Menschen nur über ihre Arbeitskraft verfügen, um sie auf dem Markt gegen Subsistenzmittel einzutauschen, dort herrscht eine fundamentale Prekarität, Unsicherheit und Verwundbarkeit. Nun haben unsere kapitalistischen Gesellschaften in einem langwierigen Lernprozess Formen der sozialen Sicherung hervorgebracht, die gegen die Standardrisiken der Erwerbsarbeit, das heisst vor allem Invalidität, Alter, Krankheit und Arbeitslosigkeit, ein Mindestmass an kollektivem Schutz gewähren und eine Art ‚Sozialeigentum', wie Castel es treffend nennt, fest institutionalisiert haben. Dieser enorme Fortschritt hin zu einer Anerkennung und Garantie universeller sozialer Teilhaberechte ging einher mit einer Art nachholenden Individualisierung bei den unteren Gesellschaftsschichten, deren sozialer Habitus mehr oder minder deutliche Zeichen einer Ver(klein)bürgerlichung aufweist.

Mit diesem langfristigen Transformationsprozess einher gingen aber auch Auflösungen traditioneller Sozial- und Solidarformen – von der Familie und der erweiterten Verwandtschaft über Nachbarschaft und Gemeinde bis hin zu gewerkschaftlichen und politischen Organisationsformen, die in ihren unterschiedlichen Kombinationen das widerspiegelten, was man noch in den Zeiten des Wirtschaftswunders der ›Arbeiterkultur‹ zurechnete. Auch diese Formen der Vergesellschaftung in den Volksklassen haben im Zuge der Individualisierung alltäglicher Lebensformen und Verhaltensmuster eine rasche und nachhaltige Erosion erfahren. Und auf dem Wege vom traditionellen zum traditionslosen Arbeitnehmer sind viele der gemeinschaftlichen Ressourcen an Schutz und Solidarität – wohl unwiederbringlich – verschwunden. Hier liegt das radikal Neue der sich abzeichnenden ›neuen‹ sozialen Frage: Der schrittweise Abbau sozialer Sicherungen und der Rückzug des Staats aus der Verantwortung für eine solidarische Daseinsvorsorge trifft nunmehr hochgradig individualisierte Individuen, die dem kalten Wind einer radikalen Marktvergesellschaftung schutzlos ausgeliefert sind, weil ihr Habitus nun grundlegend durch die schrittweise Gewöhnung an ein Mindestmass an Schutz vor den Unwägbarkeiten des Alltags in der kapitalistischen Wettbewerbsgesellschaft geprägt ist. Nachdem sich bei ihnen schrittweise ein Muster der alltäglichen Lebensführung im Schutz sozial- und arbeitsrechtlich verbürgter Verlässlichkeiten und Berechenbarkeiten herausgebildet hat, entziehen die neuen Radikalisierungen der Marktvergesellschaftung aller Lebenszusammenhänge diesem gesellschaftlichen Habitus die Grundlage. Es tritt eine wachsende Kluft in Erscheinung zwischen diesen eingefleischten Gewissheiten und deren schnell erodierenden Gegenstücken in Gestalt kollektiver Garantien. Dies lässt die Menschen ratlos und verunsichert zurück: Die gesellschaftlichen Spielregeln wurden kurzfristig redefiniert, der Spielsinn der Betroffenen aber, fussend auf einem langfristigen Prozess des Einübens in dieses Spiel und dem Glauben daran, dass es dabei mit rechten Dingen zugeht und es sich doch lohnt mitzuspielen, hinkt aufgrund seiner beachtlichen Beharrungskraft hinter dieser Entwicklung her. Die zugleich individuelle wie kollektive, subjektive wie gesellschaftliche Desorientierung, die hierbei spürbar wird, kann sich in vielerlei Formen zum Ausdruck bringen. Am beruhigendsten ist es, sie zu pathologisieren und zu therapeutisieren, sie also als Phänomene individuellen Leidens an individuellen Lebensschicksalen beziehungsweise an dem Unvermögen, sich dem Laufe der Zeit anzupassen, zu interpretieren, anstatt nach ihren gesellschaftlichen Ursachen zu fragen.

