

AN ANALYSIS OF
THE FACTORS THAT LONG TERM UNEMPLOYED CONSIDER WHEN
EVALUATING JOB OFFERS

by

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SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL
AWARDS IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

FEBRUARY 1999

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge with thanks the co-operation, encouragement and help I received from my colleagues and friends in the FAS Finglas Training Centre. It was a privilege to experience their unflagging patience and courtesy. Responsibility in all respects remains, of course my own. The views and conclusions expressed are not necessarily the views of FAS or my colleagues.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the trainees in the Centre who enthusiastically helped me in the preparation of the wording of the questionnaire and indeed helped me to catch a glimpse of their community culture.

A great measure of gratitude must go to Brendan Devine my project supervisor for his patient calming advice and encouragement to persevere.

A further acknowledgment must be made to the Open University for generously allowing me to use their computing facilities. Most of all, I would like to reserve my deepest thanks for my wife Yvonne who tolerated what must often have appeared to be endless periods of work on the project. I want also to record the energetic and loving support my family gave to me when I wilted and balked at my task.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis represents my own work; that no portion of it has been submitted previously in support of an application for any other Degree or qualification of this or any other institution of learning; that it has not been published previously; and that the views expressed and the conclusions reached are personal and that I accept full responsibility for them.

Joseph M Chaney

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the cultural, economic, and social practices that the unemployed residents of the Finglas Partnership Area in Dublin took into consideration when deciding to accept or reject job offers in 1993-1994. Two distinct albeit complementary techniques of research were adopted. Firstly, Personal Construct Theory was used to address the problem of observer bias and difficulties of discounting professionals' paradigms when investigating attitudes. The combined repertory grid responses from a group of long term unemployed subjects, was compiled to form the core of a questionnaire. Secondly the questionnaire was administered to 334 residents from the defined area with a population of 4500. The study consists of a Literature Review of work; empirical views of the Long Term Unemployed and a Social Survey.

The evidence of the survey is that two of three persons would not accept wages equal to their social welfare benefits. Also, because being unemployed carries no stigma, and secure in the intuitive knowledge of the culturally prevailing practices, job offers can be accepted or rejected without loss of community respect. Self-interest is bolstered and socially approved by the community practice of the individuals putting their own circumstances first. The crucial factor that the unemployed consider when evaluating a job or training opportunity is whether the offer is to their advantage strictly in cash terms. The study draws conclusions and reflects on how the LTU as agents relate to structures in society and how the coping practices that have evolved are a reflection of the perceived rule breaking behaviour of other socially successful groups.

A further finding of the research is that young persons displayed a keen awareness of the relationship between paid work and self-esteem as well as a marked reluctance to do unpaid voluntary work

The survey also identified that there has been a trend of changing social attitudes across three generations about the role of work in relation to the quality of life that is now expected as a right.

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	III
DECLARATION.....	IV
ABSTRACT.....	V
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1.....	9
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	9
CHAPTER 2.....	44
UNEMPLOYMENT.....	44
CHAPTER 3.....	63
METHODOLOGY.....	63
CHAPTER 4.....	83
ANALYSES OF THE SURVEY RESULTS.....	83
CHAPTER 5.....	105
INTERPRETATION OF SIGNIFICANT SURVEY RESULTS.....	105
CHAPTER 6.....	120
CONCLUSIONS.....	120
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	131
APPENDICES.....	142

List of Tables

TABLE 1 -- ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT PERCENTAGES, 1970-1993	46
TABLE 2 -- TOTAL UNEMPLOYED AND LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED-LABOUR FORCE IN IRELAND. (BASED ON ILO DEFINITION) ('000).....	48
TABLE 3 -- PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF THE LIVE REGISTER IN SOUTH CITY POSTAL DISTRICTS 2 AND 8 ASSIGNED TO THE FAS DUBLIN NORTH REGION	50
TABLE 4-- EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF THOSE IN THE LABOUR FORCE AGED 15- 24 YEARS, 1996	51
TABLE 5 -- PATTERN OF UNEMPLOYMENT 1996 ('000).....	52
TABLE 6 -- THE COMPLETE POSTAL SCHEDULE	80
TABLE 7 -- THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS LIVING IN FINGLAS.	85
TABLE 8 -- AGE BRACKETS OF THE RESPONDENTS	86
TABLE 9 -- STATUS ON THE LIVE REGISTER.....	87
TABLE 10 -- BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLE BY GENDER.....	88
TABLE 11 -- PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF SUBJECTS WHO WOULD ACCEPT WAGES EQUAL TO DSCFA ALLOWANCE.....	89
TABLE 12 -- BREAKDOWN OF PERCENTAGES THAT WOULD ACCEPT WAGES EQUAL TO DSCFA BY GENDER	90
TABLE 13 -- RESPONDENTS WHO WOULD ACCEPT WAGES EQUAL TO DSCFA ALLOWANCE BY AGE.....	90
TABLE 14 -- BREAKDOWN OF RESPONDENTS WHO WOULD DO UNPAID VOLUNTARY WORK	92
TABLE 15 -- BREAKDOWN OF RESPONDENTS FOR WHOM PAID WORK EQUATES SELF-DIGNITY BY AGE ...	93
TABLE 16 -- BREAKDOWN OF RESPONDENTS FOR WHOM PAID WORK EQUATES SELF-DIGNITY BY GENDER	94
TABLE 17 -- BREAKDOWN OF RESPONDENTS WHOSE QUALITY OF SOCIAL LIFE DEPENDS ON CASH BY AGE	94
TABLE 18 -- BREAKDOWN OF THE RESPONDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' ATTITUDES TO CLAIMING SOCIAL WELFARE BENEFIT BY AGE.....	95
TABLE 19 -- BREAKDOWN OF THE RESPONDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' OPINIONS THAT HAVING A JOB GETS RESPECT IN THE COMMUNITY	96

TABLE 20 -- BREAKDOWN OF THE RESPONDENT'S EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' OPINIONS OF HAVING A JOB GETS COMMUNITY RESPECT BY AGE.....	97
TABLE 21 -- PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF THE DEPENDENCE OF THE QUALITY OF SOCIAL LIFE ON CASH BY THE RESPONDENTS' CATEGORY ON THE LIVE REGISTER.....	98
TABLE 22 -- PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF WAGES EQUAL TO SOCIAL WELFARE BENEFIT BY CATEGORY OF THE LIVE REGISTER.....	99
TABLE 23 -- PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF THE PREFERENCES BETWEEN TAKE-HOME PAY AND FREE TIME WHEN CONSIDERING A JOB OFFER.....	99
TABLE 24 -- PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF THE PREFERENCES BETWEEN TAKE-HOME PAY AND FREE TIME WHEN CONSIDERING A JOB OFFER BY CATEGORY ON THE LIVE REGISTER.....	100
TABLE 25 -- CHI-SQUARE VALUES.....	101
TABLE 26 -- PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN REPLIES TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE BREAK RULES.....	102
TABLE 27 -- PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF THE REPLIES TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER PEOPLE MUST ALWAYS CONSIDER THEIR OWN CIRCUMSTANCES BEFORE ACCEPTING A JOB.....	102

List of Figures

FIGURE 1 -- THE NUMBER OF PERSONS INVITED AND WHO ATTENDED INTERVIEWS FOR TRAINING COURSES JANUARY -DECEMBER 1993	4
FIGURE 2 - PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD WORK EVEN IF THERE WERE NO ECONOMIC NECESSITY TO DO SO.....	29
FIGURE 3 - PARTNERSHIP POPULATION 1986-1996.....	57
FIGURE 4 - PARTNERSHIP POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUP	58
FIGURE 5 - THE ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE TO DERIVE PARTNER.....	75
FIGURE 6 - THE ELEMENT TREE FOR THE COMBINED REPERTORY GRID PARTNER.....	76
FIGURE 7 - PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF SUBJECTS FOR WHOM PAID WORK EQUATES SELF DIGNITY	91

INTRODUCTION

The best social research however starts from problems which are also puzzles. A puzzle is not just a lack of information but a gap in our understanding.

Giddens, Sociology

To a large extent the traumatic effects of the start and development of the Industrial Revolution, in the work place, left Ireland virtually unscathed. Because of the lack of physical resources for example, coal mining and steel making, large industrial manufacturing factories were not a feature of the local labour market. The primary industry was and to a large extent still is agriculture. The labour profile of the industry was essentially of an uneducated, unorganised, male, unskilled rural workforce. The employers on the other hand comprised of a cohesive class of landowners. As recent as 1876, 66% of the land in Ireland was owned by fewer than two thousand landowners with estates in excess of two thousand acres. In effect 800 landlords owned half the country (Swanton 1994 11-12). The gross imbalance was eventually redressed after the 1881 Land Act. Ireland was industrially stagnant for almost the whole of the first half of the twentieth century. Firstly because during the war years from 1914 to 1918 and again from 1939 to 1945 no industrial development could take place. Secondly the post war period up to the 1950s was bleak. Ireland's biggest customer, Britain, which bought almost 90% of Irish exports, retained stringent food rationing in force until 1953. Due to the low rate of employment in Ireland many workers migrated regularly and sometimes seasonally to Britain and consequently many of

the work practices of the industrial society and behaviour were introduced back into Ireland when the migrants returned.

When Ireland joined the European Union (EU), previously the EEC, the transfer of capital through the Social Fund enervated the Irish industrial sectors. A wide range of infrastructure developments was undertaken in Labour market intervention schemes, and training and education programmes. Gradually the industries have evolved from sub-assembly “screw driver” operations in the 1960s to advanced high technology Research and Development facilities.

The movement from rural farming jobs into sterile computer and information technology manufacturing plants has been a major constituent of the industrialisation of Ireland. One of the results of the improved standard of living is the provision of a secure safety net of improved social welfare benefits. The pace and nature of the industrial environment has now altered and accelerated. The industrial and commercial objectives of ever higher productivity, regular and punctual attendance and rigid work standards has contributed to cultural and social changes in the demeanour and attitudes of the labour force.

The social evolution of Irish society was very successful in raising the standard of living and hugely expanding and diversifying the productive capacity of both industry and workers. Many of the present day cultural mores, practices, attitudes and ways of living derive from the need to sustain and nurture the continuation of industrial society. One result of the changes in the reorganisation and structure of the industrial/social world of work is the rate of change that has occurred in the attitudes of much of the workforce. Many of these changes have been attributed to the effects of innovation and invention and technical change. However the nature of change is that it is dynamic and consequently on-going.

The widespread disruptions and social breakdowns that are reported almost daily may be construed as part of that change process as well as evidence of the decline of the industrial based society. The sometimes inexplicable actions of workers employed or unemployed may be signaling the decline of the industrial based focus of society and the growth and emergence of a different kind of society, a post industrial knowledge-based society within which a different vision of human identity and self-esteem is perceived

The topic for investigation was first perceived in the area of job training for work placement. The subject initially manifested itself as a perplexing irritation because apparently motivated job seekers declined to enhance their job chances in the labour market by rejecting training opportunities to update their skills. The initial structured job seeking registration/placement interview with either the Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs (DSCFA) or Foras Aiseanna Saothir (FAS), the national training authority, is to establish the range and extent of a person's marketable skills and job preferences. The purpose is to identify whatever job skills might be deficient and then to arrange training to provide the missing skills to the individual. After the course the individual is assisted to locate a job placement in the labour market.

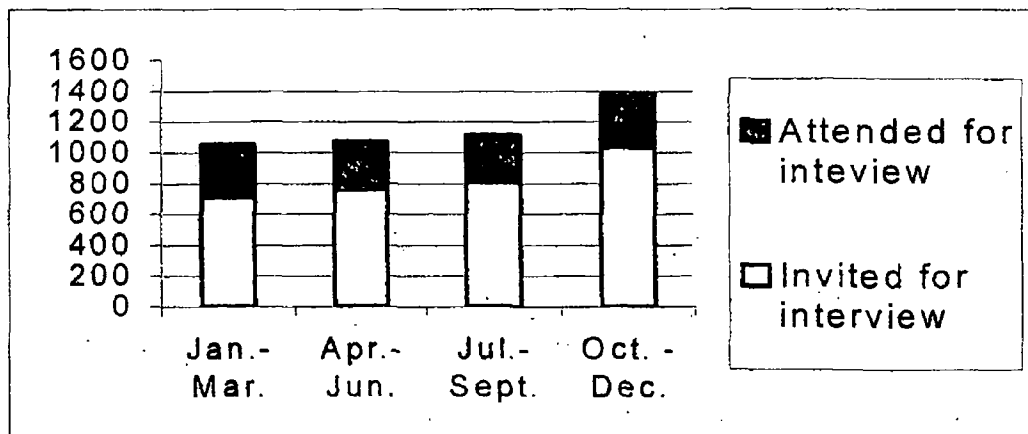
Training courses in the Finglas Training Centre range from what might be deemed blue and white-collar skills to high technology engineering and computer software. Management courses are also offered. The stated age profile and educational qualifications for applicant trainees are flexible and designed to facilitate persons who wish to progress in either their usual job or make career changes. Places on the courses are reserved for unemployed persons resident in

the Training Centre's catchment area. Positive action is exercised on behalf of women and they are encouraged to enter non-traditional craft and skills courses.

In the Finglas Training Centre from January to December 1993, 3309 persons were invited to attend for interview for selection on to the courses for which they had voluntarily applied. The rate of failure to attend was 1,964 or 51.4 percent, sufficiently high to warrant comment, and question the sincerity of the applicants' original declaration that they are genuinely seeking work. The number of attenders for selection was consistently poor over the whole range of courses. Less than fifty percent presented in most cases and for some courses the attendance rate was less than thirty percent.

Enquiries to other Training Centres in the Dublin area indicated that a similar interview attendance response was the accepted operational experience. To compensate for anticipated non-attenders the ratio of invitations mailed to registered course applicants had been adjusted operationally. Typically the ratio was of the order of three to one. The numbers of applicants called for interview and how many attended are shown graphically in Figure 1.

Figure 1 -- The number of persons invited and who attended interviews for training courses January -December 1993



It was the rate for non-attendance for interviews for job training opportunities that gave rise to the desire to try and resolve the puzzling features of the attitudes of the unemployed. Job seekers inevitably proclaim an urgent desire to find a job as rapidly as possible. In line with their stated intentions, and expressed attitudes of work-seeking goals, it could be expected that job or training positions would be accepted with alacrity.

Inquiries concerning non-attendance for interview in three other training centres in North County Dublin indicated that the rates for non-attendance were also high enough to warrant comment, which raised the topic from being a local Finglas problem to an issue that has broader community implications.

Judging from the rejection rate of training opportunities there is a mismatch between the individuals' idea of what constitutes acceptable work or training compared with the initially expressed wish to re-enter (or at least not leave) the registered work force. It is apparent that present day job seekers are adjudicating and making their acceptance decisions in accord with some common perception of the effects that accepting a job can have.

There is the possibility that people when they are Long Term Unemployed (LTU), that is, more than six months on the Live Register, develop a distinctive perspective of work that modifies their willingness to rejoin the work force. A feature of being LTU is that the person has autonomy over how they use their free time and of how much of it (if any) they decide to surrender in exchange for work. The objective of this research is to test the hypothesis that: - the long term unemployed residents in the Finglas Partnership Area on Social Welfare benefit value their free time more than take home pay for work.

The text is divided into six Chapters. Chapter one reviews the literature that refers to the Sociology of Work. The issues and philosophies of writers on the topic of work are explored, as well as the relevance of conflicting perspectives to the present work ethic. The chapter also explores the difficulties of agreeing a universal definition of what precisely work is and the balance that needs to be struck between the nominal value of work compared with the loss of tranquillity, freedom and happiness. Attention is drawn to the apparent degree of consensus that exists, albeit from different perspectives, concerning work as an inherent part of the nature of man. The chapter also traces the residual effect of Utilitarianism on the current ideology of work through the intervention of the State as the arbiter of the official attitude to work by means of the Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs regulations. It also suggests that because of the spread of social welfare benefit, at least in Ireland, paid work has lost its place as a primary function necessary to human survival. The concept is presented that work is being re-defined by social agreements, that work today is what society and sometimes individuals decide it should be, and that if job offers are no longer emotionally or intellectually fulfilling then there is an increased likelihood that they will be rejected. The chapter also develops likely reasons why people participate in the world of work and the importance of work as a factor in defining a social role. The work of writers on the psychology of motivating people 'in work' is outlined.

Chapter two sets out the extent and range of unemployment at European, national and local community level. It traces the interaction between unemployed persons and the State welfare and training agencies. The objectives of the Government's Partnership initiative to reduce unemployment through the involvement of local residents at community level are also set out. However the

view is presented that the goal of full employment is unlikely to be achieved. Support for this finding is drawn from the slow rate of return back into work from the ranks of the LTU in contrast to other European countries. The Chapter explores the inevitable impact of reduced social funding of Irish social programmes and predicts that the structure of the social welfare system will have to be restructured. The Chapter also recognises the community's cultural perception that not having a paid job is no longer the stigmatised condition it used to be.

Why two distinct, albeit complementary techniques of research were adopted is dealt with in Chapter three. The problem of observer bias and the difficulties of discounting professionals' paradigms when investigating attitudes is offered as the explanation for using George Kelly's Personal Construct Theory (PCT) as the means of eliciting the attitudes of the unemployed. The methods for eliciting the Constructs and Elements for the Repertory Grids are explained.

Chapter four provides an analysis of the survey results. It identifies that self-dignity is a shared community concept that is especially potent regardless of work status. The prevailing opinion of the overall majority is that they would not accept work with pay equal to their DSCFA allowances. The results of the survey are interpreted in Chapter five and compared with the issues raised in the literature review in Chapter one. Conclusions are drawn concerning the practical issues confronting the LTU, the present ideology of work, and how culture impacts on the decision making process when the unemployed are considering whether or not to accept a job offer. One of the findings of the survey is that young persons have a heightened awareness of self-esteem and paid work. Important criteria in their decision making are a keen sense of self-interest and their personal circumstances

and needs. The Chapter also notes the waning influence of the Christian Churches in the area of work.

Chapter six draws conclusions and reflects on how the LTU as agents relate to structures in society and how the coping practices that have evolved are a reflection of the rule breaking behaviour of other socially successful groups. The changing environment and the challenge of increased global trading competition is reviewed and contrasted with the need to achieve the commitment of the national work force to the concept of life long learning and the acceptance of change in their working lives. The Chapter also considers the current national policy initiatives aimed at effecting social changes through education, directed at the school pupils and their main socialising role mentors their parents. It points to the actions of employers who are now trying to influence the socialisation process through work-job-placement schemes. Finally, the attempts of the EU to change the national employability culture is dealt with and some likely long-term training initiatives to facilitate change throughout the work force are explored.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This Chapter traces the continuous and changing historical debate that has focused on work. The writing and references that some major influential teachers have contributed during the past 2000 years are examined and the continuity of uncertainty that surrounds work is explored. It points to the lack of clarity that continues to persist about the role of work in the life of the individual and indeed in the community. The influences that different religious and social beliefs have exerted on the role of work are discussed, and how the modern view has derived from the nineteenth century humanist view that work is part of the nature of man.

Christian Civilisation

With the spread of Christianity the importance of the role of work continued to spread. In the New Testament the apostle Paul was to declare " . . . if any man will not work neither shall he eat". (Thessalonians C3. V.10). It should be clear that what Paul refers to is a deliberate refusal to work and should not be construed as referring to those who cannot work due to, for example, age or health.

Any study of work in Ireland has to be set within the context of the development of a broad European culture and must consider the widespread effect of Christianity on the social and industrial lifestyle that has evolved. Work in Western society has traditionally been portrayed as an obligation, part of the divine ordered structure of the world and for the Christian " . . . every career that is

tolerable at all is to be regarded as a vocation from God, and is something to be done for the service of men and God." (Vidler 1938, 116). The continuum of the influence of the Christian religion on successive generations has been constant and reflects the influence and nature of the established religious organisations.

The Post Reformation Era

The post Reformation era saw the development of an industrial society. The Victorian Protestant work ethic based on the parable of the 'talents' (Matthew's Gospel) emphasized the need to work and to make money. Protestantism cut across the Christian attitude to work and laid the foundation for its distinct modern form. Protestantism breached the barrier between everyday work and spiritual life. To labour diligently and soberly in one's calling became a single requirement of the Protestant way of life. (Kumar in Thompson 1984, 6-8). With the spread of the Calvinist doctrine of a pre-destined elect, work adopted a dynamic urgency.

