behaviour and that behavioural representations of place are substantially related to the meaning of place. Actional possibilities and constraints of places are important in determining which aspects of place are cognitively represented (Axia et al, 1988). Moreover, Canter (1988) claims that the meaning and goals of action can be understood to derive in part from the physical properties of situations. He suggest that places are fundamentally related to action
through the assignment of meaning. For example, formulating a goal to gain a degree qualification is founded upon beliefs about, attitudes towards and affordances of educational establishments eg universities. Achieving goals through action requires a negotiation of the socio-physical environments such as attending lectures etc. Canter (1984) calls the correspondence between action related cognitions and place meanings a 'cognitive ecology'. Through the medium of cognitive ecologies, place meanings can contribute to, or detract from, make possible, or constrain human, social action.

Links between action goals, plans and places have been established. Gorta (1985) found evidence of shared knowledge concerning appropriate places to achieve specific goals (Gorta, 1985). In this study, people showed consensus in choosing settings for different goals. Moreover, having a particular goal to achieve affects the way in which a place is experienced. People remember more about a place after intentional rather than incidental interaction with it (Mainardi Peron et al, 1985). Plans also influence the way in which a place is experienced (Leff and Gorden, 1979). Ward et al (1988) showed that affective appraisal and memory of a place depended on the particular plan formulated and aspects of the place relevant to the plan were more salient and memorable.

While these and other studies point to important relationships between goals, plans, activity and place, few studies have probed the relationship between holistic action and place meaning. Kaminski (1982, 1985) has begun to address this complex issue by looking at the interlacing of action and place in his study of beginner skiers. In this, he brings in the notion of environmental affordances in a theory of ecological action. This work is all the more interesting as it deals with the ways in which people acquire new skills (skiing) within the affordances of a newly encountered environment (the slope).

Despite this work, there is surprisingly little evidence on which to base an understanding of the role of place (including its physical,
social, personal, ambiance and instrumental components) in influencing the initiation and development of action (including goals, plans, intentions and activity). In everyday life, complex multiple actions are meaningful evolving events carried out in accordance with meaningful places. Kaminski (1985) stresses that research must maintain the integrity of the action within its natural setting, striving to keep in touch with the happenings of everyday life. A holistic and qualitative approach would usefully elaborate complex relationships between the components of place and the components of action in context. Linking together place use and meaning within the texture of everyday life ensures that the meaning of action and the meaning of place is understood as naturalistic enquiry (Kaminski, 1983).

Overview and conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to construct a meta-theoretical framework which can be used in a transactional study of person-place relations. The framework will be used in an examination of the meaning and use of place in unemployment. A number of issues are emphasised in this research which are important in any holistic approach:

- the role of a contextual analysis;
- the impact of life circumstances in person-place relations;
- identification of themes structuring person-place relations;
- examination of components of place and their relationships;
- exploration of processes involved in person-place relations.

The meta-theoretical framework guides topics of analysis and the interpretation of results. It does not structure data collection or analysis in a formal way. This is organised under an experiential approach.
The framework is based on the principle of person-place unity and a transaction perspective which emphasises holistic, contextual and person-centred research. Four main domains of the theoretical framework are described. The first section considers the role of wider contexts in the formulation of person-place relations. The socio-cultural context is revealed through social representations of unemployment. The geographical, organisational and temporal contexts surrounding everyday life in unemployment are also explored and the ways in which they influence person-place relations are investigated.

The second section stresses the agency of the person as well as considering their life circumstances. This sees the person as active in dealing with everyday life events, construing their own situation as well as experiencing a range of problems, opportunities and changes brought about in unemployment which all have the potential to influence the experience and evaluation of places. In this, it is important to maintain the person as an expert on their own experiences and to understand their own interpretations of their situation.

The third section exposes five different, but not mutually exclusive, components of place. These are:

i) physical form and spatiality;
ii) environmental ambience;
iii) social components;
iv) instrumental components;
v) the personal place.

How these components are influenced by everyday life circumstances of unemployment and how they are contribute to the negotiation of meaning and place use is a matter for empirical investigation. This is especially critical when important places are lost (such as the workplace) and new places (such as the DSS) are integrated into daily life.
The final section considers the processes involved in meaningful person-place relations. Four processes are described which contribute to the establishment and negotiation of place meaning and use within the holistic person-place relationship. These are:

i) The concept of affordances which specifically focuses on qualities of the physical environment together with requirements of the person.

ii) Place appropriation which emphasises place identity and belongingness through usage, cultivation and organisation.

iii) Place based role-rule relations which documents the social structuring of person-place relations.

iv) Action and place which finds ways in which the theory of action and the theory of place are integrated in everyday life.

Focusing on the experiences of unemployment enables a mapping of the ways in which these processes operate. Just as unemployment brings changes to everyday life, it also has the possibility of instigating changes within the person-place relationship. The ways in which people experience these changes may be structured within person-place transactions and in processes through which place meaning and use are negotiated.

This meta-theoretical framework has guided the conceptualisation of the empirical study enabling an evaluation of ways in which socio-cultural, geographical contexts and everyday life experiences of unemployment affect person-place relations.
Chapter 3

Study Design and Methodology

1. Introduction

2. The Research Design

3. Location of the Fieldwork

4. The Sample
   i) The Social Representations Sample
   ii) The Organisational Sample
   iii) The Unemployed Sample
   iv) Sampling Procedure and Characteristics

5. Methods
   i) The Social Representations Study Methods
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6. The Interviews
   Initial Interviews
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   Twenty Sentences test
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   The Housework Task
   Barriers to Place Usage Task
   Specific Interview Schedules

7. Data Analysis
1. Introduction

The experiential orientation of the study provides the general background to the methodology employed. The study aims to be descriptive of everyday experience and interpretative. As such it takes a phenomenological orientation in rejecting the objective-subjective duality of person and environment as stressing intersubjectivity. The person-place relationship is seen as an intentional one where both domains co-constitute one another (Valle and King, 1978). In addition the phenomenological method should be pre-suppositionless, non-speculative and descriptive of phenomena as they are experienced (Husserl, translation, 1950).

The phenomenological approach does not necessarily rule out an empirical focus for methodology (Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1987) as long as the research is person centred and allows the person free expression in respect to phenomena under investigation. By devising methodologies that allow free expression while reducing mental loads on participants and researchers, phenomenologically oriented research can take on larger numbers of participants, thus increasing the opportunity for identifying intersubjective meanings.

Phenomenologically oriented research is often criticised on the grounds of experiential validity for being subjective, non-verifiable and a peculiar outcome of the research interview. While there are parallel criticism of more 'objective' approaches (cf. Crowle, 1976), experiential research must be adequately validated. Validation begins with a rigorous conceptualisation of the research project. In this case, a meta-theoretical framework has been formulated within which conceptual issues are based. A working rapport needs to be encouraged between researcher and participant so than social biases etc are subjugated to accurate accounts of phenomena. Rigorous research methods must be employed. In this study, methodological triangulation (Eyles, 1986) is used to gain information through multiple research methods. Each can then be used to validate the
others. The methods must also be appropriate to the data required. Discussion and negotiation of ideas in interviews can be supplemented with factual documentation.

Data analysis must be well documented, clear and precise. In qualitative work, data analysis is often confined to content analysis. In this study, content analysis often forms only the first stage to more rigorous multi-dimensional scaling techniques. Attempts are made to effect data reduction without also implementing data transformations. Appropriate data analysis leads to the identification of key interpretational themes and issues. But how is the researcher to validate their interpretations? A confrontational technique is used in this study where interpretations are presented back to participants for further discussion. In this way, participants are viewed as experts on their own experiences (Kelly, 1955).

2. The Research Design

The intensive experiential research was carried out in Newcastle Upon Tyne over the period of one year (1984-1985). The research was designed to cover research into:

i) the socio-cultural context of person-place relations involving social representations of unemployment;

ii) the organisational context of unemployment involving a study of institutions and organisations in Newcastle;

iii) the life circumstances of unemployment for long term unemployed men;

iv) the geographical lifeworld of unemployed people, focusing on place usage and meaning within the wide geographical context of everyday life;
action and meaning within significant places during unemployment including processes involved in the negotiation of meaning;

The first six months of the research year was devoted to a social area analysis, a study of social representations of unemployment, and a study of organisations dealing with unemployment operating in the city. The social area analysis was conducted to find two locations in the city from which the unemployed sample could be drawn: one with high the other lower unemployment levels. Social representations research involved analysis of newspapers and other media sources and interviews with a range of social groups: the long term unemployed; the retired; students; skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers; and organisational representatives. The organisational study involved conducting structured interviews with representatives of twenty one organisations. In addition documents from these organisations were analysed.

The second six months was a period of intensive interviewing and participant observation with unemployed men. This involved initial interviews, follow up interviews and confrontation interviews. Some men were contacted more than six times. Comparison data was collected from a sample of retired people and employed people who were interviewed on one occasion only.

3. Location of the Fieldwork

In any study of unemployment, the location of fieldwork is of considerable importance since the social and environmental context of unemployment cannot be divorced from the personal experience of it. Newcastle upon Tyne was chosen as the base for this work as it represented an unemployment blackspot. Nationally, the unemployment level in January 1984 was 13.4%, in the North the figure was 17.7% (Employment Gazette, 1984) while in Newcastle the
level was 17.9% (April, 1984; Tyne and Wear County Council). There were 10,838 long term unemployed people in Newcastle (81% male, 19% female).

These figures must be seen in the context of recent history. Newcastle, and Tyne and Wear generally, have suffered endemic unemployment. In the 1930's economic recession was badly felt among shipbuilding, mines and heavy industries, culminating in the Jarrow March of 1936. This march was not a protest by political activists, but a desperate plea by ordinary people for jobs for the area after the Iron and Steel Federation had obstructed plans for new steel works (Purdue, 1982).

In the 1980's again economic recession had bitten hard into the manufacturing base of this old industrial area. Job losses amongst large and medium size businesses were difficult to avert (CNUTEDC, 1984). At the time of this study, large employers such as Vickers and Armstrong along the banks of the river Tyne were operating with much reduced workforces. As 80% of men who work, do so in manufacturing industries there were very high levels of male unemployment. Moreover, unemployment tended to be concentrated in working class districts adjoining the Tyne such as Benwell, Elswick and Scotswood.

There were various initiatives to stimulate the growth of jobs. The City of Newcastle Economic Development Committee encouraged the formation and expansion of small businesses and regeneration of older industrial areas. The government's Community Development Programme, agencies such as ENTRUST, and local community based initiatives were operating to get people back into employment. Nevertheless, unemployment figures were rising and media reports in the area were dominated by factory closures and redundancies. For instance, in October 1984 2,000 job cuts threatened Tyneside shipyard workers, 600 jobs were to go at the local Royal Ordnance Factory, one light engineering factory lost 300 jobs, more than 200 health jobs were at risk as well as teaching posts and ambulance
depot closures. Coles Cranes were in trouble with the prospect of 2,000 people going on the dole. At the same time, the government proposed schemes in which unemployed people were to be given loans to pay for their own training rather than be offered training places. News of job gains were in comparison limited and generally speculative.

In this climate of recession, a number of local schemes and initiatives had been developed either through the council or voluntary agencies which offered support, advice and aid for unemployed people. Unemployment workshops, support groups, educational courses and welfare advice were all available, usually within local communities. Attempts were made to channel funding into the most badly affected areas by the Priority Area Teams. As such, levels of unemployment and the organisational response to it varied from district to district. In the more deprived areas such as Elswick and Scotswood, unemployment was less of an abstract phenomena than a visible everyday reality.

Within the city some areas exhibited very high levels of unemployment (36% male unemployment) and some relatively low (6%) levels (see appendix 1). Trew and Kilpatrick (1984) suggest that the experience of unemployment may vary depending on area levels of unemployment from which samples are drawn. Accordingly two areas of Newcastle were chosen to represent high and lower male unemployment rates. The areas were chosen on the basis of a social area analysis. This ensured that the two areas were similar in terms of a range of social descriptor variables, but varied in that one area suffered high levels of unemployment while the other had low unemployment rates. This would indicate any social/locational influences on the experience of unemployment.

The analysis of the twenty six wards was based on the 1981 census data (City Profile, 1982). Twenty seven social indicator variables were correlated (Pearson's product moment correlations) with the unemployment rates for each ward (appendix 1: social indicator
variables). The results showed that eight variables were closely associated with unemployment rates. These were:

- socio-economic groups 3, 4, 5
- 16-24 year old populations
- manufacturing industry council housing
- overcrowded households
- single parent families
- 3 or more children
- no access to a car.

The two areas for analysis were to be chosen on the basis of similarities on these eight variables to ensure that they were essentially of the same social composition while differing only in terms of unemployment levels. Sixteen wards were isolated from the total twenty six on the basis of their high unemployment levels (over 23%) or low unemployment levels (below 15%) in relation to general city levels. A Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis (MSA) was conducted on the sixteen wards for the eight variables listed above. The principles of MSA are described in appendix 2. MSA variables have to appear in categorical form. Where required the data was transformed from percentages into categories. The eight variables are described in table 3.1.

Input to the MSA was in the form of a rectangular matrix of categorical scores. Each ward was represented by the predominant category for each variable. For instance, 74% of people in Scotswood have no access to a car (variable 8). Thus Scotswood was allocated a category '2' for variable 8. The full data matrix is presented in appendix 1.
Table 3.1 Social Indicator Variables For Ward Analysis

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio economic groups</td>
<td>1= professional/managerial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2= intermediate and junior non-manual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3= skilled manual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4= semi skilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5= unskilled manual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>1= under 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2= 16-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3= 25-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4= 50-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5= 65 or over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>1= energy and water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2= manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3= construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4= distribution and catering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5= transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6= other services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowding</td>
<td>1= up to 6% of persons in households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2= 7-12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3= 13% or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single parent families</td>
<td>1= up to 6% of households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2= 7-12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3= 13% or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more children</td>
<td>1= up to 3% of households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2= 4 to 9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No access to car</td>
<td>1= up to 50% of households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2= 51% or more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The resultant plot is presented in figure 3.1. In general, the closer two variables are located on the plot, the more similar they are to each other, following the principle of contiguity (Foa, 1958; Guttman, 1959; Borg, 1978). Five city wards are located close together in the space. Scotswood, Monkchester, Benwell and Walker had the same MSA profiles indicating their extreme similarity. All were high in male unemployment with Scotswood having the highest level at 34%. Scotswood was chosen as the first study area. Fenham was located close to Scotswood and represents a ward low in male unemployment for the city (14%). Fenham was chosen as the second study area.

This close grouping of wards high and low in unemployment is the only one that appears on the plot. This indicates that Fenham is very similar to Scotswood, the main difference being their unemployment levels. They are similar in terms of socio-economic class structure, age structure, council housing, percentages of single parents, numbers of children per household and lack of access to cars. In addition, both wards are similarly located with respect to the city centre being found to the west and at some distance from the centre itself (4 miles and 2 miles respectively). Accordingly, these two wards were chosen as sites for the field study.

**Scotswood and Fenham:** Scotswood is a residential area composed mainly of post war council housing close to the river Tyne. Some privately rented and owner occupied housing can be found in Scotswood. People living there are predominantly classed as socio-economic groups three with high proportions of groups 4 and 5. The unemployment rate of males and females combined is 27%. For males only, the rate is substantially higher at 34%, compared to 14% of females. The high incidences of unemployment, single parent families, overcrowding, few youngsters in higher education and lack of access to a car makes Scotswood a 'Local Priority Area' in the city. Local Priority Areas are areas of multiple deprivation.
Figure 3.1 Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis of City Wards
Fenham is also a residential area composed of post war council housing some owner occupied and a small proportion of privately rented accommodation. The population total of 10,500 is average for the city. The predominant socio-economic class structure is similar to that of Scotswood. Unemployment levels are lower than city figures, but one in ten are unemployed. 11% of economically active males and females are out of work. This figures increases to 14% of males to 7% females. Fenham is not a Local Priority Area on the basis of its unemployment level.

4. The Samples

Three main samples were required for the study. A social representations sample of unemployed, retired and employed people, students and people working in organisations dealing with unemployment. An organisational sample consisting of representatives from a number of organisations in the city. An unemployed sample of long term unemployed, married men with families.

i) The Social Representations Sample

A sample of 125 people took part in the social representations study. These included:

- 41 long term unemployed men
- 25 skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers;
- 20 students;
- 18 retired people;
- 21 people representing 'unemployment organisations'.

The unemployed men were contacted as part of the main study. The principles and procedures of their recruitment are detailed below. The group of workers were contacted by street interviews in the two areas of study. Students were stopped outside the student's union. Retired people were contacted through their participation in an
ongoing study about the meaning of home in later life. Again these were mainly drawn from Scotswood and Fenham and consisted of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled people. The organisational sample was recruited through the study of organisations in unemployment. These people were generally in junior or senior managerial positions.

ii) The Organisational Sample

Organisations were interviewed if they were involved in any way with unemployed clients. Examples include the Centre Against Unemployment dealing specifically with the rights and interests of the unemployed, the Citizen's Advice Bureau dealing with a range of clients of whom the unemployed figure prominently especially in terms of financial problems, and the Workers Institute which organises courses for the unemployed. In total 28 organisations in Newcastle were contacted by letter and telephone (listed in appendix 3). Unfortunately, three important refusals were received from: the DSS; the job centre; and the social services department.

iii) The Unemployed Sample

While the focus of the study was on person-place relations, these were to be contextualised within the life circumstances of unemployment. Thus, specification of the unemployed sample was carefully undertaken to ensure that certain factors shown to be important to the experience of unemployment were held constant through the sampling procedure. The sample was structured as follows:

1. All male. This would eradicate differences in the experience of unemployment known to exist between males and females (Coyle, 1984; Hurstfield, 1986).
2. Aged between 21-60 years. The experience of employment may vary with age (Buckland and McGregor, 1987). The unemployed were all to be in the prime of their working lives so that unemployment could not be rationalised as holidays from school (in youths) or retirement (in older adults).


4. Living in Scotswood or Fenham. Contexts of high and lower unemployment levels may be significant in the experience of unemployment (Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984).

5. Family Circumstances: All participants were to be married and living with their families. Family and household commitments should then be high priorities for all participants in unemployment (cf Chappell, 1982; Barriere-Maurisson, 1983).

6. Unemployment Duration: Long term unemployed men were chosen as experts in their own experience of unemployment. Thus all participants had to be unemployed for at least a year. Differences in the experience of unemployment between long and short term unemployed have been suggested (Goodchilds and Smith, 1963; Warr et al, 1982). The phased model of unemployment (Jahoda, 1982) predicts an initial feeling of relaxation and holidaying followed by increasing pessimism and finally fatalism. Concentrating on long term unemployed ensured that men had achieved a realistic interpretation of their own situation.

iv) Sampling Procedure
The sample was recruited using three procedures. The first involved a random selection of addresses from the electoral register of people living in the two research areas. Householders in the addresses were approached by the researcher at their homes. People were vetted by a small recruitment questionnaire (see appendix 6). If there was a long term unemployed man fitting the sample specifications there were requested to join the study. Success rate was remarkably high for with only four unemployed men refusing to co-operate. In this way nineteen men were contacted.

Secondly, unemployed men were approached with help from organisations. Contact was always made by the researcher rather than the organisation. In total, fifteen people were recruited in this way, and three men refused.

Thirdly, ten men were recruited by stopping them outside of the DSS. This strategy was rather unsuccessful with a majority of refusals. The weather was very cold over this period and many men did not want to stop or did not fit specifications. In addition, they may have suspect collusion with the DSS or may have felt particularly vulnerable as identifiable unemployed at this location.

Having gained a total of forty four long term unemployed men who were willing to participate in an intensive research design all recruitment stopped. Recruitment procedures were not designed to produce a 'representative unemployed sample' as such. Unemployment is not the topic of concern in itself, but person-place relations in unemployment. Accordingly the sample covered a range of family situations, lengths of unemployment, ages and environmental domains within the sample specifications. A broad range of person-place experiences was sought after in order to elaborate a conceptually rich and contextually grounded framework (cf Henwood and Pidgeon, 1992). Alongside the random sampling of 29 men, a purposive sampling technique (cf. Pattern, 1980) was employed to ensure that participants were involved in a range of organisational and leisure environments. This sampling technique imposes limitations on the
interpretation and application of results. Accordingly it is not possible to generalise from this study to all long term unemployed men since the use of organisational environments has been emphasised in the sampling procedure. Emphasis has been placed on understanding the processes and effects of unemployment on a variety of person-place relations within its own sphere of relevance and this understanding is 'transferable' across similar contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Given the very wide range of experiences and the variety of life circumstances encountered in the study, confidence can be taken in the common meanings and processes revealed among the men while at the same time allowing for an understanding of variation in experiences. The in-depth, idiographic, experiential approach to data collection ensured an emphasis on understanding the complex social and psychological issues involved in person-place relations in unemployment.

Sample Characteristics: Sample characteristics of each participant are listed in appendix 4.

Age: 21-40= 25
   41-60= 19

Location: Scotswood= 23
          Fenham= 21

Marital and Family Circumstances: Married no children= 12
                                 Married with children= 28
                                 Widowed/separated with children= 4

Number of children: No children= 12
                    1-3 children= 26
                    4+ children= 6

Unemployment Duration: 1-2 years= 28

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3-4 years = 6
5+ years = 10

Previous Unemployment Experience: yes = 27
no = 17

Type of job loss: resigned = 8
redundant = 7
job/contract ended = 20
closure/bankruptcy of employer = 9

Occupations: Most of the men had been in skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled employment. There were three junior clerical workers, none of whom had had any managerial experience. Four people declined to give their 'normal occupation' on the grounds that they felt they had none. Their previous jobs had been in unskilled occupations.

5. Methods

Three interlinked studies form the basis of the empirical data collection: the social representations study; the organisational study; and the experiential study of person-place relations in unemployment. The methods used in each are presented in turn.

i) The Social Representations Study Methods

The aim of this study were to examine the socio-cultural context of place meaning and usage in unemployment. The content and structure of social representations were examined. The methodology did not specify person-place relations in particular since one aim was to see if the meaning and usage of place in unemployment occurs independently in representations.
Within the social representations research tradition a number of problems have been discussed concerning methodology. Interviewing techniques are criticised as context dependent communications (Farr, 1977). The danger is that patterns of (dis)similarities may appear as possible artifacts of the data collection rather than as pure structures. Farr (1977) also notes that laboratory studies are open to the same criticism of context dependence. In addition, they abstract the phenomena of investigation from the natural context of everyday life. Interviews, questionnaires and scales run the risk of imposing the researchers own representations on respondents, thus imposing a structure and content on the data (cf Potter and Litton, 1985).

Problems with methodologies are compounded when only one method is used, such as interviewing. If only interviewing is used, the study cannot truly be said to research the full social structuring of 'social' representations. Research into 'social' rather than shared representations requires the inclusion of a source of data which exists independently of individual consciousness along with elaboration of shared conceptions. Moscovici (1961) included a content analysis of magazine articles in his work to gain access to social representations of psychoanalysis. Such articles, although written by individual people, have an independent existence as written text within the social arena. Their meaning is as much dependent on the interpretations of the reader as it is on the person who wrote it. As such, text is an important form of communication through which representations become socially available for the interpretation of individual readers. The value of research which involves accessing both individual and socially available representations lies in revealing representations which are truly part of the social world. To enable such research, methods must:

i) allow social representations to emerge without presupposing their content

ii) discover the 'social' rather than the simply shared nature of representations (cf Jahoda, 1988)
iii) define levels of consensus or shared representations (cf Potter and Litton, 1985)
iv) investigate the holistic structure of social representations
v) include nuances of language (Potter and Litton, 1985).

The difficulties in researching 'social representations' are well documented, including the problem of deciding what is 'social' about social representations, what level of consensus defines a social representation and how to access and explore holistic social representation structures. These issues are dealt with in the chapter on social representations of unemployment. Methods and analytic techniques used in the present study are documented in detail so that a full assessment of their applicability and validity is possible.

Three different data collection methods were used. Firstly, representations of unemployment evident in the media were examined. For three months newspapers, magazines, TV and radio programmes, cinema, theatre productions and street posters were examined for any content concerning unemployment. If unemployment was mentioned within these data sources, they were targeted for content analysis. A street survey indicated which newspapers unemployed people in the two designated areas read. The most popular were two daily local papers, the 'Journal' and the 'Evening Chronicle'. Two local weekly free newspapers were also frequently read, plus one Sunday newspaper and its magazine. In all, 459 articles were located. Monitoring of TV and radio programmes resulted in 102 TV and 15 radio programmes involving unemployment. Six cinema and theatre productions also featured unemployment.

All references to unemployment were then content analysed (Krippendorff, 1980) to reveal the main ways in which unemployment is portrayed in the media. Each article or programme usually contained a range of representations of unemployment. These representations were written on separate index cards and grouped together into categories on the basis of similarity (see data analysis section at the end of this chapter). Finally, all metaphors used in
describing unemployment issues in the newspapers were examined in order to capture representations of unemployment through the nuances of language.

This media analysis ensured that externalised representations ie those not encountered in individual consciousness, were included in the study. Gaskell and Smith (1985) claim that externality and independence are most important in specifying what is social about social representations. Although media reports are the product of individual people, they have an independent textual existence which is available for the interpretation of its readers. The variety of media sources covered ensured a vast range of different representations of unemployment. However, such representations cannot be considered as 'social' until it is established that these representations are also shared by other people.

The second form of data collection involved semi-structured interviews to reveal the content of representations of individual people. After a short pilot session involving six people, 125 interviews took place immediately after the media analysis. The questions ranged over a number of topic areas but participants were allowed to talk about unemployment within these topics in whichever way they desired. They were also given the opportunity to include topics which did not appear on the interview schedule. The schedule took between fifteen and forty minutes to complete (mean 24 minutes) and is presented in appendix 5. Interviews were content analysis and any metaphors used were examined. Topics covered were:

- the causes of unemployment
- problems in unemployment
- opportunities realised in unemployment
- what unemployed people do
- what unemployed people are like
The third method used was an analysis of conversations about unemployment. Moscovici (1984;1988) emphasises the importance of conversation as,

"the hub of our consensual universe because it shapes and animates and gives them (social representations) a life of their own."
(Moscovici, 1984, p53).

This is because personal expressions and the social milieu influence each other in a dialogue. Each participant was asked to detail any conversations they had had in the previous week concerning unemployment or unemployed people. Conversations were content analysed in a similar way to the interview data.

ii) The Organisational Study Method

The aim of the study was to examine the role of organisations in unemployment with respect to both their functions in relieving unemployment and to their influence in terms of person-place relations.

Twenty five organisations in Newcastle took part in the study. A structured interview schedule consisting of open ended questions (appendix 3) was developed after initial open-ended discussions with two representatives of organisations. Questions on the schedule were pre-tested. The schedule covered four topic areas:

i) The organisations background in which historical, political and financial issues were covered

ii) Aims and policies of the organisation.

iii) The working life of the organisations and how they
function.

iv) Contact with the unemployed.

Recruitment of organisations progressed through telephone contact with managerial staff. In each case managers were informed that the researcher was involved in a study of the social-psychological impact of long term unemployment among men. As part of this study, a range of organisational responses to unemployment were being evaluated. A one hour interview was then requested with one manager per organisation, usually the person with most direct contact with unemployed clients and issues.

Accordingly, one manager from each organisation was interviewed. In order to substantiate comments made by individual managers, information gained from interviewees was supplemented with documentary evidence in pamphlets and papers describing each organisation. Case studies of each organisation were constructed.

Unstructured discussions were conducted with forty four unemployed clients covering all organisations in order to understand ways in which unemployed people related to the organisations.

iii) The Experiential Study of Person-Place Relations in Unemployment

A number of principles are upheld in the choice of methods for this study. Firstly, people should be allowed to structure their own accounts in answering questions, and designate which issues are important to them. They should be treated as experts on their own life and circumstances, actions and experiences (Harre and Secord, 1972). Moreover methods must reflect the holistic and contextual approach.
Exploration of the geographical lifeworld of the unemployed, their life circumstances and person-place relations in unemployment progressed through the use of a number of interlinked methodologies based on the above principles. The main vehicle for data collection was the in-depth interview in which people were encouraged to talk about issues in their lives that were important to them. Within these interviews however, a number of data collection techniques were used to focus people on specific areas. Case studies were built up concerning each individual (Yin, 1984) such that person-place relations were viewed in the context of everyday lives of unemployment.

An intensive stage of piloting was required for this study. This is especially important in any study of sensitive areas such as unemployment (Sixsmith, 1986b). Informal discussions with unemployed people known to the researcher clarified concepts to be used, ensured that no leading questions were used, that all questions, scales and questionnaires were understandable and unambiguous and that people were encouraged to communicate fully without mistrust. In addition the pilot sessions indicated that interviews could become very lengthy affairs and assisted in the design of initial, follow up and confrontational interview format.

Pilot studies showed that multiple data collection methods were required to shed light on the intricacies of people's everyday lives. No one single data collection technique was suitable for accessing all the different forms of data required in the study. Each technique has its own strengths and weaknesses. So a multiple methods approach was adopted. The use of each technique was justified in terms of its suitability to answer particular research questions (Bryman, 1988). Structured questionnaires were valuable in gaining systematic information but could not give the depth of qualitative information required to understand the personal experience of individual participants. Open ended interviewing was used to access experiential data. When topics proved to difficult to discuss in this way (eg the meaning of home and the motivations behind activity),

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forms of data collection were required which encouraged people to reflect on and contrast their own experiences in order to articulate thoughts and feelings. Techniques such as the multiple sorting task and the yesterday diary were then used to provide systematic ways of getting people to think deeply about difficult topics. Taken together, all these techniques highlighted areas of concern for participants. Specific interview schedules and tasks were then constructed to tackle these areas.

The multiple methods used were designed to coalesce into a single vein of research, each verifying and expanding the others and illuminating previously hidden aspects of person-place relations. Both qualitative and quantitative techniques were used to gain understanding and show regularities within the exploratory study (Henwood and Pidgeon, 1992). The mixture of qualitative and quantitative techniques proved useful as each could be used to substantiate information gained from the other.

The full interview schedule, scales, questionnaires and sorting tasks used are presented in appendix 6. They cover a range of issues related to the experience of unemployment:

Demographic data
General mental and physical health
Unemployment context
The meaning of unemployment
Problems in unemployment
Opportunities in unemployment
Life changes in unemployment
Everyday life in unemployment.

Further issues relate more directly to the experience of place in unemployment:

The geographical lifeworld of unemployment
Meaning and action in the DSS
6. The Interviews

These are best described as empathetic and humanistic in which the interviewer is cast in the role of catalyst encouraging people to reflect deeply about their own lives and experiences (Bowman et al., 1984). The research design included three interview sessions for people who were committed to the research. The initial interview, the follow up interview and the confrontation interview.

**The Initial Interview:** This was the most structured of all interviews, usually lasting between one and two hours. There were exceptions such as one man whose discussion continued for four hours. Demographic data was collected at the outset, followed by a section on the context of unemployment for the person. The next section on work histories was in the form of structured questions which required open ended responses.

Next an accounts methodology (Harre and Secord, 1972) was used to encourage participants to discuss problems they had encountered in unemployment. This was followed by a discussion of opportunities and the valuable outcomes of unemployment and life changes experienced in unemployment. At this point people were freely sharing their thoughts, feelings and experiences.

The men were then asked about their daily activities on a weekly and everyday basis. A yesterday diary technique was modified and used to capture activities, cognitions associated with them and
feelings over the course of the previous day. A follow up questionnaire to the diary help to elucidate the meaning of activities.

The social representations schedule was then administered and finally participants self-completed the GHQ-12, supplemented by anxiety and depression questions.

The Follow Up Interview: Most participants (n=40) were involved in a follow up interview again lasting between one, but usually nearer two hours. These interviews were structured around key person-place issues to emerge through the initial interview session. As such they were tailored to reflect the concerns of the individuals involved from an environmental perspective. People self-completed a Twenty Sentences Test, a multiple sorting task, a housework task, a boredom questionnaire, a place usage task or an environmental schedule. In addition, people were asked to focus on a number of particular places which they had indicated as important to them: the home; the underground economy workplace; the DSS; and their former workplace. In some cases, more than one follow up interview was required. Six people undertook six interviews in all. The number of interviews people accepted are documented in appendix 4.

The Confrontation Interview: Having gained a wealth of qualitative and quantitative data, each individual case study was subjected to an initial interpretation using content analysis and some MDS techniques. While most people gave a relatively straight forward account of themselves, some discussed highly complex and ambiguous issues whose interpretation needed clarification. Interpretations of the data were then discussed with participants so that any misunderstandings could be rectified and a consistent, coherent and sensitive picture emerged (cf Michelson, 1986). Eight people took part in this interview. This gave the opportunity to highlight and clarify important issues with the men and fully develop themes identified in the interpretational process. In each case the
confrontation interview proved to be revealing to both interviewer and interviewee as interpretations were validated.

Each Method Briefly Presented

Accounts methodology: In this, the persons own accounts of their circumstances are elicited. People tell accounts in their own order and language. Personal meanings are maintained. It is through analysis of this conceptual system of ordinary language that the cognitive and emotional structures in operation are understood (Harre and Secord, 1972). Accounts methodology was used to encourage the telling of problems, opportunities and life changes in unemployment as well as time use and personal meanings of unemployment. The problem with accounts is that they can be rather lengthy and difficult to structure for interpretation. However, their value in maintaining the person's own point of view is invaluable.

Yesterday Diaries: Diaries methodologies offer a detailed, systematic way of recording sequences of everyday action over a specified period (cf Parkes and Thrift, 1980). According to Little (1984) diary methods give hard data of a purity and precision rarely found in social research. Diaries allow for documentation of types of activity, action sequences, activity duration and the time the activity was performed. They can also record social contacts, places activities occur in, motivational and choice-constraint information (cf Parkes and Wallis, 1978). Yesterday diaries can be described as a structured recall methodology. Because of the limited time lapse between activity and recall and the systematic structure of the diary, recall bias and exaggeration are minimised (Robinson, 1977) but not altogether negated. It is possible that people forget activities or dismiss them because they feel they are unimportant.

In the present study, the yesterday diary was divided into half hour periods from 06.00 to 24.00 hours. The diary covered main activities
engaged in, social partners, places involved, reasons for activities and thoughts and feelings associated with activities and places on the previous day. Immediately after completion of the diary, participants were interviewed using a schedule which covered open ended questions about the typicality of the day, events looked forward to or disliked, important and planned events. The person's mood, preoccupations and pleasure during the previous day were also assessed (diary and schedule are reproduced in appendix 6). Using yesterday diaries allowed for a systematic analysis of person-place relations over the course of a whole day.

**General Health Questionnaire:** The GHQ-12 is a self report screening instrument designed to detect non-psychotic psychiatric disorder (Goldberg, 1972, 1978). GHQ scores are not viewed as direct indicators of illness, but as indices of psychological distress. As such it has been significantly predictive of psychiatric diagnoses (Goldberg, 1981; Banks, 1982). It is concerned with two major factors: the inability to carry out normal healthy functions; and the appearance of new reactions of a distressing nature. The shortened version of twelve questions, the GHQ-12 has been used in a number of studies of mental health in unemployment (Hepworth, 1980; Brenner and Bartell, 1983; Warr and Payne, 1983). Some studies (eg Warr et al, 1984) have supplemented it with a set of six depression questions and six anxiety questions drawn from Zung's (1965) clinical measure of depression scale and anxiety scale. The GHQ-12, depression and anxiety scales, instructions for completion, and Likert scoring method are included in appendix 6.

**Twenty Sentences Test (TST):** In order to gain some insight into the self concept of unemployed people as it relates to place-appropriation and identity, the Twenty Sentences Test (Kuhn and McPartland, 1954) was administered (appendix 6). The TST is a free format way for people to express both categorical and attributional data on their self concept (cf. Wylie, 1974) within a realistic time scale. It involves people completing twenty sentences about themselves, each beginning with the words, 'I am ...'. People
can describe themselves using nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. The free response nature of the task can result in data which is difficult to interpret, especially when people use negative descriptions (e.g., I am not handsome). Person-place relations were not emphasised in completion of the test so that any relations which appeared in the data had not been influenced by the methodology.

The Multiple Sorting Task (MST): The MST (Canter, Brown, and Groat, 1985) provided an in-depth, systematic, and structured approach to exploring place use and meaning. It is a self-reflective method allowing considerable insight into person-place relations. The MST has been used in a number of studies ranging from the exploration of the meaning of home (Sixsmith, 1986; Sixsmith, 1988) to evaluation of postmodern architecture (Groat, 1982).

The MST is based on the principle that people think about and relate to their environment through categorisation such that they are not overwhelmed by their experiences (Smith and Medin, 1981). Concepts and categories are viewed as cognitive structures based on overlapping networks of characteristics (Mervis and Rosch, 1981). Categorisation is a matter of recognising 'family resemblances' where prototypical family members have more characteristics in common with members of one category, and less with members of other categories. The MST draws on people's own multi-faceted natural categories of place meaning.

The MST involves people sorting specific items into similarity categories on the basis of a conceptual criterion. Once performed, further criteria may be defined and the items once more sorted into categories. This process continues until all possible criteria have been exhausted. Criteria represent the modes of meaning within which phenomena are experienced. An example best illustrates this. Photographs of faces (items) can be sorted in terms of facial emotions (criterion) into a number of different categories such as happy, sad, angry, etc. Once done, the photographs are gathered together and sorted again, perhaps using a criterion of beauty into
beautiful, ugly etc categories. Having completed this, another criterion is chosen. Criteria can be supplied by the researcher or elicited from participants. By the end of the task, each person has considered each item in terms of their similarities and differences from all other items.

In this study the items were places people listed as part of their everyday life. Place names were written on index cards and were sorted on the basis of criteria people themselves designated as important ways of distinguishing between the places. Finally, they labelled the categories they had used for each criterion. A discussion surrounded each process of criteria choice and categorisation. Because of the idiographic nature of this use of the sorting task (Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1987), five prescribed sorts were also included so that information was available for all participants for these four criteria. These were: frequency of usage; degree of identity with place; importance of place; enjoyment of place; and feelings of environmental control. Two prescribed sorts (place usage and importance) were used at the start of each MST so that participants understood the procedure. The other prescribed sorts were used when participants could no think of more criteria themselves. The task, done in this way, was both lengthy and demanding on both participants and researcher.

The Housework Task: The men were asked if they were involved with housework and given a list of sixteen types of housework such as tidying up, washing dishes or household repairs. The housework list reflected a range of maintenance, repair and cleaning tasks but did not include every task undertaken as part of housework. The men indicated which housework tasks they did, whether each one was man's or women's work or work for which both were responsible and what he felt about each task. The list of housework and associated questions appear in appendix 6. This task focused attention on particular types of housework in a systematic way and encouraged deep thought about the meanings associated with each one.
Barriers to Place Usage Task: A small number of people (n=10) took part in this task which investigates barriers to activities in places. These people all lived a relatively inactive lifestyle in which they reported visiting few places and took part in a limited set of indoor and outdoor activities. The men were presented with a set of cards. On each card was written a place or place based activity such as fishing, playing football, restaurant, cinema etc. People read the cards and discarded those which they engaged in and those they are not interested in doing. The remaining cards represented activities they would like to do and places they would like to go but don't. Participants were then given a list of psychological, social and financial reasons which can act as barriers to involvement such as feeling embarrassed, lack of money, or no-one to go with. Reasons were derived from self efficacy theory (Bandura, 1982), work by Witt and Goodale (1981) on barriers to leisure enjoyment, and an intensive pilot study. The list of places/activities and barriers to involvement are presented in appendix 6. Participants indicated as many barriers as they wished to explain their non-involvement for each place/activity.

Specific Interview Schedules: A number of specialist interview schedules were devised to tackle issues which initial interviews had highlighted as important for each individual. This strategy of isolating areas of interest and then applying a structured interview schedule proved very fruitful in ensuring that people talked about issues of relevance to themselves while giving systematic and structured data for analysis. They were also valuable in terms of getting people to introspect deeply about issues they had previously never thought about. The interview schedules used were:

- The Boredom Schedule
- Environmental Function Schedule
- Meaning of Home Schedule
- Using the DSS Schedule
- The Black Economy Workplace Schedule
- The Former Workplace Schedule

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All schedules were open-ended and are reproduced in appendix 6. The boredom schedule looks for environmental issues involved in the development of states of boredom. The environmental function schedule looks at places, designated by participants which function as supportive, restorative or worrisome environments (cf. Kaplan, 1983). The meaning of home schedule helped people to articulate their meanings and feelings about home and to compare the meaning of home pre- and post unemployment. Using the DSS schedule focused on meanings of the DSS, feelings while using it and initial expectations and contact with it in a new place encountered in unemployment and admitted to the geographical lifeworld. The same aims were behind the underground economy workplace schedule, with a specific emphasis of the meaning of work and place relations. Finally, the former workplace schedule asks people to express their thoughts and feelings about their former workplace and to explore the role of the former workplace in unemployment.

The various tasks, interview schedules and scales used in this study were designed to fit in with person-place issues which participants felt were important to them. Accordingly not all people completed every task and interview schedule. In addition, schedules and tasks were meant as aids to collecting systematic data, but were used to encourage people to think deeply about and express their thoughts on very complex person-place relations and how they had been affected by unemployment. Pilot studies showed that without the tasks and schedules as aids, people found talking about place-based experiences quite difficult to do.

7. Data Analysis

A wealth of qualitative information was collected from participants which required sensitive reduction into manageable conceptual categories. These categories would then form the basis of further...
analysis and the development of interpretational schemes. Hence, much of the data was subject to content analysis (Krippendorff, 1980). In order to answer particular research questions, the relevant data was abstracted from the interviews and the key meanings within the data were written on separate index cards. The cards could then be grouped together into categories on the basis of similarity in meanings. In this way content category were given titles reflecting the meaning of cards within them and in doing this, interpretational schemes were developed for each research question. In order to make sense of qualitative research, data needs to be reduced to manageable proportions. It is at this stage that interpretations of data are required which are systematic and sympathetic to nuances within the data. It is helpful in this respect to ensure that participants own language is used in the naming of categories where possible. The naming of categories throughout this study is derived from participants own language.

In addition, great care was taken to ensure accurate transfer of meanings from the interview context to the content category scheme. When a scheme had been devised the category titles were given to an independent person. Each title was explained in full. The person was then asked to fit the original key meaning cards into the category scheme. This gave a measure of interrater reliability as it provides an intersubjective check on the reliability of the interpretational scheme. Throughout the following empirical chapters, interrater reliability figures are given for each instance in which content analysis has been used. It was at this stage that alternative interpretations were considered and discussed between researcher and independent rater. Where necessary, interviews were consulted and in all cases of uncertainty, a mutually agreed interpretation of the data was negotiated.

After careful content analysis a number of multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) techniques were used to enable a structural analysis of relationships between variables. All too often, qualitative studies
construct interesting content analysis schemes but then fail to look at the structural relationships and patterns inherent within the scheme. MDS techniques gave a visual representation of structural relations inherent in the data and were an aid to exploring the data. Smallest Space Analysis, Multiple Scalogram Analysis and Correspondence Analysis were the three techniques used and each is described in appendix 2.
Chapter 4

The Life Circumstances of Unemployment

1. Introduction

2. The Men and Their Families

3. Mental and Physical Health in Unemployment

4. The Context of Unemployment

5. Problems in Unemployment

6. Opportunities in Unemployment

7. Changes in Unemployment

8. The Experience of Unemployment: Multi-Dimensional Analysis of Life Circumstances

9. Unemployment and Place

10. Conclusions
1. Introduction

It was proposed in the meta-theoretical framework, that the person in person-place relations should be seen as an active agency, using and thinking about place in terms of the circumstances surrounding their own lives. Unemployment affects people in different ways because of their 'objective' circumstances, their personal appraisal of unemployment, their social situations and their abilities to cope with problems and opportunities brought by unemployment. Fryer (1986), in his exploratory study of a small and varied group of pro-active unemployed men, has shown the validity of viewing the unemployed person as an active agency in structuring their own life in unemployment. He found differences in the way people coped with unemployment using various psychological, social and environmental resources. In this, the experience of unemployment was influenced by the social and organisational environment. The results of this study are open to a more systematic approach to see if the same is true about working class, long term unemployed men. Miles (1984) advocates more attention to the different environmental factors surrounding the experience of unemployment,

"The social psychological literature surrounding unemployment and retirement could benefit from a greater attention to the diverse environments inhabited by the people whom it tends to study in terms of individual characteristics"

(p74)

He suggests that local/regional environmental differences may be important. In this context, the experience of place may also contribute to experience of unemployment. The relationship between subjective life stages and the use and meaning of places has been explored more directly by Sixsmith and Sixsmith (1991). In this study, five experiential aspects of the lives of elderly people were related to their use of and meanings associated with home. Bodily ageing, life changes such as death of a spouse, awareness of death
and social ageing such as social attitudes towards the elderly were all implicated in a transformation of the person-home relationship.

The study of elderly people emphasised the importance of understanding the critical experiential issues ongoing in the person's lifeworld. A focus on the lifeworld of the person involves examining the events and situations ongoing in the person's life from their own point of view. Getting at the important experiential issues can be difficult as people are caught up in the 'natural attitude'. The 'natural attitude' is an unquestioned acceptance of things and experiences of daily living (Giorgi, 1970). As Seamon (1979) states, "the world of the natural attitude can be called the 'lifeworld', that is, the taken-for-granted pattern and context of daily life."

People do not normally engage in a conscious examination of their lifeworld, they simply live it. Only when the person is faced with disruption or breakdown of normal living do they strip away the natural attitude and examine the way the world presents itself, making the lifeworld a focus of attention. Actions which are normally routine or habit are made topics of reflective analysis (Giorgi, 1970). With unemployment, the natural everyday lifeworld of the working person is disrupted. Normal activities, practises and encounters with places may be deconstructed and new ones constructed to fit a new developing lifestyle in unemployment. Thus, encounters with places may be open to reflective analysis in unemployment as people struggle to understand their new life in relation to their old one. In the present study, critical experiences of unemployment are investigated to provide an understanding of the lifeworld of unemployment and how, within this, person-place relations are affected. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the experience of unemployment so that in later chapters this experience can be used to understand person-place relationships.

The psychological impact of unemployment has been the focus of many studies (reviewed by Warr, 1983). Throughout this literature a number of influencing factors have emerged: general mental health
(Rowley and Feather, 1987); physical health (Harris and Smith, 1987); self-esteem (Shamir, 1986); reduced income and financial anxiety (Payne et al, 1983); time use and perceived time occupied in meaningful activities (Feather and Bond, 1983; Haworth and Evans, 1987; Honess, 1989); employment commitment (Jackson et al, 1983); job search (Feather and O'Brien, 1987); reduced opportunities to engage in collective goals, practise skills or decision making (Jahoda, 1982; Warr, 1983); environmental context (Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984); attributional style, (Ostell and Divers, 1987); constriction of the social world (Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984); extent of social support (Jackson, 1986); increase in psychologically threatening activities (Warr, 1983); insecurity about the future (Warr, 1983); and changes in social status (Jahoda, 1982).

Although much is known about the negative psychological impact of unemployment, relatively little is known of an beneficial impact of unemployment. Fryer and Payne (1986) and Payne and Hartley (1987) have begun research into the opportunities of unemployment. Release from a stressful job, getting physically fit, improved health and spending more time with the family are all opportunities arising through unemployment (Payne and Hartley, 1987).

The accumulation of empirical findings has progressed despite the lack of an adequate conceptual framework. Unemployed people do not form a homogeneous group (Huczynski, 1978) so that not all individuals react in the same way to unemployment (Newell, 1984). Consequently, it is difficult to define how both positive and negative factors are implicated together in the experience of everyday life or affect person-place relations. Thus, it was important in the present study to identify key factors in the everyday experience of unemployment. General mental health, social-environmental context, problems, opportunities and life changes associated with unemployment were targeted in the light of empirical findings. Relationships between these factors are investigated in a multi-dimensional analysis of life circumstances in unemployment.
In contrast to much of the literature on unemployment, a person-centred, experiential approach was taken which involved in-depth interviews with forty four long term unemployed men. A number of issues were introduced into the interview, but for the most part, the men were encouraged to discuss their own personal everyday concerns.

The interviews covered:

- mental and physical health;
- the context of unemployment;
- problems in unemployment;
- opportunities in unemployment;
- life changes in unemployment.

These five themes are analysed in order to understand the main experiential aspects of unemployment which structure the person's life. All data appears in appendix 7. Environmental aspects of life circumstances were not stressed in the interview but were left to emerge from participant's accounts. These appear within the text and are explored in more detail in future chapters.

2. Mental and Physical Health in Unemployment

The aim of this section is not to relate unemployment to deteriorating health. This task has been undertaken by many other studies with contradictory results (Stern, 1983). Mental health of the unemployed is generally found to be poorer than that of the employed (eg Banks and Jackson, 1982; Feather, 1982), although some studies have found to the contrary (Warr et al, 1982). A clear relationship is confounded by wealth, class, education, poor housing, physical health as well as psychological, social and financial resources. Generally, the mental health of the long term unemployed is worse than that of short term unemployed people (Rowley and Feather,
In addition, men suffer worse mental health in unemployment than women (Warr, Jackson and Banks, 1982) and adults worse than youths (Hepworth, 1980; Warr and Jackson, 1984; Rowley and Feather, 1987). Some evidence suggests that working class men may suffer marginally worse general mental health than professional or managerial classes (cf Payne, Warr and Hartley, 1984). In terms of the present sample of long term unemployed, working class, adult, family men, mental health can be expected to be poor.

Rather than documenting health status relationships, the present study seeks to account for health status (cf Miles, 1987) in relation to psychological, social and environmental factors. By using scales of general mental health it is possible to divide the sample into three groups of poor, reasonable and good mental health. The experience of unemployment for men in the three groups can then be assessed.

The men were asked to complete the General Health Questionnaire-12 (Goldberg, 1972) and the supplementary scales for anxiety and depression (Warr et al, 1982) (see appendix 6). A subjective measure of physical health was gained through open ended questions which asked:

Describe your physical health?
Has unemployment affected your physical health?

Mental Health Results: The scoring system progressed from '0' to '3' for each question. An overall score is gained by totalling scores for each question. The maximum score possible is 36 with higher scores indicating poorer mental health. Scores for the sample ranged from 4 to 34 (x=13.5, sd 7.5) showing that some participants enjoyed very good mental health, while others were in poor mental health. The Kuder Richardson coefficient of internal reliability was high at 0.83. The GHQ scores for each person are presented in appendix 7. For each question a score of '2' or '3' is indicative of psychiatric caseness. Thus, people who score 0 to 12 can be described as
enjoying good mental health, those scoring 13 to 19 can be described as reasonable, and those with scores of 20 or over have poor mental health. There were:

24 (55%) people with good mental health;
12 (27%) with reasonable mental health;
8 (18%) with poor mental health.

A closer look at the scoring for particular questions showed that most unemployed did not think of themselves as worthless (59% scored this question '0'), but tended to describe themselves as feeling unhappy (18% scored this question '3'). In general, the long term unemployed men were not suffering from poor mental health. The mean scores for the GHQ are similar to those found in other studies of mental health in unemployment. For example, Banks and Jackson (1982) found mean scores between 12.7 and 13.9 for unemployed men, while Rowley and Feather (1987) found mean scores of 16.12 for their long term unemployed.

Depression Scale: Again the scoring system progressed from '0' to '3' per question with an overall maximum score of 18. Higher scores indicate depressive states. Actual scores ranged from 0-16 (x=5.5, sd 4). Only five people scored 10 or above showing that few of the sample could be described as depressive. As expected, GHQ and depression scores were correlated (r=0.852) showing that people in poor mental health also tend to be depressed.

Anxiety Scale: The same scoring system applies as for the depressive scale. The results for the anxiety score were skewed towards low scores. The scoring range was 0-16 (x=5.5, sd 3.9). Anxiety scores were correlated with both the GHQ score (r=0.930) and depression scores (0.834). In the present sample, men who suffer poor mental health also tend to suffer symptoms of anxiety and depression.
Physical Health Results: Of the forty four men involved, 55% (n=24) had no problems with their physical health. Five people had suffered ill health such as arthritis and epilepsy before and after becoming unemployed. Finally, a group of thirteen men said their health had deteriorated because of unemployment. They claimed that their changed lifestyle in unemployment had lead to increased smoking and drinking, raised blood pressure, stomach complaints, anxiety attacks, tiredness and malaise. These men said they had consulted their doctors more in unemployment than in employment. These results are in line with research showing that the unemployed increase consultation with doctors (Beale and Nethercott, 1985).

Is there a relationship between poor mental and poor physical health? The men were divided into two groups, those who enjoyed good physical health (n=24) and those who complained of poor health (n=18). There was no differences between GHQ scores (t=1.178) or depression scores (t=1.627) and physical health. However, there was a difference in anxiety scores between the two health groups (t=2.270, significant at the 0.05 level). People with high anxiety scores tended to have poor physical health. It is not possible to say whether the anxiety causes poor physical health, or whether poor physical health causes anxiety, just that there is a relationship between anxiety and physical health in unemployment.

3. The Men And Their Families

Having gain insight into the mental and physical health of the men, it is possible to relate this to their personal characteristics and family life. The men were all married and living with their families, usually in council accommodation (either houses or flats). They were aged between 21 and 60 years of age and all had previously worked in skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled employment. 57% (n=25) had some form of qualification, generally linked to their previous occupation. Most of the men had enjoyed their jobs (n=35;80%) but had felt that unemployment had been fair within the economic climate.
Searching for a new job occupied 50% (n=22) of the men. This is not surprising given research which has found that the longer a person is unemployed, the less likely they are to be searching for work (Feather, 1982; Jackson and Warr, 1985). Those not looking claimed that job searching was a waste of time given the lack of real jobs on offer (as opposed to low paid and temporary community programme work). All the men were reliant upon bi-weekly social security payments for their financial well-being, although some (n=17) worked occasionally in the underground economy where earnings were both low and irregular. In addition, seven wives also worked, all part time, all on low wages. The fact that few wives were working is similar to the findings of Warr and Jackson (1984) where the probability of having an employed wife decreased with length of unemployment. In line with DSS policy, all but two pounds of wives' earnings were deducted from social security payments making employment for wives inconsequential to family budgets. The men claimed not to mind their wives' jobs. When asked about their political tendencies, 77% (n=34) aligned themselves with the labour party, three men voted conservative (7%;n=3) and the rest claimed to be disinterested in politics (16%;n=7).