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Social disorientation and the new spirit of capitalism

Franz Schultheis

As a rule, the term disorientation is used to describe an inadequate capacity to "get one's bearings" in reality or a loss of the ability to direct oneself, which is traced back to different pathological symptoms such as dementia or physical defects. Disorientation is said to be "the incapacity to orientate oneself in relation to time, space, and person; attendant symptoms include impaired consciousness and severe erosion of intelligence and retentiveness." (Wikipedia)

This individualistic anamnesis of disorientation, which, so to speak, naturalizes it, silently presumes a self-evident, objective reality and ascribes the responsibility for "orientation" in this reality to the individual, regardless of how this reality is shaped. The fact that this clinical picture is referred to by doctors and psychiatrists, psychologists and teachers as part of their everyday work is not being questioned here. What is being questioned is the treatment of orientation and disorientation solely as a physiological or psychological defect at an individual level. If we take, for instance, the phenomenon of *suicide* as an indicator of an extreme form of existential crisis and loss of orientation, then, at least since the publication of Durkheim's groundbreaking work Suicide, it has been clear that suicide also represents a social phenomenon that exhibits a certain social regularity and rule-governed character and whose causes are to a great extent rooted in the dynamics of social life. The thesis presented here argues analogously that the complex question of orientation and disorientation needs to be dissociated from the reductionist, subjectivist viewpoint and interrogated in terms of its elementary and constitutive social factors. In this context, the reality which individuals may experience as precarious under certain conditions is not seen as a quasi-natural, self-evident given but as a social construction.

From a constructivist point of view, this reality is certainly not an unchallengeable fact, but rather a socio-historical construct generated by complex collective practices and collective ascriptions. These social constructions have a greater or lesser degree of duration and reliability and offer the participating subjects more or less stabile orientations and plausibility structures for the everyday conduct of their lives. Just how fragile these coordinate systems for everyday life can be is something all of us have probably had to experience to some extent. The following conversation located on the Internet through a Google search using the keyword "disorientation" provides a concrete expression of this experience.

Blackout: Subjective evidence of a social experience

Rosnelda describes the following problem in a chat room conversation: "My problem is this: a few times lately I haven't been able to remember which day it is, whether it's Monday or Tuesday, for example. It's as if I've had a total blackout. I should add that I recently finished my final high school exams and have been on holidays for around six weeks (perhaps that's the reason). I'm really worried about this. Has anyone else had this experience or should I be worried about it? Any answers would be very welcome."Rosnelda doesn't have to wait long for an answer. A contemporary using the pseudonym "Mouse" answers with the following words of comfort: "I assume that you had a daily rhythm up until your exams and now you're on holiday you haven't been keeping one. Try to get a rhythm back in your life and maybe think about pursuing some meaningful activity until you start at university. Otherwise, try to get up, eat, etc. at regular times." Another chat room participant, Seanet7, knows from experience how one can end up feeling this sort of disorientation, reporting: "When I was on night duty for a while, I had to ask myself sometimes which day it was." Greetings, Seanet7. The next response is more analytical: "That happens to me when I don't have a fixed structure in my life (such as work), but just sit around at home, sleep late, and so on. Last Thursday, I thought it was already Friday." Grass Stem. Rosnelda is thus not alone with her concerns: she shares them with others, which in itself has a calming effect: "Many thanks. It's at least reassuring to know that other people have had this experience. I'm a bit of a hypochondriac and I was getting worried, especially since my general sense of time is completely out of whack at the moment. I sometimes don't know whether something happened yesterday, the day before, or even earlier. Somehow everything seems totally hazy." Rosnelda.

An interesting reversal provides the crowning moment of this spontaneous group-therapy session on the subject of disorientation: "Be happy. It's a sign that you are completely relaxed."