Max Weber (1863-1920) argued that the ideal of Calvinist self-enhancement was bound up with the theory of work. He depicted an internalised, close relationship between Protestantism and the rise of capitalism and consequently with the manner, in which work is organised, managed and controlled. Weber's work reflects his interpretation of the teachings of John Calvin. According to Weber it was the incentive of assured salvation that permeated the ideology of work for Protestants and especially Calvinists. It generated a work ethic which perceived each moment of potential work and labour as a glorification of God and any idleness as a loss of opportunity to acquire and display the trappings of worldly achievements and confidence in their own salvation. Weber's conclusions have apparent validity especially in Capitalist economies with

protestant heritages e.g. USA and Canada. However, whether the ideology of work, in Ireland, was significantly influenced by a religious ethic is problematical. Writing when Ireland was still a part of the United Kingdom, Wilhelm Dibelius (1922) described how:

The Irish, even after the loss of their language, went their own way. Visionary dreamers, capable of swift passionate excitement, prone to swift weariness and disillusionment, and richly endowed with artistic gifts, they also have their full share of the peasant inheritance of coarse materialism, at the centre of their inner life. (Dibelius 1922, in Halsey 1983, 9-10)

A radical innovation of the Reformation was the re-location and elevation of the role of work in the life of the individual and society. While Victorian Protestantism stimulated labour in a mystical, spiritualised way, at the same time labour was increasingly identified as a fundamental factor of industrial production and a unique source of wealth and value. The combination of the spiritual and temporal objectives caused a complete reversal of the traditional ordering of social vocations or 'callings'. Man's capacity to reason, which was the faculty that raised him above the beast was displaced and permitted the development of a naturalistic conception in which man was defined by his capacity to labour. (Kumar, in Thompson 1984). The industrial revolution accelerated the acceptance of that idea. The unprecedented potential of man linked to machines excluded any description of him save as the labour constituent of the production process. In the growth of industrialism work was placed at the core of man's existence and the means with which he contracted his whole world. Work, as a philosophy, became a secular religion, unlike the Protestant ethic, which extolled and sanctified work.

Humanist View of Work

The intensity of fervour for the role of work grew in scope and urgency as the nineteenth century progressed. Writers such as Ruskin (1819-1900), Morris (1834-95) and Carlyle (1795-1899) proclaimed the goodness of work. Carlyle (in Clayre 1984, 241) wrote that: ". . . there is a perennial nobleness, and even sacredness, in work . . . in Idleness alone is there perpetual despair". Judged from that somewhat idealistic standpoint there should then be a desire for all to seek emotional fulfilment in the world of work. It was their argument that the nature of Man is such that work is a vitally necessary aspect of the health and well being of mankind.

The modern definition of work is largely derived from this humanist view. "Work, and not least manual work, is an integral part of our humanity and our intelligence"(Meakin 1976 1-2). Within the social sphere, Kitwood depicted work as having a fundamental role. He regarded work as ". . . an expression of individuality, an enhancement of the sense of being alive, and the most powerful of social bonds beyond the family". (Kitwood 1980, in Thompson. 1984, 8)

The change to industrialism from the previously rural economy lead to further social change. As well as man being defined by his work, work itself was increasingly defined and determined by the actual job, the named occupation, in the formal money economy. The seamlessness of the older social fabric whereby work, family, and leisure were all of a piece, functioning as a cohesive whole was undermined and disrupted by the industrial revolution. Technical changes, for example the use of gas light in factories and the expansion of the railway system permitted longer working hours to produce more goods for more distant markets. The transfer of work out of the rural cottages, as well as urbanisation, lead to the

re-location of work in specialised buildings i.e. factories. The criterion for a person to be 'at work' was that they be positioned in the formal economy 'in work' where they performed paid-for activities. The transition from the home to a specified factory, and later the office, devalued as non-work or unproductive work, activities which were not done in the formal work setting. The separation of aspects of the social activity of work extended to isolate leisure, religion and home into specialised roles.

The concept of work was narrowed and contributed to an enhancement of the status of work. Work as a job was, for the first time, directly coupled with the economy. It was the sphere of activity, which was both the central dynamic of society and the source of societies' central values. (Kumar 1984)

The societal defining question 'Who am I?' no longer prompts a clear and satisfactory response. Previously such queries were answered in terms of religion, family, clan, community or place of origin. With the spread of industrialism the description of identity could only be contained in terms of the occupation of the man or woman. " The industrial revolution lead to a conscious realisation of the ethical value of work in all its fullness and especially those qualities enshrined in the artisans". (Meakin 1976, 4). Yet paradoxically the passionate celebration of work for all individuals inexorably leads to a challenge to the ethic of work. From the very start, industrialisation aimed at eliminating the human factor in production altogether and " . . . each technical innovation brought it a little closer towards this objective". (Hobsbawm 1968, 146)

The Marxist View

Whereas the industrial revolution provided the most eloquent testimony to the inventiveness and unique contribution of man as a producing worker, in

practice it persistently diminishes the individual's involvement with work. Skills were increasingly simplified and job tasks reduced to mechanical routines. The character of work changed into a burdensome repetitive necessity. Engels was emphatic that:

The supervision of machinery is no activity which claims the operative's thinking powers, yet it is of a sort which prevents him from occupying his mind with other things". He expanded his definition of non-work as an activity which "... affords the muscles no opportunity for physical activity. Thus it is properly speaking, no work, but tedium, the most deadening, wearing process conceivable". (Engels in Clayre 1984, 244)

Engel's analysis of course reflected the grim and often brutalizing features of factory work in the nineteenth century. Yet, by his prescription, in order to avoid decay, work needed to be both a physical and mental stimulant for the worker. Haraszti supports the timelessness of this view, in his description of his experiences as a factory worker at the Red Star Tractor factory.

My interest in materials, techniques and ways of economising my strength is first coloured and then dominated by an obsession about making money. I surrender to an oppressive, unspoken but all-powerful taboo: never approach work to make it more exact, easy, enjoyable or safe. (Haraszti 1977, 53-65)

The Marxist view that work, free time and money are still inextricably linked was reinforced by the comments of car workers interviewed by Huw Beynon in his studies in the Ford motor plants. He reported:

"They worked in a car plant because of the money. In response to the question 'Why Ford's? They replied 'Money and a five day week'. (Beynon 1973, 88-107)

Considered from that stance, work is an infringement of what today may be described as leisure time; a trade off that the worker makes between seeking and accepting a job and the extent to which that choice may interfere with the persons social and cultural leisure criteria, or the means to retain an existing standard of living. Although they may initially seem to be unlikely bedfellows there is a degree of consensus that unites Marx and social commentators like Morris and Carlyle. Each perceives work as an inherent part of the nature of man. Each, albeit from different viewpoints, described the activity of work as socially and culturally desirable. Marx succinctly summed up his analysis of work as being " . . . a positive, creative activity". (Marx in Clayre 1984, 252)

Utilitarianism

The changed nature of work was addressed by the doctrine of Utilitarianism. The theory, described by Clayre (1984), is particularly associated with two philosophers, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806-73). In the form in which Bentham set it out, it holds that the end of all moral conduct and the end, at which political legislators ought to aim, are what was called the "Greatest Happiness Principle."(McKay 1984, 36) Their theoretical ideas were at the very centre of nineteenth century English Liberalism:

The State was to have the role of umpire ". . . for individuals to pursue their interests without risk of arbitrary political interference, to participate freely in economic transactions, to exchange labour and goods on the market and to appropriate resources privately". (Held 1987, 67).

In brief then, Utilitarians argued that individuals are subject to two causal stimuli, either pleasure or pain. Individuals are most likely to act in such a way that their response will be to avoid or diminish a sense of pain and enhance their perception of pleasure. It should be noted that the expression pain and pleasure are not to be interpreted in a narrow physical sense but in the citizen's determination of his/her own self-interest.

However, another broader aspect of Utilitarianism is that whenever laissez-faire is inadequate to ensure the optimum outcome for the majority, then State intervention is justified, but only after careful calculation of the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Within their prescribed framework for Governments they urged that four objectives required to be addressed, "... to provide subsistence; to produce abundance; to favour equality; and to maintain security" (Bentham in Held, 1987 67).

Held argues that the most important of these goals is the maintenance of security, because "... without security of life and property there would be no incentive for individuals to work and generate wealth: labour would be insufficiently productive and commerce could not prosper" (Held 1987, 66-68). Thus the notion of State intervention as a preserver of the public good was developed.

Utilitarianism in Practice

Successive Governments' adaptation and absorption of utilitarianism into State policy is clearly noticeable today in the administration of social welfare

legislation. The State's control over the rewards or penalties for working or not working has had a profound impact on the manner in which work is evaluated.

Dominant, elitist groups particularly in the Executive branches of Government responsible for the drafting of the administrative rules and regulations have a major role in defining work. Their power and influence enables them to have their preferred social meaning of the importance of work embodied in the design and organisation of work. In their view it is in the economic interests of the 'public good' that workers should not be encouraged to cease working productively or be unduly compensated when not working. For example, in the event of a worker deciding to terminate voluntarily his paid employment and seek welfare benefit, the DSCFA seeks to apply what may be described as 'rule utilitarianism' (McKay 1984, 40-45). Theoretically they ask 'what would happen if every worker resigned from work and sought unemployment benefit?'

Because the political and social consequences (as DSCFA perceive them) of such actions are repugnant, administrative rules for decision making are applied which can impose penalties by withholding benefits for a period of up to nine weeks. A secondary desired result of their disciplinary decision and action is the deterrent effect it has on other workers who might also be considering ceasing to work. There is also some evidence to suggest that the application of Social Welfare policy is on occasion uneven and may indeed be biased albeit unwittingly.

The results of a survey carried out by Daniel (1974 26-28, 32, 146) point to an unevenness in the treatment and service given by Social Welfare officials to different classes seeking benefits. Although the survey was conducted in England, the social and cultural traditions of both the Irish and English civil services are administratively very similar. The survey revealed that the term 'scroungers on the

Welfare State' was usually assumed to refer to working class claimants. Yet analysis of the register of claimants showed that about half the professional and managerial people registered as unemployed and drawing benefit were, on their own admission, not really seeking jobs. Two thirds of non-manual workers of fifty-five years and over were not seeking work and did not intend to search for work compared with one third of the manual workers. In addition, non-manual workers were much more likely to be doing part-time work while continuing to draw unemployment benefit. Yet, the non-manual workers were subject to much less pressure by employment officials to find a job than were manual workers. (Daniel 1974)

Although it may be construed from the Daniel survey that lower social groups consider work to be an indispensable part of their lives there is another consideration. The apparent desire to work may not be prompted solely by economic need, important though that is, but may reflect the historical absence of a choice between leisure/free time and work. However, approaching the end of the twentieth century, with undoubtedly improved Social Welfare benefits, the significance of work may not now be as important for many individuals as it may have been for their parents and grandparents. Chinoy's survey of American car workers revealed that the workers considered "... work to be part-time imprisonment, through which one pays off the fines incurred by one's pursuit of the good - or rather the good time - life at home and on vacation." (Chinoy 1955, 127)

Separation of Work and Leisure

Monotonous labour diminishes the individual's capacity to participate in active and enjoyable leisure. (Marx in Clayre 1976, 247). Furthermore, an

assigned period of leisure time, scheduled to suit an industrial timetable, cannot be considered genuine 'free time'.

The spread of industrial work with its specified hours of attendance led to the spread of fixed periods of non-attendance or leisure/holiday time. The new leisure time of the working classes represented a vacuum, which was largely filled, even to begin with, by amusement industries. Racing, football and boxing were heavily capitalised and transformed into mass entertainment industries. Leisure or free time came to be identified as 'time off' work, but in reality leisure is part of the same system that also includes work. (Burns, 1973). Work, today, is being questioned on a scale previously unexamined by earlier generations, " . . . we do not believe that work per se is necessary to human survival or self esteem. The fact that it appears to be so is a function of two centuries of propaganda and an educational system which maintained the 'idea' of work as its main objective, but which singularly failed to teach about leisure and how to use it". (Jenkins and Sherman 1979, 141)

With the spread of new computerised Information Technology (ITeC) systems in commercial, industrial and service jobs the mounting dissatisfaction with work appears to be reaching a critical point. There is now a pressing requirement to distinguish between what is work and what is non-work. A common theme is a questioning of the old work ethic, and the struggle to devise a new mode of working which is perceived as both personally and socially productive. (Stewart and Starrs 1973, 19-20)

It is necessary to re-examine or re-conceptualise both work and leisure, not as two different spheres of activity but as complementary parts of a single activity.

Any activity that is personally fulfilling and socially productive can be regarded as work. Leisure or free time on the other hand could be any type of activity approved by society, "... What constitutes work is decided by social contract, by social agreement. We construct our social agreements - it is we who decide what constitutes work. Work is what we decide it is". (Stewart and Starrs 1973, 36-37)

Social Relations between Work and Employment

The social interconnections between work and employment are acknowledged to be very strong. The Freudian view is that work is now so highly institutionalised that it represents man's strongest tie to reality, "... it is entirely conservative, and it has a deep aversion to all innovations and advances and an unbounded respect for traditions"(Bocock 1986, 57). The effect of this conservatism is that unemployment is a debilitating, unwelcome and unpleasant experience. Kumar concludes those unemployed persons with the same financial security as employed persons are likely to accept employment for the same rewards (Kumar in Thompson, 1984 14-15).

There is recognition that the social motivation to work extends beyond the need to earn a living. One beneficial connection between work and employment is that it provides a prescribed time structure, with regular shared social experiences. As well as activity a job involves the person in striving to meet goals and objectives, which can give personal satisfaction and heighten self-esteem. (Johoda 1985)

The relationship between work and leisure

The boundaries between work and leisure/free time are not clearly delineated. Demarcation lines shift between work, unemployment, and leisure in an industrial society. The events that dictate these boundaries are the social location of individuals, the type of job or work normally done, gender, ethnicity and class position as well as the prevailing economic and social condition. (Deem 1982, 92)

There are at least two conflicting perspectives of the relationship between work and leisure. Employed persons can perceive attendance hours, travelling time, physical tasks and stress as factors that curtail their leisure or social activities. Others, unemployed, may view their situation as having no social meaning or structure. For them, unemployment does not equate with a life of leisure and freedom. For the unemployed, free time can represent long periods of boredom with a diminishing social role. Some unemployed persons perceive work as the essential means of extending or financing their range of leisure activities. As Deems points out: "... Unemployment may signal an end to leisure activities, as well as giving rise to problems about status, money and confidence". (Deems 1982, 92)

Newman (1983) identified that since the industrial revolution, disciplined work has been the primary source of ego identification. Noting the changes that had occurred he recorded that:

" . . . leisure, the final refuge for private existence, is set to act as the supreme outlet for ego gratification. It is also where, to an increasing extent, alternative life styles are acquiring ever greater importance."
(Newman 1983, 97)

Are the views then of those working and the unemployed irreconcilable?

Those working can readily resent others not working who have a secure Social Welfare allowance plus benefits with apparently plenty of free leisure time, whilst they themselves often have rigid structured working hours in perhaps difficult working environments with very little free leisure time. Unemployed persons in contrast, may view unemployment as the beginning of the end of their leisure activities, due to reduced earnings, diminished status, low confidence and poor self-esteem. Burns (1973) argues that leisure / free time has an important role in the area of work. Indeed, it may be viewed as the counterpart of industrial labour, he describes free time as: ". . . a way of giving meaning to everyday life, in the same way that pre-industrial leisure, with its religious and civic festivals, gave meaning to social existence."(Burns 1973, 45-46)

This description distances free time/leisure away from being a time-off-work reward, and gives it a deeper social meaning. Ideally then, leisure is of a personal nature; meaningful and often quite differently interpreted by individuals. By its nature it is enjoyable. Essentially it is a chosen activity outside the work responsibilities, free from life obligations. Therefore as unemployment is enforced free time, it cannot be described as leisure time. What requires greater clarification is whether by opting to continue in a state of unemployment i.e. refusing a job or training offer a person changes enforced free time into leisure time.

The desire to obtain paid work, whether for economic, social or personal reasons, seems to be deeply ingrained in most members of society. (White and Trevor 1983). Irrespective of gender there seems to be a firm attachment to the notion of paid employment. A study of redundant women concluded that the quality of the work experience is of little significance if the work is paid work. For many women the loss of paid work represents a loss of independence and diminished autonomy. Time available for 'domestic duties' was considered an inadequate compensation for loss of employment. (Coyle 1984)

The Future of Work

There has been increased speculation on the future of work. In his forecast of the future, Littler (1985 278) suggests that the redistribution of work will introduce a *leisured society of part-timers*. There is support for the view that society will be divided into at least two uneven parts. The Commission for Science and Society Report 1981, suggested that the larger group would work a few hours each week at undemanding tasks. In the other smaller group, technical and professional people with long training periods and high levels of job knowledge would be retained in continuous full time employment. Additionally such jobs are likely to require a vocational calling and a commitment to a continual work ethic. (Littler 1985, 278). That views on work are changing is hardly in dispute. In the context of Ireland, Walley considers that:

People are more individualised than in the past, becoming more proactive and discriminating in defining their own needs and in managing their own lives. The increased range of options available to people in work and leisure opportunities has resulted in the emergence of a wider concept of personal development than heretofore. (Walley 1995, 19)

Working for a wage is a relatively recent innovation in the history of the human species. When first introduced on a large scale about 250 years ago, as part of the factory system of production, it was considered so unnatural that only criminals and paupers could be induced to accept. (Hearn 1978, 19). Within that historically brief period of time the extent of the acceptance of selling labour as a means of earning a living in Western or Western style industry has become almost universal.

Charles Handy (1984) writing about the future of work discussed a number of alternative scenarios suggested by Watts (1983) who wrote:

" Unemployment is the necessary and inevitable price that we pay for bringing down inflation, for making industry and commerce more effective and internationally competitive and for keeping state expenditure within the boundaries of a shrinking tax base. Unemployment . . . is the lesser of two evils, the other one being international poverty". (Watts in Handy 1984, 179)

The acceptability of such a scenario is based on the argument that " . . . unemployment is a scourge particularly because like a plague, it falls both on the just as well as the unjust: when a firm or an office closes the good worker as well as the bad is hurt". (Handy 1984 180) The second, or leisure scenario, he describes presents leisure-time i.e. unemployment, as an opportunity to enhance community life by a flourishing of the arts, self-enrichment of self and others through education. (Handy 1984 180). The impracticality of such a total leisure society he deems to be misconceived. It would depend on clearly defined roles for elitist groups with work and tasks to do, and subordinate leisure groups with no work. Such groups would have no glamorous job tasks but only unpaid work to do. In

Handy's view there is no clear evidence that the Long Term Unemployed use their free time to develop new interests or take part in local affairs. On the contrary he claims that " . . . there is a distinct youth culture in the areas of high unemployment which is based on consumption, amusement and unearned leisure, with no work ethic" (Handy 1984, 180).

The third employment scenario is built on the premise that " . . . the only real form of work is a job" (Handy 1984, 182). The proposition is that the State accepts that each citizen has the right to free choice of employment, and consequently jobs must be provided even if such jobs come as a result of public works schemes or programmes. However the costs of such widespread work schemes would be prohibitive and unlikely to be politically or financially viable or accep to tax-payers. Furthermore the concept of a job would be demeaned and also it creates a category of barely employable.

Handy's recommended fourth proposal is that there will be enough work for all in the future, provided that everyone is able to top up his/her pay or pension or social allowance with part time work. The most essential ingredient required to sustain his prediction is that a new definition of what work is and how it is valued in the community needs to be universally accepted. In order for such a transformation to come about it is necessary to consider just how individuals are socialised or prepared for the world of work.

Socialisation for the World of Work

There is a continuous input of young, first time workers entering the labour market, who are socialised and prepared for the industrial process. The preparation for work is conducted firstly, in the intellectual sense, in that children are

developed to varying degrees with cognitive skills, especially literacy and numeracy. Secondly, an understanding of the role of work and employment relations is imparted by their observation of the cultural norms and practices they observe in their families and communities. This process of indoctrination may be called collectively 'economic socialisation'. (Berti and Bombi in Hartley and Stephenson 1995, 25-28)

The cultural and social processes that permeate a community all contribute to the formation of an ideology of work and community rules. Youniss (1984) in his discussion of Piaget and the Self-Constituted through Relations argues that:

Adults act, as agents for society by transmitting rules through selective reinforcement, modelling, love withdrawal, and direct instruction. What is at first external becomes internal when children use rules to govern their behaviour in situations where adults are not present. The result is individualism modified by social convention, or simply, a merging of outer with inner authority in the self. (Youniss 1984)

The Piagetian frame work of analysis concentrates on a biological view of intellect and assigns a minor role to the impact of culture on the individual human organism's adaptation to the world around it. Advocates of the importance of culture as an economic socialising agent point out that each new generation does not have to rediscover from scratch how the world works. Culture, as well as presenting problems to be solved, often at the same time, offers alternative solutions or different arguments to resolve those problems. Each culture accentuates different and often unique stocks of wisdom from which members of a community can draw. A further argument on behalf of the importance of culture in the socialisation process, is the similarity and frequency of recurring economic problems and their likely solutions. . . " . . . children acquire cognitive skills that are

'ecologically functional', that is, they are relevant to the economy of the culture".