Table 4.1 shows relationships between the men's personal and family circumstances and their mental health. It is interesting to note that neither the age of the men, nor their location (either in Scotswood or Fenham) was related to any measure of mental health. Being older
Table 4.1 Life Circumstances and Mental Health

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GHQ</th>
<th>Anx</th>
<th>Dep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns (r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>1.733*</td>
<td>2.051*</td>
<td>ns (t-test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns (t-test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for work</td>
<td>1.935*</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns (t-test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liked Previous job</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns (t-test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job loss was fair</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns (t-test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underground economy</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns (t-test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working wives</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns (t-test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political tendencies</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns (ANOVA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 0.05 level; ns = not significant

and unemployed is not related to poorer mental health. Moreover, Trew and Kilpatrick's (1884) notion that living in an area of high unemployment may protect the person from self-blame and poor mental health is not entirely supported as one would have expected good mental health to be associated with Scotswood people, and poorer mental health associated with Fenham people. It may be that Fenham, although having low levels of unemployment in comparison to the rest of the city, still suffers relatively high levels of unemployment at 11%.

Other personal and family circumstances unrelated to mental health concerned the men's previous job, their assessment of the justification of their own unemployment, working in the underground economy, working wives and political persuasion.

Men who had qualifications tended to enjoy better mental health and be less anxious than the long term unemployed men without qualifications. It may be that having some form of qualification allows people to be more optimistic and less anxious about their futures and the possibility of employment. However, looking for work was associated with poorer mental health. As Coffield et al (1986)
suggests, looking for work can result in many rejections and frustrations which in turn may result in poor general mental health. The men in the present study all said that looking for work was demoralising and none enjoyed the experience to the extent that 50% had given up trying.

4. The Context of Unemployment

Not only is it important to understand personal and family circumstances in unemployment, it is also important to understand the context of unemployment in which people live. Previous research has looked inconclusively at the relationships between mental health and unemployment duration. Hepworth (1980) found longer unemployment associated with poorer mental health while Warr et al (1982) found no differences between long and short term unemployment. The lack of clarity in results may stem from research which has treated long term unemployed people as homogeneous whereas length of unemployment among the long term unemployed can vary enormously. There may be a difference between people who have been unemployed for many years and those who have been unemployed for only one or two years. In the present study, all the men were long term unemployed, that is, unemployed for a year or more, some up to eight years. The mental health implications of unemployment duration for the men is addressed in this section.

The context of unemployment does not simply mean unemployment duration. Norris (1978) has suggested that recurrent periods of unemployment followed by employment may protect the person from poor mental health as people directly experience unemployment and realise future employment probability. Thus, sub-employment needs to be considered if the experience of unemployment is to be understood. Furthermore, the environmental context of unemployment has yet to be fully addressed. As mentioned earlier, Trew and Kilpatrick (1984) suggest a relationship between levels of
unemployment and mental health. While this hypothesis was unsupported in the previous section, the result was based on actual levels of unemployment, rather than perceived levels of unemployment. It has yet to be tested whether perception of levels of unemployment is related to mental health.

Similarly, unemployment research has turned its attention to the role of the social context in the experience of unemployment. It has been suggested that a supportive social network may mediate the negative social-psychological effects of unemployment (Parry, 1987). What has not been established is the effect of being unemployed while family and friends are employed, or conversely, being unemployed and surrounded by a social network which is dominated by unemployment. This issue is explored along with unemployment duration, sub-unemployment the perceived environmental context and social network context of unemployment.

As part of the interview, the men were asked about the length of their current period of unemployment, any previous periods of unemployment over the prior three years, the level of unemployment in their family, street and neighbourhood as well as amongst their family and friends.

Unemployment Duration: The bar graph in figure 4.1 shows that most people had been unemployed for one or two years (n=28; 64%). A substantial proportion (n=16; 36%) had been unemployed for between three and eight years. The men were divided into two groups of shorter (one or two years) and longer (three to eight years) unemployment duration and the mental health of the groups was compared. Men who had been employed for longer periods had poorer general mental health and higher levels of anxiety than those unemployed for the shorter periods (t=1.928 and t=2.520 respectively, significant at the 0.05 level). There was no difference between the two groups for levels of depression. It would seem that as unemployment lengthens, mental health gets poorer.
Figure 4.1 Unemployment Duration

Number of People

Years Unemployed

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Sub-unemployment: In total, 25 men (57%) had experienced previous spells of unemployment. This had occurred usually as a result of seasonal employment and termination of contracts. Previous unemployment periods had been brief, usually only lasting up to three months. There was no relationship between mental health and sub-unemployment.

Perceived Environmental Context: The men were asked to indicate the levels of unemployment in their neighbourhood and in their street. In this way perceived environmental context was documented. The results are given in table 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street</th>
<th>Neighbourhood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A chi squared analysis of location by perceived levels of neighbourhood unemployment showed that people accurately perceived their environmental context. The men who lived in Scotswood perceived that all or most of the people in their neighbourhood were unemployed while people living in Fenham tended to indicate that some or few unemployed people lived in their area (chi squared, 21.349). Perceived levels of street unemployment were also related to location such that Scotswood people perceived higher levels of street unemployment than people living in Fenham. ANOVA analyses showed that neither perceived levels of neighbourhood nor street unemployment were related to GHQ, anxiety or depression scores. High levels of actual and perceived local unemployment does not contribute to deteriorated mental health.
Social Network Context: The men were asked to separately rate levels of unemployment among their family (yes or no) and friends (all, most, some, few or none unemployed). The results show that almost half the men (n=21) lived in families in which other family members were unemployed. In addition, 23 men said that all or most of their friends were unemployed, and 15 said that some were unemployed. 89% of the sample had either unemployed family or friends. Thus the majority of men reported living within a social network in which unemployment significantly featured either among family or friends. However, ANOVA showed that general mental health, anxiety and depression were all unrelated to the unemployment among friends. Mental health scores were also unrelated to unemployment in the family. Being surrounded by unemployed family or friends did not affect mental health.

Is there an association between social network context, environmental context, unemployment duration and sub-unemployment? A comparison of these variables indicate some interesting relationships. Table 4.3 documents the results from chi squared and pearsons correlation coefficient.

Table 4.3 Unemployment Contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 family unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 friends unemployed</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 location</td>
<td>ns 8.41&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 neighbourhood unemployment</td>
<td>ns 0.57&quot; 21.3&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 street unemployment</td>
<td>ns 0.52&quot; 9.63&quot; 0.62&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 unemployment duration</td>
<td>ns 5.98&quot; 4.45&quot; ns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sub-unemployment</td>
<td>ns ns 4.39&quot; ns ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"*" = r significant at the 0.05 level
"**" = r significant at the 0.01 level

-100-
These show that people perceiving high levels of street unemployment also perceive high levels of neighbourhood unemployment as well as reporting being surrounded by many unemployed friends. The men who lived in Scotswood perceived high neighbourhood and street levels of unemployment, were surrounded by many unemployed friends and tended to have been unemployed for three or more years. In this, there is a link between the social, spatial and temporal context of unemployment. Living in an area of high unemployment such as Scotswood may not be associated with mental health but it is associated with the experience of lengthy unemployment, surrounded by a high social-spatial context of unemployment.

5. Problems In Unemployment

Having gained insight into the roles of personal and family characteristics, social, environmental, temporal and unemployment contexts and their relationship to mental health, the next stage in understanding the impact of unemployment is to reveal the experiential nature of unemployment. To this end, the men were asked to talk about their lives, the problems, opportunities and changes that unemployment had brought into everyday life. As a purposive sampling technique was designed to maximise the range of place use in unemployment the results of this analysis may have been affected by sampling. For example, when unemployed were people using organisational help to deal with problems, this may mean that problems are overemphasised in comparison to randomly sampled long term unemployed men. Similarly, the extent of opportunities uncovered may in part be due to the fact that some of the men used organisations for leisure, educational and creative purposes. Thus, the results pertain to the present sample and are not generalised to all long term unemployed men. Nevertheless, many of the problems, opportunities and changes reported by the sample parallel those found in other randomly sampled studies and so have a validity of
their own. In this section the problems experienced in unemployment are discussed.

Many studies of unemployment have stressed the negative impact psychologically (cf. Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985; Jahoda, 1984), socially (Coffield et al., 1986; Jackson and Walsh, 1987), and financially (cf. Warr and Jackson, 1985; Cooke, 1987) of unemployment. Other problems associated with unemployment are loss of work skills (Warr, 1987), employment rejection (College Bartholomew, 1980), contact with the DSS (Bunker and Dewsbury, 1983; Howe, 1985), and poor housing in socially depressed areas (Thomas, 1983; Coffield, 1983).

The unemployed participants in this study were asked to talk about problems they experienced in unemployment. The mass of rich qualitative data gained was reduced through content analysis (see chapter 3) into a set of categories (interrater reliability, 76%). Each category represented the key problems discussed in the interviews. These are presented in table 4.4.
Table 4.4 Problems in Unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family and social</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity/Occupying time</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems finding work</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing and Welfare</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean number of problems reported per person was 4.7 (sd 3.26). The number of problems mentioned were correlated with GHQ and anxiety scores (r=0.84 and 0.80 respectively, significant at the 0.01 level) showing that people with more problems have poorer mental health. There were no significant differences between people living in areas of high unemployment and those in lower unemployment in the number or type of problems they reported. Nor was there a relationship between number of problems reported, age or length of unemployment. Four sorts of problems were described by 50% of the sample or more: financial; social; psychological; and activity problems. These are discussed below.

Financial problems: Previous research has shown financial suffering to be worse for the long term unemployed (Schlozman and Verba, 1979) and families (Lister, 1982). Money worries for the unemployed are very significant (Jackson, 1986) since they live on a much reduced income compared to the employed (Harris, 1984) and are more likely to have had poorer incomes prior to unemployment (Davies et al, 1982). Moreover, financial problems get worse as unemployment lengthens (Schultz-Gambard et al, 1987).

In the present study, financial problems ranged from a drop in the standard of living characterised by sacrificing luxury spending.
'Luxury' spending covers the replacement of old furniture and broken electrical equipment as well as foodstuffs such as meat and biscuits. In addition, housing standards had fallen due to inability to redecorate, maintain or carry out structural repairs. Most of the men claimed to have reduced fuel and electricity bills by strictly rationing use of appliances and heaters. Cold winters, lack of evening TV and lighting often forced families to bed relatively early in the winter evenings. All family members did not share the same standard of living (cf Land, 1983) with parents attempting to cushion the financial effects of unemployment for their children, as one man said,

"Do you know what its like to never have anything new? We never get anything proper, just rubbish. We never have a decent meal. I'd love a steak. Not had one for years, bloody years. The kids are wanting this and that and you try to make it ok for them, but you can't do it all the time. All your ideas of what you'll do for them, and it comes down to saying 'no' you can't".

25 of the men and their families worried over paying bills (57%) and/or were in situations of multiple debt (16%). Fuel, rent, mortgage and hire purchase were the areas of greatest financial worry. Three families had given up their telephones and another was in fear of losing their home through non-payment of mortgage. These financial worries were blamed for causing family arguments, ill health, emotional strain and withdrawal from financially based social situations (eg the pub). Not having money to spend was linked to feelings of worthlessness and anger. Financial problems played a part in restricting access to social places, encouraging a withdrawal into an increasingly uncomfortable (physical and emotional) home environment. Attendance at DSS offices for financial aid were accompanied by psychological distress for many of the men. They felt uncomfortable, worthless and identifiable as unemployed.
Social Problems: Unemployment affects not just the person, but everyone associated with them (Gould and Kenyon, 1972; McKee and Bell, 1987): family; friends; neighbours; and community. Understanding the family context of unemployment is as important as understanding individual psychological implications (cf Jackson and Walsh, 1987). Certainly, the men in this study described situations of family strain (n=16) and lack of social life outside of the home (n=16). The loss of friendships, relationships with neighbours and acquaintances from work (n=7) was keenly felt. Family strain, as reported here and elsewhere (Fagin and Little, 1984; Schultz-Gambard et al, 1987) arose mainly through financial problems, the continuous presence of the husband in the home, and frustration over job seeking. Arguments, disagreements could lead to actual dislike between marriage partners and sexual relations were said to have become less frequent. One family was considering separation. At times, wives blamed husbands for not providing adequately, husbands felt wives did not understand their problems. Children contributed to poor family relations at home by demanding toys, sweets that families could ill afford. As a consequence, a number of the men (n=5) felt excluded from the home.

Outside of the home, social life was disrupted by unemployment. The men felt that their social life had disappeared or significantly decreased in terms of few nights out or day trips either with family or friends. Studies of activity in unemployment have documented similar findings (cf Warr, 1984; Bunker and Dewsbury, 1983). Again, lack of finances was a significant issue preventing the use of restaurants, pubs and cinemas. Another barrier to participation in social events was linked to pride and the distaste for being identified as unemployed. Some men were particularly distressed by visits to the pub,

"We've not been out for together (husband and wife) in over a year. Last time I was out was six weeks ago, dinner-time for a pint, that's all. It's a sense of pride stops you, if you can't pay your own way, well, I'd rather not go. I don't want
anybody pointing at me and saying, there's another one (unemployed person)...Relatives...we don't see much of them now. We've nothing to talk about. They've nowt (nothing) and we've nowt. We don't see anyone, no-one comes to our house."

Friendships and acquaintances were also lost. The men would not seek new friendships or maintain old ones when they, "can't even offer your mate a cup of coffee, never mind a pint. A cup of coffee costs money you know". Lack of topics of conversation, formally oriented around work and leisure activities, contributed to loss of relationships. The participants often complained of a sense of social isolation. As in other studies, the unemployed stayed in and stayed invisible (Bunker and Dewsbury, 1983) relying heavily on their family for social contact (cf Schultz-Gambard et al, 1987).

Psychological Problems: The psychological problems people attributed to unemployment were many and varied, reflecting those found in other studies (Jahoda, 1982; Jackson and Walsh, 1987). The problems participants talked of were: boredom, lost pride, loss of confidence and independence, feeling worthless, being fed up, loosing sense of time, aimlessness, mental inactivity, frustration, irritability, isolation guilt hopelessness, lack of motivation and responsibility, anxiety, insecurity and feelings of degradation. In line with other research (Coffield et al, 1986; Schultz-Gambard et al, 1987) one predominant problem for many of the men (n=14) was boredom. A core of four men (all with poor mental health as measured by the GHQ) were highly distressed by unemployment. One expressed his feelings very articulately,

"Unemployment doesn't just make external slums of where you live. It gets deep inside you, it creates internal slums. It makes you so sick of it all, and everything piles up that you just think, 'I'll steal', or, 'I'll lie to the social' (DSS)...I started to feel myself turn into a cabbage. You go to bed and think, 'I'll solve all the problems if I never get up'. Lucky I
realised what was happening to me and blamed the government for it...I lost my sense of pride not being able to pay for anything, even the littlest things like the kiddies sweets. Everywhere you go and everything you do you feel second best. I'm ashamed I have to buy from jumble sales. It's ok when you don't have to, but now, I've to swallow my pride. You know, I've got a two year old whose never had anything new...All the time you deny yourself one thing to get another, it's demoralising. I can't go in a pub anymore ...I can't seem to think things out like I could, it's embarrassing and I bottle everything up. Then I have to get out (of the home) and I come up here (Scotswood Employment Project) and forget about my problems for a while. But then, you see, I feel guilty to Kate (wife) and Robert (son) being left behind and miserable and bored, terribly bored".

Boredom within the home environment was a real problem for some (n=14), and many of the men (n=32: 73%) said they had often been bored in unemployment. To investigate this problem further, a 'boredom questionnaire' was administered which covered where, when and how boredom originated and how people coped with it. The questionnaire was completed by the fourteen men who felt boredom was a problem. The results of the questionnaire show that boredom is both time and place specific. It occurs mainly at home in the morning after breakfast and chores have been completed. People became bored when they had nothing to do, felt 'fed up' or had to do something which they disliked. The experience of boredom could be debilitating as people felt they had little control over their own feelings and lives. Unemployment was described by one man as a constant boring wait for something to happen. The familiarity, sameness and lack of varied activities in the home were implicated in feelings of boredom. Watching TV was one passive activity engaged in while bored. Going to bed/sleep, making cups of tea and listening to music were activities used to combat boredom. Alternatively, people needed to get out of the home to alleviate boredom.
Financial problems, watching the family suffer and social problems gave rise to very negative thoughts and feelings. Worrying at home and boredom were common problem which the men sought to escape by going out: shopping; community and employment projects; walking the streets; visiting friends or relatives; the pub; and playing sports. Many of the men felt bitter towards the DSS and the government for enforcing unemployment on them but were able to rationalise their predicament by blaming the government and so were able to feel better about themselves.

Activity Problems: A number of problems revolved around the concepts of activity and time. The unemployment literature shows that keeping active is not sufficient to promote good mental health in unemployment, but meaningful, purposive activity is required (Jahoda, 1984; Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984; Haworth and Evans, 1987). Indeed, for the participants in this study (45%), the lack of purposive activity was seen as a major problem. Without work, the effort required to maintain purposive activity can be immense (Jahoda, 1982). A barriers to activity was administered to those people who mentioned the problem of activity. People chose from a list of seventeen activities and places which they would like to do but don't. They were then given a list of thirty two psychologically, socially, and financially oriented reasons for not engaging in the activities. Barriers to each activity were then elicited, more than one barrier could be chosen for each activity or place. Both activities list and barriers list are presented in appendix 6.

Financial barriers were chosen for lack of use of restaurants, cinemas and holiday places. These were linked to guilt about spending money and lack of confidence. Swimming and sports were avoided through lack of confidence and ability. Having no-one to go with and not being aware of local facilities were also issues. Educational courses and workshops for the unemployed were not used on the basis of lack of confidence, intellectual ability and knowledge of facilities, not being able to get what they wanted out of it,
embarrassment at being unemployed and family obligations. Inability to maintain commitment and non-payment were barriers to voluntary work. The Centre against Unemployment was seen as too political for those who knew of it, but most were unaware that it existed. In general, lack of confidence, knowledge, abilities and financial problems linked to guilt were the key barriers to purposeful activity in unemployment.

6. Opportunities in Unemployment

To understand the experience of life events it is necessary to look at both negative and positive aspects (Westbrook, 1986). Positive experiences can derived from very negative events (Sheehy, 1983). In much of the unemployment literature, opportunities are often overlooked (eg Archer and Rhodes, 1987). Yet there is evidence of the positive nature of unemployment (Haworth and Miller, 1986; Haworth and Evans, 1987) even in the early Marienthal studies (Jahoda, et al, 1933). More recently, Jackson and Warr (1983) studied one thousand unemployed people and only one fifth of them reported psychological deterioration while 8% reported improved mental health. Fryer and Payne (1986) revealed proactive people in unemployment who were able to conceive of and experience benefits such as self development and the achievement of personally meaningful goals. Payne and Hartley (1987) propose a model of unemployment experience which includes problems, opportunities and supports. Thus, it is necessary to look at the kinds of opportunity offered to the unemployed unemployed as well as investigating the ways in which some unemployed people are able to minimise the deleterious effects of unemployment by construing their own circumstances in positive ways (Travers, 1985).

Although most of the men in the present study talked of problems in unemployment, a substantial number also experienced opportunities and benefits in unemployment. In response to the request,
Tell me of any good things or opportunities that unemployment has brought,

a range opportunities emerged and were again content analysed. A mean of 3.7 opportunities were reported per person (sd 3.08). Correlation coefficient significant at the 0.01 level shows that opportunities experienced in unemployment are linked to good general mental health (r=-0.53), little anxiety (r=-0.52) or depression (r=-0.35). Again, as with problems, no differences were found between number or types of opportunity experience in areas of high and low unemployment, age or length of unemployment. Table 4.5 lists the content categories.

Table 4.5 Opportunities in Unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opportunity Categories</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work Related Benefits</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity and Lifestyle Benefits</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Improvement</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Benefits</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement in Physical Health</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four types of opportunities were frequently mentioned: work related benefits; activity and lifestyle benefits and psychological benefits.

Work Related Benefits: Payne and Hartley (1987) found that unemployed men appreciated release from work, and work related pressures in unemployment. In the present study, men who had not enjoyed their work (n=8) saw unemployment as a release from stressful or boring work situations, bosses and working relationships. Not having to attend the workplace was as significant a benefit as was the release from working hassles. A further proportion had used unemployment to improve their qualifications and work experience so that they could now move into new, more rewarding areas of employment (n=14). These people frequented
colleges of education and unemployment workshops. Others had begun to work in the underground economy (n=17) and voluntary sector (n=10) and enjoyed the freedom and self determination this experienced afforded.

Activity and Lifestyle Benefits: Fryer and Payne (1984, 1986) recognised that meaningful activities and a fulfilling lifestyle was possible in unemployment. Enjoying aspects of unemployment may not be an unusual phenomenon. 61% of the participants felt that some aspects relating to quality of life and everyday activities had improved in unemployment. They had become more self motivated and self determined in creating, planning and carrying out activities in accordance with personal, familial and community goals. Particular activities enjoyed were sports, gardening, reading, travelling, DIY, writing and studying. Many of these activities were located within the home context. The feeling of time and freedom to do personally meaningful things was as important as the actual performance of the activity. The benefits of engaging in such activities had encouraged the men to adopt new outlooks on life, as one man said,

"I'm thoroughly enjoying unemployment. I was cooped up in an factory for twenty years and I thought it was the only thing to do. But all that's changed now. Now I look back and think, 'Is that what life's all about'. You know what the best thing is? It's the thrill, the sheer joy of walking in the park during the day. Its a new world, a daytime world. I've seen the spring, the summer, the autumn and winter for the first time. I can't explain it. its thrilling. its a whole way of life".

Psychological Improvement: Jackson and Warr (1983) reported that 8% of unemployed people reported improved psychological health. In line with this, participants in the present study reported a range of ways in which they had improved psychologically since becoming unemployed. 45% of the men reported some form of psychological
improvement (although many of them had also reported negative aspects of unemployment).

The major improvements had been in terms of self awareness. Unemployment had provided the impetus for self-reflection. The men had taken control of the everyday running of their lives, made choices about their activities and mastered their own problems. They had learned of their own strengths and weaknesses, their potential and limitations. The men thought they were nicer people with time and willingness to listen and understand other people's problems. As one man said,

"You can learn from unemployment. I've developed my outlook on life and I've looked at the fundamentals of life and I'm a much better person for it. I think I'm more tolerant, and a thinking person now. I found that thinking things out, about yourself or whatever, is the hardest thing you can do. And I can do it".

During the course of the interviews, these twenty men undertook a twenty sentences task in which they had to complete twenty sentences beginning with the words 'I am'. The results of this task show signs of very positive self concepts. Positive psychological descriptions were the most common form of response: 108 statements by 20 people out of a total of 275 statements altogether). People described themselves as happy, humorous, sensitive, confident, easy going, patient, generous, warm-hearted, affable, amenable, caring, conscientious, earnest, straightforward and honest. Descriptions also concerned cognitive abilities such as good thinkers and decision makers, intelligent, numerate, challenging and constructive. Other categories of self descriptions were: 56 negative psychological descriptions eg impatient, moody; 20 work related descriptions eg skilled worker, unemployed; 35 interest descriptions eg sportsman, animal lover; and 41 physical characteristics eg, tall, male, married. Fifteen statements were not included in the analysis as they were too difficult to interpret.
Social Benefits: Unemployment can bring with it significant and positive changes to social relationships, home and family life. For some (n=12: 27%), marital relationships had improved through sharing a full life together at home. The men felt they understood their wives better and had more constructive interaction with their children. A further 7% of the sample enjoyed a better social life in unemployment than previously. These people had met new friends through shared interests in sport and music,

"I've met some really smashing people since I've been unemployed. People I've lived next to all my life and never met them. And now we've got the time together you see, to play football and that".

The data shows that as well as taking advantage of opportunities offered in unemployment such as not having the hassles associated with employment, the men were able to interpret their own situations in some very positive ways.

7. Life Changes in Unemployment

Parkes (1971) suggests that critical life events can cause transitions in the person's physical and assumptive world. Alongside problems and opportunities, unemployed people may experience other changes in their lives. For instance, Payne and Hartley (1987) suggest income changes and changes in current affective states. Changes may be experienced in the perception of time (Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984) and political views (Clark, 1985) and values (Fryer and Payne, 1984).

After talking of the problems and opportunities in unemployment, the men were asked,
Are there any other ways in which you and your life has changed since you became unemployed.

Most of the men were able to contribute by explaining changes listed in table 4.6. Participants discussed how their view of the future had changed dramatically in unemployment. They also reflected on their experience of time in unemployment and how everyday thoughts, values, political views and moods had changed. Experienced changes reported were not related to age, length of unemployment or location. People who had begun to feel there was no future ahead of them were more anxious than those whose view of the future involved a more family oriented lifestyle (t=1.833, significant at the 0.05 level). Otherwise, there was no association between general mental health, or depression and changes experienced in unemployment.

Table 4.6 Changes in Unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life Changes</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>View of the Future</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Experience of time</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday thoughts</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday moods</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Views</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

View of the Future: Many of the men talked of their attitude towards their own future. 32% felt they had no future to look forward to other than that of the continuing presence of unemployment. Twenty men (45%) were more optimistic (see appendix 7). Their plans were usually related to a present day family oriented lifestyle and an enjoyable working life after the economic depression had receded.
The Experience of Time: The first issue here was that of the experience of passing time. In unemployment the experience of time passing slowly and uneventfully can be distressing (Coffield et al, 1986). Some of the long term unemployed men related this experience to their lives being of little value. Philip suffered from time passing slowly,

"When you're unemployed and you're sitting in the house with nothing to do, two hours can seem like two weeks. You never think the day's going to end".

Secondly, unemployment created an expansion of time, time to do things, stretching into the future. Time was not a precious resource to use carefully, instead people tended to forget the usual time markers such as name of day, time of day, even name of month.

Finally, the differentiation between weekday and weekend, working hours and leisure time had eroded to some extent. For some, there was no longer a social time structure to everyday life other than that of morning, afternoon, evening and night. Others had created activity routines at home for specific times of day and used special symbols to break up the day eg meal times, TV news or children returning from school.

Thoughts, Moods, Views and Values: Participants reported that their thoughts focused more on the home and family than the former workplace. Planning everyday activities in and around the home, maintenance, DIY, household routines and housework. Other thoughts revolved around the general unemployment situation as discussed in the media. Moreover, the men tended to think deeply about the causes of unemployment, their own life circumstances of unemployment and ways of finding work. The conservative party was often blamed for creating and then doing nothing to alleviate unemployment. Some of the men complained of experiencing mood swings for inconsequential reasons. 32% of the men talked of how unemployment had provided the impetus for a re-structuring of
things they most valued. Home life, family, health and happiness were most valued while employment, formally valued highly, was now less important.

8. The Experience of Unemployment: A Multi-dimensional Analysis

Thus far, the investigation had explored the various circumstances surrounding the men and their everyday lives. These have been related to mental health and to environmental location. In addition the social, spatial and temporal context of unemployment has been studied. Having done this, a multi-dimensional analysis can relate the various experiences of unemployment together in order to look for structural relationships within the data.

A data matrix (see appendix 7) was constructed which detailed the experiential nature of unemployment together with important variables of age, duration of unemployment, physical health, social context (friends unemployed) and spatial location which emerged from the early analysis. The matrix cells documented whether or not each person had mentioned financial, social, psychological or activity problems, psychological improvements, work related or activity opportunities, changes in their view of the future, age, duration, physical health, friends unemployed and the location in which they lived. This matrix formed the basic input to an MSA or multi-dimensional scalogram analysis (Lingoes, 1973). Details of MSA appear in appendix 2.

The analysis resulted in a visual plot in which each participant is represented by a single point. According to the principle of contiguity, the closer two points are in space, the more similar they are in terms of the problems, opportunities, changes and personal characteristics mentioned earlier. The MSA plot is presented in figure 4.2. By studying the plot to locate regions of contiguity, ie where all the men are similar to each other, it is possible to identify
Figure 4.2 Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis of Unemployed Men's Life Experiences of Unemployment

co-ef -9
groups of men characterised by similar experiences of unemployment. Four such groups are identified in figure 4.2 corresponding to four contiguity regions. Table 4.7 details the basis on which each group is formed.

Table 4.7 Unemployment and the Structure of Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Unemployment duration</th>
<th>Friends unemployed</th>
<th>Physical health</th>
<th>Financial problems</th>
<th>Psychological problems</th>
<th>Social problems</th>
<th>Activity problems</th>
<th>Psychological Improvement</th>
<th>Activity Benefits</th>
<th>Work Benefits</th>
<th>Future Plans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Scotswood</td>
<td>1-2y</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Scotswood</td>
<td>1-2y</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Scotswood</td>
<td>1-2y</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Older</td>
<td>Scotswood</td>
<td>3-8y</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M = group is mixed on this variable.

Group 1: (n=14) In this group, the men are coping well with unemployment. They live within a social network of unemployment but have been unemployed for only one to two years. They enjoy good physical health and report few problems, enjoy a range of benefits and see themselves as having improved psychologically since unemployment. These men tend to see unemployment in positive ways.

Group 2: (n=4) The men in this group are young (between 25-39 years old), have been unemployed between one and two years and live in a social and environmental context of high unemployment. Despite experiencing financial, social and psychological problems,
they do not see unemployment as an entirely negative experience. They have little difficulty in occupying themselves with meaningful activities, enjoy freedom from the rigours and hassles of work and claim that they have benefited psychologically from unemployment. They all have plans for the future based on a fulfilling working life. Although these men do have problems brought about through unemployment, they are able to maintain a positive attitude towards themselves and their life in unemployment. This positive attitude extends into hopes for the future.

**Group 3**: (n=19) This group is characterised by relatively short periods of unemployment, good health, a social context of unemployment and experience of financial, social, psychological difficulties together with problems in occupying time. These problems are not counterbalanced by a realisation of the benefits of unemployment. These men do see themselves with a future either based around hearth and home or in the world of work. Unemployment for these men is an overtly negative experience.

**Group 4**: (n=7) The men forming this group have a rather different experience of unemployment to the other three groups. They have all been unemployed for many years and they are older men (between 40 and 60 years old) and live in an area of high unemployment. Moreover, none of their friends are unemployed, they are in poor physical health and suffer financial, social and psychological problems in everyday life. They do, however, enjoy their daily activities which tend to be centred very much on home and family life. Most of these men claim to have no working future and have turned to home and family to sustain themselves in a domestic lifestyle.

Groups one and two have a positive orientations towards their lives in unemployment whereas groups three and four are much more negative. Group four in particular has turned away from employment as an aim and towards the home and family. Having grouped the men together it is possible to see whether or not the people who are
positive outlook enjoy better mental health than those who have a negative outlook. T-tests showed that positive people (n=18) do indeed have better general mental health (t=5.629, significant at the 0.005 level), are less anxious (t=5.405, significant at the 0.005 level) and less depressed (t=2.760, significant at the 0.05 level) than people who are generally negative (n=26) about their life in unemployment.

9. Unemployment and Place

The aim of this chapter was to reveal the life circumstances of unemployment so that in future chapters person-place relationships could be understood in terms of the person and the circumstances surrounding their lives. However, during data analysis there have been indications already of the relationship between life circumstances and place. When the men talked about the problems, opportunities and changes in their lives, they almost always entailed inclusion of the environmental background of places. The men rarely talked of financial problems without evaluating the role of the DSS and other organisations. The DSS was not simply a place, but was viewed as a distressing place which functioned to provide financial payments. Social problems and opportunities were often based directly in the home, neighbourhood and pub. Discussions of work related problems and opportunities always included descriptions of the former workplace, unemployment workshops, voluntary or underground economy workplaces. Evidently, people did not see their life circumstances as separate from the places which form the environmental background of their lives.

Problems, opportunities and changes were not just experienced in places, but involved the functions, social contacts and symbolic meanings of places. For example, financial problems were not just thought about at home, they were manifest in the standard of living experienced at home, evident in the physical condition of the home
and the source of marital disharmony in the home. In this, the home as a location, a functional entity, a meaningful symbolic and social environment were all implicated. These examples are indications of the way in which person-place relationships help to structure the experience of unemployment. Much of this thesis will be devoted to understanding this relationship.

10. Conclusions

It was argued in chapter two that a comprehensive exploration of person-place relations needs to understand the dynamics of the person. It needs to understand what is going on in the person's life so that a comprehensive assessment of how that person uses places and how they negotiate place meanings can be achieved. In this chapter, the life circumstances of the forty four unemployed men were thoroughly investigated, setting the ground for an evaluation of the role of life circumstances in person-place relations in future chapters.

Attention was focused on mental health in unemployment, the impact of location in high or relatively low levels of local unemployment and the social and temporal context of unemployment including the extent of unemployment in the social network, unemployment duration and sub-unemployment. The experiential nature of unemployment was explored when people were encouraged to talk about the ways in which unemployment had permeated their lives. In this, the problems, opportunities and changes in daily life brought by unemployment were discussed.

The sample was recruited using a purposive sampling rather than a purely random sampling technique. This aimed to emphasise a range of person-place relationships in unemployment and had the potential to affect results since some of the men were in need of help, advice or taking advantage of the leisure and educational opportunities
afforded by various organisations. Despite this, the mental health of the sample was generally good and paralleled mental health scores reported in other studies (Banks and Jackson, 1982; Rowley and Feather, 1987). Physical health was also good for the majority of the sample. A number of factors were associated with mental health. The men with qualifications enjoyed better mental health than those without, perhaps because qualifications made men more positive about their future employment prospects since they had qualifications to back up their practical skills. In previous studies of unemployment, manual workers have been treated as a homogeneous group (cf Hepworth, 1980; Payne, Warr and Hartley, 1984). This study shows that it is important to consider the skill level and qualifications held by unemployed people when looking at the psychological impact of unemployment.

Research has suggested differences in mental health between long and short term unemployed people with poorer mental health associated with longer term unemployment (Hepworth, 1980; Rowley and Feather, 1987). Unemployment is seen as a 'downward trail' which blights the person's life having deleterious effects on mental health (Travers, 1985). The phasic model of unemployment (Jahoda, 1982) involves just such a downward trail from initial feelings of holidaying, through increasing pessimism and to fatalism. Yet some studies (Warr et al, 1982) have found no differences in mental health between shorter and longer term unemployed people. Warr et al (1982) suggest discrepancies result from studies using different categories of people. They propose that longer term unemployment may be associated with worsening mental health for older rather than younger people eg school leavers. In the present study, the men were all mature, married men. While no differences were found between age and mental health for the sample, there was a difference in mental health scores between the men who had been unemployed for shorter periods (one to two years) and those unemployed for three years and more. These results indicate that there are mental health implications the longer unemployment
progresses. Studies which treat the long term unemployed as a homogeneous group will be unable to make such discriminations.

Actively looking for work was also associated with poor mental health. There has been research into the effect of employment commitment on mental health in unemployment (Banks and Warr, 1983; Jackson and Warr, 1984; Rowley and Feather, 1987). These studies have found that the more committed a person is to employment, the worse is their mental health. Employment commitment is reflected in the job search activity so present results are consistent with other studies. The men felt that looking for work was unproductive within the economic climate, frustrating and distressing and preferred to avoid this distress by not looking for work.

It has been suggested that the environmental context of unemployment may affect mental health (Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984; Miles, 1984) as may the social context through which unemployment is experienced (Gore, 1978; McKee and Bell, 1987). To investigate these proposition, the sample was drawn from one area of high and one area of low unemployment. There was no association between mental health and location, perception of unemployment in the local neighbourhood or street. Neither was there an association between the extent of unemployment among family or friends and mental health. However, people living in the area of high unemployment did perceive a high environmental context of unemployment, were surrounded by unemployed neighbours and friends, had been unemployed for longer periods and had suffered previous periods of unemployment (sub-unemployment). The spatial, social and temporal context of unemployment was linked together such that people tended to either live in a highly concentrated context of unemployment, or were relatively isolated in areas of low unemployment. As mentioned earlier, there were no mental health implications of living in such areas.
It may be that information about social-spatial contexts is less useful in understanding the implications of unemployment than knowledge of the experiential nature of unemployment. To this end, the investigation uncovered problems, opportunities and changes unemployment had brought into everyday life. While age, length of unemployment and location had were unrelated to the extent of problems, opportunities and changes experienced, there were some interesting associations between unemployment experiences and mental health. As in other studies of unemployment, problems centred around financial (Jackson, 1986), social (Fagin and Little, 1984), psychological (Jahoda, 1982), activity (Hepworth, 1980) and lifestyle (Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984) issues. In line with the results of Payne and Hartley (1987), the more problems a person reported, the worse was their mental health.

Payne and Hartley (1987) also looked at the implications of the opportunity structure surrounding unemployed people. They found that perceived opportunities in unemployment did not moderate the impact of problems faced by the unemployed. Although the results from the present study found the same sorts of opportunities and benefits as Payne and Hartley including psychological improvement, work related and lifestyle benefits, there was an association between mental health and opportunity structure. This was perhaps due to the more in-depth, experiential nature of this study which encouraged people talk in detail about unemployment and the benefits they saw in their own lives. The more benefits the men perceived, the better was their mental health. They explained this in terms of creating a new alternative lifestyle which did not hark back to the frustrations and disappointments of the labour market. This went beyond seeing a silver lining to an otherwise dark cloud but involved a reorientation of everyday life often focused on home and family life.

Unemployment is not an experience defined simply by problems and opportunities, but involves subtle changes in everyday thoughts, activities and moods. Changes attributed to unemployment were
investigated including everyday thoughts, moods, political tendencies and view of the future. Changes were generally not related to mental health, although people who saw no employment future ahead of them did tend to be more anxious than those who felt the labour market had little relevance for them.

The experiential nature of unemployment pointed to the possibility of some people having a positive outlook concerning unemployment, the people who reported opportunities and people with a negative outlook who reported more problems. A multi-dimensional analysis of life circumstances of unemployment showed the existence of four groups of men. Each group characterised by certain life circumstances. Two groups were can be described as positively oriented in unemployment, while the other two were negatively oriented. People who were positively oriented enjoyed better mental health than people who were negatively oriented.

Thus far, the life circumstances of unemployment have been revealed. Despite the fact that there were no relationships between environmental location and mental health, problems, opportunities or changes in unemployment, there were indications of ways in which the experience of unemployment impinges on person-place relations. The data suggests that looking at environment as an undifferentiated locality (eg neighbourhood) has little explanatory value in terms of understanding person-place relations. However, a closer look at the experiential data reveals ways in which particular places were used and evaluated in unemployment. The relationship between financial problems, the home environment and the DSS have all been mentioned as examples of the way in which life circumstances are brought into and are structured within person-place relationships. An understanding of this relationship requires a specific focus on the range of places used by unemployed people in their everyday lives. But before a focus is taken on these person-place relationships, another important context must be considered. This is the socio-cultural context. This is examined in the next chapter which shows ways in which the socio-cultural context, in the form of
social representations, brings wider social meanings of unemployment into everyday person-place relations.
Chapter 5

Socio-Cultural Context: Social Representations of Unemployment

1. Introduction

2. Media Representations

3. Individual and Shared Representations

4. Social Representations of Unemployment

5. Social Representations and Place

6. Group Similarities and Differences in Shared Representations

7. Social Representations of the Unemployed

8. Social Representations and Life Circumstances of Unemployment

9. Conclusions
1. Introduction

In the theoretical analysis of person-place relations, an argument was made for a contextual approach which involves an analysis of the socio-cultural context of person-place. Social representations (Moscovici, 1961; 1984; 1988) were proposed as vehicles through which shared norms, conventions and values could be understood (Fuhrer, 1990) to apply to action in place (Canter, 1988). They are seen as phenomena which integrate psychological concepts with socio-cultural structures. It was also argued that an analysis of social representations of unemployment would provide an opportunity to explore the socio-cultural context of person-place relations together with life circumstances of unemployment. As in the previous chapter, person-place relations are not stressed in data collection so that their spontaneous appearance in the analysis confirms the importance of social representations in understanding the use and meaning of places.

Social representations research promotes the examination of large scale social processes and psychological mechanisms and the relations between the two as a single unit of analysis (Fraser, 1986). Social representations are seen to have a social nature which stretches beyond shared cognitions into 'objective facticity', a reality sui generis (Berger and Luckman, 1966). They are systems of logic, of values, ideas and practises, repositories of socio-cultural norms and conventions, meanings and evaluations. These are organised into everyday lay theories about the world and how it works. Their functions, Moscovici (1984) suggests, are the discovery and organisation of reality through anchoring and objectifying information and so turning the unfamiliar to the familiar. By turning abstractions into concrete phenomena, the strange into the familiar, social representations provide a source of information which enables people to understand and transact with their world. As such, they provide a base of knowledge and common-sense which can be used in determining future action in the world.

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Canter (1988) and Fuhrer (1990) have argued that social representations must also contain and structure information about the physical environment. If the person is to use social representations to help guide action then they must do so with knowledge of the meanings, possibilities and constraints offered by the physical world of places. People may then bring social representations to bear on their individual actions in order to ensure that such actions are socially acceptable within the contexts of situation and place. Adopting socially acceptable actions suited to their contexts maximise the possibility that such actions are effective in achieving their goals. This fits in with the essence of Fuhrer's (1990) argument that social representations represent action related components of social regulation. This is not to say that social representation prescribe particular actions for particular situations and places, but that they provide the structures which furnish socio-cultural knowledge and evaluations that the person can use in formulating their action.

But this may not be the only way in which action, place and social representations are interrelated. Moscovici (1984) says that social representations are created and re-created in communication as dynamic structures which may then help to re-create the social reality in which they are enmeshed. Thus, it is important to emphasise the role of language as a medium through which social representations are created and accessed. Different forms of language based communication can be considered in this respect such as conversations, books, newspapers, magazines, posters, TV and radio programmes. However, language is not the only form of communication. Meanings created through transactions with objects, artifacts and in places are also forms of communication through which social representations may emerge. In this, action is the main form of communication not only using information, but creating information about transactions within the social world.

Given the diversity of potential sources of social representations, one can expect a range of different social representations to emerge concerning the same phenomenon (Breakwell, 1986). The dynamic of
ever changing social representations also makes possible the emergence of different social representations (Fraser, 1986). Moreover, individual experiences can contribute individual representations of the phenomenon. It is important to distinguish between representations which are individually held, those which are shared perhaps between a group of people and those which are truly social in origin. Indeed, Augustinos (1991) has criticised research in social representations research which has sought consensus at the expense of diversity and individuality.

Herein lies one of the main controversial aspects of social representations theory. Moscovici has given little indication in his writings of the level of consensus which defines a 'social' representation. Many studies fail to provide any information on levels of consensus (cf Herzlich, 1973; Ullah, 1987). Given that the central defining feature of a social representation is its consensual nature (Moscovici and Hewstone, 1983), attention to establishing levels of consensus is essential. The problem is magnified by the different types of studies all completed in the name of social representations. Representations accessed through in-depth interviewing are not likely to reach the same levels of consensus as representations evident through structured, closed format survey data. In his use of structured survey data, Fraser (1986) implies a consensus of 75% is acceptable. Hewstone (1986) gives an indication that in open ended interviewing 10% of shared responses achieve a consensus while Blair (1987) suggests around 20%. Although these are as yet arbitrary percentages, a more stringent criteria of 25% is used in the present open ended study.

A consensus of thought of 25% or more is expressive of shared cognitive representations. In some studies a 'social' representations is nothing more than a representation which is shared (eg Augustinos, 1991) thereby remaining with individualised conceptions of traditional social psychology. Jaspers and Fraser (1984) clarify the meaning of 'social' in 'social representations'. They point out that social representations are social in three ways:
By dealing with social reality in the social structural and cultural sense

They are social in origin

They are widely shared and as a result become part of social reality in itself.

It is in this last sense that social representations are distinguished from social cognition. They are more than cognitive entities as they have their own social existence. In the present study social representations of unemployment are culturally grounded, social in origin (created by a social system) and will be shown to be both widely shared and part of social reality.

The existence of social representations, Fraser claims (1986) has yet to be fully identified. This requires, firstly, an analysis of objective social reality underlying representations together with shared cognitive representations. Secondly, representations as structured systems of thoughts ideas etc (lay theories) have yet to be presented as opposed to a consensus of individual attitudes about a particular topic. A multi dimensional analysis of holistic lay theories allows a comparison of social representations as systems. This technique is followed in the present study of social representations of unemployment.

Social representations of unemployment have been the focus of some research and speculation (Breakwell, 1986; Moscovici, 1984; Ullah, 1987). Social representations of unemployment may stress the individual as responsible for their own unemployment or alternatively, the government as the architects of unemployment. Social representations may demean the unemployed and so contribute to a social and physical restriction in the lifeworld of unemployed people who seek to avoid social stigma. However, Ullah's work suggests that social representations of unemployment are highly complex involving rationalisations of the status of unemployed people.
and their ways of life. Unfortunately Ullah considered only interview data without looking to wider social processes implicated in 'social' representations.

In the present study, the full complexity of social representations are investigated. The methodology employed (see chapter 3) ensures that the social nature of representations is tackled through analysis of media data, interview data and conversational analysis. Moreover, five different social groups are involved in the sample: the unemployed; employed; and retired people; students; and people working in organisations dealing with unemployment (see chapter 3 for details of the sample) so that both the content and structure of aggregate as well as group social representations are revealed.

This chapter reports on media representations of unemployment and those accessed through interview and conversational analysis. Taken together the three data sources provide for an investigation of social representations spanning individual cognition and social reality. Firstly, the media representations are presented, followed by representations accessed in conversational data. Then individual representations gained through interviews are explored and their shared nature revealed. A comparison of media, conversational and shared representations highlights social representations of unemployment. Group differences and similarities are identified and a core of representations proposed. Through multi-dimensional analysis of holistic social representation structures, four distinct social representations of unemployment are revealed. Social representations of the unemployed group are then investigated in more depth. The implications of these representations for the use and meaning of places is discussed. Throughout the whole analysis, the environmental grounding and action related aspects of social representations are highlighted.
2. Media Representations

Moscovici (1961) linked the origin of social representations to mass media sources. His seminal work documents the transformation of a scientific theory (psychoanalysis) through media sources into the lay theory of psychoanalysis understood by non-scientists. Unfortunately, much empirical research into social representations neglects this important social source of information (cf. Ullah, 1987; Augoustinos, 1991). There are exceptions which show the value of a multi-method approach to revealing social representations. For example, Hewstone (1986) analysed social representations of the European Economic Community and Litton and Potter (1985) studied social representations of a riot both using media sources together with interview data. It is only through investigation of external social reality (as evidenced in the media and other social artifacts) that research escapes paying lip service to the notion of social representations by only examining shared cognitive representations.

Seaton (1986) has indicated the importance of understanding media representations for interpreting the political and social phenomenon of unemployment. In their analysis of the media role of interpreting and presenting information about unemployment, they describe how unemployment can be personalised and transformed into an individual rather than a social problem. Furthermore, it was presented as the problem, not of ordinary people, but of workshy scroungers. Thus the unemployed were alienated and cast as a social threat. The role of the media in elaborating hostile images of unemployment is well documented in this analysis and in other articles (e.g., Golding and Middleton, 1979). They show that media sources provide important representations of unemployment which are socially available, read and interpreted by millions of people. A study of social representations of unemployment cannot proceed without the study of media representations.
In the present study, newspapers, theatre productions, cinema presentations, TV and radio programmes were monitored for any mention of unemployment over a period of three months. Although programmes were not transcribed, due to time and financial constraints, full notes were taken during transmissions which proved satisfactory at the time of analysis. Articles \( f=459 \) and programmes \( f=123 \) of which \( 102 \) were on TV) targeted were subjected to content analysis in which the key themes relating the unemployment were identified and categorised. The key themes to emerge are listed below, ordered from most frequent reports to least frequent:

Descriptions of local and national job losses: 152 reports;
Boredom/financial problems promote crime: 118 reports;
Unemployed people suffering poor mental health: 83 reports;
Governmental policies and world recession: 60 reports;
Job gains usually in the local area: 57 reports;
Information on welfare/community facilities: 48 reports;
Achievements of individual unemployed people: 45 reports.

Nineteen reports were difficult to interpret and were left out of the analysis. By far the most predominant issue presented were those concerning job losses. These covered a wide range of industries, commercial businesses and the public sector: 600 jobs to go at the local Royal Ordnance Factory; 1000 from Coles Cranes; 2000 from Tyneside Shipyards; undefined numbers from within the health service; and education. Stories stressed the circumstances surrounding factory closures, industrial decline, non-competitive businesses and manpower rationalisation. Deleterious effects on the local area and local unemployment statistics were highlighted, as expressed by one front page article,

2100 Yard Jobs To Go On The Tyne
Cuts Disastrous- Union Chief
British shipbuilders blame a lack of work...we will have to consider redundancies...Jarrow MP Mr Don Dixon said last night: "It's disastrous news for Tyneside and for my
constituency, where unemployment is around 30%. We just can't stand this sort of redundancies." (The Journal, 22.11.84).

Not only were job loss reports more frequent but they also dominated newspaper headlines and TV news reports in comparison to the more positive representations of job gains and unemployed people's achievements. Media reports also tended to emphasise welfare issues and political policies. These argued that actual or potential effects of governmental policies were limited in their power to reduce unemployment. Similar to Seaton's (1986) findings, unemployment was presented as a product of worldwide recession rather than solely of government policies.

Seaton also found that unemployment was cast as a problem of individuals, many of whom were undeserving of welfare aid. Some similar representations appeared in this data analysis. Individual unemployed people were represented as depressed, bored and suffering in an life of unemployment brought on in part by their own lack of ability, skills and workshy attitudes. The families of unemployed men were described in sympathetic terms,

"Bishop tells of 'no shoes' schoolboy. Synod hears of North family redundancy poverty plight" (The Journal, 15.11.84).

Unemployed men, on the other hand, were associated with crimes of assault and theft. In this, financial problems were often mentioned and crime was implicated as a consequence of these,

"Fiddler's Blaze Blunder
The unemployed builder decided to burn a bank statement which he believed would arouse his wife's suspicions. But it all went wrong when he accidentally set fire to a settee...he had twice fiddled Commercial Union Insurance (and)...Faked a burglary at his home alleging that a 'substantial' amount of money had been taken" (The Journal, 16.10.84).

"An unemployed man stole money..." (The Journal, 14.11.84)
"North men on drugs charges...all unemployed" (The Journal, 9.11.84)

Representations of the undeserving nature of some unemployed people were emphasised in reports of DSS scrounging and the 'Snooper Squads' employed by the DSS to reveal fraudulent claims made especially by men working in the underground economy. A climate of fear of the unemployed was detectable in stories of the "...dangers to social cohesion" (The Journal, 21.11.84) posed by unemployment.

Positive representations of the unemployed were made, although these tended to be less frequent and less prominent (mid newspaper, few column cms). Job gains in the region were particularly positive with news such as,

"Cable Factory to Double Size
Work is to start on a Washington factory expansion which will create 140 jobs" (Evening Chronicle, 17.10.84).

Job gain figures were always small in comparison to job losses and reports of a newly opening Market Garden, and self employed businesses were lost among the news of large scale job losses. Other positive images to emerge from the media were generally personally oriented concerning various sporting and personal achievements made by individual men and women. Achievements were reported as part of the special determination and personal qualities of exceptional unemployed people. Again unemployment is individualised, achievements in unemployment were not generalised to the mass of unemployed people.

Media representations were far more negatively than positively oriented (see table 5.1). Cinema representations were universally negative covering the devastating psychological impact of unemployment on personal and family life involving little hope of personal abilities to gain employment. Both TV and newspapers
contained governmental policies and human interest stories and the impact of unemployment at national and local levels. These tended to be negatively toned, although some positive stories did emerge. The radio gave a more balanced view, while magazines were generally more positive than negative in their portrayal of achieving unemployed individuals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.1 Positive and Negative Media Representations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Taken together, media representations gave a picture of mass unemployment and industrial decline in the region with job losses continually threatened. Financially and psychologically people suffered because of world recession, lack of governmental help and their own inabilities. Some individuals were achievers, but many more engaged in criminal activities given their financial difficulties. In this, psychological factors concerning unemployment (depression and general mental health), financial factors (lack of money), activity factors (crime and achievements), work related factors (job losses, gains and underground economy working) and welfare factors (DSS policy and aid) all contributed to media representations of unemployment.

In order to derive as much information from media reports as possible the analysis went on to include information held within the nuances of language, an important aspect of social representations research (Moscovici, 1984). Consequently, metaphors used in the newspaper concerning unemployment were also analysed. Metaphors were identified following Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of
'metaphors we live by'. They claim that metaphors are central to the task of accounting for the world in language by providing a perspective or way of looking at things which are directly understood. The objectification processes involved in the creation and functioning of social representations may involve the figuration of knowledge in which metaphors are substituted for complex notions (Hewstone, 1986). Thus, metaphors of unemployment may help to make the abstract and complex notion of unemployment a concrete reality which is easily understood.

The metaphors derived were mainly concerned with violence and war (f=172). Job losses were said to 'hit' the region, jobs were 'cut' or 'axed' and people were 'fighting' for jobs in an 'explosive' unemployment situation. The workplace was a focus of attention for many of the violence metaphors where job losses were seen to hit industry rather than people. Violence metaphors ensure that unemployment is understood as a sudden and damaging phenomenon which little can be done to prevent.

Fifty four metaphors were identified concerned health. In these, people and factories were seen as 'suffering' unemployment, they were 'agonising' and 'debilitated' in an 'ailing' economy. Some reports spoke of the need for an 'injection' of money to give the economy a 'shot in the arm'. The implications of such metaphors are interesting as they cast the unemployed as well as industry and business as ailing yet offer hope of improvement through the intervention of spending plans.

As with media reports, the metaphors reinforce negative representations of unemployment in terms of a fight for survival where people are both helpless and suffering. Both metaphors and actual reports emphasised the critical importance of the workplace in the experience of unemployment.
Individual and intersubjectively shared representations, central to any study of social representations, are examined in this section. One hundred and twenty-five people were interviewed to gain their thoughts and feelings about unemployment. The sample consisted of 41 unemployed people, 21 people working in organisations which deal with unemployment, 18 retired people, 20 students and 25 people employed in skilled, semi- or unskilled jobs. Two ways of accessing their representations were used: analysis of conversations; interviews using an interview schedule.

Conversational Analysis: Moscovici (1984) stresses the importance of language and communication in social representations research. It is in communication that social representations are created and re-created. Consequently, it is important to access representations evident in conversation. The use of conversations was valuable in documenting the types of issues discussed concerning unemployment in everyday life. Tapes of everyday conversations were ethically and operationally difficult to access, so reports of conversations were elicited and used. Although these are subject to memory and interpretational problems, they do afford some indications of the ways in which unemployment enters into daily discourse. As part of the interview session, respondents were asked to recount any conversations they had held concerning unemployment or unemployed people over the past week.

In all, 48% (n=60) had not held such conversations. This included 51% of the unemployed sample. One unemployed man explained this,

"It's enough to live with it, never mind having to talk about it as well. The point is to accept it and get on with it. I don't see anyone to talk to these days, anyhow".

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Analysis of the conversations held showed differences in content. Retired people concentrated on job losses and decline in industry at both national and local levels. Students discussed their own job prospects during a recession, socialism, capitalism and the morality of unemployment. Both elderly people and students rarely mentioned hardships faced by unemployed people.

