

**THE MEANING OF WORK IN A DEVELOPING
SOCIETY: A RURAL SOUTH AFRICAN STUDY.**

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The primary aim of this thesis is to explore, at a psychological level, the meaning of work in a rural developing society context. Additional aims comprise: the examination of distinctions in the meaning of work between different occupational niches; and the development of an appropriate conceptual and methodological approach for understanding meaning of work issues in developing society contexts.

The research was conducted in the Keiskammahoek district situated in Ciskei, a South African homeland area. Demographically, the area comprises farms, small rural villages and one small town. It has traditionally fulfilled the role of a labour reserve, and the local economy largely depends on income generated through migrant labour. The population predominantly comprises indigenous Xhosa speakers, although a few whites, individuals of mixed racial origin and other ethnic groups are represented.

In order to accommodate the diversity of work experience in rural society, an approach was adopted which relied on the participants' subjective definition of work. A conscious attempt was made to avoid defining work exclusively as remunerated employment. At a metatheoretical level, the meaning of work model used is grounded in Kelly's (1955) Personal Construct Theory. It comprises three facets, namely process, context and content.

A multiple case study design was used, in which idiographic analysis was carried through to a nomothetic level of understanding. The primary research instrument comprised an interview, in which data was derived from life-history material, a repertory grid, and focused interview questions. In the development of case studies, a process of triangulation was used to link the three sources of data.

The thesis explores the relationship between participants and their work in several ways. First, it looks at how work and non-work are constituted and related to one another, and at how personally valuable work is contrasted to less valuable work. Second, it explores the relationship between the individual's orientation to work and their life and occupational context. Finally, it discusses the proposal that work meanings change and evolve with the development of the individual, and with shifts in social and historical circumstance.

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DEDICATION.

To Patricia.

CHAPTER 1 OVERVIEW.

In a pioneering article Albert Cherns (1984) called for a reinterpretation of the nature and significance of work, specifically referenced to the conditions that pertain in Third World societies. He argued that in this endeavour there was a need to broaden the definition of work beyond the limits of paid employment, in order to accommodate the diffused patterns of work which apply in developing societies.

In explaining the importance of research on work in the Third World, Cherns pointed out that:

Work is the way in which man [sic] relates to the world, and the place of work in the scheme of things is the characteristic mark of a society. The importance placed upon work, and its meaning, serves to differentiate the societies with high from those with low rates of economic growth. (p. 98)

It follows from this quote that an understanding of the meaning of work in developing societies is crucial to any process which seeks to facilitate economic and social development.

The current research represents a response to the challenge put forward by Cherns. It is an attempt to develop an understanding of work meanings in a rural context within a developing society, based on a broad definition of the phenomenon of work and a qualitative research strategy. In place of an employment-based definition of work, a subjective and contextually based definition is developed. The definition is subjective in as much as it relies on an idiographic and experiential understanding of the work construct, and is contextualised in as much as it tries to structure and make sense of this subjective understanding in terms of a range of personal, social and environmental factors.

The research has been designed to fulfil three specific goals. The first and primary goal is to explicate the structure and nature of work meanings in a rural, developing society setting. In this regard, the research attempts to develop a situated description and analysis of peoples' orientation to work and the role played by work in their lives.

The second goal consists of developing a cross-sectional analysis of work meanings amongst the existing sections of the rural population in which the research was conducted. Here the intention is to first identify relevant occupational and work related divisions in the population and then to examine the specific work meanings that can be assigned to these divisions.

The third and final goal involves the development of an appropriate conceptual and methodological framework for researching the meaning of work in rural, developing society contexts. The development of an appropriate framework is obviously a precondition for the fulfilment of the other two research goals. However beyond this, it is also hoped that the conceptual framework developed in this research will provide a basis for further research and conceptual development.

In terms of a metatheoretical framework, the model of work meaning developed in this research is grounded in the work of George Kelly (1955). The theory proposed by Kelly is known as Personal Construct Theory. It puts forward a cognitive model of human functioning, in which the individual is perceived to act in the role of an enquiring scientist. Rather than relating to their world in a passive way, people are seen to be continually structuring and re-interpreting their experience and understanding, in an effort to make sense of their world. Kelly's theory presents an essentially idiographic model of understanding. However, this is developed and extended to a broader, more nomothetic level of understanding in the research.

The approach adopted in this research is also grounded in the existing literature and research on the meaning of work, and in theoretical material on psychology in developing countries. Although most of the existing material on the meaning of work is specifically referenced to remunerated employment, it nonetheless provides useful points of departure for this research. The material on psychology in developing societies is essential, not only because it gives the research direction but also because it is hoped that this research will make a real contribution to debates on the question of rural and national development in the developing world.

The research for this thesis was conducted in Keiskammahoek, which is a magisterial district in the Ciskei. The Ciskei is currently one of the four "independent" and self-governing "black" homeland areas in South Africa.

As was indicated earlier, the research is broadly of a qualitative nature. Methodologically, the research made use of a psychological case study approach, following the work of authors such as Yin (1984) and Bromley (1986). Bromley's (1986) notion of case law development provides the central mechanism for moving the data between idiographic and nomothetic levels of analysis.

The primary research instrument took the form of an extended personal interview and case studies were developed on the basis of three forms of data derived in these interviews. These included life history data, a simple repertory grid, and focused interview question responses. In the process of the interviews this data was gathered interactively so that the strategies complemented one another. Further, the concept of triangulation (Jick, 1983) was employed as a means of providing continuity in the data and analysis.

In the research analysis, the data was carried through three levels

of analysis. At the first level, data pertaining to individual participants was analysed using an analytic frame informed by the model of work meaning developed (see Appendix 2). This analysis produced individual case studies for the 96 research participants. At the second level of analysis, individual case study data was collectively analysed according to occupational niche categories. The concept of occupational niches was used to provide coherent and valid divisions in the Keiskammahoek population and to facilitate participant sampling. The process of collectively analysing case studies in occupational niches resulted in the generation of ten niche studies. Finally, the general and niche data was again analysed to produce a single collective outcome. The interpretation of the data contained in this thesis focuses on the niche and collective levels but remains reliant on the idiographic nature of the original case study data.

As stated earlier, the magisterial district of Keiskammahoek is situated in the independently ruled South African homeland of Ciskei. Given that this is a "black" homeland with a predominantly Xhosa speaking population, it follows that for the most part the participants in this research were similarly black and Xhosa speaking. As there are a few whites who reside or work in the district of Keiskammahoek, this group was treated as a separate niche in the research design. Factors of ethnicity and culture have been incorporated as contextual variables in the research.

As is evident from the foregoing discussion, the research design and process followed is a complex one. In order to provide the reader with some guidance and direction, it is necessary to review the chapter structure that will be followed in the remainder of this thesis.

The next chapter, Chapter 2, is intended to provide a basic review of Personal Construct Theory. Aspects of the theory which are considered to be of particular importance to the thesis are

emphasised in the review, and the chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the implications of the theory for understanding the meaning of work.

Chapter 3 is a composite chapter, including a review of the existing literature on the meaning of work, and the role and nature of psychology in developing societies. At the end of this chapter, in a section which is essentially a consummation of both chapters two and three, a heuristic model of work meaning is presented. It is this model which provides the analytic frame used in the research.

In Chapter 4, a theoretical overview of the methodology employed in the research is provided. Repertory grids, the central technique employed in Personal Construct Theory, are discussed here, along with interview and life history techniques. The concept of research triangulation is also introduced and discussed in this chapter. Triangulation is used as a means of, and rationale for, integrating the various sources of data in the research.

In Chapter 5, the specific features of the study are introduced and discussed. A description of the research setting is provided in this chapter, followed by a discussion of how the theoretical elements were operationalised in the research. The latter discussion covers the research design, the research instrument employed, the important issue of language, and the process of participant selection.

An outline of the results is provided in Chapters 6 and 7. In Chapter 6, the research results at the occupational niche level are described, while in Chapter 7 an overview of the collective results is provided.

Chapter 8 is a discussion chapter, which is intended to provide integration in the thesis. In the first half of this chapter, the

niche-specific data is once again considered, and a generalised description of work meanings in Keiskammahoek is provided. In the second half of the chapter, discussion is focused on placing the research in perspective, relative to the existing literature on work meanings and the question of rural and national development.

Finally, a conclusion to the thesis is provided in Chapter 9. This chapter includes a brief assessment of what has been achieved and an examination of the implications of the research for future research and study.

CHAPTER 2 METATHEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

The primary task of this chapter is to clarify the basic theoretical positioning of the thesis. In the development and statement of this theoretical positioning, central use is made of the Personal Construct Theory, originally formulated by George Kelly in 1955 and subsequently developed by a variety of authors (eg. Adams-Webber, 1979; Adams-Webber & Mancuso, 1983; Bannister, 1970b, 1985; Bannister & Fransella, 1971; Fransella, 1977, 1978; Fransella & Bannister, 1977). An attempt is made in this section to situate the phenomenon of human work within Personal Construct Theory and where appropriate, to modify and extend the basic theoretical formulation.

In the initial part of this chapter, a summary of the basic formulation of Personal Construct Theory will be given. This summary does not set out to give comprehensive cover of the theory, but rather provides an essential structure for the purposes of this thesis. As much of the theory is reflexive and organic, the provision of a logically sequential explanation is very difficult. However, a general effort will be made to move from the broadest conceptual statements towards more specific statements and issues.

2.1 A POINT OF DEPARTURE.

As a point of departure it is useful to briefly describe the basic vision of the world implicit in Personal Construct Theory. In his original statement of the theory, Kelly (1955) put forward the proposal that the universe is both "real" and integral. Further, that the characteristic nature of the universe is fundamentally that of process rather than object or even event. The model of the universe thus put forward is one of an ongoing elaborating process with time acting as its only possible limiting factor.

Implicit in this process orientation and the idea of an integral universe, is the proposal that all events contained within the universal system are ultimately interconnected. In this organic model of the world there are points of convergence in the futures and histories of all events, although obviously the immediacy of such connections varies greatly.

For the purposes of a psychological treatise, the most important issue that can be derived from the foregoing discussion is that, in facing the world as a person, one confronts an ongoing flow of events of immense complexity. Further, one faces the realisation that oneself and even one's act of confronting the world are, inevitably, simply elements in this ongoing flow of events.

2.2 THE NATURE OF HUMANKIND.

From the perspective of the theory, human beings are particularly distinguished from inanimate objects by their ability to represent, rather than simply respond to their environment. More than this, however, the basic image of the individual under Personal Construct Theory is that of the person-as-scientist. In terms of this, humans are seen to be constantly involved in a process of trying to interpret and understand their situation and world, with the ultimate aim of enhancing their predictive power and felt control.

The process of human interpretation and understanding is seen to occur through the development, elaboration and testing of personal representations or constructions of reality. The theory further proposes that these constructions are real in the same sense that the universe and world of objects is acknowledged as being real. They are seen as true phenomena. This is so despite the acknowledgement that the individual's interpretation of any given reality may be very far from the truth. Although the person's representations may be distorted and at best only

approach the truth, their existence as events is undeniable.

This leaves us with a model of humankind which emphasises that they are sentient beings who seek to understand and exercise some control over the complex world in which they find themselves. The acceptance of a linked inner and outer reality allows for an empowered rather than a passive view of humankind. Their ability to represent, interpret and predict the world, means that human beings are in a position to respond to the situations that surround them, rather than simply being victims thereof. In this way they are able to free themselves from the total domination of material circumstances.

The relationship between person and world is not, however, a simple one. As Hinkle (1970) has pointed out, this relationship is characterised by an ongoing dialectic tension between freedom and determinism. While people have a need to engage in action, they are at the same time faced with the inevitability of being inextricably bound to an integral and prescriptive universe. For Personal Construct Theory, this dialectic tension provides the central context for understanding the person.

While Personal Construct Theory is a theory about individual functioning, it is also seen to hold implications for human society in general. The scientific pursuit of understanding which characterises the individual's relationship to the world is seen similarly to be reflected in the general social pursuit of knowledge. In addition, the confrontation between this pursuit of knowledge and the deterministic and integral nature of the universe is seen to be common to both individual and society.

This idea introduces one of the key features of Personal Construct Theory, which is its high level of reflexivity. As a theory of human thought, it simultaneously explains and qualifies itself as a theory. This reflexivity is seen as a strength, as it provides a logical criterion for judging the adequacy of the theory (Neimeyer, 1985). Amongst other things, it raises the face

validity of the theory by presenting a model of human beings which is recognisably like oneself (Bannister & Fransella, 1971). It has, however, been argued by Hinkle (1970) and Oliver (1970) that Personal Construct Theory falls short of complete reflexivity in that it fails to fully account for its own genesis.

One extremely important implication of the reflexivity issue is that psychological researchers must accommodate the fact that they, their theoretical position and their research never stand entirely independent of the world. They are themselves events in a universal process, and independent scientific objectivity is seen as being both impossible and undesirable. Consequently, in any research endeavour, some form of self-critical reflexive questioning is both desirable and productive (Neimeyer, 1985).

Extending the reflexivity issue somewhat, the proposal has been made by Bannister (1970a), that Personal Construct Theory is essentially a theory about theories. Thus it is possibly best regarded as a metatheory. While Kelly (1970) was happy to agree to this proposal, he was careful to point out that it should not be taken to imply that Personal Construct Theory relates only to formal theories.

2.3 KELLY'S THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES.

Personal Construct Theory is traditionally stated in the form of a fundamental postulate and a series of eleven elaborative corollaries. The fundamental postulate proposes that "a person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he [*sic*] anticipates events" (Kelly, 1955, p.46). This statement acts as the cornerstone of Personal Construct Theory and its simplicity belies the extent of the theoretical structure which is dependant on it.

While the corollaries will be dealt with in later discussion, it

may be useful at this point to restate the most central themes contained in the fundamental postulate. In the first place, it proposes that Personal Construct Theory is foremost a psychological theory that provides a process orientation towards human functioning. In addition, rather than being random, such functioning is seen to be structured and channelized in some way. Lastly, the whole focus of humankind is seen to be future-orientated and characterised by factors such as anticipation, purposiveness and choice.

2.4 THE NATURE OF CONSTRUCTS.

Kelly's theory proposes that given the immense complexity and developing nature of the universe, the range of possible human interpretation and theory is so vast as to be effectively infinite. All theories and explanations, from the level of individual cognition to that of scientific discipline, are therefore assumed to fall short of complete truth. In response to this limitation, our approach to reality is seen to be ideally tentative and the nature of our theories to be transitory. As explanations fall short of the mark of adequate explanation, so they are replaced with alternative approaches which are hopefully, but certainly not necessarily, better able to explain and predict. The model is thus one of a dialogue; a developing process of successive and generally more refined and effective explanations, where complete and accurate explanation remains, in effect, perpetually out of range. The above outline essentially summarises what Kelly (1969, p.96) puts forward as the theory of Constructive Alternativism.

The central elements of our interpretation are known as constructs and as these also form the basic building blocks of the theory, they deserve discussion. As already indicated, given the process orientation of Personal Construct Theory, what the individual is seen to confront is not a series of separate events in his/her life but rather an ongoing evolving process. Failure

to come to an understanding of and develop some control over this process means that the individual would remain a victim of circumstance. To achieve this control, the individual must actively break up the passing stream of occurrences into interpretable segments which can then be assessed. It is through this process that the construct system is evolved.

As described in the "construction corollary", construing involves interpreting events for the purpose of anticipating their replications (Kelly, 1955). In essence the process allows us to chart our behaviour and hence provide a sense of control. In one sense, constructs are plans of action which are neither true nor false, only more or less useful (Adams-Webber & Mancuso, 1983). Anticipation is also a key feature of the process and will be discussed in greater detail later.

Turning next to the "dichotomy corollary", the proposal is made that the basic mechanism of construction involves the definition of an element of experience in terms of similarity and contrast. To avoid a vision of an atomised, unmanageable universe the construct must imply similarities or likenesses between the element and others. At the same time it must also imply differences, if an equally uncomprehensible vision of an homogenous universe is to be avoided. This dichotomous relationship is seen to characterise all constructs and is the source of their categorial ability. The principle of cognitive opposition and dichotomous thought is therefore proposed as a fundamental element in human functioning.

The bipolarity in construct formation takes the form of "contrariety" rather than simple difference or contradiction (Husain, 1983). Further, while constructs generally involve a pole of affirmation and a pole of negation, choice is not simply in favour of one or the other but rather towards one or the other in a graduated, scalar sense.

It should not be forgotten that constructs have an idiographic,

rather than an objective character. As such they are referenced to abstracted meaning rather than objective events. They are essentially axes of reference rather than categories with fixed contents (Bannister & Fransella, 1971).

It is important to note that as individuals we differ in our constructions. Kelly's "individuality corollary" states that people differ in their constructions not only because the events to which they may be exposed differ but also because their interpretation of even the same events is very unlikely to be the same.

At a secondary level, in accordance with Kelly's "organisational corollary", established dyadic constructs are understood to be arranged into systems involving ordinal relationships with each other. Importantly, it is argued that constructs do not exist as an amorphous mass of independent elements but that they are instead, interrelated and systematically arranged into hierarchical structures with definite superordinate and subordinate relationships. The construction system is consequently seen to provide both a horizontal and vertical structure to human consciousness.

The interrelatedness and structuring of construct systems renders them open to change and imbues them with a fair degree of fragility. A change in any individual construct inevitably results in some consequent adjustment in the total construct system. Depending on its situation, such a change in a single construct may have severe consequences for superordinate, well entrenched constructs and may result in intransigence on the part of the individual. Kelly (1955) made central use of this concept in the development of his approach in the clinical setting.

At any given instant, the construct system of an individual consists of a finite set of elements. However, in accordance with the "experience corollary", over time and with exposure to new experience, both constructs and the system as a whole are

constantly developing and changing. Given the dichotomous nature of constructs, choice is inevitably implied in the development of construct systems. The individual is forced to choose between one or other pole of the construct and will tend to choose that option which is seen to be most likely to predict future events. According to the "choice corollary" the individual, in making construct choices, will generally move towards the pole that they anticipate will offer the greatest elaborative opportunity to their construct system. In other words, they will choose to move in the direction which they see as best benefitting their anticipative ability. This does not mean that objectively the system is constantly becoming more refined and accurate. Change is not always for the better, as the individual may make the wrong choices or become enmeshed in contradictions. In addition, as the "fragmentation corollary" proposes, incompatibility between constructs and construct sub-systems within the system may develop and be sustained for some time.

Kelly's "range corollary" puts forward a further division, in that constructs are seen to be limited in the range of situational elements to which they are applicable. In other words, each construct operates effectively only within a fixed "range of convenience". Further, it is proposed that within this range of convenience, the construct will be particularly applicable to a narrow range of elements and this in turn is known as the construct's "focus of convenience". It is of course possible for a number of ranges of convenience to overlap.

The "modulation corollary" proposes that change within constructs is generally limited to sources within their range of convenience. In addition, it makes the proposal that constructs vary in their openness to change or "permeability".

As a side issue it is of interest to note that Kelly (1955) also applied the concepts of range and focus of convenience to academic disciplines. Each discipline was seen to cover a particular range of issues and have a specific focus. Overlapping

was seen to result in different disciplines tackling similar research problems with quite different terms of reference. Kelly's comments on the possible productive interaction of such alternative perspectives finds an interesting parallel in the work of Von Bertalanffy (1968), on general systems theory, and points to a possibly significant linkage between the two theories.

It is important to note that not all constructs are amenable to verbal expression. Constructs may take a variety of forms, from being public, explicit understandings, to being covert and sensed rather than reasoned. Hence it is proposed that, while some constructs may be difficult to access verbally, others may be completely inaccessible. Even under the latter conditions, however, constructs are assumed to take on their characteristic dyadic form.

Constructs remain interpretations or abstractions of reality but may, where individuals or circumstances are orientated towards it, take on a fairly concrete and inflexible form. "Concretistic" thought is inherently limited, and without some form of bridging between constructs, rapidly becomes confused and unmanageable.

In summary, it can be said that our constructs and our construct systems play an intermediary role between ourselves and the real world. They provide a template which allows us to find order in the passing stream of events. However, like all tools they have their limits and to a greater or lesser extent they fail to accommodate, or even actively screen out, aspects of reality. In this way they both facilitate and limit what we perceive (Oliver, 1970).

2.5 PHILOSOPHICAL POSITION.

At the outset of this section, it should be pointed out that the fact that Personal Construct Theory is a quarter of a century old

creates certain problems for the development of a philosophical critique. There has been substantial change in the connotation of many of the philosophical terms that were originally used and caution must be exercised in interpreting their meaning.

In his 1955 work, Kelly developed a brief, clarifying statement of the theory's philosophical position. Although not altogether adequate, it does serve to situate the theory in a philosophical context.

As regards its general positioning in philosophical debate, Kelly's theory historically occupies an emergent position, breaking with the tradition of the rigid empiricism of 1950's American psychology.

Epistemologically the theory represents a compromise between empiricism and rationalism. The proposal of an idiographically constructed reality points in the direction of rationalism. People are seen to be freed from the constraints of their environment by being able to construct alternative approaches and interpretations of reality. However, the acceptance of the existence of a real world and the proposed mechanisms for testing and validating constructs, lean more towards basic empiricism. At the time of Kelly's writing, the adoption of this compromised epistemological position was something of a step into the dark. However, as Warren (1985) has argued, the theory is, if anything, more acceptable within the context of contemporary philosophical debate than it was at the time of its inception.

Given the active model of humankind that is proposed in Personal Construct Theory, Kelly claimed that the theory stood in opposition to realism, perceiving the latter to advocate a fatalistic position. Warren (1985) claimed that this rejection was too hasty and based on an outmoded understanding of realism. Instead, he felt that the theory has a strong affinity for a naive realism which primarily accepts that reality exists, independent of observation.

The notion of constructs informed by basic scientific principles links the theory to some extent with positivism. However, the incorporation of positivist principles into Personal Construct Theory is again very limited, and effectively amounts to a rejection of metaphysical speculation and advocacy of observation as an instrument. Personal Construct Theory breaks with the logic of positivism by granting the individual a central role in interpreting and giving meaning to the world. The alliance with positivism is thus, at most, an alliance with a form of positivism which comes very close to simple empiricism (Warren, 1985).

With regard to empiricism, the theory has links with pragmatic logic in the establishment and testing of constructs. Constructs have the characteristic of taking the form of tentative hypotheses that may be subject to refutation and reconstrual (reformulation).

On an ontological level, Kelly (1955) described the position of Personal Construct Theory as a form of substantive monism, implying that apparent diversity is the manifestation of one substance in a variety of forms. The world in its entirety is perceived as being integral and real, but beyond this there is acceptance of attributive pluralism. The position therefore accommodates a dynamic and interactive model of the universe.

One of the central critiques of Personal Construct Theory relates to its model of science. Given the nature of Kelly's thought, it would appear to be more appropriate to characterise humans as "enquirers", rather than as "scientists". Kelly's theory is, first and foremost, about the nature of human enquiry and it seems unnecessary to get too deeply immersed in a critique relating to his philosophy of science. The definition of science underpinning the theory is vague, although perhaps necessarily and productively so. The basic characterisation of science within Personal Construct Theory is simply in terms of its goals of prediction and control, and the quest for these two factors is

seen to characterise both individuals and humankind as a whole. The theory is careful not to provide a more restrictive definition of science, as the definition must accommodate all forms of human enquiry, from shamanism to nuclear physics.

Developments in the philosophy of science subsequent to the original formulation of Personal Construct Theory, provide some challenge to the simple model of science which it incorporated. In particular, these developments have involved an attack on the dominant status of orthodox positivism in the sciences. With regard to this, two major proposals have been made. Firstly, a social determinant of scientific enquiry has been forwarded, to replace the notion of objective determinants in scientific enquiry. An example of such work is that of Kuhn (1970). Secondly, the structure of scientific enquiry follows a necessarily haphazard rather than an orderly method. Both of these factors converge in the writings of Feyerabend (1975) in the 1970's (Warren, 1985).

Warren (1985) has gone on to argue that Personal Construct Theory, as a result of its non-specific and distanced alliance with empiricism, positivism and pragmatism, emerges from the contemporary critique of positivism unscathed and if anything, strengthened. It has extracted the less contentious elements from these positions and has ended up in a relatively strong situation of compromise. He sees potential compatibility between the theory and contemporary development in the areas of phenomenology and radical psychology.

Fransella (1983) concurred with Warren's position and argued that Kelly's Constructive Alternativism, particularly as it is presented in his later work (see for example Kelly, 1969), provides a thoroughly modern and acceptable model of science.

Finally, it is worthwhile mentioning that Bannister (1970a) reached the optimistic conclusion that the breadth of the vision of science implied in Personal Construct Theory has very positive

implications. He proposed that a dichotomy between "tight" and "loose" approaches, between open-ended theory and defined methodology, such as that set up in Personal Construct Theory, is a particularly productive model of science to follow. He cautioned, however, that its value lies in making use of the full range of possibilities and that one should guard against becoming restricted in one's vision and approach.