(Berry in Hartley and Stephenson 1995 22)

A point to be noted is that as well as the developed intellectual capacities of the individual and the cultural environment the position their families occupy in the economic structure is also a major factor.

Importance of Culture in the World of Work

One hazard flowing from an intense socialization and acceptance of a work role is the effect a loss of job/identity may have on an individual who loses a job either through unemployment or retirement. The loss of a cash-earning job often results in reduced self-esteem and self-dignity. In Ireland, wages and income earned by working are officially, culturally and socially approved as being a correct means of reward.

Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) emphasised that societies are self regulating systems which constantly adjust to social changes by a reordering of their institutions which he called constitutive symbolism, and, he argued, permeates all aspects of social life. This means the existence of constantly changing sets of symbols; mixtures of beliefs and values are the cultural constituents of a societies ideology. An industrialised society such as Finglas in Dublin stands at the highest point of Parson's evolutionary scheme and internally differentiated. The economic, political and religious systems are clearly separated from one another (Giddens 1991, 613, 635-6). Bocock enlarged Parson's sociological discussion to encompass ideologies of work as " . . . being made up of beliefs and values about what work is, its role in social life, and the institutional expression of these beliefs

and values in 'social practice". (Bocock 1985, 65). It is through 'social practices' that communities encapsulate the nature of their ideas of what work is.

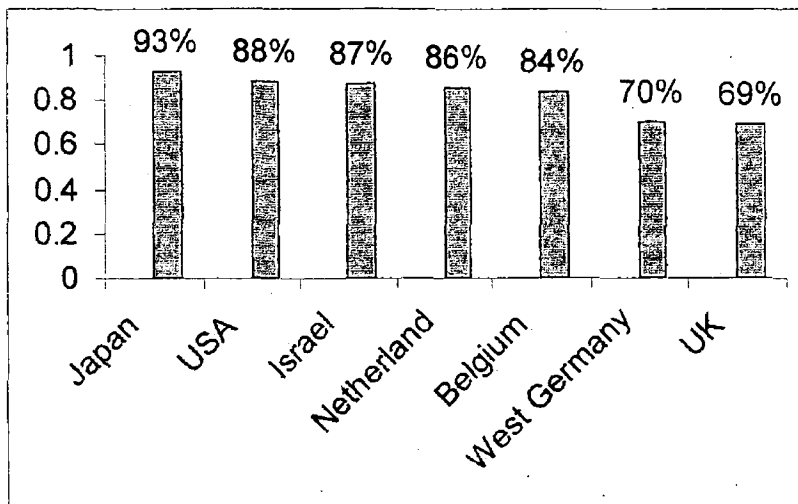
Shared community experiences and the availability of information about the source and nature of their economic situation consolidate the acceptance of norms of 'social practice'. "The children of unemployed parents were likely to think that everyone's income came from social security" (Jahoda in Hartley and Stephenson 1995 26). Conforming to community norms does not mean that ambition and job aspirations are stifled. However, having a particular job aptitude or ambition does not mean that employment to match that aspiration can be assured. "The single most important determinant of occupation status is amount of education, and working class children, since they usually end up with less education than middle class children, mainly end up in working class jobs." (Jencks in Hartley and Stephenson 1995, 32-34)

Work as a Central Life Interest

There is evidence that the intention to work, even if economic security is assured, varies across cultures. Harpaz (1989) provides strong evidence. He reported a large survey using random samples in seven different countries (Harpaz in Hartley and Stephenson 1995, 46-47), as shown in Figure 2 below.

Generally, the results showed that the majority of people would work even if they had financial security.

Figure 2 - Percentage of people who would work even if there were no economic necessity to do so.



Examination of Figure 2 indicates that there is a degree of agreement between the seven industrial countries surveyed. The findings do not confirm that work is a universal, central life interest or an important means of self-expression. One explanation for the similarity of the responses is that the respondents are themselves the products of intense socialisation processes and consequently they are merely reflecting the high status given by society to having a job.

A study of American workers conducted by Dubin (1956) showed that work is not their central life interest. On the contrary twenty four percent claimed that most of their life meanings were in non-work roles." . . . Industrial man seems to perceive his life history as having its centre outside of work for his intimate human relationships and for his feelings of enjoyment, happiness, and worth". (Dubin 1956, 140). Because of Dubin's contribution to the measurement and relative importance of work and non-work to individuals it cannot be stated

authoritatively that work centrality is a universal s disposition. Conversely its potency as a factor for employee satisfaction cannot be dismissed.

The Formation of an Ideology of Work

Some analysts of the labour market treat labour as a commodity that can be dealt with within the framework of supply and demand. Labour is calculated at a uniform unit price (wage). The nature of labour's uniqueness is not generally acknowledged. Yet, it is unique because labour is hired or bought for its potential value. Managers or employers make assumptions that the labour they have contracted can be relied upon to deliver goods and services in line with the employers' goals. This anticipated motivation to work according to these assumptions and rules couldn't be relied upon. Motivation to work is dependent on wider social and cultural processes, which prevail outside the factory or office environment.

Ideologies of work are areas of dissent and potential conflict. In some cases there may be a complementary fit between the ideologies of both the employees and the employer which leads to a harmonious relationship. In different situations the relationship may be one of continuing conflict due to contrasting assumptions concerning the ideology of work, though it must be noted that not all areas of conflict are due solely to differences of ideologies. In some situations ideology may have a limited role if external market relations dictate events. For example in the event of a company being faced by reduced demand for their goods or services conflicting views on the ideology of work can be relegated to a secondary position when dismissals or redundancy terms have to be negotiated.

In recognition of this problematic area outside their control, state institutions and interest groups do seek to influence and achieve a more compatible fit between the competing perspectives. This is manifested in the consultative role that the State assigns to what are usually described as the Social Partners, i.e. Employers and Trades Unions. As a matter of Government policy, when boards of management are being formed in semi-state organisations, including Area Partnerships, equal numbers of representatives of employer's organisations, trades unions, and ministerial appointees with an independent chairperson are nominated to serve.

An important feature of the formation of an ideology of work is the thrust of the messages of commentators and observers that individuals must maximise their own strengths and opportunities to their own advantage. To illustrate the social correctness of this approach Irish political and commercial society admires and praises the efforts of successful businessmen and women often by flattering newspaper and magazine interviews and articles. The usual yardstick of success is the amount of wealth or property they accumulate and acquire. It should not be surprising then that when the LTU witness the approval by society of wealth they would not themselves try to maximise their limited opportunities by imitating the social practices of elites, as they perceive them. If the result of such actions means not accepting a job or training place, to retain or increase the amount of their disposable income, then society should not be surprised.

This likely imitation of the behaviour and ideas of the ruling class was postulated in a pivotal statement concerning the origins of an ideology of work by Marx and Engels:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. (Marx and Engels 1846)

The ideology of work is not a concept confined to the individual and the community. It is also the paradigm that mediates the attitude of the state institutions to workers both unemployed and employed; part-time or first time job seekers; marginalized; disadvantaged; retired or redundant.

The statements, procedures and policies of the state institutions contribute to the formation of an ideology of work. It is also formed by the acceptance and imitation of the actual work practices perceived as the prevailing ideology of the dominant classes, modified by individuals to reflect a rational personalised self-interest point of view. The mass media, newspapers and television, politicians' speeches, and religious organizations can all influence the formation of a common ideology of work. Socialization into an officially appropriate viewpoint is a continuous process which when projected into the social arena from apparently independent sources can have the effect of being mutually validating and culturally acceptable. The public acceptance of unemployment as a normal feature of Irish society raises questions about the manner in which the public consciousness and social practices has altered and adjusted to cope with the changed social relations of high levels of unemployment. Have the cultural values changed to such a degree that many Irish people are no longer motivated to work?

In 1992 the Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference published their Pastoral Letter entitled 'Work is the Key' (Irish Catholic Bishops Conference 1992). They

addressed the issue of unemployment and described it as the greatest single social issue confronting Ireland. In their view the overriding need of individuals, families and local communities could be described as a need for a decent job. Their Pastoral went on to argue that LTU are anxious to earn their own living, but to do so in a way that respects their freedom and the dignity of their work. They argue that even a guaranteed adequate income from social security would be only a halfway house. The Bishops in their collective role as the moral voice of the members of the Catholic Church declare that work is essential in the Christian understanding of the human being, it is part of being human to want, and need to work. (The Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference 1992)

However recognising the limitations of their own understanding of being unemployed and trapped within their own paradigms the Bishops said " . . . we have no expert advice on how jobs might be created" (ICBC 1992, 5). Notwithstanding their disclaimer of economic experience the Bishops do identify that the paradigms of policy makers, commentators and indeed researchers can be restrictive, ". . . no one can teach us so much about the importance of having a job as those who have been years without one". (ICBC 1992, 13). The Pastoral goes on to describe it as tragic that an unemployed person may have no option but to reject a job because the wage is simply too low or that health care or rent assistance may be withdrawn.

It is apparent then that the often-competing perspectives of the importance and role of work can and does lead to confusion. The Bishops' Pastoral decries criticism of the LTU if they reject work and argue, that it only adds insult to injury

to interpret their rejection as evidence of work shyness or of wanting money for nothing. Yet, they also claim that the constant theme of their social teaching is the primacy of the moral non-economic aspects of culture. Judged from that standpoint, the LTU could be expected to accept a job provided it had an acceptable degree of dignity attached to it, and if the wages were at least comparable with DSCFA allowances or benefits.

Motivation 'at work'

Writing in the 1950s a group, often referred to as behavioural scientists, considered the human problems of business. The behaviourists placed emphases on analysing how work systems behaved by drawing from the theory of the sciences of sociology and psychology. The main contributors to this school of thought were - Abraham Maslow (1954), Douglas McGregor (1957), and Frederick Herzberg (1959).

Maslow's theory of motivation and personality needs is based on a hierarchical model. The theory suggests that people's needs are satisfied systematically in an order, which deals with physical needs first then with safety, and love needs and finally self-esteem and self-actualization needs. The scope of the theory is both comprehensive and cohesive. Although Maslow is usually referred to in discussions dealing with motivation and do not target the world of work specifically, his arguments are holistic and applicable to people within the realm of work. (Maslow 1954)

Douglas McGregor (1957) illustrated two opposing assumptions made by management about employees, and known as 'Theory X' and 'Theory Y'. In brief, Theory X assumes that "... people dislike work and will avoid it if they can". Theory Y on the other hand assumes that, "... people want to work and should

take to it as naturally as rest and play"(Foley 1989, 27). Both McGregor and Herzberg focused their research on the behaviour of persons already in work and how best to motivate them to increase productivity and efficiency.

According to Thierry " . . . there are no theories in psychology which are designed especially to describe or predict attitudes or behaviour regarding compensation."(Thierry in Hartley and Stephenson 1995, 138). The general theories on motivation, such as Maslow's, that discuss basic needs, have been adapted to explain the behaviour of employed persons. Such theories do not investigate how payment for work acquires, maintains or loses meaning for employed and unemployed people.

The nature of some theories are cognitive, that is, the person is considered to exercise his/her thought processes and in a " purposeful, intentional and determined way". (Theierry in Hartley and Stephenson 1995, 139). Payment is conceptualised as an important reward for appropriate behaviour. Other theories stress the reinforcement of the individual's behaviour. The individual is conceived as a passive organism. Payment (wages) is seen as a learned reinforcer to be given again when the same action is repeated.

Expectancy Theorists, who come under the process paradigm, refer to pay as one of the dominant areas in relation to work. The practical application of Expectancy Theory by researchers including Vroom, 1964; Lawlor, 1973; Mitchell, 1982; Theierry, 1984; Petri, 1986; Ilgen and Klein, 1998, has been extensive. (Theierry in Hartley and Stephenson 1995, 139). The thrust of the their argument is that individuals are constantly faced with choosing between options. The theory holds that the dynamic interaction of the core concepts determines the choice of action. The prediction is that an employee will select the action or non-

action, which will reward him/her according to expectation with the best results.

The argument is that individuals seek to minimise risks likely to diminish the final state of attractiveness (valence) and therefore pay may be most important. Wages received may be the only means whereby the person can sustain his/her basic physiological needs, an action that certainly echoes Maslow's theory.

Whereas Expectancy Theory (VIE) concentrates on the motivation of people in work, the theory is also potentially applicable to others who are not in paid jobs. VIE theory stresses the instrumental nature of pay (wages), it also satisfies motives. However, it does not instil or impart motives in the person. An unemployed person will favour or reject a work proposition according to his/her expectation of the results of accepting a job. In Theirry's view:

The more alternatives (other than pay) an employee has at his or her disposal to gain what he or she wants the less important pay will be (other things being equal); the fewer alternatives and/or the more motives, to which pay is instrumental, the more important pay is. (Theirry in Hartley and Stephenson 1995, 140).

The discussion on how to improve the motivation to work has advanced from 'what is motivation?' to the identification of criteria of how choices to work (or not to work) are made. One psychologist who highlighted the importance of perceived reality on the basis of historical experiences in the area of decision making was George Kelly. The research work of George Kelly (1955) and his Personal Construct Theory (PCT) and its application in this study is discussed in Chapter 3.

Free time and Work

A number of writers notably Roberts (1981) and Dumazedier (1974) represent leisure as reward for work done. This functionalist approach depicts free time in a recuperative role providing opportunities for individuals to adjust to their social situation. It also assigns to leisure a political role in that it serves to mitigate threats of civil unrest from overworked citizens that might threaten social stability. The underlying assumption is that generally employment is an unrewarding and boring experience. This view is well represented by McGregor's (1957), Theory X on motivating people at work, which depicts man as being solely motivated by money and reward. It depicts workers as constantly needing supervision and furthermore that the only initiative and effort shown by them is on how to avoid work. (McGregor 1957)

Advocates of Max Weber's opinions hold a different perspective and project the idea that leisure is a part of the rationalizing and civilizing process of industrial societies. Elias and Dunning (1969) develop the view that leisure/free time is rule bound and effectively mediates industrial behaviour. They see support for their view in the way some jobs have regulated maximum hours of work or limits to the amount of overtime that may be worked. They cite examples of regulated annual holiday periods and the incentive of increased annual leave entitlement as means of reward. Implicit in this approach is the capitalist goal of making work an attractive activity albeit in a more highly organized and bureaucratic form.

Marxists depict the leisure/free time debate in relation to work as being in the nature of a struggle. Clarke, Critcher and Johnston (1979) described the argument as a tension between the working classes, employers and the State. Each

group is described as striving to establish control of how potential production time should be used. The concept of Scientific Management initiated by F. W. Taylor in 1911 introduced measured work techniques and time studies to facilitate the deskilling of work and the reduction of leisure time and decision making time, once the preserve of the craftsman. Control over the design of jobs and tasks was removed from the production area, where the activity was performed, and re-located in central planning offices. (Foley 1989, 31)

In a major study of the implications and ramifications of Scientific Management, Braverman (1974) argues that Scientific Management is the stereotyped approach to work design within the capitalist enterprise. He claims that it cheapens labour by de-skilling it, thus making transfers between jobs much easier with reduced training time and costs; it unequivocally vests control in management. In his view the knowledge of and command over the labour process and the leisure time of the worker is progressively expropriated. Giddens (1982) stressing the importance of Braverman's thesis, said: "... it shows that the rationality of technique in modern industrial enterprise is not neutral with respect to class domination. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of this"(Giddens 1982, 39)

Central to this approach is the relation of class to culture. Employers seek a rested and refreshed work force in addition to a continuous labour supply. On the other hand workers (employed and unemployed) see free time as an opportunity to assert and achieve autonomy. Employment plays a crucial role in the cultural debate because it occupies a major portion of time in a day and it is an important source of role identity.

Major role players in the formation of culture are of course women.

Increasingly women are participating in the labour market. Women account for 33% of the registered unemployed in the Republic of Ireland and 23% in Northern Ireland. However, women in general are undercounted in the official statistics because they are less likely than men to be entitled to benefits when unemployed. Women's participation in the labour market in the Republic is 32.9% (Irish Congress of Trade Unions, 1998)

Feminist writers argue that the enforcement of domestic responsibilities, especially childcare and housework, lies at the root of women's oppression. The argument is that when women leave paid work to rear children they typically experience downwards occupational mobility moving back into lower level jobs where the value of their human capital is under rewarded. (Dex, 1987).

The feminist viewpoint is that for women, their spheres of work and free time are influenced not only by their relations with work but also by the nature of their actual assigned gender role. Due to the 'social division of labour' women are often employed in hospitality or caring services. A typical example, from the Hotel and Catering Industry, is that work is structured so that a high proportion of the available jobs require part time attendance during unsocial hours, for example week-end cleaning work in the early mornings or late at night. Due to the technical division of labour, which is specific to capitalism, women's job outlets are often in enterprises that are seasonal with a high proportion of them working part time. Also impinging on women is their low numerical representation in better paid jobs at managerial level. Additionally, the culturally assigned domestic and child-rearing roles are not conducive to leisure or free time.

Unlike men, paid working women who are forced into formal free time e.g. through redundancy, are not exempt from household tasks. As Hobson (1981) points out, women's leisure often consists of activities approved by their husbands. Furthermore, if the woman does not have her 'own money' i.e. earned independently of the traditional male bread earner, to spend separately from the household budget, her participation in events, including leisure outside the home can be limited.

There are conflicting perspectives about when free time is the same as leisure. Roberts, Noble and Duggan (1984) suggest an alternative approach to the notion that unemployment for men and women is a totally miserable state. Instead they point to the opportunities that some unemployed persons exploit to earn cash, using the flexibility of their free time in the informal economy. They argue that even enforced free time / leisure can be beneficial. Deems (1982) on the other hand challenges the perspective that unemployment is a period of potential benefit. A criticism she makes is that in the main the scope of research in that area has mainly focused on younger people with limited attention paid to the restrictions facing unskilled or older workers' use of their free time for extra earnings.

It is apparent that throughout history the definition of what work is has not remained constant. In early history work was denigrated and deemed as worthy to be undertaken only by the lower social beings. In a later period, work and the participation in the environment of work, was lauded as a spiritual and uplifting experience. The cyclical, contradictory evaluations and appraisals now appears to be at a stage where work has been assigned a role which lays a softer emphasis on the social necessity to participate in the work environment. What is also noticeable

in the literature is that although there has been ongoing controversy and disagreement of the role of work at any precise moment in time, there is no evidence to suggest that work was ever considered unimportant.

For the first time in Ireland and perhaps because of the spread of Social Welfare benefits paid work has lost its place as a primary function necessary to human survival. Increasingly, what constitutes work is being re-defined by social agreements. Today, work is what society, and sometimes individuals, decide it should be. Notwithstanding the deeply ingrained social pressures that impel men and women to seek work, there is a distinct loosening of the feelings of stigma and shame that used to be expressed by the unemployed.

There is hardly any disagreement that there have been changes of attitude. But, apart from the exception of the present high technology era, change has been usually slow and imperceptible, sometimes lasting over a few generations. Change occurs not only from innovative technological advances but it also follows the cultural absorption of the need to review and appraise work's role in the community and then to adopt or reject the revised norms.

Work is generally interpreted today as an occupation capable of generating a cash wage and income. Yet, it can be argued it is a relatively new phenomenon of structured social activity less than two hundred and fifty years old, i.e. since the beginning of the first industrial revolution in Britain in 1760. To a large extent its changing pattern coincided with the changing phases and technical developments of the industrial means of production as they occurred. The Industrial Revolution shifted the location of work from a predominantly rural and cottage based activity to the more structured 'outside the home' patterns that prevail today. One of the problems that stems from the constant changes of what is deemed to be work is the

lack of a universally agreed definition and acceptance of what precisely constitutes work, and the importance of its role in the fabric of society. The inexorable cycle of change from the rural home based craft occupation to the concentrated factory site of industrialisation is now moving, albeit imperceptibly, to return to a home based, high knowledge, self supervised, independent privatised work regime.