What is going on here? A number of visitors to a chat website exchange opinions about what is, in the first place, the purely individual experience of one of the participants. She talks about a disturbance, a "blackout," during which she loses her temporal orientation, an experience that challenges the way she sees herself. She hears that others have had this experience and regains confidence in her relationship to reality. Her advisors refer to similar experiences in similar situations, thus making this disorientation appear typical, defined, comprehensible and therefore controllable, and thereby generating orientation within disorientation. Moreover, they also offer diagnoses. The cause of the disorientating experience is the lack of structure in general and temporal structure in particular. This experience, the participants point out, can occur when a vacuum is suddenly created following phases in which time has been clearly structured.

To put it in intentionally banal – indeed, tautological – terms, disorientation occurs as a result of a loss of orientations, which are not primarily the product of autonomous, subjective determinations and conscious individual decisions

but rather belong to a collectively implemented and shared frame of reference called "normality." This frame of reference involves an ensemble of socially constructed and institutionalized arrangements of time and space, which predates the individual and which, after a long process of internalization and naturalization of this order, makes it possible for individuals to precisely discern the situations they encounter, that is to say, allows them to recognize, accept, and meaningfully relate the spatial, temporal, and human actualities they are confronted with. Orientation thus refers to the socially organized everyday structures and reference points that, on account of their relative reliability and stability, allow individuals – qua habituation and anticipation, consciously or unconsciously – to get their bearings.

The disturbance or destruction of this order – for instance, in the context of catastrophes, states of emergency such as war, totalitarian institutions such as the concentration camp, etc. – gives rise to collective disorientation in the sense of a socially generated situation in which the reliability (familiarity) of spatial, temporal, situational, and human references disappears or is lost, leaving individuals "disoriented" and perplexed.

Orientation/Disorientation: A few anthropological considerations on the precarity of the human capacity for orientation

The previous example – in all its mundanity – is intended to illustrate that the life-world of human beings is based on a complex ensemble of plausibility structures, habituated expectations, and corresponding dispositions, which create security in times of "normality" and enable the individual to find his way through the everyday life of his society and to participate in its practices without the need for constant problematization and critical reflection. However, these plausibility structures are fundamentally more fragile, vulnerable, and crisis-prone than the highly individualized individual of late modernity can imagine or reconcile with his own self-awareness.

It is worth recalling here the widespread consensus in anthropology that the human being comes into the world as what Arnold Gehlen refers to as a "deficient being" with profoundly reduced instincts. In order to reach the approximate level of maturity of other mammals at birth, the human child would actually have to spend a further full year in the uterus. Instead, it is placed in the world as a "normalized premature birth," where it must persevere in a state of extreme helplessness and is, in fact, capable of survival only because of the intensive care and support provided by its environment, or what Adolf Portmann calls the "social uterus." At the same time, from an anthropological perspective, this enormous degree of social neediness is the central precondition for the ability of human beings to create culture as a mammal with reduced instincts and an extremely limited capacity to protect its body and care for itself, the human child in the social uterus is "open to socialization," predisposed to adopt a species-specific habitus via a socially organized learning process lasting many years. During this laborious (in terms of time, energy, and care) socialization phase the new arrival in the social world is socially imparted with all the cultural competences and experiences that it needs in order to be able to orientate itself and move within this world in the future. The reduction of instinct and the resulting extreme plasticity of the human habitus allows for a comprehensive cultural imprinting of all cognitive, affective, and physical dispositions and the permanent inscription of the prevailing socio-historical structures of social practice on body and mind. This protracted process of the incorporation of social practice leads to an ingraining and naturalization of cultural patterns that have a formative effect on all levels of the human habitus and, in the course of the socialization process, are increasingly expressed as a "second nature." This applies to the social construction of the body and its techniques, as elaborated so convincingly by Marcel Mauss in his classic essay on this subject, as it does to the categories of the perception of time and space, the self and the foreign, individuality and sociality.