2.6 MOTIVATION AND LEARNING.

An important question for this research project is how Personal Construct Theory attends to the traditional psychological concerns of motivation and learning. Kelly (1955) was critical of conventional push-pull motivational theory because of its tendency to treat the individual as a reified and inert object, subject to extrinsic forces. This was seen to fundamentally contradict Construct Theory's process orientation.

It should by now be clear that the model of humankind that is proposed in Personal Construct Theory is a proactive, forward-looking one. The individual's whole complex network of psychological functioning is seen to be orientated towards the future rather than the past. As has already been discussed, the central goal of the construing process is the establishment of predictability, and it is the underlying emphasis on anticipation which is seen to provide the key motivating force. The individual is constantly driven forward by the desire to engage with the future and does this by attempting to interpret his/her current conditions.

Personal Construct Theory, therefore, proposes that humankind is driven forward by, and finds meaning in, something akin to a mastery ethic. Each attempt at prediction is seen to feed future attempts, and the goal of providing a sense of control through predictive efficacy provides a constant driving force.

The motive of anticipation is not, however, free-floating and unchecked. The awesome complexity of the world and the limitations of the construal process inevitably result in the individual falling far short of omnipotence. The internal world of the individual must confront external reality and in this way is constantly restrained. This results in a struggle between impotence and empowerment. Although the issue will be discussed in greater detail later, it is interesting to note at this point that the realm of human work provides a very obvious setting for these forces of mastery and subordination to be played out.

Hinkle (1970) has suggested that in the original statement of Personal Construct Theory, "anticipation" has been accorded too much importance with regard to motivation and is better seen as a requirement rather than a cause of action. He feels that a range of other factors such as hopes, wants and principles, while not being conceptually equivalent to anticipation, are also descriptive of action.

The question of the nature of learning can be clarified by looking at how Personal Construct Theory deals with the related issue of experience. The theory proposes that the individual becomes experienced only through successively engaging with and finding increasing orderliness in his/her world. This occurs through the process of construal and reconstrual. It is proposed that learning is so integral to this process of successively construing and reconstruing that it is indistinguishable as an independent event (Kelly, 1955). In essence it provides the mechanism of the construction system.

It is important to emphasise that learning is not seen to be the product of direct contact with the real world or stimuli. In confronting the world, the individual must rely on interpretation and this occurs through the construct system. Learning as a process, therefore, only engages with external reality through the indirect mechanism of personal constructions of that reality.

2.7 MEANING.

Procter and Parry (1978) began their article by describing Personal Construct Theory as a theory of meaning. They related this to the theory's commitment towards "understanding the process by which we make sense of the world we live in" (p.157). Hinkle (1970), similarly concluded that the related factors of meaning and significance, the "what" and the "why" aspects of action, provide the focal point of Personal Construct Theory's explanatory effort.

It would seem in the first instance, that in looking at the issue of meaning within the theory, one has to take into account two interrelated themes: meaning within structure and meaning within process.

Harri-Augstein's (1977) article helps to clarify the first of these. Her approach to meaning was to view it, principally, as a quality embedded in the individual's cognitive structure, and extending from this, his/her productions - artistic, linguistic and otherwise. In other words, from this perspective, meaning is embodied in our constructs and the interrelationships of these constructs.

The alternative theme, that of looking at meaning within process, has more of an existential flavour. Here, meaning is viewed as a product of the individual engaging with the world; a product of action and being acted upon. This orientation, in turn, is exemplified by Denne and Thompson (1991) in their discussion of Frankl's writings, where they described that from his perspective "meaning is to be found in creative action directed towards the world, in receptive experience of the world, and in attitudes about unchangeable circumstances which give meaning even to suffering" (p. 111). In personal construct terms, this form of meaning is located at the point of construct formation and verification, and is intimately tied to the dynamic and evolving

nature of construct systems.

Though seemingly quite different, the perspectives of meaning in process, and meaning in structure, are quite compatible with one another within a Construct Theory framework. As proposed, they simply represent different aspects of the same phenomenon. The need to distinguish between them arises mainly out of our conceptual and methodological difficulty in dealing with something which is simultaneously both process and state. Something of an analogous parallel exists in Physics, with the wave and particle theories of light.

In addition to the two perspectives of meaning already discussed, there is a third which derives from a bridging between the two. As Harri-Augstein (1978) has pointed out, we live in a world which embodies meaning. Culture, society, institutions and a range of other factors, structure and carry a variety of meanings which exist independently of and external to, the individual. While at a psychological level, meaning is only realised when the individual interprets the painting, or internalises the cultural value, some form of meaning predates the individual's encounter and is embodied in those external conditions or objects. What this effectively means is that we have a third form of meaning which, rather convolutedly, is constituted in the individual's dialogue with a meaningful environment.

2.8 CULTURE, SOCIABILITY AND SOCIETY.

One of the threats faced by Personal Construct Theory is that its emphasis on individual cognition may result in a relativistic model of humankind. However, this threat is to some extent countered by the accommodation of the issues of culture and sociability within the Communality and Sociality Corollaries to the theory. Although as formulated the theory represents an essentially idiographic rather than a nomothetic approach, it does not preclude an understanding of the role of social forces

on the individual. There is acceptance that factors such as culture, environment and social circumstance are likely to exercise a profound influence on how the individual structures and interprets his/her world.

Procter and Parry (1978) have described the relationship between individual and society as one of constraint and freedom. In the process of construct formation, society provides a major context for validating experiences. Further, through the medium of language, it may go as far as supplying basic components for the constructive process. Together these factors mean that society ultimately both facilitates and restricts the range of the individual's construct system and range of action. The relationship is not however, an unidirectional, deterministic one and there remains enormous scope for individual innovation and creativity. In fact, were it not for the latter, social systems and ideology would remain static and unchanging. Ultimately, ideology and society are the products of psychological constructions.

Turning next to the more specific issue of culture, Personal Construct Theory puts forward the proposal that culture is best understood as commonality in thinking, rather than commonality in situation or context. It is important that cultural and social continuity be approached, not from the angle of common experience, but rather by looking for commonality in the ways in which events are construed. The obvious reason for this is that individuals can construe the same event quite differently and that common exposure to situations is, therefore, no guarantee of psychological similarity.

In keeping with Kelly's "commonality corollary" (Kelly, 1955), similarity in construction is indicative of similar psychological processing and this is understood as the basis of common culture.

Developing this approach further, culture can be seen to relate to commonality in interpersonal and intrapersonal expectations.

In other words, common culture would be indicated in a situation where individuals display similarity in what they perceive is expected of them, display commonality in outlook and hold common anticipations of what others will do (Kelly, 1955). Thus, the Personal Construct theorist's interest in culture as a variable, relates primarily to gauging these similarities or differences.

This situation obviously leaves a number of important questions about culture unasked. In particular, the issue of the development and maintenance of culture goes unaddressed. Any response to the latter necessarily involves an in-depth consideration of the interaction of cognitive, social and environmental factors and would represent an extension on the basic formulation of Construct Theory.

The related issue of sociability shifts the focus towards looking at the dynamics at play in the interaction between individuals. Personal Construct Theory argues that for accurate interpersonal understanding to develop, it is necessary for parties engaged in an interchange to develop customised templates for interpreting each other's communications and actions. In other words, to reduce ambiguity in the interpretation of a message or action, we need to know something about the context and structure from which that message or action derives. As described in Kelly's "sociability corollary", this process essentially requires the construal of one's construction process by the other. The more accurate the construal of the construction processes, the greater the potential for social interaction.

An interesting parallel here is that a related process can be seen to apply in the case of the psychological research process. Particularly within a qualitative paradigm where the research more openly involves a social interchange, part of the research process involves the development of appropriate interpretative templates for dealing with participant data. This process becomes quite explicit in methodologies such as content analysis.

An important issue related to sociality is that of language and communication. In terms of construct theory, language is a matter of reproducing symbolic elements representing constructs, which are intended to elicit parallel constructions in another person (Kelly, 1955). Not all communication takes the form of words, although this is probably the most obvious means. Frequently it may be necessary to make use of symbols and complex physical forms of expression. Graphic art provides a good example of this.

2.9 CRITIQUE.

Up to now, a basic outline of Personal Construct Theory has been given and although some critical issues regarding the theory have been discussed, a number of issues remain outstanding. An unqualified statement of the theory at the start of a thesis such as this could well prove misleading and it is necessary therefore, to provide a brief critique of the theory.

As has already been discussed, Kelly in his original statement of Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, 1955), proposed that the theory should be seen as tentative and provisional. In keeping with the theory's own basic propositions, it was felt that it was essential that the theory should remain open to revision and, when and if necessary, complete replacement. Kelly (1970) in fact went as far as agreeing that the theory in all likelihood would some day be disproved. It is, therefore, somewhat ironic that few of those working with Personal Construct Theory have devoted much effort to this process of elaboration and renewal. Instead, some of these researchers have set a course of self-isolation, with the result that both conceptual and methodological development of the theory has been inhibited (Neimeyer, 1985; Howard, 1988). Part of the blame for this may rest with the way in which Personal Construct Theory presents itself as a fully-fledged and complete theory, despite its open-endedness. This does not, however, excuse the intransigence in theoretical development. There appears to be tremendous potential for further development

in a wide variety of areas and applications (see for example Duck, 1983; Howard, 1988; Mc Coy, 1983; Neimeyer, 1985).

Husain (1983), has raised some profound challenges within the theory. The most central of these is that she, like Hinkle (1970), believes the theory to be overstated with regard to the universality of dichotomous thought and constructive processes. Although accepting the importance of constructive thought in human cognition, she argues that the tendency for the theory to become all-encompassing is restrictive and should be avoided. She proposes that constructs can not be our only means of interpreting experience. As an example (p.19), she cited the notion of "event" which is central to Personal Construct Theory and which, as a concept, stands in isolation and does not appear to display a dichotomous character. Further, she argued that constructs are discontinuous with one another and that consequently a direct hierarchical structuring of constructs is not feasible. Consequently, she proposed that the relationship between constructs should be seen as constellatory rather than ordered in a vertical hierarchy.

An important related argument put forward by Husain, is that an understanding of a dyadic construct must accommodate not only the implied binary contrast within the construct, but also the common generative nature to which both poles of the construct refer. Husain pointed out that the bipolar structure of constructs is not arbitrary, but relevant and meaningful and that this meaningfulness can be ascribed to their generative nature. By way of illustration, Husain cited Kelly's own example of the "male/female" construct which has "sex" as its generative nature. It is the concept of "sex" which gives meaning to the polarisation of "male" and "female".

The generative nature argument puts one into the position of having to make use of a triadic logic in understanding constructs, which incorporates both construct poles and the generative element. Husain feels that Kelly, while insightfully

recognising the triadic nature of constructs, was forced by methodological deficiencies and the need for theoretical advancement, to ignore the third term and develop a largely binary logic and methodological approach. Husain's conclusion is that the development of the triadic perspective on constructs provides an important area for future development of the theory.

Husain's proposal regarding triadic construct logic also holds implications for the structuring of construct systems. It allows for the possibility that either term in a bipolar construct may act as a generative category for further bipolar construct distinctions.

Neimeyer (1985) and a number of other authors have argued that, on a methodological level, Personal Construct Theory needs to move away from its heavy reliance on the repertory grid technique, which has been at the core of Personal Construct methodology. This technique will be described in depth in the methodology chapter to follow. In agreement with Viney (1988), Howard (1988) has suggested that alternative methodologies such as content analysis, self-observation and focused interviews, should be experimented with. It is suggested that such attempts may help to loosen up and re-energise the field.

There are two additional criticisms of Personal Construct Theory that are worth noting. Firstly, there is the proposal that the theory is mentalistic and represents an overly intellectual model of humankind, while tending to ignore the more practical aspects of human beings (Fransella & Bannister, 1977). In Shotter's (1975) terms, it emphasises the acquisition of "objective" knowledge and underplays "use" knowledge.

Secondly, there is the very important criticism that Construct Theory, while acknowledging that context factors play an important role in the formulation of constructs, does not sufficiently clarify and develop the relationship between constructs and context (Fransella & Bannister, 1977; Procter &

Parry 1978). Personal Construct Theory is at risk of not recognising that individuals operate within historical, natural, ideological and cultural contexts (Shotter, 1975). These criticisms would strongly suggest that research endeavours within the Personal Construct framework should make a specific effort to accommodate and explore relevant contextual issues. Because of their generalised and often enduring nature, contextual issues may provide depth and additional richness to the understanding of constructs.

In concluding this brief critique, in fairness it can be noted that, given that the theory is in excess of thirty years old, it has stood up remarkably well. As a heuristic device it continues to offer a valuable approach to psychological issues.

2.10 PERSONAL CONSTRUCT THEORY AND THE MEANING OF HUMAN WORK.

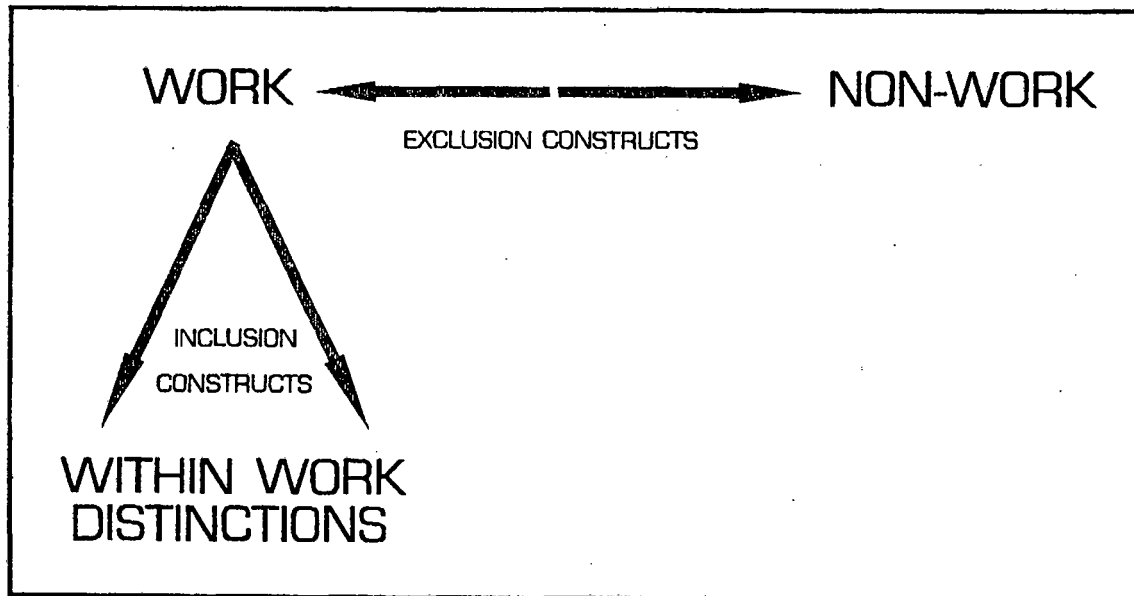
The one outstanding question that remains for this chapter is how the issue of human work, and particularly the meaning of such work, is to be accommodated within the framework of Personal Construct Theory. In this regard there are several guidelines which can be extracted from the foregoing discussion in this chapter.

In the first instance, an essential implication of adopting a Personal Construct perspective is that one's attention is focused on the person, in the same way as one would look at an actor at the centre of a stage. Applying this to the issue of work means that one is looking at the person in the role of worker and attempting to interpret their relationship to work. Work is thus to be seen through the medium of the worker and cannot be adequately understood in isolation from this person who, ultimately, is seen to give the term whatever meaning it might have.

In the second place, the notion of personal constructs can be

applied to the work phenomenon. In doing this, it is clear that two alternative forms of application are possible, both of which appear to be valid and must be accommodated. The alternatives are illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Construct dimensions of work.



In the first application of the notion of personal constructs to the work phenomenon, it can be accepted that work itself forms part of a ubiquitous construct, which at least appears to be universal to human society. Following the bipolar logic of Construct Theory, it can be proposed that work must stand in opposition to a range of factors which can be broadly termed non-work. Within a Western perspective, one might immediately suspect that factors such as leisure, play or idleness may be implicated in this opposite pole. This presents us with an exclusion question: What is not work and how is the distinction between work and non-work structured?

In the second application, work can be viewed as a generative

category, in the way that Husain (1983) has suggested. As a generative category, we can expect it to be associated with a range of constructs which give it structure and identity. This alternative thus poses an inclusion question, by asking what it is that characterises work as a domain of human endeavour.

A third identifiable guideline for understanding the meaning of work, develops from the proposal that constructs are not free-floating but are instead grounded in the individual's experience and life context. The implication arising out of this is that work-related constructs have a contextual basis and that, in understanding work meanings, this context needs to be accommodated.

In keeping with Nystedt's (1983) observation, it can be suggested that contextual or situational factors should be seen to include both objective external components and subjective interpretative components. External components would include for example, culture, history, the natural environment and social structure. In contrast, examples of interpretative components would include values, beliefs and possibly motives.

One final guideline that can be identified is that an understanding of work meaning must accommodate the fact that construct systems are not static, but are characterised by change and elaboration. This guideline is supported by the notion, discussed earlier, of meaning being constituted in an ongoing process. Meaning is as much part of process as it is of structure.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the issues described: the work/non-work distinction, the within work distinctions, the need for a contextual sensitivity and the need to see work-meaning as a process, are central themes that underlie the conceptualisation, data collection and analysis phases of the research.

CHAPTER 3 TOWARDS AN APPROPRIATE MODEL OF WORK MEANING.

This chapter aims to bring into play a review of the existing literature and research on the meaning of work, and a discussion of the developing society context. The chapter culminates with the proposal of a model for understanding work meaning, which provides a basis for the current research.

3.1 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE MEANING OF WORK.

While a great deal has been written on the general topic of people and work, relatively little of this material has been devoted specifically to the question of the meaning of work (Some noteworthy examples include: Grossman and Chester, 1990; Harpaz, 1986; Kornhauser, 1965; MOW Research Team, 1987). In addition, as a result of a lack of conceptual clarity, where it has been used, the term "the meaning of work" has often been used loosely, as a repository for anything pertaining to work. Together these factors make the structuring and review of literature difficult. At the end of the last chapter, a point was reached where rough guidelines for a constructivist approach to the meaning of work could be established. While these guidelines still lack clarity and definition, some useful thematic parameters can be extracted from them which can be used to structure a review of theoretical and research material. An outline of these parameters follows.

In the first place, in this research, the interest is in work as an idiographic phenomenon. In other words, work as defined and experienced by individuals within their own terms of reference. This means that the approach is not restricted by formal definitions which relate work to criteria such as contractual relations or specific forms of task, activity or context. Rather, in keeping with Quintanilla and Wilpert's (1988) model of subjective work meaning, the focus is on broader, more generalized orientations to work, which involve the individual's

cognitive and evaluative processes. In other words, the interest is primarily in coming to an understanding of the personal significance of work.

Next, there is an interest in how work is related, both conceptually and practically, to other aspects of the individual's life. Here, distinctions between work and non-work would be particularly pertinent.

Thirdly, there is the realm of motives and intentions. What goals and purposes do people pursue in and through work? Further, what conditional variables exert an influence on these goals and purposes?

Lastly, there are broad contextual issues that need to be explored. Social, cultural, community and life history factors need to be examined in the light of their influence on the individual's relationship to work. Given a holistic understanding of humankind, contextual issues can be seen to underlie and extend upon the three previous parameters.

In the review that follows, the four parameters will be used sequentially to provide structure to the discussion. It should be noted that there is a very large body of literature which could be included within this framework and that the discussion will, therefore, necessarily be restricted to the material which is deemed most central to this thesis.

3.1.1 THE PERSONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF WORK.

In discussing the best way to approach the issue of human work, Plattel (1965) has argued for a middle course, favouring neither of two extreme alternatives which are typically reflected in the literature. These extremes involve, on one hand, an emphasis on the rational and functional aspects of work and on the other, an emphasis on its personal and philosophical qualities. The

rational model is criticised on the basis that, in focusing almost exclusively on intentions and results in work behaviour, it loses sight of work's personal and spiritual dimensions. Alternatively, the philosophical approach is criticised on the basis that it places too much emphasis on the spiritual aspect of work and hence promulgates an idealized vision of work, which is far removed from everyday experience.

Amongst those who represent the philosophical pole, Martin Helldorfer features strongly. For Helldorfer (1971), who wrote very much within a phenomenological vein, work in its pure state represents an opportunity for self-confrontation and growth. He argued that work can be approached as a particular way of being present in the world. This presence is seen to be characterised by an analytic stance, goal directedness and an awareness that one is subject to critical and appreciative evaluation by others. For Helldorfer, human work is characterised above all by thoughtful and emotional involvement, and by the fact that its basic character is aggressive rather than passive.

It is obviously true that humans do not always achieve that which they set out to accomplish, and for Helldorfer it was this aspect of fallibility which imbues work with its growth-inspiring quality. In a curious way, work, by providing an opportunity for failure, also provides an opportunity for growth. It indicates personal limits and guides the individual towards an awareness of how his or her actions are informed by their values.

Helldorfer's argument went still further. He proposed that in order to fulfil the requirements of an authentic human existence, the work mode of presence must be counterbalanced by a more receptive mode of presence. The individual must not only have the capacity to work but also the capacity to reflect, feel and be passive. Thus, in the pattern of a shifting gestalt, the power, appropriation and satisfaction implicit in work, must rest in contrast with respect, compassion and care in a non-work mode of presence.

While one may, as Plattel's (1965) article would suggest, attack Helldorfer's position as presenting an idealized and unrealistic vision of work, one can also look at it as an optimistic statement of what work "can" be like, and is in fact like, for a fortunate few in society. Although it may not serve to explain the reality of common work experience it may, to some extent, provide a standard by which that experience can be judged.

The image of person-as-scientist in Personal Construct Theory bears a relationship to Helldorfer's description of work which, while it may confuse this analysis, must at least be referred to. At a macro level, the images of the person-as-scientist and person-as-worker appear to share a number of commonalities. In both, the individual attempts to control and master his/her situation, and confrontation with reality ultimately sets limits and provides opportunities for individual development. In addition, in both images, the individual's interaction with external reality takes the form of a dialogue. If there is anything of worth in this correspondence, then it implies the criticism that Personal Construct Theory has a bias towards explaining only half of human nature and that it fails to account for the more passive aspects thereof. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to pursue this line of thought, it can at least serve to sensitize us to the probable profound significance of work for humanity. It can also provide a caution against an overly exclusive use of the personal construct paradigm in explaining the meaning of work.

Adopting a quite different approach to Helldorfer, Neff (1971, 1985) has suggested that the significance of work may be approached from the standpoint of personality theory. His proposal was that it is possible to speak of a work personality as a distinct element of general personality. To support this, he argued that there are aspects of work adjustment and maladjustment which remain relatively autonomous from other forms of adjustment and pathology.

As regards the meanings that individuals attribute to work, Neff put forward five alternatives, one of which he felt would be dominant for any given individual. Work can take the form of an onerous necessity, a prime source of identity, a time filler, an intrinsic element of self esteem or a stimulating challenge which mobilises feelings of creativity and originality (Neff, 1971, p.185).

In their international study on the meaning of working the MOW International Research Team (1987) found evidence to suggest that there is considerable inter-individual variation in the content and patterning of work meanings. They advocated the use of a complex model of humankind, such as that put forward by Schein (1980), in the analysis of work meanings. Such a model, it is proposed, should incorporate teleological, developmental and situational factors. The authors went on to make the comment that, in preference to a divisive analytic approach, they found a "more idiographic or holistic picture of workers with the multiple meanings they assign to working, to be more satisfying" (p.219).

Also of relevance to the question of the personal significance of work is the large body of material that has been written, particularly during the 1960's and 1970's, on work alienation. In a circuitous way, alienation provides a vantage point on the meaning of work, by examining work under conditions where such meaning is largely absent.

Unfortunately, alienation as a conceptual term has been used in a diverse range of contexts, with the result that its significance has been undermined. Within the social sciences its central application has been within sociology and particularly within Marxist theory. In his earlier writings, Marx, under the strong influence of Hegel, made central use of the concept of alienation in his analysis of capitalism.

According to Walliman (1981), Marx's notion of alienation derives

directly from his concept of human nature. For Marx, humans are primarily characterised as a species-being and it is through their particular form of work that they confirm themselves to be such. Human work, unlike that of animals, is not conducted purely in response to physical need. Further, while animals are restricted to producing in accordance with the fixed standard of their species, human creativity extends far beyond this, as humans may possess insight into the principles that govern the world of objects. The individual is further freely able to confront the product of his/her labour, as opposed to simply possessing it physically. While the animal is one with its life activity, "Man [sic] makes his life activity an object of his will and consciousness" (Marx, 1972 p. 12).

Under capitalism, human beings become estranged from their species nature by being forced to sell their labour power in exchange for wages. The worker, lacking the means of production, is reduced to working for a wage, and the essential bond between ownership of the means of production and the exerting of effort is broken. Labourers become non-owners and owners, non-labourers.

People become alienated in two ways. First, since they sell their labour, the product of their labour ceases to be an object of their will and consciousness and becomes instead the object of an alien and appropriating will. Since they cannot exercise control over what they produce, their product comes to confront them as something alien and detached, rather than as the embodiment of their labour. In this way, the person comes to be dominated by that which he/she produces and the more that is produced the greater is the alienation.