Employed people tended to hold political debates over policy issues such as spending cuts or focus on negative experiences of unemployed friends and family. People working in organisations drew from their own working experiences in conversing about the problems facing unemployed people such as multiple debt, poor mental health, family crises and welfare rights.

Debates over the implications of government policies for everyday life were topics covered by the unemployed: the impact of changes to the DSS system; reluctance to create jobs through public spending; DSS 'snoopers' (fraud squad); and the state of the local underground economy. Personal, social and financial problems experienced in unemployment were not discussed by the unemployed. For all the groups, negative representations of unemployment were dominant. Indeed very few conversations were positive in nature. Neither job gains in the area nor achievements made by individual unemployed people were mentioned by any of the groups.

The political climate, industrial climate, financial and psychological problems of the unemployed and the social system within which unemployment is located all form part of representations of unemployment evident in reported conversations. Moreover, the evidence gained from this analysis shows that there may be distinct group differences in social representations of unemployment.

Interviews: 125 unemployed, organisational, employed student and retired people were interviewed using the interview schedule in appendix 5. It was important to involve different social groups in
the study as Moscovici (1988) has suggested that social representations may vary depending on the social groups to which people belong. Thus, salient social groups need to be identified (Potter and Litton, 1985). Accordingly, five employment related social groups were used in this study. However, as Potter and Litton point out (1985) not all group members subscribe to group norms and so social representations should be compared across groups. The groups were not all randomly sampled, the organisational people were managers of organisations dealing with unemployment and some of the unemployed group were contacted through organisations. Consequently, it is possible that organisational issues are emphasised in the analysis.

The interview schedule covered five topics:

- Causes of unemployment;
- Problems of the unemployed;
- Opportunities in unemployment;
- Time and activity in unemployment;
- Descriptions of unemployed people.

Initially, each topic was analysed separately but during this analysis it became obvious that the same sorts of representations of unemployment were being used to frame responses to the different topics. So rather than analyse each of the schedule topics separately, all statements (n=1332) made were content analysed into key themes in which similar meanings were grouped together (interrater reliability 87%). In this way, the data was treated holistically so that a picture could emerge of the representations from which the responses to the questions were drawn. The degree to which representations were shared could then be assessed. A schematic diagram of this process is given in figure 5.1.
Figure 5.1 Schematic Diagram of Analytic procedure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causes</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responses from 125 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categories of meaning reflecting shared representations of unemployment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirteen different categories of meaning were formed. These are presented in table 5.2. This table also shows which of the five topics each category was derived from. In explanation of the table, 'f' represents frequency of statements, 'n' is the number of people who made those statements and '% is the percentage of 125 people in the sample reflecting shared representations.

Political Climate: The government, and especially the prime minister, were blamed for high levels of unemployment either because of lack of ability or through political design. Such representations mirrored newspaper and TV news coverage of unemployment levels. Politicians were blamed for creating welfare and financial problems for individuals through unsympathetic policies,

"They haven't got a clue most of them (politicians). And then there's them that could help but won't, they just won't spend the money".
Table 5.2
Shared Representations of Unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representations</th>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Causes of unemployment</td>
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<td>Unemployment problems</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time Use</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work and Industry</td>
<td>Causes of unemployment</td>
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<td>Unemployment problems</td>
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<td>Time use</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Descriptions of unemployed</td>
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<td>Social life in Unemployment</td>
<td>Unemployment problems</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal characteristics</td>
<td>Causes of unemployment</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Descriptions of unemployed</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World climate</td>
<td>Causes of unemployment</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fate</td>
<td>Causes of unemployment</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Unemployment problems</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment/housing</td>
<td>Unemployment problems</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Time use</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All individuals</td>
<td>Descriptions of unemployed</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>1332</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This forces the unemployed to spend much time attending governmental departments such as the DSS and welfare agencies. Usually this was evaluated negatively, but three people saw benefits in terms of 'beating the system for all you can get'.

Work and Industry: Very much paralleling media representations, the decline of the industrial base in the North was blamed for unemployment causing a lack of jobs. Cheap foreign imports, large inefficient corporations, ineffective management, information technology, intransigent unions and shoddy workmanship were all workplace factors contributing to industrial decline. Finding work was seen as one of the greatest problems of the unemployed as well as a way of spending time,

"They trample round from factory to factory but they still can't get nothing" (employed man).

Some unemployed may have escaped from poor working conditions in the workplace and so benefited from unemployment. Some described the unemployed as unscrupulous individuals engaged in criminal activities including the underground economy for financial gain. Mostly, unemployed people were described in terms of their working skills such as 'skilled men' or 'labourers'.

Psychological Factors: Loss of confidence, frustration, anger, despair, disillusionment, hopelessness, confusion, depression and poor self esteem described the downward psychological spiral experienced in unemployment especially when people are confined for long periods to the home. Visiting the DSS figured as an unpleasant place in which unemployed people spend much of their time outside of the home. Shared representations saw poor mental health not only as a problem in unemployment, but as a way of passing time (eg brooding) and a barrier to gaining employment. Laziness, dishonesty and idleness were other barriers mentioned. These representations of the psychological impact of unemployment accord with media reports as well as empirical studies of the social-psychological implications of
unemployment (Warr, 1987). Alternatively psychological benefits could occur in terms of relaxation, release from a stressful job and opportunity to re-evaluate life's priorities. Respondents felt that psychological problems and benefits were experienced mainly within the home environment.

Social Factors: Representations of social problems in unemployment ranged from isolation, marginalisation, lack of social status and inability to frequent pubs, clubs and sporting events because of social stigma and lack of finance. Unemployed men in pubs were seen as abusing the state by mismanaging money and depriving families in the quest for personal enjoyment. Marital disharmony was also problematic. Social opportunities revolved around the experience of close family relationships and 'getting to know your children' within a warm home environment. Being at home was a key way in which respondents thought unemployed people spend their time in DIY activities, gardening, housework and childcare.

"What do they do? They must be at home...doing the house and garden. Most of them's probably doing that sort of thing. It's all they've got isn't it? Better than being out on the streets".

These sorts of representations were current among TV entertainment programmes and 'soaps' which contain issues about unemployment in their story line.

Activities: Activity problems in unemployment were described in terms of having nothing to do, engaging in criminal activities, drinking and smoking. These, together with DSS fraud, were shared representations of the unemployed found both in interviews and in the media. Negative representations were accompanied by positive representations of the sorts of meaningful activities unemployed people are involved in such as sports, gardening, hobbies and interests enjoyed at home. However, when describing what the unemployed do with their time, many respondents were unable to
comment (18%) and a large proportion said 'do nothing' (53%) but get bored and depressed sitting at home.

**Financial Factors:** Financial problems in unemployment constituted the largest meaning category. A full 70% of the sample shared the notion that unemployment brings financial difficulties and worries. This is not surprising given that media human interest stories and crime reports often stressed the financial constraints and difficulties of unemployment. Supporting the family, making ends meet, debts, inability to maintain living standards at home were all mentioned. The majority of the sample blamed inadequate state handouts, some felt the unemployed mismanaged their money and others felt that the state paid more than many low paid jobs. The DSS was mentioned as the place all unemployed people frequent for 'charity' or state benefits. Feeling worthless and degraded were experiences associated with the DSS.

**Personal Characteristics:** The unemployed were described in terms of personal characteristics such as older, working class males, scruffy, loud, living in council housing and with few qualifications. These were mentioned as reasons why individuals were made unemployed and as descriptions of the unemployed as a social group. In this unemployed individuals were sometimes blamed for their own unemployment situation.

**World Climate:** Alongside media reports, world recession and a 'competitive world were seen as the cause of unemployment in Britain and more locally in the North East. Government was seen to be restricted by world events in their ability to reduce unemployment.

**Fate:** Unemployment is seen as an unavoidable fact of life. It is 'bad luck' or 'an act of God'. These fatalistic explanations have been reported in other studies of unemployment (Hayes and Nutman, 1981; O'Brian and Kabanoff, 1979)
Health: Failing physical health was seen as a consequence of unemployment. The long term unemployed in particular were said to have 'given in' to a life of unemployment, expressed in a steady decline in physical health brought about by inactivity, worry and poverty.

Environment/Housing: Spending too much time at home, having the home repossessed or letting it fall into states of disrepair were all seen as environmental problems brought about through unemployment. People tended to blame unemployment for the general state of disrepair in housing and neighbourhoods.

Education: A minority of exceptional unemployed were seen as proactively taking advantage of educational courses at college and gaining qualifications. This would, people thought, help them both in gaining employment, but also in feeling good about themselves and getting out of the house.

All Individuals: When asked to described the unemployed, 49% of the sample were unable to do so as they felt that unemployed people were all individuals who happen to share a common experience of unemployment. Their experience of unemployment and their ways of dealing with it defied simple categorisation.

The fourteen categories of meaning or representations constitute the basic data from which social representations of unemployment can be formed. There were a number a infrequently used representations, used by five percent of the sample of less. These individual representations included ideas that unemployed people are better off financially when unemployed because of low wages (1%); that problems within the welfare system have been politically created in order to decrease the number of unemployed people claiming their rights (2%); that unemployed people spend all their time trying to negotiate the welfare system (3%); that unemployed people use their time to pursue educational opportunities (3%); that unemployed people benefit socially from improvements in their social life such as
closer relationships with family (4%); and that unemployment is an act of God (4%).

Representations mentioned by more than five percent of the sample may be described as shared representations. Only those which have been mentioned by 25% of the sample are considered as candidates for social representations. Although this is an arbitrary criteria, it is more stringent that most other studies of social representations using free response data (cf Herzlich, 1973; Ullah, 1987; Hewstone, 1986). Some of the representations are very frequently used such as financial problems mentioned by 70% of the sample, psychological problems (57%), time spend brooding or mentally relaxing (58%), doing nothing or enjoying interesting hobbies (58%). Only when shared representations are found to have a currency in the wider social arena, for example in media reports, are they considered to be truly social representations.

4. Social Representations of Unemployment

To progress beyond cognitively shared representations, the analysis must compare representations which have a 'social facticity' with those gained in interviews. It is only when there is evidence of the social externality (cf Gaskell and Smith, 1985) of shared representations that the true nature of social representations can be revealed. Accordingly, a comparison of shared representations must be made with media representations and data from the conversational analysis. The comparison is summarised in table 5.3. The comparison shows that the same sorts of representations appear in the media as appear in shared representations and in conversations.
### Table 5.3 Social Representations of Unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Representations</th>
<th>Shared Representations in Conversation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job Losses</td>
<td>Work and industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Gains</td>
<td>Work and Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World recession</td>
<td>World climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy information</td>
<td>Political climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor mental health</td>
<td>Psychological problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial problems</td>
<td>Financial problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare rights</td>
<td>Environment and housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual achievements</td>
<td>Hobbies and interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family disharmony</td>
<td>Social factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>Crime and Activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar representations of unemployment appear through media, conversation and interview sources. The causes of unemployment were given either as worldwide recession, outmoded industries, governmental policies and workshy characteristics and lack of skills on the part of the unemployed individual. Unemployed people were seen as being supported by the welfare state via the DSS and by making money through working in the underground economy. The
psychological and social effects of unemployment were centred around poor mental health, lack of confidence, boredom and family disharmony. However, the worst problems faced in unemployment were 'making ends meet', keeping a reasonable standard of living and paying household expenses and getting into debt. The unemployed were represented as spending most of their time at home, but were also to be found in the pub, although this was often frowned on. The sorts of activities engaged in by the unemployed ranged from the meaningful pursuit of family life, home maintenance, hobbies and interests and crime.

Not only do social representations theorise about the causes of unemployment, but they also describe the characteristics of unemployed people, their psychological and social well being and everyday problems and opportunities. Moreover, they suggest ways in which unemployed people spend their time and evaluate their lifestyle, both positively and negatively. Thus social representations hold information and evaluations about actions in unemployment and where those actions take place.

But how are social representations structured? The data shows that very different social representations of unemployment exist. For instance, some representations blame worldwide recession while other blame individuals, some representations stress psychological problems while others emphasise meaningful activities. How are these representations organised into coherent theories of unemployment? A multi-dimensional (MDS) analysis of the social representations was required which would enable a comparison of holistic social representations. This was difficult given that the data sources were not comparable (interview data and content analysis of media). The data input to the MDS analysis was constituted of the most commonly held social representations by the sample ie commonly shared representations which also appear in media data sources. These representations were not only commonly shared between people but also frequently found in the media analysis.

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A binary matrix was prepared in which the cells designated whether or not each person had mentioned each of the nine most commonly held social representations (see appendix 8). Social representations used in the analysis were:

1. Unemployment is caused by worldwide recession and nothing much can be done about this until world economy improves (49% of the sample);

2. Unemployment is a product of government policies (55%);

3. Outmoded inefficient industries and workforces were blamed for high levels of unemployment (40%);

4. Unemployed people have financial difficulties including making ends meet, maintaining standards of living and falling into debt (70%);

5. Unemployed people suffer psychologically through poor mental health, lack of confidence and boredom (57%);

6. Unemployed people find themselves with nothing to do all day except sit at home (60%);

7. Finding work presents great difficulties in the present economic climate but unemployed people keep on searching for a job (47%);

8. Unemployment brings with it relaxation from the rigours of work and enjoyable and meaningful leisure activities (65%);

9. Unemployed people are generally young, male, unskilled, working class, people living in council accommodation and can be responsible for their own unemployment. Otherwise, the unemployed are individuals who cope in a variety of ways with unemployment (44%).
The data matrix was input to a Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis (see appendix 2) and the resulting plot is presented in figure 5.3. Each number on the plot represents a person, the closer the points are together the more similar are the social representations held by those people. The plot reveals the existence of four different social representation structures as expressed by four groups of people.

**Group 1:** This theory of unemployment blames the government for unemployment and suggests the government could reduce unemployment if it were to endorse different policies. Unemployed people suffer financial yet are all individuals who cope in different ways with unemployment. In this social representation, the unemployed are not seen as responsible for their own predicament. There are no positive aspects of unemployment.

**Group 2:** The government is blamed for creating the economic climate in which unemployment thrives, yet industry and workforces must also share in this responsibility for their inefficiency. Moreover, some unemployed people are unemployed because of their lack of skills and attitudes to work. Unemployed people again suffer financial problems and these are accompanied by psychological distress. Nevertheless, in some ways unemployment is seen as a period of relaxation and an opportunity to follow interests, sports and hobbies. The unemployed are generally, but not always, young male and unskilled. In this social representations the unemployed are not always seen as victims of the political and economic system, they suffer problems but also reap benefits from life in unemployment.

**Group 3:** Worldwide recession causes high levels of unemployment in the UK and in the immediate locality. While governments have little control, declining industries contribute through their inefficient practises. All unemployed people suffer financial stress, some sit at home and do nothing all day, others enjoy a more active lifestyle which expresses their individuality.
Figure 5.3 Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis of Social Representations of Unemployment

co-ef .9
Group 4: In this social representation, the causes of unemployment reside solely in world recession. Unemployed people suffer psychologically from lack of work but fill their time with a variety of interests. Proactivity in unemployment is not viewed as relieving the deleterious psychological impact of unemployment.

The four social representation structures have elements in common with each other, but each is organised into a different theory of unemployment. Some blame the government, others worldwide recession. Some blame industry and one sees individuals responsible, at least in part, for their own unemployment. It is interesting to note how social representations of unemployment are not necessarily structured around a single cause of unemployment or endorse a wholly negative orientation. Most stress the financial problems associated with unemployment yet evaluate unemployment and unemployed people in different ways. The unemployed are seen either as victims or role players in their own unemployment, psychologically distressed or relaxed, enjoying a proactive lifestyle or passively sitting at home. Governments were either deemed uncaring by persisting with policies causing unemployment or ineffectual in the face of the world economic climate.

The social representation structures are certainly complex and have indicated links between person and place, especially concerning activities and the home. The next section looks specifically at social representations and person-place relations.

5. Social Representations and Place

Throughout the analysis of these social representations of unemployment, a number of environmental issues have been evident. Firstly, unemployment is situated within the physical world setting of the workplace as representations of industrial decline, closing factories job losses and gains show. The workplace is generally
valued highly as the location which symbolises the valued status of
the employed person.

Home appeared prominently as central to everyday life in which
unemployment was experienced and was used in explaining the
psychological health of the unemployed, the activities they engage
in, social and family relations, welfare and housing conditions. In
this the home was often evaluated negatively in the sense of
promoting boredom, inactivity, financial worry, marital breakdown
and social isolation. However it was also evaluated positively as the
locus of interesting activities, rest and relaxation from the stress of
unemployment.

The DSS was seen as a place used out of necessity for financial
gain. It was described as an unpleasant place of degradation and
desperation and one of the few places aside from the home which
unemployed people frequent. Other places did arise in the analysis
such as the underground economy workplace and the educational
college as places in which unemployed people can improve their
financial situation (even if this does involve fraud), educational
status and psychological health. Pubs, clubs and sporting facilities
were all mentioned as places which the unemployed could no longer
frequent due to lack of finance and possible social stigma.
Unemployed people drinking in the pub were evaluated as
mismanaging their finances and creating unnecessary hardships for
their families.

The data suggests that social representations do have a physical
grounding not only in terms of specifying places to be used, but
also the types of activities engaged in and evaluations of the places
and activities.
6. Group Differences and Similarities

Moscovici (1988) has argued that social representations may be mediated by the person's group memberships. Thus, different groups may express different social representations of a phenomenon. It may be that representations expressed by employed people are different to those expressed by the unemployed. Furnham (1982), in a study of explanations of unemployment, did find differences between employed and unemployed people in the ways in which they accounted for unemployment. Employed people believed more in blaming unemployed people for their own unemployment as well as worldwide recession, while the unemployed tended to use fatalistic arguments. Both groups felt that the most important explanations were societal/political ones based on governmental policies. The Furnham study looked only at differences between two groups: employed and unemployed. In the present study it is possible to look for differences and similarities between the five social groups of unemployed, retired, employed, student and organisational people. The conversational analysis conducted earlier gave indications of similarities and differences between these groups.

Differences between the groups may be expected as a consequence of their knowledge and direct experience of unemployment. Few of the sample (excepting the unemployed) had been unemployed in the previous five years (n=7), although with the exception of students many knew of family and friends who were unemployed. Unemployed people have immediate experience of what it is like to be unemployed and they know the circumstances of their job loss. Their representations are likely to be rich and varied. Retired people also know what it is like to be without a job and to be home centred but are not unemployed. Organisational people are constantly dealing with the problems of unemployment and their representations may reflect this. Employed people, with fear of unemployment in local industries, may concentrate on workplace and industrial issues, while students with little direct knowledge of unemployment may have less
well developed representations of unemployment, perhaps firmly based on media reports.

A comparison of shared (5% or more) and social representations (25% or more and evident in the media) was made between the groups. Again, it must be stressed that percentages are arbitrary criteria but are more stringent than those used in other studies of social representations (e.g., Ullah, 1987; Hewstone, 1986). Altogether, twenty-nine representations were used in the analysis. These are presented in Table 5.4 showing the percentage of each group to use each representation.

A look at the table shows similarities in the way unemployment is understood. All the groups emphasise financial and psychological problems in unemployment and see the unemployed as having nothing to do with their time except perhaps look for a new job. All groups tend to feel that time is spent on hobbies and interests in unemployment.

There are, however, differences between the five groups. The unemployed group tend more than any other group to blame specific government policies for unemployment, emphasise problems in their social life along with psychological benefits and the benefit of being able to enjoy meaningful activities in unemployment. However, a substantial number of unemployed people also feel there are no benefits to be gain from unemployment and that unemployed people are very much individuals in experiencing and coping with unemployment.

Student and retired groups saw world recession as the main factor causing high levels of unemployment both nationally and locally. They felt that unemployed people had to cope with limited finance and debts as well as feelings of depression and worthlessness. Unemployment was associated with boredom, sitting at home with nothing to do except look for work and environmental problems related to house and home. Both groups tend to offer
representations of unemployment which are very much echoed in media sources.

Table 5.4 Comparison of Group Representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representations</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 World Recession</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Government Aims</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Specific Policies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Industrial Decline</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Workforce/Union Causes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Individual blame/lack ability</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Individual blame/workshy</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Financial Problems</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Psychological Problems</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Social Problems</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Activity Problems</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>12 Difficulties Finding Work</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>13 Environmental Problems</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>14 Psychological Benefits</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
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<td>15 Activity Benefits</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 Welfare benefits</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Benefits exist but unsure what</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 There are no benefits</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Time spent doing nothing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Time spent socialising</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Time spent looking for work</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Doing hobbies/interests</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Don’t know how time is spent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Young/male personal descriptions</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Psychological descriptions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Occupational descriptions</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Unemployed are individuals</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The employed group was similar in blaming world recession and emphasising financial and psychological problems. They also related their own experience of work to unemployment, suggesting that unemployed people enjoy release from the stresses and strains of employment. Unemployed people were thought to lead a lifestyle of visits to the pub, job seeking and the pursuit of leisure interests.

People dealing with unemployment through their work in various organisations stressed the ways in which unemployed people suffer psychologically in unemployment with depression, lowered self
esteem, lack of confidence, frustration, anger and feelings of worthlessness. This did not prevent many of the unemployed taking part in a range of activities including sports, educational courses, and opportunities available through unemployment workshops (carpentry, French polishing etc). Here, the kinds of aid and activities offered by organisations are translated into representations of the experience of unemployment.

A multi-dimensional analysis of the data illustrates the similarities and differences between the groups. A contingency table (see table 5.4) of 29 shared (5% or more of the total sample) and social representations (25% or more of the total sample and evident in the media) according to criteria of consensus argued earlier was input to a correspondence analysis (Greenacre, 1984, see appendix 2). The results are presented in figure 5. This illustrates how the particular groups relate to the representations of unemployment supporting the pattern of similarities and differences outlined above. In this, a core of representations is held by all the groups:

- 8 financial problems;
- 9 psychological problems;
- 15 activities opportunities;
- 20 sitting at home doing nothing.

Representations most associated with each group are listed:

Retired people: environmental problems (13)
   psychological descriptions eg depressed (27)
Students: look for work (16, 22)
Employed group: Workforce causes of unemployment (5)
   personal (6)
Unemployed: Individuality of the unemployed (24, 25, 18, 19)
   psychological improvement (14)
Organisational people: Blame general political climate (2)
   Blame industrial decline/mismanagement (4)
   Welfare benefits (17)
Figure 5.4 Correspondence Analysis of Group Social Representations Data
The group analysis has identified a possible core of social representations as well as showing group differences in shared and social representations of unemployment. Given that group differences between the present samples have been detected, a closer look at social representations of the unemployed is warranted.

7. Social Representations of the Unemployed

It might be expected that unemployed people show intra-group variations in representations due to personal experiences. The chapter on life circumstances of the forty four unemployed men has shown that beside commonly experienced problems of a financial and psychological nature, there are many ways in which unemployment is experienced as an opportunity and the positive side of unemployment was revealed. Some of the men had a negative orientation towards unemployment, while others had a much more positive orientation. It may be that differences in experience are reflected in differences in the representations of unemployment. Are these experiences reflected in social representations of unemployment? And so, are there different orientations to social representations in unemployment? These questions were investigated for the group of forty four long term unemployed men who took part in the study.

Similarities in representations of unemployment can be described in terms of percentages of people who hold particular beliefs and evaluations about unemployment. 54% of the men viewed unemployment as a product of particular policy implementations made by the government. They felt that policies were unsympathetic to their situation and that the government could reduce unemployment by public spending, job creation and taxation,
"It's always the same with conservatives, all office jobs and no producers. They're barefaced liars, everything's cut backs. They're not interested in making new jobs at all. They're all patter merchants".

Many blamed world recession (27%) or the general political situation (10%). Some blamed individual or psychological factors (24%) including general attitude towards work, lack of skill, motivation and loss of confidence,

"Well you see, it's like this, there's some, and I see them down the social, they don't want to work, they're idlers. Then there's the poor beggars that wouldn't know how to start getting a job. They know they've no chance. I think unemployment is controlled by the person themselves. They have to try harder. There's no real reason why they can't get jobs, there's loads of jobs if you're prepared to do it. Some people deserve it, they're not capable of going to an interview. They're defeating themselves".

Problems and opportunities in unemployment are a matter of direct experience for the unemployed. The main aspect of this is financial hardship. The most common representation of unemployment was that of financial hardship, lack of money, debt and bills all featured as sources of worry. 34% of the sample suggested psychological problems such as boredom at home moodiness, loss of pride, confidence and feelings of worthless. Many (32%) felt that unemployed people sit at home doing nothing all day. 17% mentioned problems relating to the home such as physical deterioration, marital disharmony, imprisonment and living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Loos of friendships and loss of an active and enjoyable social life, visits to the pub and to friends were frequently mentioned problems associated with unemployment. The unemployed sample mentioned few health problems or problems associated with job seeking. This may be due to the fact that the sample were generally
physically healthy and half had given up looking for work in the present economic climate (see chapter 4).

More than any other group, the unemployed counterbalanced negative problems with positive psychological experiences (46%) such as increased self awareness, a developed self confidence in ability to cope in difficult situations and feeling more relaxed. Meaningful activities such as gardening, sports and involvement in community projects were seen as benefits (27%). Work related benefits such as loss of a stressful job, involvement in interesting voluntary or underground economy work and chances for retraining and skill acquisition were mentioned by 44% of the sample.

In general, social representations of the unemployed contained some very negative beliefs and evaluations about causes of and experiences of unemployment. However, they also contained many positive comments about the psychological, social, activity and work related benefits of unemployment. Most respondents were reticent about making generalised descriptions of unemployed people other than that of personal characteristics such as age and sex (39%). For them, the unemployed are a group of individuals (51%) and the experience of unemployment is a very personal one.

Similarities and differences so far have concentrated on comparing frequencies separately for financial problems etc. A multi-dimensional analysis enables the holistic psychological structure of representations to be explored. Such an analysis may uncover different types of social representations to emerge. A multi-dimensional scalogram analysis (see appendix 2 for details) was performed using a data matrix in which each person was described in terms of whether or not their representations contained each of twelve categories. Each category had been used by at least 25% of the sample in accordance with the criteria of consensus adopted throughout this chapter. In addition, each representation is evident in the media data:
world recession causes of unemployment (27%)
policy causes (54%);
financial problems (73%);
psychological problems (34%);
social problems (39%);
activity benefits (27%);
work related benefits and time use (44%);
no benefits at all (32%);
spend time doing nothing (32%);
psychological benefits (46%);
personal descriptions of the unemployed (39%);
and individualistic descriptions (51%).

The data matrix is reproduced in appendix 9. The resulting plot appears in figure 5.5 in which the forty one unemployed respondents are distributed spatially over the plot. Respondents with similar social representations of unemployment are plotted close together and those with different social representations are located further apart. Figure 5.5 shows that the people can be divided along two axis indicating two different orientations for social representations.

Axis 1: Individual Orientation: People who see the unemployed as individuals each with their own personal problems and opportunities. However, psychological problems are not seen as a consequence of unemployment. Some of these respondents were unwilling to see the unemployed as a group at all (n=20).

Other people see unemployment as a result of government policies and think of the unemployed in terms of financial hardship and lack of anything to do. For them, the unemployed can be described in terms of their personal characteristics such as age and sex (n=21)

Axis 2: Benefit Orientation. People who see some benefits in unemployment such as engaging in meaningful activities.
Figure 5.5 Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis of Unemployed People's Social Representations of Unemployment

correlation .9
People who see no positive benefits to unemployment.

The two axis divide between four groups of people, each group expressing a different social representation of unemployment. Each group is described below:

**Group A**: Unemployed people are characterised as young, male and unskilled yet experience an variety of different psychological, social and leisure benefits in unemployment. Unemployment is caused by governmental policies.

**Group B**: Unemployed people are individuals in the way they deal with problems and enjoy benefits in unemployment. World recession is responsible for national and local unemployment levels.

**Group C**: Unemployed people are characteristically young, unskilled, unhappy people with little money, psychological and social problems. There are no benefits in being unemployed. Unemployment is a consequence of governmental policies within the context of world recession.

**Group D**: Unemployed people are all individuals who experience and deal with their own problems in their own ways. While financial, social and activity problems are common in unemployment, unemployed people are not seen as suffering psychologically since they are resourceful individuals coping well with unemployment.

The four social representations of unemployment were organised mainly along two orientations: the individuality of the unemployment experience; and the notion of benefits enjoyed in unemployment.

8. Social Representations and Life Circumstances of Unemployment
Is there an association between the socio-cultural context of unemployment and the main life circumstances of unemployment? Are the social representations current between members of a social group associated with the actual experience of unemployment within that group? Table 5.5 compares the percentage of men experiencing problems and opportunities with the percentage mentioning representations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Sample percentages</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Chi Sq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial Problems</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological problem</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Problem</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity Problem</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem finding work</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health problems</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing/welfare problems</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Improvement</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity Benefits</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social benefits</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work related benefits</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement in health</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most cases, aside from financial and social problems, more people experience problems and opportunities than express them in representations. However, there are no significant associations between experience and representation for each of the separate variables. There is a tendency (not quite significant) for people with psychological problems to think that unemployment is characterised by psychological problems. What may happen is that the men see their own situation as unique (particularly relating to health in this case) and tend not to see their problems and opportunities as common experiences for unemployed people. This explanation is supported by the qualitative data in which the many of the men see...
unemployed people as individuals, experiencing unemployment in personal ways. Indeed, throughout the interviews on life experiences, people would comment that their problems and opportunities were not necessarily those experienced by other unemployed people, suggesting that they saw their own situation individualistically. Nevertheless they were able to explain, evaluate and describe unemployment in very similar ways in line with media representations of unemployment.

The data suggests that the orientation of the social representations (ie. individuality or benefit orientations) may be an important factor to consider when comparing representations with experience. In order to investigate this proposition, the life circumstances, including the social, environmental and temporal context of unemployment as well as main problems and opportunities and coping orientation (positive or negative (see chapter 4), were compared with the two social representation orientations: individual orientations; and benefit orientations (see table 5.6).

In this analysis, by considering social representations as holistic structures, associations between experience and representations were detected. Men who draw on social representations emphasising individuality tend to enjoy their activities in unemployment, have been unemployed before and tend to be in relatively good physical and mental health. These men tend to be surrounded by a social context of unemployed family and friends and have been unemployed between one and two years. They experience fewer problems and enjoy their leisure time of hobbies, interests and family activities in unemployment. There is no relationship between the environmental context of unemployment and social representations.
Table 5.6 Social Representation Orientations and life Circumstances of Unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circumstances</th>
<th>Orientations</th>
<th>Individuality</th>
<th>Benefit</th>
<th>Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GHQ</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>t-test</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>t-test</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>t-test</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical health</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>t-test</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood unemp.</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street unemp.</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family unemp.</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends unemp.</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment duration</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>t-test</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-unemployment</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial problems</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological problems</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social problems</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity problems</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological improvement</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity benefits</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work benefits</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future plans</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Persuasion</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for work</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping Orientation</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>Chi Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ns=not significant
People who draw on social representations which emphasise that there are no benefits of unemployment are generally in poor mental health and report that they have nothing to do with their time and suffer boredom. They do, however, spend time looking for work and describe their frustrations and anger with this. In general, they take a very negative orientation towards unemployment.

Sharing social representations expressive of individuality and positive orientations towards unemployment are associated with positive experiences. Social representations which see no benefits to unemployment are associated with negative experiences. The nature of this data does not allow the direction of these associations to be determined, which can be a matter for future research.

9. Conclusions

In this chapter, individual, shared and social representations of unemployment were investigated using media, conversational and interview data. This exploratory study touched on a number of important conceptual and methodological issues as well as revealing the nature of and environmental context of social representations of unemployment and their association with life experiences.

Media representations, together with representations of unemployment gained through conversation analysis and interview data pointed to the shared and social nature of social representations. Taking into account cognitive, communication and externalised social arenas which bridge social and psychological domains (Gaskell and Fraser, 1985). Together, these data sources showed how social representations contain information about the causes of unemployment (world recession, governmental policy, industry and individual blame) alongside information concerning the type of people unemployed, their problems, the opportunities facing them and activities engaged in in unemployment. Unemployed people were seen either as passively
accepting the negative implications of unemployment or proactively enjoying a variety of experiences in unemployment. This information was evaluated and linked together into coherent social-psychological structures expressed in holistic lay theories of unemployment.

Four comprehensive structured lay theories or social representations of unemployment emerged through a multi-dimensional analysis ensuring that the study looked at interrelated structures rather than at a set of separate data points (cf Fraser, 1986). Each contained some similar and some different information and evaluations concerning the causes of unemployment and the everyday life experiences of unemployed people.

In these, the physical nature of unemployment could be discerned as suggested by Canter (1988). House and home was viewed as the central locus of everyday life in which both positive and negative experiences occurred. The DSS was another place unemployed people used, a place which was associated with depression and feelings of degradation. The main leisure environment suggested in social representations was the pub. However, unemployed people using it were subject to criticism, symbolising mismanagement of time and money. Criminal activities and unemployed people were linked together in the underground economy workplace. The college of education was the only place in which unemployed people seen as proactively managing their lives and their futures. Thus, not only do social representations hold information about places, they contain evaluations about the meaning and use of places in unemployment.

Looking at social representations through aggregate analysis may conceal interesting differences in representations current among different social groups. Moscovici's (1988) notion that different social group may hold to different social representations was indeed the case to some extent. Comparisons of group data showed that there were both similarities and differences in the five groups shared and social representations. A commonly held core was found which saw unemployed people as financially strained, psychologically distressed
with little to do. In addition, each group emphasised a variety of their own representations of unemployment, reflecting to some extent the contact each group had with unemployment.

Given that each group did emphasise some different representations, an examination of social representations of the unemployed sample was warranted. While sharing in many of the negative representations, the unemployed group was most prominent in seeing the positive side of unemployment, including the psychological improvements brought by unemployment and the benefits of being free from work related stress. They also saw the possibilities of voluntary and underground work as well as enjoying hobbies, sports and interests. A multi-dimensional analysis of the data revealed four types of social representations. These were structured by two orientations concerning: the individuality of unemployed people; and the realisation of benefits in unemployment.

Finally, the analysis considered whether or not life circumstances of unemployment were related to the socio-cultural context of unemployment as expressed through social representations. A comparison was made of the experience of problems and opportunities and the existence in social representations of the same problems and opportunities. At this level, social representations and experience were not significantly related. This was explained in terms of unemployed people stressing the individual nature of their own experiences. However, when life circumstances of unemployment were related to the social representation orientations, a pattern of relationships did emerge.

Men who stressed individuality in their representations tended to be in better mental and physical health, faced fewer psychological problems, had been unemployed for shorter periods and pursued a range of meaningful activities while living in a social context of unemployment than men who did not stress individuality. These men preserved their sense of individuality and centred on positive experiences in unemployment. Men whose social representations were
negative, seeing no benefits in unemployment reported a lifestyle which in many respects mirrored these negative social representations.

Beyond a revelation of these relationships, no causal direction can be attributed. Nevertheless, the relationships between the socio-cultural context and life circumstances is particularly interesting given the qualitative nature of the data. Moreover, the fact that social representations contain information and evaluations concerning the meaning and use of places suggests that person-place relationships may well be influenced not just by current life circumstances of the person, but are also located firmly within the socio-cultural context.

The analysis of person-place relations to follow looks at place usage and meaning with reference to everyday life circumstances of unemployment and the socio-cultural context in terms of social representations of unemployment.
Chapter 6

The Geographical Lifeworld: Transitional Person-Place Relations in Unemployment

Contents

1. Introduction

2. The Range and Type of Places

3. Geographical Lifeworlds and Life Circumstances of Unemployment

4. Transitional Place Meanings

5. A Case Study

6. Conclusions
1. Introduction

This chapter explores the issue of transitions in person-place relations from the holistic perspective of the geographical lifeworld. It has been argued already (chapter 2) that any understanding of transitional person-place relations must take into account the totality of places that makes up the socio-physical grounding of people's lives. This asserts that the geographical environment of places is part of our biography and part of the stream of events which make up everyday life. Changes in one sphere of life such as unemployment may well affect the experience of places across the whole of the geographical lifeworld (cf Wapner, 1981; Stokols et al, 1983; Aldwin and Stokols, 1988). The world of work which is removed in unemployment must be replaced with alternative environmental domains. Such changes in the geographical lifeworld may be influenced by the major life circumstances of the person (cf Proshansky et al, 1979).

'Geographical lifeworld' (cf Seamon, 1979) describes networks of places which make up the environmental context of everyday life. As stated earlier (chapter 4), the unreflective, taken-for-granted pattern and context of everyday life can be described as the phenomenological lifeworld. The concept of lifeworld is drawn from Lewin's (1952) notion of lifespace whereby the lifespace consists of the person and the psychological environment as it exists for them. The phenomenological lifeworld stresses the central importance of the person and their perspective within the reality of the world of their existence (Seamon, 1979). The geographical lifeworld brings to this a specific concern with the environments of space and place. It conceptualises the person and their life in relation to the places which together comprise their geographical experience of the world. As such, it rejects the model of man as simply cognitive or emotional being and accepts the significance of the socio-physical surroundings.
The geographical lifeworld of natural and built environments are not seen as independent from the person, but as meaningful places inseparable from the experiencing person. Moreover, the geographical lifeworld is about the totality of places which make up the socio-physical context of the person's world. It incorporates all the places they think about, act in and move around. It is the experiencing person who identifies their own geographical lifeworld of places significant to their lives. Places within the geographical lifeworld are linked socially, psychologically and physically in a temporal context of past present and future. Places experienced in the past, and anticipated in the future are as much a part of the person's geographical lifeworld as are places experienced in the present, as long as they are relevant from the person's perspective.

The personal relevance or significance of places may change as the person's life circumstances change. For instance, unemployment can bring about changes to the geographical lifeworld in a number of ways. It can involve losses to the geographical lifeworld, introduce new types of places to it, or promote transitions in the meanings of places. Studies of the geographical Lifeworld can rarely glimpse more than a snapshot of this dynamic world of transitional person-place relations.

In this chapter, the places used by unemployed people are investigated not as separate entities, but as members of an extensive geographical lifeworld. It is proposed that people feel, act and think differently in different places (Day, 1990). Some places may be supportive of the person and their aims in life, others may be restorative (Kaplan, 1983) in offering the person a rest from stresses and strains while others may be socially or psychologically harmful places to be involved with. Supportive, restorative or harmful affordances of place may vary depending on the life circumstances of the person and what they hope to achieve in places. For instance, the home in unemployment may have changed from a supportive and restorative environment (cf Sixsmith, 1988) to
As a first step in investigating transitions, it was important to document the range of places used by the unemployed. A comparison of range and type of places was made between the unemployed, retired and employed groups in order to substantiate differences. The employed group was similar to the unemployed in most respects (e.g., age, socio-economic class) except employment. The retired were similar in socio-economic class and being without a job. Secondly, changes in place usage attributed to unemployment were investigated. In this, the types of environmental domains, temporal context, and pattern of place usage were significant aspects of change. Changes in place meanings in the context of the geographical lifeworld were then analysed. Finally, two case studies were undertaken to investigate the effects of changes in types of place, place usage, and meaning in unemployment.

2. The Range and Type of Places

Forty-four unemployed men, thirty-four retired people, and ten employed people completed a multiple sorting task. In this, they identified all the places they used in their everyday life (see appendix 6). A proportion of the unemployed men (23%) were recruited through organisations and this may have affected the number and type of places they mentioned in the study. The aim of this chapter is simply to look at what places are used in relation to life circumstances. The unemployed sample are not seen as representative of all long-term unemployed men. Identifying places is not unproblematic due to complexity in the molar environment (Stokols and Schumaker, 1981). A room and a city can both be seen as places although they are vastly different in terms of scale and environmental qualities. Rather than impose a single type or scale of
place, participants were allowed to designate their own environmental units as places.

Range of Places: A comparison of the data indicates differences between the three groups in terms of type and number of places mentioned. Despite a possible inflation of the places used by the unemployed (through the sampling procedure), employed people had the most extensive geographical lifeworld with a mean of 20.1 places mentioned (sd 6.1). They were followed by the unemployed (mean 12.7, sd 4.8) and then the retired (mean 9.4, sd 2.1) groups (see table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Comparison of Places mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Retired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mean</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployed people mentioned significantly fewer places than employed people (t=3.63, significant at the 0.01 level) and more than retired people (t=4.2, significant at the 0.01 level). These figures reflect the spatial constriction often associated with retirement and ageing (Rowles, 1978) and unemployment (Bunker and Dewsbury, 1983). In retirement, physical frailty and deaths within family and friends combine with decreased financial resources (Rowles, 1978; Ward, 1979; Lieberman and Tobin, 1983) to produce a constriction of the geographical lifeworld. In unemployment, again financial resources (cf Cooke, 1987) and a constricted social network (cf Jackson, 1986) may well limit and reduce place usage.

When number of places mentioned by the unemployed was compared to their GHQ scores a significant association was found (r=-0.369, df 43, significant at the 0.05 level). Thus, unemployed people who have a more extensive geographical lifeworld enjoy good mental health...
while those with a restricted geographical life world suffer poorer mental health. A close examination of the data showed that unemployed men who had an extended geographical lifeworld tended to use more entertainment, leisure and organisational environments and those with restricted geographical lifeworlds tended to be home focused. It has been suggested that a home focused lifestyle tends to also be a passive one (Sixsmith, 1988). Indeed, Trew and Kilpatrick (1984) found that the home based unemployed men in their sample tended to be passive and suffering poor mental health. Despite a literature emphasising the positive nature of home (Sixsmith, 1986; Hayward, 1977), socially enforced home centredness through unemployment may promote lack of activity, boredom and poor mental health. Conversely, an active, outgoing lifestyle using a variety of places for a range of activities may be beneficial to mental health.

To investigate this proposition, men were divided into groups on the basis of their yesterday diaries. The first group comprised men who had remained at home for the majority of time on the previous day (n=11). The second group comprised 12 men who had visited a range of different place on the previous day, and had consequently spend much of their time outside of the home. While there were no significant differences between these groups in terms of their age, length of unemployment, previous experiences of unemployment, qualifications or social network of family and friends unemployed, they were different in some respects. The home centred group suffered poorer general mental health (but not poorer anxiety or depression) than the active group (t=3.037, significant at the 0.01 level). Men who were positively oriented towards unemployment tended to be much more active in their use of places than men who were negatively oriented in unemployment and stayed at home (chi sq, 5.064, significant at the 0.05 level). Although not quite reaching statistical significance, the active men tended to live in Scotswood (chi sq 3.468) and had plans for their futures (chi sq 3.468), while the home centred men lived generally in Fenham and felt they had no future to look forward to.
Although no causal direction can be attributed to these results, they do show a relationship between home centredness and negative orientation towards unemployment, feelings of no future and poorer mental health in unemployment. It may be that the person-home relationship is less supportive and restorative and more psychologically harmful in unemployment. Thus, the impact of unemployment on the environmental context, or more precisely, the geographical lifeworld, is not just a function of number of places used, but involves an understanding of the types and meanings of places used in everyday life. In chapters 9 and 10, meanings and experience within the person-home relationship in unemployment are examined in some detail. However, an elucidation of the types of places comprising the geographical lifeworld of the unemployed is useful.

**Types of Places:** The places mentioned as part of the multiple sorting task were categorised into six environmental domains on the basis of their functions as described by participants in the three samples. These were: organisational places; work and education places; leisure places where interests and hobbies are pursued; places where families and friendships are located; and places which cater for the necessities of life such as shopping. Table 6.2 presents the six environmental domains used by the unemployed, retired and employed groups. The table shows qualitative differences in the types of places used between the unemployed and the other groups.
Table 6.2 Environmental Domains Used by the Unemployed, Retired and Employed Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>% Unemployed</th>
<th>% Retired</th>
<th>% Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organisational</td>
<td>DSS/Benefits</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places</td>
<td>Job Centre</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advisory (eg CAB)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social/Caring Service</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-Help (eg CAU)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work and</td>
<td>Underground/workplace</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Unemployment workshop</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>College</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment/skill centre</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Former) Workplace</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary Workplace</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>Park/coast</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sports/Swimming centre</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest clubs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outdoor fitness</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family and</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendships</td>
<td>Relatives house</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends house</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>Pub</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social clubs</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sports venue</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cinema/theatre</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Restaurant/cafe</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Betting shop</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holiday resort</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday Necessities</td>
<td>Local shops</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post office</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City Centre</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neighbourhood streets</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n= 44  34  10
Organisational Places: Not surprisingly, the unemployed people were more involved with organisational places than any of the other groups, with the exception of doctor's surgeries and hospitals. Most organisational places used by the unemployed were directly associated with unemployment such as self help groups, advisory or caring agencies and the benefit office. These represent our cultural response to unemployment at the organisational level. As a humanitarian culture, ours seeks to provide financial, employment and psychological aid to people who are unemployed (cf Balloch et al, 1985; Beenstock and Brasse, 1986). Not all unemployed people took advantage of this cultural response. Only 50% of the men, for example, use job centres. They reasoned that there were no real jobs around except for low paid community programme jobs of which they were highly sceptical. These jobs, they said, represented manipulation rather than help from the government, a theme echoed in Coffield et al's (1986) work with young unemployed people.

The retired group were more specific in their use of organisations, mainly medical and Church services. Declining physical health, and higher incidence of religious worshippers among the elderly may account for this (Gallup, 1989). Weekly attendance at Church for the age group 25-44 years (reflecting the age structure of the employed group) is 11% compared to 20% for the over 65's. The fact that none of the 10 employed people went to Church is understandable in the light of these figures. The higher than average percentage of unemployed people attending (18%) reflects the fact that two of the ten unemployed men recruited through organisations came through the Church.

Educational and Workplaces: Although the unemployed no longer use an employment workplace, they do use a variety of different workplaces. Some do still visit their former workplace, others use underground economy or voluntary workplaces. This diversity of workplace use contrasts with the limited voluntary work of the retired and the specific use of the employment workplace by the employed group. Educational colleges provide the unemployed with
courses on unemployment and basic skills such as maths and English. Two of the unemployed men were recruited through a college of education. Nonetheless, the percentage of the unemployed people using colleges was high (34%) in comparison to employed people (0%). The fact the many of the unemployed were seeking to improve their employment prospects through college course may account for much of this.

**Leisure Places:** All groups make fairly heavy use of leisure places, especially the pub, although the unemployed make less use of sports facilities and more use of the library than the employed. Both the pub and sports facilities involve the spending of financial resources, whereas trips to the library are free (and warm). Use of the library may be implicated in the management of finances, getting people out of the house as well as offering information concerning employment opportunities. The library is one place where newspapers are available for job hunting. The use of leisure places in unemployment is an important issue, as Neulinger (1982) has pointed out the possible links between use of leisure and quality of life. Getting people out of the home in unemployment and using available leisure facilities may improve the quality of life in unemployment. Understanding which leisure places unemployed people use, and why, is one step towards being able to manage and maintain the leisure domain in unemployment (cf Glyptis, 1983).

**Family and Friendships:** While both retired and employed groups unanimously considered their house as home, this was not the case for three unemployed men. They declined to describe their house as home on the basis that it was uncomfortable (cold, deteriorated) and lacking in warm family relationships through marital stress. Moreover, unemployed people did not visit family as much as the other groups. They explained this in terms of: not involving family in their experiences of unemployment; avoiding family criticism; or avoiding reciprocal visits when homes when tea and coffee were sizeable expenses. Unemployed people also visited friends house substantially less than did the employed people. The unemployed men
had lost friendships in unemployment, especially those based on working relationships. Unemployment had deprived the men not only of the workplace, but also of friendships and opportunities to visit friends.

**Entertainment:** In the entertainment domain, few unemployed used cafes, restaurants, cinemas and holiday resorts compared to employed people. However, 70% report using pubs and social clubs (41%) for entertainment purposes. An evening in the pub can be carefully managed to restrict spending (buying fruit juices, half pints or making one drink last all night) whereas cinema, restaurant and holidays can involve considerable financial outlay. because of this, some men felt that such places were inappropriate for the unemployed and felt 'out of place' in them.

**Everyday Necessities:** Finally, the unemployed men made more use of the post office (for cashing their giro) and less of the city centre than both retired and employed groups. One man described a trip to the city centre as, "a terrible temptation to spend" and endeavoured to avoid such temptations. He felt that seeing products in shops emphasised his lack of spending power and his status of unemployment and consequently made him unhappy. Neighbourhood streets were seen as 'places' exclusively by the unemployed. This is not surprising given that many reported involvement in street life and activities.

The data suggests not just that differences exist in geographical lifeworlds of different social groups, but that these differences may be linked to particular life circumstances.
Why should differences exist between the groups in terms of range and type of places used? The theoretical framework suggests that differences in place usage may be structured by particular life circumstances set within their socio-cultural context. Social representations of unemployment were seen to contain information about the sorts of places unemployed people use alongside evaluations of place usage. They stressed the home as the centre of everyday life, the DSS and the underground economy workplace for financial aid, the job centre for employment seeking, the pub for relaxation and enjoyment and the college for educational and career advancement. All these places feature strongly among the actual places unemployed people mentioned in the multiple sorting task. However, people mentioned many more places than appeared in social representations. Social representations depict a life in which unemployed people are socially invisible, 'signing on and staying in' (cf Bunker and Dewsbury, 1983). They offered a very restricted geographical lifeworld to unemployed people, failing to represent the rich and varied geographical lifeworld of the unemployed men including the park, coast, neighbourhood streets, city centre, libraries and sports centres.

The previous section has outlined some links between life circumstances and unemployment, the most important being loss of the workplace from the geographical lifeworld and the introduction of a range of organisational places. However, it is unclear how unemployed people structure their geographical lifeworlds to deal with loss of the workplace and the integration of new environmental domains. This issue was tackled using a multiple sorting task methodology. As part of the sorting task, the unemployed men were asked to divide their places up into patterns of usage. This showed places lost from the geographical lifeworld and those introduced to it in unemployment.
Despite the unemployed sample having a more restricted range of places than the employed group, the data shows that they began to use more places in unemployment (mean 5.6) than they stopped using (mean 2.3). It may be that the men had forgotten previously frequented places during their long period of unemployment. What is important at this point is that from the perspective of the unemployed person, their geographical lifeworld had expanded rather than contracted.

Loss of the workplace was commonly experienced together with restaurants, cinemas, social clubs, pubs, friend's and relatives houses, betting shops, nightclubs, holiday destinations and sporting venues. The men explained they had stopped using such places because of lack of finances, because the had "no-one to go with" and felt they might be criticised or, in one man's words "looked down on".

This pattern of loss was counterbalanced by many new places encountered in unemployment. These included organisational places such as the DSS, post office and job centre linked to securing finance and future work. Underground economy and voluntary workplaces, occupational and college environments and self-help environments such as the Centre Against Unemployment were newly introduced to the geographical lifeworld on unemployment. Losses had generally occurred in the work, leisure and entertainment domains, while new places were encountered mainly in organisational, work and education domains. This data suggests that the men have experienced changes in their lifestyle which is reflected in their use of places. Patterns of losses and gains resemble the types of places deemed appropriate (or inappropriate) in social representations of unemployment, with the exclusion of leisure and enjoyment environments and the inclusion of organisational places. However, different types of social representation (individuality or benefit orientation) were not related to frequency or places mentioned or types of places mentioned. A person who holds with a social representation expressing the individuality of unemployed people (or
benefits of unemployment) is not more likely either to mention more
or different types of places than men who express more negative
social representations.

Time Use and Place: Time geography (Parkes and Thrift, 1980)
argue that an understanding of behaviour must consider the
temporal/spatial constraints imposed on activity. A person can only
be in one place at a time. Without the spatial/temporal structuring of
employment, unemployed people must organise their own space/time
use. In theory, they could withdraw from socio-culturally ascribed
patterns of time use. One man in the sample had done this. He went
to bed at 7am and slept until 5pm when he would get up for TV. In
this way, he explained, he could spend much of his time doing as he
wanted without interruption, watching TV and reading during the
ey early hours with peace and quiet. This man was an exception. His
employment record was minimal and his family relations were
strained, he had no desire to work and no plans for his future.

With this exception, the majority of men followed a spatial/temporal
pattern similar to that when employed. The three groups of
unemployed, employed and retired people all completed yesterday
diaries. The amount of time spent inside as opposed to outside of the
home was calculated for each group. The unemployed men spent
substantially more time inside the home (mean 13.25, sd 5.6 waking
hours) than the employed group (mean 6.5 hours, sd 1.2). However,
they did spend more time outside of the home (mean 5.9, sd 2.8
hours) than the retired group (mean 1.9, sd 1.8). It has already
been established that time home centredness in unemployment is
associated with poor general mental health.
A matrix of place by time usage was constructed to show exactly where the unemployed people were by time of day. The diaries were divided into five time periods:

- Early morning 1am-9am;
- Morning 10am-12pm;
- Afternoon 12pm-17pm;
- Early evening 18pm-20pm;
- Late evening 20pm-24pm.

The frequency of usage of the six environmental domains by time of day was plotted. This is presented in figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Matrix of Place by Time Usage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Leisure</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Entertain</th>
<th>Necessity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late Evening</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Evening</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Morning</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The matrix shows that most of the unemployed were at home early morning and late evening. They were heavy users of home and family environment throughout the whole day. Visiting family and friends actually occurred very infrequently (n=4). From 10am to 17pm (within normal working hours) the men used a variety of different environmental domains. Dealing with organisations, eg visiting the DSS, was a morning activity, leisure and necessity environments (eg local shops or city centre) were used most frequently in the afternoon while entertainment (in pubs and clubs) generally took place at night. Working in the underground
economy/voluntary sector or attending college were activities carried out over the course of the day.

In general, use of environmental domains reflected very much that of a working day. The men attended to the business affairs during normal working hours when organisations were open and enjoyed themselves in the evening. Unemployment may be accompanied by unstructured use of time, but the places structure time use in ways which reflect employment patterns.

So far, the analysis has established that geographical lifeworlds of the unemployed differ in range, type and pattern of place usage to those of retired and employed groups. Differences are related to changes in life circumstances brought about by unemployment. Once the workplace is lost as a major environmental domain, qualitative and structural changes occur in the geographical lifeworld. The home environment is heavily used and new organisational and work related environments are introduced. In the next section, attention turned away from place usage to the experience and meaning of the places within the geographical lifeworld. This investigation of place meanings draws out the influence unemployment has on conceptions of places.

4. Transitional Place Meanings

Changes in unemployment may not be restricted to types of places and patterns of place use. Life changes brought about in unemployment may influence transitions in the meaning of places. Through the medium of the multiple sorting task, experiences and meanings of places were investigated and related to life circumstances of unemployment. The sixteen most commonly mentioned places (both used and not used in everyday life) were extracted for detailed analysis. These were:
The men had been asked to distinguish between these places in five ways, summarised in table 6.2. Discussion surrounded each sorting procedure.