One effect of the Industrial Revolution was the splitting of work and leisure into separate spheres. The centrality of work in the life of the individual and the community became the dominant sphere. That situation has changed. The indications are that if work is no longer emotionally or intellectually fulfilling then there is an increased likelihood that it will be rejected. That the rate of rejection will continue and possibly increase is credible, particularly as the redesign of jobs and work due to new technology is burgeoning. Two factors effecting the changing role of work may be firstly, the improved DSCFA social support network and secondly, the altered criteria of the community in terms of socialisation. Children are now equipped with newer cognitive skills that are ecologically functional and more sophisticated to cope with the modern notion of how important or otherwise work is.

When individuals consider job offers the criteria they seem to bring to bear is increasingly an amalgam of the constituents of the concepts of the Expectancy theory. The rewards of the consequences of their decisions or action or non-actions are closely weighed. Central to the individual's evaluations are the norms of the community, which are a combination of the views of both the employed and the unemployed.

That there is conflict between different groups expressing rival ideologies of the importance of work and leisure is not surprising. The debate often

highlights the different class and cultural socialisation processes to which the different groups were exposed. The kernel of that debate is often centred on the alleged social deprivation and depression that is attributed to the effects long-term unemployment has on some individuals. However it is not clear if the distressing effects of unemployment on all LTU are inevitable as society adjusts to a changing vision of the role of work. Demands for reduced working hours per week, maternity and paternity leave, increased holiday entitlements may also be evidence of a shift by society to return to a more equitable mix of leisure and work. If there has been a societal shift in the perceived reality of the work/leisure relationship, a glimpse of that 'reality' can only be gleaned by understanding the community's aggregate view of that reality. The purpose of the survey of the community's attitudes is to clarify that view of reality.

The following chapter explores the extent and scope of unemployment within the national European context that overarches the formation of the local community's view of reality. It also depicts some of the strategies instituted by government to combat unemployment at community level.

CHAPTER 2

UNEMPLOYMENT

The objective of this Chapter is to place Finglas's long term unemployment difficulties into a national context. Initially the discussion introduces the larger external macro economic scenario of the OECD and the European Union against which Ireland's unemployment problems are set, then, to focus its examination, it presents a regional view of Dublin and finally a sharper focus on the suburban district in Finglas in the North suburbs of Dublin. The final community under analysis is the Finglas Partnership, which represents only a section of the Finglas housing estate area.

The objectives of the Finglas Area Partnership initiative are given and details of the population profiles and their distribution are shown. Attention is drawn to the data collection difficulties caused by the physical mismatch between the official electoral districts and the smallness of the Partnership community district, which is designated on a street by street basis.

An aspect of the structure of unemployment in Ireland is the comparative slow rate of return to work of Irish workers after they become unemployed. This significant feature of the Irish labour market highlights the extent and nature of long-term unemployment (LTU). The issue of unemployment and especially long term unemployment is considered in the light of the National Economic and Social

Forum (NESF Report No. 4) and the government white paper Human Resource Development 1997.

The Chapter also discusses if the speed of rejoining the work force is dependant on the social welfare 'comfort zone' and if high cash benefits have a causative role in maintaining high levels of unemployment. The changes in the pattern of the traditionally safe job for life are noted as well as the need for maintaining and increasing the levels of work skills. The effects of the likelihood of diminished EU funding for Social spending is dealt with and contrasted with the low standards of social benefit in new EU member countries.

Unemployment in the Organisation Economic Community Development area

The extent of unemployment in the OECD area represents a huge degree of inefficiency in the social process of matching the people who have or seek a job and the number of jobs available. In 1994, 35 million, some 8.5 percent of the OECD labour force were unemployed. The severity of unemployment on the individual is increased by the unknown likely duration of the period of unemployment (OECD 1994)

In different countries the rate of economic growth has different effects on the national levels of growth in employment. It cannot be stated with certainty that the rate of employment will increase directly in line with the economic growth of a country. Table 1 below illustrates this point quite succinctly. Whereas Ireland achieved a cumulative growth of 100 percent, the growth in employment was 9 percent. In the same period, Spain with 103 percent growth resulted in a negative growth in employment of -0.3 percent. These two European examples when

contrasted with the American performance of 70 percent growth producing an increase in employment of 49 percent highlight the dangers of accepting as infallible, economic concepts to predict an effect on employment.

Table 1 -- Economic Growth and Employment Percentages, 1970-1993

	Growth in Economy	Growth in Employment
USA	70%	49%
EU	81%	9%
Japan	173%	25%
Spain	103%	-0.3%
Ireland	100%	9%
Germany	70%	11%
France	77%	6%
Italy	85%	18%
U.K	51%	3%

Source: European Union White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment, 1993. P.125

The OECD noted that the rate of long-term unemployment in Ireland is partly related to the lack of incentives for the unemployed to take low paid employment; especially young people with low levels of education. The report considered that a major factor was, " . . . the flat-rate nature of unemployment benefits and the large gap between child benefits paid to the unemployed and those paid to employed" (OECD 1994)

A complementary analysis of the cause of the continuing high rate of long-term unemployment highlighted that, " . . . the problem has been aggravated over the past decade as unemployment benefits increased faster than take-home pay" (OECD 1994) One proposed policy modification to reduce long-term

unemployment was that Social Welfare benefits should be significantly reformed.

The report recommended that:

In particular, a better administration of the benefits would be needed to ensure that unemployed people are looking for work, furthermore consideration should be given to allowing the full rate of unemployment payment only to adults with substantial records of participation in the labour force. (OECD 1994)

Long-term Unemployment in Ireland

The DSCFA terms defining employment and unemployment categories can be obscure. Being formally registered as seeking welfare benefit gives no indication whether or not the person is economically active. The Live Register includes those who are economically inactive, and do not work while drawing benefit. Others on the register, while continuing to draw benefit may be engaged in part-time, casual or even self-employment. The DSCFA categories of clients ranges from first time job seekers to redundant workers with different experiences of industrial or commercial work. The geographical boundaries of the DSCFA administrative districts do not coincide with the boundaries of other Government agencies involved in the area of work and job placement.

Long-term unemployment is not a new phenomenon in Ireland. Indeed for at least the last decade it has been a regular topic for debate and analysis. Irish unemployment remains above EU levels, it is also characterized by a high proportion of persons who are long-term unemployed. In Ireland in 1996, 57.6% of those unemployed were long-term unemployed compared with an EU average of 48.5% as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2 -- Total Unemployed and Long-Term Unemployed-Labour Force in Ireland. (based on ILO definition) ('000)

Year	Total Unemployed		Long-Term Unemployed	
	Numbers	Rate	Numbers	% of total unemployed
1985	219	16.8%	139	63.3%
1990	172	12.9%	109	63.4%
1991	199	14.7%	118	59.3%
1992	209	15.3%	118	56.5%
1993	220	15.7%	125	56.8%
1994	210	14.7%	127	60.5%
1995	175	12.3%	102	58.3%
1996	178	11.9%	102	57.6%

The compilation of statistics for the numbers of unemployed in Ireland, what their occupations are, or indeed where precisely they may be living, does not follow a uniform procedure. The two main usual sources of information are:

- The Labour Force Survey, which counts the number of persons at work plus the number seeking their first job plus the number unemployed. (ESRI 1996, 30)
- The Live Register of all persons receiving social welfare benefits, including unemployment benefit and assistance, maintained by the DSCFA.

For the purpose of this research the Register of the DSCFA was deemed to be the authoritative source of information, because DSCFA is the sole arbiter of who is actually in receipt of unemployment benefits and on the Live Register.

FAS Dublin North Region

The FAS Dublin North Region is bounded on the north side by County Meath and on the south side by the river Liffey at Islandbridge. The South Circular Road and the Grand Canal as far as and including Ringsend further border it. The Region has three distinct sub-regions; the Inner City Area, the North Inner Suburbs and the North County area of Dublin. The region has a population of almost 500,000. Dublin North has an estimated labour force of 198,000. Almost 15 percent of the national labour force, 29,700, reside in the North Inner Suburbs.

To establish a clear picture of the Dublin North Region and the number of its residents actually on the Live Register it was necessary to abstract manually from the DSCFA numerically filed Revenue and Social Insurance (R.S.I.) records of all those living in the postal districts covered by the Regional boundaries. However some postal districts are only partially inside the Region. It should be noted that in the Inner City, parts of postal district numbers 2 and 8 are along the banks of the Liffey. In 1989 when FAS was defining its regional boundaries, it was recognised that residents of those districts traditionally job hunt both north and south of the river. The percentage Live Register which the DSCFA have historically assigned to those districts have been retained as shown in Table.3.

Table 3 -- Percentage proportion of the Live Register in South City Postal Districts 2 and 8 assigned to the FAS Dublin North Region

Postal District Number	% of Live Register assigned to Dublin North
2	13.4%
8	80%

Live Register for the Dublin North Region

Live Register data for the Dublin North area identified 37,570 persons signing on for benefit at the end of December 1991, which represents 50 percent of all those unemployed in the Dublin City and County area. Sixty two percent of these live in the North Inner Suburbs area of the region. The overall rate of unemployment for the region based on the national Live Register is 13.4 percent, see Table 4. Seventy percent of those on the Live Register are over twenty-five years of age, which highlights the need to target the older unemployed in the region. Seventy four percent are male.

Unemployment and Age

Regular studies of youth job placement carried out by the DSCFA and the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) has identified a significant relationship between low educational attainment and difficulty in getting a first job. Also, indications are that periods of prolonged youth unemployment inexorably drifts into long term unemployment during adult years. (NESC Forum Report No. 4 1994) As shown in Table 4, The Labour Force Survey 1996, shows that, in the 15-24 age category, for those with no second level qualifications or just

a Junior Certificate, the overall level of unemployment is more than three times that experienced by those with a Leaving Certificate or Third Level qualification.

Table 4-- Employment Status by level of Education of those in the Labour Force aged 15-24 Years, 1996

Educational Level	At Work	Unemployed	Total	Percentage Unemployed
No qualifications	8,700	7,500	16,200	46.3%
Junior Certificate	51,100	19,800	70,900	27.9%
Leaving Certificate	105,100	18,000	123,100	14.6%
Third Level	63,100	5,500	68,600	8.0%
Not stated	300	0	300	0%
Total	228,300	50,800	279,100	18.2%

The problem of long-term unemployment rising with age is particularly acute among older male workers as shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5 -- Pattern of Unemployment 1996 ('000)

Males	Numbers Unemployed	Rate of Unemployment	Numbers of LTU
Under 25	29.3	19.2%	14.4
25 to 34	28.4	12.0%	16.9
35 to 44	24.3	10.7%	17.2
45 years +	27.1	9.0%	20.3
Females	Numbers Unemployed	Rate of Unemployment	Numbers of LTU
Under 25	21.6	17.1%	8.5
25 to 34	17.9	9.8%	8.6
35 to 44	16.6	12.0%	9.0
45 years +	12.2	9.5%	7.4
All Persons	Numbers Unemployed	Rate of Unemployment	Numbers of LTU
Under 25	50.9	18.2%	22.9
25 to 34	46.3	11.0%	25.5
35 to 44	40.9	11.2%	26.2
45 years +	39.3	9.2%	27.7

Source: CSO's 1996 Labour Force Survey

The high rate of long-term unemployment among males over 25 is a particular feature of unemployment in Ireland. (Human Resource Development 1997 63). To exacerbate the involuntary unemployment position, early retirement from work at age fifty is now a feature of most employee rationalizing programmes to reduce staff numbers. A further militating factor is the slow re-instatement of

older unemployed workers back into the work force. This trend is tacitly recognised by the DSCFA. Persons on the Live Register forty-five years or older now sign in the Employment Exchanges monthly for benefit instead of weekly as was previously required. Furthermore, the cost to some firms of increased pension premia for older workers joining firms must also be considered as a deterrent to hiring middle aged workers from the Live Register.

A Governmental initiative on unemployment

In 1991 under Section VII of the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP), the Government on the recommendation of the Central Review Committee (CRC) set up Area Development Management Ltd. (ADM) and selected twelve districts for a community based Area Partnership response to long-term employment. ADM has direct responsibility for the management of the Programme entitled "Integrated Development of Designated, Disadvantaged and Other Areas". It is the intermediary company established by the Irish Government with the Europe Union to support local and economic development. Factors that influenced the nomination and selection of the pilot areas were the extent of local unemployment, especially long-term unemployment. In order to reflect the widespread nature of national unemployment the selection of pilot areas included both urban and rural communities.

Partnership objectives

The key objectives of the Finglas Partnership company are:

- To work with people who are long-term unemployed and those in danger of becoming unemployed, in order to improve their skills and self confidence, their involvement in the community and to increase their opportunities of getting a job or starting their own business.

- To promote the type of fundamental attitudinal change needed to enable individuals to generate sustainable enterprise thereby creating additional employment, and to encourage a more positive attitude towards the recruitment of people who are long-term unemployed.

- To work at the local level to generate more jobs through sustainable enterprises and through the promotion of local projects and initiatives which will stimulate confidence and initiatives.

The Dublin North region has four Area Partnerships designated by Area Development Management (ADM) and described as disadvantaged and requiring special attention under the Programme for Social and Economic Progress. The areas specified are the Inner City, Darndale/Coolock, Ballymun, and Finglas. For administrative purposes each Partnership is autonomous. Although each have similar goals and assigned objectives they have different local characteristics. The focus of this study is on the Finglas Area Partnership only. An additional selection factor was that the areas should already have in existence community structures

and activities upon which the initiative could be grafted to expedite its successful growth. Each pilot area nominated was to be known as a Partnership.

Finglas Partnership Area

The Dublin Postal District, which refers to Finglas, is number eleven (11). At the end of December 1991, the DSCFA manually compiled Figures showed the Live Register for that postal District to be 6462. However the Partnership area is smaller than the Postal area, confined by prescription to named roads and streets. Figures compiled by DSCFA for the Area Action Plan showed that the numbers on the Live Register in the Partnership on 30th. April 1992 were Males 2,900; Females 1,650; Total 4,500. Based on the Partnership population of 37,425, see Table 8, the average unemployment rate is twelve percent.

Many factors mediate the effects of socialisation between the individual, the community and Government agencies. The factors of family, class, and educational background are especially important. In the working class, low expectations and aspirations with respect to intrinsic rewards tend to strengthen the individual's receptivity to the widely propagated message that only the extrinsic rewards of work are really important. (Fox.1980). Lockwood (1966) presented two community models for analysing different types of social situations:

- Deferential working class type of people, concentrated in solitary occupational communities isolated from the wider society e.g. coal-mining or docking.
- Privatised workers, whose essential characteristics include (a) residence due to rehousing in an urban environment, (b) a socially-isolated,

home-centred existence concerned mainly with raising material standards for the family, (c) susceptible to messages of competitive acquisition from the media, (d) an attitude to work which sees it as almost wholly instrumental i.e. as a necessary evil to be undertaken solely for its extrinsic meaning in maximising earning.

Finglas is part of the suburbs of the capital city and by definition the deferential and solitary model does not apply. The second community model is applicable to Finglas. The model of the privatised worker has been criticised for portraying a view that the modern worker is irredeemably materialist (Bulmer 1975). However, the Finglas area bears a striking resemblance to the privatised model. The housing estate of Finglas was built originally to rehouse the relocated residents from Dublin's inner-city poor quality tenement dwellings. Further migration from the inner city followed the rationalisation and decasualisation of dockers' work practices in the North Dublin docks areas. The migration accelerated when low quality housing was demolished to satisfy the need for greater riverside shipping container storage.

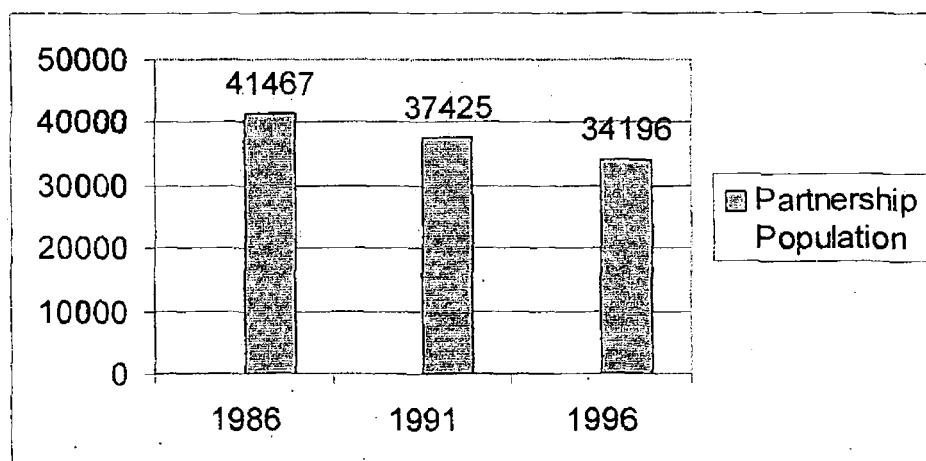
Population of the Finglas Partnership

The most constant local planning statistical source is the census compiled by the Central Statistics Office based on the District Electoral Division (DED). Each DED for Dublin City and County is comprehensively mapped and accurately described on a named street by street index. The boundaries are statutory subject to the Department of the Environment and were most recently revised in 1986. To

cope administratively with different local population densities in Dublin each DED is made up of a number of wards of which there are 141.

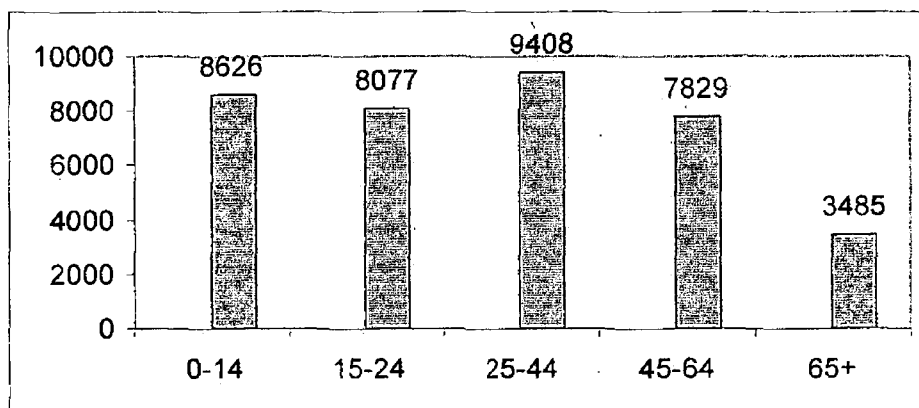
Based on returns compiled at DED and Ward level, the national census generates population/manpower intelligence and planning information suitable for targeting high unemployment blackspots and initiating policy responses at the community level. The census data available at the time of research showed that the population of the Finglas Partnership area had fluctuated between 1986 and 1991; the population of each Ward decreased. Between 1986-1991 the numbers living in the area decreased by 4042 from 41,467 to 37,425, a drop of 9.8 percent (Source C.S.O. 1991). During the 1990s the population has continued to drop. The total population given in the 1996 CSO, Preliminary Report shows that the Partnership area has further declined to 34,196. Figure 3 below, illustrates the decline in the number of residents.

Figure 3 - Partnership Area Population 1986-1996



The Finglas Partnership Area is now typically urban. Housing is mainly in Dublin Corporation housing estates with some privately owned housing. The urbanization of Finglas has continued steadily since 1948, mainly by the building of local authority housing and the rehousing of formerly inner city residents. There are now 10,200 households in the area (CSO). The family nature of the households is reflected in the age distribution that is shown in Figure 4 below. Employment is mostly found in local industrial estates that in the main are light engineering, transport freighting companies and servicing firms.

Figure 4 - Partnership population classified by Age Group



The social and cultural effects on the community, due to the migration of 7.8% of its population within a five-year period, can only be surmised. If the unemployed migrants found work and migrated to some other area, then the remainder of unemployed may have become dispirited as their energetic and more labour market sensitive neighbours departed from the community. Alternatively the migrants may not have found work, but merely departed to seek work elsewhere. If their job hunting efforts are unsuccessful and they eventually return

to Finglas, while still unemployed, then the area will continue as a high unemployment blackspot. In either situation the consequences are not particularly desirable.

Location and map of the Partnership Area

The location and range of the Finglas Area Partnership is shown in Appendix A. The assignment and limits of the area were not subject to negotiation or discussion with the local residents. For the purposes of cash grant eligibility, for both residents and firms, the area boundaries are inflexible and are dictated by the physical location of the addresses, which must be inside the defined area.