Social anthropology thus does not accept the Kantian requirement for inborn categories of perception as a condition for the very possibility of perception but rather emphasizes the key epistemological role of the social construction of reality. The capacity for orientation of the human as a deficient being with reduced instincts is generated by the society in which and by virtue of which the human exists, and this creates an incredible range of opportunities for cultural development and perfection. However, it also entails enormous risks because the social system of coordinates incorporated by the individual, providing orientation in a hyper-complex world, is subject to socio-historical change, which can take place more or less rapidly and drastically and can thereby prove destabilizing and disorientating for the subjects it affects. It is this effect that will now be discussed.

The two faces of collective disorientation

A major source of the suffering associated with the conditions of social life stems from rapid, radical, and even revolutionary change in social structures and everyday living conditions. Such change is reflected in a caesura between the social structures internalized and "incorporated" by human beings (the ensemble of thought patterns, moral standards, and behavioral habits that Pierre Bourdieu refers to as "habitus") and the prevailing social framework. The result is what sociologists refer to as anomie, that is to say, a lack of normative coordinates and orientations on which one can relatively reliably base one's expectations and actions.

Anomie denotes a state of lawlessness, a lack of rules, a lack of social order and the collapse of cultural order, a lack of social integration, and disorientation. The term describes an

overall social situation in which dominant norms become generally destabilized, existing values and orientations lose their binding character, group morality is significantly challenged, and social control is largely undermined. In Durkheim's view the collapse of a society's system of normative coordinates gives rise to a situation characterized by unlimited aspirations. Because these cannot be satisfied, the result is a lingering uneasiness that is expressed in statistically measurable disturbances in the form of negative social acts (suicides, criminality, divorce, etc.). According to Durkheim's empirical studies, the extreme form of disorientation and destabilization, anomic suicide, can eventuate in phases of economic depression and of economic boom, since in both cases orientation to the habitual relationship between social goals and the means to achieve these goals is disrupted. Either the goals are unachievable because of economic hardship or are too quickly achieved on account of prosperity, with the result that they lose their capacity to orientate action. This leads to disorientation. This is the basis for the following attempt at a contemporary diagnosis using empirical research into current socio-economic change.

There is a widespread consensus among experts in the social sciences, economics, and the humanities that we are living in a time of massive economic, social, and cultural upheaval. Moreover, most scholars agree that this radical change began around 1980. However, there is a difference of opinion as to whether this upheaval should be interpreted in terms of globalization, the advent of post-industrial society, or neoliberalism. According to the current status of research, as documented in numerous social-scientific publications, this upheaval involves a fundamental change in the normative requirements placed on employees or, to use a contemporary term, human capital. Based on a long-term analysis of management discourses over the last decades, Luc Boltanski und Eve Chiapello (2003) have identified a number of key terms constituting an ideal-typical description of the normative-requirement profile of a marketable employee. These terms include: autonomy, employability, flexible work capability, capacity to generate incentive, innovativeness, communicativeness, capacity for compromise, creativity, life-long learning, capacity to inspire others, mobility, multiple competences, project management, readiness to assume risk, self-management, self-assuredness, self-evaluation, capacity to create social capital, spontaneity, availability, mediator function, networking, diversity of projects, visionary, etc. It goes without saying that this kaleidoscope of expected competences cannot be mastered by everyone.

The lowest common denominator in this profile of the ideal employee seems to be that he works constantly and throughout his life to perfect or at least preserve his "human capital" in the form of his incorporated cultural and social capital, thinks and acts within a framework of temporary and limited projects rather than in terms of a life-long professional career, and situates himself within a context of personal, social networks (his "social capital" of activatable resources and support) rather than building on institutionalized networks. The *employable man* orientates himself to his own measurable market value in the form of concrete demand instead of aspiring to an enduring status, and is satisfied with a lifestyle contingent on economic conditions and situation rather than clinging to a long-term life plan. The marketable employee is geographically mobile and professionally flexible, and knows how to organize his private life accordingly, which thereby tends to assume the character of a set of temporally limited projects.