Table 6.2 The Sorting Format

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sorting Criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usage:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Started using place since unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have always used the place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopped using the place with unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most important place in my life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite important place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyment:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places I most enjoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places I quite enjoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places I do not enjoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places I strongly identify with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places I partly identify with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places I do not identify with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places where I am in control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places where I control some things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places where I have no control</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, the DSS was the place all people had begun to use in unemployment (100%) and the former workplace was the most frequent one they had stopped using (91%). Home was seen as the most important place (91%), followed by the DSS (73%). Home was also the place people enjoyed being most (75%) and the DSS was most disliked (100%). Home figured strongly as the place people identified with (77%) and felt in control of the environment (59%). The former workplace was the next most common place people felt they identified with (41%) although this was not a place they had ever felt in
control (48%). Everyone felt the DSS was an environment over which they had no control.

A matrix of 'places by sorts' was constructed in which each of the sixteen most commonly mentioned places was described in terms of the median category per sort. For example, home was described by 91% of the men as the most important place in their lives and 9% said it was quite important. Home was then designated as 'most important'. This process of designation continued for each of the sixteen places for every sort. The data matrix appears in appendix 10. The matrix was input to an Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis to detect structural similarities and differences between the places. The resulting plot is given in figure 6.2. Two regions appear on the plot. The first contains places which are closely associated with work and unemployment. The second features home and leisure places.

Places associated with work and unemployment include the DSS, job centre, post office and welfare agencies in terms of unemployment, and former workplace, unemployment workshops and college in terms of work. With the exception of the workplace, these places have become part of the persons geographical lifeworld on unemployment. The men felt they had no control over these places, did not enjoy being there (college excepted) nor did they feel a sense of identification with them. Despite such negative evaluations, they are generally seen as important in terms of finance, aid and activity in unemployment. People summarised their activities in these places as 'waiting for help' and 'getting money'.

In contrast the second group of home and leisure places are seen in a positive light and had always been part of the geographical lifeworld. They include home, friends and relatives houses, library, workshops, colleges, park, local streets and shops, the pub and city centre. These are seen as important and enjoyable places where the men felt in control. Participants felt they identified with these places in terms of the activities they took part in such as reading, relaxing, drinking and chatting with family and friends.
Figure 6.2 Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis of Place Meanings in Unemployment

Key:
1 Former workplace
2 Job centre
3 Welfare agency
4 DSS
5 Post office
6 Workshop
7 College
8 Neighbourhood streets
9 Relative’s house
10 Home/Pub
11 Friend’s house
12 Library
13 Park
14 Shops
15 City centre
When people were allowed to think about the places in their own way and to generate sorting criteria they produced a total of 75 sorts. The sorts represent important ways in which the men conceptualised places, discussing both their present feelings towards the place and any changes occurring in the experience and meaning of the place in unemployment. Many of the sorts were idiosyncratic indicating the very personal nature of person-place relations. Others were more commonly produced suggesting that some aspects of place experience are shared between people. Whether sorts were commonly encountered or idiosyncratic, each sort provided the opportunity for discussion between researcher and participant to ensure understanding of the meanings of places. Content analysis of the sorts ensured that key meanings were grouped into conceptually similar categories. The frequencies with which each category was used are presented. This shows the strength of the themes, a necessary part of any rigorous qualitative research.

In this way six categories of meaning emerged which show how people conceptualise places. These can be described as: usage orientation; restorative and supportive orientation; unemployment orientation; social orientation; lifestyle orientation; and organisational orientation. Table 6.3 shows the composition of the six person-place conceptualisations.

**Usage Orientation:** Patterns of place usage, including frequency and reasons for usage, form one way for people to structure their experience of places. Routine, habitual use is contrasted against infrequent, spontaneous use of places. Reasons for place usage were concerned with activities such as alternative forms of working, learning, entertainment and accessing everyday necessities. The men talked of using places to satisfy personal goals such as using time constructively, self development and finding employment. Many of these goals related to unemployment, none more so than routine use of the DSS and underground economy workplace to secure finance.
Table 6.3 Person-Place Conceptualisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sort</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usage</td>
<td>Reason for importance</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency of usage</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Routine Usage</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reason for Usage</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Use of Necessity</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Make a point of going</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restorative and</td>
<td>Reasons for Enjoyment</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supportive</td>
<td>Comfort Relaxation</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being Yourself</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Making Impressions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feel Confident</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good Memories</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Security</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Want to be there</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>For the Unemployed</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Expense for Unemployed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Help</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unjust to Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Divided Society</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recognised as Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dressing up in Unemployment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feeling Hassled</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Type of People in the Place</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Meeting Places</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharing Places</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Activities with People</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conversation and Discussion</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helping People</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>Suits my Lifestyle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Control my Life</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My Ideal Day</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Base of Living</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisational</td>
<td>Bureaucratic</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Work and Learning Organisations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of sorts 75
Restorative and Supportive Orientation: Kaplan (1983) suggests that some place provide restorative and supportive environments of psychological benefit. The unemployed men in this sample certainly realised the importance of experiencing supportive and restorative places. Restorative places such as the home and pub were described as comfortable and secure. Supportive places help the unemployed feel self confident and 'be yourself'. Home, the underground economy and voluntary workplaces were often described as supportive. These are contrasted against places associated with unemployment (eg DSS) which are generally described in very negative ways.

Unemployment Orientation: The structuring influence of unemployment on person-place relations is very obvious here. Many unemployed people thought of places in terms of those which welcome or are appropriate for them, and those which are not. There are places which help the unemployed find jobs (job centre), provide finance (DSS) and welfare advice (CAB). Some places were viewed as conferring an inferior status on unemployed people (DSS) and symptomatic of an unjust society which marginalises the unemployed through social stigma and financial exclusion (shops and city centre, pubs and restaurants). Local shops, the city centre and home were all conceptualised as sources of financial strain in unemployment.

Social Orientation: In this, the focus of person-place relations resides with people and relationships. Interpersonal relations influence the emotional and atmospheric quality of places. The 'bon homie' of the pub is contrasted with the misery of waiting in the dole office. Some participants felt more comfortable in the company of other unemployed people (eg at the Centre Against Unemployment or unemployment workshops), others sought to distance themselves from unemployment. The home was variously described as a place of loving and relaxed relationships, conversation and discussion, and an arena for arguments and strained relationships. The former workplace was seen by many as a place where friendships had been enjoyed but were now lost.
Lifestyle Orientation: A small number of people talked of living a particular lifestyle through the places they use. This was described as a lifestyle of unemployment and incorporated substantial use of organisations catering for unemployed people. For a large proportion (39%) of the sample, this lifestyle included working in the underground economy. These men saw the underground economy workplace very positively in providing financial help, a place to go outside of the home, a place to practise working skills and meet workmates.

Organisational Orientation: Here, the emphasis is on the organisational nature of place usage and experience. People divided their places in terms of which were bureaucratic (eg the DSS, job centre, post office, welfare agencies) and those which were not (eg home, pub). The bureaucratic requirements of unemployment were a source of resentment for the participants.

The data shows that the experience of unemployment is manifest in person-place relations. While the use of some places is an integral part of the experience of unemployment (eg DSS), most places in the geographical lifeworld are conceptualised in terms of unemployment. Even local shops, the city centre and home were conceptualised as places of financial strain. Other places offered restorative and supportive qualities in respite from the worries and problems brought by unemployment. The social nature of places also reflected experiences of unemployment. Issues of social stigma and marginalisation were linked to place experience.

So far, the analysis of places has remained at an aggregate and rather impersonal level. The next section fleshes out this aggregate analysis in a case study of one long term unemployed man's experience of places in the context of his own life circumstances.
5. Two Case Studies

Case studies (Yin, 1984) bring together the strands of understanding of place usage and meaning in unemployment gathered through a range of techniques: interviews; multiple sorting tasks; and yesterday diaries. A holistic look at person-place relationships enables a deeper understanding of the key issues involved. The case study technique not only encourages triangulation of methods leading to greater confidence in data and interpretations, it also produces a powerful explanatory framework which takes into account, the person, the place and the socio-cultural and physical contexts in which they are embedded.

Two contrasting case studies of person-place relationships are presented here, one in which the person is highly home centred (Graham), the other of a person who actively uses a range of different environmental domains. It has already been established that home centredness in unemployment is associate with poor mental health. These case studies look in more depth at person-place processes involved in home centredness and in active place usage.

Graham

Graham is 55 years old, has been unemployed for five years and believes his working life is over due to his age. Consequently, he does not look for work either in newspapers or through Job Centres. He has no qualifications, having worked most of his life in labouring jobs. Over the years he has suffered a number of previous periods of unemployment. Graham lives in an area of high unemployment (Scotswood) in a council house with his wife and one of their two children. In terms of general mental health, Graham scored a relatively poor 20 points, 5 for anxiety and 5 for depression. In relation to the whole sample, Graham was in poor mental health. Graham felt that unemployment was,
'Just one of those things that happen and you can't do much about. The Tories could do something about it but they won't.'

His representations of unemployment were very negative in stressing the financial and psychological problems suffered by unemployed people and the fact that they have very little to do with their time. The social nature of these representations has already been established (Chapter 5) and Graham's descriptions of his own life in unemployment closely mirror these representations. He faces financial difficulties in paying bills and keeping his family in to a reasonable standard of living. Financial problems, he said, contributed to a very poor marital relationship characterised by arguments. One key issue in this was his wife's criticism of his lack of effort to find work. Graham felt that improving his marriage was beyond his control as it depended on financial and employment related issues which would not improve in the present economic climate.

Graham spent most of his time at home reading newspapers, watching TV and doing jigsaws. Recently he has laid a second hand carpet in his living room to,

'brighten the place up a bit. We're in all day, so I try to make it nice'.

Since unemployment he had taken on responsibilities within the home for cleaning, tidying and shopping. His main interest was gardening in his small back garden. This was where Graham felt most content.

His routines consisted of one evening visit to the pub and two trips to the shops per week and occasional visits to his married son and the DSS. Graham described all these places in a complex mixture of positive and negative evaluations. They did enable him to get out of the house and enjoy social contact outside of his family. The pub in particular was the only place outside of the home that Graham felt good,
'It's where I feel normal again. Not just unemployed. I can do the things I used to do and I think I get a bit of comfort out of that'.

However, his sense of guilt at spending scarce financial resources on himself and not his family produced feelings of guilt and discomfort and he has cut his visits down from every night to once a week. Discomfort in the pub was echoed in his discomfort in the DSS. Experience in the DSS was degrading and humiliating even after five years of unemployment. In the DSS Graham felt belittled but realised that as an unemployed person he had to go. The experience of shopping was also a negative one which reaffirmed the lack of consumer spending power available to the unemployed while tempting people with consumer products,

'It gets frustrating, all this shopping around and never getting anything you really want. It's all there in the shop windows but not for the likes of me. if you're unemployed that's it, finished. We get our gear from Oxfam not Marks and Sparks.'

Similarly, visiting his son is not a pleasant outing since Graham and his daughter-in-law do not get on well. Moreover, his son is employed and the contrast between lifestyles can be painful,

'He works on the railways like, a good job and all that. But with me unemployed like, well, I don't say anything bad of him, but I just wish I had a job as well.'

All the places comprising Graham's geographical lifeworld are experienced in a negative way. The problems he experiences in unemployment are manifest in his person-place relationships. Financially he is restricted to environments which do not drain resources. Even shopping confirms his experience of unemployment and financial constraint. Socially, he relies heavily on family and friendships based at home and in the pub. Taken together, his environmental experience is a personally negative one. The only
positive aspect of this experience lies in the cultivation of his garden. He has rejected the possibility of employment for a home based life within which he has created a domain of comfort based in the garden. Through manipulation of the physical home environment in decorating and gardening, Graham enjoys some aspects of his life in unemployment. Nevertheless, the idealised positive experience of home much discussed in the literature (Hayward, 1877; Werner et al, 1985) is not realised in unemployment. Unemployment structures not just the use of home, but also the emotional atmosphere and social relationships within it.

Generally, Graham felt a lack of control over his life which was symbolised within his environmental experience. Instrumental aspects of the DSS (ie it's function to provide financial aid for unemployed people) reinforced his notion of the low social status of the unemployed also reinforced in trips to the shops (instrumental function to provide consumer goods). As Graham moved around his geographical lifeworld, person-place experiences within the personal, social, physical and instrumental domains were characterised by lack of control over his life, discomfort and reinforcement of his feelings of low social status of himself as an unemployed person. Not surprisingly, Graham had turned to the only place in which positive experiences were forthcoming, his home and garden.

Bernard

Bernard is a 31 year old married man, living at home with his wife and child. They live on a council estate in an area of high unemployment. Many of the people who live in his street are unemployed, and so are all of his friends. Bernard's mental health was good (score 8 on the GHQ; 3 for anxiety; 1 for depression). He had worked as a labourer for 4 years until his contract finished and was not renewed. He has been unemployed ever since, approximately nine years. After such a long period of unemployment, Bernard had
given up looking for work in labouring. Instead he concentrated on getting experience and qualifications in the new field of the caring professions.

Although Bernard had been unemployed for most of his eligible working life, his main aim was to rejoin the work force in enjoyable, caring profession. This personal goal structured both his time and place usage. He visited the job centre once a week despite little success. Using the job centre made him feel that he was trying for employment and confirmed his belief that his unemployment was a product of government policies rather than his own inadequacies. Bernard saw unemployment not as an overwhelmingly negative life event, but as a part of life with it's good side and bad side. His representations of unemployment viewed unemployment as a source of both problems and opportunities. As in Graham's case, Bernard's expression of social representations were very similar to his own life circumstances of financial hardship coupled with his efforts to create a new, more meaningful and satisfying life for himself and his family.

For much of the week he would attend a College of Art and Technology for classes in basic maths and English. This would lead to qualifications and progress to vocational courses.

"The way I look at it is that I've got to have an aim to get through. Everything I do is for a purpose. And mostly it's to do with getting a job and managing on the 'social'. That's it in a nutshell.. This college business, I never imagined me doing this. But I tell you, it's the best thing I ever did. The people are great."

College offered study, prospective work and a social life. Since going to college, Bernard has hardly visited the pub or nightclubs he frequented before. In addition, Bernard was a member of a voluntary organisation 'Friends of the Elderly'. He began this after two years of unemployment. Most weeks he would go to elderly
people's homes to decorate, carry out repairs or do the gardening. Sometimes, his role took on a more caring nature as he chatted or just listened to the people he went to help.

"I started it more or less just to fill in time. I've got to like it now. I think it's the pleasure of helping people. I never really knew I was like that. I get satisfaction out of helping and I see that other people are in worse situations than me. Some a lot worse. It's given me a push in the right direction. I've learned something about myself."

By doing voluntary work Bernard felt he was gaining work experience in his chosen field and using his time constructively. Both college and voluntary work should show prospective employers that he had been busy during his years of unemployment.

The busy, constructive side to his character was reserved for activities and places outside of the home. Home was the place he liked to relax and unwind from the pressures of unemployment, college and voluntary work. Home was the centre of his life.

"When I get home, I kind of shut down. I put my feet up and get a cuppa and just settle into it. Watch telly and the like. My home is for me and my family to do what we like. We might fight over money and that, but when all said and done, we come together as a family at home. My home and my family are what makes everything worthwhile. I charge my batteries (at home), every night it's like that. And then in the morning I'm ready to take the world on again."

Within the home, Bernard and his wife had evolved a lifestyle based on low income and unemployment. There were strict rules about tea drinking (no coffee at all), no biscuits, meat only once a week. The TV was run on a meter and was switched on for selected programmes only. The central heating was disconnected and their electric fire was allowed on only after 7pm (in winter). Although these
restrictions could provoke family arguments, Bernard was happy at home, his relationships with his wife and child were strong. Home and family were one to him.

In contrast, the places Bernard hated were typically to do with unemployment: the DSS; job centre; post office and local streets during working hours. Bernard hated being identified as unemployed. His college and voluntary work mostly kept him hidden from the stares, suspicion and low social status he felt came with unemployment. Attendance at places of unemployment were distasteful but his financial and employment circumstances demanded that he go. The DSS was a particularly depressing place for Bernard,

"You wait and wait. There's so many's unemployed. They don't care cos your time is nothing to them. I hate all the queuing. I always seem to get behind some cider drinker or something. I'm always expecting something to happen, like a fight...there'll be arguments going on...usually over the counter like. It's not the sort of place I want to be. I shouldn't think anybody would but when it comes down to it, I'm unemployed just like the rest of them."

Despite a tight reign on family spending, Bernard has needed advice and advocacy from the Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB) on managing his slender resources to pay mortgage and electricity bills. His use of the CAB was both necessary and demeaning. Using such a place, he felt, was publicly admitting failure,

"It was just one more of those places... for the poor and the down and outs. You don't go there unless you have to. They were nice enough, and they did help us out. But it's all more of the same, waiting about, cap in hand, asking for help. I suppose that's what unemployment is all about in the end."
In his family there were no trips to shops unless for necessary items. The only places he visited for enjoyment were the park with his young son and an occasional trip to the pub.

This analysis has touched on many of the issues discussed in this chapter. Bernard was able to give a succinct impression of the meaning and structure of all the places in his geographical lifeworld. His home was the centre of all places experience, the restorative force (cf Kaplan, 1983; Hartig et al, 1991) which enabled him to cope with his world. The other places in his life were very distinct, structured around work/learning and unemployment. These gave Bernard support in vital areas of his life: his future career; and finance in unemployment. In this, the supportive affordances (cf Kaplan, 1983; Day, 1990) of his geographical lifeworld were evident. He accepted himself as unemployed and had developed a self-defining goal (cf gaining employment in a caring profession cf Gollwitzer abd Wicklund, 1985) which structured the meaning and use of places in his geographical lifeworld. The goal directed nature of action (Von Cranach et al, 1982) was structured very much within the socio-physical environment (Canter, 1988) and was particularly important as it concerned not just what Bernard did, but how he felt about and perceived himself.

His relations with places are very complex and involve feelings of self worth and societal values. At the personal level of place experience, places can be stressful and restorative (eg home), supportive of everyday basic needs and yet unpleasant to be in (eg the DSS), involve activities of work and learning, yet not employment (eg voluntary workplaces). Socially, they offer social contact and relationships and instrumentally they afford functions which fit in with personal goals, needs and desires all within a symbolically meaningful physical environment.

Both Bernard and Graham saw home as central to their lives in unemployment and used home as a restorative and supportive resource. However, as Graham became more home centred and
evaluated the outside world in terms of his low status unemployment situation. Graham was more oriented to work and employment and organised his geographical lifeworld to maximise his opportunities in this direction. The geographical lifeworlds of each person were structured according to their view of themselves as unemployed people within their socio-cultural context of unemployment.

6. Conclusions

This chapter set out to explore the geographical lifeworld of the unemployed sample and document links between this, social representations and life circumstances of unemployment. As some of the men were recruited through their contact with organisations, this may have affected results such that place usage in this sample cannot be considered as representative of all long term unemployed men. Because of this, the research focused on the geographical lifeworld as a network of meaningful places which provides the physical grounding to everyday life. The data showed differences between the unemployed sample, retired and employed groups in the range of places which make up the geographical lifeworld. Retired people had the most restricted geographical lifeworld, followed by the unemployed and the employed. Unemployed people with a more extensive geographical lifeworld tended to enjoy better mental health than people who have a more restricted geographical lifeworld, independently of type of places used and reasons for place usage. Wapner et al (1981) and Aldwin and Stokols (1988) have argued that change in one sphere of life has an influence on environmental experience. In this study, changes brought in unemployment have influenced the extent, type and pattern of place use not just in terms of one place, but across the geographical lifeworld.

Unemployed people were frequent users of organisational places, more diverse in their use of workplaces and concentrated in their use of free or low cost leisure and entertainment places. When
patterns of place use were considered, the unemployed tended to spend much more time at home than the employed, but more time outside of the home than the retired groups. Over the course of the day the majority of unemployed people structured their time use in accordance with 'normal working hours', performing their business when organisations were open and enjoying themselves in the evening. Unemployment does not provide for independent time use, use of time is structured within the confines of the socio-cultural and physical environment of organisations, shops and so on.

These results suggest that the geographical lifeworld of places is linked to psychological well-being as Stokols et al (1983) propose in their study of residential mobility and well-being. The present study shows that the totality of places in a person's life and its meaningful nature is a key issue in their relationship. The unemployed men structured their geographical lifeworld in terms of two meaningful orientations: that of work/unemployment; and home/leisure. Work and unemployment places were typically new to the person's geographical lifeworld and disagreeable, places where unemployed people neither feel in control nor identify with. They were however important in terms of practising skills, solving problems and financial help. In contrast home and leisure places were enjoyable, controllable, places which had always been part of the person's life and with which they strongly identified.

When people were encouraged to conceive of places in their own terms, six different conceptualisations were revealed: usage; restorative and supportive orientation; unemployment; social; lifestyle and organisational orientation. In these, the interplay between life circumstances of unemployment and person-place relations was revealed. Reasons for place usage reflected financial and personal goals related to unemployment. Restorative and supportive places (Kaplan, 1983; Day, 1990; Hartig et al, 1991) were described where emotional pressures experienced in unemployment could be relieved. Places were evaluated as appropriate for the unemployed or inappropriate, welcoming or hostile and indicative of
societal attitudes towards the unemployed. Social relationships carried out within places were also described in terms of unemployment. Unemployment was linked through places to lifestyles which depend heavily on the use of organisational places to give advice and help. In this the personal (Sixsmith, 1986), social, physical (Canter, 1984) and instrumental (Sixsmith, 1988) nature of place were shown as important experiential aspects of the person-place relationship.

The case studies presented a more holistic view of place use and meaning across the geographical lifeworld. This highlighted the importance of understanding the way in which the person thinks about unemployment and what they are trying to achieve through place usage. Goal directed actions were linked to place use and meaning across the geographical lifeworld. The achievement of a main goal, such as a self defining goal, involves use of a range of places within the geographical lifeworld. Thus, it is important in person-place research to understand the dynamics of the geographical lifeworld as well as the nature of the relationship of a person within a particular place. Again, in the case studies, the domains of the personal, social, instrumental and physical place were evident in place experience.

Throughout the analysis of the life circumstances of unemployment and the socio-cultural context of person-place relations in unemployment a number of places have emerged as important environmental domains. These same places have been highlighted in the present chapter as the major environmental domains which structure much of life in unemployment: the organisational context including the DSS; the underground economy workplace; the home; former workplace; and the pub. The DSS is a new place of financial importance encountered in unemployment. Negative social and psychological experiences of the DSS cast it as a place which is disliked by all participants. The underground economy workplace was also a new place encountered in unemployment because of financial need. This workplace enabled the men to get out of the
house, practise working skills and meet other people. Home was seen as the most important place, as well as being enjoyable, restorative and supportive. People identified strongly with home and felt in control of it. However, home could also be a source of worry and a place of stressful family relationships. The former workplace emerged as a meaningful place within the person's geographical lifeworld even though few of the men actually visited or used the place in everyday life. The pub was a place unemployed people frequent for entertainment and leisure, however, the data indicates that experience of the pub is transformed in unemployment due to the financial and social commitments required while there.

In the following chapters an analysis of the organisational context of unemployment is undertaken. Then, the DSS, underground economy workplace, home, former workplace and pub are each the focus of investigation. A closer examination of person-place relations with respect to these places explores links between use and meaning through transactional processes involved in the negotiation of meaning.
Chapter 7

The Organisational Context of Unemployment

1. Introduction

2. Types of Organisations

3. Use and Meaning of Organisations

4. Life Circumstances, Organisational Use and Meaning

5. Conclusions
Introduction

An understanding of person-place relations in unemployment must take into account the types of places available and accessible to the unemployed. The investigation of the geographical lifeworld of the unemployed men showed that unemployment is not just a psycho-social phenomenon, but that it is embedded in socio-physical environments of place. Environments were not viewed as background stimuli impinging on the person, but as transactional person-place unities structured into environmental domains within a geographical lifeworld. As Wapner et al (1980) state, "There is always for the individual a totality which comprises his world" (p237).

In the analysis (chapter 6), a range of different environmental domains were involved including leisure, entertainment and home places. One domain was of significant functional value to unemployed people, the organisational domain. Certainly, with the necessity of visiting DSS offices, organisations dealing with unemployment can be viewed as an important new environmental domain brought into the lives of the unemployed. Yet there are only a handful of studies which look at the role of organisations in the everyday life of unemployed people (Balloch et al, 1986; Dhooge and Popay, 1987). For instance, Miles' (1984) study touched on the importance of community services and provisions at the local level for the experience of unemployment.

Generally, studies focus on the function of organisations without considering the ways in which they are experienced by unemployed people. Moreover, each organisation such as the DSS (Howe, 1985), the Employment Rehabilitation Centre (Arnold and Partridge, 1988) or the educational college (Further Education Unit, 1985) are usually studied in isolation when the reality of the geographical lifeworld is of unemployed people living in a context of organisations, each structured around a specific aspect of unemployment. How these organisations act together to form an organisational context which
supports (or perhaps isolates) unemployed people has yet to be investigated.

An investigation of the role of the organisational context is important in four respects. Firstly, the organisational context can be considered as the socio-cultural embodiment of societal attitudes towards and provisions for unemployment. Secondly, organisations are socio-physical places open to experience and evaluation by all who use them, closely structured around their own functional dynamics (Giddens, 1982). Organisations are not just social structures but cultural products (cf Broadbent and Llorens, 1980) and physical entities whose influence on unemployment must take physicality into account. Thirdly, an understanding of the experience of using organisations and their symbolic nature may help to explain their underutilization (Ashby, 1985). Thus studying the holistic organisational context requires an analysis of the aims, policies and operation of the organisation as well as an evaluation of its use and meaning by unemployed people. Fourthly, as Balloch et al (1985) have said, the relationship between the long term unemployed and organisational functions and usage has been under-researched. In their own work they concentrate on the handicapped, the young unemployed and mental illness in unemployment.

In this chapter, the organisational context of unemployment is explored in relation to the goals, needs and desires of the forty four long term unemployed men. The sample was structured to ensure the men used a range of organisations so that user evaluations of the organisations were possible. Information gained through interviews with managers representing 25 organisations was supplemented with analysis of documents outlining organisational policies. Thus, it was possible to reveal similarities and differences between functions offered by organisations and needs of the long term unemployed men. Moreover, the analysis revealed the role life circumstances and social representations play in usage and meaning of the organisational context.
2. Types of Organisations

The twenty five organisations taking part were all located within the city, many within the two field study districts of Fenham and Scotswood. Three organisations which refused were: the DSS; the job centre; and the social services. By refusing to take part in the study, a full analysis of the importance of the whole organisational context is compromised. However, documentation concerning these organisations was included in the analysis and unemployed peoples conceptualisations of the DSS and Job Centre were elicited. The organisations taking part are listed in appendix 3. One person representing each organisation was interviewed using a structured interview schedule (see appendix 3). The schedule looked at four areas:

- Financial, historical and political background;
- Aims and policies of the organisation;
- The working life of the organisation;
- Contact with unemployed people.

In addition, informal chats with staff and analysis of documents were considered. A case study was constructed for each organisation using these four analytical areas so that each case study consisted of the main issues concerning organisational background, aims, operation and contact with the unemployed. Comparison of the case studies enabled the organisations to be divided into six different types: educational; advisory; community welfare; occupational; ideational; and leisure.

**Educational Organisations:** Two places, the College of Art and Technology (CAT) and the Worker's Educational Institute (WEA) provided educational courses for the unemployed. These were specially aimed at unemployed people and had been set up within the previous two years. They were funded through the Department of Employment, the Local Education Authority, Manpower services
Commission and Community Task Force. Both were located in the city centre although some courses from the WEA took place in local neighbourhoods. The courses aimed to stimulate intellectual, social and emotional growth and raise consciousness about unemployment issues at an individual, social and political level. Information on how to find a job, how to cope with job applications and interviews was also available. As such, the unemployed were identified as a distinct client group with special educational needs seen by the organisation as lack of work causing anger, guilt, frustration, lack of self-confidence and anxiety. Courses were organised for the unemployed rather than with them.

Advisory Organisations: These include the Citizen's Advice Bureau (CAB), Relate (marriage guidance) and local council. These organisations form part of large scale national bodies, highly organised with hierarchical staffing structures. Funding comes from a range of different sources including charity (CAB), City Council and some client fees (Relate). In general, their aim is to improve the quality of life for the unemployed by providing advisory and advocacy services. This help ranges from listening to personal problems to court appearances in industrial tribunals. The key problem areas tackled by the organisation relate to financial problems including debt and payment of bills and employment issues. In Balloch et al's survey (1985) these two problem areas were the most significant ones with which people approached agencies such as the Citizen's Advice Bureau for help. There has been an increase in requests for such help within voluntary agencies in Newcastle (City of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1982). Help is usually geared to the individual needs, although local councillors operate at a community level. Access for the unemployed is free through an open door policy with city centre headquarters and representation in local communities.

Community Welfare Organisations: Organisations such as Welfare Rights (WR), Priority Area Teams (PAT's), the West End Resources Centre (WERC), housing associations and community projects (eg
Scotswood Community Project and SCAAC) are included here. These organisations have been set up within the previous two years in direct response to perceived needs of the unemployed. Authorities have shown a significant increase in welfare rights referrals especially among unemployed people dependent on social security who account on average for two thirds of the workload (Balloch et al, 1985). They all operate in the local community and are financed through City Council, Community Services Department and Social Services. They aim to alleviate the deprivations caused by unemployment at a local community level. These organisations work for the relief of poverty through advice on state benefits and the organisation of pressure groups or community groups.

Nash (1982) has documented that unemployed people approach welfare organisations for help relating to financial and practical matters, rather than emotional problems. Nash's findings are reflected in the major areas of work these organisations cope with: housing, welfare rights, employment initiatives and women's issues. Most are oriented towards financial and practical problems of the unemployed, such as the DSS for financial aid and small scale funding is available for community projects. In Newcastle, increasing unemployment caused severe financial problems especially among the long term unemployed with consequences for increase workloads in Social Services and Welfare Rights (City of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1982). Generally, unemployed people can have a say in the running of some of these organisations through representatives at committee meetings. Others operate an extremely complex system (eg the DSS) which not only exclude the involvement of unemployed people, but promote confusion and create problems in themselves.

Occupational Organisations: The Whitehouse Enterprise Centre, Youth Enterprise Centre, the John Marley Centre and ENTRUST are organisations which attempt to develop employment skills of the unemployed. Other than that, these organisations are diverse in their funding, staffing structure and location (in local areas and the
city centre). They aim to get people back into employment by supporting new self-employed ventures, providing workshop facilities, contacts, training and work experience. They create a climate of support for the unemployed person to get back into a working routine. The unemployed are generally seen as people who need to be motivated, supported and directed into employment opportunities. Unemployed people are not involved in the running of such organisations.

Ideational Organisations: Political (The Centre Against Unemployment, Scotswood Unemployment Group) and religious (Holy Cross Church) organisations are described here as organisations which set ideals for the people to follow. The two political organisations are socialist, funded by the City Council, Trades Council and various trusts. They aim to raise consciousness about high levels of unemployment as socially unacceptable and to defend the rights of the unemployed. The politicisation of the unemployed in contact with unemployment centres has been noted in previous studies (Winfield, 1981). They operate through campaigning, preparing documents, organising demonstrations and conferences, press releases and individual advice on social issues. Unemployed people occupy key positions in these organisations. In contrast, the Church does not emphasise the unemployed as a needy social group. Although some initiatives have centred on the unemployed (e.g. daytime clubs), they have failed through lack of interest and support.

Leisure Organisations: A range of leisure organisations took part in the study: Scotswood swimming baths; UCANDOIT community project; Denton Sports Centre; Community Services; the local pub; and library in Scotswood. All (except the pub) operate a policy of providing daytime facilities for the unemployed free or at reduced rates. They are mostly long established organisations situated within local communities which have adapted to high numbers of unemployed clients. In terms of the unemployed, they provide leisure opportunities to occupy time constructively but also to widen the
social horizons of unemployed people. Relaxation and enjoyment are key aims of such organisations.

Taken together the organisations provide a cover of support and advice for the unemployed in terms of individual, familial and social problems, especially in financial and employment areas. They also provide opportunities for social and self development in terms of educational, political, sporting and religious facilities. The majority of organisations are located at community level for easy access. Most respond to individual or social problems of the unemployed rather than involve unemployed people in the organisational structure. As such, they treat the unemployed as a problem group who need help and tend not to encourage them to take control of their own lives.

3. Use and Meaning of Organisations

Having gained insight into the organisational context which surrounds the unemployed in Newcastle, the way in which the unemployed use and think about the organisations as specific places needs to be understood. It is only through understanding of the relationship between the goals and needs of the person and the function and meaning of organisations that the role of the organisational context in everyday life can be addressed. In the following sections organisational use and meaning in unemployment are explored.

Organisational Usage: All the organisations involved in the study were located either in the two study areas or in the city centre. Most were well signposted and visible places. The location of organisations is a key issue in their usage as Appleyard (1980) found that visibility based on location was a necessary component of place knowledge. Indeed, Balloch et al (1985) report that some
organisations have contained their workload by stopping advertisements and thereby reducing their visibility.

Forty four long term unemployed men were interviewed with respect to their use of places in unemployment. As part of a multiple sorting task (see appendix 6), the men listed all the places they used in their everyday life and places they had used over the last two years. Table 7.1 details the number and percentage of the unemployed sample using the six different types of organisational domains. The figures are not meant to be representative of long term unemployed people, but reflect the specific sample in the present study, ten men having been recruited through organisations (2 via the Church; 2 via colleges; 2 via unemployment workshops; 2 via the Centre against Unemployment; 2 via occupational organisations). Some of the men recruited through organisations were, or had been, involved with a number of different organisations, others were more restricted in their organisational usage. Many of the men used or knew of a wide range of organisations in the city. Most were aware of organisations relating to unemployment in their local neighbourhood.

Table 7.1 Use of Organisations in Unemployment

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<th>Organisation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Welfare</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideational</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisory</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leisure organisations were used by most people with the pub being the most frequently used (n=36), followed by sports centres and swimming baths (n=12), then libraries (n=11) and community leisure projects (n=8). A relatively high percentage of the sample used
community welfare and advisory organisations for help with personal and family problems. Similarly, over a third of the sample used educational and ideational organisations. Interestingly, occupational organisations were the least well used.

Although the DSS and job centre refused to take part in the study, unemployed people were keen to include them as organisational places used in everyday life. While all of the sample used the DSS, only 50% (n=22) of the unemployed men currently used the job centre. This rose to 64% (n=28) of the sample who had used the job centre in the previous two years. The DSS and job centre are included in the following analysis.

The Meaning of Organisations: During the course of the multiple sorting task, the men talked about their experiences of and feelings towards the six different types of organisations. They talked of the reasons they used the places, how each place felt and what each place signified for the unemployed. The qualitative data gained was very rich and just the main themes to emerge from this data are presented below.

Leisure Organisations: Leisure providers in the 80's have increasingly providing facilities for the unemployed as a specific sector of society (Glyptis, 1983). The political feeling is that constructive leisure use is preventative and corrective of social ills (Scarman, 1981). Indeed, it has been suggested that constructive leisure may go some way to replace some or all of the benefits traditionally derived from work (eg Jahoda and Rush, 1980; Kelvin, 1982). Sport in particular offers several qualities which may be beneficial to the unemployed; purposeful and goal oriented; social; and developmental of personal abilities (Glyptis, 1983). Yet sports activities tend to be of minority appeal (Sports Council, 1982). Nevertheless sports schemes have been aimed at the unemployed. In Newcastle, sports facilities were offered free (or at reduced rates), at specified times, for use by the unemployed on production of the
Yet the data for this sample showed that only 27% of the men used sports facilities. Their reasons for not using facilities were elicited using the 'Barriers to Activity Task' (see chapter 3). These concerned lack of friends to go with, or being identified as unemployed (social barriers), lack of confidence in their abilities, incentive or motivation (psychological barriers), poor knowledge of facilities and lack of interests in sport, much as Glyptis (1983) reported in her survey. The men who did use sports facilities explained that use affords social benefits of meeting people, getting out of the house and constructive time use. Keeping fit, healthy and achieving goals of stamina, agility and skill were seen as ways of enjoying yourself and of improving self confidence.

The library may be considered as another environment offering opportunities for constructive leisure use in unemployment. In the present sample, 25% used the library. Warr and Payne (1983) found similar figures when around 30% of their sample of working class unemployed people used libraries. Fryer and Payne (1982) have documented reasons for library use ranging from the comfort and freedom from worries which books offer to job searching in newspapers and the warmth of the library building (in contrast to poorly heated houses perhaps). The long term unemployed men in the present study offered similar sorts of reasons for using the library including pleasure in reading, filling time, getting out of the house, escaping worries and keeping warm.

The pub was mentioned by most (82%) of the long term unemployed men as a leisure environment in which they spent some time per week. The Warr and Payne (1983) study of activities in unemployment among short term unemployed people showed that 77% of the working class sample frequented the pub or club. Pub experiences were many and varied. The men enjoyed chatting, playing darts and dominoes, joking, drinking, smoking and arguing in the pub. Occasionally, consumer goods could be bought cheaply in the pub and a whole range of practical information on jobs, job hunting and DIY was available. However, pleasant experiences in the
You have to get out now and then. On a Saturday I go to the Sporting Arms, like. All my mates are there. We have a natter and that and a game of dominoes but you know it's not the same down there anymore. It's not right really when you've no money and you're in there drinking. Takes the pleasure out of it. When it comes to it, I'm just a man with no money in his pocket and I can't afford to buy my mates a round."

Reasons for frequentlying leisure organisations exist on psychological, social and environmental levels. The men used leisure organisations for enjoyment and relaxation (psychological), meeting with and talking to friends (social) and getting out of the home (environment).

Community Welfare Organisations: The men used welfare organisations usually located in the local neighbourhood in two main ways. Firstly, to gain help and advice with financial, psychological and social problems. Sorting out multiple debt situations was a priority in the men's lives. Despite feeling relief at help received, some felt a sense of dependency within bureaucratic organisations. This feeling is illustrated by one man who felt that his welfare officer waged psychological warfare on the unemployed by disregarding the urgency of their needs and underestimating their worries. In the office, he felt anxiety, anger, frustration and resentment yet he realised that without their help his personal situation would become intolerable. Feelings of dependency were often associated with the DSS. The men described their contact with the DSS in terms of 'going cap-in-hand' for financial 'handouts'. Analysis of the experience of the DSS is undertaken in a future chapter. The second way of using welfare organisations involved voluntary work. Here the unemployed person offers their experience and services to other people. These men derived a sense of personal worth, social
status, confidence and purpose through their work. As one man said,

"It's more than just something to do, it's what I do. It makes me feel good if I can help somebody else. I think I'm not just unemployed and taking all the time, but I'm giving something back, I'm caring".

Ideational Organisations: Church attendance in unemployment was practised by 11% of Warr and Payne's (1983) sample. In the present sample it was nearer 18%, the difference being due perhaps to recruitment of two people through their Church contact. Church goers in the present sample derived strength from the spiritual support they received at their local church. They felt the church accepted all people as equals, including the unemployed. Acceptance and equality were things they valued but tended not to experience often in unemployment. They did not expect the church to take an active role in alleviating unemployment because,

"Unemployment is an earthly thing, not spiritual".

Political organisations were the only place where unemployed people could meet to discuss their wider social situation. They felt they understood the plight of the unemployed from a spatial as well as experiential perspective. These organisations provided the unemployed with collective goals to strive for, social contact with people of similar interests, constructive time use, work activities such as campaigning, a chance to help others and to improve self-confidence,

"If I can do one thing to make it easier for all the unemployed, then I've made my mark...There's more to it than that you know, I used to be depressed and drinking quite a bit as well. I didn't do much. Then I heard about this place (Centre Against Unemployment) and I come to see what it was and I never looked back. I got involved in the campaign about
snoopers (DSS fraud squad) and now people come to me. Someone has to do it and doing something is better than complaining and doing nothing".

Educational Organisations: Senior and Naylor (1987) have argued that educational responses to adult unemployment have failed in terms of endorsing the powerlessness of the unemployed to influence the content of courses. They point out the low take up of education among the unemployed and explain this in terms of narrow vocational courses which neglect issues of self development, competence, coping and co-operation. Moreover, many colleges and course fail to provide crucial support to enable and encourage the unemployed into education. Certainly, the participants in this study who attended educational courses were looking for a course which challenged them and was instrumental to their plans for their future. Firstly, the men wanted to gain information about the politics of unemployment, about the welfare system and their own rights within it so they could improve their own financial situation. Secondly, they wanted to improve their job prospects through showing employers constructive time use or by gaining qualifications. Some men wanted to learn a new skill such as book-keeping with a view to self employment. Thirdly, the men sought self improvement through education, in order to gain control over their lives and increase in confidence, as stressed in the Second Chance To Learn Project (Further Education Unit, (1985). The men claimed that using educational organisations provided other benefits. Getting out of the house, social contact, constructive time use and the extending of cognitive horizons (cf Further Education Unit, 1985) were all reported together with increased self confidence,

"I might be unemployed, but I'm not sitting back doing nowt...When I'm in there (the WEA), I know it's for something that'll help me. It's ok me being unemployed because it means I can be doing this. I don't know, it just seems better, worth it, when I'm there than when I'm not".
However, courses did not always fulfil expectations, especially when they dwelt on the negative experiences of unemployment. The men felt powerless to change courses in line with their needs (cf Senior and Naylor, 1987). Colleges could also be daunting, formal places for the unemployed generally located in large buildings in the city centre.

**Advisory Organisations**: Advisory organisations were seen by the unemployed sample as vehicles through which to confront private and state agencies such as debt collectors and the DSS. Financial hardship, employment and housing matters were the three main reasons for seeking help. The men described their experiences of advisory organisations in negative ways. They felt anxiety and despondency at having to admit inability to cope with their own problems. Even entering the building can be seen as a declaration of 'social impotence'. Waiting for attention was also a distressing experience but staff were generally helpful in the face of their bureaucratic machinery. One unemployed man was a voluntary worker for the Citizen's Advice Bureau. The CAB was his main commitment in life outside of his family, from which he satisfied his 'need to be needed'.

**Occupational Organisations**: Previous studies have shown an improvement in psychological well-being through use of occupational organisations (Kemp and Mercer, 1983; Arnold and Partridge, 1988). However, when intensive qualitative studies are conducted, the men in this study described their use of employment centres such as employment rehabilitation centre (ERC), enterprise centres and unemployment workshops in rather negative ways, similar to the findings of Buckland and MacGregor (1986). They claimed that centres failed to treat the men as intelligent adults and to equip them for future employment. Participants agreed that the centres did provide facilities for practising and acquiring work related skills but not those appreciated by prospective employers. For one man using an ERC, the benefits of practising skills and adopting a working
routine were offset by his contact with other unemployed people at the centre,

"You go there with the dregs, all the one's what've no hope. Most of them don't want work. They have to go or else the chop. They're just marking time until they're finished. It gets to you after a while and you end up as bad as what they are and just going along".

In addition, job centres were often referred to as 'joke centres' since their offer of help in finding jobs for the unemployed was seen as a joke. The men, especially older men, felt that there was no work to be had and so work experience or job centres would not produce it. These feelings are supported in a study of job centre vacancies in which 27.5% of vacancies held an upper age limit disqualification (Balloch et al, 1985). Furthermore, a PEP study showed that only a quarter of vacancies were open to the over 50's (Oliver, 1982).

Clearly, the ways in which organisations were experienced and the meanings they held for the unemployed men were highly complex and went beyond the rather formal and limited functions organisations felt they offered. The mismatch between organisational functions and unemployed peoples goals and desires were obvious in the case of educational provisions and in Job Centres. Very negative experiences were part and parcel of using the DSS or welfare agencies, an outcome of organisational use rarely addressed within organisations themselves. Not only were unemployed people looking for help with a range of practical problems, but also expressed spiritual, social and psychological needs in relation to their organisational context. Such needs could be met as a latent consequence of using organisations rather than as a result of specific policies or organisational aims. Thus, the unemployed men used their organisational context in ways which were never intended by organisations.
4. Social Representations, Life Circumstances, Organisational Use and Meaning

The men in the sample used organisational context for practical help and support, advice and psychological, social and environmental purposes. Since organisations are a part of the socio-cultural context of unemployment, exploring the use and meaning of organisations entails looking at them as cultural products (cf Broadbent and Llorens, 1980). In this respect, the analysis moves on to an investigation of possible relationships between social representations of unemployment and use of organisations. Certainly, social representations contained information about the types of organisations unemployed people were expected to use. The DSS was the main one, accompanied by other welfare and advisory agencies (eg Citizen's Advice Bureau) the pub and educational establishments. The places involved in social representations cover a number of organisational domains including welfare, advisory, leisure and educational and evaluated in terms of helping the unemployed to solve their problems and giving them something to do with their time. Generally, social representations saw the unemployed as people in need of care and aid through organisations.

However, some social representations envisaged the unemployed as individuals, coping with and living their lives in individual circumstances. This was called (see chapter 5) the 'individual orientation'. Other representations were oriented around the issue of benefits arising in unemployment ('benefit orientation'). Individual and benefit orientation representations were compared to organisational use with Chi Squared statistics. Neither orientation was significantly related to organisational use, although there was a weak tendency for people whose representations stressed problems to make more use of organisations than people whose representations stressed the benefits of unemployment (Chi Sq 2.10). Thus, while social representations do inform about the types of organisations available and frequented by unemployed people, they provide an
incomplete picture of organisational usage and as such are not strongly related to the extent of organisational use in unemployment.

A wide range of organisations did form an important part of their geographical lifeworld. Yet no studies have explored the ways in which the organisational context is related to life circumstances in unemployment? To investigate this issue, the men were divided into two groups, those who extensively used organisations as part of their everyday life and those who rarely used organisations. The life circumstances of each group were explored and the results are summarised in table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Organisational Use and Life Circumstances of Unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life Circumstances</th>
<th>Extent of Organisational Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GHQ</td>
<td>ns T test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety</td>
<td>ns T test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>ns T test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Health</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Duration</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Unemployment</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>11.19' Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood Unemployment</td>
<td>7.47' Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Unemployment</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Unemployed</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends Unemployed</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Problems</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Problems</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Problems</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity Problems</td>
<td>6.17' Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Benefits</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work related Benefits</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity Benefits</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future View</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boredom at home</td>
<td>10.14'' Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for Work</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping Orientation</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'=significant at the 0.05 level
"'=significant at the 0.01 level

The pattern of results in table 7.2 are very interesting. They show that people who have a developed and well used organisational
context tend to live in Scotswood where many of the organisations are based and are visible and perceive much unemployment in their neighbourhood. In Fenham where few organisations are located and the environmental context of unemployment is perceived as relatively low, unemployed people tend not to seek them out. The visibility of organisations at the local level may be important in terms of their usage. Moreover, the perceived level of unemployment may give organisations a particular relevance or significance at the local level. Unemployed people may not feel out of place using an organisation geared for unemployed people if they perceive that unemployment is the norm in their area.

Other life circumstances related to organisational use are activity problems and boredom at home. The results show that people who vote conservative, claim to have difficulties in filling their time, have nothing to do and are bored at home rarely use their organisational context. It would seem that use of organisations helps people to occupy their time in unemployment, actively sorting out their problems, engaging in educational courses and attending unemployment workshops and meetings.

Use of organisations is not related to mental health. Furthermore, specific problems (financial, psychological etc) or benefits (psychological, work related etc) are generally not related to organisational use. This may be due to the wide range of organisations investigated and the fact that some have a problem orientation, ie they deal with unemployed people who have problems while others are geared towards helping unemployed people to live a constructive life (eg unemployment workshops, the pub and sorts facilities). Each organisation or organisational domain contributes to the unemployed person in its own way and is experienced by the person in particular ways. A focus on important organisational person-place relationships is necessary to untangle the complexities involved. In future chapters, a focus is placed on the DSS as the most critical organisation used by all the men and the lost
workplace, an organisation also important but missing from everyday usage patterns.

5. Conclusions

In this chapter, the organisational context of unemployment revealed as an important environmental domain in the previous chapter, has been explored in some depth. In line with transactional approaches to person-place unities, the study has explored experiential and goal oriented use of organisations (Altman, 1989; Aitken and Bjorklund, 1988). But environments do not exist solely at an experiential level, they have a socio-physical and cultural reality (Altman and Chemers, 1980; Broadbent and Llorens, 1980). These aspects of organisations were taken into account in an analysis of the formal policies and aims of organisations with respect to the unemployed. The relationships between goal oriented, experiential nature of organisations and their formal aims were investigated.

Organisations are places which provide resources and services for the unemployed. These range from advice and advocacy for problems, occupational experience, educational and leisure activities. Some organisations had wider aims of improving the quality of life for the unemployed and building up their self confidence. Many of the organisations, especially those structured at a national level, presented a bureaucratic or formal approach to the unemployed. In contrast, the unemployed men saw organisations not in terms of their resources and services, but in terms of their capability to influence their life. The men used the organisations for their own reasons. These reasons were often much wider ranging than the organisations aims. For instance, an educational organisation was used as a way of 'getting out of the house', for social contact and self development as well as the more formal aim of gaining knowledge or qualifications. Getting out of the home was a commonly mentioned reason for involvement with organisational places.
Perhaps the most critical finding in the organisational study lies in the negative ways in which many organisations are experienced. This was particularly the case in the DSS, but was also evident in other welfare and advisory agencies. Formal, bureaucratic organisations tend to generate feelings of anxiety, anger and frustration often linked to the men having to admit to their problems. Organisations which promised to help the unemployed, but then failed to do so, eg occupational organisations, were not only disliked but avoided. Even places which were visited for enjoyment and relaxation, such as pubs, can be experienced in negative ways if they emphasise the lack of spending power. Having said this, some places (educational, leisure and places used as sources of voluntary work) were deemed very useful in developing self confidence and self esteem.

This study shows that an understanding of the use of organisations in unemployment depends not just on knowledge of the formal aims of the organisation, its visibility and accessibility but also on its ability to satisfy individuals' own goals. Overall experience of the organisation as a socio-physical place was also an important aspect to consider in the way people evaluated the organisations, their advantages and disadvantages.

The socio-cultural context in which unemployed people live (as expressed in social representations of unemployment) is, in some ways, associated with organisational usage. Social representations contained information and evaluations of important organisations as part of the everyday lives of the unemployed. These were reflected in the types of organisations actually used by the men in the sample, although the men tended to use a much wider range of organisations than those suggested in social representations. Types of social representations (ie individually oriented, or oriented towards benefits in unemployment) did not predict the extent of organisational use among the unemployed. However, there were significant links between life circumstances and the use of organisations such that people who were emmersed in an environment of unemployment used organisations more than people who are more
environmental isolated in unemployment. Moreover, people who do not use organisations are more likely to be bored at home, with nothing to do. It may be that use of organisations for whatever reason (out of problem solving, interests or hobbies) enable the person to feel they have engaged in meaningful activities outside of the domestic environment. Engagement in meaningful activities is an important part of the experience of unemployment (Haworth, 1986; Haworth and Evans, 1987). The organisational context of unemployment provides one environmental domain in which meaningful activity is encouraged.

Organisational places form one environmental domain to consider in unemployment. As stated earlier, a detailed exploration of particular organisations is deemed important in understanding the impact of life unemployment on person-place relations. Thus, person-place relationships involving the DSS, the pub and the former workplace are examined in detail. Other environmental domains of the home and underground economy workplace have emerged as important through analysis of social representations of unemployment, experience of unemployment and the geographical lifeworld. These places also form the focus of attention for detailed person-place investigation. The next chapter looks at the ways in which the DSS and underground economy workplace are encountered as new places encountered in unemployment.
Chapter 8

Negotiating New Person-Place Relations: The DSS and the Underground Economy Workplace

1. Introduction

2. The DSS
   i) First Impressions
   ii) Events and Stories
   iii) Everyday Experience of the DSS
        Instrumental Experience
        Personal Experience
        Social Experience
        Physical Experience
   iv) Life circumstances, social representations and the DSS
   v) Conclusions: DSS

3. The Underground Economy Workplace
   i) Working in the Underground Economy Workplace
   ii) The Benefits of the Underground Economy Workplace
   iii) The Disadvantages of the Underground Economy Workplace
   iv) Life circumstances, social representations and the underground economy workplace
   v) Conclusions: Underground Economy Workplace

4. Conclusions
1. Introduction

There has been little research into the ways in which new person-place relations come about, how new person-place relations are developed and new meanings negotiated. This chapter focuses on an understanding of person-place relations and the negotiation of meaning in unemployment. The DSS and the underground economy workplace have both been identified as important places which have entered the lives of the long term unemployed. Managing financial resources was the most common problem experienced by the participants in this study, and both these places are important in terms of providing financial help in unemployment.

The DSS is representative of our socio-cultural response to the issue of unemployment and is part of the organisational context which surrounds the unemployed person. As such it is seen as an 'unemployment environment' within the geographical lifeworld. Use of the DSS is taken for granted in studies of the experience of unemployment, so much so that the DSS is rarely even mentioned (cf Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984; Warr, 1987) never mind examined as part of unemployment experience (Bunker and Debsbury, 1983 and Howe, 1985 excepted). Yet social representations of unemployment suggest that the DSS is an important, but negative, source of experience for unemployed people. It is represented as a place people go in financial hardship and where they experience feelings of degradation and depression. Given its central role in our cultural response to unemployment, its importance in social representations and the fact that it is the most commonly used organisational environment in unemployment, the unemployed person-DSS relationship needs to be thoroughly examined.

Underground economy workplaces are very different in that they represent illegal places of work. Nevertheless, their use is recognised in that they form part of social representations of unemployment where working in the underground economy was seen as a way of practising skills, using time constructively and meeting
people. This evidence suggests that underground economy workplaces offer benefits for the unemployed, and some disadvantages. However, the experience of working in an underground economy workplace has not been examined. Studies of unemployment have not uncovered substantial underground working practices (cf, Pahl, 1984) yet media articles and government establishment of a DSS Fraud Squad testify to its existence on a substantial scale. It may be that unemployed people are unwilling to talk about such a sensitive and contentious area. The humanistic in-depth approach take in the present study reveals more underground economy working than has been reported in previous studies (Pahl, 1984). A large percentage of the men (39%) said that they engaged in the underground economy while they were unemployed. Thus, the underground economy workplace is a real environment for many of the men. How it contributes to everyday life in unemployment is one focus of attention in this chapter.