The second form of alienation, which is linked to the first, is the alienation of the worker from the act of production itself. In being forced to sell his/her labour power, the person effectively disclaims ownership of that labour and accepts the domination of an alien will. The worker is left in a position where he/she can no longer produce freely and voluntarily. The

cumulative effect of alienation is that humans become distanced from themselves, from nature and from their species nature.

What Marx's concept of human nature does for our understanding of the meaning of work is to underscore the profoundly social nature of work. His theory of alienation, on the other hand, clearly indicates that the reality of work under capitalism falls far short of this ideal.

In contrast to the Marxist position, social psychology has tended to adopt a very much broader and generally more operationalised use of the term alienation. Seeman (1972) pointed out that, within the context of social psychology, the concept has often been applied to states which are not related to work in any direct sense.

Interest in work alienation has none the less played an important role in social psychological literature. The work of Blauner (1972) provides a good example. For him, alienation describes "a quality of personal experience which results from specific kinds of social arrangements" (p.110). In particular, alienation is seen to exist when the individual lacks control over the work process, experiences little sense of purpose or function within the context of the organisation, does not feel part of an industrial community and does not find the means of self-expression through work.

A more romanticised version of alienation was put forward by Seligman (1965). For him, it expresses a break from a previous harmony, as expressed in the "craft" ideal in which play, work and culture are united. His approach is important, in that it introduces technology in its various guises as an agent of alienation. It is seen as an invasive element which cuts humans off from their relationship to nature.

Another important issue which is of relevance to a subjective perspective on work meaning, is the question of how work and

mental health are related to one another. Warr (1986), has put forward five components of mental health which are of direct relevance in work contexts. These include adequate affective wellbeing, competence, aspiration, autonomy and integrated functioning. Warr claimed that mental health, as described by these factors, is determined by the existence of nine environmental features. These include; opportunities for control, skill use and interpersonal contact, together with variety, environmental clarity, money, security, social status and externally generated goals.

Some authors have opted for a more complex approach to mental health, and have proposed that it is, to a large extent, the outcome of the interaction between individual aspirations and environmental opportunity. Kasl (1974) made use of a "person/environment fit" model in describing this relationship. In keeping with Kornhauser's (1965) important work, he pointed out that there is considerable ambiguity in the relationship between mental health and levels of personal aspiration. Individuals working under difficult and unfulfilling circumstances often seem to avoid stress and consequent mental ill-health by reducing their levels of aspiration. Consequently, although they may appear, and even believe themselves to be, fulfilled, this fulfilment is judged against a depressed standard. In reality, they fall far short of actualizing their potential, and mental health must accordingly be judged negatively.

Before closing this section, the issue of unemployment deserves brief mention. Unemployment is becoming an increasingly visible feature of both developed and developing societies. There is an enormous body of literature on the far-reaching psychological effects of unemployment and it would be both impractical and unnecessary to attempt to review the issue here. What is however important to note, is that unemployment obviously involves changes and major adjustments for the individual. Although unemployment does not necessarily equate with worklessness in

terms of a broad definition of work, many of the studies show that the work attitudes of unemployed individuals tend to undergo major shifts (eg. Warr, 1987; Tausky & Piedmont, 1967). From this it can be logically inferred that the meaning of work for individuals is vulnerable to the experience of unemployment.

3.1.2 WORK AND NON-WORK.

In this section we turn to a consideration of how work as an aspect of the individual's life relates to other aspects that may be of significance to him/her. While allowing for the possibility that all conscious life may involve work, we can propose that, for many people, work, in one way or another, may be partitioned off from other aspects of their lives.

3.1.2.1 Defining work and non-work.

A major problem that has confronted all research conducted in the area of work and non-work, is that of finding appropriate and clear definitions of terms distinguishing between work and non-work domains. Unfortunately for this research, one of the most common ways of approaching the question of work meaning has been to limit the scope of the term to include only formal employment or "the job".

One of the major studies on the meaning of work which should be discussed in this context, is that conducted by the MOW International Research Team (1987). Their approach was to define work strictly in terms of "paid employment" (p. 2). Their justification for doing so was that work, in the modern context, has predominantly become institutionalised, individualised, isolated from other life roles and regulated by rules and laws. Such a definition of work imposes significant conceptual and practical restrictions on the understanding of work in both developed and developing societies.

With regard to the situation in developed societies, both Kahn (1974) and Shepherdson (1984) have argued against the adequacy of a definition of work which focuses exclusively on employment. Shepherdson came out strongly against the glib equation of work with employment and argued that a distinction between the two is more than an "academic nicety " (p. 311). His article focuses on the situation in advanced industrial economies where, as a result of technological advance, people are having to deal with an increasing proportion of "leisure" time in their lives. As employment time and opportunity decrease, he pointed out, people will be forced to seek personal satisfaction and achievement outside the place of employment. Consequently, if social scientists interested in studying work are to continue to focus exclusively on the place of employment, they are likely to increasingly lose sight of their targeted goal, as well as reality in general.

In developing societies, on the other hand, one faces the situation where employment may still compete quite openly with other, more traditional, forms of work. This, in addition to the fact that unemployment is frequently very widespread in developing societies, again implies that an employment-based definition of work would fail to be adequately encompassing.

The lack of clarity which applies to the definition of work also appears to extend to the non-work domain. Some authors have chosen to deal with a general non-work concept, frequently approaching it as a residual category for anything not assumed under a work definition (Elizur, 1987). Other approaches have developed a more complex analysis of the non-work domain. Distinctions that have been made here separate factors such as leisure, play, recreation and even contemplation. In addition, where work has been treated as a life domain or area, it has been contrasted to a range of non-work life areas such as family, social life and political involvement (Knowles & Taylor, 1990).

3.1.2.2 The relationship between work and non-work.

One of the major approaches to the issue of the interaction between work and non-work was that developed by Dubin (1956). His research questioned the centrality of work as a life sphere relative to other important life spheres. Having conducted research in the United Kingdom during the 1950's, he came to the conclusion that for many blue-collar workers, work was not a central life interest and that instead, major life satisfactions tended to be sought outside of the work context. It should be noted that Dubin's approach once again accepted a definition of work based on employment.

The MOW International Research Team (1987) study included an extended version of work centrality as the most significant component of work meaning. For them, work centrality comprised two related components. The first of these, a value component, comprised the extent to which the individual identified with work and was affectively and behaviourally committed to work. The second, a decision component, followed Dubin's (1956) original formulation and questioned the significance that individuals attach to work as a life sphere and their preferences for life sphere involvement.

The finding of the MOW International Research Team was that, in the eight countries covered (Belgium, Britain, Germany, Israel, Japan, Netherlands, United States, Yugoslavia), work was second only to family life in its importance and was more important than community, religious and leisure affiliations. In addition, they found that two out of three people displayed a strong attachment to work. These findings contrast quite strongly with Dubin's (1956) research findings for blue-collar workers.

Wilensky (1960) initiated one of the most important debates in the work/non-work field, by suggesting three competing hypotheses to explain the relationship between them. The first of these is

a spill-over hypothesis, whereby a basic positive correlation is proposed to exist between work and non-work. This would imply that positive work experiences would tend to be associated with individuals engaging in challenging and stimulating non-work activity. The second, a compensatory hypothesis, suggests that there would be a negative correlation between work and non-work. Negative work experiences would be compensated for by the individual attempting to engage in positive experiences in the non-work arena. Finally, the segmentalist hypothesis puts forward the proposal that the two areas are essentially unrelated and that cognitively they are held separate and do not interfere with one another.

Although Wilensky's proposal has encouraged a substantial amount of research, the results have been largely inconclusive. Rosseau (1978) has suggested that there may be some relationship between form of occupation and the work/leisure relationship. Research that he conducted found that, in particularly strenuous occupations, compensatory patterns may develop, whereas in general, spill-over relationships tend to be more common.

Schaffer (1987) adopted a different approach by suggesting that much of the ambivalence in the research results on work/non-work relationships, can be ascribed to researchers failing to account for individual differences. His proposal is that individuals are likely to differ in terms of how they interrelate work and non-work activity and consequently, research results are likely to be contradictory.

Elizur (1987) suggested that the problem rests with an inadequate conceptual structuring of work and non-work as a precursor to the analysis of their interrelationship. In his own analysis he made use of a conceptualization based on behavioural and life area modalities. He arrived at the conclusion that, at a cognitive/perceptual level the segmentalist hypothesis is supported, whereas at an instrumental or behavioural level, evidence is in favour of the spill-over hypothesis.

Hoff (1986) approached the issue of work/non-work relationships from a conceptual standpoint which has something in common with the conceptual orientation of this thesis. Although he used the terms work and leisure, in common with the previous approaches discussed, "work" for him meant employment and "leisure" non-employment activity. His argument was that it is imperative that one should distinguish between subjective and formal theories of work and leisure. As used in this context, the idea of subjective theory to some extent parallels the person-as-scientist proposal of Personal Construct Theory. It relates to conceptions formulated in everyday terms which, rather than being atomistic and directionless, involve gestalt-like patterns of relations between individual substantive elements. These conceptions seek to explain causality and, like scientific theories, contain assumptions about general consistencies. Significantly, Hoff argued that subjective meaning derives from relationships and interactions between the elements in our conceptions and is not a property of the individual elements themselves. This again has a parallel in the approach to meaning in this research.

Hoff came out strongly against research results which seem to substantiate a segmentalist model of the work and leisure interrelationship. He argued that, on a formal, theoretical level, these results cannot be logically supported and that they must be explained in terms of "subjective theory". At this level, they may be explained in terms of individuals seeking to isolate unenjoyable work experience from the remaining aspects of their lives. The purpose of doing so would be to prevent negative feelings from permeating all of their lived experience. However, if this is indeed the case, it is evidence in support of a compensatory rather than a segmentalist hypothesis.

Hoff concluded that the whole debate on the nature of the interrelationship between work and leisure has been misdirected. Instead of attempting to confirm one or other of Wilensky's hypotheses, he suggested that researchers should instead recognise the complexity of the interrelationship between work

and leisure and seek a more global and dynamic understanding of their interrelationship. The lack of commonality in the few research efforts on the work/non-work interrelationship that have been referred to in this discussion would certainly seem to support this contention.

To some extent, this returns us to the point made by Helldorfer (1971), namely that in the healthy psychological state, work and leisure are necessarily and inseparably interconnected. In discussing the relationship between work and leisure, Kabanoff (1980) pointed out that it is only with industrialization and its consequent disruption of previously integrated roles, that the relationship between work and leisure becomes problematic. It has been suggested that in pre-industrial society, work and leisure are indistinguishable (Thomas, 1964) and this would certainly have implications for the study of work in developing societies. It therefore seems appropriate in this attempt to understand work, to also give due consideration to the issue of leisure.

3.1.2.3 Leisure and play.

There is a considerable body of literature which is critical of leisure as it appears in the contemporary Western world. The nature of this criticism contains a number of themes. For Keen (1969), leisure has become reduced to simple recreation which serves to prepare the individual for return to work or alternatively is granted as a reward for work performed. True leisure for him requires that people are able to treat free time as a gift. However, being unable to accept something which is not earned, people resort to "killing" the time by filling it with trivial activities.

For Kahn (1983), leisure has become a form of extended consumption and an end in itself. Technological development and urban civilization have resulted in leisure becoming an industry and an "imperative social need for individuals" (p. 186). Ironically, as people win more and more leisure time, they know

less and less what to do with it and are faced with the threat of being overwhelmed by it. Kahn preferred to use the term "lying fallow" to describe his particular vision of meaningful leisure. Like Steere (1972) and Feibleman (1972), Kahn believes that true leisure relates to a state of passive, non-conflictual awareness that has purpose and function in its own right and in relation to other states. It is seen as a precursor to creative effort and a path to the realization of personal meaning.

Another division which deserves brief discussion is that which has been made between play and work. In reviewing the literature it is evident that, of the various distinctions between work and non-work that are made, the distinction between play and work is perhaps the most universal in a cross-cultural sense. This distinction is, to a certain extent, circumscribed by the acceptance and legitimization of children's normal activity as play and that of adults as work. The distinction therefore, very often reflects this developmental connotation.

In the case of work and play, it becomes very clear that what is being referred to are primarily alternative psychological states, rather than alternative forms of overt behaviour. It is not so much a question of what is done but rather how it is done. For example, proposals have been made that individuals have the ability to turn work into play (Watts, 1977; Bowman 1987) or conversely, turn play into work (Tang & Baumeister, 1984).

There appear to be several characteristic features which serve to distinguish play from work. Bowman (1987, p. 63) has cited a number of differences in the perceptions of work and play in Western society, the majority of which attribute negative values to adult play. In terms of these, work is seen as important, productive, disciplined, serious and desirable for adults. In contrast, play tends to be seen as trivial, inconsequential, free, childish and undesirable.

In opposition to work, play seems to be characterised by a high

level of generally positive affect which is intrinsic to the activity itself. One plays because one wants to play. In contrast, work seems to have an air of felt compulsion about it. Thus the aspect of control and freedom seems to be crucial in the definition of play (Watts, 1977).

Copely (1990) described true play as "a way of being, a way of bonding, in which communication and interaction function outside of rational ways of thinking and knowing" (p. 13). This approach makes it clear that the defining characteristic of play lies at an internal level. Interestingly, he went on to make the assertion that the natural ability of children to engage in such play is very easily lost in adolescence. For the adult, if play is accepted at all, it frequently comes to be equated with "contest" and thus falls short of the richness of true play.

As in the case of work and leisure, play and work do not seem to be necessarily antagonistic towards one another, but instead approach complementarity. Bowman (1987) found that play either provides a form of necessary relief from monotony within the work context, or and more importantly, people can turn their working into playing, in this way getting work done painlessly. Play, in other words, can be productive and does not necessarily imply frivolity.

The individual's ability to exercise autonomy and self control seems to be crucial in the emergence of constructively integrated play and work. A good illustration of this can be found in Moorhouse's (1987) insightful analysis of the 1950's hot rod car culture in the United States. She presented a picture of an historical event where, briefly, there was a mixing of the ingredients of both work and play on a very significant scale. Although the activity was largely voluntary and not remunerated, it involved central work elements such as skill development and utilisation and considerable effort, along with what is conventionally associated with play i.e. fun and pleasure. What is of course particularly interesting, is that the hot rod

culture emerged seemingly in opposition to alienating blue collar industrial work conditions.

From this brief discussion, it can be concluded that play and work are closely related to one another and that play can either oppose or complement work. It would certainly seem to be necessary to include an understanding of the role and nature of play in an analysis of work meaning.

3.1.2.4 Work and community.

Finally, there is one further relationship which deserves brief discussion. This is the relationship between work and community. Price (1985), writing from the perspective of Community Psychology, has described these two domains as being interconnected to the point where they no longer represent distinct, independent domains. He argued for the existence of a reciprocal influence between the two. On one hand, work provides opportunities for the development of a sense of community and acts as a locus of social change. On the other, social and family values come to be expressed in the work place.

While Price's discussion took place against the background of developed Western society, he was careful not to restrict his definition of work to formal employment. It is particularly the informal types of work, such as that found in voluntary organisations, that most clearly illustrate the interconnectedness to which he referred.

Price's proposals become, if anything, more relevant when considered in relation to developing societies. Under these conditions, the majority of forms of work are likely to be more diffused within the general social milieu, in this way entrenching community and work interconnectedness.

3.1.3 WORK MOTIVES AND CONDITIONING WORK VALUES.

Triandis (1973) has written:

People work not only for money but also because of tradition, duty, obligation, beliefs in magic, social ambition, position and vanity. They work to obtain power, to validate their self-concept, and to achieve intellectual or aesthetic satisfaction. (p. 37)

In this section, we turn to a consideration of the reasons why people engage in work and how these reasons are related to the meaning of work.

The term motive, as used here, refers to the worker's conscious and sometimes unconscious search, through work, for particular goals and outcomes. Although this concept will have something in common with work motivation, it is intended to be both broader and less restrictive.

In their heuristic model of work meaning, the MOW International Research Team (1987) and Harpaz (1985, 1986), proposed that both the nature of outcomes sought by the worker in work and the worker's evaluation of the importance of these outcomes, are essential components of work meaning. Such information, they argued, helps to clarify why people engage in work and to an extent explains the degree of effort they are willing to put into work and their general efficacy as workers. In addition, it helps to clarify why different work contexts provide varying degrees of satisfaction for individuals.

Using the research of Cragin (1983), the MOW International Research Team developed an approach to understanding work outcome evaluations based on four factors. First, "cognitive centrality", which relates to "the degree to which the outcome is in the forefront of the person's consciousness" and the extent to which the outcome acts as a point around which other outcomes are organised (MOW International Research Team, 1987, p. 24). Second, "dependence", which relates to the extent to which, at

a cognitive level, the outcome determines other outcomes. Third, the "criticality" of the outcome, which involves the extent to which substitutes for the outcome are perceived to be readily available. Fourth, "salience", which relates to the temporal dominance of the outcome.

Although limited by their employment-based model of working and the structured nature of the response categories, the MOW International Research Team's research results on work outcome evaluations are interesting. They found that, in all countries covered, the income-producing function of work was seen as the most important. Intrinsic interest and satisfaction was second in the general ranking, followed sequentially by an "interpersonal" function, a "social" function, a "time occupancy" function and lastly a "status and prestige" function.

As regards the question of important work goals, the team identified four central dimensions which were generally relevant in all the countries covered. These comprised: An "expressive" dimension, relating to interest, variety, autonomy and a matching between job and person; an "economic" dimension, relating to pay, promotion and job security; a "comfort" dimension, relating to working conditions and hours; and finally a "learning/improvement opportunity" dimension, relating to learning and promotion.

As discussed at the start of this section, a review of work motives (intentionality) should also include a review of factors which condition such motives. From a review of the literature, it is apparent that there is a considerable body of material which is of relevance. Generically, this material can be referred to as work belief research, although it contains a number of themes such as values, beliefs and ethics, which in some cases have been dealt with independently.

Buchholz (1976) provided a useful summation of the concept of beliefs. As she described them, beliefs "constitute assumptions about the world a person lives in" (p. 1178). They help to define

the individual's world by providing him or her with an information system which functions to organise the realms of ideas, people and authority. In so doing, they enable the individual to function in ways which they, personally, deem effective.

The distinction that has been made in this thesis between work motives and conditioning beliefs may appear a little confusing. As used here, work motives (intentions), relate to conscious and direct reasons for engaging in work. In terms of Buchholz's description, beliefs function at a higher level of abstraction and in this case would inform the individual's motives in work. In agreement with Rokeach's (1973) discussion of values, it is argued that beliefs have a transcendental quality which enables them to act as guiding forces across specific situations or contexts.

Perhaps the biggest influence in the field of work beliefs has been provided by Max Weber's theory on the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE). In his original formulation, Weber (1930) put forward the theory that the rise of capitalism was facilitated by the rise of a work-related ethic based on Calvinistic principles. This ethic emphasized an orientation towards work involving dedication, frugality, saving, the deferment of rewards and the avoidance of idleness and waste in any form (Beit-Hallahmi, 1979). Fine (1983) pointed out that Weber's theory is in major part a psychological explanation aimed at clarifying the relationship between religious ideas and economic activity.

Although Weber's thesis has been subject to much debate and some criticism (Giddens, 1976), it has given rise to a considerable amount of psychological research. Although there are exceptions (for example, see the scale developed by Mirels and Garrett, 1971), the general trend in adapting the Protestant Work Ethic for the purposes of psychological research has been to secularise the concept. It would appear that this is largely as a result of psychologists paying little attention to the richness of Weber's

original argument (Furnham, 1984). Interestingly however, the secularization of the work ethic is not entirely out of line with Weber's thinking. Weber was happy to admit that the religious component of the work ethic was of particular relevance only in the formative stage of capitalism and that its role was soon replaced by the self-fulfilling logic of the economic system itself (Juzanek, 1978).

Within a psychological context, the secularization of the work ethic has had the advantage of allowing the concept to be applied in both non-Western and cross-cultural contexts. In South Africa for example, such an approach was used by Orpen (1978) to establish that "tribally orientated" black supervisors endorsed the work ethic less enthusiastically than did their "Western orientated" counterparts. Orpen's findings were later qualified by Bluen and Barling (1983), who argued for a content-sensitive approach to work values, rather than an indiscriminate comparison of strength of endorsement.

Furnham (1984), has provided a substantial review of the research done within psychology on the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE). Though his general opinion was that the PWE has proved itself to be a valid and constructive research domain, a number of shortcomings apply to existing approaches. He pointed out that the vast majority of research has looked at the PWE in relation to paid employment, to the exclusion of other possible forms of working. He was also critical of the tendency to design and use questionnaire-based approaches which provide single overall scores on work ethic scales. He proposed that it is likely that work ethic beliefs are multidimensional, "including beliefs about work and leisure, pleasure and indulgence, success and failure and control and fate" (p. 101). He concluded, therefore, that a more complex approach to, and understanding of, the concept is required.

3.1.4 CONTEXTUAL ISSUES.

In terms of the manner in which work meaning has been defined in this research, it is quite obvious that the content of work, the form which it takes and the conditions under which it is carried out, will have an important influence on the nature of its meaning to people. The aim in this last section of the review is to look briefly at the role of contextual issues in relation to the meaning of work. Although, in the course of the discussion so far, some material on contextual issues has been covered, there remain a few issues that must be dealt with.

One key influence on the experience of work which should be acknowledged, is that of gender. Universally, cultures ascribe roles on the basis of gender, and work is very often at the centre of this process. The experience of work for men and women is almost invariably different and it seems essential that any analysis of the meaning of work should acknowledge and accommodate gender issues. One of the key criticisms of an employment-based approach to the meaning of work, is that it tends to ignore non-employment forms of work. It specifically excludes the home environment which, in most societies, tends to be the focus of women's work activity.

Gender-related issues appear to play a profound role in the meaning of work for women. As Chester and Grossman (1990) stated, although men and women engage in work for much the same reasons, the experience and meaning of work for women is likely to be profoundly different from that of men. Women's work, particularly where it is not remunerated, seldom carries the status of that of men. Even where women engage in wage employment their work has often been thought of as "less important, less central to their definition of self and personal identity and less likely to reflect genuine commitment" (p. 2).

Women are also likely to hold different orientations to work. For example, some of the Western research reviewed by Chester and

Grossman (1990), indicated that they are less likely to psychologically separate their work and home lives, that they tend to have a preference for non-hierarchical structures in the work place and particularly value relational aspects in work.

There can be little debate of the proposal that work, in the most broadly defined terms, forms a crucial and central component of humankind's existence in the world. However, if one goes beyond this level of definition, it very soon becomes apparent that human work is a complex phenomenon, subject to great situational variation. Heneman (1973) proposed that four variables influence the nature of work. He argued that work is culturally, socially, environmentally and historically defined. Even within societies, the conception of work was seen to vary in response to a range of influences.

For Triandis (1973), there is some commonality in the meaning of work across cultures, which derives from the relationship of work to the common social forces of co-operation, territorial defense and the establishment of social hierarchies. However, he too proposed that, beyond this basic commonality, more specific work meanings show great situational variation. He cited a number of anthropological research examples which provide evidence of such variation.

Writing from an historical and cross-cultural position, Thomas (1964) has described how both the experience of work and attitudes to work have changed fundamentally with the passage of events leading up to modern capitalist times. His article provides a very good illustration of the sensitivity of the individual's experience of work to social and objective circumstances. Amongst other things, it points out the crucial influence that the development of wage labour had on established attitudes to work.

One of the most fundamental influences on the nature of work is technology. While technology has always played a key role in the

development of culture and patterns of work, its influence today in the Western world is more evident than ever before (Heneman, 1973). This is mainly the result of the dramatic increase in the pace of technological change. Technology exerts a direct influence on how work is structured and carried out.

Although the effect that modern technological development has had on the experience of work is uncertain, research conducted by Yuchtman-Yaar and Gottlieb (1985), found that in a cross-cultural sample, workers' responses to technological advances were generally positive. Technological advances often alleviate the most toilsome and repetitive aspects of tasks and in this way lighten the worker's load.

It is obviously true that, within particular societies, work content varies according to a range of factors such as social status, access to resources, tradition, training and education and many more. Such variation, it can be argued, results in quite different work experiences and work meanings for the individuals in the society.

As regards the value accorded work in different environments, Triandis (1973) made the interesting proposal that work is least likely to be valued highly in circumstances where it is either too easy or too difficult. He based this proposal on psychological laboratory research, sociological research and general observation. The proposal holds implications both within and across cultures. Within societies, the most privileged and least privileged groupings are likely to display the least positive and most fatalistic attitudes towards work. In contrast, for the middle classes, where effort bears a moderate relationship to reward, the attitudes are most likely to be positive. In addition, Triandis pointed out that those cultures physically located in moderately difficult circumstances, such as between the equator and the poles, are most likely to stress the value of work. The suggestions made by Triandis have yet to be satisfactorily confirmed in research.

3.1.5 SUMMARY.

In concluding this section, it is important to provide a brief review of the most critical issues pertaining to an appropriate and valid model of the meaning of work.

From the literature reviewed, there are good grounds for adopting a definition of work which encompasses more than simply employment. Such an approach might imply additional practical and conceptual difficulties, but would appear to be far more appropriate, particularly with reference to social contexts where the extent of employment is limited.