The financial trading indicators of growth and low inflation show that Ireland, internationally, is a thriving economy. Yet Ireland has still retained its place with a high level of long term unemployment.. One observation made by the OECD is that it is apparently difficult in Ireland to rejoin the work force from the state of unemployment. Why such difficulties should persist are not readily clear, they may however be a reflection of the combined considered judgements made by individuals not to regain formal paid employment.


Undoubtedly major aspects of long term unemployment are that it is wide - spread, intractable and apparently impervious to a rapid cure. There is no evidence to suggest that it has ever been Government policy to maintain high levels of unemployment. On the contrary successive Governments have all supported the objective of attaining full employment. However it must be noted that there is at least some tacit public acceptance that the goal of full employment is not likely to

be achieved. Support for this view can be drawn from the slow rate of return of unemployed back into work and the residual high numbers of long term unemployed.

The EU Social Fund underpins much of Ireland's education, training and employment strategies with financial grants of up to fifty percent. However, the likelihood of being able to sustain that amount of financial aid is now under threat. Since Greece in 1981 and Spain in 1986 joined as members of the EU they have developed and improved their grant appropriation techniques. Inevitably the dividend from the Social Fund will be reduced as the increased number of member states seek assistance to restructure their social and training systems. When the new members' low quality Social Welfare programmes are compared to the existing Irish DSCFA system, the standard of living for unemployed persons in Ireland appears high. Consequently, the extent and scope of the present Irish social welfare and training benefits for the LTU are likely to be diminished and in some cases discarded.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), commenting on the Irish economic condition unreservedly declared that the cause of high unemployment is due to the competing high value of benefits available when not working compared with the high costs of taking a job and relinquishing DSCFA benefits " . . . The willingness of workers to accept low-paid jobs depends, in part on the relative generosity of unemployment benefit". (OECD Jobs Study 1950-95. 24)

To exacerbate further the current LTU problem is the prediction that the labour force will continue to grow by up to 25,000 new entrants per annum. Even if labour market intervention schemes for work sharing, shorter working hours and



overtime bans were introduced, they would not increase the actual number of jobs to accommodate the numbers of new job seekers. The rates of unemployment are going to remain at a very high level. (Culliton 1992 32). Culliton identified two significant areas for future action. First, the re-focusing of second level education on the vocational skills required by young persons in order for them to meet the needs of industry. Secondly, the redesign of the Social Welfare system. One particularly vulnerable section of the Live Register is the category of older workers aged fifty-five years and older. The Culliton report, addressing the economic challenge in the 1990s said, "... The search for an adequate response to the unemployment crisis is the most urgent national economic priority". The prediction for the future between now and the end of the century is that "... Unemployment is likely to increase significantly in the coming years. The social and economic consequences of such a high level of unemployment on a sustained level are extremely worrying". (Culliton 1992 25, 32) The experience of 1993-1998 has proved these forecasts quite wrong. In 1993 unemployment peaked at 16.6% as measured in the Labour Force Survey. In March 1998 it fallen to an estimated 9.4% (DSCFA Social Inclusion , 1998 34, 4.1).

There are indications that there has been a cultural shift across the whole spectrum of Welfare recipients including the unemployed that not having a paid job is no longer the stigmatised condition it used to be. Additionally there has been a trend of changing social attitudes about the role of work in relation to the quality of life that is now expected as a right. The previously held opinions that the physical and emotional experiences of living should be unpleasant and unfulfilled have apparently given way to an expectation that work must make a satisfying and pleasant contribution to life.

One strategy advocated to combat unemployment is to push the process of job creation down to the level of local communities. In order to empower communities' decision making process, State funding has been vested in the local Partnership structures to support employment initiatives. Finglas was selected to be one of the areas to pilot the new strategy. Whether the experimental Partnerships with their community based focus of addressing local issues are successful in reducing or preventing unemployment is still uncertain. However the strategy does present a unique opportunity to gauge the attitudes of the communities and the communal view of the reality of work.

The following Chapter sets out the methodology used to establish the combined view of reality that the unemployed residents in Finglas have in relation to work and to glean information about the social practices that prevail. For the purpose of calculating a suitable survey sample Figure the DSCFA Figure of 4,500 was deemed to be the base population and differentiated as males/females, over twenty-five years/under twenty-five years.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this Chapter the qualitative and quantitative methodology techniques used to prepare a core of Elements that depict the decision-making attitudes of the unemployed are outlined. The derived Elements were later used in a questionnaire in a community survey.

This researcher used Kelly's Personal Construct Theory (Kelly 1955) for the purpose of achieving three objectives:-

- To eliminate observer bias from the design of a questionnaire to be applied to a sample of the Area Partnership unemployed residents.
- Secondly to establish whether the issues raised in the literature review in Chapter 1 could be identified as the Variable alternatives appraised by the unemployed when considering job offers.
- Thirdly to present in a graphic form a tree of elements showing clusters of the Variables that are most relevant to the unemployed.

It is recognised how observer bias can stem from professionals' paradigms of problem analysis and decision making, and the need to involve the subject or client in the search for solutions to problems that effect them. Repertory Grids (RG) which form an integral part of the Kelly (Kelly 1955) technique were used as the major instrument in the exercise. How the Grids were elicited from a group of

unemployed men and women is detailed. The final list of Elements and the cultural definition assigned to the element is enlarged upon following discussions with the group after a participatory brain-storming session. The procedure for administering the grids and the computerised pairing of the grids is explored.

Methodology to Elicit Attitude Constructs

A main goal of the social scientist is to understand why social phenomena occur as they do. The underlying assumption is that to comprehend society it is possible to isolate and explain the unending complexity of empirical reality. Yet, reality consists of "... an infinitely divisible profusion. Even if we could focus upon one particular element of reality, we find it partakes of infinity." (Giddens 1971, 138). To pursue any form of analysis, whether in the natural or social sciences, involves selection from the infinitude of reality. A difficulty facing researchers is the phenomenon known as observer bias. Inevitably the observer is concerned about the extent to which s/he may influence or effect the subject under observation or diagnosis. Stewart noted the problem that observer bias presented and wrote:

Consciously or unconsciously our backgrounds, history and experience give us a set of expectations about the world so that we recognise familiar things and bend less familiar ones until they resemble what we already know (Stewart 1981, 10).

The observer can be tempted to prompt or translate, then classify response statements into categories which meet his or her own vocabulary definitions. Stewart in her recommendation to use Kelly's technique described it as a solution to the problem of, "... how to get insights and make predictions, with some

degree of precision, about people taken singly or in small groups"(Stewart 1981, 15).

A considerable portion of the published literature and newspaper articles dealing with the Long Term Unemployed is representative of professionals' paradigms. Being aware of potential bias while conducting social research does not ensure avoidance of the pitfalls. It is possible for an 'expert' to analyse and explain the cause and effect of unemployment and to be blithely insensitive to his or her eligibility to be expressing experiential views. To diminish the effect of bias, as a preliminary step, before conducting or administering any attitudinal survey of the Partnerships long term unemployed, the techniques of psychologist George Kelly and his Personal Construct Theory (PCT) were used. The purpose was to isolate some key Elements for use in designing a focused questionnaire. Based on his clinical diagnosis Kelly concluded that typically the patient (subject) over his or her lifetime has assimilated experiences and information, which have moulded him/her as a person. Kelly described his hypothesis by declaring "man is a scientist", he learns by observation and experiment. Kelly argued that the person himself is the best and only authoritative source of that person's own beliefs and perspectives. S/he is the best expert to be consulted when prescribing remedial action to cope with different situations. This approach is shared and reinforced by the observations of Fox.

That the values and messages projected by public communication and socialization agencies do not bear uniformly and to the same effect upon members of society but are mediated by their own life experiences (Fox. 1980 147)

Generation of Constructs

A feature of Kelly's PCT is that the subjects individually generate their own Construct benchmarks. Indeed Kelly's choice of the word 'Construct' was enlightened as it encapsulates the essence of two important concepts, firstly, how we construe actions or events and secondly how we use the personal experiences gained to construct a framework for evaluating future actions. Each individual's construct system is unique. It represents a distinctive accumulation of social and cultural inputs which have been tested systematically, modified by experience, and provides a map of directions of how to deal and cope with current or future events that impact upon them.

Internalised values or culture are shared by a group or community. Kelly's PCT technique was selected to measure the degree of coincidence and agreement that exists between the construct systems of a representative sample of the Partnership residents. In effect the subject matter experts on unemployment i.e. the unemployed, themselves highlighted decision making cultural areas where their perception of their own situation in relation to work forms the outline map of their own value systems. The derived Repertory Grid displays the elicited perceptions of the residents about work in a value free fashion.

Eliciting the Repertory Grids

From February to June 1994 fourteen persons, seven women and seven men, participated in a business skills training course in the Finglas Training Centre. Ages ranged from twenty years to fifty-seven. None of the people had been less than six months on the Live Register and all of them were from the Finglas Partnership catchment area. They agreed to participate in the exercise to generate the list of Elements to form a Repertory grid questionnaire.

Training in PCT procedures

One of the instructional exercises used was to write a triad of three nouns (elements) on a blackboard, i.e. Wool, Cotton, and Silk. The subjects were asked individually to write down and underline which material was most unlike the other two in terms of their own feelings about the elements. They were then asked to note the two most similar elements on the left-hand side (LHS) of their pages and the single contrasting element on the right hand side (RHS). They were then directed to write a very brief one to five word description on the LHS that recorded their feelings about the elements, and on the RHS a concise note that encapsulated their dissimilar feelings. These two notes represent the experiential construct pole marker points in relation to the elements in that particular triad. An example of one person's triad grouping was Cotton in opposition to Wool/Silk. A different person, with the same triad had selected Cotton/Silk in opposition to Wool. In the first example the person said he perceived his construct as identifying the elements as resulting from either vege life (cotton) or animal life (sheep and silk worms). In the second example the person explained the reasons for his selection was that he construed Cotton/Silk as cool and sophisticated with Wool generating a warm comforting textual sensation.

The subjects were then asked to insert on a scale of 1 to 5, different textures and fibres as elements between the two pole marker points. The materials named during the session included Nylon, Paper, Plastic, Canvas. Similar sets of random nouns (Elements) were used as training exercises until the procedures were familiar to each subject.

Compilation of Elements

Using a brain-storming workshop-training format the topics for inclusion as Elements were suggested by the group itself. Nominated factors generated by the group were written on a classroom white-board and added to or deleted from as the group refined its values. The final list of fifteen was agreed and numbered 1 to 15 inclusively. The elements were recorded without regard to priority, preference, or gender status. Throughout the discussions the only role contribution of the author was that of facilitator by constantly redirecting the participants' attention to the limit of the topic title which was written on a display board i.e. In terms of accepting a job what factors are important to you?

The names of the Elements used throughout the whole exercise were retained. It should be noted that some colloquial expressions were used by some of the respondents, e.g. the expression 'nixer' was used to describe a job or service within the black economy. Also, 'Benefits' were deemed to include additional State benefits including family, medical and rent allowances.

Element Names

1	Take home pay
2	Free time
3	Nixers
4	Cash in hand
5	Neighbours
6	Training
7	Paid work
8	Self dignity
9	Social welfare
10	Benefits
11	Social life
12	Relatives
13	Un-paid work
14	Taxation
15	Age

When the group agreed the compiled list of Elements, it was not ranked in any particular order of merit or priority. The list did contain topics which had been noted as recurring areas of discussion in the review of literature concerning work, for example, Take home pay and Free time. However the list also contained other named Elements which could be construed as having the same meaning, for example, Cash in hand and Take home pay. The group perceived subtle differences in meaning and relevance in their common understanding of some Elements. It was clear that apparently similar Elements were not actually exact synonyms and a cautionary probing was needed to clarify and identify the linkage between the Elements. In effect an area of unwitting potential bias on the part of the researcher had been avoided. Because the Elements were recorded, as described, in the normal expressive language of the district, some explanations as to their meaning are appropriate.

Element definitions

Take home pay

This Element was defined as referring to the amount of wages or earning that the person took home after all cash deductions for tax and pay related social insurance had been made.

Free time

This Element was defined as the time available after finishing work. It did not refer to time that might be spent on home DIY or study. The description refers to a period of relaxation between finishing work and before any socialising begins.

Nixers

This colloquially refers to work undertaken outside the formal economy that is rewarded by cash in hand. It does not refer to neighbourly exchanges of services for which no benefit is normally received.

Cash in hand

This had subtle changes of meaning. In one instance it referred to the amount of money offered when bargaining for goods and seeking a price reduction. It also meant the amount of money that could be negotiated for a Nixer.

Neighbours

This term defined the family or persons living in immediately adjacent housing or on their road. It did not extend to persons living in their general postal district. However there was a sense of their identification with the area of Finglas. At no time did they refer to the Partnership area as being part of their neighbourhood although that area has a prescribed official existence

Training

This Element was understood to mean training in the local Training Centre, it did not extend to apprenticeship or other on-the-job training which was deemed to be work.

Paid work

This Element described the formal wage payment from an employer for work done.

Self dignity

Despite the lack of a clear-cut definition of this element there was agreement that what is involved is an intuitive evaluation of the esteem that the person or the community ascribes to a job. What was clear was that forms of polluted work e.g. toilet cleaning, which conflicted with their identity in the community rated significantly in their decision making.

Social welfare

The respondents made no distinction between the different types of social welfare classifications. The term was used and understood as entitlement to a base level of regular income. The likelihood of it being a temporary or vulnerable cash flow was not conceded.

Benefits

Potential loss of Benefits was treated with caution. Benefits were received from a range of additional support agencies services which provided rent allowances, medical card entitlements, school children's books and examination fees allowances. Additional help from non-governmental charitable organisations was also reckoned under Benefits.

Social life

The term Social life did not concentrate on family or domestic relationships. Rather it highlighted the importance of outside the home social contact including attending sports fixtures. The term also masked certain social rites. For example, all the respondents agreed they were reluctant to enter a public house without sufficient cash to buy at least one drink. The term was associated with opportunities to participate with their peers in an entertainment situation.

Relatives

Relatives was defined to mean the immediate members of a family provided they were living with them or nearby. Siblings married and/or absent from the family home were not deemed to be involved when evaluating job offers.

Un-paid work

There was no dispute concerning this Element. None of the respondents would concede that they would consider working without reward. It was agreed that occasionally work would be undertaken as a service for friends or relatives but that was mediated by the expectation that at some future time they themselves might need some kind of work contribution, for which they would not be expected to pay.

Taxation

Taxation was defined primarily as a deduction from wages or income. There was no acknowledgement that it was the means by which their long-term future entitlement to State benefits might be assured.

Age

Age was perceived as a factor limiting involvement in the job market. For adults with previous work experience there was a reluctance to agree to work in situations where junior type jobs were on offer.

Selection of Element Triads

The elements were selected from the subject's list in random triads. The triads used in all the repertory grids were derived from a table of computer generated random numbers.

The layout of the repertory grid, Appendix B, with a maximum spacing for fifteen elements was adopted. The limiting number for the Grid study was dictated by the capacity of the available Open University Focus computer analysis programme developed by Dr. Shaw and Dr. Thomas at Brunel University.

Completing the Grids

The grids were elicited by the paper and pencil method. Four grids, two sets of two, were completed by four separate persons, three females and one male drawn by lot from the group. Each respondent was asked to complete only seven constructs and identified the Grid with his/her name. In each case, the same fourteen elements, generated from the original selected group of fifteen, were the only ones in use. Seven triads per person were issued with two persons each having a similar set making a total of fourteen triads. Names were assigned to each of the Grids in order to ease the handling of the completed paper grids. Also to facilitate the storing and retrieval from the computer system the subjects' names

were used to identify the data files. The names selected were KARL, AISLING, CAITRIONA, and ALISON.

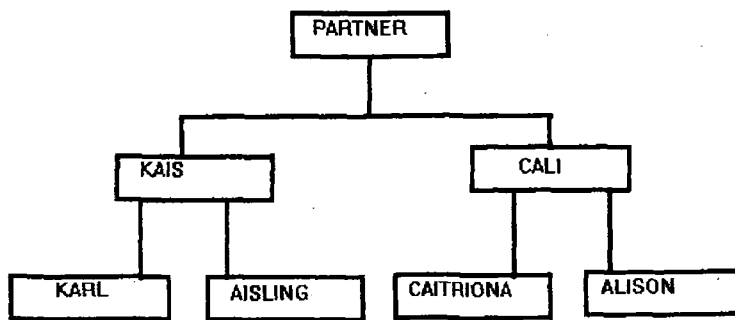
Computer Aided Grid Analysis (CAGE)

Each completed grid i.e. KARL, AISLING, CAITRIONA, ALISON was keyed into the Open University (OU) computer using the INPUT programme of their Computer Aided Grid Elicitation (CAGE) suite.

CAGE generated two types of analysis, (1) each grid separately and (2) the combination and comparison of each of two sets of results. A refining analysis of the grids was achieved by submitting the paired sets of KARL/AISLING and CAITRIONA/ALISON grids to a further analysis resulting in two composite repertory grids inclusive of the original four grids. In order to facilitate identification, each of the grids in the pairing exercise was also assigned a name *for the purpose of easier retrieval from the computer storage system*. In this instance the names selected, e.g. KAIS and CALI were a combination of the two names, Karl and Aisling and Caitriona & Alison previously used.

A final comparative analysis of KAIS and CALI was generated and the resultant analysis was given the name PARTNER. The format of the analytical procedure is shown schematically in the diagram Figure 5

Figure 5 - The analytical procedure to derive PARTNER



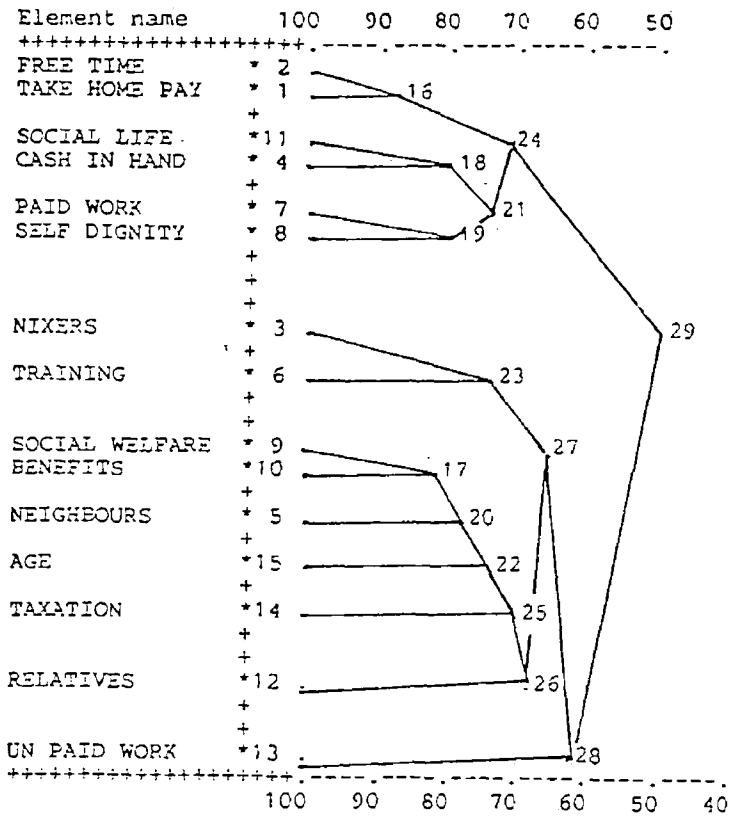
Grids paired to derive PARTNER

Initially the FOCUS programme scrutinized the numeric raw data from the Grids KARL, AISLING, CAITRIONA, and ALISON, then sought in each case the two highest percentage match between the Elements.

The objective of the analysis was to produce a single graphical profile of the cultural/economic constructs of a sample of persons with current participatory experiences of unemployment. The usage intended for the resultant information was to structure a questionnaire that asked the most appropriate questions, that would probe and elicit feelings and perceptions that came from *the unemployed* themselves. The likelihood of potential bias from canvassing the opinions of officials or professional experts was avoided. The Element Tree, Figure 6 shown below identifies a discernible clustering of attitudes.

Figure 6 - The Element Tree for the combined repertory grid PARTNER

Element tree .



The isolation of the decisive Elements in the evaluation of likely job/training offers is depicted. Cluster points 16; 18; 19; are inside a 6.6% range and significantly are identified with either cash in hand or some form of pay. It is apparent that there is a uniform collective similarity within the test groups.

The measures of similarity for the Grid PARTNER derived from the previously combined Grids CALI and KAIS is 54.78 percent.