This chapter explores the experience and meaning of the DSS and underground economy workplace in unemployment on the basis that environments can affect the way a person thinks, feels and acts (Day, 1990) through their design (Canter, 1980), their atmosphere, their social nature (Stokols, 1981; Canter, 1986), their instrumental function (cf, Sixsmith, 1988) and the affordance of (Gibson, 1979) and symbolic nature of their physical environment (Krampen, 1980; Naser, 1989). Evidence of the personal, social, instrumental and physical experience of the DSS and the underground economy workplace is explored in relation to the development and impact of person-place relationships on everyday life in unemployment. Emphasis is on the development of person-place relations from the first visit through continued usage of these two places. The content and structure of place usage and meaning are revealed together with an analysis of the processes through which person-place relations develop.
2. The DSS

The forty-four men were asked to describe their experiences of the DSS offices they used, including their first visit and feelings about the places (see appendix 6). Both the dole office (where the men regularly sign on) and the supplementary benefit office (where entitlements are negotiated) were considered. Accounts and descriptions of both offices were so similar that in the following analysis they are considered together. The data created with this accounts methodology (Harre and Secord, 1972) was extensive, amounting to over fifty pages of qualitative information. An intensive process of content analysis (see chapter 3) was undertaken to reduce this mass of data to manageable proportions while keeping intact the meaning structures highlighted as themes emerging from the data.

The men were initially asked to talk about their first ever visit and prior expectations of the DSS. Expectations were matched against the reality of experience and the implications of discrepancies discussed. Some experiences were clearly meaningful to the men and formative of person-place relations. These are described in the first section below. When the men began to talk about their everyday transactions with the DSS a number of common themes began to emerge. The themes were structured in accordance with four modes of place experience suggested in the theoretical framework: personal, social, physical and instrumental. These are described in some detail.

i) First Impressions

Of the forty-four men involved, seven had forgotten their first visit after years of continued unemployment. Accordingly, the data presented in this section is derived from interviews with thirty seven long term unemployed men. The fact that only 9 people had
forgotten their first visit to the dole suggests that first contact is memorable. Memories mainly covered feelings and emotions, physical conditions and social relationships, especially with staff.

The most obvious finding to emerge was that many of the men had fairly well structured expectations about the dole based on previous experience of office environments. Although these did not extend to knowledge of rules and practises, they did cover general atmosphere and environmental surroundings. Most said they expected the dole offices to be similar to the job centre, being warm, comfortable, well appointed, with a clean and pleasant atmosphere. Expectation and reality were at odds for most men. They remembered dirty, smoky rooms full of bored unemployed men waiting in line (in the dole office), or sitting in hard institutional seats fixed to the floor (in the supplementary benefit office),

"It was quite a shock, quite a come down...I thought it would be ok like, just like an office or something, But when I saw what I'd come to...It was horrible, it is horrible. I mean, people waiting around, spitting on the floor, and these great long queues".
(supplementary benefit office)

The physical conditions, atmosphere in the offices and the act of signing on seemed to confirm low social status of the unemployed,

"They don't care anything for the likes of us. Just you go in and have a look at it. It's something else. Still, we don't count, do we? So they don't bother... When I first went, you know, the funny thing was that I never felt I was unemployed until I stood in line and signed my paper. Then it finally come home to me".
(dole office)

This supports Day's (1990) contention that,
In some places one feels a trapped statistic, not a valued member of society. Staff were expected to be efficient, friendly and sympathetic. Instead, they were sometimes hostile, slow, uncaring or workmanlike. Negative attitude towards staff were accompanied by negative attitudes towards other claimants. Other unemployed people were described as bored, miserable and uncommunicative.

"I thought, 'Well it's come down to this, coming in a place like this, cap in hand, begging for my money from people who think they're better than me'. It really was a miserable thing to have to do, that first time. I was miserable, the same as all them other poor sods".

(supplementary benefit office)

Experience of poor physical conditions, depressing atmosphere and sometimes negative social relations in the dole and benefit office, were often accompanied by apprehension, resignation, guilt, shame and a generalised anxiety of the unknown.

"When I first went, I nearly turned back at the door. I felt sick to my stomach that I'd come to this. I was really very down. I didn't know what was happening to me. But I did go in, I had to, and just as well because I couldn't have managed without it."

(supplementary benefit office)

Anxiety over negotiating the mysteries of system and following the rules was common. Reasons for visiting the DSS were characterised in a variety of ways including the receipt of state handouts, begging or simply much needed financial aid.

First visits to the DSS were negative in many respects. Representations of the DSS had been based on previously experienced office environments. These expectations about the place
were unfulfilled when a poor physical environment and ambiance were experienced. Social relationships were generally described in negative terms as were feelings associate both with the place and the social situation of the unemployed. Transactions with the bureaucratic system were carried out with relief by some and resentment by others. In this analysis, experience of the physical environment, general ambiance, social relationships, personal feelings and instrumental transactions are remembered. This reflects the structural model of place as a personal, social, physical and instrumental experiential domain.

ii) Events and Stories

The data presented in this section is drawn from interviews, the multiple sorting task and yesterday diaries when participants had actually visited the DSS. The interview simply asked people to talk of their experiences in the DSS and relations with staff and other unemployed people there. Again both the dole office and supplementary benefit office were considered. During the interviews, it became clear that the men talked about their experiences of the DSS in two distinct ways. The first was to focus on special events concerning themselves and the DSS, or on stories about events happening to other people. The second was to discuss and evaluate everyday experiences. In this section, the events data is analysed. The following section looks at everyday experience of DSS offices.

The depth of feeling with which men gave accounts of events and stories about the DSS marked the direct or vicarious experience of events as one important way in which participants organised their relationship with places. There were accounts of events that had happened to the men, and stories about things happening to other people. Three types of stories and events were recounted: mistakes and lost records; snoopers and spot checks; and applying for grants.
Accounts of incidents involving mistakes or lost records focused on the incompetence and unwillingness of staff. They also emphasised powerlessness felt by the men. Negotiating claims cannot commence when records are lost. Frustration and anger is also felt when staff mistakes have culminated in reduced benefits and anxiety is experienced when arguing with staff,

"You go and you mentally build up your argument, you go and it's full and people have been sitting around for three hours. By the time you get to the counter the first thing they say is, 'We've lost your records' and you're destroyed, because what can you do about it? You've forgot half your argument and all you want to do is get out."

However, the men were able to compensate for ill feeling by seeing the staff as incompetent and perceive themselves as more capable,

"You have to fill in some stupid forms, and they never get it right and they don't even know it and they're the ones that's supposed to know. Now if they make a mistake I ask for the white paper and that sticks in their craw. They say, 'We're understaffed' so I say, 'Give me a job then!'. I could do it better than they could."

Stories about snoopers focused on suspicions mutually held by claimants and staff about each other. Many of the unemployed felt as if they were regarded with suspicion. Being under suspicion in the dole can add to feelings of guilt about unemployment,

"I hate going anywhere where you have to say you're unemployed because they straight away think they know what you're like. They think you're on the scrounge or working or something like that. It all seems to add up, like you don't want to be unemployed, I don't, and they make you feel like it's all your fault. It gets so that you don't want to go anywhere and face it."
The most common accounts were about applying for special grants. Again concepts of begging and charity were raised together with the perceived impossibility of negotiating the system. Negative staff attitudes and lack of information were major hurdles to surmount. The case of one man who had applied for grants for structural and improvement work on his house is illustrative. He owned and lived in a cold, damp Tyneside flat in Scotswood with his wife and three year old asthmatic son. He wanted to install a damp course and a new bay window to the sitting room. His application to the DSS had been refused, but in the process his claim had been reassessed and he had lost a substantial amount of money in non-payment. Visits to the Citizen's Advice Bureau had armed him with information for his tribunal. Nevertheless, letters received from the DSS concerning his case were difficult to understand and he had virtually resigned himself to the existing poor housing conditions. His nine month experience had left him unwilling to approach the DSS for help again, preferring to earn money in the underground economy.

This man and others felt they were fighting against a system which was unsympathetic and ignorant of their needs. They felt the system was a vehicle of repression, hardship and as one man said, 'psychological torture'.

"I never go to them for nothing now, I never had anything off them except curtains. I don't apply anymore. Every time I've went down it's supposed to come out of your weekly pay. Well the reason I went is because I can't afford anything out of that. It's worse building your hopes up and then being knocked back than struggling on your own and doing without. It's like they're deciding whether you're worth it or if you're trying to scrounge off them. In September our kids needed coats and they said, 'It's not the right time of year'. It's stupid. They do it to keep you down. My kids had to do without coats nor boots."
These accounts and stories documented unfulfilled financial need, lack of understanding between staff and claimant and poor psychological health. These issues, alongside descriptions of an unpleasant physical environment encapsulated the men's experience of the DSS as a very negative place to use. They involved not just the telling of facts but also the evaluation of events and descriptions of emotions experienced with them. These same issues of finance, social relations, evaluations and emotions appeared when the men discussed their everyday experience of the DSS.

iii) Everyday Experience of the DSS

Throughout the lengthy interviews, the multiple sorting task and the yesterday diaries, men constantly referred to their experiences of the DSS. A detailed content analysis of this data revealed twelve main themes which applied to both dole and supplementary benefit offices (Interrater reliability, 80%). These are presented in table 8.1.

Taking Charity: Most of the men felt that accepting social security benefits was in effect taking charity, despite being aware that National Insurance contributions had been made over long working lives to cover this. Studies of the psychological meaning of work have shown that work is commonly seen as a source of income and of control over life (Fagin and Little, 1984). The image of the 'undeserving' (Howe, 1985) for the unemployed participants included all people who received money without working for it. This feeling was acute when the men were physically inside the DSS as the place which symbolised charity for them.
Table 8.1 Everyday Experience of the DSS

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Financial Importance: The importance of the DSS as a source of finance has already been discussed. In almost every study of the financial implications of unemployment, the long term unemployed have been the group which suffers most from financial hardship (Schlozman and Verba, 1979; Schultz and Gambard, 1987). Bradshaw et al (1983) has found that the longer the period of unemployment, the less are the financial resources of the person and the more their proportional expenditure on the bare necessities of life. Over 70% of the men in the present study reported experiencing financial problems in unemployment. All had turned to the DSS as the main source of their income, although some had supplemented this with alternative sources eg working in the underground economy.

Cap In Hand: This category symbolises the submissive atmosphere in which the unemployed men approached the DSS. Most of the men said they deferred to DSS staff, frightened that awkwardness or abusive behaviour would result in decreased or terminated claims. Such attitudes towards the DSS may have their roots in the historical
emergence of the welfare system through the Poor Laws in 1601 to
distinguish between the able bodied (undeserving) poor and the old,
young and infirm (Beenstock and Brasse, 1986).

Lack of Control: In Fagin and Little's study (1984) every spouse
expressed discomfort at having to depend on the State for income
and said that this increased their feelings of helplessness. In the
present study, feelings of helplessness extending over everyday life
were especially sharp inside the DSS where the men felt
dehumanised, a statistic.

Identification: Proshansky et al's (1983) work on place identity
proposes that places are experienced and are internalised in a
sub-structure of self identity which they call place identity.
Proshansky et al (1983) do not define what types of places are likely
to become part of the place identity of the person. Home is the main
place which has been addressed in terms of self (place) identity
(Cooper-Marcus, 1989). The present study suggests that the DSS is
another place which may contribute to place identity. Despite its
overtly negative experience, it is a very important place within
everyday life for the unemployed and is the place which expresses
most clearly their status as unemployed people.

Stigma and Confidence: Identifying with the DSS does not mean that
it is regarded as a positive place to be. Rather the men claimed that
attending the DSS was placing them in a position where they may
experience the social stigma they associated with unemployment (cf
Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985). That is, they feel that other people
perceive them in terms of undesirable or discreditable characteristics
such as 'scroungers' or 'workshy', two descriptions very much part
of social representations of unemployment. Going to and being in the
DSS identified the men as unemployed to all people around them,
with all the attendant negative social representations of
unemployment being applied to them individually. Feeling open to
hostile opinion was associated with lack of confidence within the
environment.

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Depressing Place: The atmosphere of the DSS was discussed in terms of its effects on the psychology of unemployed people. This was almost universally seen as a depressing place. The depressing atmosphere arose as a consequence of the function of the building, the services provided there and the decor is going to the place because you are unemployed, the dark interior, the lack of personalisation (Becker, 1977) of the place and the institutional cream painted walls were all seen as cold and depressing. The DSS as a personal experience was sending messages through the interior atmosphere and decor to the claimant which signified their low social status.

Dirty, Squalid: The men complained that the DSS was a dirty, squalid place. Their use of the word squalid is interesting as it connotes images of 'filthy, foul, neglected, uncared-for, sordid and dingy, poverty stricken' (Chambers Dictionary, 1972). In describing the DSS in these terms, and in associating (sometimes identifying) themselves with it, the men were gaining self conceptions of a very negative nature.

Disadvantaged by the Social Security System: Not only did men feel disadvantage in society by being unemployed, they also felt they were disadvantaged within the social security system. As Howe (1985) has pointed out, systems of entitlements are complex and obscure resulting in many people not receiving the full financial support to which they are entitled. In addition, the men felt that the social security system regards the unemployed as a burden on society and each claimant as a possible welfare scrounger.

Unfriendly, unhelpful staff: The social dimension of place experience is evident here. The unemployed men generally, but not always found staff unhelpful if not obstructive. A suspicion between staff and claimants had developed in which staff suspected claimants of fraud and claimants suspected staff of withholding possible entitlements, much as Howe (1985) described the staff-claimant relationship.
Relations To Other Unemployed: Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) have pointed out the importance to unemployed people of the ways in which they are seen by others (family, friends, agencies, employers and the 'public'). Little, however is known about the way in which unemployed people see other unemployed people, especially the long term unemployed. In the social representations chapter there is evidence that other unemployed people are viewed as suffering financial, psychological and social problems in unemployment, they have nothing to do except sit in the house or look for work. Some are viewed in terms of enjoying work related and psychological benefits of unemployment and engaging in their interests and hobbies. In the DSS office, however, other unemployed people can often be seen in very negative ways, as welfare scroungers, drunkards, workshy and unemployable. This may be one way people adopt to distance themselves from the negative implications of their own predicament.

Socially Embarrassing: Some of the men felt that by frequenting the DSS they could be recognised by friends and neighbours as unemployed. This could cause embarrassment to themselves and their families. Many of the men were unwilling to broadcast the fact that they were unemployed and one man had gone to great lengths to keep their unemployment secret from neighbours on the basis that his private life was his own affair.

In almost every way, these twelve themes reflect general evaluations of the DSS found in social representations of unemployment: their financial importance expressed in terms of charity; personal feelings of insecurity, depression and social stigma; and negative relationships with staff and bureaucracy. This signals a close correspondence between place experience and social representations. It may be that social representations inform person-place relationships, structuring the symbolic nature of the place. For example, the instrumental function of the DSS is to provide financial aid, however, this is perceived symbolically as charity afforded through the DSS.
In order to look at the structural relationships between person and place, a multidimensional analysis of the twelve meanings of the DSS was undertaken. A binary rectangular matrix was constructed showing which people used each of the twelve variables (see appendix 11). This was input to a Smallest Space Analysis programme. The results (shown in figure 8.1) support the structural place model of personal, social, physical and instrumental place experience. Although the four modes of place experience are not seen as mutually exclusive, they are regionally separated on the plot indicating qualitatively distinct ways of experiencing DSS offices. Each is described below.

The DSS: Instrumental Experience

Thoughts and feelings about DSS offices were organised around the main, instrumental purpose for using them: financial support. In the multiple sorting task 70% of participants described the DSS as an important place in their lives. The other 30% said there were more important things in their lives than money and unemployment. Nevertheless, they all relied on the dole for support. Their feelings about financial reliance on the state centred on three issues. The first emphasised that dole money had been paid for in years of National Insurance contributions made while employed. Even though social security payment were theirs by right, most men felt humiliated in accepting it. This humiliation was felt most keenly while signing on. In going to the dole, they admitted they were in financial need and that they were unemployed. The very reason for going to the dole was one which placed unemployed people at a psychological disadvantage while there.

"It's funny with the dole, I know I've paid in but I still don't feel like I'm entitled. It's pride really...It's embarrassing to have to go, kind of humiliating."
(dole office)
Figure 8.1 Smallest Space Analysis of DSS Meanings

Key:
1 Dirty/squalid
2 Depressing place
3 Stigma
4 Lack control
5 Identification
6 Financial importance
7 Cap in hand
8 Charity
9 Disadvantaged by system
10 Negative staff relations
11 Relations to unemployed
12 Socially embarrassing
The second issue focused more specifically on financial support as undeserved charity which is accepted out of necessity,

"You're always going there asking them to do you a favour and you know they are sick of the sight of the likes of you and think that all the unemployed are a miserable lot. But you have to do what you have to do to get by."
(supplementary benefit).

Schlackman Research Organisation Ltd (1978) note that while other social groups (retired, single parent families) merit assistance, the unemployed do not. Financial hardship is thought to motivate them into finding work (Schlackman Research Organisation Ltd (1978), a belief held even when it is acknowledged that jobs are scarce.

Finally, many of the men described the process of signing on at the dole and negotiating financial support at the supplementary benefit office in terms of begging,

"You go cap in hand, begging so you get to rely on them and not on yourself. You can feel yourself turning into a cabbage because all you've got to do is sign a scrap of paper. I sign quarterly, I'm long term unemployed. They don't want us no hopers in clogging it all up every two weeks."
(dole office)

Concepts of charity and begging were emphasised by the bureaucratic rules formed to maintain the DSS as an organisation. These operated, the participants said, to ensure that unemployed clients were mystified about how their entitlements were worked out. Howe's work (1985) documents the fact that supplementary benefit office practices can deviate from official policy guidelines (ie street corner bureaucracy, Lipsy, 1981) so that a distinction is sustained between the deserving and the undeserving claimant. This coupled with resource constraints and pressures on staff to reduce fraud and overpayment of benefits can lead to information on entitlements not
reaching claimants. Consequently, claimants are forced to ask 'cap in hand' about entitlements,

"It's such a bureaucratic place. You can't get anything done unless it conforms to what they (the staff) want and what they expect. Anything unusual and you've had it. It's set up to keep the system going and white collar jobs going rather than what they should be doing which is providing a service for us."
(supplementary benefit office)

The only way to overcome this disadvantage was to learn the rules and find out about entitlements. Advisory agencies such as the Citizen's Advice Bureau and Welfare Rights were used to provide information.

"You've got to ask because they won't tell you anything. They work to a particular rule and won't bend it. It's an organisation within an organisation. There's too much red tape. It's helpful if you can understand it but you need somewhere like the Centre Against Unemployment to help you beat it."
(both dole and supplementary benefit offices)

The system and the conditions in which it operates is seen as a machine against which the individual is powerless (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985). Hence, 'beating the system' in gaining a variety of entitlements was described with some pride by a minority of participants giving them back a sense of personal autonomy.

The DSS: Personal Perspectives

The psychological experience of visiting the DSS was generally distressing. Although 9% of the sample felt that signing on was just a boring imposition, most participants (91%) disliked or intensely
disliked the experience of any DSS office. Building a routine around the visit did help some (46%) to combat feelings of dislike as it replaced a visit to a disliked place with an enjoyable routine. These included shopping trips, visits to friends and family and treats in cafes. Visiting the dole provided the impetus to create new routines such as these and integrated the dole with existing environments. As Bunker and Dewsbury (1983) have pointed out, signing on in these circumstances can become an 'event', the highlight of the week. Visits to the supplementary benefit office were less frequent and irregular and rarely formed part of a routine. The supplementary benefit office was most intensely disliked, being described by one man as,

"...a terrible environment, built in fear. A place they make psychological warfare against us, just by their attitudes."

In this, the DSS is seen as a personal 'landscape of fear' (Tuan, 1979). Tuan describes such landscapes (referring both to psychological states and tangible environments) in terms of a lack of security and control over events in the place, accompanied by feelings of anxiety, dread and anticipation of unpleasant happenings. Certainly, for some of the men, such feelings were part and parcel of a visit to the DSS. Descriptions of feelings about a visit to the dole or supplementary benefit office ranged from discomfort,

"I feel uncomfortable in there, apprehensive."
"It's frustrating to be unemployed and it comes out in the dole"
"I feel anonymous and that I don't count. I'm a number."

to degradation (cf Bunker and Dewsbury, 1983) and despair,

"degrading"
"They turn you into a criminal, telling lies to get some money out of them."
"It brings to the fore the depression and injustice you feel about being unemployed."
People who felt the DSS was a distressing place to be (n=24) tended to suffer poorer general mental health ($t=3.789$) and greater anxiety ($t=3.241$, both significant at the 0.05 level) than people who were indifferent to the experience.

Once inside the office the overwhelming experience is one of waiting. Queueing up was seen as an insult and a waste of time. This underscored the men's sense of lowered social status,

"You just build yourself up to be someone and you go in there and waiting around and by the time you come out you're no-one, just a statistic."
(dole office)

Even the act of signing was endowed with a symbolism of its own. The men felt that officials were 'checking up' on them and treating them as dishonest, lazy people, guilty of not wanting to work until proven innocent.

"You sign on and you're made to feel like a criminal. They treat everyone as if we're all trying to rip them off."
(dole office)

Together the waiting, queueing and signing activities signalled a lack of control over the environment. The men felt they had no option but to attend the place, to behave as expected and to follow rules designed to belittle and control them. To 'rock the boat' would be to risk losing payment. Emotional consequences of this compliance were strongly expressed,

"You go in and you do as you're told basically, even if you hate it. They could 'stop' you (your payment) just like that. It's much better to get in and out as fast as you can. I tell you, it makes me sick and angry and vulnerable."
(supplementary benefit office)
Lack of control within the DSS contributed to feelings of insecurity, vulnerability and lack of confidence.

"I'm not confident in there at all, because I'm never sure what is going to happen or that I'll be turned down and treated with contempt. Some of them (staff) do that. The unemployed have no say. In the end you feel like you can't do anything especially not get a job"
(supplementary benefit office)

Surprisingly, given the wealth of negative statements made about the DSS, 25% of the participants felt that they identified with DSS offices. They said the DSS was an important part of their life, and through regular usage, familiarity and comradeship with the other unemployed, they felt it was part of them. Being in the dole or supplementary benefit office was a declaration of joblessness (cf. Bunker and Dewsbury, 1983) which these men felt summarised some of the most important aspects of their lives. Being unemployed had become a part of self identity and the DSS symbolised this.

"When I'm there I feel I'm unemployed, where I don't anywhere else...It's right though, that's what I am. I might not like it but it's a fact. I've been going up the 'social' that long as it's a way of life, a way of my life."
(dole office)

Taking on the DSS as part of place identity (Proshansky et al, 1983) had implications for mental health. Men who identified with the DSS (n=11) were in poorer general mental health (t=2.291) and suffering greater anxiety (t=2.308, both significant at the 0.05 level) than those who did not. Identification with such a negative culturally, socially and personally defined place as the DSS may bring about or combine with negative self concepts to produce poor mental health.
The DSS signified for some men the difference between their present position in life as unemployed and what they wanted to be (employed). They tended to distance themselves from the DSS,

"There's things I do now and places I go that I think 'This is not me, I'm not really like this'. Sitting having coffee in town or visiting my brother of an afternoon or going the dole. These things are for unemployed people and I don't like thinking of myself as unemployed. When you go to the dole you can't avoid it., you are unemployed just like them all."
(dole and supplementary benefit offices)

Clearly, using the DSS is not only an unpleasant experience, but one which has implications for mental health in unemployment. In this, a link is made between place experience and mental health.

The DSS: Social Experience

Particular places are often associated with particular environmental roles and forms of relationships (Canter, 1986). DSS offices are no exception. Indeed, role relationships in the DSS can be very important to the unemployed person. Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) stress that this role relationship is always a professional and never a personal one. There is neither the time nor the inclination to get to know one another on a personal level. Each role (staff and claimant) has different aims and goals often creating barriers to effective communication, especially concerning entitlements. Howe (1985) found that staff emphasis on stopping fraud and overpayments may have interfered with the negotiation of entitlements. Moreover, Howe documented the operation of 'street corner bureaucracy' (Lipsky, 1981) in which discrepancies between central policies and their local implementation meant that the policy of advising and helping claimants was neglected in favour of documenting cases, arranging benefits and vigilance against fraud.
In contrast, claimants often approached staff to gain money while being either worried, angry and frustrated by a bureaucratic system which basically kept them impoverished. Such negative attitudes on both parts must affect the experience of the DSS as a place and unemployment as a social condition. In this section, the social experience of DSS offices are examined from the perspective of environmental roles (staff and claimants) and the wider social context of the visibility of unemployment.

Staff With Claimant: Bunker and Dewsbury (1983) and Howe (1985) reported negative relationships between counter staff and claimants. In the present study, inequalities inherent in their respective roles pervade the experience of the dole for unemployed people. In previous research, attitudes towards Benefit Office staff range from the critical through hostile to angry (Marsden and Duff, 1975). The unemployed men complained of feeling powerless compared to staff. This was hard to take when staff were seen as young, hostile and uncaring,

"They're nothing but kids, some of them, telling me what I can and can't do, and making more than I ever earned probably. It's as if it's their own (staff) money they're giving away. But it's ours by right but then you've got to fight to get it. I've been down the doctors and the welfare and they told me I was in the right. I got it in the end, mind you...I really do feel uncomfortable in there. Some of them think they're in Auschwitz, they lord it over you, really nasty like."

(supplementary benefit office)

Some men claimed that staff were 'too stupid' to have a job. The people who had power in dispensing benefits were the very people who had what they most wanted: employment. Some of the men devised ways of 'beating them (staff) at their own game'. This involved withholding information, working in the underground economy, causing a nuisance, being unpleasant or,
"...taking the system for everything I can get. I'm probably better off than some of them and that gets right up their noses."
(dole and supplementary benefit office)

Staff were described as rule bound, incompetent, unhelpful, obstructive and condescending,

"They're a condescending bunch of gits. There's one lad that went to the same school as me. He knows me and he won't say nothing. I feel like grabbing him. They treat you like muck which makes them worse than muck. I don't like to be beholden to anyone."
(dole office)

While most comments were negative, some did acknowledge helpful or pleasant staff.

Relations between Claimants: Descriptions of the other unemployed people using the DSS were based on personal appearances, behaviour and motivations for being there. Generally, the men seemed to structure their views using the 'deserving-undeserving' distinction (Howe, 1985) discussed earlier,

"There's two types of unemployed gets in: the one's that are miserable looking, they've always worked kind of thing and they don't like the stigma; then there's the dirty ones that smell. They've come to expect unemployment and don't try to help themselves, it's just an everyday habit. You can tell the 'bingo' households."
(dole and supplementary benefit office)

Some men identified with other unemployed people in the DSS, while others were philosophical about relationships with claimants,
"I know the type of people who get in the place are the same as me—unemployed, working class family fellas with no money."

"When I go I experience a bit of life I never come across anywhere else. I didn't know about it. It's the sort of place you meet people you wouldn't meet anywhere else. You can find a good argument in there or not. I've met some who have been very interesting to talk to. You find out what they're doing or what they've done in life."

(dole and supplementary benefit office)

Using the DSS offices forced the men into contact with other unemployed people, whether they liked it or not. Usually, relations between claimants did not develop beyond small talk. Only two of the participants enjoyed social contact at the dde. Many distanced themselves from other unemployed people and from the dole in an effort to distance themselves from the stigma they perceived to be associated with unemployment,

"I don't want to be in the same place even as the no hopers, the ones who've given up, your cider drinkers"

(dole office)

The Wider Social Context: Going to and being seen inside the dde, has wider social implications. Firstly, some men complained that frequenting places like the dde and the job centre identified them to others as unemployed. This could be embarrassing,

"I'm quite sensitive about going in still after all this time. People will see me, the neighbours and that. I don't want all and sundry knowing I'm unemployed. I don't let on unless I have to, why should I? You go to the social and everyone knows then. That's what I hate about it."

Secondly, and paradoxically, meeting other unemployed people in the dole can emphasise the isolation of unemployment,
"It just shows you how isolated you are because in the dole there's more unemployed you've never seen before. Where are they all? Where do they go when they get out?"

Finally, the DSS symbolised for many a divided society, a society which has organisations and places especially dedicated to people like themselves, the underprivileged, the unemployed.

The DSS: Physical Experience

There is no available research into physical implications of the DSS for person-place relationships. Indeed, very little attention has been devoted to exploring the meanings connoted by workplace interiors (Goodrich, 1986). Yet as Ornstein (1992) says, reception areas where people first come into contact with organisations may be an important determinant of peoples impressions. She has studied (Ornstein, 1986) the meaning impact of organisational symbols on the 'psychological climate' of organisations and found that physical symbols influenced perceptions of organisational structure, autonomy, consideration (caring) and rewards. Moreover researchers have suggested that the physical layout and design of the workplace is an important determinant of peoples perception of organisational meaning (Ornstein, 1989; Steele, 1986). Davis (1984) found that the building design and layout together with its symbolic artifacts affect interpretations of social settings. Placement of furnishings and decor are also important. The placement of chairs suggests something about the importance of communication within a physical setting (Sommer, 1983).

Theoretically, in terms of affordances (Gibson, 1979), the physical environment, its design, layout, spatiality and objects (furnishings) within it, affords meaningful opportunities for certain activities and constraints on others. However, with repeated contact with organisations, people may learn to associate particular meanings with
particular physical settings and create cognitive representations concerning physical, behavioural and emotional aspects of places, that is cognitive ecologies (Canter, 1988). It would seem possible that place based affordances are basic structures which become overlaid with cultural and social significances as people develop cognitive ecologies associating meanings and activities with aspects of the physical, social, psychological and instrumental environment.

To evaluate the role of the physical environment in the person-DSS relationship, it is necessary to understand the ways in which the physical environment is experienced and what it means to the unemployed men. Ornstein's (1992) work on the symbolic aspects of reception areas is interesting in this respect because the DSS office is in effect a reception area for unemployed people. She found that the physical surrounds in company reception areas suggested whether or not the company was considerate to its employees and the extent of control the organisation exerted over employees. Moreover, companies which gave the impression of considerateness and less control were better liked by executives. What does the physical layout, furnishings and decor of the DSS reception area symbolise to claimants? Consideration or lack of care? Control or autonomy? An analysis of the experience of the physical environment of the DSS gives some clear answers to these questions.

The forty four unemployed participants described physical aspects of the DSS offices in remarkably similar ways. These were all extremely negative, except where the neighbourhood location of the office was concerned. The men appreciated the relative ease of access to the dole afforded by a local office, even if this did increase the possibility of friends of neighbours knowing their business.

Physical descriptions of the DSS are best expressed in the words of the claimants themselves,
"To tell the truth, it's a place I hate going. The place itself, you go and sit in for hours. The building is drab and depressing just like all the people in it."

"It's just a drag going. I wish I didn't have to bother. I hate queues and waiting in a dirty, sterile place."

".. miserable surroundings..the decor is horrible."

"It's like waiting to get shot in miserable second rate offices."

"I detest waiting there, it's squalid, depressing. It looks an absolute shambles."

Clearly, the poor decor was something the men were acutely aware of and with the queues combined to make the experience of the DSS rather unpleasant. The 'second rate offices', the squalid, sterile place reflected on the men themselves who often felt de-humanised, second rate and stigmatised just by being in the DSS. The state of the DSS offices was consistent with a society which did not seek to impress, and certainly did not value its unemployed members.

Two aspects of the layout of the DSS were spontaneously discussed by the men: the chairs; and the counter. In many DSS offices, chairs are bolted to the ground in rows. The men described how uncomfortable they were and how difficult it was to communicate with other unemployed people. As Sommer (1969) has suggested, institutional seating in rows makes informal chatting difficult as everyone is facing forward making face to face conversations uncomfortable. The unemployed participants felt they had little control over their surroundings, symbolised by their lack of ability to even move the chairs, or to engage in comfortable conversation.

A division between employed staff and unemployed claimant was evident to the men in the spatial layout of the offices. Counters were sometimes seen as barriers separating two distinct areas. The
staff area where all information was held, including claimants details on file and policy documentation was very much the power base of the organisation. It was here that control over the events in the building was exerted. The claimant area, squalid, dirty and miserable. The men felt staff were distanced by the counter from claimants both spatially and psychologically: the employed from the unemployed; the clean from the unclean; the powerful from the powerless.

The men felt that the DSS symbolised an uncaring, divisive society who saw the unemployed as valueless and second rate. Both of Ornstein's (1992) messages of consideration and control were symbolised in the DSS office. Unfortunately, both messages were very negative. Ornstein (1992) concluded that the physical environment conveyed messages about life in organisational settings. In the present study, these messages went further in conveying information and evaluations not just about the DSS but also about the negative ways in which unemployed people were conceptualised within the DSS and society. These negative messages conveyed through the DSS may well be unintentional on the part of the government. Realising their import can be the first step towards redesigning DSS reception areas to convey more positive messages about the role of the DSS and the nature of unemployed people who use it.

iv) Life Circumstances, Social Representations and the DSS

The analysis indicates some correspondences between the problems unemployed people face in everyday life, and the way in which they experience places. The instrumental purpose of the DSS in providing finance coincides with the major problem area of securing adequate financial support. In addition, both welfare and housing problems were implicated in visits to the DSS. However, the DSS environment
ensures that financial support is experienced as charity. As such, some men felt humiliated, guilty and ashamed by their situation thereby adding to psychological problems experienced in unemployment. In order to establish formal links between the life circumstances of unemployment and experience of the DSS statistical analyses were conducted using the life circumstances variables and experience of and identification with the DSS. The results of these analyses are given in table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Life Circumstances and Experience of the DSS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life circumstances</th>
<th>Dislike DSS</th>
<th>Identify With DSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GHQ</td>
<td>3.789'</td>
<td>2.291*t test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety</td>
<td>3.241'</td>
<td>2.305*t test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>1.644'</td>
<td>ns t test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Health</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns Chi Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>4.590' &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>6.381'</td>
<td>5.209&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment duration</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-unemployment</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street unemployment</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>10.490&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood unemployed</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family unemployed</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends unemployed</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial problems</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological problems</td>
<td>5.712'</td>
<td>6.068'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social problems</td>
<td>2.962'</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity problems</td>
<td>9.259&quot;</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological benefits</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>4.590'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social benefits</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity benefits</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work related benefits</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future view</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for work</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping Orientation</td>
<td>23.09&quot;</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* significant at 0.025 level  
' significant at the 0.05 level  
"significant at the 0.01 level

There are a number of significant relationships between experience of the DSS and life circumstances of unemployment. Unemployed people who dislike the DSS are without qualifications and suffer poorer general mental health, greater anxiety and more depression
than people who are not bothered by the experience. Moreover, they report a range of psychological problems in their everyday lives such as depression, lack of confidence and poor self esteem is the same sorts of feelings they describe experiencing within the DSS. Social problems and difficulties in filling their time in meaningful ways were also associated with dislike of the DSS. Alongside these problems, people who dislike the DSS generally have a negative orientation towards unemployment and see few benefits or opportunities to arise from it. It may be that their general negative orientation towards unemployment is carried through into person-place relationships. The DSS may symbolise the root causes of their problems: unemployment.

Certainly the DSS symbolised (in its instrumental, social, psychological and physical structure) societies negative, in many ways demeaning, attitudes towards unemployment and unemployed people. Identification with such a place might be expected to result in poorer mental health and a negative orientation to life in unemployment. Relationships between identification with the DSS and life circumstances of unemployment have in some ways supported this notion, but not in others. People who identified with the DSS tended to be older men without qualifications in poor general mental health and suffering greater anxiety than those who do not. In addition, they also report psychological problems in unemployment consistent with feeling worthless and 'second rate'. However, they also report enjoying psychological benefits in unemployment in learning their own strengths and weaknesses and becoming more understanding people. This may indicate a full acceptance of their life in unemployment, they see themselves as unemployed people, reflecting the norm in their perceived environmental context. This does not make them immune to the negative symbolism of the DSS, but allows them to accept themselves and their problems as well as the environmental implications of having to use the DSS.

Does the experience of the DSS or identification with it as a personally relevant place have implications for use of the
organisational context in unemployment? No significant relationships were uncovered between dislike of the DSS and the extent of organisational use, or between identification with the DSS and extent of organisational use. It would seem that the experience of one particular place does not have an impact generally on the whole organisational context. Unemployed people use organisations according to their needs (financial, psychological, social etc) rather than in accordance with negative organisational experiences or with organisational place identity.

The DSS symbolised many negative aspects of unemployment and unemployed people, as did social representations of unemployment. The socio-cultural context of unemployment in everyday life and the symbolic nature of the DSS as a cultural response seem to present a consistent picture of unemployment. Social representations of unemployment located the unemployed firmly within the DSS as an environment which was part of their lives. They emphasised the unemployed as guilty, scruffy, hopeless, scroungers with little confidence, very much echoed in experiences of the DSS. As a whole, social relationships at the DSS, especially with staff, were founded on suspicion and dislike reflected in social representations which cast the unemployed as possible welfare scroungers. Even highly structured activities carried out at the DSS were perceived in negative ways. Signing on, waiting in queues and negotiating entitlements with staff symbolised for the men a fundamental lack of control and the low social status of people whose time is unimportant again reflecting the problem oriented dependence of the unemployed envisaged in social representations.

v) Conclusion: DSS

The data indicates ways in which new person-place relationships in unemployment are structured. Initially expectations of new environments are based on representations of similar environments.

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Actual experience of new environments result in a re-evaluation of place meanings. The disparity between expectations and reality highlighted very negative aspects of the DSS. These negative aspects were repeated in the telling of events and in descriptions of everyday experiences at the DSS which centred on the perceived injustice of the dole and social security system. People organised their experience of DSS in terms of events and stories involving factual information and evaluations of organisational system, activities and social relationships conducted in the DSS.

Multidimensional scaling techniques showed that information and evaluations are structured around personal, social, physical and instrumental modes of place experience. As a new environment encountered through unemployment, the DSS was very important in providing financial support. However, the instrumental support offered within the social and physical environment of the place combined to underscore negative social attitudes towards the unemployed as worthless, hopeless, dirty, scroungers taking charity, cap in hand. It was the way in which financial support was negotiated, combined with staff attitudes, working practises and physical conditions and their symbolism which contributed to the experience of negative emotions: frustration; anxiety; anger; guilt; feelings of powerlessness; and personal and social neglect.

An analysis of the links between life circumstances, social representations and person-DSS relationships show a consistency in that the problems the person experiences in unemployment are echoed in social representations of unemployment as well as symbolised through the socio-physical environment of the DSS. Use of the DSS is fundamental in unemployment, it is a requirement of society. Unemployed people who do not attend are not given aid. Yet, the very fact of being in the DSS is an extremely negative experience, symbolising through social relationships, through the instrumental function of the place, feelings and physical qualities the most detrimental aspects of unemployment. Day (1990) suggests that
experience of some places can be psychologically harmful. The evidence presented here supports this proposition.

3. The Underground Economy Workplace

Jahoda (1982) argues that employment opens up categories of human experience which rarely come together in any other institution: time structuring; collective goals; identity and status; regular activity; and social contacts. Given that employment for many people is located within specific workplaces, then the workplace environment may provide for these important experiences. In unemployment the workplace is lost, and along with it financial independence, the practising of working skills and the opportunity to take part in these categories of experience. Can the underground economy workplace provide an alternative environment where the positive experiences of employment are enjoyed? Or are there disadvantages inherent in the experience and meaning of the underground economy workplace?

Social representations of unemployment evaluate activities undertaken in the underground economy workplace as unscrupulous, criminal behaviour. However, the unemployed participants saw underground economy working in a different way. They valued it as an opportunity to engage in work in order to provide financially for themselves and their families. The extent to which the underground economy workplace sustains either the notion of opportunity or representations of criminal behaviour is as yet unknown. This issue is examined in the following analysis of the experience and meaning of the underground economy workplace.

i) Working in the Underground Economy Workplace
The concept of the 'underground economy' has been used to cover a wide range of work-related activities from tax evasion to fiddling on the job (Ditton, 1977; Mattera, 1985). The extent of underground economy working among the unemployed is uncertain. While Pahl (1984) found very little evidence for it, Parker (1982) suggests strong reasons for it, including the fact that the social security encourages dishonesty with low benefits and stringently limiting what a person can earn, save or even be given as a gift. Moreover, newspaper reports fuel social representations of unemployment with stories of a thriving underground economy. In the context of this thesis, the underground economy refers to unemployed people who provide goods and services using money as a medium of exchange which is not declared for tax purposes. The way in which working in the underground economy influences the social-psychological impact of unemployment has been little researched (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985). The extent to which the underground economy forms part of unemployed people's lives is a matter for investigation in the following analysis.

The forty four participants were asked about any 'work' they did, and this was followed up with more specific questions about underground economy working. A surprisingly large number (n=15;39%) said they did do 'fiddle jobs', although not always on a regular basis. Some said that underground economy working was a common feature of the Scotswood neighbourhood,

"I know 90% of them round here that're unemployed have done a fiddle job. I'm not saying all the time, you know, but aye 90% I'd say. Everyone thinks the same round here. Most on the fiddle do need the extra cash, they're not scroungers, just decent men that would rather be working that are having to shift for themselves."

A limited range of underground economy workplaces were identified. Building sites, home (eg car repairs, child care), other people's homes (eg window cleaning, gardening, glazing or household repairs)
and transport. Some provided regular work on a daily basis, but most expected and received sporadic work opportunities which were poorly paid. As Mattera (1985) points out 'off the books' work is invariably fragmented and erratic. A number of the men worked for themselves, one ran a delivery van, one window cleaner, two joiners, one glazer, one doing car repairs and another child care. Others worked on a daily basis on building sites or in pubs and were paid cash in hand.

ii) Positive Accounts of the Underground Economy Workplace

As the men talked about their involvement in the underground economy, it became increasingly clear that the meaning of the workplace was intimately bound up in the meaning of work itself. The men enjoyed the intrinsic physical qualities of the work itself and thought working was more interesting and enjoyable than doing nothing at home.

"You can enjoy unemployment if you're working. It shows for the majority of working class people who've never been in charge of anything in their lives that that they've got initiative to carry something out that's valuable and that they can make money from it. They've never had this chance before. And it gives you a chance to work hard. That's what I enjoy."

Behaviourally, working the the underground economy is not so different to employment in the formal economy (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985). The difference lies in the meanings of the working activities, the experience of the workplace and the nature of social relationships conducted there that make underground economy working a very different experience to employment. Underground economy working provided the opportunity to practise skills and
develop new skills which the men felt was very important in terms of getting and keeping a 'proper' job,

"As a joiner with the council I have a good trade and a lot of skill. I don't want to lose that. I don't want to do any other kind of work. I done this since I left school. If you let yourself get rusty what chance do you have of getting another job? I'm a person who wants a decent job for a decent wage and I don't care if I have to go outside the law for it. I just wish I didn't have to."

Underground economy work helped time pass quickly and gave the men a measure of self respect. Being in the workplace made the men feel as if they were workers again, although in all cases the work was encountered with less salience than a 'real' job (cf Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985). As such the workplace symbolised the re-establishment of work as part of everyday life. As one man said,

"When I'm at the site (construction) I feel more myself, like a working man."

The men felt they were providing for their families, taking responsibility for their own lives and thereby gaining a sense of personal autonomy and independence.

"It goes against the grain for me to take anything for nothing. So I work when I can get it. You don't get paid much and you can't complain but all the same it makes you independent. The minute I get in the place (helping in a pub) I feel different. I don't think it's wrong to get the dole and a little extra what you've worked for yourself for you and your family."

The financial benefits of underground economy working were appreciated as a way of influencing the material circumstances of their own unemployment. The money was generally used to pay debts, for basic necessities and trips to the pub,
"This (fiddle job) is how I get by. The dole's not enough. Everyone I know is on the fiddle and good luck to them. I've got a lot of contacts on buildings and friends. We know where there's work to be had. The trouble is getting the money in when the job's finished. That can be weeks and then they could say they won't pay you. It's a hard days work but fair pay. If they (government) won't help me I'll help myself. Someone round here has to pay the bills."

Contact with acquaintances, workmates and clients enjoyed at the workplace could end with a visit to the pub. As a consequence, men working in the underground economy felt socially integrated through their work. In addition, going to work meant a break from the domestic sphere, physically, socially and psychologically,

"I have a good laugh and that, you know. You meet a few cases in my line (household repairs). You never know who you're going to meet, but that's what I like about it...it gets me out of the house. I'd go mad in there all day. In fact I wasn't far short of it before I got this. Working keeps me sane. You get to know all the local gossip."

Even when the home doubles as the workplace, it can be experienced as psychological relief from unemployment,

"I do marquetry and carpentry, mostly from home. But it's not like I'm at home when I'm working. I forget where I am I'm so concentrating on it. It's good. On Sundays I go up the bridge and sell my stuff."

On several levels, the underground economy workplace helped alleviate problems encountered in unemployment and provided many of Jahoda's categories of experience. It provided an opportunity to do something interesting and worthwhile, to use time constructively, to fulfil family income goals, to practise skills, to gain self respect,
personal autonomy, form relationships outside of the family and provide an escape from the home environment.

iii) Negative Accounts of the Underground Economy Workplace

The opportunities afforded by the underground economy workplace were accompanied by some very negative feelings and experiences. These were based on the work as an illegal activity. The men were afraid of being caught at work by 'snoopers' (the DSS fraud squad) and losing state benefits. None of the men felt they could adequately support their family without the dole. Fear, and the suspicion it bred, made the underground economy workplace a very different sort of experience than the employment workplace,

"I've been doing a bit of building work. Just at Rob's. I did some for him a while back and he offered me peanuts. It was humiliating. There's a limit to what I'll do for nothing. But really, it's a bit risky and if it wasn't that I need a bit of extra money I wouldn't do it. I'd rather have piece of mind. All the time I'm there I'm edgy. You don't know who's watching and who's noticing what. It could be neighbours or anything reports you. What's wrong with this is that it's everyday and regular nine 'til five so people see you going out and coming back. I'd prefer little one off jobs. I've got one or two debts that need paying off and this is really the only way I can do it."

Ways of coping with underground economy working were many and varied. These depended on the men's perception of their situation and threats to it (illegal working which if caught would result in loss of State benefits) in relation to their own capabilities (of secrecy, of camouflaging working activities) within the affordances of their environment (cf Lazarus and Launier, 1978; Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). The men told of strategies, or adaptational outcomes
(Lazarus et al, 1985), they use reduce anxiety and minimise chances of getting caught.

"...what I do is keep quiet, like the jobs I do I don't let on about the money much. Like I do some jobs for favours as well so who's to know. And another thing, I go to work at different times so the neighbours don't see me go out regular, and I keep my tools in the car in the garage so they don't see me carrying them in and out. Then I drive different ways so if the snoopers is following they think I'm going somewhere different. I never accept a cheque, only money and that means it gets into my pocket and stays there until I need it."

This man was using his physical environment to hide his working activities (eg his car, his garage), he was also adopting activity patterns which were different to those of regular employment (eg taking different routes to work) and he ensured that payment was not traceable to underground economy working practises. The precautions taken by this man were echoed by others suggesting that the fear of being caught is not simply restricted to the workplace, but to the home and neighbourhood,

"There's plenty of work around but you've got to be careful though. One week for a whole week there was someone sitting in a car over the road. We suspected something so I stayed in all that week, just pottered round, but we didn't know if it was for us, there's loads round here fiddling. I went to work one day, I had to, but I went out over the back way and they never cottoned on."

Anxiety in the workplace affected patterns of working sometimes resulting in accidents. One man, worried about a parked car, had fallen from a ladder and broken an arm, but it could have been worse. With no insurance cover this man realised he could have been disabled for life without compensation.
The workplace was seen as a dangerous place where illegal working could end in loss of state benefits or accident. Anxiety and suspicion were commonly experience while in the workplace which could affect ability to work. Suspicion also filtered out to home and neighbourhood.

iv) Life Circumstances, Social Representations and the Underground Economy Workplace

In the previous section on the DSS, significant relationships were established between life circumstances and the experience of the DSS. A similar analysis was conducted to explore possible links between life circumstances and the experience of working in an underground economy workplace. In this case, few associations were found. There were no differences in mental health between people working in the underground economy and those not working. Neither were their any links between the social, temporal or environmental contexts of unemployment. The existence of financial, psychological, social or activity problems did not predict underground economy working. Nor did the ability to see opportunities in unemployment. Indeed, the only life circumstance variable related to underground economy working was age (Chi Sq 4.275, significant at the 0.05 level). Younger men (21-40 years) were more likely to work in the underground economy than were older men. This relationship is difficult to explain given that age did not distinguish between problems and opportunities in unemployment, mental health or other life circumstance variables. Perhaps the uncertainties and risks taken by such work sit more comfortably with younger people who tend, in general, to be greater risk takers than older people (Wallach and Kogan, 1961).

Underground economy working was also related to social representations. Social representations of unemployment included the use of underground economy workplaces and evaluated unemployed
people working within them as fraudulent. Anxieties associated with being in the underground economy workplace could be based on knowledge of 'societies' attitudes towards themselves as expressed in social representations. The unemployed men who expressed social representations of unemployed people as individuals, coping with their unemployment in individual ways, were more likely to be working in the underground economy than men whose social representations were structured around negative descriptions of unemployment and unemployed people. For these men, it may be that working in the underground economy is seen as a positive step towards solving financial problems taken by individuals in response to their own unique life circumstances.

v) Conclusions: Underground Economy Workplace

Seventeen people worked in underground economy workplaces. The men made it clear in their accounts of events that the meaning of work and its legal status formed the basis on which underground economy workplaces were evaluated as personal, social, physically dangerous and financially instrumental places. These modes of experience are consistent with the model of place described in chapter 2. In terms of Jahoda's (1982) five categories of experience, the underground economy workplace provides regular activity to some but not others. It provides worthwhile activities, collective purposes, positive identity and status as working men. Social contact was also important, especially for the men who worked away from home. In addition, it afforded the practise of working skills and opportunities to earn money and supplement family budgets. However, the illegal status of the work, echoed in social representations of unemployment, ensured that the underground economy workplace was experienced in negative ways. Accounts of the workplace were full of anxiety, suspicion and descriptions of dangerous working conditions. Efforts to cope with the threat of being caught and to minimise anxieties were structured by personal
capabilities and environmental affordances. Underground economy workplaces present very different experiential places than most employment environments.

4. Conclusions

As new person-place relations formed in unemployment, the DSS and underground economy workplace afford a range of experiences which structure life circumstances of unemployment. Both provide financial support but the experience of receiving that support was very different. In the DSS it was received as charity with men cast in the role of unemployed person and gaining little in self respect. In the underground economy, the men received pay in remuneration for work completed. As such they were able to see themselves as workers providing for their own families, but sometimes as criminals engaged in defrauding the DSS. Between these two environments a range of self-labelling opportunities are available: the down and out; the worker; the criminal. As such, both places have a salience in terms of the self-concept in unemployment (cf Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985). In the underground economy workplace and in the DSS, the unemployed can become aware of themselves in a range of positive and negative ways. Continuing usage of these places may reinforce these self descriptions such that they become part of the self-concept and the place becomes an integral part of 'Being' (Heidegger, 1962).

The social experience of the DSS and underground economy workplace also differed. The DSS was characterised as a place where social relations between staff and claimant were disliked and antagonistic, much as Howe (1985) described. Relations between claimant and claimant were difficult to manage (due to bolted seating) and generally avoided. In the underground economy workplace, relationships were enjoyed as a social sphere separate to that of the
emotionally laden family circle. However, there were similarities between the two places when men described anxieties and fears while there. Both places were described in terms of 'Landscapes of Fear' (Tuan, 1979): fear of being caught in illegal activities; fear of losing DSS payments; anxiety within a sterile, disliked environment separated from the security and support of home; anxiety that something awful might happen, an accident, an unpleasant social encounter; fear of humiliation, of being shamed; fear of vulnerability; fear of anonymity. Tuan (1979) has documented many distinctive types of fearsome landscapes, the DSS and the underground economy workplace are two more which foster an atmosphere of fear and yet are tremendously important to the men who use them.

There were also similarities in the processes involved in the development of person-place relations and the negotiation of place meaning. In both the DSS and underground economy workplace, events and expectations seemed to structure place experience in a matrix of attitudes and opinions through which the places were evaluated. Actions performed in the place provided a basis from which meanings of place were derived (Canter, 1988). Signing on, waiting and negotiating entitlements were symbolic of low social status and lack of control in the DSS, while the meaning of work and its illegal nature provoked both positive and negative evaluations of the underground economy workplace. In both the DSS and the underground economy workplace, the experiential model of place was evident, suggesting that personal, social, physical and instrumental aspects of place experience are common dimensions of person-place relations.

In the underground economy, the men were proactively (cf Fryer and Payne, 1984) engaged in altering their life circumstances to earn money, to provide themselves with a range of skills and positive psychological experiences and to protect themselves from social scrutiny. In the DSS, the proactive nature of people was sometimes evident in their efforts to combat the social security system,
however, most activities in the DSS were of a passive nature, responsive to the requirements of the system. The study showed how unemployed people used their physical environments to cope with particular problems experienced in unemployment and as such life circumstances affected the experience and use of place (cf Stokols and Schumaker, 1983; Wapner, 1981, 1987). Different saliences, experiential relevances and meanings occurred in the transactional relationship between person and place. Moreover, the relationships between life circumstances and experience of place were important not just in coping with problems and offering working opportunities but also in terms of providing important self descriptions.

Social representations of unemployment were linked to the experience of the DSS and the underground economy workplace. In both places they reflected the negative aspects of unemployment in place experience, particularly financial problems and poor mental health in the DSS and criminal behaviour in the underground economy workplace. The close association between social representations, use and experience of place implies that the physical environment is very much part of social representations, not just as a source of information about places (cf Canter, 1988), but as an evaluation of place which people can bring to bear on actual place use and meanings.

In the next two chapters, a further important place in the everyday lives of unemployed people is investigated. This is not a new place, but an existing environment whose use and function change through unemployment. The meanings of home in unemployment are explored together with processes involved in re-negotiation of place meaning.
Chapter 9

Meanings of Home: The Structure of Place Experience in Unemployment

1. Introduction

2. Meanings of Home

3. Comparative Analysis of Home Meanings

4. Home: The Structure of Experience

5. The Person-Home Relationship in Context

6. Conclusions
1. Introduction

It is argued that life circumstances of unemployment can bring about transitions in the way people use and experience places. Such transitions may disrupt ongoing person-place relations necessitating a re-negotiation of place use and meaning. Transitions in the use and experience of home brought about in unemployment may result in a re-conceptualisation of the home environment.

The home has been identified as an important environmental domain in unemployment (chapter 5). Unemployed people spend much more time at home in unemployment than they do in employment (chapter 7) and many problems and opportunities related to unemployment are experienced within it (chapter 4). Thus, home usage is affected by unemployment, but how does this translate into meanings of home?

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate the effect of unemployment on meanings of home. Firstly, unemployed men reveal what home means to them and how unemployment has influenced these meanings. Secondly, the influence of unemployment is substantiated in a comparative study of similarities and differences in home meaning for unemployed, retired and employed groups. Finally, multidimensional analysis of the meanings reveals the structure of home experience in unemployment.