The alternative approach to the meaning of work, which has been emphasized in this review, is oriented towards a more idiographic and subjective understanding of the phenomenon. Such an approach incorporates a holistic and complex model of man and is necessarily sensitive to a number of contextual and conditioning issues.

Contextual issues that should be accounted for in the approach should include a range of historical, social, cultural, economic and environmental factors. In addition, the approach should recognise that there is an unavoidable interrelatedness between work and non-work domains. It is necessary, in any effort to understand the meaning of work, to take at least certain aspects of non-work into account.

Finally, it has been pointed out that motives can be seen as an important component of work meaning and can be productively included in an analysis.

3.2 THE DEVELOPING SOCIETY CONTEXT.

This thesis and research is set in the context of a rural area in a developing society. The aim of this section is to introduce

important issues pertaining to this context.

3.2.1 THE NATURE OF DEVELOPING SOCIETIES.

Developing societies exhibit a number of features which distinguish them from their developed counterparts. The most obvious of these include weak national economies, underdevelopment of economic resource and infrastructure, reliance on primary forms of industry, and socio-economic deficiencies in areas such as health care, education, employment levels and housing. They are also characterised by the persistence of traditional family structures, low levels of occupational differentiation and low per capita productivity.

In an important work on developing societies, Hoogveldt (1978) has presented an analysis of alternative theories of development. She pointed out that there is a fundamental dichotomy in the approaches to understanding between those that view development as a process and those that view it as a product of global interaction.

The process perspective, which includes modernization theory, proposes that there is a continuum of development between the most advanced and least advanced societies. Underdeveloped societies are seen to lack certain of the features of developed societies such as capital, skills and technology, but other than this there is no essential reason preventing their logical movement along the continuum towards development. From this perspective, development efforts should encourage the assimilation of the characteristic features of the advanced economies and the replacement of traditional structures seen as perpetuating underdevelopment.

The interactive model described by Hoogveldt presents a quite different form of explanation. This approach proposes that the underdevelopment of the Third World is the product of historical

and current interaction between First and Third World societies. The approach leads to the conclusion that the development of First World economies is structurally related to the underdevelopment in other regions. Through the processes of colonialism, neo-colonialism and global monopoly-capitalism, relationships of dependence and power inequality are developed and maintained.

In terms of the second perspective, development strategies in the Third World need to move away from the blind assimilation of developed society characteristics towards a more introspective approach. These societies need to carefully evaluate their relationships with the First World and not lose sight of their own character and resources. Above all, rather than being blindly led, the choices made in developing societies should be informed by an empowered awareness of the full range of alternatives that can be pursued.

3.2.2 PSYCHOLOGY, DEVELOPING SOCIETIES AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

This thesis and its accompanying research attempt to develop an understanding of a psychological phenomenon in the context of a developing society. Given a broad definition such as that offered by Omari (1983), the research can be classified as a social psychological endeavour. The relationship between psychology, particularly social psychology and developing societies is, however, a problematic one and there is a growing body of critical thought and literature on the subject. It is, therefore, essential that some discussion be devoted to the issue in this theoretical overview.

According to Sloan (1990), there has been increasing recognition of the need to apply social psychological knowledge to problems of developing societies, particularly since the early 1980's. Whilst writing and research on the topic has been traditionally dominated by such disciplines as anthropology, economics and

political science, obvious areas where psychology is of relevance and can make a contribution have become visible.

Sloan (1990) pointed out that it is particularly the recognition of the role of cultural issues in development that has created a demand for the involvement of psychology. While culture is by no means a straightforward concept, it does link up with accepted psychological concerns such as attitudes, motivational states, values and knowledge (p. 7).

The predominant role that is emerging for psychology in development, is that of a facilitator of social and structural change. Whilst development strategies frequently aim at objective changes in societies, the success or failure of such strategies is to a large extent dependent on the mediation of individual psychological processes such as motivation and cognition. As Sinha (1986) has pointed out:

Psychology is especially competent to trace in detail the mediating processes that account for the relationship between social, structural and individual forces. (p. 122)

A particular niche is, therefore, created for psychology in regard to development issues, which cannot be as adequately filled by other involved disciplines.

While on this issue, it should be noted that this thesis proposes that personal work meanings mediate between the individual and external reality, and thus have a direct bearing on development issues. In this way, it is expected that the thesis can make some form of contribution to the debate on national development.

Ayman (1985), has outlined several areas where he feels psychology can make a contribution at both macro and micro levels of national development. The first of these is in planning, where he feels that the importance of the human factor is such that it necessitates the involvement of psychologists. Under these

circumstances, he sees the role of the psychologist to be both remedial and proactive. The second proposed area of involvement is that of decentralization, with its accompanying concerns for democratization and participation. These Ayman sees as generic features of development initiatives and he again proposes that they create a need for the involvement of psychologists. The third area is that of the evaluation of development programmes and structures. Such structures, it is argued, stand to benefit greatly from an ongoing psychological input, which seeks to develop systems and facilitate self-evaluative processes. The fourth area where psychologists may become productively involved relates to communication. Development programmes require not only effective internal communication, but also need to communicate effectively with parties such as the communities they serve, and other organisations and individuals they may have contact with. The long-standing involvement of psychology with communications research means that it has a valuable contribution to make here. Finally, Ayman proposes that, in common with development strategies, psychology has as its ultimate aim the development of individuals. This he sees as creating a fundamental commonality, which more than justifies the involvement of psychologists in development work.

The realization that psychology can be constructively applied to problems in developing societies has been accompanied by the acknowledgement that, in many respects, the conceptual frameworks of Euro-American psychology, and its values and goals, are deficient in dealing with the Third World. As a result, one of the most central threads of the emerging "psychology of developing societies", has been a questioning of how traditional social psychological approaches need to be redefined or at least adapted to be of value.

Sloan (1990), suggested that in order for psychology to be more appropriate, there needs to be a redefinition of the relationship between theory and practice. In essence, this would mean a shift in the basic formulation of psychological knowledge:

Rather than conceiving of knowledge in terms of an adequate correspondence between social scientists' cognitive maps and social reality, knowledge would be assessed in terms of dialogue with participants in real-life situations, aiming toward understanding and, if necessary, transformation of social reality. (p. 9)

While there has been general acceptance of the inadequacy of existing psychological theory in developing society contexts, there is some debate over the usefulness of existing psychological methodologies and techniques. Jahoda (1983), has argued that, provided discretion is exercised, existing methodologies can be appropriate and at least provide a starting point for the application of social psychology to Third World issues. Whilst agreeing in principle with this position, Sinha (1983), expresses the caution that, particularly in developing society contexts, it is essential that the relevance of research questions never be forfeited in the interests of methodology. Research questions should always dictate method, rather than the other way around.

The viability of "pure" research approaches under developing society conditions has also been called into question. Omari (1983), has argued for an eclecticism in psychological research in developing society contexts, which combines both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. His proposal is that, in the absence of an adequate body of theory to guide research, the researcher is obliged to be aware of, and to make sensitive use of, all sources of information available. This need is seen to justify a degree of methodological eclecticism, and even make it desirable.

The general acceptance of the need to relax methodological and theoretical rigidity in dealing with developing societies, goes along with a relaxing of the boundedness of psychology as a discipline. Psychology, being a relative late-comer to the field of development, can benefit greatly from other disciplines. Going along with this, there is often greater acceptance of working as part of a multidisciplinary effort. The advantage of this is, of

course, that the resultant strategies tend to be more holistic and are, therefore, more likely to be effective.

The values and ideology of social psychology are another contentious issue in dealing with developing societies. Sinha (1983) stated that, while it is not possible to conduct "value free" research on socially meaningful issues, the implications of this are not necessarily negative. He proposed that the role of values should be recognised in research and that researchers in developing societies should have an open "commitment for social relevance" (p. 16). However, such a commitment, he argued, should merely serve as a guiding principle and researchers should guard against any form of methodological or interpretational bias.

There are some general issues about development in Third World societies which have direct bearing on the role of psychology. Acosta and Sanches (1985) pointed out that one of the most central of these is the fact that, as frequently encountered in the literature, the term "development" carries a distinct Western conceptualization and denotation. They went on to caution against this and to point out that, above all, development needs to be context-specific and to be dictated by the needs of particular societies and communities. In association with this proposal, the authors made reference to the concepts of "autodevelopment", "ethnodevelopment" and "ecodevelopment". These concepts support a model of development which is sensitive to indigenous culture, local definitions of development and the centrality of ecological concerns respectively.

In keeping with this altered view of development is the need to change what Gilbert (1989), termed the "ethnocentrism" of the conventional cross-cultural psychologist's position (p. 92). Researchers entering from outside a particular situation, it was argued, need to have the ability to leave their own contextual systems behind them and to build insights and understanding based on an internally referenced understanding of their subject group.

While this position does not deny the value of building on pre-existing knowledge, it does argue for an altered relationship between the researcher and the researched.

Another problem particularly associated with the application of psychology to developing societies, results from the discipline's traditional bias towards urban rather than rural contexts. This factor is of particular relevance to this thesis, given that the research took place in a predominantly rural setting.

Sinha (1985) has argued that there are a number of features associated with rural communities which may be neglected by an urban-based, elitist psychology. In the first place, this includes what Sinha termed "familism" (p. 447). This relates to the relatively close-knit and extended family structures which one typically encounters in rural areas. The family structures in rural areas are further likely to be associated with more entrenched patterns of obligation and loyalty. Secondly, individuals in rural areas are typically firmly enmeshed within a community context and therefore cannot act with the anonymity of their urban counterparts. In a general sense, collectivism is more emphasized and the relationships between individuals more personalised. In the third place, status attribution for individuals occurs within a more stable and invariable framework in rural settings. While the indicators of status and position may vary and be inconsistent in urban settings, this is seldom the case in rural areas. The final feature is that of time orientation. Besides generally placing less emphasis on time constraints, the proposal is also made that, while the rural time frame is typically orientated towards the immediate and the very distant, the urban orientation is typically to the near future. Further, in the rural setting, the time frame may be more often linked to natural events such as seasonal change and to social and general life rhythms.

The cumulative argument that Sinha presented was that the unique features of rural societies, in combination necessitate a

qualitatively different orientation in the conduct of psychology in these areas. Such an orientation, he proposed, should avoid the condescension typical of the urban dweller's relationship to the rural and should foster an understanding and respect for rural society.

In conclusion, it can be stated that, while there is obvious need, and justification, for psychology's involvement in developing society contexts, such involvement carries specific demands and difficulties. Centrally, the researcher needs to remain critically aware of the conceptual and methodological limitations of existing psychological paradigms, and to remain sensitive to the specific conditions operating in developing societies.

3.2.3 THE ISSUE OF WORK MEANINGS IN DEVELOPING SOCIETIES.

In Chapter 1 it was indicated that this thesis and the research upon which it is based represents a response to the call made by Albert Cherns (1984) for the development of an appropriate understanding of the nature and meaning of work in developing societies. Cherns' argument was that, in referring to the Third World, one is obliged to broaden the understanding of work beyond the notion of employment. The reason for this is that, while employment has clearly become the dominant work form in the industrialised world, and a principal means of conferring social status (Cherns, 1980), the identity of work in the Third World remains broader and probably more complex.

It is an obvious fact that work, in the form of productive activity, plays a crucial role in the functioning of human societies and is instrumental in the process of societal development. In this thesis, it is argued that developing an understanding of the relationship between people and work and the meanings they attach to work, is not an arbitrary academic concern but is crucial to any process aimed at fostering

development. Cherns (1984) for example, has pointed out the importance of such an understanding in determining appropriate strategies for technological development in Third World countries. In addition, the importance of understanding the nature of work meanings can also be related to appropriate organisational design. A number of authors have described the importance of work attitudes and orientations to organisational identity and functioning in non-Western contexts (Komin, 1990; Misumi, 1990; Salazar, 1990; Tripathi, 1990).

In general, the question of work meanings in the context of developing societies appears to be an important and under-explored area of concern. It is hoped that this thesis will go some of the way towards developing the area and raising research interest.

3.3 A PROPOSED MODEL OF WORK MEANING.

The aim in this final section of the chapter is to provide an encapsulated model of work meaning for use in this thesis. As has been indicated, the entire model is broadly aligned with the work of George Kelly (1905-1967) and his theory of personal constructs.

In essence, the proposed model of work meaning has three interconnected facets, comprising content, context and process. These will be dealt with sequentially in the paragraphs that follow.

3.3.1 CONTENT FACET.

As regards this first facet of the model, working within the broad framework of personal construct psychology, it is proposed that work constitutes part of a basic, generic cognitive construct. Taking this proposal further, given the basic

cognitive oppositional structure of personal constructs, work is seen to stand in relation to, and to some extent be defined by, that which is not work. In other words, if we think of a specific task as being work, we are implicitly denying that it constitutes leisure or play or idleness or some such alternative. This process of definition by exclusion facilitates the structuring of experience and develops the individual's ability to analyse and interpret his/her world. A link can be made here with Kelly's (1955) proposal that people are first and foremost self-scientists, seeking understanding and predictability within their worlds.

Secondly, going beyond the proposal that work is defined by its relationship to non-work, it is necessary to look inwardly, at the content of the work category itself. The position is made more complex by the fact that, in addition to contrasting work with non-work, we are also able to contrast alternative work situations on a range of dimensions. In this way, we can contrast significant work with less significant work, difficult work with easy work and so on. From this perspective, the work category itself acts as a generative category which is associated with dyadic constructs. These constructs, in turn, are associated with, and elaborate on, the meaning we attach to work. It should be reiterated that the distinction between the generative categorical and the bi-polar nature of constructs, represents something of an anomaly in Personal Construct Theory and has been discussed by Husain (1983).

Two primary elements have been identified in relation to the content facet of work meaning. The first of these is a "definition-by-exclusion" element, in which work is given situated meaning by virtue of its contrast with non-work. The second is an "inclusive" element focusing within the work category, where meaning is associated with the constructive fabric of work itself.

3.3.2 CONTEXT FACET.

Developing the model further, it should be noted that, while constructs and construct systems are essentially idiographic, they are not free-floating and dissociated from common, pragmatic experience. One of the criticisms that has been levelled at Kelly's theory is that, although it accepts that constructs are contextualized and rooted in real world experience, it does not go far enough in accounting for this relationship and its mechanisms of operation (Taylor, 1983). As explanatory systems, our constructs are invariably related to our experience and life circumstances, and to attempt to examine construct systems in isolation from these factors is extremely problematic.

Applying the logic of this contextualist argument to the issue of work, it is proposed that an understanding of the meaning of work should be grounded in a related understanding of the individual's life circumstances and experience. More specifically, it is proposed that such a contextual understanding should include three principal elements. The first of these relates to personal life factors, such as particular experiences, life history, personal motives and individual development. The second element deals with socio-cultural factors such as shared value and moral systems, language and normative patterns of behaviour. Finally, the third element picks up on broad environmental factors such as the physical, political and historical circumstances which impact on the individual. Simply put, it is proposed that, in order to understand the meaning of work for a person, we need to have developed a contextual understanding of the person which accommodates personal, socio-cultural and environmental factors.

Context issues relating to work meanings are of particular relevance in developing countries. In the previous section it was pointed out that the general social and environmental circumstances operating in these countries are substantively different from those operating in developed countries, and

necessitate a customised, context-sensitive approach in social psychology. This point applies strongly in the case of work meanings and further confirms the necessity of adopting this line of approach.

3.3.3 PROCESS FACET.

In discussing personal constructs, Kelly (1955) made the point that our constructs and systems of constructs are never static entities. Rather, they are constantly in a process of elaboration and redefinition. The issue of process must, therefore, be accommodated within the understanding of psychological constructs. Kelly went on to add that, in an anomalous way, the aspect or process cannot be directly analysed, and that construct analytic techniques such as the repertory grid, which he himself designed, at best provide only frozen moments of an ongoing process.

Again Kelly's argument has direct bearing on the approach of this research to the meaning of work. It is proposed that work meanings elaborate and change over time with new experience, altered personal circumstances and the psychological development of the individual. In as much as our experience is ongoing, so is the meaning which we ascribe to that experience constantly changing and evolving. Any model of the meaning of work would be seriously deficient if it did not recognise the dynamic and developmental nature of work.

Acknowledging the process facet of the meaning of work has the implication of greatly complicating any possible approach one might adopt in assessing work meanings. Short of protracted longitudinal research designs, there can be little direct way of assessing this dimension of work meanings. However, it is hoped that in this research, indirect insight into the process facet will be gained through looking at the development of work in the context of individual life histories and by making comparisons

between individuals working in different circumstances.

3.3.4 APPLICATION OF THE MODEL

The composite model of work meaning which has been described is highly complex and presents considerable difficulties in developing an appropriate research design. In the current research, emphasis was placed on assessing the content and context facets of the work meaning model, and the developmental aspect has to some extent been underplayed. In an effort to offset this imbalance, wherever possible, process related issues have been inferred from the research data.

CHAPTER 4 THEORETICAL OVERVIEW OF METHOD.

In this chapter the intention is to provide an overview of the basic methodological components employed in the research. In the study use was made of a complex multi-method design, in which data from life histories, focused interview questions and repertory grids, were managed within the framework of a case study approach. To avoid confusion, each of the research components requires individual presentation and discussion. The chapter begins with a discussion of nomothetic and idiographic levels of analysis in psychology. Second, the concept of triangulation in research is presented and discussed, followed by a discussion of the case study method. Finally, the three techniques used, namely repertory grids, interviewing and life histories, are dealt with.

4.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDIOGRAPHIC AND NOMOTHETIC LEVELS OF ANALYSIS.

Although there are a number of methodological strands in this research, a unifying theme is present, in the form of common compatibility with an idiographic model of psychology. According to Runyan (1984), the terms "idiographic" and "nomothetic" originate in the work of the German neo-Kantian philosopher Windelband (1904), and were first applied to psychology by Gordon Allport (1937). The term nomothetic is used to refer to the search for general laws of behaviour, while the term idiographic refers to a concern for that which is "particular or specific to the individual" (Runyan, 1984, p. 174). Allport's original argument was that psychology had become overly concerned with searching for general laws of behaviour and that a psychology of the individual was urgently needed to redress this imbalance.

Although the debate that Allport initiated has now largely subsided, Runyan (1984) has argued that the distinction between idiographic and nomothetic is still a valid one. He feels that

the two forms continue to represent distinct identifiable trends in psychology and psychological research. However, he does make the condition that the division between the two forms should not be seen as mutually exclusive and that explanations at nomothetic and idiographic levels should be interactive. For example, it should be possible for idiographic data to suggest nomothetic hypotheses and also for the reverse to occur.

Hermans (1988) has taken the suggestion of a link between idiographic and nomothetic analyses a step further, by suggesting that, at a methodological level, the two approaches can be usefully integrated into a single research design.

Knowledge of the individual from the perspective of the general (true of most individuals of a defined class) and knowledge of the individual from the perspective of the particular are mutually complementary and therefore should be combined within a single theoretical framework representing a dialogical model. (p. 791)

Of particular relevance to the current research, Hermans additionally argued that a distinction between "nomo-concepts" and "idio-concepts" has proved extremely useful in the study of individual meaning. It provides both a mechanism through which general findings can be assessed at the level of their personal meaning and relevance, and a way in which generalities can be derived out of idiographically relevant data.

The compatibility between nomothetic and idiographic analyses suggested by Runyan and Hermans is crucial for the current research. This is because one of the central intentions in the research strategy is to move between analyses of personal work meanings and generalized work meanings.

4.2 THE NEED FOR A MULTI-METHOD TRIANGULATED APPROACH

In the previous chapter, the argument was presented that the particular conditions operating in developing societies

necessitate a flexible and sensitive psychological research strategy. Further, in agreement with Omari (1983), it was pointed out that one of the best ways of meeting these conditions is to make use of a variety of methods within the research design. The current research is based on such a combination of methods, and in this section, a rationale for the multi-method approach is presented.

The concept of triangulation is not new and dates back to the 1950's, when a number of authors began to speak about the need for multiple operationalism in research and theory building (Smith, 1975). The idea of triangulation can be applied to a number of aspects in the research process. One can relate triangulation to the research data, the investigators involved, the theories used and the methodology employed (Smith, 1975). However, in this research, it is particularly methodological triangulation which is of relevance.

The central starting point in justifying the need for multi-method approaches, is the assumption that single methods are inherently limited in their explanatory scope. Rather than providing a complete representation of reality, individual methods provide only a partial and filtered vantage on phenomena. In line with this, Jick (1983) pointed out that the basic logic of using a multi-method strategy is that it allows for a phenomenon to be studied from a variety of angles, and hence provides opportunities for cross-checking and multiple confirmation of results. In addition, limitations or weaknesses that apply to any one methodology used are likely to be compensated for in the additional approaches. In this way the general validity of the research is improved through the use of multiple methods.

Going beyond the validity question, there is also the implication that triangulated designs allow for enriched psychological understanding and explanation in research. By exploring different facets of a phenomenon, they may facilitate a more holistic

vision than would be possible in a single method approach. This suggestion may hold true even where the use of multi-methods does not result in direct convergence in the research findings.

A related point which is of particular relevance to this research, is that multi-method approaches may enhance contextual understanding of issues (Jick, 1983). The definition of the research process is widened with the addition of further methods, with the result that the researcher is forced into an exploratory and creative role. Working from this perspective, researchers are better able to accommodate conditions pertaining to the local research context.

Many triangulated method designs involve the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. However, as Jick (1983) pointed out, it is generally the qualitative material that fulfils the function of providing a link between data and facilitating the analysis of convergence. It is the qualitative data which give the researcher the leeway to be creative in interpretation.

While there are obvious advantages to the use of multi-method research strategies, limitations inevitably apply. Jick (1983) has outlined a number of these, which are worth discussing.

One of the first problems encountered is that there are no clearly formulated guidelines for how triangulation should be conducted. Because triangulated designs tend to be formulated around particular research questions, there is no consistency in their formulation. As a result, the process of triangulation is generally a largely subjective affair and dependant on the skill and insight of the individual researcher. A direct outcome of this situation is that the replication of triangulated research designs tends to be extremely difficult. However, while the lack of clear methodological guidelines can be construed as a limitation, it should also be pointed out that in many instances the flexibility and subjectivity implied by the lack of such

structure can be a real advantage.

In order to compensate for the lack of methodological uniformity, Jick (1983) proposed that it is essential that researchers give adequate attention to the theoretical and conceptual aspects of their research. The argument is that, by ensuring conceptual clarity, the process and route of triangulation will become more obvious and there is less chance of the research going astray.

A further limitation which may apply to triangulated social science research is that one often has a situation where a single researcher is both establishing and corroborating findings. This may lead to what Miles and Huberman (1984) described as a cognitive conflict of interest. However, as these authors went on to point out, this is not necessarily a source of bias, provided that the triangulation process is carried out carefully and makes use of sound and reliable data.

The final issue to highlight is that triangulation is not a panacea for dealing with the shortcomings of conventional, single method research. There are many situations where, for a variety of reasons, multi-method approaches are inappropriate or ineffective. Multi-method designs can be cumbersome and costly in terms of time and research effort and therefore require careful justification.

4.3 THE CASE STUDY APPROACH.

Although this research goes beyond the boundaries of a conventional case study, the logic of the case study approach plays a crucial role in the research design. In particular, case study logic fulfils two important functions in the research. In the first place, it provides a basic mechanism for handling data, and facilitates the search for data convergence between the various research methods used. In this respect it provides structure to the process of triangulation. It will be recalled

from the previous section that one of the limitations of the multi-method approach is that it does not specify a uniform procedural method. In this research, case study methodology provides a partial answer to this problem by presenting a clear structure.

The second function fulfilled by case study logic is that it provides a mechanism for moving between nomothetic and idiographic levels of explanation in the research. In doing this, particular use is made of Bromley's (1986) concept of "case law". This concept will be explained and discussed later in this section.

Case study methodology has an established track record in psychology and the general social sciences. It has the advantage over other methods, such as surveys and experimentation, of being less restrictive and offering a more global understanding of phenomena (Bromley, 1986). It is a naturalistic approach which attempts to deal with real life events in a context-sensitive manner, which makes it very compatible with the general conceptual parameters of this research.

Bradshaw and Wallace (1991) have argued strongly in favour of using the case study approach in Third World settings. They pointed out that conditions in developing societies frequently render existing theory and concepts inappropriate and that in these situations, case studies can be of great use in developing new and more appropriate theory. They even argued that, without the use of case studies, there is the risk that certain Third World issues will either be researched with inappropriate instruments or go entirely unresearched.

One of the greatest strengths of the case study method in psychology lies in its ability to deal with the subjective and human component in research. This is well illustrated by Runyan (1984), in a seven point summary of the advantages of the approach. These comprise:

1. Providing "insight" into the person, clarifying the previously meaningless or incomprehensible, suggesting previously unseen connections;
2. Providing a feel for the person, conveying the experience of having known or met him or her;
3. Helping us to understand the inner or subjective world of the person, how they think about their own experience, situation, problems, life;
4. Deepening our sympathy or empathy for the subject;
5. Effectively portraying the social and historical world that the person is living in;
6. Illuminating the causes (and meanings) of relevant events, experiences, and conditions; and
7. Being vivid, evocative, emotionally compelling to read. (p. 152)

Given the approach of the current research, namely that of analysing subjective work meanings and developing a contextualized understanding, the advantages of an approach displaying these characteristics is self evident.