This economic habitus of the employable man directly mirrors the general features of the neoliberal economic and social doctrine. This includes aspects such as: optimization of market transactions (number and frequency), optimization of signed contracts (number and frequency), reduction of the contents of contracts to the effective services to be provided (performance-linked payment and goal-based contracts), belief in the rational and moral necessity of the market, constant extension and intensification of market principles in the social sphere, removal of all obstacles to the "marketization" of society, creation of quasi markets or sub-markets within one and the same enterprise, firm belief in the superiority of a market society as the result of an open process, and entrancement with the social figure of the entrepreneur as the model of a morally superior actor who reacts sensitively and rationally to market forces. (**1**)

This represents a brief overview of the changes in contemporary laboring society at both a macro-structural (economic structures) and an individual level (habitus) that have been diagnosed in a wide range of social-scientific studies. But how is such a process perceived by concrete actors? How is it subjectively experienced by those concerned? It was this question we sought to answer in the course of a small field research project that focused on the transformation of an long-established Swiss firm.

People in the maelstrom of modernization

In 1997 we, a small group of sociologists, were given the opportunity to closely observe and analyze the dramatic transformation of a traditional Swiss company. Following a fusion with another Swiss firm and subsequent amalgamation with a North American firm working in the same sector, it was decided that the company should undergo an extensive and detailed process of rationalization and modernization. To this end an internationally renowned business consultancy was engaged to work out and implement a plan for the firm's total renovation. Cutting as many jobs as possible was a priority, and employability was the measure used to sort out the some 4,000 surplus workers, the rejects, so to speak, of the modernization process. The consultants responsible for restructuring the enterprise applied this measure of *employability* in the context of a series of workshops. All staff

members of the amalgamating firms were invited to take part in a competition held at selected venues to determine whether they would keep their jobs, that is, survive. The goal was to prove that their level of employability was higher than that of other competitors. (**2**)

In order to ensure that the losers did not simply end up on the street (which would not have reflected well on the firm) the company devised a very generous redundancy plan, which provided the basis for bringing a group of sociologists on board. The management group charged with the "socially acceptable" staff cuts provided us with an insight into their work and enabled us to observe and analyze the social and human costs of the rationalization process.

Our research made use of different methods such as participant observation, the analysis of a wide variety of written sources, statistical evaluation of personnel files (socio-demographic profile of the population of discharged staff according to socially relevant criteria such as age, origin, marital status, etc.), and, in particular, qualitative interviews with more than 100 of those affected, a sample that covered a range of status positions within the firm. The aim was to bring to light the human experiences of the upheaval from the point of view of those concerned and to obtain and record their personal views. This central aspect of the project served, among other things, to provide a view of the changes in the firm – which in future will probably be celebrated chiefly from the perspective of the firm's management as a massively successful adaptation to the constraints of the market and increased global competition – from the perspective of the normal employee and to make clear that there were two distinct sides to this corporate transformation. This transformation not only entailed enormous feelings of loss and distress for its victims, who experienced it from a position of passivity and thus like a stroke of fate; it also destabilized the relationship between those who retained their positions with the company. In the long term it may destroy the trust placed in the enterprise by the ordinary worker, resulting in so-called *survivor sickness syndrome*, which can, in turn, have long-term, negative consequences for the firm in the form of reduced identification (the oft-evoked corporate identity) and staff motivation.

By means of statistical evaluation of the demographic and social characteristics of some 4,000 surplus workers, we were able in the first place to look into the question as to whether the postulated competition for survival was really as egalitarian as was claimed or whether there were, in fact, typical loser and typical winner profiles.

Let us first take for this purpose the profile of the "loser" in this contest for survival. If we look at the personal characteristics and profiles that predisposed the employees of the amalgamating firms for dismissal – what were in a certain sense "handicaps" in the contest for limited jobs (or artificially limited for reasons of rationalization according the logic of shareholder-value) – the first factor that becomes evident is gender. Women were strongly over-represented in the population of leavers, which to a large extent could be connected with a further type of handicap or social vulnerability: that of family situation. Our statistical analysis revealed that mothers of young children, as well as those of children of school age, were significantly handicapped in terms of their perceived employability and were retrenched at a rate well above average. (**3**) On the other hand, fathers in the same family situation were spared such a fate as "structural casualties" of modernization. Children as a handicap? Those who believe that our developed industrial societies have made progress in the field of gender equality are quickly disabused in the face of current socio-economic changes.