For CALI on KAIS is 55.11 percent

For KAIS on CALI is 54.44 percent

The Element Tree also shows that 'Unpaid work' consistently rated low which reflects the view that their definition of work must include a cash payment of some kind. Taxation was not shown to be a major attitudinal factor when appraising work. Each person decried the taxation of income but was also keenly aware that by virtue of previous long-term unemployment status his/her taxation deduction would be low.

The respondents in the post-test discussion did not construe Social Welfare/Benefits other than as a constant reliable base line of rights and entitlements. Further discussion of the constructs did suggest that a number of constellations of constructs were operating. The whole group's constructs were in accord whenever a decision was required to construe which of the Elements in a triad were to their individual advantage.

The group was adamant that whereas the grid was a snapshot in time, it had accurately recorded views and opinions that had been formed years earlier. Furthermore they contended that it was a true and valid indication of their future long-term views. This expression of an unwillingness to alter their attitude must be viewed as a reflection of their original qualification to partake in the test, i.e. they were currently long term unemployed themselves viewing the world of work from their own paradigms. The grid results offer no indications of how attitudes might be expressed if at a future date they completed a Repertory Grid whilst being employed, and receiving what they might then perceive as an acceptable rate of wages.

The identification of the linkage between Cash, Social life, and Self-dignity was not unexpected, but it provided a basis upon which to design a questionnaire stemming from the unemployed themselves with at least diminished bias. The relationship between accepting a job and remaining on welfare benefit does not appear to be influenced by consideration of higher or lower status. There does not seem to be any apparent infringement of self-esteem or diminutions of status if job offers are refused.

Workers, whether unemployed or not may have re-evaluated the significance of leisure/free time in their lives and view it as a means of re-asserting some degree of autonomy. What is unclear is the extent to which the rates and reliability of regular social welfare benefits have contributed to that view. Also, no apparent gender differences were perceived, which raised an area for later investigation in the analysis of the survey.

Determining the Survey Sample Size

A sample size was determined following the decision that the maximum margin of error acceptable for the project was four percent. The following formulae were solved (Kane, 1984 96)

$$n = \frac{4p(100p)}{E^2}$$

Where n = sample size

100-p = % of population expected not to have the characteristic

p = % of population expected to have the characteristic in question

E = margin of error

$$n = 4x97 \frac{(10097)}{4x4}$$

$$n = 73$$

As the Figures issued by the Department of Social Welfare and the CSO show that a Live Register Figure of 4500 represents a finite universe of the Finglas Partnership area the above formula was refined by the insertion of the population figure into the equation. Thus the correction for the finite universe reduced the margin of error in the sample from four percent to two percent. (Kane 1984, 96)

$$\sqrt{P(10097) \div 73} \cdot 1(73 \div 4500) = \sqrt{4} = 2$$

$$E = 2$$

Identifying the Sample Subjects

As the residents of the Finglas area had originally come to notice by their failure to respond to written invitations to join training courses it was decided to repeat the process of using the postal system to issue the questionnaires. Although it was considered a high risk strategy from the point of view of the previous number of non replies; it was deemed that if the original non-respondents were visited in their homes and interviewed individually it could be construed by them as an investigative visit on behalf of the DSCFA.

The retained records in the Training Centre for the year January-December 1994 for non-attenders was scrutinised and the names and addresses from the Finglas area abstracted. A list was compiled and sorted into male and female categories and sub divided into the targeted age brackets. The final schedule was as shown in Table 6.

Table 6 -- The complete postal schedule

Age bracket	Females	Males
15 - 24	86	71
25 - 44	84	50
45 - 64	39	3

Stratification of the Sample

To achieve a representative stratification of the sample the target postal list required a minimum of 36 male and 37 females to be surveyed to ensure conformity with the DSCFA Live Register ratio Figures which showed that fifty one percent of the population were female and forty nine percent male.

Based on the previous low response of the subjects to correspondence it was decided to write to the complete list of 333 persons. A covering letter (Appendix C) requesting their co-operation and the questionnaire (Appendix D) was mailed on the 9th. December 1994. A postal pre-paid addressed return envelope was also enclosed.

The Design of the Questionnaire

The Elements identified by the original group of unemployed who participated in the Personal Construct exercise and the language they used to describe the Elements was maintained throughout the questionnaire. For ease of comprehension, the questionnaire was limited to a single page. The number of questions was restricted to twelve. The questions did not attempt to elicit any answers that required *written comments*. The only occasion when an answer invited an explanatory note was question number four when Social Welfare benefit might have been other than Unemployment Benefit or Unemployment Assistance, for example, if the respondent was a lone parent or a student or a FAS trainee.

Pilot Survey

Prior to final printing, the questionnaire was administered to two sets of fourteen subjects who were adult participants of mixed gender on two separate FAS courses in the Finglas Training centre. Their comments and observations regarding the number of questions, their understanding of the language and the meaning they ascribed to the Element names generated by the original group of subjects was discussed. Their suggested *amendments concerning layout and the restriction of the questions to a single page* were incorporated. None of the pilot groups experienced any interpretive difficulties with the questions. Finally the variables were coded and assigned column location numbers for analysis using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSSX)

Return of the Questionnaire

The rate of return of the Questionnaire was higher than hoped for, and warrants comment. The total response was 125, i.e. 37.43 percent of the total issued. All replies were returned in their prepaid-post envelope. The final reply was received on 27th. January 1995, seven weeks after the issue of the questionnaire.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSES OF THE SURVEY RESULTS

This Chapter explores the results of the community survey. The answers to the first three questions depict Finglas as a stable district with very little population movement. The residents' mean period of time living in Finglas is 18.33 years. The range of residency is 46 years with no respondent living less than one year in the area. The results indicate that in general the partnership area comprises a settled community and reflects the cohesion of the original housing estate families re-located there from the dockland inner city when the building of the estate was begun in 1940.

Almost two of three persons, 58.5 percent, were under 25 years of age and altogether 94.3 percent were under 45 years. The replies were cross tabulated to tease out some of the relationships that underlie the responses and finally the Chi Square statistic was utilized to decide whether the null hypothesis could be rejected. Some comparisons are made with replies given to different questions, which were asked in an attempt to cross check the consistency of the respondent's reply. Analysis using the variables of age and gender shows some differences, more women than men are prepared to rank Social Welfare payments in a secondary position; if the work offered is at least equal to their entitlements.

Analyses of questionnaire replies

The returned completed questionnaires were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSSX). The preliminary sweep through the input results was an analysis of the frequency of the different replies. The results were examined in the order in which the questions appeared on the questionnaire. The investigation of the replies to the first three questions in the survey portrays a clear picture of the sample respondents by gender; age ranges and how many years they have lived in the Finglas area. The distribution of the ages was bracketed to conform with the E.U. standard categories i.e. 16-24 years, 25-44 years, and 45-65 years.

As Table 7 shows, the Finglas Partnership area presents as a cohesive community with a stable population. The mean period of residency is 18.33 years. The sum of 2254 residency years represents the 56-year existence of the Finglas housing estate and augurs well for shared values and social practice. Of the 123 respondents 59.3 percent have lived there for at least nineteen years. Only 4.1 percent had less than two years residency.

Table 7 -- The average number of years living in Finglas.

Years	Frequency	Percent		
1.00	5	4.1		
2.00	1	.83		
3.00	1	.83		
4.00	2	1.6		
5.00	1	.83		
6.00	1	.83		
7.00	2	1.6		
9.00	1	.83		
10.00	9	7.3		
12.00	5	4.1		
13.00	1	.83		
14.00	2	1.6		
15.00	6	4.9		
16.00	6	4.9		
17.00	2	1.6		
18.00	7	5.7		
19.00	13	10.6		
20.00	22	17.9		
21.00	4	3.3		
22.00	6	4.9		
23.00	7	5.7		
25.00	4	3.3		
29.00	1	.83		
30.00	6	4.9		
33.00	4	3.3		
34.00	1	.83		
35.00	1	.83		
44.00	1	.83		
47.00	1.8	1.4		
Total	123	100		
Mean 18.33	Median 19.00	Std. dev. 8.29	Variance 68.73	
Sample cases: 123				

The age profile of the survey is shown in Table 8. It shows that the Finglas labour supply is mainly a youthful population with more than half under the age of twenty-five years.

Table 8 -- Age Brackets of the Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percent
Aged between 16 - 24	72	58.5
Aged between 25 - 44	44	35.8
Aged between 45 - 65	7	5.7
Total	123	100.0

Sample cases 123

Respondents between ages 16 and 24 returned 72 replies representing 58.5 percent. A further 35.8 percent or 44 persons combined to show that 92.8 percent of the survey were under 45 years of age. These combined age ranges represent a period of time during which people are generally either beginning a career or are well identified with his/her job title or normal occupation. The combined age brackets covering subjects 16 to 44 years old encompass a 28 year span of the normal work life.

The age bracket of 45-65 year olds depicts a shorter working span of 20 years that could generally be described as the latter years of a career, when job titles and experiences could be expected to be more clearly defined and consolidated.

Although each respondent was registered by the DSCFA on the Live Register as being available for work, they were classified into different categories with different Social Welfare entitlements. As Table 9 illustrates, 67.5 percent were receiving payments that reflected their social, marital, or health status, 32.6 percent were categorised in relation to their employment.

Table 9 -- Status on the Live Register

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Unemployment Benefit	24	19.5
Unemployment Assistance	16	13.0
Other DSCFA benefit	83	67.5
Sample cases 123		

The responses concerning the 'other DSCFA benefit' category ranged over a number of diverse claimants including, lone parents, FAS trainees, married women returning to the work force, disabled persons and under eighteen year olds with no entitlement to welfare benefit. The Figure for those already on Unemployment Assistance (UA) and defined as Long-Term unemployed was 13 percent, while 19.5 percent were drawing Unemployment Benefit (UB). To qualify each claimant must be available for work. The DSCFA classifies only one person in three in the Finglas area as being available for work. However, for the DSCFA clients, in terms of seeking work or job interviews, their DSCFA categorisation does not appear to impinge in any meaningful way. The social mix of the community portrays a well-balanced division along gender lines as Table 10 depicts.

Table 10 -- Breakdown of Sample by Gender

	Frequency	Percent
Male	54	43.9%
Female	67	54.5%
Missing case	2	1.6%
Sample cases	123	100.0%

The responses from both male and female were 43.9 and 54.5 percent respectively. The frequency of their replies i.e. 54 and 67 exceeded the target sample size of 36 males and 37 females. A comparison of the variables of age and gender indicates that the potentially most economically active group i.e. 16-44 year olds or 94 percent is not confined to a specific gender group. The percentage return of replies is satisfyingly close to the normal gender distribution of the DSCFA Live Register Figures of 51 percent for Females and 49 percent for Males.

Central to any discussion of the role of the DSCFA in the affairs of the LTU is the recurring question of whether they would accept wages equal to their DSCFA allowance. The replies recorded in Table 11 addresses that topic. However it must be borne in mind that question number 8 in the questionnaire defined DSCFA allowances as including any other extra entitlements. Consequently, some respondents may have greater benefits than others reflecting their marital or parental status.

As shown in Table 11 below, 60.2 percent would not work for wages equivalent to DSCFA rates compared with 39.8 percent who would. The view

presented is that men and women are generally in accord when adjudicating upon wages offered.

Table 11 -- Percentage breakdown of subjects who would accept wages equal to DSCFA allowance

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	49	39.8%
No	74	60.2%
Sample cases	123	

However, as can be seen in Table 12, when the variable gender was applied the result showed that 65.5% percent of the males would not surrender DSCFA benefit. Females had a high rejection rate of 58.3 percent.

Table 12 -- Breakdown of percentages that would accept wages equal to DSCFA by gender

	Yes	No	Row Total
Male	19	36	55 (44.7%)
Female	28	40	68 (55.3%)
Column Total	47 (38.2%)	76 (61.8%)	123 (100.0%)
Sample cases	123		

Table 13 shows the different responses given by the different age brackets. As the age of a person increases he/she is more likely to accept wages equal to the DSCFA allowance

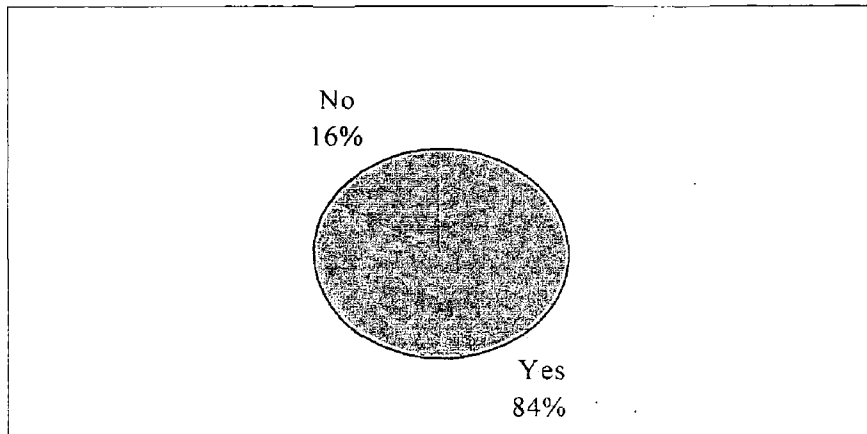
Table 13 -- Respondents who would accept wages equal to DSCFA Allowance by age.

Ages	Yes	No	Row Total
16-24	26	46	72 (58.5%)
25-44	20	24	44 (35.8%)
45-65	3	4	7 (5.7%)
Column Total	49 (39.8%)	74 (60.2%)	123 (100%)
Sample cases	123		

Table 13 shows that 46 persons, 63.8 percent of the youngest range of respondents surveyed, were unwilling to accept wages equal to their DSCFA

allowance. Question 6 in the Survey posed the question of whether paid work equates self-dignity. As shown in Figure 7, 83.7 percent replied Yes. Regardless of gender the majority's assessment of themselves in terms of self-dignity is that their work should be validated and socially approved by receiving money.

Figure 7 - Percentage breakdown of subjects for whom paid work equates self dignity



In order to probe the relationship between paid work and self dignity posed by question 6 in the questionnaire, the subjects were asked in question 9 whether they would do unpaid voluntary work. Table 14 sets out the findings below.

Table 14 -- Breakdown of respondents who would do unpaid voluntary work

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	72	58.5%
No	51	41.5%
Total	123	100.0%
Sample cases 123		

As shown, the majority 58.5 percent indicated that they would do voluntary work. However the type and character of voluntary work that might be considered was not tested.

Table 15 below shows the uniformity of the view that appreciation of personal worth is validated by paid work. In each of the age ranges tested, a majority affirmed the value of paid work. The analysis also showed that the younger people in the 16-24 year old range have a heightened sense of the importance of paid work. However as age increases either the importance of seeking a paid job declines or the self-dignity diminishes, or both.

Table 15 -- Breakdown of respondents for whom paid work equates self-dignity by age

Ages	Yes	No	Row Total
16-24	63	9	72 (58.5%)
25-44	36	8	44 (35.8%)
45-65	4	3	7 (5.7%)
Total	103 (83.7%)	20 (16.3%)	123 (100.0%)
Sample cases	123		

The youngest age group was most emphatic. Of that group, 87.5 percent declared their awareness of a paid work/dignity relationship. When the variable of gender was introduced there was some difference in the level of acceptance. As depicted in Table 16, cross tabulation of gender and dignity in relation to paid work showed that 87 percent of females answered Yes compared with 80 percent of the males.

Table 16 -- Breakdown of respondents for whom paid work equates self-dignity by gender

Gender	Yes	No	Row Total
Male	45	11	56 (45.5%)
Female	58	9	67 (54.5%)
Column Total	103 (83.7%)	20 (16.3%)	123 (100.0%)
Sample cases	123		

The results indicate that the majority 83.7 percent perceives dignity as being directly related to paid work.

Table 17 presents the findings on the dependence of the quality of the respondents' social life on cash, which was measured by survey question number 7. Ninety-one persons of the 123 replies answered Yes to the question that represented 74.0 percent of the sample.

Table 17 -- Breakdown of respondents whose quality of social life depends on cash by age

Age	Yes	No	Row Total
16-24	56	16	72 (58.5%)
24-44	30	14	44 (35.8%)
45-65	5	2	7 (5.7%)
Column Total	91 (74.0%)	32 (26.0%)	123 (100.0)

Comparison with age ranges revealed that as the ages of the residents - increases the dependence of their social life on cash declines. Twenty two percent of the 16-24 year old group did not assign a major role to cash compared with 31.8 percent of the 25-44 age group and 28.6 percent for the over 45 year- olds.

Question 11 of the survey was intended to derive some glimpse of the Finglas peoples' work culture and its historical continuity. The question was framed on the assumption that children are socialised into behaviour patterns and beliefs similar to their parents. The respondents were asked to give their opinions of their parents' likely responses in social situations concerning Social Welfare assistance and social respect based upon having a job. The exercise of recording their parents expected response is a reflection of what the respondents might also do. Table 18 displays the responses recorded.

Table 18 -- Breakdown of the respondents' expectations of their parents' attitudes to claiming Social Welfare benefit by age

Age	Depressed a lot	Depressed a little	Not Depressed at all	Total
16-24	45	23	4	72 (58.5%)
25-44	25	15	4	44 (35.8%)
45-65	7	7	0	14 (5.7%)
Total	77 (62.6%)	38 (30.9%)	8 (6.5%)	123 (100%)

The information gleaned from Table 18 presents a view of a work culture stretching over potentially three generations. This offered an opportunity to trace the continuity of some of the residents' attitudes.

The overall frequency showed that 93.5 percent expected their parents to experience at least some sense of depression due to having to claim DSCFA benefit. Cross tabulation with the subjects' ages indicated that it is the younger persons (16-24) who reported most depression amongst parents, with 62.5 percent opting for a 'Lot of depression'. The age bracket for 25-44 year olds showed that 56.8 percent also recorded that their parents would find having to claim DSCFA would 'Depress a lot'. In the older age bracket (45-65), representing 5.7 percent of the total sample population, recorded that 100 percent of them expected their parents to experience some degree of depression.. Comparing the response of the youngest age bracket with that of the oldest shows that claiming DSCFA, whilst almost always depressing, is not now as depressing an action as it may have been in earlier years. The subjects were tested as to how their parents, in their opinion, might have related having a job to getting respect in the community. The results of their opinions are shown in Table 19

Table 19 -- Breakdown of the respondents' expectations of their parents' opinions that having a job gets respect in the community

	Frequency	Percent
A lot of respect	49	39.8%
A little respect	38	30.9%
No respect at all	36	29.3%
Sample cases	123	100.0%

More than two thirds of the survey, 70.7 percent, did relate having a job as generating some respect in the community however, 29.3 percent offered the view

that having a job warranted 'no respect at all'. Allied to the earlier findings concerning young persons' unwillingness to relinquish their DSCFA status the indications are that in the community the desire to work as a means of getting respect is somewhat weak. The concept of community respect in relation to the different age brackets is illustrated in Table 20

Table 20 -- Breakdown of the respondent's expectations of their parents' opinions of having a job gets community respect by age

Age	A lot of respect	Little respect	No respect at all	Row total
16-24	22	26	24	72 (58.5%)
25-44	22	12	10	44 (35.8%)
45-65	5	0	2	7 (5.7%)
Total	49 (39.8%)	38 (30.9%)	36 (29.3%)	123 (100. %)
Sample cases 123				

Cross tabulating the replies with the different age ranges, the dissimilar perspectives of the oldest and youngest age brackets can be examined. One third of the 16-24 year old bracket, representing 33.3 percent, said that a job gets 'No respect at all'. Alternatively, the older respondents, again perhaps reflecting their earlier historical family influences, responded that 28.6 percent of their group would have expected their parents to view a job as getting 'No respect at all'. Respondents in the younger age bracket feel most keenly the relationship between

a job and getting "a lot of respect" as well as the feeling that having to claim

DSCFA benefit is depressing.

Finglas was selected as a Partnership area because it was deemed to have a sturdy social fabric. Table 21 below sets out how the quality of the residents' social life is dependent on cash, in relation to their category on the Live Register.

Table 21 -- percentage breakdown of the dependence of the quality of social life on cash by the respondents' category on the live register

Live register category	Yes	No	Row Total
Unemployment Benefit	15	8	23 (18.7%)
Unemployment Assistance	13	2	15 (12.2%)
Other DSCFA Benefit	64	21	85 (69.1%)
Column Total	92 (74.8%)	31 (25.2%)	123 (100%)

Three in four of those on 'Other benefits' were of the opinion that social life depends on cash. However, it must be recalled that this group is made up of a varied cross section of claimants including, lone parents, disabled persons, and early retired persons.

A second cross checking analysis of the relevance of cash was made in terms of the status of the person on the Live Register in relation to whether they would accept a job with wages equal to Social Welfare benefits. It is depicted in Table 22.