There appears to be a lack of clarity in the literature regarding how best to define the case study method. The central problem seems to be uncertainty as to what constitutes the unit of analysis in case studies. Yin (1984) pointed out that the case, in case studies, can focus on either an individual or some form of event. Bromley (1986, p. 1) went one step further by combining the two and proposing that "a case study is an account of a person in a situation". For Bromley, the case study in psychology is typically focused on a single event in an individual life history.

Yin (1984) offered a more technical and possibly more adequate definition in proposing that:

.. a case study is an empirical inquiry that:
investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its

real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. (p. 23)

Yin's definition is useful in that it helps to distinguish case study methodology from other forms of research. The combination of avoidance of experimental control, contemporary focus and the accommodation of contextual data gives the approach a unique identity.

An obviously important question for this research is how compatible multi-method approaches are with case study methodology. In his definition, Yin specifically proposed the use of multiple methods in case studies and this effectively implies that the two approaches are entirely compatible. One common assumption is that case studies only make use of qualitative data but Yin (1984) pointed out that even this is a misconception and it is possible for case studies to incorporate either qualitative or quantitative data or even combinations of the two. An important point to note is that triangulation in case studies, by providing multiple sources of evidence, serves to bolster construct validity and is therefore a considerable asset.

Another frequent misconception which requires clarification relates to the potential purposes to which case studies can be put. It is often assumed that case studies can only be of value in exploratory and descriptive research. However, while this is the most common form of application, both Bromley (1986) and Yin (1984) argued that the approach can yield material which is of value to the direct development and testing of theory. Similarly, in a critical assessment of the function of case studies, Abramson (1992) has concluded that, while case studies are neither facts nor theories nor experiments, they can be particularly useful instruments in the inductive phase of theory development.

The breadth and flexibility of case studies does not imply that

the approach is unstructured. In fact, considerable methodological rigour is required if the approach is to be used successfully. With regard to this, Bromley (1986, 1977) has outlined what he terms a "quasi-judicial method" for use in case study research. This approach makes use of the structure of judicial enquiry, while at the same time retaining an essentially scientific purpose. Judicial logic contributes an emphasis on the admissibility and relevance of data, but beyond this there is still a central concern with the integral structure and meaning of the case as a whole.

The "quasi judicial method", as outlined by Bromley, begins with the basic assumption that a case study represents a form of theory of individual behaviour. Consequently, the prime purpose of the analysis is to evaluate the validity of the proposals and claims of the case. In practice, the method consists of a series of interconnected steps. These move from an initial statement of the research question, through logical evaluation and elimination of alternative explanations, to a decision on the most likely interpretation and possibly also the best course of action. The process is regulated by a series of checks which look at the consistency of the data and the coherence of the overall argument. At all points, sufficient empirical data must be available to either support or refute claims made.

Also developing out of Bromley's (1986) application of judicial procedure to case study research, is his concept of "case law". The proposal here is that, in the analysis and comparison of a series of similar cases, it is possible to begin to develop common threads of explanation and understanding. The understanding developed in this way grows with the addition of successive cases, until a point is reached where the addition of further cases adds little to the extant understanding. Bromley refers to the emerging and refining body of explanation as "case law" and he points out that this is effectively equivalent to theory in the case study context.

Case law in psychology is invariably established with reference to some delineated form of social reality. These delineations or categories take the form of particular groups of people, types of experience and so on. In this research for example, an attempt is made to develop case law around a series of occupational niches that exist in the developing society setting. Categories used in this way in case analysis, are conceptually constructed around a set of occupancy characteristics which give the category identity. For example, the category of unemployed individuals may relate to individuals who have been in full employment, are no longer employed, have no means of generating income and perceive themselves to be unemployed. Cantor and Mischel (1979) labelled sets of characteristics that are used in this way as "prototypes".

It should be noted that a problem develops around the assignment of individual cases to proto-typical categories. While conceptually the category is representative of a set of proto-typical characteristics, the characteristics of individual cases very seldom entirely conform to the ideal. The assignment of individual cases to a category, in reality, is one of finding adequate, rather than perfect matches and there is thus inevitably a lack of clarity associated with category boundaries.

The implication of this concept of proto-typical categories for case law, is that such law must be understood to have a normative, rather than an absolute, quality. The correspondence between case law and the individual case need not necessarily be perfect.

There are various research designs associated with case studies. The form which is of relevance to the current research is the multiple case study design. In this situation, a number of similar cases are conducted, with the ultimate aim of building a general common explanation. There is a direct parallel between this emerging general explanation and case law, and in fact, multiple case study designs offer a contained mechanism for

developing case law. Under these circumstances, case law is developed as a bridge between the idiographic understanding of the individual case and a more nomothetic understanding of the category to which the multiple case study refers. This is entirely in keeping with Hermans' (1988) suggestions for a combined idiographic and nomothetic strategy, which were discussed at the start of this chapter.

Because case studies generally deal with small numbers of subjects, critics of the approach have been led to question the generalizability of case study research findings. In response to this it must be pointed out that, unlike survey-type research, the case study method does not rely on statistically representative sampling techniques to establish generalizability. The focus, instead, is shifted inwards, to the coherence and logic of the case study itself. As Mitchell (1983) pointed out, generalizability of the case comes to be a function of the validity of the case, not of its statistical representativeness. Yin (1984, p. 39) provided a useful distinction between "statistical generalization" and "analytical generalization". He argued that, while survey-type research pursues a path of statistical generalization in trying to generalise results from a sample to its universe, the same is not true in case studies. In this situation, the emphasis is rather on analytical generalization, whereby case results are properly generalized directly to theory, as is done with scientific experiments.

This logic of linking case study results directly to theory should not be seen to obviate the need for replication in case study research. Theoretical formulations are reinforced through replicated confirmation and, as has been pointed out, replication is a basic requirement in the establishment of case law. In addition to this, the establishment of external validity in case study research is in great measure reliant on case replication.

On the question of quality in case studies, Bromley (1986) has proposed that this should be judged in terms of the internal

coherence, external verification and validity of the conceptual framework used in the study. Similarly, Yin (1984) has proposed that case studies should comply with the tests of construct validity, external validity, and reliability. He adds that explanatory and causative case studies should comply with the further criterion of internal validity. While mention has already been made of the use of triangulation in developing construct validity and the use of multiple case data in improving external validity, no mention of reliability has as yet been made. Yin's proposal is that reliability can be established through the successful repetition of case studies. He comments that, while repeatability will inevitably remain a problem in case studies, it can be facilitated through the careful documentation of research procedures.

One final and very important issue to be addressed in this section, is the role of antecedent theory and conceptual frameworks in case study research. It is evident that case studies cannot be divorced from theory and, furthermore, that there is a critical relationship between a case study and its conceptual framework. Such frameworks impact on all levels within the case study, including design, execution and interpretation. Yin (1984) has pointed out that even the most basic exploratory case studies are guided, to some degree, by theory.

In accepting that case studies are by no means theory-free, it should also be noted that tension remains, between the imposition of conceptual structure, and the search for pre-existing structure and meaning within the case data. Case study researchers may seek ideally to derive structure from their cases but inevitably they are forced to some extent to fall back on pre-existing theory. Bromley (1986) illustrated this very well in the following quote:

..facts (in case studies) do not speak for themselves; they have to be spoken for. They are spoken for by what is, in effect a 'theory', a form of argument by means of which the facts can be shown to be related to one another in a particular kind of way. (p. 97)

Rather than being disabling, however, the ambivalence brought about in this way provides a creative opportunity for the researcher. It allows him/her to shuttle between existing or assumed knowledge, and the implicit knowledge in the case. Without such a process there could be no development of case law and general scientific progress.

Given the inevitability of the relationship between theory and case study research, it would appear logical to suggest that researchers should make their theoretical preconceptions and positions as explicit as possible. This is the course of action adopted in the current research and was the motivation behind presenting a clearly delineated model of work meaning in the last chapter.

4.4 THE RESEARCH TECHNIQUES.

In this final section, the three principal research techniques used in the research are discussed. These include repertory grids, interviewing and life histories.

4.4.1 THE DESIGN AND ANALYSIS OF REPERTORY GRIDS.

The aim of this section is to provide an outline of repertory grid methodology, with a specific emphasis on the forms of grid and analysis that are most relevant to this research. It should be noted that grids have traditionally comprised the stock methodology in personal construct research and play an important, though not exclusive role, in the methodology of this thesis.

Repertory grids have previously been used with success in the context of developing societies. Two examples of this include Little (1983), who looked at the relationship between educational level and job performance, and Taylor (1983), who looked at perceptions of urban development. The technique has the lure of

being both adaptable and flexible, which are important conditions for researching Third World issues.

As research instruments, repertory grids are primarily intended to provide insight into the individual's construct system. They are commonly described as maps of idiographic cognitive structure, although Fransella and Bannister (1977) preferred to view them as "a particular form of structured interview" (p. 4). These authors pointed out that the kind of information elicited in a repertory grid is much the same as that which we seek to gain from everyday conversation. The principal difference is that grids do much more to formalize and systematize this information in a rigorous way. This formalization was emphasized by Adams-Webber (1979), who pointed out that the technique is principally a form of sorting-task, aimed at producing quantifiable relationships between categories.

One negative consequence of the appeal of the repertory grid as a research instrument, has been the reluctance of researchers in Personal Construct Theory to search for other possible compatible research methodologies. Related to this, there has also been a tendency for repertory grid researchers to become ensnared in the statistical intricacies of the technique, often diverting attention away from the important task of developing Personal Construct Theory.

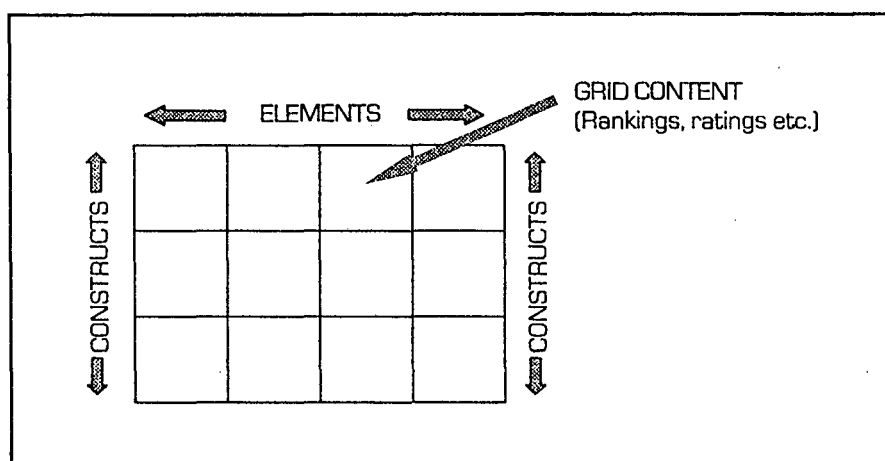
4.4.1.1 The construction of repertory grids.

A discussion of the construction of the repertory grid can usefully be guided by the structure of the grid itself. There are three basic dimensions in a repertory grid matrix. As illustrated in Figure 2, these comprise; a horizontal axis of "elements", a vertical axis of constructs and thirdly, within the grid itself, a mechanism of relating elements to constructs. These will be discussed sequentially.

Before beginning, it should be noted that the distinction between

elements and constructs is to some extent an arbitrary one. At some point of definition and interpretation, it invariably becomes possible for constructs to act as elements, and for the reverse to occur. There are, however, conceptual and methodological reasons which necessitate that a distinction between the two be maintained. Easterby-Smith (1980, p. 5) made the useful distinction that elements may be thought of as "objects" of thought while constructs are "qualities" attributed to these objects.

Figure 2 Structure of repertory grids.



There are two basic requirements which apply to the selection of elements for repertory grids (Easterby-Smith, 1980). The first of these requirements is that of homogeneity. This implies that elements must be: (a) sufficiently interrelated to one another for comparisons between them to be possible and (b) logical, from the point of view of the subject. Elements must, in other words, be within the "range of convenience" of the constructs in the grid. Relating to this, Fransella and Bannister (1977) stated that, in compiling a grid, subjects must be given an opportunity to indicate where elements are inappropriately matched.

The second requirement for elements in grids is that they must be representative. This means that, in the selection of elements, a sufficient range must be obtained to adequately represent the field to which the grid is to refer. Easterby-Smith adds that,

in developing an adequate range of constructs, it is also important to include qualitatively different states of the same or similar elements. This could include, for instance, both good and bad examples of a particular experience.

On the question of how elements are identified, there are four possible routes to follow (Easterby-Smith, 1980). The first and most simple option is for the researcher to directly supply the elements to the subject. Under some circumstances this route may be entirely appropriate, but where there is a high degree of demand for idiographic content in the grid, this approach may be inadequate. Supplying elements pre-structures the grid in accordance with the researcher's particular model and thought.

The second possibility is for the researcher to supply categories, roles or situation descriptions, which the subject can then use in developing personally relevant elements. This is the form that was originally advocated by Kelly (1955). His proposal was that people should comprise the elements and that these should be identified through role descriptions, such as "a teacher you liked" or "your mother" and so on. While many alternative forms for generating element have been developed, this process remains one of the most popular.

The third possible route to follow involves the identification of "pools" of elements, which the researcher can then refine. Examples of this cited by Easterby-Smith (1980), included the naming of a number of effective managers and the listing of examples of a particular activity.

The final form of element identification, and the one employed in the current research, makes use of a discussion between researcher and subject. In this process, the researcher and subject, through prompting and negotiation, arrive jointly at a set of elements. While this technique is likely to require a fair degree of management on the part of the researcher, the elements thus derived are likely both to fulfil the researcher's need for

a grid focus, and have the desirable characteristic of personal meaningfulness for the subject. Further, the negotiation that is involved in this approach is likely to enhance common understanding between researcher and subject and consequently improve interpretation.

The final issue to consider in relation to elements is the number of elements required in a repertory grid. The guiding principle here seems to be that the number must be both manageable and adequate in giving sufficient depth to the grid. While the number of elements can be as high as 25, Easterby-Smith (1980) proposed that a figure of around 6 can often prove adequate.

The second component of repertory grid structure that requires discussion are constructs. As was suggested earlier, constructs are basically ways in which the individual discriminates between elements, and for this reason they are usually elicited in the course of repertory grid construction. It is possible to directly supply constructs to subjects in the same way as was described with elements. However, doing this transforms the repertory grid into something quite closely akin to the semantic differential of Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957).

The traditional way of eliciting constructs is to make use of triadic comparisons between elements in the grid. In this case, the subject is typically asked to compare three elements and to state in what way two are similar, but different from the third. The expectation is that this process will generate dyadic comparisons based on personal meanings, rather than on logical opposition.

The triadic elicitation procedure is complex and demanding on both researcher and subject. Both Easterby-Smith (1980) and Fransella and Bannister (1977) have stated that under adverse conditions, such as where elements are abstract and difficult to deal with or where subjects have difficulty working with the triadic process, a more simple procedure can be used. This is

known as dyadic elicitation and involves constructs being derived from a series of comparisons within element pairs. In the current research this dyadic elicitation process was found to be the preferable procedure. It reduced the complexity of the elicitation procedure considerably and subjects were able to respond without difficulty.

It should be noted that not all constructs are of equal value in grid research. Fransella and Bannister (1977) have described a number of problematic constructs which the researcher needs to be cautious of. Probably the most common of these comprises constructs which are either excessively permeable or excessively impermeable. In these circumstances, the construct is either so generic or so specific that it is of little interpretive value. Other problems which the authors indicate, include constructs being too vague, too superficial, overly grounded in mundane situational distinctions or directly mimicking distinctions built into the element structure.

One problem that has to be faced with dyadic elicitation is the increased risk of obtaining poor quality constructs and logical opposites. With careful explanation and construction of the grid these problems can, to a large extent, be overcome. However, this remains a limitation of the approach.

Under some circumstances, it is possible to improve the quality of constructs through the use of a fourth technique known as laddering. This approach is used to generate additional subordinate or superordinate constructs from an existing construct. In the case of generating superordinate constructs (constructs of greater generality), subjects are first asked to select their preferred pole in a construct pair, and then asked why the choice was made. The repetition of this "why" question results in a series of increasingly superordinate constructs. Conversely, constructs of greater specificity can be generated by asking subjects to explain the meaning of particular constructs.

In the elicitation of constructs, an important issue for consideration is how best to select elements for comparison. Easterby-Smith recommends that one of two alternatives be followed. The researcher must either provide a genuinely random selection of elements or alternatively, must intentionally select those elements which s/he feels will result in the best range of constructs. Where there are relatively few elements to choose between, and where elements are organised into groups or categories, intentional choice of element comparisons would appear to be the logical selection.

The third and final component of grid structure involves the contents of the grid matrix itself. This component is a crucial one, in that the matrix content describes general and specific relationships between the dyadic constructs and elements in the grid.

The usual practice is to make use of some form of rating scale, in which the constructs are evaluated with reference to the individual elements. Because constructs are dichotomous, rating scales are generally also polarized. In the most simple form, subjects must select one or other construct pole as best reflecting each element. The responses that are elicited in this process can be recorded in a non-numerical way, such as using a simple system of ticks and crosses to represent the left and right hand poles. More complex rating scales can also be used. For example, in this research, a seven point scale was used, which allowed for three points of discrimination on each construct pole, and a mid-point. Although there is an expectation that constructs are polarized, a midpoint in a rating scale is a useful device, in that it provides a check on whether elements fall within the range of convenience of the constructs, and avoids placing the subject in a forced choice situation.

Another possible form of matrix makes use of rankings rather than ratings. In this situation, elements are ranked with reference to the dichotomous construct. This is a less common form of grid

construction but is appropriate for particular forms of grid research.

A final issue to discuss in relation to the elicitation and construction of grids, is the need for researchers to be aware of the social and personal factors operating in a grid construction situation. In the first place, although the construction of a grid can be an interesting and stimulating event for a subject, it is a time-consuming and repetitive exercise which can become frustrating. Easterby-Smith (1980) pointed out that up to two hours can be spent on the construction of a single grid consisting of ten elements and ten constructs. Secondly, the construction of a grid usually involves a face-to-face confrontation between researcher and subject, in which there is an expectation that the subject will divulge information. As with all similar forms of research, there is the possibility of resistance developing on the part of the subject, which can have a negative impact on the quality of results. For this reason it is most advisable that the researcher and his subject develop a relationship of trust and openness, in which there is clear understanding and an exchange of information.

4.4.1.2 The analysis of repertory grids.

It has become common practice in the analysis of grids to make use of sophisticated statistical procedures and in particular to rely on the use of computer programmes. Easterby-Smith (1980) commented that this trend has created the misperception that grids can only be interpreted with statistically sophisticated techniques. He points out that such approaches are only necessary where grids are large, time is limited and there is need of considerable accuracy. In contrast, there are many instances where more simple forms of analysis are possible and even preferable. A mechanistic interpretation of grid data can sometimes fail to pick up the subtleties that can be extracted from a grid.

Easterby-Smith (1980) has outlined two techniques for the manual analysis of repertory grids. Both of these assume that one is working with a manageable, small grid, containing data expressing directional preferences in a simple form. In the example he gives, a system of crosses and arrows is used to indicate construct ratings.

In the first technique, known as "focusing", the grid structure is physically manipulated in order to facilitate interpretation. Row and column data are rearranged so that elements with a similar rating structure are brought close to one another. Where necessary, the direction of constructs is reversed, in order to bring about consistency. The product of this technique is a "focused" grid, in which grid relationships are highlighted and clarified, thus simplifying the process of interpretation.

The second technique outlined by Easterby-Smith involves the calculation of simple correlation matrices for both elements and constructs in the grid. In the case of element correlations, the calculation is made by matching pairs of elements and allocating points for directional matches in construct ratings. Though the total possible number of matches will vary according to the number of constructs in the grid, high and low scores will respectively indicate positive and negative correlations, while mid-range scores will indicate weak correlations.

Pattern identification is facilitated by the processes of focusing and correlating. However, it is sometimes possible to get a considerable amount of information out of raw grid data. It should also be noted that, depending on how it has been developed and used, the grid may act as a summary of important information about the individual. Constructs and elements may, for example, in themselves be important and interpretable items of data.

Because this research did not make use of complex statistical computer based analyses, it seems unnecessary to discuss these.

It is sufficient to point out that these techniques are very popular in grid research and that they make the task of dealing with complex and multiple grid designs considerably easier. Despite the sophistication of these techniques, it is worth noting that the responsibility for final interpretation and the drawing of inferences always remains dependant on the skill and insight of the researcher.

A final point relates to the issue of combining data from a number of grids. Easterby-Smith (1980) has pointed out that direct grid comparisons and the aggregation of grids is only possible when either, or both, constructs and elements used in the grids, are identical. This is necessary simply because one must have some uniform point from which to build comparisons. If this is not the case, then grid comparisons can only be effected using a technique such as content analysis.

4.4.2 RESEARCH INTERVIEWING.

It is possible, at one level, to interpret the entire research strategy used in this thesis as a form of complex, multifaceted interview. However, this theoretical review of interviewing is primarily aimed at providing background to a series of topic-focused interview questions, which formed part of the general research strategy.

While interviews are an extremely common technique in social and human scientific research, this is by no means an indication of their infallibility. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) have described some of the difficulties of the approach. In the first instance, unlike observational strategies and some forms of experimentation, interviews are for the most part reliant on verbally communicated data. While the interview situation frequently allows the researcher to conduct a limited amount of direct observation, this is often peripheral to the purpose of the interview itself. The problem that arises out of the verbal

nature of interview data is, of course, the propensity for bias and concealment. Peoples' actions and their statements can diverge. It is therefore a major task in any interview to foster honest and open responses from subjects and to evaluate to what extent this goal is achieved.

A second problem of the interview as a research method, is that it is itself a form of social interaction, and therefore vulnerable to subjective influence. In the interview situation, relationships and expectations are established between interviewer and interviewee, and these may either positively or negatively influence the exchange of information. One common problem is that subjects may respond artificially in order to fulfil what they perceive as the interviewer's expectations. Again, in this respect, it is important that the interviewer do all that is possible to clarify roles and expectations.

Yet a third problem of the interview approach is that it may afford little direct opportunity for the researcher to familiarize him/herself with the contextual features of the subject's situation. Such contextual understanding may be crucial to the adequate interpretation and understanding of research data. It has been argued that, when an interviewer has no local knowledge of the life circumstances of the interviewee, and the interview schedule used does not develop such knowledge, a once-off interview does not permit adequate interpretation to take place (Mishler, 1986).

The contextual understanding issue becomes particularly important where cultural and linguistic differences exist in the interview situation. Under these circumstances, maximal use must be made of any opportunities in the interview for exploring and coming to an understanding of the subject's world. If the interview forms part of an extended study, it may be possible to develop a body of contextual understanding based on an accumulation of data from related cases. Such a body of data may be extremely useful in improving the quality of insight and understanding in

the individual case.

While these problems do limit the efficacy of the interview as a research method, the interview obviously also offers a number of advantages which explain its popularity. The most important of these is that, in many circumstances, it provides the only serviceable means of gathering research data. For example, data relating to events that have already happened cannot be obtained first hand, and in these circumstances the researcher may have to rely on the reports of others. The interview technique may also provide the most efficient means of collecting data. It is an effective approach where there are time restraints and data has to be gathered from a diverse range of people and settings. Finally, the approach is often the most appropriate way of researching components of subjective human experience. In this respect, much of the success of the approach is dependant on the skill, and possibly the art, of the researcher.

Pareek and Rao (1980) have provided a useful basic model of the cross-cultural interview which is applicable to the current research. The model portrays the interview as a special form of communication exchange. Both interviewer and interviewee enter this exchange with their own particular culture and personal background. In the case of the interviewer this influences his/her structuring and conduct of the interview. In the case of the interviewee, the influence relates to how questions are interpreted and answered and to how the interview situation is understood. The interview context and content is also regarded as important and questions of appropriateness and perceived relevance must be considered here. The interview/communication exchange process is presented as a complex interaction in which questions must be asked, understood and responded to and the responses interpreted. Each of these stages is influenced by the personal and cultural variables associated with interviewer and interviewee.

A not uncommonly held view is that interviews used in research

are little more than a form of conversation between researcher and subject. At the start of his book on research interviewing, Mishler (1986) went to some length to point out that this is a gross simplification. In agreement with Lazarsfeld (1935) his feeling is that there are a number of features and unique problems associated with the research interview which distance it from common conversation. Some of the conditions that usually apply to conversations include the facts that the parties share assumptions and knowledge, have a common contextual understanding, and that reciprocal aims are fulfilled in the process. As Mishler illustrated, none of these conditions, in fact, necessarily apply to the research interview.

Perhaps the single most distinctive characteristic of the research interview is its inherent one-sidedness. Most definitions propose that it is a situation specifically created and demarcated by a researcher, with the purpose of eliciting and gathering data. In contrast to everyday conversation, there is little or no expectation that the other (ie. the subject) will directly gain much from the situation. This artificiality is further compounded by the fact that common ground, in the form of meanings, symbols and the like, frequently does not exist between interviewer and interviewee. In fact, particularly in psychology, interviews are often constructed with the express aim of identifying and exploring the nature of the subject's symbols.