The factor of age also proved to be a central selection criterion. From as young as 45 upwards employees were laid off significantly more frequently. From 55 upwards employees were automatically given early retirement, a decision that was quickly revised because of its catastrophic consequences for the company. (**4**)

Cultural capital in the form of school and university diplomas also proved to be a decisive selection principle: the smaller the educational capital, the greater the likelihood of redundancy – this illustrates the level of simplicity of the criteria that can be distilled from the statistical analysis of the profiles of winners and losers. In addition there is a geographic or socio-topographic selection element that clearly reflects the specific, historically developed situation in Switzerland: employees from the French and Italian-speaking regions of Switzerland were at significantly greater risk of losing their jobs than those from German Switzerland. This form of selection can be seen as connected to the principle of the dominance of the center (German Switzerland as a central business location), with the principle of centrality also playing a role within this dominant language sphere (Zurich as the capital city of Swiss capital was the place that provided the best chance of "survival," while the Basel region and Eastern Switzerland were worse locations when it came to the chance of retaining employment). We turn now to a sociological aspect that is also interesting for physicians: the analysis of the distress caused by current processes of social change. Within the group of "unemployable men" selected

1 See: web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/neoliberalism.html – 57k

2 It hardly requires a long footnote to point out the particular brutality of this form of selection. The social-Darwinist principle of "survival of the fittest" is openly celebrated in such "survival exercises," and, as in traditional elimination contests (from gladiatorial contests in the ancient Roman circus to modern sport and the competitions of all types now presented as media spectaculars), the collective illusion is preserved that nothing untoward is going on.

3 It should be pointed out here that part-time work was also a clear indicator of the vulnerability of employees in the social selection process. However, it also significantly correlated with the factors of female gender and family responsibilities, and therefore those affected by all three categories were predestined for redundancy.

4 Here, as at many other locations, it is difficult for the sociologist not to express astonishment and admit to being

by the firm, we encountered many people who had often recently suffered from health problems, whether of a physiological or psychological kind.

We met people who, in describing their supposedly individual predicament, in reality provided evidence of a renaissance of collective intolerance for weakness and flaws of all kinds. These people had previously been through a process that had gradually furnished them with a sense of security regarding their physiological and psychological "pathologies," a "civilizing" of the conditions of life that had helped them develop a new self-assuredness and identity. As a result, they were all the less prepared for the catastrophe they now faced. What Castel refers to as the "new uncertainties after social safeguards" affect people who seem all the more defenseless against them when the processes of the individualization and modernization of everyday life – in which they have been able to take part not least because of social safeguards – have "liberated" them from traditional forms of community (family and extended family, neighborhood, colleagues, etc.) and this individualism becomes a "negative" factor for them. The "discharged" people we interviewed reported personal dramas, a fatalistic acceptance of their misfortune as if it were a natural catastrophe, rage and hatred directed at the company, self-doubt, and resentment of particular superiors. Primarily the interviewees spoke of a fundamental and pervasive feeling of loss, the loss of a home, identity, interpersonal relations, and community and, above all, a loss of trust in society and its cohesiveness.