2. Meanings of Home

The unemployed men completed a multiple sorting task in which they described and discussed the meaning of places in their lives, including their home. Forty of the men were also agreed to be interviewed (see appendix 6) at some length about:

What makes a house into a home?
What does your home mean to you?

Is the experience of home different now you are unemployed?

A vast quantity of statements concerning the meaning of home emerged using these techniques. These were written on separate index cards and subject to content analysis. In total, 232 statements were analysed (mean 5.8 statements per person). An inter-rater reliability procedure (see chapter 3) produced a 79% agreement rate (79% of statements were content analysed in the same way by two independent people). Disputed statements were then discussed and a negotiated outcome was achieved for all but six statements which proved to be too ambiguous.

As a result of careful content analysis, a set of twenty six categories of home meaning were established. These correspond in many cases to meanings found in other studies of home (Hayward, 1977; Sixsmith, 1986; Sixsmith, 1990). However, there were also important differences which can be explained only in the context of unemployment. Each of the categories of meaning are briefly discussed below.

**Comfort**: (n=19) If a place is to be home, it must fulfill the dwellers need for comfort (cf Hunt, 1989). Warmth, comfortable chairs and pleasant surroundings contributed to the physical and psychological comfort of the unemployed at home. Comfort belies the restorative qualities of home (cf Kaplan, 1983) but does not exist independently of the person or their life circumstances. Rather, it exists only in transactions of the person in their home. In unemployment, heating the home and providing comfortable furnishings and surroundings can prove difficult and reduce the experience of a comfortable home.

**Happiness**: (n=7) A home is a place where dwellers feel happy and experience happy events. Even happy memories can help to create a home (Sixsmith, 1990). Although unemployed people were happy at
home, increasingly, unhappiness in the home was experienced by some, especially when lack of funds prevented Christmas festivities.

Worry: (n=7) Certain places provide environments which encourage self-reflection and contemplation (Kaplan, 1983; Korpela, 1989). Home provides one such place. Unfortunately, in unemployment, contemplations can be of an unpleasant nature when worries of finding work, unpaid bills and dropping standards of living are all evident in the home environment.

Prison: (n=7) Graham (1983) talks of home for women as a prison and Hunt and Frankenburg (1981) suggest that home can be more of a cage than a castle. For some of the unemployed men, home was described as a prison, an oppressive place. They felt they had been forced, through unemployment, into the home environment with little to do but wait for time to pass. Moreover, the locks, bolts and window bars in some Scotswood house may have protected dwellers against burglary but contributed at the same time to the experience of home as a prison.

Control: (n=5) Being in control of the environment is an important aspect of home (Devine, 1989). When the unemployed men talked of control, it was the feeling of control rather than actual control over activities or household organisation. Indeed, Allen and Crow (1989) point out that family members tend to regulate one another so that individual control over the home is limited. For two men, feelings of control at home had diminished in unemployment with loss of the role of 'family provider'.

Belonging: (n=6) Belonging, attachment or 'rootedness' has been widely associated with home (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1980; Giuliani, 1991). Belonging is expressive of familiarity, care and concern for a place (Sixsmith, 1988). Most of the unemployed men felt a deep sense of belonging to home, but some had 'parted company, me and my house'. They felt they lived in a house rather than a home.
Work: \( (n=10) \) Home and work are intrinsically related. To maintain a home requires considerable work. Home can also be the location for employment (Bulos, 1990; Gurstein, 1991). The unemployed men related home and work together in terms of black economy working, housework, gardening and DIY.

A Place To Do What You Want: \( (n=15) \) Independence, autonomy and personal control were all implicated in this meaning of home. Home provides a sense of freedom of action in an intimate space shared only by family members. Some men felt freed from employment commitments to carry out hobbies and interests in the home. Others were unable to carry out their objectives to decorate and maintain the home through lack of finance in unemployment.

Identification: \( (n=19) \) Home as a source of personal expression and self-identification has been widely described and investigated (Bachelard, 1969; Cooper, 1974; Korosec-Serfaty, 1989; Sixsmith, 1990; Depres, 1991). Home is said to reinforce the dwellers sense of identity as well as express this identity to others (Appleyard, 1979). Being in the home, familiarity with it, organising it and personalisation all contribute to 'a house' becoming 'my home' for the men. They tended to gauge their own self identity through the appearance of their homes. However, confirmation of self identity through the home can be a negative experience when a run-down home in poor repair is perceived. Messages about self identity in this case were: worn out; damaged and at the end of a useful life.

Privacy: \( (n=3) \) One very important function of home is the regulation of privacy (Holme, 1985; Allan, 1989). Home can act as a physical barrier to the outside world, a barrier which can be lifted to admit chosen visitors. Within the home, certain rooms can be designated as public places (the living room) or private places (the bedroom). However, there are inequalities in the person's ability to secure privacy within the home (Weigert, 1981) with children wielding least power (Allen and Crow, 1989). Nevertheless, privacy in the home allows for solitude (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984), intimacy and quiet as
well as protection from outside provocation. In unemployment, men found they could shut out a world which did not value them, but in doing so could turn privacy into isolation.

**Permanence:** (n=4) Both Hayward (1977) and Fried (1963) attribute the feeling of autobiographical continuity to the permanence of home. The experience of home exists in terms of a temporal process (Depres, 1991). This may stretch from a childhood past to an unknown future. The permanence of home was contrasted with an unknown future by the unemployed men. Two men feared repossession of their homes and felt the permanence of home slipping through their fingers.

**Relaxation:** (n=9) For many people, home is a place of rest and relaxation. The relaxing qualities of home took on a special significance for the unemployed men. Some had developed a new lifestyle based on relaxation within the home environment. Others needed to fortify themselves through relaxing at home before engaging in the world as an unemployed person.

**Ownership:** (n=5) Ownership of home confers feelings of belonging, permanence, security and control (Sixsmith, 1986; Sixsmith, 1990; Depres, 1991). Home ownership is said to give solid foundations to family life (Depres, 1991). However, ownership confers responsibility to look after the property, a responsibility that is hard to meet in unemployment and may result in worry.

**A Place To Return To:** (n=4) Home is a place you go out from and return to again and again (Buttimer, 1980; Hayward, 1977). It is the base of activity which enters into life every day. The desire to return home from a stressful experience can be very strong. In unemployment, returning home can become a dreaded experience because poor physical conditions at home, boredom and being at home rather than at work symbolises unemployment.
Security and Safety: (n=10) Security is a central function of home (Allen and Crow, 1989). The predictability of surroundings, domestic routines and the daily round of activities all complimented a sense of psychological security. Home may also be seen as a safe place. Secure and safe from the negative associations of being unemployed, the men appreciated their home as a haven in a potentially hostile world.

Lived-In Atmosphere: (n=6) Sixsmith (1988) notes that a place must have a lived in feel if it is to be thought of as home. The unemployed men described the importance of a human and personal presence about the home.

Family: (n=29) Family relationships are central to conceptions of home life (Sixsmith, 1986; Sixsmith, 1988; Allen and Crow, 1989). Gilman (1980) asserts that home is home only when family are present. Phenomenologically, it is the experience of being at home with family that is critical. Conversation, jokes, disputes, shared activities are all synonymous with home where relationships are built and strengthened (cf Depres, 1991). Two aspects of family life at home were stressed by participants. Firstly, either arguments and stressful relationships were experienced more often at home in unemployment or spending more time together drew couples closer together. Secondly, role relationships within the home changed with the husband taking more responsibility towards housekeeping and childcare.

Emotional Environment: (n=12) Home is where emotional relationships are at their most intense (Heller, 1984). Predominantly these were described in terms of love and care, laughter, humour and togetherness by participants. However, the stresses and strains of unemployment can pervade the home resulting in a highly charged negative emotional atmosphere.

Friendships: (n=10) Entertaining friends and neighbours is one way in which the home functions in enabling the development of
friendships (Sixsmith, 1984). While home entertaining was one option open to the unemployed, some men reported they had stopped entertaining at home because of the expense incurred. Even informal chats could deplete stocks of coffee, tea and biscuits. Increasingly, friendships were weakened through lack of social contact.

Neighbours: (n=3) Having neighbours and being neighbourly is as much a part of home for the unemployed as is friendships and the family. Neighbourliness can be characterised as a form of mutual inter-dependence between people living in close proximity (Sixsmith, 1988). The benefits of inter-dependence are lost when spying and suspicion enter into relations with neighbours. This was the case for one man working in the black economy.

Community and Neighbourhood: (n=8) Home is located within the context of the neighbourhood. For some of the men, home was home by virtue of belonging in a particular neighbourhood. Many of the men expressed pride in belonging to their particular neighbourhood. In Scotswood, men told of the decline of the neighbourhood into poverty and crime and linked this to unemployment. The men told stories of a thriving underground economy and numerous break-ins by the unemployed for financial gain. They perceived high levels of unemployment in their neighbourhood and in the street (see chapter 4). This perception was supported by the visibility of a number of organisations such as welfare rights operating at the neighbourhood level. In Scotswood, the neighbourhood as home cohered along concepts of crime and unemployment which helped to given the neighbourhood its particular identity. In Fenham, the neighbourhood was seen as a pleasant, untroubled place in which unemployment at neighbourhood and street levels was perceived to be relatively low. The link between neighbourhood and home was founded on a comfortable, relatively stress free (in terms of crime) environment. In both neighbourhoods, the men recognised their unique qualities (both positive and negative) and felt a sense of belonging in the familiar streets, the familiar sights and the familiar events which brought each neighbourhood to life.
Convenient Location: (n=5) A convenient location close to local facilities was included in concepts of home. Proximity to bus services and local shops was seen as a necessity to the smooth running of the home. In terms of unemployment, proximity to unemployment workshops, DSS offices and other locally based initiatives were appreciated.

Physical Shell: (n=7) The idea of home as a physical dwelling place is prevalent in architectural literature (Hellman, 1983) with its emphasis on architectural style, layout and space standards. Lawrence (1987) departs from seeing home in purely physical terms by calling for a cultural, social and psychological appreciation of home. The psychological and social affordances of the home as a physical shell were aptly described by Bachelard (1969). The unemployed men saw home as a physical place divided into specific rooms, each room having its own set of activities and its own identity. In unemployment, the physical condition of the home can feature strongly in evaluations of the home environment. The physical fabric of home increasingly encroaches on consciousness as it degrades. These environmental cues (cf Meacham and Leiman, 1982) symbolise the economic situation and unemployment status of the household.

Possessions: (n=7) For some people, home is associated with objects rather than buildings. Personal objects in the home can help to reinforce a person's sense of identity (Stanfield, 1981) and provide a material link between past life and present situation (Sixsmith, 1988). Participants used personal possessions to reminisce about the good times when they had been employed. The decline of possessions into a shabby, second-hand or broken state serve to highlight past economic success with present day unemployment. One man in the study described his home and possessions as decrepit, a living hell. The experience of living in a place called home yet described in such a way can only be imagined.
Services and Facilities: (n=7) The extent and quality of services and facilities within the home contributed to a homely ambiance. Heating, lighting, electrical appliances and hot water were all mentioned as necessary for a home. Lack of finances had made a difference to the experience of services within the home for most of the men. Strict regimes imposed on the use of heating, lighting and TV curtailed family life to such an extent for one family that they were in bed most evenings by 9pm, a situation formally unknown to them.

Space: (n=4) The size of the home, its spatial layout and differentiation into functional rooms were recognised as essential in affording both family and individual activities their expression. In unemployment, the husbands increased presence in the home can lead to a cramped and overcrowded experience of home. In this case, husbands extended many activities into the garden to 'get out of the way'.

The literature on the meaning and experience of home is dominated by positive images of home and home life. Recently, there have been some indications that the home provides for a varied set of experiences, some of which can be unpleasant (Hardey, 1989). The categories discussed above testify to the varied nature of experience in the breadth of material covered containing both positive and negative meanings of home. These show home to be a multi-variate complex of positive and negative experiences seemingly influenced by life in unemployment. In the next section, the influence of unemployment on home meaning is strengthened in a comparative analysis of the meaning of home for unemployed, retired and employed people.
3. A Comparative Analysis of Home Meanings

A comparative analysis of home meanings was undertaken to determine which home meanings are commonly shared and which are specific to the unemployed. To this end, forty nine retired people and twenty two employed people completed a multiple sorting task and interview. They were asked to describe the difference between a house and home, and to describe the meaning of home. Most lived in either Scotswood or Fenham and matched the socio-economic groupings of the unemployed sample. The employed group were all married with children and of a similar age range to the unemployed (25 years to 60 years). Retired participants were obviously older than the unemployed usually living at home with their spouse.

Separate content analysis of meanings of home for the retired and employed groups followed the same procedure as that of the unemployed sample. An inter-rater reliability of 82% was achieved indicating satisfactory category schemes. Comparison of the three category schemes shows remarkable similarity in meanings of home across the three groups (see table 9.1). Such consistency is surprising given that 'home' is commonly seen as a highly personal, idiosyncratic aspect of human experience. Some of the categories are very frequently used by all three groups such as 'family','comfort' and 'do what you want'. These may be the most significant aspects of home experience.

Other categories indicate differences in emphasis between the three groups. The most commonly mentioned categories of meaning for the unemployed were family, comfort, identification, do what you want, and emotional environment. For the retired people, family, comfort and home as a place to return to were most common. The employed group saw home most frequently in terms of family, being in control, its what you make it, comfort and a lived-in feel. In addition, the employed group emphasised the physical aspects of home as a physical shell and the possessions within it.
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<th>Meanings</th>
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<th>Retired (n=49)</th>
<th>Employed (n=22)</th>
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<td>It's what you make it</td>
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Meanings Unique to Retired and Employed Groups: A number of categories used by retired people were not used by the unemployed. Proximity to family was an important aspect of home for some retired people who liked to visit son's and daughter's living in their own homes, but was not an issue for the unemployed already living at home with their immediate family. Retired people also stressed home in terms of happy memories of family life when their children had been young. Again, this was not an issue for the unemployed, most of whom had young children living with them at home. Both retired and employed groups mentioned 'familiarity' and 'home is what you make it', but unemployed people did not. It is interesting to note that retired and employed groups both felt more in control of their home environment than the unemployed indicating that familiarity with and making a home depend to some extent on control over the environment.

Meanings Unique to the Unemployed: Five categories of meaning were unique to the unemployed: worry; prison; work; relaxation; and neighbourhood. These reflect both positive and negative meanings of home and were all associated with unemployment. The worries of unemployment and financial strain were reflected in home experience and meaning. The men would sit and worry about finding a job and making ends meet. Environmental cues of disrepair, fuel, rent and electricity bills were all home focused sources of worry,

"The main drag is money and how to survive on it. At home you can see by the state of the place that you're not surviving. It's one monumental worry..."

Feelings of imprisonment within the home were strongly felt by the unemployed men. Their urge to escape the confines of home were confounded by the home-prison being the only place they have to return to at the end of the day,

"I can't escape from it, I'm living in a prison. I feel caged in all day and night. It's like a box around you, I need to
Perhaps surprisingly, participants related home to work. They took great pride in cultivating their home through housework, DIY, gardening and creating an environment in which they worked at finding a job.

Despite negative meanings of home, home was seen as a place of rest and relaxation. Body and mind could rest at home from the rigours of a world sometimes hostile to the unemployed. Relaxation at home had prompted some men to re-organise life's priorities and emphasise a lifestyle organised around enjoying a peaceful life at home rather than attempting to rejoin a stressful rat race.

Some unemployed people located home very much within the neighbourhood context. In unemployment they had been able to explore the daytime world of their neighbourhood. Home and neighbourhood were so closely bound together that one man said,

"If you took this house and put it somewhere else it wouldn't be my home. It's like it is because of where it is, here in Fenham. That's why I'd never move, not for a job, not down south. If the number 12 (bus) doesn't go there, then it's never home."

All the meanings of home that were unique to the unemployed group were associated with life circumstances of unemployment such as finance, worry, being at home for long periods, relaxing and enjoying the opportunity to live fully in the daytime neighbourhood.
4. Home: The Structure of Experience

Having identified twenty-six meanings of home and related them to the experience of unemployment, the next step is to reveal underlying structural relationships between meanings. In previous studies of home meaning (Sixsmith, 1986; Sixsmith 1988) four modes of environmental experience were uncovered, corresponding to the experiential model of place suggested in this thesis: the personal, social, physical and instrumental home. The purpose of the following analysis is to demonstrate structural relationships between the categories of meaning and to explore the validity of the personal, social, physical and instrumental model of home.

Multi-dimensional scaling analysis of the unemployed groups meanings of home enabled an exploration of structural relationships. Only those meanings of home which were mentioned by five people or more were included in the analysis. Only people who had mentioned more than two meanings were included. This gave a database of twenty-one categories of meaning by thirty six people. A rectangular matrix of these most commonly used meanings was constructed such that each cell showed in binary form whether or not a person held a particular meaning (reproduced in appendix 12). This matrix was input to a Smallest Space Analysis.

The resulting plot (figure 9.1) indicates that the model of home described earlier has a measure of validity. The structure is divided into four regions, each emphasising modes of home experience: the personal home; the social home; the instrumental home; and the physical home. The constituents of each region are detailed in table 9.2.
Figure 9.1 Smallest Space Analysis of Home Meanings

Key:
1 Comfort 12 Security
3 Worry 13 Lived-in
4 Prison 14 Family
5 Control 15 Emotional relations
6 Belonging 16 Friendships
7 Workplace 17 Community
8 Do what you want 18 Location
9 Identity 19 Physical shell
10 Relaxation 20 Possessions
11 Ownership 21 Services
The regions identified are not seen as mutually exclusive indicative of the holistic experience of places. For instance, home as a prison emphasise both physical characteristics of the home as well as personal experiences. The structural relationships are arranged in a circular fashion indicating qualitative differences in modes of home experience. The physical aspects of home experience are arranged around the periphery of the SSA plot. This suggests that while the home is experienced as a physical entity, the physicality of home is strongly linked to the personal, social and instrumental facets of experience, perhaps providing the background from which many of the other meanings of home emerge.

**The Personal Home:** Home is experienced as a very personal place and in very personal ways. Even though meanings of home may be commonly held, the experience is always a personal one, making each home a unique combination of person and place (Sixsmith, 1990). Home as a place of great personal significance and a centre of meaning was clearly echoed in the present study where people talked of identity and belonging in very warm terms. Home is also a place
of deep psychological experiences and emotions. Relaxation, comfort, security and happiness are representative of the personal, psychological depth of home experience.

"My home is an anchor, an anchor in a shifting world. It's all changed out there, but in here it's ok. In here it's my world."

Not all emotions are positive. The unemployed men in this study described home as a worrisome environment, a place they sat and worried in, and a place they worried about,

"Sitting doing nothin, home can't hold you during the day. The telly can at night, but you feel like you've got to get out. It makes you feel worse, more fed up sitting at home, worrying about this and that, looking at the four walls."

On the other hand, home does provide a place to escape from other people and indulge in thoughts and feelings which may be inappropriate anywhere else.

There is also an active side to the experience of home as a personal place. Being able to "do what you want, when you want" was held as an important criterion of home,

"If you can't do what you want at home, where can you?"

As such, home allows a degree of self expression and control, albeit within the bounds of family and social norms (cf. Allen and Crow, 1989).

The Social Home: For most people in this study, home and family are firmly intertwined. For some, home is family and family is home. Hayward (1977) described the different functions of home as a social network and as relationships with other people. The unemployed men stresses the dynamic nature of social relations at home. Family
relations can become hostile and aggressive depending on events and life circumstances,

"At home, it's all family. My marriage is all screwed up...the arguments, it can get on top of you. We'll be finished soon, she's sick of the sight of me. It's not if, it's when."

In general, caring for family and sharing experiences with them, working things out and just being together help to build the home into a comfortable, enjoyable, lived in place.

Another aspect of the social nature of home reflects the correspondence between home and community. The men in this study confirmed that feeling at home has as much to do with a sense of belonging to the local community and involvement with friends and neighbours as is has to do with privacy and security. Visitors to the home add to the experience of home as a social environment, but this can change in unemployment,

"When I think of home, I think of it friendly like. It's not like friendly here anymore, you know. Well, I'll put it like this, it used to be like the central station in here, always people coming and going. It was always busy. Now we never see a soul from one week's end to the next."

The Physical Home: Together with the personal and social modes of experience, the physicality of place is an important way of experiencing home. The physical structure, the bricks and mortar of a house is as much a feature of home as is the family. The type of house (terraced, semi-detached etc), the number and layout of rooms and the condition of interior and exterior are all of concern. In this respect people emphasised the home as a place to be lived in. They contrasted the insideness of the physical structure of home with the world outside. In some cases, this home was also a prison.
Some aspects of the physical home intruded heavily into awareness in unemployment: deteriorating physical structure, decor, furnishings and possessions; inability to maintain adequate services and facilities; and an overcrowded spatial environment. As mentioned earlier, a deteriorating home was a constant reminder of their financial failure, of unemployment and of declining social status,

"I see everything that wants doing and I can't do any of it. Every time I go to the toilet I can see it's half tiled. The passage has got no carpet, how do you think that makes me feel, some home.

Physical possessions such as photographs, books and chairs were highly valued and an integral part of home. Moreover, the quality and extent of the services available in the home are a contingent of the meaning of home. Telephone services, electricity and gas were of special concern to the unemployed as they contrasted the expense of providing them with the standard of living at home without them,

"The telly and video are important, you need them to keep going. If there's nowt else or nowt you want to do, you can sit at home and vegetate in front of the telly. It's on all afternoon. We don't hire tapes now, it's too expensive, but we can tape off the telly. This place would be nothing without them."

Some men had strictly rationed their use of food, gas and electricity to conserve finances and were consequently aware of the contribution such services made to the experience of home,

"Boiling a kettle costs money you know. I go out for a cup of tea if I can. It's never home when you're living like this."

The Instrumental Home: In Sixsmith's (1988) study of the meaning of home, elderly people were clearly relating to their home as an instrument to help them achieve things. They would use the staircase to provide them with gentle exercise, or claim that keeping
their home clean and tidy was a declaration of their ability and independence. In the present study, home was a resource people used for particular purposes. Housework, gardening, DIY and job hunting were examples men gave of the home as a workplace. Home provided the physical environment, atmosphere and the resources for them to carry out their work. By conceptualising their home as a workplace, the men were able to think of themselves as 'working men', an identity they valued highly,

"I do some housework everyday and I do all the jobs around the place (DIY). It keeps me busy. To me, it's my debt, my contribution, my work if you like. No matter what other people say, I'm still a grafter, always have been."

5. The Person-Home Relationship in Context

So far, the person-home relationships has been explored in the light of life circumstances of unemployment. In this, it is clear that the life circumstances which people bring into the relationship are involved in the ways in which the person-home relationship is negotiated. But what is their significance? Are life circumstances related to the experience of home as a negative environment? The men were divided into two groups: those who were positive about home: and those who conceive some aspects of home in negative ways. Significant relationships were established between home experience and mental health. People who were negative about home were in poor mental health (t=2.783, significant at the 0.01 level), suffered anxiety (t=1.833, significant at the 0.05 level) and depression (t=2.370, significant at the 0.25 level). These result gain in importance given that the home data from which they were derived was open ended and qualitative in nature. When the life circumstance variables were related to the home, there were no significant relationships between age, qualifications, the environmental context (location and perceived levels of unemployment in neighbourhood and street) the temporal context of unemployment (duration,
sub-unemployment), or the social context (family and friends unemployed. Neither were relationships established between particular unemployment opportunities and home or future view and home.

There were, however, significant relationships between home and the the positive or negative orientation of the men towards their unemployment. Men who were generally positive about unemployment were positive about home and men who were negative about unemployment were also negative about home (Chi Sq 7.377, significant at the 0.01 level). Negative orientations to home are expressed in the experience of psychological problems, boredom, social problems, and activity problems. Men who were negative about their home tended to experience psychological problems (Chi Sq 4.578), social problems especially marital disharmony (Chi Sq 3.840), problems in occupying their time (Chi Sq 4.555) and boredom (Chi Sq 7.976), all significant at the 0.05 level. While it is not possible to ascertain a causal direction for these results, it is interesting to see that people who are positive about unemployment are positive in terms of their home experience and men with unemployment problems also experience negative person-place relationships in one of the most important places in their lives, their home.

Throughout this thesis, an emphasis has lain on understanding person-place relationships within their contexts. Two important contexts have been stressed so far: the socio-cultural context (in social representations of unemployment; the organisational context (socio-cultural responses at an organisational level to unemployment). In this section, possible influences of these contexts are explored in relation to the person-home.

It has already been mentioned that some social representations of unemployment locate the unemployed person firmly within their home environment. They are seen as sitting at home, generally doing nothing and being bored. The home is not seen as a stimulating, positive experience in unemployment. Other social representations see
the unemployed person again, very much home based, yet engaged in meaningful activities, interests and hobbies. Is it the case that people who hold individualistic representations and see home benefits to unemployment describe their homes in positive homes? Alternatively, do people who represent unemployment in terms of boredom at home describe their homes in negative terms? These propositions were tested. People who expressed individualistic orientations to their social representations were found to be positive about their home while those seeing the unemployed as bored at home experienced home in negative ways (Chi Sq 4.103, significant at the 0.05 level). Thus, home experience is related to the socio-cultural context of unemployment. No relationship was found between social representations with a benefit orientation and home experience. This is not surprising since many of the opportunities related to unemployment were not specifically tied to the home environment but in colleges, unemployment workshops etc.

This leads on to the question, is there a relationship between home and the organisational context of unemployment? To investigate this possibility, home as a positive or negative environment was related to the extent of organisational usage, dislike of the DSS, identification with the DSS and experience of the underground economy workplace. There were no significant relationships between the experience of home and these organisational contexts. It would appear that while the experience of unemployment is related to organisations, and to the experience of home, the home is viewed as a separate person-place unity. This would be supported by the home literature which suggests that home is a very special, unique place (Sixsmith, 1988; Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1991).

6. Conclusions

The chapter began by examining the meanings of home of unemployed people. Twenty-six different positive and negative meanings emerged
through which the life circumstances of unemployment, such as lack of money, staying at home and poor psychological health could be traced. Often, the home literature idealises home as a very positive place (cf. Hayward, 1977; Werner et al., 1985). But transactions between the person and home conducted within stressful life circumstances such as unemployment may necessitate a re-negotiation of the person-home relationship such that negative meanings emerge (Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1990; Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1991).

Very little research has been conducted to establish whether differences in home experience exist between different social groups. Sixsmith (1984) found some cross cultural differences in the meaning of home, but generally it has been assumed that the experience of home is essentially the same phenomenon for all people. However, if it is proposed that life experiences affect the person-home relationship, then there should be differences in the experience of home between people experiencing different life circumstances, perhaps expressed in their social group membership. A comparison of three different social groups showed that while meanings of home were remarkably similar for unemployed, employed and retired people. For all groups home was an important sphere of family life, of comfort and ability to do what you want. There were important differences. Home for the unemployed was a worrisome environment and a prison. Relaxation, work and neighbourhood locale were all deemed important criteria of home for some of the men.

Structural relationships were investigated between the twenty-one more common meanings of home for unemployed people. A model built on four domains of home experience was revealed: the personal; social; physical; and instrumental home. The data illustrates that while experiences of home may be individual in nature, the underlying structure of experience is shared.

Throughout the analysis of qualitative data, the relationship between home experience and unemployment was evident, no more so than in the social group comparison. When life circumstance variables were
formally related to the experience of home as a positive or negative place, some very interesting results emerged. These substantiated the link between life circumstances and home experience such that negative experience of home is linked to poorer general mental health, anxiety and depression, as well as to the experience of psychological problems, boredom, social problems and marital disharmony and difficulties in occupying time with meaningful and satisfying activities. Moreover, positive orientations towards unemployment are linked to positive experiences of home.

The socio-cultural context of unemployment was also linked in some ways to the experience of home. People who held individualistically oriented social representations expressing the notion that unemployment is experienced and coped with in individual ways, some positive some negative tended to be positive in their person-home relationship, while those with social representations based on the inactive unemployed person sitting bored at home were more negative in their person-home relationship. The influence of the socio-cultural context did not extend to the organisational context of unemployment. This indicates the special, unique nature of the person-home relationship.

This chapter has shown the influence of unemployment on the experience and meaning of home. The following chapter builds on this by exploring transitions in person-place relations through an analysis of activities in the home and processes involved in the negotiation of place meaning.
Chapter 10

Everything the same, yet all has changed: Explaining Transitions in Home Meaning and Use

1. Introduction

2. The Meaning and Use of Rooms
   i) Living Room
   ii) Kitchen
   iii) Bedroom

3. Linking Action And Place: Activities At Home

4. An Analysis of Housework

5. Role And Rule Negotiation

6. Processes of Home Appropriation
   i) Cultivation and Action
   ii) Bodily Experience of Home
   iii) Cognitive Evaluation and the Home

7. Conclusions
1. Introduction

As the men discussed their home life and meanings of home, they realised that although physically home was much the same, the experience of home was different in unemployment. Transitions in home meaning in unemployment have been explored in the previous chapter. The way in which transitions come about has yet to be investigated. This chapter looks at the processes through which transitions in person-place relations occur.

Data supporting the identification and analysis of person-place processes is in two forms. Firstly, interview and diary data gave indications of processes of action in place, role-rule relations and place appropriation. Secondly, the way in which people talked about their homes also provided insights into processes of cognitive comparison, evaluation and the sensory experience of place. These processes are examined to reveal ways in which transformations in the relationships between person and place involve the negotiation of place meaning and usages.

Four areas are covered. Firstly, the role of the physical, spatial environment is revealed in an analysis of the meaning and use of rooms in the home. The living room, kitchen and bedroom are the focus of attention and physical, spatial properties of these rooms are related to home meaning and how it has changed in unemployment. Secondly, activities at home are described together with the cognitions and meanings which transform them into action. Actions are classified according to their meaning and links between action and place are outlined. A more detailed analysis describes and explains how one set of actions, housework, provides a physical, psychological, social and instrumental link between person and place.

Acting in physical, spatial places is one way in which person-place relations are forged and place meanings are negotiated. Other processes such as role-rule relations are equally important (Canter,
1988). Consequently, the third area covered looks at gender and power relations within the home as unemployed men, their wives and children reorganise their lives to accommodate a lifestyle structured by unemployment. Fourthly, the appropriation of home is also investigated. This analysis highlights a number of processes through which people felt an increasing identification with their home. An emphasis on cultivation and action is revealed when people focused on 'home-making', 'home maintenance' and 'using the home' as a resource in unemployment through which place appropriation occurs. Sensory experience and bodily familiarity with the home is implicated in home appropriation together with processes of cognitive evaluation in which people compared past homes in employment with present unemployed life at home. Through action and cultivation, bodily familiarity and cognitive evaluation the 'home' becomes 'my home'.

2. The Meaning and Use of Rooms

In the previous chapter, the meaning of home referred to the home as an undifferentiated place. This is a common approach taken when investigating the meaning of home (Sixsmith, 1986; Guiliani, 1991). However, there is evidence that different rooms in the home have different meanings associated with them. For instance, the kitchen symbolises the feminine domain of home and the centre of family life, the living room or parlour is the public domain while bedrooms are very private (Lawrence, 1987; Madigan and Munro, 1990). It is well documented that different rooms have different roles in the arrangement and use of domestic space (Lawrence, 1987). What is not fully understood is how different rooms contribute to the general meaning of home. In the present study, there were indications that different rooms in the home were seen as separate places, each room independently designated as private or public and affording different types of activities. This suggests the question, 'how does the physical environment in terms of various rooms and their uses contribute to the meaning of home in unemployment?'. The yesterday
diary data allowed an analysis of the use and meaning of rooms. Three main rooms were investigated: the living room; kitchen and bedroom.

i) The Living Room

On average, the men spent approximately six and a half hours a day in their living rooms. Some men spent more than twelve hours there. In all cases, this was the room which housed the TV, main fireplace, record player and many other facilities for the comfort and well being of the family. It was in this room that people relaxed together as a family. Many families ate their evening meal there (68%) with the TV on. Eating, drinking, playing with children and spending time together were all acceptable activities in the living room. This room was said to be the heart of the home.

The men felt a difference between the living room in the day-time and in the evening. In the evening they used the room in the same way as when employed, mostly for TV watching and relaxing. During the day the room could take on a different set of meanings. To some it became a day-time prison. One man talked of the imprisonment of the 'four walls' in his living room. The living room was the place men would quietly sit and think. Plans about the future, worries about health, family and money problems were mainly centred on the living room during daytime hours.

Moreover, the living room was the place many men felt expressed their individual and family identity through personal possessions, furnishings and decor. In this room, extended family and friends would be entertained and have the opportunity to judge the household. Consequently, the physical condition of the living room was a special consideration. Living rooms which were in need of repairs, furnishings or decoration were said to be an expression and reminder of lack of finance and unemployment. One man reported
feelings of helplessness at his inability to change the condition of his living room.

Untidiness in the living room was accepted as an example of the lived-in feel a house must have if it is to be a home. On the other hand, some saw tidiness as a virtue and physical proof of high standards of living.

ii) The Kitchen

Cooking (55%), eating breakfast, washing up and making cups of tea were the main ways unemployed men used their kitchen. On average the men would take up to an hour to cook a meal, ten to fifteen minutes to make a cup of tea or coffee, and around an hour eating breakfast and washing up. Thus, relatively little time was spent in the kitchen.

The experience of working in the kitchen was not new to participants. Most had used the kitchen in similar ways when employed. However, working in the kitchen during daytime hours was different. Some men found the creative act of cooking enjoyable, and "rather virtuous, because I needn't do it, but I do because it gives her (his wife) a break". These men felt quite comfortable in the kitchen, knew where everything was kept and how to operate the appliances. Familiarity with the home stems from an intimate knowledge of the whereabouts of domestic items and from skills in organising the home and family. Other men were embarrassed and felt that working in the kitchen was 'unmanly'. For them, the kitchen was a woman's domain where they felt, "out of place".

Interestingly, there was a temporal patterning to kitchen use as men tended to use the kitchen outside of normal working hours (9am to 5pm). This was explained as,
"I should be at work, not in the flaming kitchen"

iii) The Bedroom

Very little use was made of bedrooms during the daytime or early evening. Getting dressed and ready for bed meant the bedroom was used on average for less than ten minutes a day. The bedroom was a room for sleep. Peace and quiet needed for sleep seemed to preclude use of the bedroom for other more active pursuits. One man explained this in terms of atmosphere. He said,

"I only go to sleep there. Never downstairs or anything like that. Some people do... When I go in, its all quiet like, peaceful. I don't feel like I can be getting on with something else because there isn't anything up there. There's one or two ornaments that she (his wife) keeps...But no, I never like read nor nothing...In fact I never see it all day, so when I go in, I'm sort of programmed for bed."

There were some exceptions. One man used his bedroom to escape from the noise created by his five children. He engaged in quiet activities which required concentration such as reading or doing a crossword. In his house and in others, the master bedroom was a private place where children were not allowed. In this way parents could preserve one room for their own private activities.

One family watched TV in the bedroom during the evenings. This kept the family together in a small room which was cheaply heated with only one light for economy. This man described his bedroom as comfortable and "cheap to run", in contrast to the whole house which was cold and expensive. He used his bedroom as a small living room in the evening in order to manage his finances carefully.
The analysis has highlighted correspondences between the use of rooms and the meaning of home. The living room is associated with home as a comfortable place full of personal possessions, a place of rest and relaxation where family life gives the home a lived-in feel and visitors are entertained. Conceptualisations of home as a worrisome environment, prison and focus of deterioration in the physical fabric of the home were also centred on the living room. The kitchen was seen as a source of work, creativity and familiarity for some, others saw it as a female domain. Bedrooms encapsulate the need for privacy and seclusion. It was noted that the meaning of rooms, the living room and bedroom in particular was not constant or stable. At different times of the day, the rooms took on a different significance. This hints that the importance of a temporal understanding of the transactional person-home relationship (cf Werner et al, 1985). The rhythms of life at home need to be investigated and their implications for the use and meaning of home revealed.

This brief look at the meaning and use of rooms draws out the ways in which unemployed people use the meaningful spatial arrangement of home to deal with their lives in unemployment. The fact that unemployed people are spatially constricted in spending much time at home is now an established research finding (Bunker and Dewsbury, 1983; Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984; Warr and Payne, 1983). Bunker and Dewsbury (1983) describe this as staying in and staying invisible. The present analysis shows that the unemployed are not simply spatially restricted to home, but that they are also spatially restricted within the home. Basically, their life is lived in the living room, with the kitchen and bedroom used only for short specific activities, not because people are forced to do this, but because of the way in which they structure their meanings of home in accordance with specific activities for specific rooms. Clearly, to progress in understanding the complexities of the person-home relationship, action within the home needs to be investigated. This requires a look not just at activities, but at their goal directed
nature and their meanings within the context of home and unemployment.

3. Linking Action and Place: Activities at Home

Home is the focus of life for many unemployed people as previous chapters have shown, but what do they do at home? In studies of the daily life and behaviour of unemployed people (Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984; Miles, 1984) the activities of unemployed men are reported. Unfortunately, these studies have not revealed the goal directed nature of and the meaning of activities to the men. Haworth and Evans (1987) claim that understanding the meaningful nature of activities is very important. Most studies of activity in unemployment have neglected the important role of the environment of places within which activities are structured (Canter, 1984). Bunker and Dewsbury (1984) have gone some way towards documenting associations between activity and home. They found that unemployed people (men and women) watch more TV, do more housework, reading, hobbies, interests and games at home. However, this study did not adequately reveal the meaning of activities nor the action-environment links. The shift they found away from outdoors and social activities to home-based activities was explained largely in terms of financial constraints.

This less active, home based lifestyle is also hinted at in Warr and Payne's (1983) analysis of behaviour changes in unemployment. They found that unemployed men do more housework, childcare, cooking, sitting around, sleeping, listening to radio and TV, reading newspapers and books, DIY and repairs in unemployment than they had while employed. There was no elucidation of the meanings of these activities in the lives of unemployed people.

Action theory (Von Cranach et al, 1982; Harre et al, 1985) amply illustrates how crucial it is to understand goal directed action as
opposed to observable behaviour. Meaning underlies activity, some meanings constitute explanations for the activity while others are more contextual (Menzel, 1978). Thus activity, or behaviour, is enclosed within a frame of meaning. Rommetveit (1981) takes Menzel's example of lawn mowing and asks the question 'What is Mr Smith doing behind his lawn mower? Mowing the lawn, beautifying the garden, exercising, avoiding his wife, conforming to neighbours expectations, keeping property value up, annoying his neighbours with noise are all possibilities. The activity of mowing is one thing, the action of mowing is something different as it could concern any of the above meanings. The same might be said of making a cup of tea in unemployment. Is it to quench thirst? Is it done out of habit at three pm for instance? Is it a ploy to fill time, to pacify an angry partner and so on. Thus, while it is useful to know what activities unemployed people engage in as Warr and Payne (1983), Trew and Kilpatrick (1984) and Bunker and Dewsbury (1983) have done, it is imperative that studies begin to unravel the complexities of the meaning of action in unemployment.

In the present study, yesterday diaries were used to explore weekday time use, activities and their meanings within the home environment. Using diaries enables a look at everyday life as the unemployed men see it themselves rather than using a list of activities which may or may not hold relevance for participants. The men were allowed to segment their own stream of action in ways they felt were relevant however this technique is open to forgetfulness. Some activities may have been forgotten while others may not have been reported as the person found them irrelevant (or even embarrassing). Nevertheless, the diary allowed a more naturalistic study to ensue based in everyday life and structured by the person's own interpretations of their action. The analysis documents both the type and meaning of activities at home. Following each diary a number of open ended questions were asked. These focused on the activities of the previous day, explored plans and intentions for the activities, cognitive and emotional preoccupations, pleasures
and dislikes of the day. Only those activities undertaken within the home were analysed for this section.

All home based activities performed on the previous day were described by the men as typical of their home life. Table 10.1 lists these activities. The activities portray a fairly unvaried use of the home.

Table 10.1 Activities At Home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>No. People</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sleep at night</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching TV</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitting thinking</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housework</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies/interests eg guitar, crosswords, writing, gardening</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make a cup of tea/coffee</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIY</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get ready to go out</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potter about, fill forms</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen to music</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertain friends, relatives</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephoning</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal care</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deal with callers to house</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary or underground/work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make love</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look for job</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play game/cards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daytime nap</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Canter (1988) suggests that investigating the purposes of action may be more important for understanding the nature of person-place relations than knowing what behaviours or activities people do in places. Accordingly, the purposes fulfilled by the home based activities listed above are revealed. Links are made between the meaning of action and the meaning of home. The activities fulfilled a number of purposes: combating boredom; socialising and
entertainment; relaxation; work; caring and sharing experiences with the family; keeping mentally or physically fit; dealing with everyday necessities; managing finances and habitual activities.

Combating Boredom: The men were aware of boredom as a problem to overcome in unemployment. Boredom could be avoided by getting interested in activities such as writing, playing the guitar, gardening and doing crosswords. Cat napping, listening to music, making a cup of tea and reading the paper were also described as ways of filling in time. Both active and passive activities were used to combat boredom. Watching daytime TV was the most common experience described in negative ways,

"It's a form of enslavement. You start that sort of thing (daytime viewing) and you've lost yourself to it. There's no you anymore, just a, I don't know, a shell. It starts with just passing an hour or so, and then you're stuck there. What a waste of a day"

Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) call for research on the nature of watching TV in unemployment. Television brings the world of work, of social relationships, of places and events into the home. Yet the men saw TV watching as a wasteful use of time and hence saw their time as valueless. It was almost as if they used TV as a drug to help them cope with long days at home, a drug with possible debilitating side effects (cf Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985) on self esteem. Passive daytime TV watching signified for the men the fact that they had nothing better to do, ie that they were out of work.

Socialising and Entertainment: Talking with the family, friends, relatives and neighbours over a cup of tea was an enjoyable way of spending time at home. Without work, home was a major domain for social communication and the development of relationships. Playing with children and family games helped men to forget their worries and preoccupations and immerse themselves fully in these activities. Disagreements and arguments, however, were very stressful and
affected the whole emotional atmosphere of the home. Entertaining friends and relatives was not always greeted as a pleasant occasion. Tea, coffee and biscuits were in short supply in many homes, and entertaining had to be managed on a tight budget. Moreover, inviting people into the home could also invite criticism,

"... I don't much like it. I mean, people look around and see things, the way we're living. I like to keep private, I don't want no-one coming in and turning their noses up."

Relaxing: Sleeping, sitting in the living room, lying in bed before getting up in the morning, having a cat nap, listening to music and watching TV after a busy day were described as relaxing within a comfortable home. Interestingly, relaxing at home was only enjoyed after a busy day or before a fully planned day. Otherwise the same activities would be described as combating boredom.

Work: Work activities within the home were underground economy work, voluntary work, housework, gardening, DIY, job hunting and filling forms. The men saw themselves as working, although not in the same way as working in employment. In the home, working was a self determined set of activities performed of necessity. When it directly involved work on the home, it was seen as improving the home and standards of living within it.

Caring and Sharing with the Family: Some activities were done to care for the family or with the express aim of sharing experiences. Childcare, animal care and housework were examples of husbands helping their wives with domestic chores. Making cups of tea, eating together, watching TV and playing games involved sharing moments together in joint activities, making the home feel lived-in. For husband and wife, love making was the most satisfying of shared activities in the privacy of their own home. These sorts of activities seemed to emphasise a sense of belonging to family and home.
Keep Mentally or Physically Fit: A number of enjoyable activities helped the men to feel mentally fit. Reading books and newspapers, watching TV news or documentaries and talking to friends and family ensured that the men were informed about current and family affairs,

"Unemployment takes your concentration away from you. I used to be an avid reader but I got so I couldn't concentrate. I could see what was happening to me. I was deteriorating. I was mentally in a fog. I started to feel myself turning into a cabbage. I had to change my outlook, so I started getting interested in what I could do. And taking an interest in what's going on in the world. Now I'm reading more, thinking more and quite enjoying myself really."

Doing crosswords, creative writing and thinking made the men feel mentally active. Keeping physically fit was also important for some and keeping fit in the home was simply an extension of keep fit activities engaged in at the gym.

Dealing with Everyday Necessities: These activities ensured the smooth running of the household, but they could prove quite distressing. Dealing with callers was distressing when it involved paying rent, milk money or other debts. Telephoning was distressing when it involved negotiating gas, electricity bills or job hunting. Childcare, cooking and housework were also seen as everyday necessities,

"I do the housework because someone has to do it and it's only fair I pull my weight now I'm at home."

Managing Finances: Men described their efforts to manage finances at home in terms of pottering about, working in the underground economy, cooking cheaper meals and settling debts. By managing finances the men felt as if they were shouldering their
responsibilities in looking after their families in their own home. As such they were ensuring the permanence of their residence at home.

**Habitual Activities:** Many of the men talked of their activities as habitual and routine. Such activities as making a cup of tea, sitting smoking, thinking and lying in bed in the morning. Some men linked the idea of habituality to comfort and knowledge of home, to feelings of security at home but also to "being in a rut" and "having nothing better to do",

"I had a cuppa, more or less just because I was here and it was around threeish, just a habit."

In affording this range of activities, home was a facilitator of worthwhile and enjoyable activities as well as more passive, restful or time filling activities. In terms of activities, home was seen as a comfortable and happy place, although liable to emotional disturbances when arguments arose. It was a place of belonging, relaxation and security, a domain of personal and family responsibilities, a place for socialising and entertaining but also privacy. The home gained a lived-in feel through shared family activities but it was also a workplace and a place which required physical repair. Many of the meanings of home described in the previous chapter were associated with the meaning of activities in the home. The links between one set of activities and person-home relations is the focus of the next section.

4. An Analysis of Housework

During unemployment, the men had begun a number of new activities within the home. Housework was one such area of action, taking a substantial place in daily and weekly home life for some of the men. Housework is an important area to study since it is a necessary activity within the home, it expresses role relations between husband and wife and can be considered by the men as a form of work. It was especially interesting in this study given that few wives actually
worked and those who did, did so for a limited time (usually less than 10 hours) per week. Wheelock (1990) found that unemployed husbands at home would either keep rigidly to traditional gender divisions with the wife responsible for all housework, or they would help with tasks such as hoovering, cooking and washing up, share tasks equally between them, or exchange roles where the husband became responsible for housework. How far had the organisation of housework within the home changed in the present study? How had this change affected the meaning and experience of home? Had it affected the experience of unemployment? These issues were the focus of investigation.

The men were interviewed about the meaning and role of housework in their everyday lives. They indicated from a list of sixteen different forms of housework (see appendix 6): which they did; which had been taken up after unemployment; which they enjoyed; which they were expected to do; whether or not it was 'real work'; what they felt about doing it; and what their wives thought about it. The changing patterns of housework organisation are outlined in table 10.2.

Table 10.2 Changing Patterns of Housework Organisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before unemployment</th>
<th>After unemployment</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional pattern</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helping</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shared</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exchange</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping pattern</td>
<td>Helping</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shared</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exchange</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared pattern</td>
<td>Shared</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Original Traditional Role: In the traditional pattern, the men took on gardening, household repairs and decorating, occasionally making cups of tea. Remaining housework tasks were usually completed by wives, although children contributed by washing up and tidying their own rooms. Of the twenty one men who maintained a traditional pattern before unemployment, thirteen continued this pattern into unemployment. They happily undertook work they regarded as men's work (repairs, gardening and decorating) but none they assigned as women's work. They claimed that wives were unwilling to relinquish control of domestic organisation, that they would not be able to achieve standards upheld by their wives, and that housework was unmanly. These kinds of arguments find support in the literature on gender relations within the home where women resent the intrusion of husbands into their own domain (Hunt, 1989; Mason, 1989).

Seven of the men began to help out with housework once they were unemployed. Helping out involved regularly completing tasks such as washing up, tidying, dusting, making tea, childcare and shopping. However, wives remained ultimately responsible for all housework. One man took a more active role in sharing tasks between himself, wife and children. His attitude was,

"I do housework because it's there and has to be done and it's not fair on Linda if we've both in the house making a mess of it and she has to tidy it up and look after the kids as well. I'd not do it if I was working...I went from someone who didn't know where owt was to knowing where all the kids things are. They come to me now when they've lost anything. I'm more part of it all, part of their lives altogether...I can't remember when I last said, 'Where's my socks?'. And there's another thing, I can work the washing machine now, it always mystified me before."

Original Helping Role: Nineteen men had helped their wives with housework before becoming unemployed. Of these, seven continued to help out. They were somewhat embarrassed about doing what they saw as women's work but felt obliged to help,
"I relieve her of some of the work but we still argue over what I should do and we've been fighting over this for years. I did some, but as little as possible. Then when I got unemployed she said I had to tidy up and do some cooking. I was pressurised into it bit by bit. I saw injustice outside my house but not in it. Now I realise it's only fair. I do what I think is for me to do and only to my standards, not hers."

Seven changed to a more equal distribution of work loads and five exchanged roles with their wives to become responsible for housework. One man who had exchanged roles with his wife held very strong views on housework,

"I've thought about housework. I used to think it was the wife's responsibility and that as a good, caring husband I should help out a bit if she needed it. I thought that any man doing the housework was a queer. But once you do it and see what's involved you quick realise that it's not so easy nor pleasant, and I respect people who set their minds to it and do it, whether they're men or women. You see you can forget about it when you're at work and you come back and it's done. But with being here all the time, it's not like that. Someone really does have to do it. It's important for me to do it because I took on to care for my family when I got married and if I can't do it working, then I'll do it like this."

The idea of taking responsibility for the family through housework when employment is not available was shared by other men who had exchanged roles,

"I do almost all the housework. She never liked it anyway. It's just something I do, always have done. Not like now though. Now I think it's up to me and anyway, I like to keep busy and it's no big deal. I look at it this way, it's not real men's work, but it's work and I should be the worker in the family. Marg's
has the little ones to think about and I do the house. It works out quite well."

Men who had taken a more active role in housework were more likely to view a variety of household tasks independently of 'men' or 'women's' work and just to see them as 'work'.

Original Shared Pattern: Only four men could be described as equally sharing the responsibility for housework before unemployment and they continued this pattern afterwards,

"We work together as a team, we did before and I don't see any reason to change that."

An examination of the types of housework done by the 24 men clearly demonstrates differences in the way different housework tasks are conceived. Table 10.3 shows that more men do tasks they feel are men's work, or neither women's nor men's work. The data shows clear differences between men's and women's work. When men admitted to doing tasks they considered as women's work they had various strategies for dealing with the ambiguity concerned. Some men denied doing housework to their friends. Others were only happy to do it when their wives were out,

"I prefer to do it when she's out. And I never start until after 9 (am), even if I'm dying to get started on it. I try to keep it to a routine and if anyone comes I just stop altogether."

This man and others felt that being seen doing housework eroded their sense of masculinity. In addition, they kept housework to a routine which mirrored a normal working day, 9am to 5pm. None of the men did 'women's' housework in the evening or at weekends.

Participants who described tasks as neither men's nor women's work tended to emphasise tasks as 'work'. In this they stressed organisational skills involved, creative aspects and the physical
nature of the work. They also said that doing housework showed that they cared for their house and family and gave a sense of satisfaction.

Table 10.3 Housework Tasks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Women’s Work (%)</th>
<th>Men’s Work (%)</th>
<th>Neither (%)</th>
<th>% Men who do the work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washing dishes</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusting</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidying</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make tea/coffee</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoovering</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironing</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing clothes</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Cleaning</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wash windows</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House repairs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorating</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Being in the home, seeing the necessity of housework and feeling responsibility towards it all contributed to the men taking on housework tasks which their wives would otherwise have done. By designating it as 'work', as skilful, creative activity and indicative of a caring person, they were able to think very positively about housework. Those men most involved in housework also suggested that they identified more strongly with their home, were more familiar with it and comfortable in it than when they had been employed. Some were concerned about an erosion of their masculine
image within the female domain of home and housework. However, for all men concerned, doing housework had changed their basic relationship with their home from one in which home contained family and possessions and supported their leisure and relaxation requirements after work, to a source of work and of pride, concern and care, a creative opportunity and a lived-in family place.

5. Role and Rule Negotiation

Canter (1988) has argued that personal and social roles and related rules are linked to places. People may behave in places according to place based role-rule relationships. Indeed, links have been made between the form of the physical environment, cultural norms and interrelationships (Riess, 1981; Wilder and Shapiro, 1984). This is particularly so in the case of gender relationships and the family home (James, 1989; Madigan and Munro, 1990). Culturally defined role-taking within the home casts the wife as 'expressive follower' and husband as 'instrumental leader' (Parsons and Bales, 1955). As such, all housework undertaken by the man is generally seen as beyond the requirements of his role (Hunt, 1989). When use of the home has changed, as in unemployment, new role-rule relationships may need to be negotiated. Komarovsky's study (1940) suggests that a man's work based gender identity is disrupted in unemployment with consequent loss of respect and authority within the home. Data investigated so far has shown that new role-rule relationships emerged in relation to housework, but did not elaborate on the way in which they emerged. The process of negotiating transformations in role-rule relationships within the home are investigated here with respect to housework and control of the TV.

As the men discussed their role in the home and their housework activities it become clear that negotiations were constantly made between family members regarding responsibilities in the home. As husbands spent more time at home, some wives began to expect them
to do housework. This had caused arguments and disputes as traditional roles were challenged (cf Morris, 1990). Not only did some men feel uncomfortable with the female domain of housework, but they also felt that engaging in housework underscored the fact that they were unemployed. Thirteen men refused to be 'reduced' to housework. This reflects Komarovsky's (1940) finding that housework is seen as a symbol of male degradation, a finding which seemingly persevered over history.

Disputes were often resolved by the men electing to 'help out' but take no responsibility for organising the household of doing housework. Often they would be instructed to do particular tasks,

"Wife: It used to drive me mad. I'd be running around to get the dished and tidy and all that and he'd be sitting there bored. So I says to myself, 'He's got to chip in here'. So I says, 'Go to the shop and get this and that', I can't remember what. And when he comes back I says, 'Well, put it away' and it's gone on from there. He wouldn't do nowt at first, but now if I tell him he'll do it.

Husband: I don't remember much. I remember doing the shirts and getting more creases in than when I started and you says, 'Oh, give it here' and that was the end of that. But even now I suppose she's right, I do wait for my orders like."

Despite wives taking a lead role in organising housework, men were able to set rules about what kinds of housework they would and would not do. Some wives wanted a more active participation than simply helping out. They wanted husbands to take responsibility completely for some tasks in a more equal, sharing relationship,

"Wife: It's like he wants all the home comforts without any of the work. Well, I'm not his skivvy. It's got to be equal hasn't it. Not just one doing the whole lot... I'm sick to death of having to tell him all the time."
Disparity between role expectations in this household was evident,

"Husband: It's not right. I shouldn't have to be bothered with it, that's her job. If my mates seen what I do in here they'd laugh their socks off. My life wouldn't be worth living."