Mishler (1986) has proposed that there are essentially two ways of understanding the interview situation. In the first, the interview is conceptualised in behavioural terms. In this case, the primary focus is on the process of eliciting information from the subject, and the technical problems associated with doing this. Mishler is in favour of the alternative perspective, which emphasizes the verbal exchange aspect of the interview, and sees it primarily as a linguistic event. From this latter perspective, the primary focus is shifted to the interface between discourse and meaning.

Given that there are cultural and linguistic-related complexities in the current research, Mishler's "speech event" model of the interview would seem to be particularly pertinent. One of its most useful proposals is that, in the interview, meaning must be procedurally negotiated between interviewer and interviewee. In practice, this implies that there is a need to analyse and understand what is said and meant in each question-and-answer pair in the interview.

While there are certain general features which give research interviews their common identity as a technique, there are also substantial differences in method and purpose which distinguish various forms of interview from one another. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) offered a description of interview types based on the extent to which the interviews are structured. At the one extreme, highly structured interviews, using techniques such as closed questioning, fixed interview schedules and limited response formats, attempt to maximise the quantifiability of interview data. Towards the other end of the spectrum, one finds approaches such as the in-depth interview. These approaches, guided by principles such as non-standardization, open-ended questioning, non-directiveness and minimal structuring, situate the interview firmly in a qualitative research paradigm.

While the extent of structuring is only one of a number of dimensions among which interviews may differ, it is probably the most important. It reflects the basic conflict in human and social science research, namely that between the need for structure and replicability on one hand, and sensitivity to the individual and idiographic meaning on the other.

The fact that the structured/unstructured division between interviews is put forward as a continuum, holds the implication that there are a variety of different points of compromise between structured and unstructured approaches. It is up to the individual researcher to develop or adopt a specific technique which best suits his/her needs. In the current research, the

primary allegiance was to the subjective in-depth interview. However, there was nonetheless a degree of compromise with the need for structure. While the interview questions that were used sought to elicit a deep understanding of the subjects' attitudes, they were also designed to provide adequate cover of elements within a conceptual model of the meaning of work. Thus the technique that was used is best described as a form of focused in-depth interview.

Massarik (1981, p. 203), described the in-depth interview as being characterized by "intensive exploration" of the "views and dynamics of the interviewee". Further, that there is a genuine concern for the interviewee, which finds expression in reciprocation and flexibility in the interview structure.

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) stated that the in-depth interview should be primarily modelled after a conversation between equals, rather than a question and answer session. While the dissimilarity between research interviewing and conversation has already been alluded to, the proposal that there is a need to maximise the "naturalness" of the interpersonal interaction is still an important one.

The in-depth interview is usefully conceptualized as a social communication process, which moves from a superficial level towards increasing depth. The interviewer must first establish adequate rapport with the client before moving on to the central components of the interview. In the current research, a series of focused, open-ended questions were presented. In each case, the initial presentation of the question was followed by a sequence of planned and unplanned probes, which sought to develop depth to the subject's response.

The use of interview questions in the current research must be understood in relation to the application of case study logic to the overall research strategy. This applies particularly to the analysis of the interview material. The interpretation of the

interview material is referenced first and foremost to the individual case in which it is situated, thus giving rise to an idiographic understanding of the data. This of course does not preclude the possibility of also aggregating data across cases, and the process of case law development applies equally to interview data.

In discussing the analysis of interview data, Taylor and Bogdan (1984) pointed out that it is in fact difficult to distinguish analysis as a distinct element in qualitative interviewing. They suggested that, to a large extent, analysis may be an ongoing component of interview research. The open-endedness of qualitative research allows the researcher to engage in an extended process of refinement and further exploration. Nonetheless, a stage must be reached where interviews have been completed, and at this point two further stages of analysis come in to play. In the first of these, results are codified in one or other way, with the aim of refining the understanding that has been developed. Secondly, findings can be critically evaluated against a contextual understanding of the data, thus providing a final cross check.

4.4.3 THE USE OF LIFE HISTORY DATA.

The final component that must be reviewed in this chapter is the biographical or life history research method. The development of brief life histories, specifically focused on the individual's occupational background, formed an important part of the research strategy. While it is possibly presumptuous to apply the label of "life history" to the form and depth of data that was obtained, the principles of life history research were used to guide the development and handling of this data.

As a methodology, the life history approach is compatible with the other research methods used in this research. The approach has strong traditional links with both the case study method and

qualitative interviewing. Life histories have been described as one of the major forms of case study (Runyan, 1984), and interviewing provides one of the principal research methods used in the development of life histories.

It is difficult to present an adequately inclusive definition of the life history method. There can be considerable diversity in the form taken by the life history, the purpose for which it is intended and the methods employed in eliciting appropriate data. The life history can be developed posthumously or in the lifetime of the subject, it can be widely or narrowly focused, and can rely on data ranging from archival photographic material to personal communication with the subject.

For the purposes intended here, and in keeping with the position adopted by Taylor and Bogdan (1984), the life history is best conceptualised as a form of solicited life narrative based on personal narration of the subject and questioning by the researcher. The principal usefulness of life histories of this form is that they "can help us to understand how people thought and felt about their experience, how they saw their worlds, what they said and did, how they were perceived by others and the processes by which they interacted with their environments over time" (Runyan, 1984, p. 77).

An important issue in relation to life histories is the fact that they can never be all-inclusive. No matter how thoroughly the life history is formulated, it will remain an incomplete picture of the individual's life and circumstances (Runyan, 1984). Conversely, while the life history researcher cannot gather all possible data on a subject he/she must also face the task of deciding which of the collected data should be used. In addition, decisions on the relative weighting that must be attributed to particular events and circumstances also have to be made. As with interviewing, the skill and insight of the researcher becomes a major determinant of the quality of the final life history report.

There is an implicit assumption underlying the life history approach. Namely that the individual's past experience constitutes an integral explanatory whole. Despite this, researchers often develop life histories around particular themes or emphases. If the development of themes is not a part of the process of eliciting the life history, it often emerges later in the analysis and presentation. Plummer (1983, p. 108) referred to this form of life history, which confronts only a particular issue in the individual's life as a "limited life document".

As has already been mentioned, the orientation in the current research was to focus primarily on the occupational histories of the subjects, and elements in their general histories which were associated with occupational development. While a restricted focus such as this does limit the descriptive and explanatory richness of data, it increases the manageability and facilitates inter-case comparisons.

In discussing the selection of subjects for life history research, Plummer (1983) has pointed out that three types of subject can be opted for. These comprise the "great" person who is notable for particular achievements, the "marginal" person who is in some way caught between opposing situations or systems and finally the "ordinary" person who is assumed to be representative of a common group. Interestingly, while for the purposes of generalization the "ordinary" subject would appear to be an attractive option, there are problems with this idea. Plummer pointed out that the intensity of life history research almost always reveals a "uniqueness" about the individual which distinguishes him or her from the group and undermines notions of a commonality. He went on to comment that this feature provides a justification for an idiographic perspective to be associated with the life history approach.

An important question to ask is how, from a life history perspective, can one address the issue of the relationship between individual and context? Given the emphasis placed on a

contextually referenced understanding in the current research, this would seem to be a particularly pertinent question. Runyan's (1984) discussion of life course analysis goes some way towards offering an explanation. His proposal was that the life course of an individual can best be conceptualised as a dynamic interplay between person, behaviour and situation. Three central processes operate in this interplay. In the first place, there is an interactive process between person and situation which determines the behaviour of the individual. Secondly, there are person-determining processes, originating largely in the situation, which serve to create, maintain or change personal characteristics. Finally, there are situation-determining processes through which the individual either selects particular situations with which to interact or actively influences and creates situations. The model carries teleological limits determined by the individual's life span. Runyan's model puts forward the idea that there is a dynamic and interactive relationship between individual and situation, which is characterised by mutual influence and mediated through the behaviour of the individual.

As regards the presentation of life histories, there are various options facing the researcher. There is an obvious need to present the life history data in an orderly fashion, but this can be done in a variety of ways. Three options are outlined by Runyan (1984). In the first, the life history is presented in the form of a logical causal chain: A results in B results in C and so on. In a second, somewhat more flexible option, the history may be presented in a causal sequence which takes into account both personal and external causal factors. This provides a less contained explanation than the first option, and environmental and other external forces are taken into account. In the third and most loosely structured form, the life history can be presented as a simple "followable contingency" (p. 74), where causal links are not necessarily clearly specified. Runyan goes on to point out that biographical narratives need not necessarily present causative explanations and that some of the best

narratives follow a purely descriptive line.

Finally in this review, it is worthwhile briefly discussing the issue of quality in life history research. Concerns with quality that apply to life histories are much the same as those faced in case study research and general qualitative interviewing.

The first problem to be dealt with is that of representativeness. Life history research typically relies on small sample groups, often only focusing on a single individual. As a result, representativeness is an ongoing concern and frequently forms the basis of criticism aimed at examples of life history research. Plummer (1983), proposed that life history researchers must decide on the extent to which they wish to generalize from their results and on this basis decide on an appropriate sampling strategy. An approach which goes some way towards reconciling the need for generalizability with the life histories' orientation to small idiographic samples, is the use of "key informants" (Blumer, 1979). In this approach, individuals are selected who have particularly well-developed insight into their situations and cultural context and in addition have the ability to articulate this insight. The logic behind this strategy is that, while the number of subjects covered will remain small, the quality of data obtained will be optimal.

Although often ignored, the traditional concerns of reliability and validity also have to be addressed in considering the quality of life history research. One of the main problems here is that attempts to ensure reliability, such as standardization and cross-checking, may have the consequence of disrupting the "flow" of the life history discourse and in this way undermining its validity (Plummer, 1983). In as much as the goal of life history research is to develop a subjective account of the life of the individual, personally reported data can automatically be accepted as valid. However, Plummer proposes that under certain circumstances there are validity checks which can be carried out. These include a retrospective critique of the life history by the

subject, external checking of factual data and obtaining confirmation of data from individuals associated with the subject. Further, where a number of related life histories are being developed, it may be possible to use a system of comparing life history reports to check on validity.

A final issue which is related to quality in life histories is bias. This can affect both the reliability and the validity of the final life history report. As in the case of any form of qualitative interviewing, bias can derive from the subject, the researcher or from the interaction between researcher and subject. For example, it is possible for the subject to distort information about him/herself, for the researcher to interpret data in a biased manner or for the structure of the research situation to result in certain information not being disclosed. Bias must be guarded against by facilitating openness in communication and ensuring that "intrusions" on the data, in the form of editing and interpretation, are well reasoned.

4.5 CONCLUSION.

While this chapter has presented background material on a range of research methods, it is important in closing to make some comments on practical integration. While different methodologies may be employed in a triangulated research strategy, it is important, for both researcher and subject, that the research process is not disjointed and repetitive. In this research the multiple methodologies are seen as subject to an idiographic case study model. This means that there is a unity of purpose in the entire research intervention, related to the understanding of the individual case. The process of researching remains one of getting to know the subject, building trust, eliciting information and negotiating a common understanding. Multiple methodologies must be fitted into this mould.

CHAPTER 5 THE STUDY.

Up to now the discussion has dealt with broader conceptual and methodological issues. In this section the focus shifts to the specifics of the research project. This includes a consideration of the setting in which the research was carried out, the translation of the theoretical framework into operational terms and a discussion of the procedure followed.

5.1 THE RESEARCH SETTING: THE DISTRICT OF KEISKAMMAHOEK.

In covering this section, it is suggested that the reader refers to the maps in Figures 3 and 4. These give details of the Keiskammahoek district and its siting in South Africa.

The natural history of the Keiskammahoek district has been documented by Mountain (1952). The district covers an area of some 220 square miles, which is roughly circular in shape. For the most part it comprises a natural river basin, encompassing a number of minor rivers which serve as the headwaters of the Keiskamma River. The basin is situated at the eastern end of the Winterberg mountain range also known as the Amatole Mountains, approximately 70 kilometres from the coast. The Keiskamma River Basin is almost totally surrounded by high mountain ridges and the enclosed area is uneven and traversed by steep ridges and valleys. Soils vary in quality and composition, the most common being sedimentary loams and clays. Because the valleys are relatively steep, there are only scattered alluvial soil deposits. Climatically, there is relatively great variation within the area. The high mountain slopes are forested and have a high annual rainfall, while there is a great deal less rain in the valleys below. Rainfall is also inconsistent and unreliable, varying from year to year and periodic droughts are common.

Figure 3 Map of the Keiskammahoek district in relation to Ciskei.

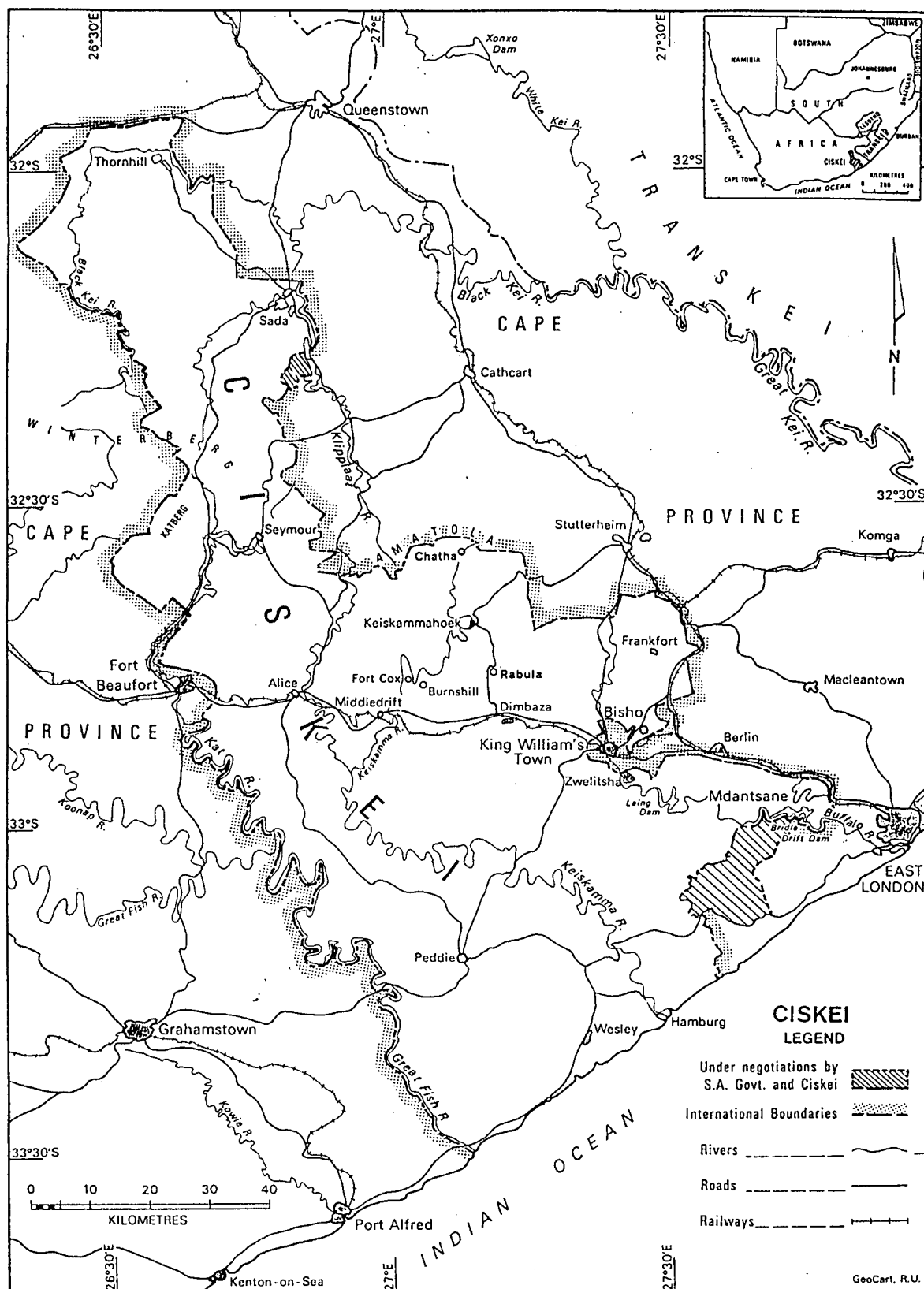
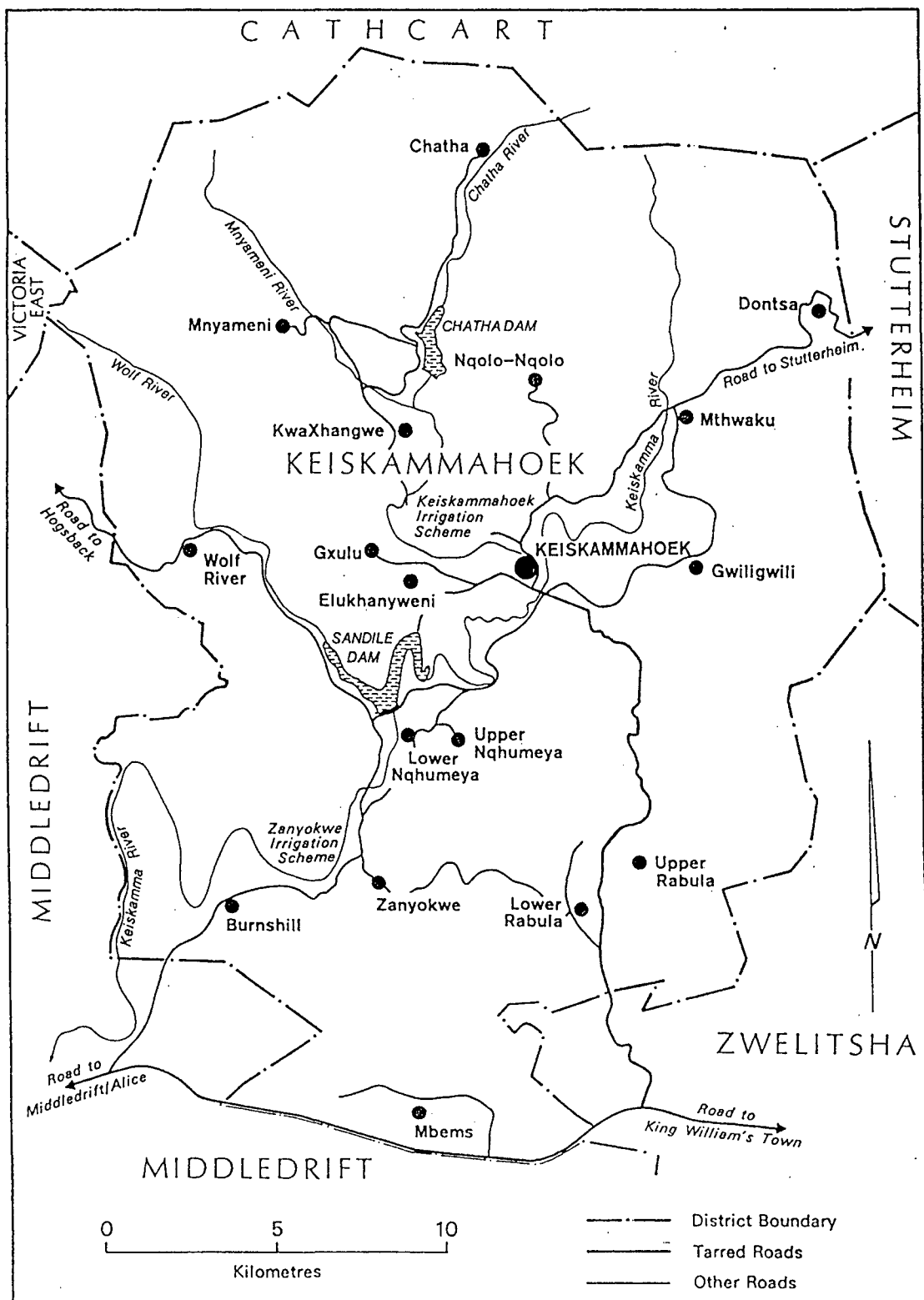


Figure 4 Map of the district of Keiskammahoek.



The Keiskammahoek district forms part of the Ciskei region and although this region has a rich and complex history, it is only possible to give a brief summary of this here. The region was a major arena of conflict between the English and Dutch colonists and the Xhosa people during the late 18th Century and the major part of the 19th Century. It has been suggested that the south-eastern sector of Southern Africa has been inhabited by the Xhosa people since at least 1554 (Wilson, 1959). There are two primary groupings of the Xhosa people, those resident in the present Ciskei area being known as the Rharhabe, and those in the Transkei area as the Gcaleka (Manona, 1980). The series of frontier wars fought between the Xhosa and white settlers resulted in major demographic changes in the area and political decline amongst the Xhosa nation.

The historical development of the Ciskei, and particularly the Keiskammahoek district, is significantly connected with the emergence in the area of a group known as the Mfengu, around the year 1834. Accounts of the origin of this group differ widely. The traditional explanation, which dates back to the early colonial accounts and which is accepted by authors such as Manona (1980), posits that the Mfengu were an ethnically homogenous grouping which, at the time of the Mfecane, broke away from the current Natal area and travelled south-west into Xhosa territory. They settled first with the Gcaleka Xhosa in the present Transkei region, but later when the relationship with their hosts had soured, they again broke away and moved into the present Ciskei and border area. Here they allied themselves with the colonial powers and assisted in the military defeat of the Xhosa.

In opposition to the traditional model, a later model put forward by Webster (1991), has asserted that the Mfengu were not an ethnically homogenous grouping and that in fact they consisted primarily of Xhosa clans-people captured during the early Xhosa wars and placed in employment with the frontier settlers. In terms of this model, the Mfengu are best understood to be a colonial

creation designed to serve the Settlers' interests on the frontier.

Regardless of which explanation is correct, a factor which has some interesting implications for this thesis is that the Xhosa and the Mfengu responded quite differently to the influences of British colonialism (Ashley, 1974; Manona, 1980). On one hand the Xhosa, despite their military defeat, appear to have resisted colonial values strongly. They were unenthusiastic about European-styled schooling, resistant to the adoption of Christianity and fiercely proud of their traditional systems and values. In stark contrast, the Mfengu willingly embraced both schooling and Christianity. This orientation has been overtly and formally confirmed. In 1835, there was a mass gathering of Mfengu at a place known as Emquashini on the outskirts of Peddie. At this meeting the Mfengu took a series of vows in which they committed themselves to educating their children, accepting Christianity and remaining loyal to the colonial government. Between the years 1910 and the early 1980s they continued to meet annually at the site to reaffirm the vows. The practice was only finally stopped because the Ciskei government, in the 1980's, felt that the practice was having a divisive influence amongst the ethnically mixed Ciskei populace.

The Mfengu became important colonial allies during the frontier wars following 1835 and were instrumental in the ultimate defeat of the Xhosa. In reward for this co-operation, they were granted land in areas which had been taken from the Xhosa, included in which were major parts of the Keiskammahoek district.

According to De Wet, Manona and Palmer (1992), the Keiskammahoek district was inhabited by the Ngqika clan of the Xhosa people during the early eighteen hundreds. In the war of 1850-1853 known as the Mlanjeni War, these people were defeated and driven out of the area by a combination of colonial and Mfengu forces. The grave of Sandile, son of Ngqika, who was the chief at the time, lies not far from Donsa pass on the north-eastern side of the Keiskammahoek

district.

Following the displacement of the Xhosa, the land in the Keiskammahoek district was designated for white and Fingo settlement, and large numbers of the latter moved in and settled in the area. Subsequently, Xhosa people returned to the area. Initially this appears to have been a slow process, but in more recent times there have been influxes of displaced farm workers and forced resettlement of people under the apartheid policy of separate development. The return of Xhosa people to Keiskammahoek has ultimately resulted in it becoming an ethnically mixed area and in this process, any ethnic distinctions that may have existed between Xhosa and Mfengu have largely been lost. Wilson, Kaplan, Maki and Walton (1952) claimed that by the 1950's there was little cultural distinction between the groups, and De Wet, Manona and Palmer (1992) stated that by the late 1980's the distinction was no longer of any relevance.

Although it can be accepted that ethnicity is no longer a major concern, two points are none the less worth noting. Firstly, despite the lack of discernable ethnic difference, individuals living in Keiskammahoek were at the time of this study for the most part still fully aware of their ethnic origins. Added to this, Manona (1980) has discussed animosity which developed between the Mfengu and Xhosa in the Ciskei as recently as the late 1970's. Secondly, ethnic and historical factors may be directly implicated in the evolution of family economic and occupational fortunes and in this way continue to influence the contemporary situation. Manona (1980) made the observation that with their acquired Western skills, the Mfengu had more ready access to the better paid employment opportunities including teaching, the clergy and trading. The effects of an advantage such as this are likely to be felt over a number of generations. In addition, while ethnic differences may no longer be apparent, associated moral and value differences may yet be present in family structures and continue to

influence processes such as socialization and the development of occupational aspirations.