Table 22 -- Percentage breakdown of the acceptance of wages equal to Social Welfare benefit by category of the Live Register

Live Register category	Yes	No	Row Total
Unemployment benefit	8	15	23 (18.7%)
Unemployment Assistance	3	13	16 (13.0%)
Other DSCFA benefit	38	46	84 (68.3%)
Column Total	49 (39.8%)	74 (60.2%)	123 (100%)

Over a third of the survey, 39.8 percent were prepared to return to work. Those on UA showed the most reluctance or lack of confidence to discard their DSCFA benefits.

Table 23 shows there is very little uncertainty in the opinion of the respondents when faced with a choice of preferences between take home pay or remaining unemployed with free time.

Table 23 -- Percentage breakdown of the preferences between take-home pay and free time when considering a job offer

Preference	Frequency	Percent
Take-home pay	104	84.6 %
Free-time	19	15.4 %

A further feature of the choice of preference was highlighted when the category of the person on the Live Register was applied as shown in Table 24.

Table 24 -- Percentage breakdown of the preferences between take-home pay and free time when considering a job offer by category on the Live Register

Live Register category	Take-home pay	Free-time	Row Total
Unemployment benefit	19	4	23 (18.7%)
Unemployment Assistance	16	0	16 (13.0%)
Other DSCFA benefit	69	15	84 (68.3%)
Column Total	104 (84.6%)	19 (15.4%)	123(100%)

None of the persons on Unemployment Assistance opted to select free time as a preference. On the other hand 17.9 percent of the persons drawing DSCFA benefits due to their social circumstances, which are unrelated to availability to work, considered free time as a possible preference when considering a job offer.

Testing the hypothesis

As the analyses of the survey results were completed, the questions that needed to be addressed were:-

1. Does the sample evidence favour the hypothesis regarding the population?
2. What levels of risk are acceptable?

As the data obtained from the survey was nominal the Chi Square test was deemed the appropriate method to test the null hypothesis that: the results obtained from the survey concerning the choices of Free Time and Take Home Pay are due to chance. The convention to accept that odds of 5 in 100 (i.e. 5%) are grounds for rejecting the null hypothesis that the results are random was adopted. The decision rule was:-

Accept the null hypothesis if $p < .05$.

Reject the null hypothesis if $p > .05$.

It was decided that if the value of P fell within either the acceptance or rejection value range, then the null hypothesis would be accepted or rejected accordingly and if the hypothesis was rejected the result would be statistically significant. Table 25 below gives the critical values of Chi-Square against which the observed value of Chi-Square were compared. The degrees of freedom (df) are 2 and the critical value (two tailed) is 5.99. Since the observed value of Chi-Square is only 3.36 (and so is not equal to or larger than the critical value) the results of the research are not significant. The findings cannot reject the null hypothesis that the difference between the decisive job consideration factors; Free Time and Take Home Pay, used by the long-term unemployed are due to chance fluctuations.

Table 25 -- Chi-Square values

Chi-Square Significance	Value	DF	
Pearson	3.36	2	.19

An aspect of the study was to determine if Finglas is a self- seeking, materialistic money oriented community. As shown in Table 26 below, 86.2 percent believed rule breaking is the normal behaviour of successful people.

Table 26 -- Percentage breakdown replies to the question of whether successful people break rules

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	106	86.2%
No	17	13.8%
Total	123	100.0%

When questioned about putting their own circumstances first, the majority, 81 percent, as shown in Table 27, responded in a very positive fashion.

Table 27 -- Percentage breakdown of the replies to the question of whether people must always consider their own circumstances before accepting a job

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	100	81.3%
No	23	18.7%
Total	123	100.0%
Sample cases	123	

The combination of the attitudes regarding giving priority consideration to their own circumstances and the widely held belief that successful people break rules points to a sense of widespread materialism in Finglas.

Undoubtedly the national environment within which the long term unemployed person operates is becoming more complex. The preceding analysis of the survey returns indicates some of the attitudes to work and free time within the community. A commonly held notion that the Live Register is the national barometer of the state of unemployment is not well founded. The majority of claimants with the DSCFA are registered because of their social, domestic and health circumstances. Their relationship with the world of work is not the criterion that governs their placement on the Live Register.

The prevailing view of the majority of the subjects, independent of gender, drawing DSCFA benefits, is that they would not accept work with pay equal to their DSCFA allowances. This attitude is particularly strong among the younger members of the work force.

A sense of self-dignity is a shared community concept that is especially potent, regardless of work status. A major factor in the maintenance of that concept is that work should be recognised as paid work. Notably, the younger workers placed the greatest emphasis on receiving cash as the decisive factor. In the sphere of socialising, the availability of cash is readily identified as an essential requirement. However, as the ages of the residents increases the dependence of their social life on cash declines.

The competing perspectives of the importance of work; the notion of self dignity and the value of unpaid work are constantly modified in the changing

social and economic environment within which job seekers and others registered as long term unemployed exist. A broader discussion and the conclusions derived from the results of the survey are addressed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETATION OF SIGNIFICANT SURVEY RESULTS

The goal of this Chapter is to interpret some of the survey results and contrast them with the relevant sections discussed in Chapter 1. The Literature Review highlighted the lack of clarity that persists about the role of work and unemployment in the life of the individual and in society. It is also evident that the continuity of uncertainty has persisted throughout history. This research provides an opportunity to appraise the present state of that role as it is practiced by a stable representative section of the population of modern Ireland. There is little doubt that the Finglas community does represent a stable microcosm of Irish society. The mean period of residency is 18.33 years. The indications are that the social circumstances prevailing do not give rise to situations whereby the residents are coerced to migrate to more disadvantaged surroundings. The preceding analysis of the survey responses indicates some of the attitudes to work and free time within the community and some of the behaviours, which prevail in response to those attitudes.

Christian Civilisation

The structures of the organised Christian religions have displayed great continuity. To a large extent the formal official teaching of the main Christian churches, that work is morally good, has been constant. Historically the members of the churches have been obedient to their leaders' interpretations. However it is

clear from the research that in modern Ireland individuals (agents) in society no longer abide by that interpretation or follow the directions of the church leaders that participation in work has a moral obligation. Work is no longer viewed as a part of the divine ordered structure. The combined views of the established churches were well represented by the Irish Catholic Bishops Conference in their Pastoral Letter. They have presented their view that the greatest single social issue is a need for a decent job. Yet, their moral argument is weakened by their support for the notion that the rejection of a job is understandable if the wages are low. The churches' analyses of the efficacy of work may be morally correct, but, the application and daily practices of that view is not apparent. The Christian churches' competing perspectives of the moral and social economic issues surrounding the *role of work* are blurred.

The views and practices of the unemployed social agents in Finglas display no such ambiguity. They are quite emphatic. The majority of the respondents, sixty percent, declared they would not accept work, for wages equal to DSCFA allowances. The community has adjudicated on the morality of work and its role in their personal lives. Despite the teachings of their religious institutions, work is not a singular goal to be cherished. Rather, work now has, primarily, a financial value which permits its comparison with other goals

The Post Reformation Era

The Industrial Revolution shifted the location of work from being a predominantly rural and cottage based activity to the more structured 'outside the home' patterns that prevail today. Although there is no universally agreed definition of what constitutes work, there is a consensus that work is a major

means of generating a cash wage and income. The survey results show that males and females hold broadly similar economic views. Both genders are generally unwilling to work for DSCFA rates of benefit although it must be noted that more women than men, would willing to do so. These attitudes may be a reflection of the changing social practice of some women only beginning or returning to paid work outside the home. Or it may signify that women have a different perspective than males of the linkage between paid work and self-dignity. The cultural strength and likely continuance of this primarily economic attitude of evaluating work may be gauged by noting that the respondents in the youngest age bracket of respondents were most emphatic. Almost sixty four percent of the future potential labour force for the next forty years i.e. between 16 and 24 years old would not forfeit DSCFA allowances for paid work of similar value.

We can conclude from the survey that there is a distinct disincentive to find work, especially amongst people who have what is called a high replacement ratio. The replacement ratio is the proportion of net income that will be replaced by the benefit system when someone loses a job (or, for somebody already out of work is the ratio of income when unemployed to expected net wage). The research findings of the survey in the Finglas Partnership area are that the LTU are keenly aware and give preference to the financial advantages of remaining on the Live Register.

Humanist View of Work

Aspects of the Humanist view regarding the person's social identity and the socially defining role of work are strongly evident. The transition of work from the home to the factory or office eventually devalued as non-work or unproductive work activities that were performed outside the formal work setting. The survey

confirms that that attitude continues in the community. A significant minority, 41.5%, would not undertake unpaid voluntary work. The survey shows that performing paid work validates the subjects' evaluations and perceptions of personal worth. There is a distinct reluctance to undertake unpaid voluntary work. Significantly 83.7% of all the respondents declared that paid work equates self-dignity. A sense of self-dignity is a shared community concept that is especially potent. A major factor in the maintenance of that concept is that work should be recognised as paid work. Notably, the younger workers placed the greatest emphasis on receiving cash as the decisive factor. In the sphere of socialising, all subjects readily identify the availability of cash as an essential requirement. However, as the ages of the residents increases the dependence of their social life on cash declines.

The competing perspectives of the importance of work; the notion of self-dignity and the social value of unpaid work are constantly modified in the changing social and economic environment within which job seekers and others registered as long term unemployed exist. Morris, in Meakin 1976, stressed the importance of work and equated the state of being idle or unemployed as being deprived of a soul in dark void. However his subtle proviso that work should be 'fit work' is clearly important. This research finds that if the agent does not consider the work to be appropriate enough to match the paradigm of his view of reality then accepting work, for the sake of work, is rejected. It is clear that with the spread of industrialism the social identity of a person, the answer to the question 'Who am I?' is contained in the terms and title of the job occupation. The respondents require their identity and self-dignity to be validated and socially approved by being paid money. An interesting finding is the convergence of the

attitudes of the youngest respondents. As mentioned earlier they are reluctant to forfeit DSCFA allowance for equivalent wages. The problem for the individual is to reconcile a sense of 'self-dignity' that depends on paid work, while seeking wages for work that must be in excess of the DSCFA allowance to which he/she is entitled when not working. Inevitably to resolve this dilemma, the individual draws upon his own cultural and social experiences and interprets the circumstances in term of his own view of reality. Expectancy Theory provides a conceptual tool for gauging the decisions made by the Finglas people when choosing between options. The thrust of Expectancy Theory is that the individual will select the action or non-actions that will best reward him/her. Consequently, the judgement of an unemployed person, based on 'realism' is to reject a job offer or a training place (an action) because wages are too low. Or, decide not to job hunt or seek interviews (non-action) because wages are too low. In either situation the value of the money expectation is the criterion against which the person evaluates satisfying his physiological needs and his psychological need, in this case self-dignity.

The Marxist View

The literature dealing with the topic of work indicates that the debate on the importance of the relationship between work and leisure has been of a cyclical nature. Historically, work was reserved for the lower social classes, and leisure time was construed as time reserved for the upper classes to be spent in pleasurable activities, which could include physical sports as well as meditative relaxations. In later historical periods and particularly during and immediately after the industrial revolution work was lauded as a spiritual and uplifting experience. In line with the

nature of the cyclical and opposing nature of these competing perspectives, the role of work has again changed. Those most physically and numerically involved in the labour market, that is workers whether employed or unemployed, now have a perception of leisure and free time which diminishes the social importance of having a job. The concept of work having an 'emotion potential for fun' was recognised by such disparate writers as Marx and Carlyle. The Marxist view that work is undertaken at the expense of the workers leisure time is brought sharply into focus by the findings that a sizable majority, 84.6%, showed their preferences to be that take-home pay outweighed free-time. Despite the tedium described by Beynon, the survey shows that three out of four of the respondents believed that the quality of their social life depends on cash. The acceptance of the importance of cash in the modern world is distributed over all the age brackets surveyed. It is significant that if paid work meets some internalised community norm of self-dignity it will be acceptable.

Changing work patterns have impacted on families incomes. Fathers are the exclusive breadwinners in half of all families in Ireland. In three out of ten families, the parents are dual earners, while almost two out of ten families have no earner and depend on social welfare because they are unemployed or a lone-parent family. (McKeown 1998, 404). An expected result was that men would be in the majority with a 'Yes' reply because of their traditional cultural role as breadwinner. The survey highlighted the importance of having cash in hand, and consequently improved social choices, compared with free time without any obvious economic advantage. The difference between both responses is very emphatic i.e. more than five to one. One possible explanation is that LTU on Unemployment Assistance Benefit, which is means tested, may have resigned themselves to that condition and

adjusted their life style to suit. The balance is not solely a matter of opting for either work or leisure. It also involves taking into account the social practices that prevail in the community even if that entails breaking rules e.g. misleading DSCFA officials or not attending for interviews. Their view of reality is that breaking rules can lead to a continuous and assured weekly payment. At the same time there is very little likelihood of being apprehended or of being penalised, for failing to avail of state sponsored labour market training course initiatives. There is considerable acceptance of the view that paid work should be meaningful. There is also recognition and a general consensus that the social impact of not having a job can be detrimental to the physical and mental health of some unemployed people. On the other hand, the importance of work as a means of social identity has waned while the relevance of free time / leisure has strengthened, particularly over the past fifty years or two generations.

Utilitarianism in Practice

It was discussed in Chapter 1, that lower socio economic groups generally experience an unevenness of treatment and service from Social Welfare officials perhaps because they may have a greater degree of contact with the DSCFA due to the often temporary nature of their work. However, the rates of cash benefits received during unemployment periods reflects the utilitarianism view that rewarding unemployment, in the interest of the greatest number, should not encourage idleness. On the other hand, with improved DSCFA unemployment benefits, and claimants' higher educational standards, loss of a job and interaction with DSCFA is not now as traumatic as it was for parents and grand parents. Social Welfare claimants are now more competent to assert and demand their

entitlements than in the past. Utilitarianism is constantly being challenged. Work is now what society and sometimes individuals decide it should be and often that definition is contrary to the judgement of the DSCFA administrators. Unemployed clients of the DSCFA have a realistic grasp of the Utilitarian workings of Government and Semi-state agencies. They do not perceive any obvious practical working relationship between for example, FAS and DSCFA. Both organisations are compartmentalised and isolated from each other. On one hand DSCFA is viewed solely as a source of benefit, with little influence on the job seekers' behaviour in the world of work. On the other hand FAS is seen as having a job-enhancing role. But, when the DSCFA base level of benefits is potentially threatened by becoming involved with FAS then for the LTU an important tactic is not to become enmeshed with FAS. The job seeker, keenly aware of his/her weekly cash flow, is unwilling to risk any disruption which might mean becoming involved in an unemployment trap which would cause him/her to suffer a reduction in cash (DSCFA 1998 35, 4.7)

Relationship of Work and Leisure

The sphere of work and its impact on the availability of leisure / free time to deal and cope with family affairs are often competing issues. The Commission on the Labour Force Survey 1996 (McKeown 1998) presented information in relation to changes in the labour force as they are reflected in the pattern of employment and working practices within families. The ability and capacity of the family earner(s) to provide an adequate income by participating in employment is fundamental to a family's capacity to carry out successfully its functions in relation to caring and nurturing for family members. However the changes that have

occurred in the reorganisation of the labour market have in many cases heightened insecurities. Concerns about job security have caused people to work longer and harder with consequent shorter free time to participate in family life. The culture in many jobs and workforces has changed. There is greater emphasis on improved productivity and achieving targets. There is often an expectation that longer hours must be worked to show team spirit. The rigid separation of work and leisure within the new organisational culture expects employees to attend social and business events even after working hours. However all the workplace pressures and demands on family time do not apply to those without a job. Yet, despite the negative physical demands of working and curtailed free-time the majority of respondents, 84.6%, would prefer cash as take-home pay rather than free time. It must be construed then that despite the very strong family cultural norms and desire for free-time which are internalised, there is also the wider economic cultural sphere which dominates decision-making and impinges upon the individual, and determines the choice of action.

Socialisation and Culture in the World of Work

It was discussed in the Literature Review that socialisation and culture are internalised by children's observation of the cultural norms and practices they observe in their families and communities. It follows then that culture has continuity, albeit continuously changing. It extends over time and therefore overlaps family generations. The survey provided an opportunity to glean from the respondents a glimpse of a cultural thread in the community. The subjects were asked to record their expectations of their parents' likely attitude to claiming Social Welfare benefit. The conclusion reached is that there has been a perceptible

change in the attitude of the people to the importance of work in their lives. A high majority, 93%, said that their parents would experience some degree of depression if they needed to claim Welfare benefits. In particular, 65% of the younger respondents felt that a 'lot of depression' would be experienced. Whether this is due to some extent to the idealism of youth or loyalty to an idealised parental model is difficult to clarify. On the other hand in the older age bracket (45-65) surveyed, there was unanimity. One hundred percent declared that they would expect their parents to have been depressed 'a lot'. Bearing in mind that these older subjects were socialised into cultural norms through observation of the work practices of grandparents, then the views are the residue of Victorian work values. This Victorian concept is reinforced by the complementary view of the older subjects depicted by the attitude that 'having a job' confers a lot of community respect upon the individual.

In contrast, we note that amongst the younger subjects, 29.3% offered the opinion that having a job did not warrant respect at all. We can draw the conclusion that there has been a change in the cultural norms that prevail in the community. Work no longer occupies a high moral position in the value structure of the younger residents and does not automatically confer respect. The conclusion reached is that some of the arguments dealing with the relationship between work and leisure discussed in the Literature Review by for example, Newman, have been strengthened. Leisure or free-time is set now to act as the supreme outlet for ego gratification and alternative life styles are acquiring ever greater importance. The survey supports the views of Walley (1995), discussed in the Review that people in Ireland are more individualised than in the past. There has now emerged a wider concept of personal development than ever before.

The Future of Work

In the Literature Review one of the points highlighted was that children are now equipped with newer cognitive skills that are ecologically functional and more sophisticated. Bearing in mind that children derive their values from adults 'acting as agents for society' it was deemed relevant to try and establish the prevailing views of the present adult worker in order to predict the likely attitudes of workers in the future.

The final question in the survey attempted to clarify the present perceptions of adults concerning obedience to rules in general and success in a worldly fashion. It should be mentioned that the survey was administered during a period when Ireland was reeling with almost daily reported news of financial and political scandals. Bearing in mind the impact of the news media and the influence of gossip and the smallness of the national community it was not unexpected to record some disenchantment concerning the behaviour of successful people. The discussion of the Post Reformation Era in the Literature Review in relation to the Irish ideology of work described the whole area to be problematical. The research does indicate that Dibelius was very perceptive when he described the Irish as having their full share of the peasant inheritance of coarse materialism. Allied to that view is the force of the claim of Marx and Engels that the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling material force in society. The study has isolated and clarified a sharp sense of prevailing cynicism that permeates the broad community of Finglas.

A further point to be noted is that there has been over the past decade an emphasis by industrialists, as well as Government and economic commentators, on the need for citizens in the State to develop an entrepreneurial risk taking business

ethos. As was noted that in Table 30 in the previous Chapter, 86.2 percent believed that breaking rules is the normal behaviour practised by successful people. If the description 'successful people' is considered to be synonymous with the 'ruling class' then the ruling ideas and behaviours of the successful are the ideas of dominance in the community. Consequently it is likely that the moral obligations of abiding by laws, rules and regulations no longer apply if the person aspires to becoming a 'successful person'

When viewed in conjunction with the replies to the question about putting their own needs first before accepting a job, the attitude depicted is that the primacy of the individual is paramount. Some 82 % of the responses identified a strong attitude that rules are an impediment to personal success, especially when allied to the perception that other citizens successfully disregard rules. Combined with the perception that successful people break rules and apparently suffer no retribution it is hardly surprising that the culture prevailing is one of maximising the individual's advantage. Additionally the observed and media reported behaviour of elitist groups reinforces the belief that it makes good sense to take advantage of whatever opportunities and resources that are available for exploitation.

The conclusion is that in the future the behaviour of the next generation of workers who aspire to be 'successful' will be to disregard rules and make their own individual circumstances and personal needs the paramount criteria

The majority of claimants with the DSCFA are registered because of their social, domestic and health circumstances. Their relationship with the world of work is not the criterion that governs their placement on the Live Register. The

commonly held notion that the Live Register is the national barometer of the state of unemployment is not well founded.

The continuous urging by public Figures and leaders to the national population to be more self-supportive and profit orientated has been accepted by the LTU. But, the practical application of that acceptance has been distorted by the belief that successful people break rules. Consequently the community culture has adapted to mirror the observed behaviour of other groups and now projects cash as the most important cultural work factor.