Clearly, this man drew on the traditional role model of family relationships at home and was uncomfortable even to transgress this by helping out in unemployment. Thus, just when the role of 'worker' has been lost through unemployment, the role of instrumental leader in the home may also be eroding. But not for men who take over the housework in a role exchange model. They took authority for domestic organisation, housework and rule setting, thereby substituting a dominant role position lost through employment with a dominant role position in the home.

This dominant role position is evident in other aspects of family life within the home. As participants talked of their life at home in unemployment, another instance of negotiation of role-rule relationships emerged: who has the best seat and dominates the TV. Most families maintained an inflexible seating arrangement in the living room. The fireside chair with command over the TV was invariably kept as the husbands chair. During times of employment, this chair was available to wives and children during normal working hours, but had to be vacated in the evening. Similarly, control of TV programmes was given over to husbands when they came in from work. Unemployment had upset this balance in seven homes. The men accepted family usage of their chair during the daytime and into the evening hours. They also relinquished sole control over the TV.

When reflecting on the reasons for this a glimpse of changing role-rule relations within the home emerged. In employment, as head of household, he had expected special treatment in return for being 'the breadwinner'. In unemployment, special treatments were not demanded of right and daytime use of the home mitigated against complete control of coveted family positions. Rules over who sits in
the best chair and who commands the TV were gradually re-negotiated through everyday usage and familiarity.

6. Processes of Home Appropriation

The home in unemployment was experienced as a personally meaningful and significant place. In previous research, home and identity have been interlinked (Sixsmith, 1986; Sixsmith, 1988; Cooper-Marcus, 1989). Similarly, in the present study, participants felt that home was part of them and they were part of home. In this, there was no sense of separability of person and place and a process of home appropriation had occurred. But how does home appropriation come about? What processes are involved in transactions of person and place which result in place appropriation? An examination of the qualitative data on home gained through interviews, yesterday diaries and the multiple sorting task gave some indications of possible processes involved. These are based on cultivation (Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981) and action within the home, bodily experience of the home and cognitive evaluation of the home.

i) Cultivation and Action

Creating the home, using and tending to it are expressive of cultivation and action within the home. Home making, home use and home maintenance are all considered as ways in which cultivation and action in the home were expressed by participants in the study.

Home Making: Perhaps the most obvious examples of the cultivation process are where men have decorated and built features in their homes. Pahl (1984) documents the rise of DIY in unemployment with the result that people feel they have helped create their home.
environment. Indeed, people take great pride in their home-making efforts (Pahl and Wallace, 1988) and the participants in this study were no exception. One man described building a breakfast bar in his council house,

"It's great when you've got something like this. It's interesting getting the stuff you need for it so that it's the cheapest, working it out, getting started. Once I get started I won't stop until I'm finished. It's quite exciting, getting it so it looks right. We might not be able to by anything new for the house but we can make it nice, with this it's making it special."

Planning, creating and maintaining the garden also contributed to a sense of tending for the home and making the home a special personal and family place,

"The front (garden) was getting trampled on by kids and dogs and all sorts, so I fenced it off to begin with. And then when I looked at it, I thought I could make something out of it. I was out all hours. The trellis went up one of the first things and then I got some tubs and that, all for nothing and now me and the kids are out here more than we are inside. It's only small but it's somewhere we can all benefit from."

As Gullestad (1984, p97) says,

"By decorating their home the family members symbolise their unity, and elaborate on the values of sharing and togetherness in the charged context of hearth and home."

In creating their home, the men were also creating an image of themselves as caring, home-centred men and skilled workers. Moreover, they could enjoy a feeling of having provided for their families. The focus for developing personally valued self identities was increasingly the home rather than the employment workplace. Knowing how DIY, gardening and decorating projects had been
constructed, the problems and the details with the work contributed to the tying together of person, family and home. The men were saying more than, "I did that", but,

"that is part of me, part of me went into that."

However, home making makes a strong claim on time, resources and emotions (Allan and Crow, 1989) and not all unemployed men are able to transform a house into their own home through building it. For some families, securing even the most basic requirements around the home could be a problem (Hardey, 1989). Half finished, or non-started jobs around the house were a constant reminder of poverty and unemployment,

"We couldn't afford to get anybody in so I had to put the panelling up, but it wasn't right and then I had to pull it all off. And when I got it done the plumbing went and it all had to come off again. By the time it was finished it looked bloody awful, just like the rest of the place. I could have cried."

Home Use: Just using the home is an important part of everyone's personal history (Nuttgens, 1989). Eating, sleeping, watching TV and many other activities listed earlier are closely associated with the home. Being able to do what you want in the privacy of your own home is an important affordance of the home based not only on cultural and family norms, but also on the specification of the physical environment (cf Crow, 1989; Roberts, 1989). Home as a personal, social, instrumental and physical entity is continually in the process of being used as a resource or tool which facilitates everyday life. As such, the home becomes an extension of the person, a part of their capabilities and a facilitator of lifestyle,

"My home has got most everything in it that I need to run my life. All my things, my bike and that. I don't need to go out if I don't want to. You see, I don't think home is just a house,
Intentional use of the home to gain particular goals can be contrasted against habitual home use. Seamon (1979) addressed the unconscious nature of habitual use in 'body ballets'. A 'taken-for-granted' relationship exists in which the person and place know each other in a special sense without conscious cognitive processing at every stage of their transaction.

The unintended consequences of intentional or habitual use of the home is the investment of meaning. Using the home to maintain a particular lifestyle may contribute to personal identification with the home. An example from one unemployed man's life illustrates this point. Frank said he had become selfish since he became unemployed. Selfishness manifested itself in his daily home life. His children were deprived of toys. In addition, heating, use of electricity and TV were tightly controlled to conserve money. He felt his actions in depriving his family of an adequately comfortable home life were selfish since his own needs were not affected in unemployment. For him, the poverty of unemployment, family and home were intricately linked to the way he saw himself as a person.

**Home Maintenance**: Maintaining the home can be described as caring for the home by ensuring its physical upkeep through household repairs and everyday housework. As the unemployed men became more involved in the everyday necessity of housework and repairs, they became more familiar with their home. They came to know the organisation of the home, where everything was kept and how everything worked. Their intimate knowledge of the home involved an appreciation of the work involved in maintaining a home. For many people, their whole lifestyle is built around the twin foundations of employment and home (Devine, 1989). With the loss of the workplace in unemployment the home could be reinterpreted as a workplace with which they felt a sense of belonging as 'working' and family men.
So far, cultivating and acting in the home have been explored as ways in which home appropriation comes about. The next section focuses less on action and more on perception as a process of home appropriation.

ii) Bodily Experiences of Home

In this section it is argued that what people see around them, what they hear, smell and touch all confirm their sense of home as part of themselves. The predominant model of the person as a cognitive being (Liben et al, 1981) or as Seamon (1982) puts it, a 'walking brain' is contrasted with the phenomenological experience of home. In this, the significance of cognitive intentionality is enriched by attention to the phenomenology of the body (cf Zaner, 1971). Not only does the body fix people dimensionally in space and time but its size, shape and sensory processes mediate experience of the world (Straus, 1966; Seamon, 1982). Body-knowledge, Seamon (1979) suggests, expresses the habituality of body in place. Sustained contact with place results in a person being aware of all the smells, touches, sounds and sights of the place without any necessity for conscious cognitive processing of them. Thus, it is through the body that the phenomenology of the person-home unity can be understood. Merleau-Ponty (1962, p235) says of this,

"My body is the fabric into which all objects are woven and it is, at least in relation to the perceived world, the general instrument of my comprehension."

Cranz's (1989) study of body practises and their implications for home as a sensorium and retreat points the way towards an understanding of the sensory nature of home. Although interviews with the unemployed did not directly address this, sound, smell and touch were all mentioned in discussions of home experience. Some
implications of these are presented, although a full and detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Close contact with the home in unemployment had opened out the full experience of the daytime as well as evening home. Men began to recognise morning sounds associated with callers to the home and afternoon sounds as distinct aspects of their home environment. The sound of the TV in the evening was experienced as an indication that the home was a busy, lived-in, social environment. TV in the morning signified boredom, time filling and lack of social contact when wives were shopping and children at school. The sound of washing dishes reminded the men of domesticity and the fact that they were at home rather than at work. In Schafer's (1977) terms, there were various symbolic sounds of home. Dish washing was one, hoovering another, the clock ticking and the TV were others which men commented on as reassuring sounds not just of a home, but their home.

Certain smells were also recognised as unique to their home. Cooking smells, the smell of the bathroom and of babies symbolised the essence of family life and togetherness at home. The importance of touch surfaced when people talked of beds and comfortable chairs. It is in this context that some men talked of a sense of belonging not just to family, but to home.

"You know you're in your own home when you come in and sit down in your own chair. It's moulded to the way you sit..."

Although this data is incomplete, it does indicate the role of bodily experiences such as smell, touch and sound in the appropriation of home as a thoroughly learned place of deep personal significance and belonging.
iii) Cognitive Evaluation and the Home

Proshansky et al (1983) developed the concept of place identity as a sub-structure of self identity founded upon cognitions about the physical world. Cognitions represent all manner of memories, feelings about, ideas, attitudes, values, preferences and meanings related to places. This concept relies heavily on cognitive evaluation of places. In relation to home Feldman (1989) has used the concept of place identity to broaden the theoretical conceptualisation of people-place bonds with actual home places.

Canter (1983, 1988) provides some indications of links between place and identity through processes of place evaluation. People, he says, evaluate places with particular purposes in mind. Evaluation may rely on expectations of places and memories of previous places experienced in similar ways. Certainly, evaluations of home in unemployment were predicated to some extent on comparison of the present home with the way home had been in employment. The men reflected on aspects of their homes they felt signified their past and present aims in life.

In both past and present, the men had sought to establish and keep a well-appointed comfortable family home. As such, physical deterioration of the home was one of the main foci of home evaluation in unemployment. The men contrasted a previously clean, tidy, well-kept home with an inferior, sometimes uncomfortable home in unemployment. This reflected badly, they felt, on themselves as dwellers in the home,

"The decorating depresses me, big things don't...We spend weeks arguing over little things...spark plugs all last week. It was never like that. We had good times, our Daniel being born, we brought him back here and everything was bright and new, was great. Now, I'm here all the time. The telly broke and it was stolen like, so I couldn't take it back to the shop or owt.

-322-
We were three weeks without a telly. That's just it, that's me, that's my life now."

Alternatively, they remembered a home with which they had little knowledge and contact because they were oriented towards the world of work. This compared to their intimate and enjoyed experience of home in unemployment as they became more home centred not just in the amount of time they spent at home, but also in the way in which they worked in and cared for their home. Home became for some, not an alternative to work, but a focus of a new way of living.

Moreover, the home acted as a 'storehouse of memories' (Sixsmith, 1988) which functioned to bring the lived past into present day life. But more than this, the physical, material context of the home in relation to memories served to emphasise continuity of the self. One man articulated this point very clearly,

"It's (home) been like this as long as I can remember, we don't chop and change round much. We got that settee years ago now, when I was on good money. I don't expect we'll get another one unless things buck up. But things like that aren't really important, me and Liz have been here nigh on thirty years, that's important."

The men reasoned that although their lives had changed dramatically in unemployment, underneath they were the same people, living in the same house with the same sorts of life aims. In this sense, through the process of memory, the home helps the person to maintain a coherent story about themselves (Korpela, 1989). Despite the changes that unemployment had brought to the experience of home and to their view of themselves as family men, the person-home relationship was very much a stable feature of their past and ongoing lives.
7. Conclusions

In this chapter, transitions in person-home meanings were examined through processes underlying the negotiation of home meaning and use in unemployment. An investigation of activities in the home and the use of rooms produced evidence for important links between the meaning of action and the meaning of place. The use and meaning of particular rooms in the house pointed to the spatial constriction of the unemployed within the home, as well as indicating that the same place at different times can have very different meanings. The daytime living room symbolised unemployment while the same place at night symbolised normal family life.

The activities engaged in were neither spectacular nor varied, however, the meaning of such mundane activities as making a cup of tea or watching TV were of critical importance in understanding why the experience of home had changed in unemployment. Watching TV contributed by filling time and combating boredom, but it also symbolised for the men their status of unemployment and their lack of value within society. Socialising and entertaining were not always the pleasant occasions they would seem to be. Entertaining was something that long term unemployed men could ill afford and lay themselves open to criticism. These sorts of actions were specific to the home environment, talking with friends can happen in many places, but the meaning of the socialising event was influenced by the environment in which it took place. Only in the home was the action-environment phenomenon of 'socialising' a framework for criticism. As Canter (1988) suggests, a strong link between action and place was most fruitful in understanding what was going on in everyday life at home.

A focus on housework revealed the complexities of relating action and place together. Understanding the housework-home as a unit of analysis involved a study of the way in which cultural and social expectations pervade the home together with an understanding of
reasons behind performing housework. Interestingly, while some men felt that doing housework represented an enforced step into the female domain of home (cf Tognoi, 1979), others were able to define housework as work and so retain for themselves the image of a working man.

The issue of housework touched on the ways in which role-rule relationships within the home can change in unemployment. With husbands playing a larger part in the everyday maintenance of the home, their special status as family provider can begin to erode. This was evident for some men in their loss of authority over the best seat and dominance of the TV. Other men kept their position of authority within the home by exchanging roles with their wives and thereby gaining control of the home environment.

Processes of home appropriation were also investigated as ways in which meaningful person-home relations come about in unemployment. Three processes were discussed. Cultivation and action described how unemployment brought men into a deeper, more caring relationship with their home in creating, using and maintaining their homes. In this sense, cultivation of the home can be seen as 'inventive coping' (Fuhrer, 1991), a solving of culturally determined yet personal problems. Spending more time at home was also an important factor when men began to recognise the sounds, smells and touch of the daytime and evening home. Such intimate knowledge of home seemed to forge a strong attachment between the men and their homes, regardless of the positive or negative nature of that attachment.

Alongside bodily experiences of home were cognitive evaluations of the home. By comparing the employment home with home experienced in unemployment the men were able to see the continuity of themselves in the permanence of the home while recognising that unemployment had changed the experience of home as much as it had changed their view of themselves.
Thus far, the analysis of the meaning and use of places in unemployment has concentrated on the integration of new places into the geographical lifeworld, and on transformations of existing person-home relationships. The next chapter looks closely at the social and psychological implications of losing highly valued places from the geographical lifeworld: the former workplace; and the pub.
Chapter 11

Lost Places In Unemployment: Their Meaning In Everyday Life

1. Introduction

2. The Meaning of Work and the Former Workplace

3. Loss of the Workplace

4. Person-Workplace Relations in Context

5. The Pub: Its Use and Meaning

6. Loss of the Pub

7. Person-Pub Relations in Context

8. Conclusions
As Lawrence (1987) points out in his book on housing and home, places exist within a temporal perspective. Each place in relation to people has an historical past, an everyday present and a future. Each person in relation to places has a history of place usage, a present geographical context to their lives and a future. As their life unfolds they lose contact with some places and encounter new places. Understanding person-place relations requires a grasp of this temporal perspective. Already this thesis has considered the involvement of people in new places in unemployment. The DSS and the underground economy workplace were explored in this respect. The present chapter deals with the social and psychological implications of important places lost from the geographical lifeworld.

Two places are investigated: the former workplace and the pub. Once the place is no longer used, does it fail to exist for the person? Or does it maintain social and psychological functions? The data presented in this chapter indicates that the former workplace and pub do retain social and psychological functions which affect experience of the world.

Research into the implications of unemployment has often assumed that work (employment) is a key aspect of everyday life and its loss is a devastating experience (Shepard, 1981; Shamir, 1986; Winefield and Tiggeman, 1989). Researchers are looking for the negative psychological impact of loss of work. However, Near et al (1983) have found that job satisfaction accounts for only 1% of life satisfaction. In fact for many people, work is rather unpleasant or downright dangerous (Laurance, 1982). Laurance points out that construction workers are killed at work at a rate of 13 per 100,000, miners at 46, railway workers at 40 and manufacturing generally below 10. Then there are risks in the workplace due to chemicals used, risks of accident and cancer (Laurance, 1982). Occupational stress is another well documented area (Cherry, 1984; Firth and
Shapiro, 1986) which testifies that employment is not always a positive daily experience. Nevertheless, there are manifest (financial rewards) and latent benefits to employment (Jahoda, 1982) which testify to the importance of employment in everyday life.

The importance of work and the workplace have been demonstrated throughout this thesis. In terms of geographical context, loss of the physical workplace and time spent there forms the grounding from which new patterns of place usage emerge. Greater use of organisational places such as the DSS and the home environment were the result. Some people were able to replace a former workplace with a underground economy workplace. They emphasised the importance of the work activity in person-place relations and looked on the underground economy workplace as a mixture of positive and negative meanings and experiences. During the interviews it became clear that the former workplace was still important to the men. Both unstructured interview data and multiple sorting task data confirm that the former workplace played a role in setting expectations for the person's future working life. But more than this, conceptualisations of the former workplace and its loss signified psychological, social and spatial problems people struggled with in unemployment.

The importance of the former workplace is paralleled by the significance of the pub in unemployment. As a leisure environment the pub provides for entertainment, enjoyment and social relationships. However, some unemployed men had stopped using the pub (see chapter 7) and others had drastically reduced the frequency of visits and time spent there. How did the loss of the pub from their geographical lifeworld affect their experience of unemployment?

Loss of the former workplace and pub are investigated in this chapter through an analysis of place meaning related to life circumstances of unemployment. It suggests that places which are
not part of everyday life, but part of the person's history can play a role in their present day life.

2. The Meaning of Work and the Former Workplace

There is a substantial literature on the meaning of work or more particularly employment (e.g., Cook et al., 1981), stress at work (Cherry, 1984; Firth and Shapiro, 1986), working roles and careers (Fineman and Payne, 1981; Sheehy, 1983) and new technology (Butera and Thurman, 1984; Grandjean, 1984). As stated above, employment is not always a pleasant experience. As well as accident risks involved in attending workplaces, there are also health risks from stressful working practises and possible unpleasant working relationships (Cherry, 1984; Firth and Shapiro, 1986). The measurement and treatment of occupational stress is a major area for research and treatment (Fimian, 1984; Firth, 1985). Measures of job satisfaction show that for a substantial proportion of employed people, job satisfaction can be low. For instance, Furnham and Schaeffer (1984) have found that poor person-environment fit results in lower levels of job satisfaction and higher levels of mental distress. There is some evidence to suggest that people who had stressful jobs improve psychologically with the loss of the workplace on unemployed (Warr, 1983). Certainly, some of the men in the present study felt this way. Indeed, the situation is serious enough to provoke in Germany a governmental response in the 'humanization of work' programme. This sets out safety norms and standards, humanized work technologies, paradigms and models for work organisation and job design and encouraging the application of scientific knowledge and practical experience (Wilpert and Quintanailla, 1984).

Despite the fact that employment can be a less than satisfying daily experience, the Protestant work ethic (Weber, trans 1958) still exists in Britain (Furnham and Bland, 1983). People may dislike the work
they do, but are distressed without it (Jahoda, 1979). It would seem, as evidence mounts in the psychology of unemployment, that people do want and are committed to employment (Stafford et al., 1980). Employment can be seen as a central life interest and an important source of values, identity and of structure to life (Kelvin, 1981), a source of money enabling enjoyed activities to take place (Near et al., 1983) and as Jahoda, 1982) points out, there are other latent benefits to work: imposition of a time structure; regularly shared experiences and contacts with people outside of the nuclear family; linking a person with goals and purposes which transcend their own; defining aspects of personal identity and status; and enforcing regular activity.

In all of this work, there has been little consideration of the role of the workplace in the social-psychology of everyday life. Even studies of person-environment fit concentrate mostly on the 'job' or organisational climate as the environment (cf. Furnham and Schaeffer, 1984). Jahoda (1982) makes a very pertinent point when discussing the significance of employment: employment is a person's strongest tie to reality. It provides links through the environment which prevent the person becoming overwhelmed by fantasy and emotion. The focus of employment is the workplace. The workplace is where work is conducted, it brings working people together within physical environments dedicated to the completion of work. The physical context of work affects both efficiency and satisfaction (Oborne and Gruneberg (1983).

Only when the workplace is thought to promote ill health such as the sick building syndrome, or poor efficiency, has the focus of attention turned to the workplace as an important factor (Oborne and Gruneberg, 1983; Ryd, 1989). However, place identity theory (Proshansky et al. (1983) would suggest that the work and identity are bound together through the medium of the socio-physical workplace. Indeed, early work using ideas of appropriation of space has described how people come to take on the workplace as part of
their sense of being (Fischer, 1976; Davis and Altman, 1976). If this is the case, then former workplaces may retain a significance in everyday life.

To understand the role of the former workplace in unemployment, particularly relating the identity and well being, it is necessary to understand how men related to their workplace when there and what it meant to them. Accordingly, the unemployed men were interviewed about their work histories which produced data on the former workplace together with the multiple sorting task data concerning the former workplace. This gave a picture of the integration of work and the workplace, action and environment (cf Huber, Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1984). The physical environment in which work activities took place was as much a part of the meaning and experience of work as were the activities themselves. Work activities are goal directed components of real life situations which alter the physical and social environment in more or less intended ways (Hacker, 1981). They also have the potential to affect the person such that they see themselves very much in terms of their working activities and their workplace. One man expresses this relationship fluently, despite eight years of unemployment,

"Obviously the most important things are your home and your work. You need these. Your work is how you earn your money. When people ask who I am, I'm a glassblower. I'm still a glassblower. I mean, you can't go to the same place hours and hours everyday, day in day out for thirty eight years like I did without it being part of you. The glassworks was one of the only places I really wanted to be."

Just as the meaning of the underground economy workplace is intimately bound up in the meaning of work (see chapter 8), so the former workplace also derives meaning from the work it afforded,

"It was so boring, my job. I had to think of something else all the time I was there to keep me sane. I did all my creative
thinking there. But it's a special place all the same, with the types you get, mostly chauvinistic, who work there and the bosses think they're really something. Some of the workers were so limited and tired and all they wanted to do was to forget the yard as soon as they were out of it. You had no choice really. I mean, you had to be there to do your work. I didn't like the work and I hated the place but the work was there and no getting away from it."

The atmosphere of the workplace was often described as unique, a special place. The sounds of industry was unique as a soundscape (Schafer, 1977), the heat and smells all contributed to a working atmosphere, inherent to both work and the workplace and linking the two inextricably together. As in the analysis of home (chapter 10), bodily sensory experiences of the workplace provide a link through which familiarity may grow into workplace appropriation, the development of deep personal significances and a sense of belonging. The whole atmosphere was built on the foundation of working activities and the machines and materials of the job. At work, family, friends and even emotions were said to take a 'backseat' as they were not relevant to working life. Indeed, some men experienced the workplace as a haven from family difficulties and drew sharp distinctions between home life of rest and work life of activity,

"For it to be work you have got to have a place you go to. It's got to be official. There's no place there for your family and suchlike. That's not what you're there for. No-one wants to listen to your problems at work, do they? In fact it's a place you can get away from all that. I've worked on many a building site and there's no place like it. You see, you go on and there's all the gear you need to get on with it. Nothing else. No, a man should go out to work and come back in the evening. Come back home. For me that is, you go to work and you do your graft and you come home and rest."
The unique quality of the workplace atmosphere, the social relationships and the working practices was appropriated as part of life. Sights and sounds, the development of relationships and the activities of working combined together to produce a sense of familiarity and belonging. Time and again the men would refer to their former workplace as 'my place' even after lengthy unemployment. Work and the workplace formed the basis on which the men could build their identity,

"My work was the best part of my life. I only really felt like I was me at work. Maybe at home too. But at work, yes. I'm an engineer, it's the type of person I am.. It was something I had all of my own, separate to my family. I still read about engineering to keep up with things, but that's no compensation for having nowhere to go to every morning."

For some, the workplace was a place where they could be a different person to the 'family man at home', a person with an official role in life, a person with skills and a value to society.

"...they expected you to get on with your job, they had confidence that you could do it (pipefitter) so you had a bit of self respect."

The workplace generated a unique atmosphere, purposeful working activities, an immersion in a working atmosphere, a particular sense of self, feelings of independence and competence which the men felt were not forthcoming anywhere else. The workplace was expressive of working culture, working activities and their symbolic value (Boesch, 1980). The workplace can be seen as the socio-physical embodiment of an action field, highly structure by meaningful action goals, and culturally grounded (Boesch, 1980).

Moreover, a social dimension was evident in the way the men thought of work and the workplace. Job related stress and dissatisfaction is often a product, in part, of conflict in social relationships (O'Reilly
and Caldwell 1985; Hartley and Kelly, 1986). Social relations with colleagues and bosses were discussed by the men alongside characteristics of the workforce and socially grounded emotional atmospheres.

"Well, going to work you know was where I met all my mates. Not my drinking mates like, but..well, it's like this, you don't just go to work for the money do you? You go to see them all. You complain about it like, Monday mornings. But once you're there and you get into it it's not so bad. You do a bit of larking about and that. It brings out a different side of you. You see, I think it's just all the people together, all come together in the one place every day. You never get them together except at work."

This men and others hinted at the role social relations at work play in defining the self. Some of the men suggested they were a different sort of person at work. Others suggested that different aspects of their personality were displayed in social relationships in the workplace. However, while many of the men enjoyed their social relations at work, others were irritated and dismayed,

"In the streets you have normal people. But on the building site you have crude obscenities. I'm not like that. I never got on with any of them. It was like I had two lives: work and home. I never was cut out to work there."

Sometimes the workplace was described solely in terms of workforce dissatisfactions,

"It wasn't a nice environment to have to work in. The foreman wanted bribing for holiday pay. It was a horrible atmosphere, derelict. It's incised into my mind. Remarks you heard, allegations..'he's no good', 'can't do your job'..that sort of thing, just pure hatred and stupidity. It was a necessary evil to be there and suffer for a while.. It was hell on earth."
Even when people are deeply unhappy about being at work, they are forced, through instrumental, financial reasons to attend. Not surprisingly, the workplace was conceived of in terms of their former financial objectives. Money was a main motivating force,

"I was a porter in a hospital once. They treated me like I was an irresponsible child at that place...until they wanted something out of you for nothing. I was always tired, all day and all evening. All my life I told myself I was thick, that I couldn't get on, but I'm not. The job didn't stretch me and the people kept me down. The only thing I liked about the place was that it was where I earned my bread. I only went for that."

Despite the varied nature of the workplaces discussed, there was a core of meanings associated with the workplace which were held by most of the participants. The workplace was conceived of as a locus of physical, personal, social and instrumental experiences, distinct in itself and very different to the home. The strength of feeling which came through in the interviews and the close psychological association with the former workplace after years of unemployment testifies to the continuing importance of the workplace as a place of deep psychological significance to the unemployed person. The next section explores how loss of the workplace as an environmental context for life experiences affected the unemployed men.

3. Loss of the Workplace

During the multiple sorting task the men were asked how important their former workplace was in their present day life, 41% of the men said it was quite or very important. These men all tended to be older between 41 and 60 years old (Chi Sq 7.856, significant at the 0.01 level). There were no significant relationships between feeling
the former workplace is important and general mental health, anxiety or depression. The men felt the former workplace was important because it was part of themselves and their history and because it offered them credibility with family and friends as valuable members of society, and a wealth of social relationships,

"When you're going out to work you feel like somebody. Your family respect you. That all changes when you're stuck at home and things start going downhill. Nobody cares who you are anymore if you're just unemployed. They think you're good for nothing. But if you say you're a welder, they know that you're a skilled man, even if you don't work."

Some of the men experienced a deep sense of loss when they found they were no longer required to attend their workplace, and described the loss almost in terms of grieving in great sadness and a deep emotional longing to be back in the place itself. Archer and Rhodes (1987) described men's reactions to unemployment in terms of grieving but did not relate this to the workplace. Yet grief often has a physical focus, usually loss of a person, but sometimes loss of a place. Grieving has been posited as a reaction people have when they leave places with which they feel a deep sense of belonging, such as the home and neighbourhood (Fried and Gleicher, 1961). It may be that loss of the personally significant workplace is greeted with a similar response. The strong emotional sense of loss stemmed from a desire to be associated with the workplace and its related sense of identity as 'working men'. Indeed 44% of the men identified very strongly with their former workplace and six of the men still visited it in unemployment.

Identification with the workplace was unrelated to mental health in unemployment. Older men (41 to 60 years old) tended to identify with the workplace most often (Chi Sq 4.277, significant at the 0.05 level). It may be that older men want to cling to former valued sources of identity given the prospect of the end of their working life in retirement, whereas younger men turn to other sources of
identification such as their family and domestic life. Identification with the former workplace was also associated with men who had been unemployed for shorter periods (between one and two years, Chi Sq 4.423, significant at the 0.05 level). It may be that as unemployment lengthens, the work identity becomes less important. As Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) comment, how long can a person define themselves in terms of the employment they have lost? This study suggests a time scale of around two years of unemployment.

The men explained that only in their former workplace could they feel associated with a work culture,

"You don't realise until after it's gone what it was like and how important it was to you. I don't mean just the job, but doing it, the skill of driving safely, the cab .. comradeship on the road between us drivers, everything."

The men who identified strongly with the former workplace found it difficult to conceive of any form of 'real' work outside of the employment and the workplace. Men who did not associate work exclusively with the workplace were free to see themselves as working men in a range of places including the home.

At a very basic level, they had lost the locus of many of their everyday activities and interests. This had a devastating effect on two men in the sample who had based their everyday and social life around the workplace. In unemployment they had increasingly retreated into their homes with little outside contact,

"It's gone now, in the past. I don't have much to do with it. I used to go to work and then do a bit of shopping afterwards or maybe visit the lad like (his son). But I don't do any of that now. In fact I rarely go out at all. Just the shops now and then. When I stop and think about it, I feel it quite badly."

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In addition, the men felt they had lost the place that symbolised their working identity, their status in society and their pride in themselves. Without a workplace some men felt they were less manly in a number of ways. Firstly, they no longer used the language which was part and parcel of their workplace.

Secondly, many missed topics of conversation which had been common at work. Conversations about their trade, politics and sports were infrequently pursued outside of the work environment,

"I miss the banter and the arguments as well like. I just miss the lads. You don't get the chance to have a good talk with your mates when you're unemployed. You've got to watch what you say with women around."

Finally, some men felt they should work, but with no specific workplace, work was impossible. They could no longer practice the skills which had been the foundation of their sense of pride. Many were concerned about loss of skills making future employment even more difficult to secure,

"God, it was hard work, yes. Doing shift work, all three shifts. It was hot and dirty, men's work, and all you could think of was getting it done and going for a pint. The work was alright, it wasn't all the same and there was a variety of jobs, skilled jobs to do. But I've been out so long now (8 years) I've lost it all. I don't think I could hold down a skilled job now. And that's saying something because without your trade you're nothing. You're not likely to get work, are you? It speaks for itself."

In short, they no longer had access to a place in which they could take on a masculine and socially valued working role as distinct from the caring roles of husband and father. Loss of the workplace was a physical symbol of the loss of work, of working relationships, pride and confidence.
For 18% of the men (n=8), loss of the workplace was a relief from the stress of poor working relations, tasks, or an unpleasant physical environment.

"It was great when I left. I knew I would never have to go back there, to pettiness and menial tasks. It was boring work, tedious, easy, nothing to stretch your mind, no decisions, no responsibility. I'm glad it's gone. The place is unimportant completely to me now. I can well do without it."

"I went just to earn money and exist. They were crude, stupid people. The weather was a big thing. Bad weather and bad working conditions...and bad health...It was dangerous work and you were always told what to do and you got paid for it and you went home and started living afterwards. I want to be working again, but bricklaying, not on the sites."

These men talked of the freedom and independence they felt having been released from the necessity of attending their former workplace. This sense of independence was based on freedom from the spatial constriction of the workplace which enforced on them undesired social relations and work activities.

4. The Pub: Its Use and Meaning

Unemployment has often been associated with a restricted social environment (Trew and Kilpatrick, 1984). Warr (1984) found that while some social contacts had increased in unemployment such as spending time with neighbours and friends, unemployed people did report a constriction in social activities which required money such as going on trips to coast or country, going to the cinema and going to the pub. Indeed, pub visits decreased most among middle aged men especially when they had been out of work for long periods. The potential significance of the pub in unemployment lies in its
restorative and supportive qualities (Kaplan, 1983). A place of relaxation where friends enjoy each others company, information and goods are exchanged. In Oldenberg and Brissett's (1980) terms the pub can be seen as the 'third place' whose significance in everyday life follows the home and the workplace. With the workplace gone, the pub may become a highly significant environment in unemployment.

In the present study, thirteen men had stopped using the pub altogether in unemployment. Those who continue to use the pub, did so with the objectives of getting out of the house, forgetting unemployment, relaxation and filling time. None of the sample reported increased use of the pub and many said they visited the pub much less frequently and for shorter periods while unemployed. On average the men visited pubs less than once a week and tended to spend on average two hours there. Some only went to celebrate special occasions or restricted their visits to lunchtimes.

The men who continued to use the pub were in good physical health (Chi Sq 7.633, significant at the 0.0 level) and tended to enjoy a range of activities in unemployment (Chi Sq 3.537, just failing to reach significant). There were no associations between pub use and mental health. It would seem that people who are in good physical health and are generally active make use of the pub, but statistically this does not influence mental health. This is interesting given that the pub is often seen as a place of relaxation and enjoyment. It may be that people do not go to the pub often or long enough to derive mental health benefits or that place experience in the pub can be a negative one. Since none of the men were heavy pub users it was not possible to test the first proposition, but it was possible to look at the second proposition. In order to do this, experience of the pub was analysed.

In unemployment, the pub began to take on different meanings for the men. Formally it had been a source of lively social contact with friends and workmates at relatively little expense. It was a place to
discuss football, politics, sports, family and work related problems. A place to have a drink, enjoy a laugh and a place to escape from the pressures of work and family.

In unemployment, experience of the pub was altered. The pub signified a lifestyle of employment where men could afford a drink, mix with workmates and talk about 'ale, women and work'. Friday night out is a feature of the North East when men go drinking with friends. Saturdays are often reserved for drinking with wives and girlfriends. Once unemployed, the institution of the Friday night and Saturday night out could not always be maintained and some of the men felt estranged from the pub because of this,

"I always went out with my mates on a Friday night, always until this. Now I can count on one hand the nights I've been out this year. I've lost touch with the lads down the local. On a Friday, I still feel like it should be my night out, but I can't keep it up".

Going to the pub was viewed as a sign of normality, a normal leisure pastime and a link with a previous employment lifestyle. However, visits to the pub could no longer be taken for granted and increasingly they had to be carefully planned. Drinks were rarely bought without men thinking of the financial consequences,

"It was one of the first things that hit me was having to count the money in my pocket in the pub."

The men had adopted a number of strategies to make an evening in the pub cheaper,

"On Saturdays the women used to drink shorts and we'd have pints, but it's all halves now. We drink much less now than we used to. I haven't but some have been on orange juice before, we're all watching our pennies. The other thing we do no is go
later, like about 9 (pm) instead of 7 (pm) and it's nearly empty at dinnertime."

Furthermore, long standing practises and routines in the pub were disrupted. The normal rule within a group of friends in the pub was for each person to purchase drinks in turn for everyone in the company. Buying a round of drinks for friends involved showing them that you were willing to pay to be in their company and share an evening together. All but one of the men in the sample said they could not afford to buy rounds. This had psychological implications,

"It's different now. When you've got a job you can say, 'What'll you have, I'll get it', but now you can't. It's all buying your own. You're just sitting there and this one will get up and get a pint, then the other one will get his and you've just got to do the same. It looks as if you're all tight or skint. And I feel tight and guilty if I get mine in and there's someone sitting without. We don't even pass cigarettes around now, you know. It's cheaper this way but it spoils it...If you've done a good days graft your pint tastes different somehow. I've never properly enjoyed a pint since I've been unemployed."

This man and others spoke of a changed atmosphere in the pub, one which reflected the depression, frustrations and hopelessness of unemployment. They could no longer escape from their worries in the pub as just being there created worries in itself,

"I know most of them gets in. I sometimes think, 'He's lucky', if he's got a job, but no hard feelings like. You wish you had a job and had some money, but you haven't so you get on with it. It's got so I don't feel comfortable in there anymore and I feel even worse when I come out and think on what I've spent."

"You go to the pub to get away from it all but you can't, you're in a different place but you are still in the thick of it.
It's all going on around you and in you. It's hard getting the balance right."

Along with instrumental aspects (drinking) and personal, psychological experiences, social relationships in the pub also undergo transformations. Becoming visible and identified as unemployed, accepting charity, sympathy and being seen or treated as socially inferior through unemployment was a possible outcome of visiting the pub,

"It can be full of posers flashing tenners over the bar. They think money is everything and they look down on you cos you're unemployed. I never go unless I can buy my own pint, I won't accept charity off nobody, not even my best mate".

Men were unable to share a night out with their wives and enjoy each others company outside of the home. Furthermore, close contact was lost between regulars who see each other less often and feelings of guilt can intrude on the enjoyment of company,

"I used to be out three times a week and the odd night to the club. Now I say in most of the time. I miss a Friday night. I makes all the days the same when you can't look forward to a night out. When I do go, they all say 'Hello stranger' in the local and I'm still thinking I should be spending this money on something else.. And to tell the truth, I don't have a lot to say to them anymore. I'm missing out on life."

The pub as a locus of discussion was also affected by unemployment. The men felt that without a job they had little to talk about. Most would not discuss unemployment at a personal level,

"...we don't talk about our problems because you're not interesting if you're moaning all the time. There's a limit to the amount of sympathy you get, that's if you want it in the first place, and I don't."
Moreover, the men felt that other people in the pub were misjudging their situation,

"I go when I get so pissed off, so I go for a change, somewhere to switch off and relax. And then people say, 'You're doing alright, I seen you in the pub'. They don't know the half of it. It's painful to go in and face that when you've no confidence."

Despite such negative experiences, or the possibility of such experiences, many of the men (55%) felt the pub was a very or quite important place in their lives. One man reflected the views of many when he said,

"Outside of the house, this is the only place I want to be."

52% listed the pub as a place they most enjoyed. 36% claimed to identify strongly with the pub as a place which reflected their own needs and desires. They were sociable, friendly men who enjoyed mixing with friends and 'having a laugh'. They were men who were active in unemployment, enjoying a range of hobbies and activities (Chi Sq 3.537, not quite reaching statistical significance). The pub offered the right social environment for the expression of this aspect of themselves. The affordances of the pub matched the goals of the men, to be active, to enjoy themselves, to meet with friends and to enjoy a drink,

"The pub is part of my life. You've got to have a drink and a good laugh or otherwise what are we living for. You've got to grab any enjoyment that comes your way."

The pub also functioned as a place in which contacts could lead to work (employment or underground economy) and cheap (stolen) goods could be procured. As such, it was important for the men to keep in touch with people at the pub,
"It's a nice get together and you might hear of a job, or someone might have word for you".

Perhaps the most enjoyable aspect of the pub for some was the care and concern shown between regulars, making the pub a place of intimate belonging and attachment,

"It's a great atmosphere amongst the regulars. If you've missed your night people worry about you. It's the only place I really want to be. I'm myself in the pub with my friends. You hear the news and have a joke and no-one judges you. It's my only pleasure. It makes me feel welcome, like I belong there."

The men certainly experienced a range of different emotions and feelings in the pub. For some, a night out was a sign of normality and was greatly enjoyed. For others, a visit to the pub was associated with many negative emotions. These seemed to be founded on guilt at spending money there, the judgement of others (especially employed people) and inability to sustain friendships and discussions through lack of contact.

Clearly, the pub was associated with both positive and negative experiences. Interestingly, many of the negative experiences within the pub were a reflection of social representations of unemployment. In social representations, unemployed men are seen to use the pub, but are criticised for doing so. They are seen as mismanaging money and keeping their families in poor living standards in their hedonistic pursuit. As such, individuals actions within the pub were overlaid with the same meanings as evident in social representations. It is possible that men's negative experiences in the pub might be a result of their knowledge and application of social representations of unemployment. Alternatively, some men may even have stopped visiting the pub because of the censorious nature of these representations.
5. Loss of the Pub

Thirteen men (30%) had stopped visiting the pub. They claimed the pub was an unimportant place in their present lives, although they had enjoyed it while employed. Generally they related the pub and employment very closely together, seeing the pub as the almost exclusive preserve of the employed. Pubs as physical structures have an inside and an outside, they afford (Gibson, 1979) to the visitor an 'insideness', an intimacy and sense of togetherness of people congregated in the same building, doing the same things for similar reasons. The insideness of the pub is one which is open and welcoming to all people old enough, interested and able to participate in its practises. However, the insideness of the pub is conditional on spending money and drinking. As unemployed people, the thirteen men felt they had no place in the pub, they could ill afford it and had no right to be there. They felt excluded because of their unemployment. The pub was no longer seen as a public place. As Blauw (1989) suggests, public space should fit into its users social and cultural background if it is to be used. The pub failed to fit into the socio-cultural background of unemployment.

Place based role rule relationships apply to the pub (Canter, 1986). Visitors assume the environmental role of customers, fundamentally based on spending money, and linked to specific actions. That is negotiating the use of pubs requires the use of rule guided action structures (cf Fuhrer, 1990) eg buying rounds of drinks when drinking with friends. Inability to follow normal social rules in the pub and buy a round of drinks was a key explanation for discontinuing visits among the unemployed men,

"I've stopped going because its too expensive. I feel uncomfortable with my mates there. Most of them are working, one way and another. I don't want to accept charity, especially when I can't pay it back. I can't buy a round so I can't go, simple as that. I don't want people to sympathise, I just want
my own self respect. I don't seem to have that when I'm there."

Practises such as these served to isolate the unemployed by confirming that they can no longer follow the same social rules as everyone else (cf Lindon, 1988). This serves to designate the pub not as a public place shared by everyone, but as a special place excluding the unemployed.

Many of these men (54%) complained that unemployment had ruined their social life,

"I haven't got a social life, I can't go out. It's an injustice when a man can't go to the pub when he wants. A friend says come for a drink and I have to say no. I can't go if I can't afford a round. The last time I went must be over a year ago, and then I had orange. Everyone knows you've got nothing or else they think I'm stingy".

Some felt totally isolated from a society oriented towards the pleasures of the employed (46%),

"My worst problem is isolation because I can't afford to go drinking anymore. I've forgotten what it's like to go out and have a drink with friends. Drinking, that's for people with money, people who've got a job. 80% of my life is an embarrassment. When I went in the pub it was the worst guilt complex, doing things you know you can't do. I was robbing Peter and no chance of paying Paul. I'll not do that again in a hurry. Anyway, who'd want me there, a no-mark like me. I don't need my face rubbing in it".

Others (n=7) were able to reorganise their lives without depending on the pub for social contact and enjoyment.
"It's a matter of getting your priorities right. Of course you have to cut down, but then you say to yourself that you can't afford them and you have to stop wanting them. We've stopped all that, going to the local and the club. It's all superficial anyway, like an artificial world. We don't need it, we find lots of pleasure otherwise, we have our love. I think I'm less confident to go to these sorts of places now because I don't feel so much part of society as I used to.

Some had taken up opportunities to pursue educational courses (n=4) and others replaced the pub with visits to unemployment workshops (n=2) and work in the voluntary sector (n=2). For these people, lost contact with the pub had opened up a new range of places which were seen as socially, psychologically and instrumentally beneficial to their lives,

"My social life is at college now with some very good friends of mine. I can't afford to go for a drink. I was sitting around doing nothing and getting depressed so I decided to do something for myself. I needed a push because I was scared of college. I thought they were all young and clever but when I went, they were people like me who wanted to do better for themselves. Now, studying takes up a lot of time but it means I've got control of my life. I don't have time for the pub. I do some work for 'Friends of the Elderly' just about every day as well. After all that, I like to sit at home and relax".

"I think I have found what is right for me in my life. Money is not so important now. I'm ambitious for doing what I see is right. My wife says I work too hard (voluntary work) but I think people should understand about alcohol abuse and question their drinking habits. Once I realised I stopped going to the pub and started with the 'Band of Hope'. I think it'll end up as a full time job. Now the people I mix with are older and we talk about what's important and I think that I'm more
confident for it... To relax I take the dogs and go for a walk, usually to the park and I plan things there, I plan my days".

Valued social contacts were made at college, voluntary work and in the unemployment workshops. These were usually founded upon shared goals (of studying or working to help others) and drew people into close friendships. The men felt confident and in control of their lives and were oriented towards a future of fulfilment. None of these men worried over the social inequalities of unemployment, but worked towards enjoying their lives in unemployment.

Loss of the pub meant a restricted social life for some but also meant avoiding socially and psychologically distressing situations. For others, the pub was replaced by use of college, voluntary work and workshop environments which provided an enjoyable social life as well as shared goals, control over life and self development towards a more fulfilling future. Their self defining goals (Gollwitzer and Wicklund, 1985) did not include the mixture of negative and positive affordances offered within the the pub. This analysis has shown that understanding the person-pub relationship requires an understanding of the person's aims and goals, their experiences and their socio-cultural context.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to consider the temporal frame of person-place relationships by investigating the experience of places loss in unemployment. Once a place is no longer part of the daily repertoire of place usage, does it fail to exist for the person? Or does it retain some social-psychological significance for them? What is the experience of loss? Does loss mean that the person no longer has any contact with the place or that it looses its significance?
These questions were addressed in respect to two places: the former workplace; and the pub. Firstly, the meaning of each place was explored and then the experience of loss. The workplace had been an important but not always pleasant place for the men to be. The meaning of the workplace was organised around the four place domains: instrumental place; personal place; social place; and physical place. The instrumental experience of work revolved around its financial implications. The personal workplace related to both positive and negative emotional experience of the workplace, the activities personally performed there and the sense of identification belonging felt towards it. The social workplace revolved around working relationships (harmonious and in conflict). In this men described how being at work made them feel like different people to their home based persona.

Finally, the physical workplace was realised through bodily senses of smell and sound, sight and touch, as Day (1990) describes it 'an ambiance we breathe in'. Moreover, the physicality of work required the person to leave home and to embed themselves in a work oriented physical environment. Again, the model of home as a personal, social, physical and instrumental place was revealed. These four domains of place experience were not mutually exclusive, and it became obvious that the experience of the all aspects of the workplace contributed to the process of appropriation in which the person through familiarity with sights, sounds, smells, social relationships and working practises came to think of the workplace as part of themselves, of their identity.

Loss of the physical workplace was a difficult experience for many of the men, some responded with a grief-like reaction. Others were highly relieved to be released from the stresses and strains of work. At a basic level, the men had lost the locus of their working activities and interests. Without the workplace it was difficult to practise their skills. They had also lost their working relationships, conversations outside of the family circle and the use of work-day language. Moreover, their sense of immersion in a working culture
and the physical symbol of their work identity had been lost. Along with this lost had gone their status in society and their pride in themselves. Many of the men still felt that they identified with their former workplace and that it was important to them. The former workplace was not just a source of their present day identity (some men still described themselves in terms of their former occupation), but it was a part of their history and as such an existing part of themselves. Certainly, in unemployment, the workplace retained its social-psychological significance. It had not been lost altogether, but remained psychologically as part of the person and their history.

One place the men said was important in their lives falls within the environmental domain of leisure: the pub. While many of the men had reduced their usage of the pub (had lost their frequency of contact with it) thirteen had stopped going altogether. An investigation of the meaning of the pub offered some explanations as to why pub use was reduced or lost. The pub was conceived as a place for employed people and as an environmental domain dependent on money and spending power. In unemployment, the pub had lost many of its restorative and supportive qualities (Kaplan, 1983; Oldenberg and Brissett, 1980). A re-negotiation of meaning between person and place, perhaps based to some extent on social representations of unemployment, had transformed the person-pub relationship. The men adopted modes of transacting in the pub which minimised expenditure such that a trip to the pub had to be carefully planned. Long standing practises and routines in the pub were disrupted. Social place based rules such as buying pints and buying rounds were eroded. These rule guided action structures (Fuhrer, 1990) were symbols of togetherness, friendship and increasingly of employment were beyond the reach of unemployed customers. Consequently, the atmosphere in the pub had changed for the unemployed men. Before it had been restful and fun, a place of familiarity and belonging, now it was overlaid with guilt and worry, very much reflecting social representations critical of pub use. The pub came to be seen as an environment for the employed, excluding
the unemployed. The 'insideness' of the pub was not welcoming to the unemployed, it had become a club.

For many of the men, the pub remained an important part of their geographical lifeworld, as the only source of leisure and escape from the home and family. Others had reorganised their lives to incorporate a range of places (college, voluntary work, unemployment workshops) which supported their particular goals in life. These places afforded the social life lost with the pub as well as allowing them to progress towards their own self defining goals (Gollwitzer and Wicklund, 1985) while protecting them from psychologically distressing situations within the pub.

In both the pub and the workplace, a key element involved in the negotiation of their use and meaning in unemployment related to the meaning of activities linked to the places. The meaning of the workplace is structured by the meaning of work, indicating important action environment links (Huber, Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1984; Canter, 1988). The workplace was not just the location of behaviour, but the holistic experience of place was influenced by and influenced in turn the meaning of action. Similarly, the meaning of the pub in unemployment revolved around the place based rules of buying drinks and social practises. The complexity of positive and negative meanings surrounding use of the pub and the meaning of the former workplace testify to the multivariate nature of the person-place relationship and show that while places may no longer form part of the round of everyday life, they can maintain a psychological significance for the person.
Chapter 12

Conclusions

1. Introduction

2. Summary of Results

3. Methodological and Analytical Issues

4. Conceptual Issues

5. Avenues For The Future
1. Introduction

The thesis has examined the way in which the experience of unemployment affects the experience and use of place. In doing so, it has investigated a structural model of the 'person-place' together with an examination of the processes through which place use and meaning are negotiated. In this model, the person is conceived of as an active person, engaged in coping with the circumstances which surround their everyday life. These circumstances bring them into contact with and mediate their experience of place. Dealing with everyday life circumstances such as those associated with unemployment bring about transitions in the person-place relationship. Interdependent personal, social, physical and instrumental components of the person-place unity are subject to transformation as people continually act within and negotiate place meanings.

A number of processes through which person-place relations are forged were highlighted in the study. An analysis of action-place relations showed how intimately the process of action is involved in the negotiation of place use and meaning. Action-place relations were at the heart of place appropriation. Through processes of cultivation, creation and maintenance, through familiarity with the ambiance of place, and through the role of memories and cognitive evaluation, 'a place' can become 'my place', and centre of belonging or identification. Place based role-rule relations were also seen as important processes which structure place experience, use and meaning. Again, the important role of action in mediating between role-rule relations and place was emphasised.

Throughout this analysis, the social-psychological impact of unemployment was shown to be firmly grounded in the socio-cultural, organisational and geographical context of the person-place unity. Social representations of unemployment not only gave guidance as to place usage and meaning in unemployment but were also implicated in
the way in which life circumstances of unemployment were experienced. The organisational context of unemployment showed how financial, social, psychological and work related problems of unemployment are addressed but also how such places are apprehended and used by unemployed people. Organisational places featured frequently in the geographical lifeworlds of unemployed people. The benefits of help and advice were often counterbalanced by negative experiences and meanings associated with organisational places. Indeed, the experience of unemployment alters the whole geographical lifewold of people, not just by removing the workplace and thus altering place usage but also by transforming the very ways in which places are conceptualised.

2. Summary of Results and Empirical Developments

The main findings are presented below:

**Mental health**: Despite the fact that participants of the study were all long term unemployed family men, their mental health was not universally poor. Some of the men enjoyed good mental health. It has been suggested that the long term unemployed are more likely to be in poor mental health as unemployment lasts and the possibilities of employment recede (Hepworth, 1980; Rowley and Feather, 1987). This was not the case in the present sample. Good mental health was related to ownership of qualifications, the experience of opportunities and benefits in unemployment and to shorter periods of unemployment. Poor mental health was related to the experience of problems in unemployment, to longer spells of unemployment and to continuing efforts to find employment. Mental health was unrelated to social or environmental contexts. Living in a context of unemployed family or friends had no influence of mental health. Nor did levels of unemployment in the local area or perceived unemployment at street or neighbourhood level. No relationship was found between mental health and previous periods of unemployment.
Unemployment Problems: Problems encountered were mainly in the financial, psychological and social arena. There were also problems of filling time and the enjoyment of activity in unemployment. Housing and welfare problems emerged for a number of men. The problems identified were very similar to those identified in other studies of the psychological impact of unemployment (Jackson and Warr, 1983; Warr and Jackson, 1985). These studies have identified problems, but rarely look at them as part of everyday life. Through the qualitative approach, it was possible to step inside and see the ways men coped with problems in their lives using family, organisational and environmental resources as supportive of their goals and restorative of their energies.

Unemployment Opportunities: These ranged from freedom from the stress of employment, improved physical health and working in voluntary and underground economy jobs. Unemployment had encouraged some people to create a more enjoyable lifestyle based around family, friends and interests, to reassess their priorities in life and to find hidden strengths in their own characters. Many men felt they had developed personally into stronger, more interesting people in unemployment. Unemployment had not only benefited their lifestyle but also provided the impetus for men to evaluate themselves in a positive light.

Changes Experienced in Unemployment: These included plans for the future, changed experiences of time, home based thoughts, changeable moods, socialist political attitudes and changes in values. Using an experiential framework encouraged people to think about and discuss changes which would rarely be included in a more structured approach. As such, unemployment is seen not just as a set of problems or opportunities, but as a medium of change. Such change is not static, but dynamic. The men participating in the study had all been unemployed for a year or more, sometimes for many years. As the data on life circumstances emerged, it became possible to view the men's lives in terms of the evolution of alternative lifestyles. That is, lifestyles independent of employment.
which continue to develop and change in line with the ambitions, the goals of the person. The men were seen less as passive responders to external stimuli, but as active agencies in the development of their own lives.

On the basis of the men's life circumstances, their problems, opportunities and changes, a multi-dimensional analysis was able to distinguish the men into two groups. The first group contained men who were positive in their approach to unemployment and were generally coping well with unemployment. The second group were more negative, dwelling on their own problems and dissatisfaction with the lot of the unemployed. Mental health was significantly better in the first group than in the second. Future studies of unemployment, need to go beyond the comparison of single variables with mental health, and take a holistic view of the person's life circumstances. After all, the person does not view their life as a set of independent variables, but as a structured whole. This study has shown the value of taking such an approach.

The analysis of life circumstances began to unravel the role of places in the physical grounding of unemployment. Organisational environments afforded help in financial spheres, opportunities to practise working skills and for education. The home was implicated as an important focus of problems, opportunities and changes in unemployment. The former workplace and underground economy workplace were discussed as sources of worries and benefits in unemployment. The DSS was discussed as the place which engendered feelings of psychological distress and attendance at the pub was accompanied by a sense of loss of pride and distaste for being identified as unemployed.