A point of interest is that, amongst the Mfengu with access to land in Keiskammahoek, it was apparently not uncommon to take in landless people as share croppers, servants or labour tenants (Wilson, Kaplan, Maki & Walton, 1952). These landless people, often referred to as Amaranuka, replaced some of the need for family labour on the Mfengu farms, in this way making it easier for the Mfengu children to attend school and obtain an education.

On arrival in Keiskammahoek, the bulk of the Mfengu people were settled in villages distributed around the Keiskammahoek Basin. The conditions of land tenure varied greatly between these sites. Communal ownership of land became the norm at sites such as Chata and Gwili-Gwili. Freehold and trust systems developed at places such as Rabula and Zanyokwe and yet a fourth system of quitrent leasing developed in places such as Burnshill. Initially settlement patterns tended to be loosely constituted. However, many of these were consolidated to form distinct villages under the government initiated "betterment schemes" in the 1960's and early 1970's. These schemes sought to improve the utilization of land resources where there was communal land ownership, by centralizing housing and designating particular areas for grazing, the growing of crops and so on. As one might expect, this process led to considerable social upheaval and controversy.

In the middle of the Keiskammahoek Basin, on a bend in the Keiskamma River, there is a rural town which gave the district its name. This originated as a British military camp and mission station at the time of the frontier wars. An unsuccessful attempt to settle a group of German Crimean War legionaries in the area during the early 1850's was followed up with far more successful immigrations of German civilian settlers in 1858, 1877 and 1883 (De Wet, Leibbrandt & Palmer, 1989). The town of Keiskammahoek

developed as an essentially white agrarian centre. Many of the town's residents had access to fields and gardens around the town and the surrounding farmers, both Xhosa and white, used the town as a base.

Supplemented by some additional settlement and natural increase, the white population in Keiskammahoek grew, and at its peak in 1921 it reached the modest total of 524. The decline in numbers which followed this has been ascribed by De Wet, Leibbrandt and Palmer (1989) to the general urbanization of rural South African whites which began in the 1920's, and to particular forces that developed as a result of the creation of the Ciskei homeland.

Under the auspices of the 1913 Land Act and the 1936 Natives Trust and Land Act, white property in Keiskammahoek began to be expropriated after 1965. Initially, this process was concentrated on the farms and farm-lots surrounding the town, but in the early 1970's was extended to include commercial and residential property in the town. These moves towards the independence of the Ciskei were marked by the achievement of self-government in 1972 and the taking over of control of municipalities in 1977. By the end of 1986 only two white households remained permanently resident in Keiskammahoek (De Wet, Leibbrandt & Palmer, 1989).

A small community of people of mixed racial origin who were resident in the town, were also affected by the moves towards Ciskeian independence. This community was divided, with a few families choosing to remain behind and others moving to other centres in South Africa.

Although the white and black communities in Keiskammahoek for the most part remained socially separate from one another, a particular relationship of tolerance and interdependence seems to have developed between them, which is quite atypical of general South African rural race relations. De Wet, Leibbrandt and Palmer (1989)

found that there are a number of current residents who look back on the departure of the whites with regret and feel that this was a substantial loss for the area. These authors give as a part explanation for this, the fact that the white community in Keiskammahoek was never an affluent one and that greater economic parity with the Xhosa residents led naturally to greater co-operation, acceptance and, one presumes, occasional friendship. By way of further illustration of this relationship, one of the participants in the current study recalled one of the white farmers having gone through the Xhosa initiation and circumcision ritual. Given that this process is not essentially an enjoyable one, it can be presumed that this was a social event of considerable significance.

The contemporary situation in Keiskammahoek shows aspects of continuity, as well as considerable change from pre-independence times. For the most part, business ownership in the town merely shifted from white to black hands. In the outlying rural villages, life has changed little, although population growth has led to greater density of population and increased pressure on the land. Residential settlements have been developed to accommodate new immigrants to the district. Within the town itself, there has been considerable urban expansion, with the development of a new housing area known as Keiskammahoek Park. A number of modern, fully serviced houses have been built here, in order to accommodate a strongly growing middle-class element in the town (De Wet, Manona & Palmer, 1992).

In terms of the infrastructure of the area and the conditions prevailing in the town, there have been a number of changes. The main road link to King William's Town was tarred and now provides easy access to this centre. During the rule of President Lennox Sebe, irrigation resources were developed in the area. A large dam, known as the Sandile dam was built on the Keiskamma River and smaller dams were built at Chata and Mnyameni. This system of dams

was used to develop two large irrigation projects. The first was a large dairy scheme, situated mainly on previously white-owned farmland adjoining the Keiskammahoek town. The second was a vegetable and field crop scheme, built below the Sandile dam at Zanyokwe. Following the Ciskei coup in 1990 and the government's subsequent commitment to privatization, both of these schemes have developed major management and financial problems. At the time of the study, both schemes were moving towards dissolution and hasty privatization.

Two new industries were also developed on the outskirts of the town. One of these was a sawmill, designed to process timber from some of the high-lying exotic plantations in the area. Although this industry was in an uncompetitive position, it was managing to sustain a moderate level of production at the time of the study. The other industry established was a small combined indigenous timber sawmill and furniture factory. When the study was conducted, there had been a recent change of ownership and the new owners were introducing management and staffing changes. As a further development in the 1990's, a white farmer secured a lease on an irrigated piece of municipal land near the town and began an intensive vegetable and fern growing operation. Vegetables produced on this farm were being marketed locally to traders and individuals from the district and beyond. Within the town, a centre of the Ciskei Small Business Development Corporation had been opened and this was providing resources for a number of small businesses. The nature of these businesses included light engineering and motor repair, sewing, upholstery, tin-smith and basket-making, shoe repair and the sale of fresh produce.

Government organizations and institutions have made a major contribution to the development of Keiskammahoek. Included here is the erection of a large Israeli-designed hospital on the border of the town. This replaced and greatly exceeded the capacity of an older hospital at the St. Matthew's mission. In addition to this,

a substantial military base was developed outside the town, and within the town a large magistrate's court complex was built, a regional educational inspectorate was established and various other government departments have also opened offices.

The organizations and institutions discussed in the previous paragraphs, along with the formal and informal commercial sectors, provide the bulk of the employment opportunities in Keiskammahoek. Although much expanded from pre-independence days, these employment opportunities fall far short of the employment needs amongst the local population. There is thus pressure on residents to look to the large urban and industrial centres for employment opportunities. Keiskammahoek has a tradition of operating as a base for labour migrancy, particularly to the South African gold and coal mines. Until the mid 1980's the mines actively recruited in the area but have subsequently stopped this practice, thus aggravating local unemployment problems.

One of the notable features of the Keiskammahoek district is its long association with academic research. During the 1950's a major survey of the area was undertaken by a number of academics from South African universities. This survey, known as the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey covered the aspects of natural history, economics, social structure and land tenure. The results of this work were published in a series of four volumes (see Houghton & Walton, 1952; Mills & Wilson, 1952; Mountain, 1952; Wilson, Kaplan, Maki & Walton, 1952). Subsequently, during the 1980's and 1990's, interdisciplinary research has been conducted by academics from Rhodes University (see for example De Wet, 1993; De Wet, Leibbrandt & Palmer, 1987, 1989; De Wet, Manona & Palmer, 1992). Some of this has been follow-up research to the work done in the 1950's, and some, as in the case of this project, has extended the research into new topics.

A feature of Keiskammahoek which makes it a particularly

interesting venue for research is its partial physical and social containment. With the possible exceptions of those in the peripheral settlements on the southern side of the district, the residents tend to identify themselves with the area, its history and its problems. Although one obviously has to be cautious in taking the concept too far, Keiskammahoek has the character of a microcosm of a major element of South African rural society.

5.2 RESEARCH DESIGN.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 have provided methodological and theoretical background to the research. In this section the aim is to explain how the research was operationalized. In order to do this, a number of issues need to be addressed. These include: the research goals; the research model; the issue of sampling; the research instrument employed; the approach to dealing with semantic and linguistic differences and the role played by the research assistant.

5.2.1 RESEARCH GOALS.

As was indicated in Chapter 1 of this thesis, the research was carried out with three specific goals in mind. These each deserve brief explanation.

The first and primary goal was to explicate the structure and nature of work meanings in the Keiskammahoek district. This entailed developing an understanding of how work, as a personal construct, was constituted for residents of Keiskammahoek, what its role and significance was for these individuals, and how it related to other aspects of their lives. Further, it required an understanding of work meanings which accommodated the evolving nature of such meanings, and an exploration of the relationship between work meanings and the life context of individuals.

In association with this goal, it should be noted that the Keiskammahoek district is presented as an example of a rural, developing society context. The research does not attempt to make direct generalizations between the Keiskammahoek district and developing societies at large. However, it is assumed that basic parallels in the socio-structural and economic conditions which operate in Keiskammahoek, and those that operate elsewhere, will engender the results with wider significance.

The second goal of the research was to develop a cross-sectional analysis of work meanings, taking into account significant differences in the occupational and social composition of the Keiskammahoek population. This goal necessitated, in the first instance, the identification of appropriate divisions in the Keiskammahoek population, followed by an exploration of the work meanings within each of these.

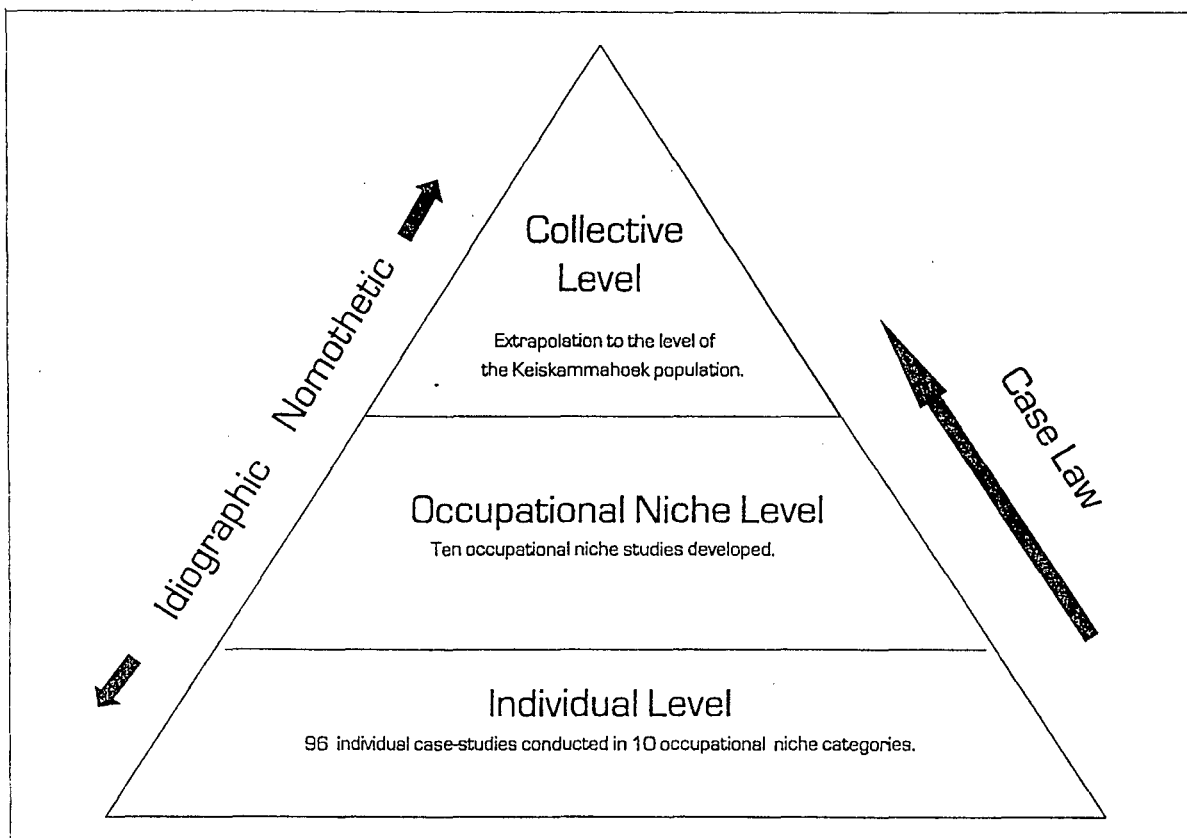
While this goal is of value in its own right, it also provides a mechanism for moving towards the attainment of the primary research goal. It affords a rational way of dealing with the diversity of individuals and work experience within the Keiskammahoek population, which would otherwise render the research unmanageable.

The third and final goal involved the development of an appropriate conceptual and methodological framework for researching the meaning of work in developing society settings. The intention here was to develop an approach which would be flexible enough to accommodate the breadth and diversity of work experience in developing societies, and avoid the pitfall of exclusively associating work with employment. It is expected that the research methodology developed can be adapted for use in other developing society settings and so promote further research in the area.

5.2.2 THE RESEARCH MODEL.

As illustrated and summarised in Figure 5, the research design was developed around three levels of analysis. These comprise individual, occupational niche and collective levels. It is proposed that all three levels of explanation have their own validity and integrity, and that the nature of understanding at these levels should be interactive. In keeping with the proposals made by Hermans (1988), idiographic and nomothetic levels of analysis are jointly structured within a single research design, thus facilitating a dialogical process of interpretation and knowledge development.

Figure 5 The research model.



The general trend of explanation illustrated in the model moves from the base to the apex of the pyramid. An idiographic case study methodology recognises the distinctiveness of the individual participant, and, within the context of this research, gave access to individual work meanings, at the individual level in the model.

The next level of explanation in the model moves from individual case studies to a consideration of occupational niches. As discussed in the previous chapter, it is possible, through a process of comparing multiple, related case studies, to develop a body of "case law". This case law, in essence, represents theory at a higher level of abstraction than that of the individual case, and moves the analysis towards a more nomothetic understanding. This logic was employed in the research design, between the levels of individual case study and occupational niche. It is proposed that, from a cross-analysis of individual cases, it would be possible to develop a description of work meanings at the occupational niche level.

Carrying the logic of case law development a step further, the research model proposed that the understanding obtained at the occupational niche level, could be further aggregated to form a description of work meaning appropriate to the collective level. In other words, through combining the occupational niche data, it would be possible to formulate some form of general explication of the meaning of work within the Keiskammahoek district. In the model, this is described as the "collective level".

5.2.3 SAMPLING.

Sampling was done in terms of occupational niches. A total of ten such niches were identified and they were named and defined as follows:

- Farmers.

This group consisted of individuals who had adequate access to agricultural resources and for whom farming was a major or primary source of income. For these individuals, farming was a dominant activity and they accepted their identity as farmers.

- Small business group.

The definitive characteristic of these individuals was their direct involvement with small business activity as a primary or major source of income. What distinguished this group as specifically "small" business, was the limited scale and diversity of the operations, and a tendency for the proprietors to be directly and personally involved in the routine running of the business. Further, the businesses tended to be run with little or no additional paid staff. The growth of these enterprises was generally limited, and the proprietors frequently did not have high aspirations for the development of their businesses.

The nature of the business activities that this group were engaged in included crafts such as carpentry, building and brick-making, and basic commercial activities such as hawking and shop-keeping.

- Business people

In contrast to the criteria for small business, this group was defined by the substantial scale and diversity of their enterprise. Although there were sometimes commonalities between the small business and business classifications, in the nature of the business activities performed, the scale of operation differed substantially.

The businesses of this group were fairly diverse, and included general dealership, bottlestores, butcheries, building, cartage,

property leasing, contract ploughing and agriculture.

- Local Employees

These were defined as people who were in salary or wage employment, in non-managerial positions in the Keiskammahoek district. The occupations that were covered included teaching, building, positions with the Keiskammahoek municipality, switchboard operating, hotel work, and technical positions such as welding and motor mechanics.

- Senior civil servants and para-statal employees.

As the title suggests, this group included state employed individuals in managerial positions, and senior employees of state-supported organisations. Examples of the occupations included in this group were senior police officers, local senior government employees, nursing sisters managing rural clinics, irrigation scheme managers, and education scheme inspectors.

- Whites in key occupational positions.

Unlike the other occupational niche groups, this group, in addition to being occupationally defined, was also racially defined. This factor warrants brief explanation.

Given South Africa's political history and present structuring, racial issues inevitably find expression at a local level, in a wide variety of ways. The Keiskammahoek district is certainly no exception to this. As has already been discussed, the handing over of administrative control of the area to the Ciskei government in 1977, resulted in the departure of the vast majority of the local white population. A few, however, remained and these, along with a few new arrivals, have come to constitute an occupationally significant, if somewhat marginalised grouping. The majority of

whites who are currently in the area, occupy economically or organizationally crucial positions, particularly in the entrepreneurial and managerial fields. It should be borne in mind that, with the exception of a few Afrikaans speaking individuals of mixed racial origin, the entire remaining sample of this research were black, predominantly Xhosa speaking, individuals. The argument for the inclusion of a specifically white grouping is thus that, although they constitute a numerically small component of the Keiskammahoek population, their influence and identity is of an order which requires that they be treated as a distinct element in the occupational structure of the region.

The occupations of the participants in this niche included farming, factory management/ownership, hospital management and commerce.

- Women in domestic roles.

This group consisted of women who were not in wage employment and whose activity was primarily focused on their domestic environments. Common elements in this domestic role included the raising of children, home management, and routine activities such as cooking and cleaning.

It will be noted that this niche is defined in part by a non-occupational criterion, namely gender. As in the case of the whites niche, this grouping was judged sufficiently prominent to constitute an independent niche. Although both men and women perform domestic tasks, in the case of women, the domestic environment commonly provides a major focus for work activity. Further, the role of women in this environment is entrenched, and is defined in custom and ongoing gender relationships.

- The unemployed.

There is invariably some difficulty in defining what constitutes

unemployment, and the conditions of unemployment varied considerably between the participants selected for this group. The major definitive factor for this niche was that its members were not in remunerated employment, and personally perceived themselves to be unemployed. As it turned out, all the members of this niche had at some stage been in formal employment, although this was not regarded as a necessary criterion for membership of the niche.

- The youth.

The uniqueness of this group, in terms of the research, rests on their limited experience of and exposure to, conventional work and employment. The defining criterion for this group was that its members should be adolescents or young adults of school or early post-school age, who were not in employment and who had not been seeking employment for any length of time.

- Migrant labourers and long distance commuters.

This group consisted of individuals who were in employment at locations a considerable distance away from Keiskammahoek and who, for this reason spent a considerable proportion of their time away from the area.

Examples of the occupations included in this niche were mining, industrial, commercial and construction labour, police work and domestic service.

It was not intended that the ten niches would provide exhaustive cover of all the occupational possibilities in Keiskammahoek. However, the classification did attempt to provide adequate cover for the purposes of assessing the nature of work meanings in the district.

The occupational niche categories were not reflective of absolute

distinctions within the community. Rather, they had a similar status to the "prototypical" categories of Cantor and Mischel (1979) which were discussed in Section 3.2. Because of this, there were a few instances where there was ambivalence over the classification of particular participants. For example, a situation was encountered where a senior civil servant was also running his own private business, and some of the women in domestic roles were also engaged in informal sector activity. However in general, the ten niche classifications provided a very adequate means of classifying participants and there were few occasions when a principle of "best fit" had to be adopted.

Occupational niche categories were based primarily on identifiable common occupational and activity clusters in the area and, at a secondary level, on considerations of social and demographic issues. Decisions on occupational niches were also informed by the adjudged significance of occupational clusters within the context of Keiskammahoek as a whole. This meant, for example, that certain numerically small occupational groups were accorded full status as occupational niches. The information used in the identification of occupational niches was derived from an analysis of previous research literature on the area, in particular the report by De Wet, Leibbrandt and Palmer (1989), and pilot research and observation conducted prior to the commencement of the research.

Having defined the occupational niches, the second major issue to be confronted in the research design, was how to develop an understanding of the meaning of work within each niche. Given the clear commitment in the research to a subjective model of work meaning, the obvious choice was to adopt a case study methodology. It was decided that in order to gain an adequate range of case material, the general goal of developing ten case studies per occupational niche would be set. In keeping with the logic of case study methodology, this decision was not an attempt to develop "representative" samples of participants within the niches, but

rather simply to obtain an adequate volume and quality of case material. In some occupational niches, such as the whites and business people, the total number of people in the niche was so small that less than 10 participants were included in the sample. In other niches, such as the youth and the unemployed, the niche populations were very large.

5.2.4 THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT.

It is now possible to turn to a discussion of the research instrument that was used in the development of the individual case studies. It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that the model of work meaning that was arrived at comprised the elements of content, context and process. The content element included the two sub-components of an inclusive and an exclusive definition of work, within a personal constructivist framework. The context element illustrated the need to ground an understanding of individual work meanings in a related understanding of the individual's life circumstances and experience. More specifically, it was proposed that a contextual understanding should include personal life factors, socio-cultural factors and broad environmental factors. Finally, the process element of the model proposed the condition that work meanings are not static but instead should be understood as being in a constantly evolving state.

The defined model of work meaning prescribed the parameters within which the research methodology had to operate. However, the complexity of the model is such that it seems unlikely that all three components can adequately be integrated into a single research design. As might be expected, a particular problem was experienced with the process aspect of the model. It was decided that this component would be only indirectly evaluated and that the method would concentrate on assessing the content and context aspects of work meaning. It might be possible to begin to analyze

process aspects of work meaning more directly using longitudinal research designs but these were not considered feasible under the particular research conditions that had to be faced.

The principal research method employed was that of a single interview which sought to develop life history, repertory grid and focused interview data. Rather than treating these as separate aspects, the research instrument was designed in such a way that the three were, to an extent, integrated in a triangulated form.

The first phase of the interview comprised the development of a brief life history for each participant, derived from open-ended questioning. This phase of the interview sought to establish a broad historical understanding of the individual in terms of such factors as upbringing, education, residence, occupations and activities and important life events. An effort was made to be as non-directive as possible during this phase and participants were encouraged to tell their own life stories, giving emphasis to those aspects and events which they personally felt were important.

The second phase of the interview was an involved process, culminating in the construction of a repertory grid with the participant. The first steps in this process developed directly out of the life history phase of the interview. The opening step consisted of a review of the elicited life history and the joint identification, on the part of interviewer and participant, of a series of "significant life elements" of particular relevance to the individual. Typically, these significant life elements comprised factors such as particular jobs, activities or interpersonal relationships. The fact that life elements were adjudged to be significant did not of course imply that they were necessarily positively evaluated by the individual. Frequently, negative experiences or events were judged to be significant.

Having identified the series of significant life elements, the

participant was then requested to categorise these as constituting either work or non-work within their own frame of reference. Once this was done, the researcher selected a minimum of six of the life elements, on the principle that these should appear to cover the maximum range of experience and where possible include a balance between work and non-work experience. Following this, the participant was requested to rank the six selected life elements in terms of their overall perceived personal value.

A variation in the above process applied in the case of the youth niche. Given that participants in this niche had relatively little occupational history and exposure to work, a different way of developing grid elements had to be found. The approach adopted was to make use of the participants' anticipations and expectations relating to work. Participants were required to identify forms of work which they would, and would not want to perform in future and these constituted the core of the work elements in the grids.

To summarise, in this second phase of the interview, a series of rank-ordered, significant personal life elements were identified and then categorised as either work or non-work.

In the next step, these life elements were used as elicited elements in the construction of a repertory grid for the individual. Using the process of dyadic elicitation discussed in the previous chapter, life elements were systematically compared with one another, resulting in the identification of a series of bi-polar constructs. These comparisons were made across the full range of elements, so that constructs could be derived from comparisons between work elements and from comparisons between work and non-work elements. In each case the source elements in the derivation of a construct were noted so that these could be referred to in the interpretation of the grids. The process of comparison was continued until an adequate range of constructs had been elicited from the participant. Adequacy was judged in terms of

the extent of repetition of constructs and the fluency with which the elicitation process proceeded.

Having formulated both axes of the grid, the next step was to get the participant to supply ratings for each element on each construct. For this purpose, a seven point rating scale was used, running from strong through moderate to weak on each pole and supplying a midpoint score of four. The rating system enabled participants to supply three forms of data. In the first place they could indicate if a construct applied or did not apply to a particular element. A rating of four generally indicated that the construct did not apply, although in some cases this indicated the applicability of both poles. Second, the rating could indicate which of the two construct poles applied to a particular element. Finally, the rating could indicate the degree to which a particular construct pole applied to a particular element.

In general the rating categories were presented in verbal rather than numeric format. Typically, the participant would be given the element and the bi-polar construct, asked to state to which side of the construct the rating would fall and then requested to state the level of correspondence as being either strong, moderate or slight. The response could then be translated into its numeric equivalent and recorded. The mid-point score of four had an ambivalent function. It either indicated that both poles of the construct were in part applicable to the element or that neither of the poles were applicable. In the former case, the rating had implications for the validity of the construct, while the latter related more to a range of convenience question. For this reason, the participant was cross-questioned in each case where ratings of four were given.

Once completed, the grid contained several forms of data. The elements summarised the individual's range of work and non-work experience and the rankings gave an indication of the relative centrality of the various elements for the individual. Constructs

supplied the principal mechanisms by which the individual distinguished between the various work and non-work elements. Finally, the ratings offered a means of confirming and evaluating the validity, applicability and direction of the constructs with reference to the structure of work and non-work experience.