The expectations of young people entering the labour market are particularly important as an indication of future trends in skill shortages. The findings of this survey are that young persons displayed a keen awareness of the relationship between paid work and self esteem as well as a marked reluctance to do unpaid voluntary work. A conclusion is that young LTU people have rejected the uncertain potential prospect of a better-paid job that would demand an investment of their time in a period of training. Instead they have opted for the immediate financial reward of secure Social Welfare benefits. It may be that their horizons are somewhat narrow in terms of ambition, but, based on their experiences and the reality they witness in their immediate community, it is an appropriate career choice.

A further conclusion is that individuals have noted the urging of Government spokesmen and commentators to become entrepreneurial and self sufficient, by being pro-active and maximising their own self-interests. Individuals now opt to accumulate and maximise as much as they can get from DSCFA in their own interest. It is not a matter of work evasion, rather of work avoidance,

which is very similar to the legal niceties argued by income tax advisers for not paying taxes.

The evidence gathered by this study casts doubt on the generally perceived wisdom that the majority of unemployed would work even if they were guaranteed economic security. In the contemporary Dublin labour market and more especially Finglas, the LTU do not consider work as a central life interest. Their economic awareness of paid work and internalised norms of self-dignity are deeply instilled. Two out of three persons, regardless of gender, would not accept wages equal to their DSCFA allowance. Furthermore, more than half of the traditional male breadwinners, and potential role models for the future, would not surrender DSCFA allowances for a job with equal wages. This attitude is particularly strong among the younger members of the work force. It is doubtful whether the nature and quality of paid work available in the labour market for LTU can adequately fulfil the dual role of equating their sense of esteem and at the same time financing an accep quality of socialising.

The inexorable cycle of change from a rural based craft occupation to the capital concentrated factory site of industrialisation is still in progress. But, a changing facet of the present day role of work is the cyclical return relocation of work to a home based, high knowledge, self supervised, independent, privatised work regime, especially in the Information Technology industry. Despite the historical influence and moral authority of the Christian churches, and their teaching that work is a desirable moral goal, Irish LTU no longer ascribe to that view. Cash and material success and the social advantages of having cash are now more important within the individuals' and the communities' shared paradigm of reality. If the LTU do show some entrepreneurial spirit and seek to maximise their

economic circumstances by exploiting their unemployment position, that exploitation may be manifested by not actively seeking work, or by rejecting FAS training course offers, and continuing to draw DSCFA benefit. In effect they are merely emulating the behaviour of other more socially and economically successful groups.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This final Chapter considers the findings of the research and contrasts them with the labour market activities that are in operation in autumn 1998.

Structural weakness in DSCFA and FAS

The gap between the numbers invited to attend FAS course interviews and actually starting training is organisationally masked and bridged by increasing the numbers of postal invitations for interview by a ratio of 3:1. There does not seem to be, in the public consciousness, any expectation of an official investigation of the reasons for not job hunting or not attending interviews. The structural linkage between FAS and DSCFA for identifying and if necessary penalising non-attenders is not exercised in any formal structured arrangement. While both organisations operate similar computerised systems, each retains and preserves its own autonomy and restricts access to each other's information systems except in occasional individual cases. Unemployed persons do not perceive any obvious practical working relationship between FAS and DSCFA. Although the rates of benefit and allowances in both organisations are the same, each organisation is perceived as being compartmentalised and isolated from each other. On one hand DSCFA is viewed solely as a source of cash benefit, with little influence on the job seekers' behaviour in the world of work. On the other hand FAS is initially seen as having

might mean becoming involved in the unemployment trap. The unemployment trap is the situation where an unemployed person would be financially no better off if s/he were to take up employment.

Identifying the unemployed

International conventions consider a person to be unemployed if he or she is not working, is ready to begin work within a short period and is actively looking for work. This description excludes those working few hours and seeking to work more and those who would accept a job offer but are not seeking work because they believe none is available. There is a whole spectrum of different types of joblessness, between full-time work and full time voluntary inactivity. Although the combined social practices of the LTU in the Finglas community show that work is not a central life interest the study has revealed that there are concurrent, different generational, perspectives of being unemployed and the value applied to work. Each person has a distinct and indeed personal view of the reality of his/her own job situation in the labour market. These views are influenced by many factors including previous work and life experiences, family ties, gender, age, marketable job skills and education.

training. As discussed earlier there is no single local obvious causal symptom of high unemployment rates that can be isolated and remedied. There is however at least the well-documented linkage between the prospects of those who are educated and job trained and the likelihood of being long termed unemployed for those who are not.

Persistence of Long Term Unemployment (LTU)

Early school leavers are more vulnerable to sliding into a life on the margins and becoming long-term unemployed. There are approximately 120,000 young people with minimal or no educational qualifications and these increase by about 8,000 each year. Those young people without formal qualifications are four times more likely to become unemployed than those with the Leaving Certificate. In the school leavers survey 1992 it was established that 53.5% of those without qualification and 41.6% of those with junior cycle qualifications are unemployed one year after leaving school. The unemployment rate of those with Junior Cycle qualification is more than twice that with the Leaving Certificate. The net result of this is the inability to participate effectively in the labour market leading to long term employment. There are of course individual cognitive aspects that impede educational and training development. But, there is also the important absence of a cultural, value-of-education, link. There can be unawareness on the part of some parents, of the dynamic nature of the relationship between the home environment, the school classroom environment, and the performance of some students and their career job prospects. Many of the parents and indeed grandparents who play very important roles in the socialisation process of the young are themselves survivors from a period when participation in second level education was not a common

option. Consequently 'blame' for unemployment cannot be assigned unreservedly to parents for the perpetuation, often over generations, of the cycle of their families' continuous state of unemployment. When the principal socialising actors in a family have little knowledge or experience of the education system other than at primary level they are often unenthusiastic about advancing or encouraging children's education after primary level. The realism of being a member of a LTU family is that the child of an unskilled manual worker is eight times less likely to get third level education, which gives access to higher future earnings. Compared to a graduate, the average early school leaver receives £26,000 more in social welfare payments and pays £70,000 less in tax revenue over the first 20 years after finishing education. (Bruton 1998).

Changing the Work Culture at a micro level

There is now undoubted recognition of the linkage between education / training and employment opportunities. In mid 1998 the Minister for Education and Science launched an initiative aimed at 11-15 year old pupils to instil in them an interest in remaining within education and smoothing their induction into the world of work and jobs. The linkage between formal school education and work is important because it provides a potent opportunity to socialise the pupils and influence and change social practices. It provides an opportunity for pupils to internalise cultural behavioural norms applicable to work. Formal classroom instruction by its nature requires regular hours of attendance, and application to study, similar to the structured organisation of work in offices and factories. To a large extent the purpose of the educational initiative is to make a positive intervention in the area of socialising young people for future employment. It is an attempt to effect a strategic cultural change, particularly within the lower socio

economic groups by offering parental support to encourage better school attendance, sponsored work placements during school terms and improved social support to enhance pupils' self-esteem. The transition from formal education into the work environment is often traumatic for new recruits. Employers have begun to realise that high labour turnover rates are very costly in both money and time. In the current high technology environment within rigid organisational structures, it has become increasingly importance to induct and socialise new young employees into the workforce and maintain them within the organisation. The Institute of Bankers identified that their rate of LTO is exceedingly high in IFSC. They recognised the significance and costs to their industrial sector and recommended a strategy to modify the work-culture in a pro-active response. A current typical example sponsored by Reuters International and the Dublin Docklands Development Authority is one such 1998 initiative in operation in Dublin International Financial Services Centre (IFSC). The Minister for the Environment in October 1998 introduced their sponsored Work Placement Programme for second level school pupils. (Reuters 1998). Pupils are selected and interviewed by host companies whilst still at school and offered tailored work experience modules during school holiday periods. Bespoke training modules address any gaps or deficiencies in their technical or work skills. At the end of the induction year the youth is assured of a minimum 12 month offer of employment. During their training period the pupils receive a cash training allowance and have of course the self-esteem of being an income earner. The tactical action within the IFSC is confirmation that the interpretation of the survey in Chapter 5 regarding young people expectations is correct and is supported by employers' practical experiences. Young workers have a heightened awareness of the relationship

between paid work and self-esteem. The sponsored-job placement with its weekly-earned cash allowance coupled with the acquired self-esteem of earning an income while still a pupil is very potent. The whole exercise is a joint strategic attempt by the Government and employers to modify and influence the future behaviour of new work recruits. It is expected that by broadening the horizons of the future workforce at the earliest learning opportunity through education, and training the cycle of LTU will be interrupted and resolved.

Changing the national work culture

There is now increased intranational interest on the need to focus on the employability of workers within Europe. The Employment Chapter in the EU Amsterdam Treaty recognises that Employment is a matter of common concern at the level of the European Union. (i.e. it is recognised as an appropriate area to be co-ordinated at European level). The co-ordination process enables the EU Commission to propose annually a set of Employment Policy Guidelines for adoption by the Council of Ministers on a qualified majority basis. The Heads of Government at the November Employment Summit in Luxembourg endorsed a draft set of EU Guidelines which were subsequently formally adopted by the Council of Social Affairs Ministers on the 15th December 1997. The EU Employment Guidelines are based on a four pillar framework that seeks to promote employability, entrepreneurship, adaptability and equal opportunity.

The Council Resolution imposes a requirement on Member States to incorporate the 1998 Employment Guidelines into National Action Plans which set out the policy responses and the steps to be taken to implement the EU Guidelines. The Irish Action Plan that was approved by Government was submitted to the EU

Commission in April 1998. The first pillar of the EU Guidelines (Promoting Employability) calls, inter alia, for the adoption of a preventative strategy, whereby there will be early intervention with all young (under 25) and adult unemployed, within six and twelve months respectively of their becoming unemployed, with a view to offering them a job or other employability support, i.e. a place in a training or education course.

In Ireland the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment introduced a Youth Progression Programme (YPP) in October 1998. Under the Programme, all 18/19 year olds who crossed the six month unemployment duration threshold were required by the Department of Social Community and Family Affairs to register with FAS with a view to being assisted in job placement or participating in an employability enhancing programme, subject to forfeiture of welfare support for failure to co-operate. The preliminary data on the impact of the 'preventative' strategy as it applies to unemployed persons under 25 years who breached six months unemployment in September 1998 show a remarkable continuity and similarity to the original symptoms that prompted this research project.

In September 1998, 1,126 under 25 year olds breached the six month benchmark. By mid October 1998, 363 (32%) persons who were called for interviews to appraise their work status and eligibility for welfare benefits signed off the Live Register. The remainder, 848 (75%) were referred to FAS for a training course interview, however 395 (46%) of those referred did not attend for the interview appointment. The data compiled by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment in October 1998 is reminiscent of the 'failure to attend' rates discussed in Chapter 1, but offers no indication of the factors that the persons considered when deciding whether or not to attend. It does however point up the

strength and the continuity of the cultural practices that are exercised throughout the community. The YPP has put into sharp focus the relevance of the findings of this research. These early results of the YPP model have led to an extension on a phased basis, to adult unemployed (25 years and over) who cross the twelve months unemployment. The culture of work at community levels is under sustained pressure to change. Combined with the education and school initiatives described earlier the broad strategic thrust is to enhance the transition from the family to school to work and discourage the likelihood of long term duration on the Live Register.

The intractable nature of long term unemployment is also partly related to the lack of incentives for the unemployed to take low paid jobs and allow them to occupy their free time with other non-paid work. One possible explanation for the continuance for the high levels may be the flat-rate nature of DSCFA benefits paid to the unemployed and the wide gap in child benefits between employed and unemployed. The willingness of workers to accept low-paid jobs depends, in part, on the relative generosity of unemployment benefits. Unemployment benefit rates relative to average earnings are generally higher than in other OECD countries (OECD 1995).

The current picture of unemployment in Ireland is unclear. It is difficult to confidently say just how many people are available for work or seeking work or avoiding work. The role of the training agency FAS is inextricably bound up with the operation of the labour market and consequently it is appropriate that its operation should be considered in relation to the other major agency in the labour market i.e. DSCFA.

The Changing Work Environment

The challenge of increased global trading competition requires a continuous inflow of adaptable, highly skilled workers into industry and commerce. It follows then that the national 'stock' of workers in-work, as well as new recruits, need to be committed to the concept of life long learning and the acceptance of change in their working lives. The most recent national agreement between the Social Partners, Partnership 2000, for Inclusion, Employment and Competitiveness, noted the need for action to improve the quality of the workforce. They urged that arrangements must be put in place to achieve the commitment of employers, trade unions and Government to measures that give effect to the acceptance of the need for life long learning, including support to individuals to invest in their own training. (Partnership 2000 1996 39. 6.11). The idea raised by the Social Partners, albeit unwittingly, is that as well as the commonly voiced, right-to-a-job, there is arguably another entitlement, the right to be trained to cope with change. There is substantial agreement that the nature of jobs in the labour market has changed. Increasingly the types of jobs on offer are in various forms of atypical work, including part-time temporary and contract work. Because of the increased speed of new technology and the pace of development, both employers and employees must be prepared to deal with the likelihood that employment contracts may be governed by the limited life of their production products or services. In ten years time, eighty percent of the technology now in use in Europe will have changed, but eighty percent of that workforce are already part of today's workforce". (Partnership 2000 1996 39. 6.11). Employees need to be trained to expect change, to benefit from change and to expect training to cope with such change as part of their employment contract. Contracts of employment in future may have to offer

an assurance that the employee, by taking a job will not lose his/her viability in the market place, but instead will enhance and prolong their market participation.

Employers in future may very well be made responsible for training their employees, from recruitment date onwards, to anticipate end of contract terminations. Employers also need to accept the possible risks that employees with higher skills are likely to be recruited by competitors. Undoubtedly the development and implementation of such a concept is fraught with potential difficulties. Indeed the notion is to a large extent a conundrum of trying to reconcile the interests of two disparate interest groups. On one hand employers will seek to recruit skilled persons who are likely to remain on the job and warrant an investment in training costs and technology. At the same time the employers will be required to improve their employees' marketable and often mobile skills.

Employees on their part will be required to be constantly undergoing training, with the knowledge that almost inevitably they will be forced to change their jobs and careers due to market pressures. The employee will have to relinquish the idea of a job-for-life. Job security, seniority in a firm and predictable pensions are all work benefits that will be subject to constant change. At some point in the socialisation process, and preparation for work, the concept of job-change and changes into new careers must be advanced.

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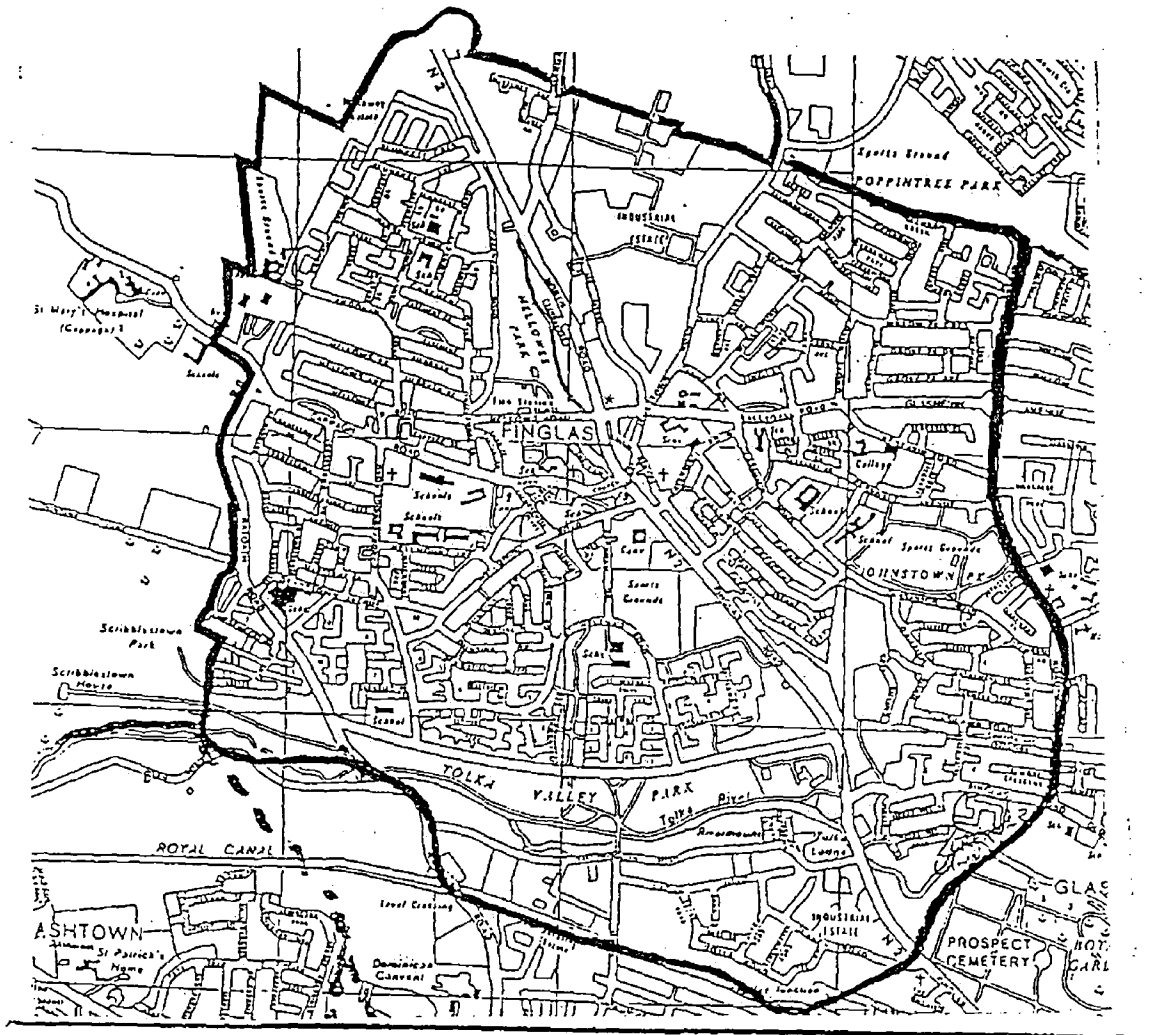
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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Street Map of the Finglas Area Partnership



Appendix C

The Covering Letter



Poppintree Industrial Estate, Jamestown Road, Finglas, Dublin 11, Ireland.
Telephone (01) 348311. Fax (01) 346336.

Date.....

M.....
Add.....
Finglas.....
Dublin.....

Dear M.....

Finglas has been nominated by the government as an Area - Based Partnership Company to give priority to increasing the level of employment by supporting opportunities identified by the local Community.

I am currently researching the opinions of a random number of Finglas residents living in the Partnership Area in relation to work. The information is totally confidential and needed by me in order to create a clear picture of the local residents job and work expectations.

Will you please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the envelope provided ? No postage stamp is necessary.

Your co-operation will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

J.M.Chaney

Appendix D

The Questionnaire

1. How many years have you lived in Finglas? []	(04-05)
2. Age bracket 16-24 [], 25-44 [] ₂ , 45-65 [] ₃	(06)
3. Sex Male [] ₁ , Female [] ₂	(07)
4. Are you receiving Social Welfare:- Unemployment Benefit [] ₁ , Yes Unemployment Assistance [] ₂ , Yes Other (please specify) _____ [] ₃	(08)
5. If you were considering a job offer what would be most important? The amount of take-home pay [] ₁	(09)
or	
The amount of free-time you would have after work hours? [] ₂	(10)
6. Is "paid work" necessary for your self-dignity? [] ₁ , Yes [] ₂ , No	(11)
7. Does the quality of your social life depend on the amount of spending cash you have? [] ₁ , Yes [] ₂ , No	(12)
8. Would ^{You} accept a job with wages equal to Social Welfare Allowance (including any benefits)? [] ₁ , Yes [] ₂ , No	(13)
9. Would you do unpaid voluntary work? [] ₁ , Yes [] ₂ , No	(14)
10. Must a person always consider their own circumstances before accepting a job? [] ₁ , Yes [] ₂ , No	(15)
11. How true do you think your parents considered the following:- (a) "having a job gets respect in the neighbourhood" A lot [] ₁ , A little [] ₂ , Not at all [] ₃	(16)
(b) "to claim Social Welfare is depressing" A lot [] ₁ , A little [] ₂ , Not at all [] ₃	(17)
12. In Ireland today do you think that most successful people break rules and take shortcuts? [] ₁ , Yes [] ₂ , No	