The new vulnerability this side of social safeguards

The varied statements collected in this study reflect the fact that the contemporary diagnosis of society is increasingly having to address the new vulnerabilities "after the safeguards" (Castel 2003), which constitute an existential threat to all those without the material assets required to realize the claim – which has now been accorded the status of a general norm – to an autonomous lifestyle. As Castel correctly emphasizes, property, as the material condition for autonomously planning and leading one's life, is required in order to have one's "own" life. In cases where private property is available in adequate quantities, often already at birth, this does not represent a problem. However, people who have only their labor power to exchange on the market for their means of subsistence face a fundamental precarity, uncertainty, and vulnerability. After a protracted learning process, our capitalist societies have established forms of social security that offer a minimum degree of collective protection against the standard risks entailed in gainful employment, namely, invalidity, aging, illness, and unemployment, and have institutionalized what Castel appropriately calls a form of "social property." This enormous progress in terms of the recognition and guarantee of universal, social participatory rights has been accompanied by a kind of "catch-up" individualism in the lower social strata, whose social habitus exhibits more or less clear signs of "gentrification."

However, this long-term process of transformation has also involved the dissolution of traditional forms of sociality and solidarity – from the family and extended family, to neighborhoods and communities, to forms of union and political organization – which, in their various combinations, reflected what was still attributed to "workers' culture" in the period of the economic miracle. In the course of the individualizaion of everyday forms of existence and patterns of behavior, these forms of sociality in the lower classes have also undergone rapid and sustained erosion. Along the route from traditional to traditionless employee, many of the communitarian resources that provided protection and solidarity have disappeared – probably forever. This is where we encounter the radically new element of the emerging "new" social question: the progressive dismantling of social guarantees and the retreat of the state from responsibility for public services is now affecting highly individualized individuals who are defenseless against the radical marketization of society because their habitus is now fundamentally shaped by a progressive habituation to a minimum degree of protection from the incalculable aspects of everyday life in a competitive capitalist society. A pattern of the everyday conduct of life based on a level of reliability and calculability guaranteed by social and labor legislation is being stripped of its cohesiveness by the new radicalization of the marketization of society. A growing gulf is emerging between these internalized certainties and their rapidly eroding counterparts in the form of collective guarantees. As a consequence people find themselves perplexed and uncertain: the rules of the social game have been suddenly redefined, while among those affected the understanding of the game, one based on long-term practice and the belief that the game is fair and worth playing, limps behind this development because of its remarkable power of persistence. The individual and collective, subjective and social disorientation that becomes evident under these circumstances can be expressed in many forms. The most reassuring approach is to interpret it in terms of pathology and as an object of therapy, to see it as a phenomenon of individual suffering caused by individual existential circumstance or the incapacity to adapt oneself to the passage of time instead of inquiring into its social causes.

constantly surprised by the unworldliness and naivety with which highly paid consultants defy all common sense in seeking to impose on reality abstract models learnt in business colleges. In should be clear that condemning an entire generation to oblivion destroys the social memory of a firm. However, social elites do not function according to the principles of basic common sense.

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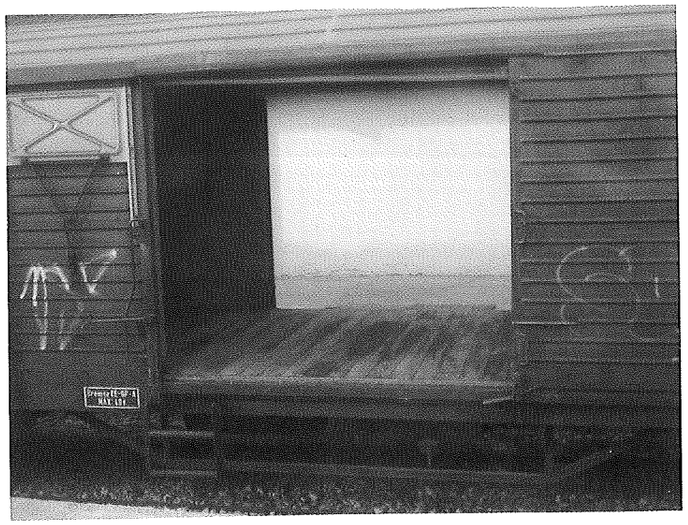


figure 16

rome / istanbul voie egnatia décembre 2004 , se souvenir



figure 17

paris rue de palestine, septembre 2005 , habiter



figure 18

rome vatican août 2005 , vivre



figure 19

marseille novembre 2005 , habiter / survie