Social Representations of Unemployment: Socio-cultural norms and lay theories of unemployment were explored in the form of social representations of unemployment. The aim of this exploration was to see ways in which the socio-cultural context of unemployment impinges on person-place relationships. Firstly, this may be in terms
of information and evaluation of the physical environment within social representations. Secondly, social representations may be prescriptive of individual actions in unemployment. By examining social representations of unemployment in some depth, it was possible to use these representations in future chapters as part of a framework for understanding place use and the negotiation of place meaning in unemployment.

Media sources of representations of unemployment were compared to representations discussed by unemployed, retired, employed, organisational people and students. Thus, representations with an external facticity (Gaskell and Smith, 1985) were compared with those emerging in social situations of conversation and those emerging as a result of focused interviews. This enabled a distinction to be made between individual, shared and truly social representations, not often achieved in social representations research which tend to concentrate on shared cognitive representations (cf Augoustinos, 1991).

The social representations which emerged as a result of comparing the different data sources mirrored the financial, psychological, social and activity problems experienced in unemployment. Causes of unemployment were mainly blamed on world recession, government and industry. Some benefits of unemployment were evident in social representations, although these tended to be less well developed than the problems.

Moscovici (1984) has suggested that different social representations of a phenomena may emerge as different social groups develop their own knowledge and evaluations. This is an important issue, since different types of social representations of unemployment may exist, held within different sectors of society. If this is the case, then the full explanatory value of particular types of social representations can be assessed. Indeed, different social groups did emphasise different representations, generally in line with their level of contact with unemployed people and their reliance on media sources for
information. The most social representations were expressed by unemployed people. Although these did dwell on negative experiences in unemployment, they also portrayed some positive aspects of unemployment and emphasised the individuality of unemployed people.

Fraser (1988) criticised social representations research for concentrating on the determination of sharedness of independent attitudes without looking at the social nature of holistic lay theories. After all, the important contribution of the social representations approach lay in the fact that it proposed a structuring together of attitudes, opinions and values into socially acknowledged lay theories. Thus, it was important in this study to look at the social representations as holistic lay theories. Accordingly, a multi-dimensional analysis of social representations which kept intact each person own theory of unemployment was conducted for all the people in the sample. That is, each person's holistic theory of unemployment was compared with those of other people. This analysis indicated the existence of four types of holistic social representations.

Were these holistic social representations current among unemployed people, given that group differences were revealed it was important to determine whether or not these types of social representation were relevant to the unemployed sample. A detailed analysis of the unemployed groups representations and a multi-dimensional analysis confirmed the existence of different types of social representations among the unemployed. These were structured along two orientations. The first stressed the individuality of the unemployed person in their experiences of unemployment and their efforts to deal with life in unemployment. The second organised representations along the experience of problems or benefits in unemployment.

Men who expressed social representations emphasising individuality were in better mental health than those that saw unemployment as a dominating and negative external pressure. This result indicates an association between individual life experience and orientation of social
representation. It may be that people who saw unemployment in terms of social representations of financial and psychological problems, boredom and having nothing to do were influenced through this socio-cultural context to conceive of their own life in similar negative ways with a corresponding negative effect on their mental health. Although it was not possible to fully test this idea, there was an association between the negative group of unemployed men and negative social representations just as there were correspondences between positive social representations involving the benefits of unemployment and men who were positive about unemployment, experienced few problems and enjoyed a range of interests and hobbies.

Social representations contained information about places and activities in unemployment. The DSS, evaluated as a necessary place for financial aid, was seen as a distressing psychological environment. Home was seen as the main location for unemployed people where they experienced nothing to do, boredom and depression. Working in the underground economy workplace and former workplace were also implicated as sources of positive and negative experiences in unemployment and the pub was evaluated as a place frequented by the unemployed who spend money on drink rather than on their families. In this, social representation contained information and evaluations of activities within places in terms of their socially deemed appropriateness for unemployed people. As such, social representations held the potential for structuring the personal, social and environmental experience of unemployment.

Geographical Lifeworld: The geographical lifeworld inhabited by unemployed was implicated in social representations of unemployment. An exploration of the geographical lifeworld showed the range of place used by the men. This range was far greater than the range of places seen as part of unemployment in social representations. Social representations of unemployment depict a severely restricted geographical lifeworld, failing to represent the rich and varied use of places by the men. An examination of the geographical lifeworld
indicated the relationship between life circumstances of unemployment and person-place relations. Men with extended geographical lifeworlds enjoyed better mental health than those with restricted geographical lifeworlds. This relationship existed independently of types of places used. As such, levels of unemployment in local areas was less important than the extent of the individual's geographical lifeworld.

Unemployment changed the geographical lifeworld in a number of ways. Once the workplace is lost as a major environmental domain, qualitative and structural changes occur in the geographical lifeworld. This was organised around six types of environmental domains: the organisational; work and education; leisure; family and friendships; entertainment; and everyday necessity domains. The home is heavily used and new organisational and work related (not employment) places are integrated while leisure and entertainment domains are lost. New places introduced were organised around the achievement of particular goals eg solving financial problems or gaining qualifications. Reasons why people no longer used places revolved around financial cost and being identified as unemployed. The home emerged as one of the dominant places experienced in unemployment. Home centredness in unemployment was related to poor mental health. The use and meaning of place in unemployment supported particular unemployment lifestyles which had implications for psychological well-being (cf Stokols et al, 1983).

Meanings of places were structured by the experience of unemployment. Conceptualisations of places across the geographical lifeworld showed that people related to places two main ways: unemployment and work; or their importance to home and leisure lifestyles. In this, organisational and bureaucratic impositions of unemployment and workplaces were contrasted to the supportive, restorative and enjoyable social relationships enjoyed in home and leisure places. Experience of all places in the geographical lifeworld was structured around unemployment/work and home/leisure. This implies that as well as accounting for the experience of new and lost
places, existing and continued use of environments have transformed in terms of use and meaning through unemployment. Thus, it is necessary to identify important places in the unemployed person's life and see how unemployment is implicated in the re-negotiation of their use and meaning. A number of important places emerged to consider in this respect: the organisational context of unemployment; and within this the DSS and underground economy workplaces as newly encountered environments; the home as the focus of everyday life; the former workplace and the pub as places lost from or transformed within the geographical lifeworld.

Two case studies were undertaken, the first illustrating an active, outgoing, place intensive lifestyle in unemployment, while the other illustrated a home centred domestic lifestyle. In the first, home acted as a restorative environment preparing the person for encounters with the outside world in which he strived to achieve important self defining goals. In the second, home became a retreat from a hostile social world. Throughout the analysis of the geographical lifeworld, the goals of the person (structured through the problems and opportunities of unemployment) influenced and were influenced by the use and meaning of places. Goals and their counterparts of activity were linked together with conceptualisations of the totality of places (Wapner, et al, 1980) within their socio-cultural contexts.

Organisational Context: The geographical lifeworld analysis pointed to the organisational context as an important environmental domain experienced through unemployment. Moreover, as a socio-cultural embodiment of societal attitudes towards unemployment, the organisational context needs to be fully explored. An investigation of city wide educational, advisory, community welfare, occupational, ideational and leisure organisations showed that organisations offered a range of services aimed to help unemployment problems and offer opportunities for self development and leisure. In general, organisations conformed to social representations which viewed the unemployed as people in need of help and care. None of the
organisation took the proactive nature of unemployed people into account.

The affordances of organisations did not always conform with the requirements and needs of their unemployed clients. Organisations which offered help for problems were experienced by the unemployed in negative ways, including depressive feelings, anxiety, guilt and despondency. People who rarely used organisations in unemployment tended to report problems in unemployment and to feel bored at home. Thus, despite the negative experiences associated with many organisations, they do seem to function in positive ways. Perhaps people who use organisations feel that they have engaged in meaningful activities outside of the home. Organisations aimed at self development and leisure were often used simply as an opportunity to get out of the house and fill time, although some people did enjoy time there and benefit personally from contact with these organisations. A comparison of organisational aims and the requirements and experiences of unemployed people showed inconsistencies in organisational provision.

New Person-Place Relations in Unemployment: Two types of new places encountered in unemployment were investigated in depth: DSS offices; and underground economy workplaces. The DSS was regularly visited of necessity. Integration of the DSS as a new place into the geographical lifeworld was achieved by building routines of places such that a distressing visit to the DSS was mediated by a pleasant excursion to shops or cafe. Initially, men expected it to be a pleasant office with friendly staff. Expectations were at odds with reality. Instrumentally, it provided financially for the unemployed, however the way in which the system was structured engendered suspicion of fraud on the part of staff and feelings of begging for charity on the part of the unemployed person.
Visiting the DSS was often felt to be a psychologically distressing experience, social relationships with it were poor and physically people felt it symbolised an uncaring society. The act of signing on was seen as confirmation of unemployment. Even being seen in the DSS could be construed as socially stigmatising. Continued contact over a long period of time, coupled with acceptance of the status of unemployment eventually resulted in some men identifying with the DSS as a place in which they belonged (these men were generally in poor mental health). These findings run counter to Proshansky et al's (1983) expectations that negative experiences of place preclude their integration in place-identity sub-structures. Evidently, the DSS, although a negative experience, is nevertheless seen as important and relevant in everyday life and as such is incorporated in a sense of belonging and identification. Identification with such negative experiences may be, in part responsible for poor mental health.

Experience of the DSS was structured in terms of the personal, social, physical and instrumental model of place, and was underscored by social representations of unemployment. These accurately portrayed the experience of the DSS. People who disliked the DSS, felt dehumanised and powerless were in poorer mental health and had a more negative orientation to unemployment than people who did not mind their trip to the DSS.

The underground economy workplace offered the same instrumental objective of financial reward as the DSS but was a very different experiential environment. Men working in such places derived a number of personal, social and instrumental benefits. They enjoyed the work, received financial rewards, practised skills, and met people outside of the family context. As such, they pursued collective goals, used time constructively and enjoyed the status of working and providing for their own families. Indeed, the act of working was an important vehicle through which place meanings were generated. Moreover, attending the workplace was a relief from hours of unemployment spent at home. As such, the underground
economy workplace provided for many of the manifest and latent consequences of employment listed by Jahoda (1982).

On the other hand, opportunities afforded by the underground economy workplace were accompanied by fear, suspicion and anxiety over the possibility of accident or being caught and losing state benefits. This showed the influence of social representations and organisational structures which warn against underground economy working and label underground economy workers as 'scroungers'.

Despite the differences between the DSS and the underground economy workplace there were important similarities. Both were conceptualised in terms of landscapes of fear (Tuan, 1979) and were evaluated fundamentally in terms of social approval evident in social representations. Furthermore, the meanings of both places were derived to a great extent through action-environment links within the structure of environmental role-rule relationships. The action performed within the place linked together goal directed use and emotional experience of place.

Home and Unemployment: Home was revealed as a dominant environment in unemployment in the amount of time spent there and in terms of its personal significance. The men felt their experience of home had changed in unemployment. Twenty six categories of meaning were defined including home as 'family', belonging', 'happiness' and 'security', indicating that home is a complex multidimensional phenomena. Structural analysis of the home meanings revealed the model of the home as a personal, social, physical and instrumental place. Unemployment had affected the experience of home in each of these domains. Home became less comfortable, unhappy and worrisome. Some likened their homes to a prison where they felt they had lost control. Identification with the worn out, physically deteriorated home was distressing and privacy within the home could turn into isolation. Even the permanence of home was under threat as people found it difficult to pay rent or mortgages. Arguments over bills, money and job hunting spoiled the intimate family atmosphere and friends and relatives could no longer be
entertained. Relations with neighbours could also be affected through suspicion of illegal working. Instrumentally, the home was conceived as a workplace in the absence of employment.

Experience of negative aspects of the home was an important part of the person-home relationship. People who were negative about home were in poorer mental health and had a negative orientation to their experience of unemployment, experienced psychological, social and activity. Again, as with the organisational context and the analysis of the DSS, place experience was linked to psychological well-being.

Social representations of unemployment were also linked to the experience of home. Social representations of boredom at home were associated with negative home experience. This is an important finding because it shows that there is an influential relationship not just between social representation and place experience, but between action, place and social representations. It may be that individual actions within the privacy of home are nevertheless structured by socio-cultural contexts of unemployment.

The Negotiation of Meaning: Transitions in home experience in unemployment transformed the person-home relationship enabling an analysis of processes through which negotiation of meaning takes place. The spatial/physical properties of place were associated with different meanings. The living room was a daytime prison and an evening centre of family life. Kitchen was a female domain and an arena of creativity. The bedroom symbolised privacy, peace and quiet. Thus meanings of home may originate through the differentiated spatial layout of home. The analysis went further in showing how meanings of rooms were not stable entities, but dependent on a temporal framework. Room took on different meanings at different times of the day. This was especially important in the case of the living room where unemployed people spend the vast majority of their time. Unemployment spatially constricts people not just to the home, but within the home.
Activities and their objectives within the home were analysed to show how meaning is negotiated through action. Activities linked problems and opportunities experienced in unemployment such as financial, psychological, social and activity problems to the meaning of home through: combating boredom; socialising and entertainment; relaxation; work; caring and sharing; keeping mentally and physically fit; dealing with everyday necessities; managing finances; and habituality. A detailed analysis of the meanings of housework showed how the social organisation of the household changed in unemployment. Men who unwillingly helped with housework emphasised the home as a female domain and their help within it as loss of pride, manliness and so an embarrassment. Those who began to share housework equally with wives emphasised the physical nature of housework as 'work' and themselves as workers. Men who had exchanged roles with their wives saw home management as their responsibility and an opportunity to care for their family. Loss of the breadwinner role and increased presence in the home had resulted in changed role-rule relationships such that some husbands no longer received or expected privileges and relinquished control over coveted family arrangements such as doing housework, occupation of the best chair and control of the TV.

Despite negative meanings, home was still a very personal and significant place in unemployment. Transitions in home experience had brought men into a closer, more intimate person-home relationship. A process of person-home appropriation was evident in that most men felt home was part of them and they were part of home. An analysis of this process showed that unemployment had influenced home appropriation. Cultivation of the home in DIY projects and in caring through maintaining the home resulted in a deep knowledge of the home. Using and experiencing the daytime home resulted in a tacit understanding of the rhythms, sounds and smells of home. Cognitive evaluation of the home in unemployment indicated the continuity of the self in the home through past life to present day circumstances. In these ways, person-home appropriation developed and changed in unemployment.
Lost Places: Unemployment resulted in disuse of valued places. The former workplace was no longer used by the majority of men, and thirteen men stopped using the pub. An investigation of the workplace and pub showed how people felt about this loss and suggested that while they were no longer used, they maintained a social psychological significance in the lives of unemployed people. The meaning of the workplace was understood through the meaning of work within it. For some, loss of the workplace meant the simultaneous loss of working identity, locus of valued activities, skills, social status and manliness. Alternatively, some men felt freed from the constraints and hassles of the workplace.

People stopped using the pub for a number of reasons: lack of finance; feelings of guilt; and a conceptualisation of the pub as the preserve of the employed. There were advantages and disadvantages associated with loss of the pub from everyday usage. Feelings of social isolation and injustice were main disadvantages. However, advantages involved a reorganisation of everyday life to optimise social contact and enjoyment in a range of environments. People developed social life in colleges, unemployment workshops, the underground economy workplace and voluntary sector. In doing so, they made new friendships and experienced involvement in shared goals, felt confident and in control of their lives and were oriented towards future fulfilment.

Theoretically, this study has generated a wealth of information to support the notion that the use and meaning of place is structured in many ways by life circumstances of unemployment. Most places encountered, including new places and ones lost from the geographical lifeworld are experienced in both positive and negative ways. A structural model of the personal, social, physical and instrumental experience of place was revealed for each of the five main places discussed in the thesis. Transitions in place meaning were discussed in terms of processes of action in place, place appropriation and place based role-rule relationships. In all places,
the meaning of actions performed within them were linked to place meaning. Similarly, each place was involved in a process of person-place appropriation. Even when places were intensely disliked (eg the DSS), they formed part of the sense of belonging. The role of role-rule relationships was particularly important in the structuring of place use and meaning in the home and the DSS, although also was revealed as important in guiding action and meaning in the pub. Affordances of place were not always directly identified, but place usage was seen to be structured in part by the possibilities and constraints offered through places.

What implications do these results have for developing our understanding of person-place relationships? Two key issues can be addressed in this respect: the role of social representations in the meaning and use of places; the links between place experience and psychological well-being; and the central importance of action environment links in the negotiation of place use and meaning.

The Role of Social Representations: Throughout the analyses, social representations as holistic theories have been implicated in the meaning and use of place. It has long been known of that buildings are cultural products (Broadbent and Llorens, 1980) and as such symbolise socio-cultural values to their users. This study points out ways in which social representations function as storehouse of social norms, conventions etc. These are brought to bear on individual actions in specific places. While actions in environment have their own dynamic (Shotter, 1982), they are not independent of their socio-cultural context. Moscovici (1984) has proposed that social representations may prescribe action, this proposition may be taken further in that social representations inform and evaluate the acceptability of individual action within a social-environmental framework and as such play a part in determining the meaning of action and the meaning of place.

The links between place experience and psychological well-being: These links have been amply demonstrated in this thesis, in terms of
the geographical lifeworld, the DSS and the home environment. Negative place experiences are associated with poorer mental health and the experience of problems in unemployment. The demonstration of this relationship is simply the first step towards fuller understanding of psychological-environmental health implications. In this thesis, the restorative, supportive (Kaplan, 1983) and worrisome aspects of place experience were drawn out. However, it is not known how each of these environmental qualities operates with respect to psychological well-being. The data indicates that places supportive of personal, especially self defining goals (Gollwitzer and Wicklund, 1985), are evaluated positively. The same is true of restorative places such as the positive experience of home. Yet how might these positive experiences contribute to general psychological well-being. It may be that restorative and supportive places contribute to a sense of mastery over the environment and a feeling of control over life. Alternatively, negative, worrisome place experience may contribute to a sense of failure to use the geographical lifeworld to master personal problems. As yet, more research is required to understand the nature of this intriguing relationship.

3. Methodological Issues

The methodological approach taken in this thesis combined qualitative and quantitative measures. Emphasis was placed on using methods which allowed participants to designate and recount their own experiences while attempting to systematically structure the accounts so that comparisons could be made between people. The methodology was required to provide appropriate ways of accessing different forms of data such as attitudes, representations, values, opinions and evaluations without obscuring or distorting it. Basically, the research attempted to combine experiential and empirical approaches (cf Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1987) by focusing on the meaning of
experience from the perspective of the person while ensuring that data was ultimately comparable across people.

This meant that no two interviews were the same, but structured techniques were used to access data once the person had designated an area or experience as important. For example, some men felt that housework was an important part of their everyday experience of home. These men were all asked to complete the housework task which focused attention on specific forms of housework and was essentially used as an aid to in-depth interviewing. Men who felt that housework was unimportant were not given this task. This 'modular' approach to interviewing proved very useful as it was systematic, efficient and challenging for both researcher and participant. A number of tasks were developed within the context of the study such as the barriers to activity task and the boredom schedule. These proved to be an excellent medium of collecting structured data while focusing people on problem areas and allowing them free expression of ideas. Data arising from this process was available for systematic analysis. In addition, speculative techniques and researcher intrusion was kept to a minimum. Using this modular design tended to cut down on time required to take part in the study and so allowed a larger sample to take part than in many experiential studies.

The order through which interviews progressed was important in maintaining a flow of information and engaging the participant fully in the research process. People began by discussing the circumstances of their unemployment, progressed onto discussing their use of places and then evaluating the meaning of places. Finally, paper and pen tasks such as the General Health Questionnaire were given at the end. Thus interviews began with experiences people were familiar with discussing and progressed on to evaluations few had reflected on before. For example, few people had thought about the meaning of home in unemployment prior to the interview sessions. Finally, when discussion had ended, the pen and paper tasks were introduced. Methods such as the multiple sorting
task were especially useful in getting people to reflect not just on their experiences but on themselves as environmental experiencers. The yesterday diary, adapted to include action related cognitions, was a valuable way of enabling people to reflect on the meaning of action within a temporal and environmental context.

The attempt to combine experiential and empirical data and to access different forms of data required a multiple methods approach. The modular approach adopted in this thesis, with a firm emphasis on allowing people to designate and discuss important issues, proved successful.

Analysis of the data relied heavily on content analysis of participants experiences. Multi-dimensional analyses of this data allowed structural relationships within the data to emerge. Every attempt was made to maintain participants meanings while structuring them within an interpretational framework. Interpretations of the data were founded within the meta theoretical framework outlined in chapter two. Data generated in any qualitative study may well be open to a number of interpretations. How does the researcher know they have a good interpretation of the data? A good interpretation is internally consistent and 'rings true' to the people involved. In order to ensure that researcher interpretations were valid, a number of techniques were used including interrater reliability checks of content analysis schemes and confrontational interviews in which participants commented on interpretations of their own data. Methodological triangulation (Eyles, 1986) adopted in this study was used so that findings from one method could be cross checked with another in order to substantiate interpretations. Interpretations were also subjected to scrutiny through results in other studies of unemployment and studies of place experience. The data analysis was well documented, especially the content analysis where frequency figures were always provided. Full appendices of data sets used in analyses appear in the appendices. Taken together these techniques provide support for the interpretations made in the work.
4. Conceptual Issues

The meta theory of person-place relations allowed the experiential and empirical work to progress without making speculative theoretical assumptions which could have dominated data collection and interpretation. It enabled the choice of appropriate explanatory frameworks to fit the data, rather than collect data to fit the theoretical model. Accordingly, data and interpretation presented in this thesis included, but was not exclusively dominated by, cognitive evaluations popular in environmental research (Fuhrer, 1990). Social structures were equally important, as was the temporal structuring of place usage over daily periods, bodily experiences and possibilities and constraints inherent in place.

Perhaps the most obvious theoretical conclusion is that the experience of unemployment is grounded in the socio-psychological, physical reality of places. The experience of place and unemployment are intricately interlinked in terms of place usage and meaning. Social stigma feared in unemployment, psychological distress and financial strain were all mediated through the experience of place, just as opportunities in unemployment were facilitated by place. This interlinking progressed beyond a one to one correspondence into the multiple personal problems and opportunities experienced in unemployment combined with the multiple realities of place. For instance, financial problems play a role in structuring the meaning of home through worry within the home environment, through deterioration of the home interior and inability to maintain services and facilities on which the meaning of home is founded.

The research has indicated that an understanding of person-place relations requires a contextual approach. Research ought not to dwell on 'unemployment' as a problem area or 'place' as simply the location of relationships. To do so is to miss the rich texture of action and meaning which characterises person-place relations. This transactional process is not something that simply happens to the
person, but inherently involves them as active participants within their own socio-physical world. As such, this thesis has examined the way in which people think about and experience their own situations and adapt their relations with the socio-physical world to deal with everyday life circumstances. People's physical, cognitive, social and emotional way of life changes in unemployment as they deal with problems and opportunities experienced in the real world. As such, people did not simply use places in unemployment, but evolved alternative lifestyles within their own geographical context.

One interesting aspect of place experience to emerge from the study was the influence of objectives for place usage on the experience of place. Throughout the thesis, people's use of places have been underscored not by one objective, but by multiple objectives. The home, pub and underground economy workplace were all used for a variety of reasons, each person holding a number of objectives in relation to the place. There was a clear correspondence between the meaning of action and the meaning of place as evidenced in the analysis of housework and in the symbolic nature of signing on in DSS offices. However, the scope of the thesis did not allow a detailed analysis of the relationship between objectives for place usage and goals for action. Such an analysis may reveal structures which influence the choice of action in place. Most places allow a range of actions (eg the home), but why people choose to use places in one way, rather than another, is a matter for empirical research.

The theoretical framework developed in this thesis enabled a close investigation of person-place relations in unemployment. People were seen as experiencers of problems and opportunities in relation to the experience of place. The active process of coping with unemployment within the context of place was apparent, but not the central issue of research. Research into coping with life circumstances (cf Lazarus, 1966; Folkman and Lazarus, 1988) through action in place demands a longitudinal investigation. Such an investigation would need to integrate theoretical conceptualisations of coping with those developed for action in place. For instance, the geographical
lifeworld may be seen as network of psychological, social and instrumental resources which afford possibilities and constraints for the coping process.

Changing life circumstances are experienced and evaluated by people who cope with them not only by evaluating and using coping strategies but also through their everyday habitual contact with and action in the geographical lifeworld. Coping may not always be a primarily cognitive process, but a natural product of action in place. Searle (1983) makes a distinction between intentional and preintentional mental states, arguing that much of our lives is lived at a level that is not directly conscious. Beneath cognition, he argues, is a background of skills, habits, practises or 'know-how' which people use in dealing with the world. Coping with problems and opportunities in the world requires more than a framework of inner theories and representations, but a thorough understanding of physical capabilities structured within the constraints of place.

Moreover, much of place experience may operate below conscious awareness at a level of practical consciousness (Giddens (1979)). Participants in this thesis often found it difficult to explain their actions or their relations with place. As such, coping in place needs to be concerned with the structure of practises of everyday life as well as the conscious concerns of the individual. Thus, there is a need to develop person-place theory in a way which is sensitive to the poles of agency and structure within the context of changing life circumstances. Seen in this light, the present thesis is only a basic starting point into a highly complex, but extremely interesting, challenge for transactional studies of person-place relations.

5. Avenues For The Future

This transactional study of place use and meaning has taken a complex experiential approach to understanding transitional person-place relationships in unemployment. As Proshansky et al.
(1979), Wapner (1981, 1987), Wapner et al (1981) and Stokols et al (1983) have amply documented, unemployment is not the only area in which changing life circumstances have the potential to transform person-place relationships. Unfortunately, each area of study, be it understanding environmental meaning in retirement (Wapner, 1981; Rowles, 1984), transitions from home to college, college to work (Wapner, 1981), or residential mobility (Stokols et al, 1983) has taken a different approach and examined different, specific, aspects of the person-place unity. As a consequence it is difficult to draw these strands of research together to form a cohesive body of knowledge. Moreover, the theoretical principles guiding research has varied from application of physiological models of stress, to systems theory (Aldwin and Stokols, 1988), the psychology of place experience to the organismic developmental theory expounded by Wapner (1987). An approach is required which encourages the investigation of any person-place relationships to progress along common lines, while also allowing the specific qualities of person-place unities to emerge.

This would need a meta-theoretical framework (such as the one developed in this thesis) systematically structured and flexible enough to cope with widely varying applications. Facet theory (Guttman, 1954; Foa, 1958). This is a research strategy in which theory building and data analysis are viewed as an integral whole.

**An Outline of Facet Theory:** Levy (1976) stresses the need for formalisation of the research process in the context of the development of substantive theory. Otherwise, research can succumb to triviality. Facet Theory is proposed as a fruitful strategy where the,

"...necessity of defining the universe of observations to be researched implies that the definitional system should be in a form that facilitates perceiving correspondences with aspects of the empirical data."

(Levi, 1976, p117)
There are three major constituents of Facet theory (cf Shye, 1978; Borg, 1979; Canter 1983, 1985):

1) a formal definition of the variables being studied;

2) hypotheses of some specified relationship between the definition and an aspect of the empirical observation;

3) a rationale for the correspondence between 1 and 2.

Theoretical proposition are entered into the facet theory formula. Facets represent the categories within which the universe of observations can be meaningfully organised as a conceptually coherent system. Each facet represents a domain of conceptual interest within which mutually exclusive elements of that domain are articulated. For example, in a study of the impact of new technology on the driving performance of older drivers (Warnes et al, 1989; Sixsmith, 1990) one main facet would be that of 'age'. The age facet could be divided into elements such as 55-60 years, 61-65 and so on. These elements are mutually exclusive since each person can only be one age at any given time. Identification of facets and their elements usually progresses through literature review, pilot research and discussion.

It might be argued that facet theory contributes no more to good research design than any competent researcher does anyway. Yet facet theory provides a framework of rules for making the transition from conceptual system to empirical findings. As such it ensures through formal procedures that hypotheses, data collection, analysis and interpretation are all complementary, defining the appropriate course of action at all stages of the research design. It is this overall coherence, and its general applicability across subject matter that recommends the facet approach to experiential research.

One way of summarising a facet structure is by means of a mapping sentence. Shye (1978) explains this as a,
"...verbal statement of the domain and of the range of a
mapping including connectives between facets as in ordinary
language".
(Shye, 1978, p413)

As such it aids comprehension, formalises the facets and provides a
basis (or template) for the generation of research tools, such as the
questionnaire or interview schedule. Levi (1976) takes the function
of a mapping sentence further suggesting that the establishment of a
common definitional framework (via the mapping sentence) transcends
the words in which it is expressed.

The potential for the application of facet theory in transactional
studies of person-place transitions is enormous. Facets would be
drawn from relevant research, such as that conducted in this thesis.
A possible mapping sentence for future research, applicable to a
whole range of different person-place unities is proposed in figure
12.1.

This mapping sentence could be used as a template for transactional
studies of the impact of a range of life events on person-place
relations. Using the same template would allow comparison between
studies and enable research to confirm the consistencies within
transitional person-place relationships and changes which are specific
to particular places or particular life events. Using the same
approach to look at different places and different life circumstances
would enable the build up of a body of theoretically grounded
research while remaining sensitive to the diversity and complexity of
human experience of place.
Figure 12.1 A Mapping Sentence for Researching Transitions in Person-Place Relationships.

FACET 1
Transformations
- eg. Problems
- Opportunities
- Changes

in everyday

FACET 2
Life Domains
- eg Retirement
- Unemployment
- Divorce

FACET 3
Life Circumstances
- eg Mental health
- Physical Health
- etc

FACET 4
Types of Place
- eg. Home
- DSS
- Workplace

as structured

and their experience of places

FACET 5
Contexts
- eg Social
- Cultural
- Environmental
- Temporal

within their context in terms of the negotiation

FACET 6
Processes
- eg Action-environment links
- Role-rule relationships
- Place Appropriation
- Place Affordance

RESPONSE FACET 7
Patterns of Place Use
- eg. Use more
- Same
- Less
- Stopped

RESPONSE FACET 8
Goal Directed Activities
- eg Housework
- Underground/work
- etc

RESPONSE FACET 9
Experiential modes
- eg. Personal meanings
- Social meanings
- Instrumental meanings
- Physical meanings.
Appendix 1A

28 Social Indicator Variables

Socio-economic groups
1= professional and managerial
2= intermediate and junior non-manual
3= skilled manual
4= semi-skilled
5= unskilled

Industry
6= primary: energy/ water
7= secondary: manufacturing/ construction
8= tertiary: distribution/catering/transport/services

Qualifications
9= qualification level

Age
10= 16-24 years
11= 25-49 years
12= 50-64 years
13= 65-74 years
14= 75+ years

Unemployment levels
15= male unemployment
16= female unemployment
17= ward unemployment

Accommodation
18= owner occupied
19= council rented
20= private or housing association rented

Household conditions
21= no bath/outside toilet
22= overcrowding (1+ per room)
23= No car/ no access to vehicle

Family Structure
24= pensioner alone
25= single parent families
26= 17 year old+ still in education
27= 3 or more children

Mobility
28= relocation flow through ward
### Social Area Analysis: Raw Categorical Data for Input to MSA

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<th>Ward</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Male Unemployment</th>
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<td>Benwell</td>
<td>3 4 2 2 2 3 2 2 2</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blakelaw</td>
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<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byker</td>
<td>3 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle</td>
<td>1 4 2 1 1 1 2 1 1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dene</td>
<td>3 4 6 1 1 1 1 1 1</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denton</td>
<td>3 4 2 2 2 1 1 2 2</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elswick</td>
<td>3 4 6 1 3 2 2 2 2</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fawdon</td>
<td>3 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenham</td>
<td>3 4 6 2 2 2 2 2 2</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grange</td>
<td>2 4 6 1 1 1 1 1 1</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Heaton</td>
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<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesmond</td>
<td>1 4 6 1 1 1 1 2 1</td>
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<td>Kenton</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Moorside</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newburn</td>
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<td>Scotswood</td>
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<td>S. Gosforth</td>
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<td>Walker</td>
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<tr>
<td>West City</td>
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<td>Wingrove</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolsington</td>
<td>3 4 2 2 3 3 2 2 2</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variable 1 = socio-economic group  
2 = age structure  
3 = industry  
4 = housing  
5 = overcrowding  
6 = single parents  
7 = 3+ children  
8 = no car access
Appendix 2

Multidimensional Scaling Techniques (MDS)

Throughout the thesis multidimensional scaling techniques (Borg and Ingwer, 1981) have been used to analyse multivariate data. The aims of MDS are to analyse similarities in data revealing structural, complex relationships without imposing linear or hierarchical relationships on them and to present these in a readily accessible and visible form which takes the shape of a geometric model. It is imperative with qualitative, experiential data to understand the inherent structure of data. MDS techniques have been used here in preference to more linear models of factor analysis and hierarchical models of cluster analysis.

MDS is described as,

"a family of models by means of which information contained in a set of data is represented by a set of points in space. These points are arranged in such a way that geometrical relationships such as distance between points reflect the empirical relationships in the data. For example, the complex associations between a set of variables which is contained in a matrix of correlations can be represented spatially by portraying each variable as a point, placing them in such a way that the distances between them reproduce the numerical value of the correlation co-efficients."

(Coxon, 1982, p1).

A wide range of different measures can be used as input to MDS as long as they can be interpreted as a similarity or dissimilarity measure. The different forms of MDS differ also in terms of the assumptions they make about quantitative properties of the data. In this study, data has been discussed within the context of three types of MDS techniques: smallest space analysis; multidimensional scalogram analysis; and correspondence analysis. Each are discussed below.

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA)

The basic question addressed by SSA is 'What is the smallest space in which data may be adequately represented?' The notion of smallest space refers to the fewest number of dimensions of n-dimensional space in which a data set can be reconstructed from a configuration of variables, subsequently plotted as points.

The relationships between variables are calculated by carrelational techniques appropriate to the form of the data eg Pearson's r, Spearman's rho, the Phi co-efficient etc. The correlation matrix is input to the SSA1 programme which then plots the variables as points in space so that the distance between any two points is inversely related to their correlation co-efficients. Conceptual similarity is spatially represented by adjacency in space thus following the principle of contiguity developed by Guttman (1954) and empirically tested by Foa, 1958).
Since a large number of dimensions may be needed to accurately represent a data set, perfection is subjugated to visualisability. This means that a few slightly misplaced points are not so important if the data structure can be readily interpreted from the plots (Bloombaum, 1970). To safeguard against gross distortions however, a "goodness of fit" of points to correlation coefficients is indicated by a coefficient of alienation. A small coefficient of alienation indicates a good fit (Guttman, 1968). Interpretation of the SSA spatial plots must be consistent with the empirical facts and theoretical perspectives of the investigation. However, SSA can provide a useful technique in a heuristic research project.

Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis (MSA)

MSA (Lingoes, 1963) is based on analysis of categorical data in its raw form. Objects, variables and categories are considered together whereby objects map into points, variables into partitions, and categories into regions of in space. The MSA aims to create a geometrical representation of a scalogram. A scalogram is a rectangular matrix of columns (items) and rows (subjects). Each subject has a structuple or profile of categories, one from each item.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>2 1 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2 2 2 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above example, subjects are characterised in terms of four items or variables. Each item is categorised in binary form. The collection of the four categorisations for subject 'A' is called a structuple. So 'A's structuple is '2 1 1 1'.

In the MSA plot, structuples are represented by points constructed of similar item categorisations. The closer the points are to each other, the more similar they are, again following the principle of contiguity. Area within a partition composed of the same category are called "contiguity regions" (Zvulum, 1978). The co-efficient of contiguity is a measure of distortion of the points in the space representing how many points are misplaced. This co-efficient ranges from +1 to -1 in the case of total discrepancy. Usually a co-efficient of .90 is considered satisfactory for a two dimensional solution. But this is subject to interpretation. If a solution makes psychological sense then the co-efficient of contiguity is less important.

Lingoes (1973) suggests that MSA is especially appropriate as an exploratory analytical devices. It is also extremely useful in grouping subjects according to the categories they use.

The differences between SSA and MSA can be summarised. SSA seeks to preserve whatever order and structure is inherent in the data so that different projections of the space show slightly different spatial configurations due to maintenance of the structural
relationships. MSA is characterised by belongingness, as such points are fixed across item plots while only their category denotation is changed.

Correspondence Analysis

Correspondence analysis (Greenacre, 1984) can be used descriptively and in exploratory ways as well as in more formal relational analyses. Again the technique represents data spatially so that the data can be visually examined for structure. Data is presented to the analysis in a two dimensional contingency table. Frequencies, percentages and binary are all possible forms of data. Both the row and column variables are represented in the same geometrical space to allow examination of relations among row OR column variables and between row AND column variables. Distances between variables represent the degree of relationship. Two points close together are closely related and points further apart are dissimilar. Examination of the solution looks for main variability in the placement of points.

Correspondence analysis begins with a square root transformation that divides each row by the square root of the row total and each column by the square root of the column total. This transformation removes differences in magnitude among row and column totals, leaving the association or 'interaction' (conceptually similar to subtracting cut the Chi squared expected cell values from the observed cell values). Once this has been achieved, optimal scores are derived and used as coordinates for data points in Euclidean space (Weller and Romney, 1990).
Appendix 3

Participating Organisations

The priority area team: direct funding to priority areas in the city.
Citizen’s Advice Bureau:
Whitehouse enterprise Centre: provide self employment opportunities
Centre Against Unemployment: drop-in and political functions
SCOPE, College of Art and Technology: educational course
West End Resources Centre: advice and advocacy for unemployed
Youth Enterprise Centre: advice on employment opportunities
Scotswood and Community Employment Project: workshops/courses
Youth and Community Services: leisure facilities
Scotswood Welfare Rights: advice and advocacy
POW: College of Art and Technology: educational course
Scotswood Community Project: leisure and welfare
Entrust: small business advisory and loan service
West End and Scotswood Unemployed Support Group
Scotswood baths
Ucanduit: workshops and courses
Scotswood housing Association
Marriage Guidance Bureau
Workers Educational Association
SCAAC: community project and advice
The Holy Cross Church
City Council
The Sporting Arms Public House
Scotswood Library
Appendix 3

The Organisational Interview Schedule

Name and Address of Organisation

1. When did this organisation begin operating?
2. How did it begin?
3. What are the aims of the organisation
4. What policies does it hold?
5. How are policies operationalised?
6. Has it any political tendencies?
7. Where does funding come from? How much does it receive per year?
8. What contacts are made with other organisations in Newcastle?
9. How are unemployed people represented in the organisation?
10. In what ways in the organisation made accessible to the unemployed?
11. How many unemployed people use it in a week?
12. What type of problems do the unemployed present here?
13. What facilities do you have to deal with the needs and problems of unemployed clients?
14. Does the organisation respond to problems of the unemployed, or does it initiate action in their interests?
15. How do you evaluate the success of the organisation in its dealings with unemployed people?
## Appendix 4

### Sample Characteristics

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<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
<th>Year 5</th>
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</table>
Variable 1=Age

2=Marital Status 1= married no children
   2= married with children
   3= widowed/separated with children

3=Unemployment duration in years

4=Location 1= high unemployment area
   2= low unemployment area

5=Previous unemployment 1= yes
   2= no

6=Type of job loss 1= resigned
   2= redundancy
   3= job/contract terminated
   4= Closure/bankruptcy of employer

7=Previous occupation

8=Number of times interviewed

9=Qualifications 1=yes
   2=no
Appendix 5

Social Representations Interview Schedule

Occupation

Sex

1. Have you ever been unemployed? If yes, when and for how long?

2. Why are unemployed people unemployed?

3. What are the most difficult or worrying problems facing unemployed people?

4. What kind of opportunities are available to unemployed people?

5. How do you think unemployed people spend their time?

6. If you had to give a description of an unemployed person, in your own words, what would you say?

7. Over the past week have you had any conversations about unemployment or unemployed people? If yes, please describe the content of each conversation.

8. Were you talking to an employed or unemployed person?

Sample=125

unemployed people
students
retired people
employed people
organisational people.
Appendix 6

Recruitment Questionnaire

I am doing a study of the impact of unemployment on people's lives.

Could you tell me if the head of your household:

1. is unemployed?

2. Has been unemployed for a year or more?

3. Is between 21 and 60 years old?

4. Is married/ with children?

5. What was their occupation?

6. Would they consider taking part in the study?

The study involves talking to me in one or two sessions lasting around one hour. The sessions can be done at anytime suitable and their aim is to discover what it is like to be unemployed in Newcastle.
The Person-Place Relations in Unemployment Schedules

1. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Age
Address
Marital Status
Number of children
What are the sources of your income?
How much income do you receive altogether?
Do you have any qualifications?

2. UNEMPLOYMENT CONTEXT

Are any members of your family unemployed? If yes, who?
Are ALL MOST SOME FEW NONE of your friends unemployed?
Are ALL MOST SOME FEW NONE of the people living in your neighbourhood unemployed?
Are ALL MOST SOME FEW NONE of the people living in your street unemployed?
Do you mind being seen on the streets or in shops during normal working hours? YES NO
Do you mind the following people knowing you are unemployed:

Family YES NO
Friends YES NO
Neighbours YES NO

How long have you been unemployed in the current spell of unemployment?
Have you had any previous spells of unemployment?

3. WORK HISTORY

What do you consider to be your normal occupation or trade?
What was your last job?
Can you describe the circumstances of your most recent job loss?
Are you looking for a job at present? Tell me about it.

4. Life Circumstances of Unemployment

I am interested in the ways your life has changed since you became unemployed. Some changes might have been for the better and given you opportunities to do things you've never had the chance to do before. Other changes might have been for the worse and faced you with problems.

Tell me about the problems unemployment has brought into your life.

Tell me of any good things or opportunities that unemployment has brought.

Are there any other ways you and your life has changed since you became unemployed?

5. EVERYDAY ACTIVITY AND PLACE USAGE

Can you tell me the sorts of things you do during a normal week, and the sorts of places you go to?

Do you have any interests or hobbies?

Tell me all the reasons you have for doing ______.

Now you have told me generally about the things you do, can you tell me in much more detail everything you did yesterday? I am interested in:

what you did
when you did it
who with
where
why you did it
how you felt about it

Try to imagine yourself going through your day yesterday, beginning with the time you woke up until you fell asleep.
6. TASKS AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Example of the Yesterday Diary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who with</th>
<th>Where</th>
<th>Cognitions and Emotions</th>
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up until 24.00.

Diary Interview Schedule

Was it a typical day yesterday? If not, why?

Overall, were you pleased with your day? Why?

What were the things you looked forward to doing? Why?

Was there anything you did not look forward to? Why?

Was there anything you definitely had to do yesterday? If yes, please explain.

Did anything important happen to you yesterday? If yes, please explain.

Can you describe your mood when you got up yesterday?

Did this change at all over the course of the day? Why?

Tell me what was on your mind yesterday.
**GHQ-12 Likert Scoring**

Score 0 to 3 for each of the 12 questions

0 = ‘Better than usual’ or ‘Not at all’
1 = ‘Same as usual’ or ‘No more than usual’
2 = ‘Less so than usual’ or ‘Rather more than usual’
3 = ‘Much less than usual’ or ‘Much more than usual’.

Higher scores indicate poorer mental health.

Scores are added together to give a range from 0 to 36.

**Depression and Anxiety Scales:** The next few questions are about your feelings. Please tick ( ) the box which describes how often you have felt like this in the past few weeks.

**IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None or Some of</th>
<th>A good</th>
<th>Most</th>
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<tr>
<td>little of the time</td>
<td>part of</td>
<td>or all of the time</td>
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</table>

I feel that I am useful and needed
I have crying spells or feel like it
I find I can think quite clearly
My life is pretty full
I feel downhearted and blue
I enjoy the things I do
I feel nervous and anxious
I feel afraid for no reason at all
I get upset easily
I feel like I’m falling apart and going to pieces
I feel calm and can sit easily
I fall asleep easily and get a good nights rest

Depression (first six) and anxiety (last six) questions were scored in the same way as the GHQ-12. A Likert scale scoring 0-3 where the higher score represents poorer mental health. Depression and Anxiety scores were kept separate. Scoring range 0-12.
The Housework Task

List of housework tasks
1 Washing dishes
2 Dusting
3 Tidying up
4 Gardening
5 Cooking
6 Making tea/coffee in the evening
7 Hoovering
8 Household repairs
9 Washing Clothes
10 Spring cleaning
11 Washing windows
12 Looking after the children
13 Ironing
14 Decorating
15 Cleaning
16 Shopping

Which of these tasks do you regularly do?
Which are men’s work? Which are women’s work? Which are both?
How do you (would you) feel about doing each housework task?
The Twenty Sentences Task

I would like to know as much as I can about the sort of person you are. Please think about yourself as honestly as possible then complete the following sentences with different descriptions which apply to you. The descriptions can be anything you like, as long as you feel they describe WHO YOU ARE.

I am ____________________________________________
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Barriers To Activities

Instructions

Take out the things you do and the places you go to.

Take out those you are not interested in doing or going to.

Are there other things to do or places to go that you would like to do but never have?

Activities and Places

Go to the cinema
Visit relatives or friends
Go to the theatre
Go on holiday
Go to a restaurant
Entertain at home
Go to the swimming baths
Read
Do voluntary work
Play team sport eg football
Take a course at college
Go to the Centre Against Unemployment
Go to a football match
Go to an workshop for the unemployed
Do a course in woodwork or other crafts
Go to the gym to keep fit

Barriers list

Here is a list of things that might prevent, hinder or dissuade you from doing things or going places. Which ones apply to each of the activities and places you have left? Choose as many barriers as you like for each activity.
Don't know how to do it
Don't know what is available
Not sure which activities I'm interested in
Nobody to go with or do things with
Planning and making decisions is difficult
Not at ease in social situations
I have difficulty getting things organised
Don't have enough free time
Too many family obligations
Family and friends don't expect it of me
Feel too much stress
Don't feel like doing anything
Not fit or healthy enough
Don't have the physical skills
Facilities/course not available
Don't have enough money
Commitments are hard to maintain
It's too far to go
I'm not clever enough
It would be too embarrassing
It's too political
It's too organised or formal
It's too disorganised or informal
It would involve too much effort
I wouldn't feel able to do it properly
I wouldn't achieve what I wanted
I wouldn't get much out of it for it to be worth my while
People would know I was unemployed
I'd have to mix with unemployed people
I'd have to mix with employed people
I wouldn't be confident enough
I'd feel a bit guilty
The Environmental Schedule

1. Restorative Environments
Do you go anywhere to 'get away from it all'? If yes, where?
Tell me about the place.
What do you think about when you are there?
What do you do when you are there?
In what ways does this make you feel better?
Do you feel refreshed or recuperated when you are there?
Why do you think this is?
Do you still feel better after you've left the place and gone somewhere else?

2. Worrisome Environments
Is there anywhere where you tend to worry about your problems?
If yes, where?
Tell me about the place.
What do you think about when you are there?
What do you do when you are there?
What is it about the place that makes you worry?
Do you feel better or worse after being in this place?
Why do you think this is?

3. Supportive Environments
Is there a place that you feel helps you to achieve the things you want? If yes, where?
Tell me about the place.
What do you think about when you are there?
What do you do when you are there?
How do you feel when you are there?
What is it about the place that is supportive?
How do you feel after you've left here and gone somewhere else?
The Boredom Schedule

I am interested in finding out about boredom, why it is people get bored, where, and what they feel about it.

Do you ever get bored? YES NO

Do you get bored MORE OFTEN, THE SAME, OR LESS OFTEN since becoming unemployed?

Tell me what it is like to be bored.

Is there any particular time of day when you are more likely to get bored? Why is this?

Is there anything you do that makes you feel bored?

If you feel bored is there anything you can do, or think about, that helps you to get over it?

Are there any places where you are more likely to get bored? Where?

What is it about the place that makes you feel like this?

Is there anywhere where you never get bored? Where? Why is this?

Now I would like you to think back to the last time you were feeling bored.

When was this?

Why do you think you were feeling like this?

Where were you?

What were you doing?

How did the feeling of boredom end?
Multiple Sorting Task

1. I would like to find out about all the places you use and places you have used in the past. I will write each place you mention on a separate card.

What places did you go to yesterday?

Are there any other places you go to during the week?

Are there any places you go to now and again?

Are there any other places you use that are important to you?

Thinking back, are there any places you used to go to over the past two years, but don’t go to anymore?

Are there any places you used to go to before you were unemployed but don’t go now?

2. Now can you take these cards and sort them into groups so that each group contains similar places. You can start by dividing the cards into groups according to how frequently you use the places.

Now, shuffle the cards to mix them up again, and then put them into groups again according to how important they are to you.

Now I would like you to think of a way to divide the cards up. You can use any idea you like to divide them, and you can tell me what the groups are as you go along.

Can you divide them into those places you feel you identify with and those you don’t?

Can you divide them according to how much you enjoy being there?
List of Places/Activities

1 cinema
2 theatre
3 restaurant
4 go on holiday
5 entertain at home
6 visit friends/relatives
7 swimming baths
8 football ground
9 play team sport
10 play an individual sport
11 read at home
12 go to the library
13 attend college on a course of study
14 take a course in crafts such as woodwork
15 go to a local unemployment workshop
16 do voluntary work
17 go to the Centre Against Unemployment
Hidden Agendas

Four hidden agendas were used. Each was designed as an impetus to focus on and discuss the respective places and was not meant to be a comprehensive set of questions covering all aspects of the place. Indeed, a comprehensive approach was avoided in favour of people telling in their own words their personal experiences of the place.

The DHSS Schedule

1. First Visit

Can you tell me what it felt like to go in the DHSS office for the very first time?

What had you expected the place to be like? How did it differ?

2. Present Experiences

What do you think about the DHSS now?

Tell me about the staff?

Tell me about the other unemployed people there?

3. Supplimentary Benefit Office

What do you think about the supplimentary benefit office?

Home Schedule

What is the difference between a house and a home?

What does your home mean to you?

Is the experience of home different now that you are unemployed?

Who makes decisions about the way home is organised?

Can you tell me what you think about your:
   living room
   kitchen
   bedroom.

Former Workplace Schedule

Tell me about the work you did when you were employed.

What was your workplace like?

What do you miss most about your former workplace?
Underground Economy Workplace Schedule

Some people do work even when they are unemployed, do you work at all? YES NO

Do you work in the underground economy (Do you have a fiddle job)?

Where?

What sort of work?

Tell me what it is like to work in the underground economy.

Tell me about the place(s) you work in.
### Appendix 7: Life Circumstances Data

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Key

1. GHQ-12 score
2. GHQ-12 categories 1=poor mental health  
   2=reASONABLE mental health  
   3=goOd mental health
3. Depression score
4. Anxiety Score
5. Family unemployed 1=yes, 2=no
6. Friends unemployed 1=all/most  
   2=some  
   3=few/none
7. Level of street unemployment 1=all/most people unemployed  
   2=some  
   3=few/none
8. Level of neighbourhood unemployment 1=all/most  
   2=some  
   3=few/none
9. Previous unemployment 1=yes, 2=no
10. Financial problems 1=yes, 2=no
11. Psychological problems 1=yes, 2=no
12. Social problems 1=yes, 2=no
13. Activity problems 1=yes, 2=no
14. Work benefits 1=yes, 2=no
15. Activity benefits 1=yes, 2=no
16. Psychological improvement 1=yes, 2=no
17. View of future 1=no future, 2=planned future
18. Like previous job 1=yes, 2=no
19. Job loss was fair 1=yes, 2=no
20. Presently looking for work 1=yes, 2=no
21. Working in underground economy 1=yes, 2=no
22. Wife is working part time 1=yes 2=no
23. Politics 1=labour, 2=conservative, 3=no politics
24. Previous job held responsibilities 1=yes, 2=no
25. Experience boredom 1=yes, 2=no, 3=no comment
26. Coping orientation 1 = positive about unemployment
2 = negative about unemployment
Appendix 8

Input to MSA of Social Representations

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Key

1. World Climate
   1=mentioned 2=did not mention

2. Political Climate
   "   "   "   "   "

3. Workplace/Industrial causes
   "   "   "   "   "

4. Financial problems
   "   "   "   "   "

5. Psychological Problems
   "   "   "   "   "

6. Activity Problems
   "   "   "   "   "

7. Work Related Benefits
   "   "   "   "   "

8. Activity Benefits
   "   "   "   "   "

9. Descriptions of Personal
   Characteristics, eg young etc
Appendix 9 Binary data matrix for input to MSA for analysis of the unemployed sample.

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Key 1=yes 2=no

1. World climate mentioned
2. Policy causes
3. Financial problems
4. Psychological problems
5. Social problems
6. Activity benefits
7. Work benefits and time use
8. No benefits at all
9. Time spent doing nothing
10. Psychological benefits
11. Personal characteristic descriptions of the unemployed
12. Unemployed are all individuals
Appendix 8: Orientation of Social Representations

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Note participants 30, 31 and 44 did not provide data on social representations.
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Key

Usage 1. Started using in unemployment
       2. Always used
       3. Stopped using in unemployment

Important 1. Most important
            2. Quite important
            3. Not important

Enjoyment 1. Most enjoy
            2. Quite enjoy
            3. Do not enjoy

Identify 1. Identify with this place a lot
           2. Identify partially
           3. Do not identify with this place

Control 1. Feel I am in control in this place
           2. Feel I have some control in this place
           3. Feel I do not have control in this place
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Key

1 Extent of Organisation use 1=extensive, 2=minimal
2 Dislike of DSS 1=yes, 2=no
3 Identification with DSS 1=yes, 2=no
4 Experience underground economy workplace 1=yes, 2=no
5 Home Experience 1=positive, 2=negative
6 Former workplace important 1=yes, 2=no
7 Identification with former workplace 1=yes, 2=no
8 Pub Use 1=still use, 2=stopped using
Appendix 11 Data Matrix of DSS Meanings for Input to Smallest Space Analysis

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Key:
1. Financial importance 1=yes 2=no
2. Taking charity 1=yes 2=no
3. Disadvantaged by system 1=yes 2=no
4. Dislike 'cap in hand' 1=yes 2=no
5. Depressing place 1=yes 2=no
6. Feel stigma, lack confidence 1=yes 2=no
7. Lack of control 1=yes 2=no
8. Identification 1=yes 2=no
9. Unfriendly, unhelpful staff 1=yes 2=no
10. Relations to other unemployed 1=good 2=poor
11. Socially embarrassing 1=yes 2=no
12. Dirty, squalid 1=yes 2=no
### Appendix 12 Meanings of Home for the Unemployed

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**Key**

1. comfort
2. happiness
3. worry
4. prison
5. control
6. belonging
7. work
8. do what you want
9. identify
10. relaxation
11. ownership
12. secure
13. lived-in
14. family
15. emotional atmosphere
16. friendship
17. neighbourhood
18. convenient location
19. physical shell
20. possessions
21. services/facilities
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