The third phase of the interview consisted of a series of open-ended but focused questions aimed at probing the participant's work values, personal work motives, environmental perceptions and explanations relating to wealth acquisition. Allowance was also made in this section for the exploration of issues specific to the individual and to the niche to which she or he belonged. Further open discussion was encouraged and participants were requested to point out any omissions or shortcomings in the preceding interview.

5.2.5 A NOTE ON LANGUAGE.

Working in a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic context, as this research did, there is an obvious need to look at the issue of semantic transmission of concepts. It appears that there are two terms commonly used in Xhosa which relate to work. The first "ukugeshwa", is used in the restrictive sense of "employment" or "an appointment" and the other "ukusebenza", refers to "working" in a wide and unrestricted sense. A third term "ukuphangela" is also frequently used and also relates primarily to an employment situation. However, this term appears to have a distinct political connotation and implies a situation of subjugation and powerlessness that approaches slavery. The root of this term is "ukuphanga", meaning to rob, and expresses a deep sense of one-sidedness in the exchange between employer and employee. It is a term which needs to be understood, both at a psychological level and within the context of the class and race structure of South Africa.

In keeping with the aim of exploring the meaning of work, rather than the meaning of employment in individuals' lives, the generic term "ukusebenza" was the one principally employed in the research. It was used particularly in the structuring of repertory grid elements, distinguishing work from non-work and in the questions dealing with work values. However, as became apparent in the research, the distinctions between work and employment are crucial and inevitably these distinctions emerged and had to be dealt with in the course of data collection and analysis.

5.2.6 ROLE OF THE RESEARCH ASSISTANT

As the vast majority of the participants were first language Xhosa speakers, the interviews were conducted with the assistance of a Xhosa translator and research assistant. This person, who was himself a resident of Keiskammahoek, was selected for his linguistic skills and great familiarity with the area. Although the fact that the research assistant was known to many of the participants may have had some confounding influence on the data obtained, this was more than outweighed by the trust and openness engendered in the interviews by his presence. If the research had been attempted using an unknown "outsider" in the role of translator, it is possible that a number of the participants would have refused to take part.

The research assistant served as more than a translator in the research. He fulfilled a crucial collaborative and "link-pin" role in the cross-cultural context of the research. By providing mediation and guidance during the interaction with participants and assisting with the interpretation of information, his involvement greatly facilitated the cross-cultural interviewing process as discussed by Pareek and Rao (1980) (previously outlined in Section 4.4.2).

5.3 PROCEDURE AND ANALYSIS.

5.3.1 PILOT RESEARCH.

In order to establish an appropriate methodology and to refine the conceptual structure of the research, a pilot research project was conducted, using 25 participants during June and July of 1991. This research aimed at exploring various ways of employing and developing repertory grids and developing a general interview structure. The participants for this study were drawn largely from the two irrigation schemes at Zanyokwe and Keiskammahoek, and the format followed in the interviews was different from that finally used in the main study. The pilot study proved to be invaluable as a means of refining the research design. In addition to this, it also provided an opportunity to train the Xhosa research assistant used in the main study and an opportunity to develop a sound working relationship between this individual and the researcher.

5.3.2 DATA COLLECTION.

The research for the main study was conducted in the second half of 1991 and the first three months of 1992. During this time, the researcher spent a total of approximately eight weeks resident in the Keiskammahoek district. Being resident in the area granted an opportunity to observe daily life routines directly, while the protracted period of the research allowed for observation of some of the longer term trends and cyclical occurrences. Included here for example, were the return of migrant workers at the end of the year, and the preparation and planting of agricultural land. The informal understanding that was gained in this way was invaluable as an adjunct to the research and helped in developing interpretative systems.

As has already been outlined, the principal research method consisted of individual face-to-face interviews. These were most commonly conducted at the participant's place of residence or place of employment. Wherever possible and appropriate, interviews were conducted in the first language of the participants. In some circumstances, a second language of the participants was used as a interview medium. However, where this was done an effort was made to double-check the accuracy of critical information in the participant's first language.

Translation was carried out directly in the interview situation and information was recorded in English in the form of a written record. The more complex attitudinal and conceptual information in the interviews was recorded on audio-tape. This allowed cross-checking of the accuracy of translation and also allowed any omissions in the written record to be filled in.

5.3.3 PARTICIPANT SELECTION.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the commitment to a case study model in the research meant that the participant sampling was based on considerations of data quality rather than on statistical representativeness. The sampling strategy followed what Smith (1975) has broadly described as a purposive model.

For the larger niches, the practical sampling strategy involved the identification of key individuals or groups in particular areas or villages. Included here were important community figures, and community representative structures. These individuals or bodies were used to identify and locate appropriate participants who would then be approached and asked to participate. In some cases a pattern of "snowball sampling" (Smith, 1975) was also followed. In this strategy participants identify further potential participants who are then approached.

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For the smaller occupational niches where the population was of a more manageable size, sampling was based on assessing who the niche occupants were and then approaching participants individually to request their participation. The availability of participants in these niches proved to be the biggest limiting factor.

One qualification of the key informant strategy was that an attempt was made to ensure maximum geographical dispersion and occupational and gender variation within the samples. Geographical dispersion appeared to be particularly appropriate in the larger occupational niches, such as the women in domestic roles and the youth, for whom there appeared to be some variation in localized conditions. Where appropriate, a cross-section of gender and occupational forms within the occupational niche sample, was considered to be important in gaining an adequate representation of the occupational niche. For example, it was considered inappropriate that the small business niche should be represented entirely by female hawkers or shoe repairmen.

5.3.4 ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS.

This final section involves a discussion of the important issue of the analysis and interpretation of the research data. Given the fact that the research design incorporated individual, occupational niche and collective levels, the analysis strategy was designed to follow a compatible stratified path. It must again be pointed out that the interpretations at each level were seen to be valid in their own right, so that what was produced was in fact three progressive analyses rather than a single cumulative analysis.

The first level of analysis dealt with the individual case data. Here, each of the 96 participant protocols were analysed and interpreted autonomously. This process gave rise to 96 case studies, each possessing its own autonomy and significance.

At the second level of analysis, the occupational niche level, 10 niche-specific analyses were generated. This process relied on a joint interpretation of the case studies within each of the 10 occupational niches. The procedure adopted followed Bromley's (1986) proposal of "case law" development and sought to establish commonality in the patterns of interpreted meaning in the case studies. The 10 descriptions which resulted from this process are seen to reflect a basic reality for the occupational niches within the Keiskammahoek context.

The final level of interpretation and analysis occurred at the occupational niche level and sought to generate an understanding of work meaning at the collective level. The mechanism that was used here was similar to that used to generate an understanding at the occupational niche level. The descriptions at the occupational niche level were subjected to a process of joint interpretation and identification of common themes. What emerged from this was a description seen as relevant to the Keiskammahoek population.

It will be recalled that in discussing Bromley's (1986) proposals of the case study method, the point was made that case studies are never interpreted in a vacuum and that they are necessarily developed in the presence of some form of theory or conceptual framework. In the current study, this process was made explicit by adopting a clearly defined analytic structure which could be applied at all three levels of the analysis. The analytic structure was derived from the conceptual model of work meaning that was adopted in the research. This, it will be recalled, proposed that work meaning be seen in terms of content, context and process. The analytic structure took the form of a series of reflective questions which could be asked of the data. For the most part, these questions sought to probe particular issues from various perspectives. Collectively these questions formed what can be described as an "analytic frame", as they provide a consistent way of viewing different sets of data. The questions were designed with

the intention of structuring interpretation, while at the same time allowing sufficient flexibility to accommodate and pick up localised and unique data. An outline of the analytic frame is provided in Appendix 2 at the end of this report.

At the level of the interpretation of individual case data and the development of case studies, the analytic frame provided a mechanism for triangulating between the forms of data. Although some aspects of the frame relied on data derived from single sources, it was possible to seek multiple corroboration and an extended explanation in the case of others. The analytic frame also allowed contradictions and anomalies within the data to be reasonably easily identified.

At a broad level, the analytic frame facilitated both lateral and vertical interpretation within the research design. The fact that case data were collected in a standardized and reasonably structured form, meant that a degree of consistency was already present in the data. The analytic frame extended this basic consistency, to the point where case studies could be compared with one another at the second level of interpretation and niches could be compared with one another at the third level. The general movement between idiographic and more nomothetic forms of interpretation was therefore made possible through the structuring effect of the analytic frame.

Of course, while the analytic frame did much to facilitate interpretation within the study, its use also incurred a cost. In choosing to focus on a restricted range of issues, it is probable that subjective depth in the interpretation was to some extent lost. However, it was felt that, given the goals of the research and the methodological restrictions that applied, the analytic structure provided an optimal compromise between the need for structure and the need for depth.

Within the analytic frame, the actual analytic process relied on a number of specific techniques. For the more quantitative data such as biographical factors, it was possible to make use of a simple process of aggregation and frequency recording. However, for the more complex qualitative data, standard qualitative analytic approaches were used. The techniques of "theme identification" and "clustering" as outlined by Miles and Huberman (1984) proved to be particularly useful. Clustering, as described by these authors, is a process of forming or using categories and sorting elements of the data into these. The categories usually emerge from an interaction between theory and data and this was the case in this research. What is particularly useful about clustering is that it provides a means of subsuming particular information into the general and thus shifts interpretation to a higher level of abstraction.

Although clustering is a powerful and useful technique, Miles and Huberman (1984) cautioned against its indiscriminate use. They pointed out that it is important that the deductive process that takes place be informed by an adequate conceptual framework. Further, that the analyst must continually shuttle between the levels of abstraction in the data, ensuring at all times that categories and clusters are adequately rooted and possess "concrete" referents. In other words, the researcher must always be able to relate abstracted categories to the first order data from which they were derived. If these conditions are not met, Miles and Huberman propose that it is likely that the clustering process will become arbitrary and undirected.

The technique of content analysis also proved to be a valuable mechanism in the interpretation of the research data. As described by Krippendorff, "content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (1980, p. 21). Broadly speaking, it is an attempt to define the symbolic meaning of messages by inferring relationships between

data and aspects of their context and justifying these inferences in terms of an understanding of stable factors in the overall system of interest. According to Krippendorff (1980), the identification of stable factors in the system of interest can flow from a number of sources. These include previously successful research which can provide confirmed factors, established theories, personal experience of the context by the analyst and input from representative interpreters within the context. To a greater or lesser extent, all four of these sources were available in the current research.

An obvious limitation confronting the researcher in dealing with context-embedded data is that he or she does not have direct access to the data's real or natural context. In a sense, the researcher always stands apart from both data and context and this is particularly true in dealing with subjective psychological phenomena. Content analysis provides a way around this problem by proposing that, while researchers cannot directly access the context, they are able to create a representational understanding of it. Further, that this representational understanding can be used in a valid manner in interpreting research data. Thus, in content analysis, an understanding of the symbolic meaning of data is developed through the medium of the represented, rather than real context, although ultimately the inferences arrived at are seen to relate back to the real context.

The particular value of content analysis to this research lies in its ability to interlink data and context issues. For the purposes of this thesis, context was defined in terms of both subjective and objective dimensions, and content analysis, as a recognised strategy, provides a framework for reconciling both of these with the data obtained.

Finally in this chapter, there are a few issues which must be discussed regarding the presentation of the research results and

analysis. Given the complexity of the research design, there are a number of ways in which the research findings could be presented. A decision was taken to present data at two levels in the results chapter which follows. These comprise niche-specific and collective-specific levels of analysis. While this means that the case study level of analysis is not presented in its own right, the case studies nonetheless lie at the heart of the analysis and extensive use is made of case study material by way of illustration and substantiation.

CHAPTER 6 NICHE SPECIFIC RESEARCH RESULTS.

Because of the complexity of the analysis of research data, the research results will be presented in two chapters. In this chapter, the principal results at the occupational niche level will be presented, while in the next chapter, the collective results will be dealt with.

This chapter begins with the presentation of biographic data for the research sample. This is followed by a series of sections dealing with occupational niche results. For the sake of simplicity and comparability the discussion of each niche has the following pattern:

Section 1 Description of the niche sample:

This section presents basic biographical and descriptive data for the sample.

Section 2 Illustrative case example:

In this section, a brief sketch of one case study from the occupational niche is presented. The aim of this is to give the reader some insight into the niche at the individual case study level. Note that, although illustrative cases have been selected to typify their occupational niche, they remain essentially singular and idiographic.

Section 3 Context issues:

3.1- General: A general discussion of work-related contextual issues that emerged for the group.

3.2- Work values: A description of the structure of work values for the group. This is based on Question 17 of the analytic frame (see Appendix 2).

3.3- Personal work motives: A description of the immediate and personal work motives within the niche. This is based on Question 18 of the analytic frame. The reader may also wish to consult the general analysis given in Appendix 3.

3.4- Explaining differences in wealth: An analysis of how participants explained distinctions in personal wealth and success within the context of the Keiskammahoek area. This issue relates to work outcome attributions and locus of control factors. The analysis assigns responses to three categories, according to the form of explanation. These include: situational explanations which attribute cause to environmental factors and conditions external to the individual; fatalistic explanations, which ascribe differences to external predeterminate forces; and individualistic explanations which ascribe cause to personal, internal factors. This item is based on Question 19 of the analytic frame.

Section 4 Content issues:

4.1- The distinction between work and non-work: A description of the proportion of the niche sample making a distinction between work and non-work. Relates to Question 11 of the analytic frame.

4.2- Work and non-work elements: An analysis of the "significant life elements" reflected in the repertory grids for the niche. These are discussed according to their designation as either work or non-work. This item

relates to Questions 11 and 14 of the analytic frame.

4.3- Centrality: An evaluation of the relative centrality of work and non-work and an evaluation of any noticeable patterns relating to particular forms of work or non-work element. This item relates to items 13 and 16 of the analytic frame.

4.4- Construct distinctions between work and non-work: An analysis of the constructs used to distinguish work from non-work within the occupational niche. This analysis is based on Question 12 of the analytic frame.

4.5- Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements: An analysis of the constructs which were significantly related to the distinction made by participants between their most valued and least valued forms of work. This analysis sought to examine the general construct patterns associated with the distinction between valued and less valued forms of work. The analysis is based on Question 15 of the analytic frame.

6.1 BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY.

The identity and definition of the ten occupational niches has already been discussed in the previous chapter. In Table 1, basic biographical data are presented, covering the research samples of each of the occupational niches. Although later discussion will look at the specific data associated with each occupational niche, there are three general points that are worth noting from Table 1.

Table 1 Biographical data summary.

		OCCUPATIONAL NICHE									
		FAR	S.B	BUS	L.E	C.S	WHI	WOM	UNE	YOU	MIG
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS		10	10	7	10	10	6	11	12	10	10
SEX	MALE	9	8	6	7	9	6		12	7	10
	FEMALE	1	2	1	3	1		11		3	
AVERAGE AGE (closest year)		60	46	48	43	39	44	54	38	19	46
MARITAL STATUS	MARRIED	10	8	5	4	7	6	4	9		8
	SEP./SINGLE		2	2	6	3		7	3	10	2
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN		5.8	3.6	2.4	2.7	2.4	1.8	5.6	3.8		2.9
AVERAGE YEARS FORMAL SCHOOL		8.9	6.8	10.1	8.6	11.6	11.7	7.4	5.2	11.1	5.5
NUMBER WITH POST-SCHOOL TRAINING	DIPLOMA	4	2	1	2	9					
	DEGREE						1				
	TECHNICAL						3				

KEY: FAR - FARMERS
 BUS - BUSINESS PEOPLE
 C.S - CIVIL SERVANTS
 WOM - WOMEN IN DOMESTIC ROLES
 YOU - YOUTH
 S.B - SMALL BUSINESS PEOPLE
 L.E - LOCAL EMPLOYEES
 WHI - WHITES
 UNE - UNEMPLOYED
 MIG - MIGRANTS

First there is the issue of sample size. In the cases of the whites and business niches, samples smaller than 10 were drawn. In both of these cases the niche samples were limited by the relatively small size of the niche populations. Although it would have been preferable to have these samples of an equal size to the others the practical restraint of gaining access to participants made this unfeasible.

The second issue to note is the imbalance in the sex distribution in the overall sample. This can be attributed largely to the research strategy of using occupational niches, and to real sex

imbalances in niche occupancy. It should be pointed out that, with the exception of the sample of women in domestic roles, sex was not consciously used as a selection criterion. Despite this however, the fact that most of the occupational niche samples are numerically weighted in favour of males remains a potentially limiting factor in the research data.

Finally, the reader's attention is drawn to the uneven distribution of educational attainment across the occupational niches. In this respect, it can be seen that the unemployed and migrant niches in particular, contrast with others such as the civil servant and white niches.

6.2 FARMERS.

6.2.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

As household heads were interviewed for this sample, all but one of the participants were male. The cases were drawn from a variety of areas in the district and this resulted in the inclusion of a variety of forms of farming and farming conditions. Three of the participants were intensive dairy farmers from the Keiskammahoek Irrigation Scheme, while most of the remaining farmers operated under dry-land conditions and practised mixed farming. The form of land tenure amongst the sample was a further point of variation. This included free-hold, quitrent and leasing systems.

The question of how access was gained to the agricultural land appeared to be important for this grouping and held particular implications for the farmers' motivation. Three processes occurred in the sample: inheritance, purchase and selection. While inheritance implies automatic access to the land, purchasing implies that the participants consciously wished to farm and

accumulated funds for this purpose. The individuals who had purchased their farms generally had had other prior occupations and careers. The third form of access occurred on the irrigation scheme, where farmers had been specifically selected and had undergone a training and trial period. Many of these farmers had previously been employed as labourers on white farms and would not have had the personal financial means to start a farming operation independently. Their commitment and motivation was therefore generally high.

The ages within the niche sample tended to be high and ranged from 50 to 74. Many of the farmers had retired from previous occupations, and farming was a second occupation for them.

As regards sources of income, four of the farmers were solely reliant on farming operations, four received additional cash income from pensions and two had additional remunerated employment. Regardless of these additional sources of income, farming income was regarded as essential by all participants.

Finally, the educational levels amongst the participants were mixed: one individual had completed only two years of formal schooling while three had completed Standard 10. Overall, the average number of formal schooling years was 8.9 out of a possible 12. Five of the participants had obtained a post-school diploma qualification, three of these being in teaching and one in agriculture.

6.2.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 19/5/91)

This participant was one of the most visibly successful farmers in the independent farming section of the Keiskammahoek Irrigation

Scheme. In addition to his dairy herd he was growing maize on a limited scale on his twelve hectare farm. He owned a herd of 54 cattle, 20 of which were cows in milk. Although he was selling some of his milk to the Scheme's main bulk purchaser, he was also operating a successful business distributing and selling sour milk (*amasi*) in Keiskammahoek. He lived with his wife and family of nine children in a house on the farm.

The participant was born in the Hershel district in 1942 and this remained his home until 1976. His parents were small farmers and he spent much of his youth herding the family's cattle and flocks of goats and sheep. He described himself during this period as being "an ordinary person living in the rural areas". He attended school in a local town and managed to complete Standard 6. However, he failed Standard 7 and thereafter dropped out of school. He took up a contract as a migrant labourer for two years, working on the diamond mines at Kuruman. By the time he returned, his father had started developing a small business transporting bricks and doing some contract ploughing. He joined in and helped to develop and run the business for a number of years.

In 1976, the family farm in Hershel was handed over to the Transkei as part of a land deal between the South African Government and the Transkei (see Surplus Peoples Project, 1983 for details of this). The family was moved to Thornhill and here family fortunes waned. Although the tractor had been brought with them, there were long delays in the allocation of land to people and there was little opportunity for ploughing and for work in general. Added to this, tensions and difficulties developed in the family, so that in 1979 when he saw an advert calling for applicants for farming positions on the newly developed Keiskammahoek dairy scheme, he leapt at the opportunity. He applied and was accepted on probation. Accompanied by his wife and children he relocated to Keiskammahoek.

He did well on the farm allocated to him by the scheme and in 1984 was one of nine scheme farmers who were singled out for their success. He was allocated a twelve hectare farm under a new programme on the scheme and at the time of the interview, preparations were under way for the farm to be privatised and handed over to him.

In reviewing his life circumstances, the participant felt that all of his life consisted of work in one form or another. Although he recognised that such a thing as non-work existed and gave idle socializing as an example, he felt that this had no part in his life. He commented that he had "no friend except the work". The life elements which were seen to comprise work included schooling, his employment experience, farming, interacting with his family and attending church.

In his evaluation of the various forms of work in his life, his employment experience on the Kuruman mines was given a very low

evaluation. The forms of work experience that he evaluated most highly were associated with contributing to knowledge, personal happiness, a large income or return, an internal motivation and a feeling of being personally responsible. In contrast, his employment experience, which was ranked low amongst his work experience, was seen to be associated with not contributing to knowledge, unhappiness, limited income, external motivation and a feeling of not being personally responsible. The following quote illustrates a number of these issues.

At Kuruman I was working for a wage while here I am pushing myself to get more money. I am happier working for myself because the strength that I use, I know is mine. I think that I am not doing it for someone else, just myself.

His work and life on the farm seemed to possess a particularly deep significance for him. "...I know this is mine, if I go at it with soft arms then I know that it will fail. I must die doing it!" Again later: "Employment on the mines was work but I did not take it into deep consideration, it was just a problem. It was work but different from this (farming)."

6.2.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.2.3.1 General.

One of the most noteworthy characteristics of this group was their valuing of and commitment to the rural environment and to farming. To a greater or lesser extent, for all participants, farming was important for the income that it provided, but in most cases it appeared to have an intrinsic significance beyond this as well. For those who had acquired their farms as a retirement base it was a "place to rest", also a source of personal identity and meaning. One participant commented that it was a place where he could perform his rituals, and many of the participants emphasized the meaningful autonomy and self-dependence implicit in farming. There was only one exception to this trend and this was one where the participant would have preferred to be employed and to live in an urban environment. Farming for this participant was necessary as a means of avoiding unemployment, but was not a desirable occupation.

Another point of contrast was the extent to which a commercial orientation was emphasized in the farming operation. On five of the farms (including the three on the irrigation scheme) there was an obvious commitment to making the farm a commercially viable enterprise. On the remaining farms the orientation was more strongly towards a subsistence farming pattern, where surpluses and sales were incidental rather than planned. In general, traditional farming beliefs and practices played an important role. This was particularly demonstrated in a tendency to diffuse risk, through diversity in the farming operation, rather than choose high risk options with the potential for high return. Also in keeping with a traditional orientation, environmental conditions were seen as playing a determining role and even the irrigation scheme's farmers, who had unlimited access to water, attributed failures to the drought that was prevailing at the time of the research.

Finally, a general trend that was visible in the research data was that the more commercially successful farmers commonly tended to emphasize a community commitment in their work. Three of the participants saw their farms as providing a model for the local community to follow and a number of them were involved in local farmer support groups. It is not clear whether this commitment to community was a means of self-justification or was genuinely philanthropic. Clearly the relationship between the more successful farmers and their less affluent neighbours was not always an easy one. This was demonstrated in complaints of theft of farm produce and the difficulty in finding willing labour. It would appear that commercial success in farming may to a certain extent involve marginalization from the local community.

6.2.3.2 Work values.

As can be seen in Table 2, the most common justification for the importance of work in this group related to materialistic factors. In particular, work was seen to be important because it was essential for survival, for financial income and for maintaining an

adequate standard of living. Secondly, work was also regarded as important because of its moral and religious character. In this respect it was proposed that work had the characteristic of being an unquestionable human norm, that it offered the only alternative to crime and that it was in keeping with divine decree. Thirdly, direct personal benefit was also put forward as a justification. In terms of this, work was seen as important for personal development, health and psychological well-being. Finally, slight support was given to the idea that work was important because of its social character and that in working the individual was also supporting her/his community.

Table 2 Work values: Farmers.

THEME CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(9)	
Survival	5	Work is important if you are going to survive ; if you don't work you won't survive.
Well-being	1	(Through work people are able to) raise their standard of living.
Financial	3	You get money from work.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(5)	
Fatalistic	2	Work is part of life.
Moral	2	You should work otherwise you turn to crime.
Religious	1	Work agrees with God; man will eat his sweat.
3. PERSONAL	(3)	
Development and fulfilment	1	If you look at a person who has a job, he is always committed. At the end of the day he is able to say he has done this and that.
Health	1	If you are just sitting, not working, your body goes wrong.
Psychological need	1	If you just sit down you get frustrated.
4. SOCIAL	(1)	
Community and society	1	He (the working person) is looking after not only his family but his community as well.

6.2.3.3 Personal work motives.

Personal work motives for this group included a desire for personal development and fulfilment, for personal health and for the well-being and development of their families. There was an indication here that for some, farming was a deeply fulfilling occupation.

6.2.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

Finally, as regards this group's explanations for differences in personal wealth in society, all three forms of explanation, namely situational, fatalistic and individualistic occurred. Some emphasis was placed on individualistic explanation, which indicates a pattern of internal attribution. This, one may argue, is understandable, given the individualistic nature of the occupation of farming.

6.2.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.2.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

Of the ten participants only five made the distinction between work and non-work. What is interesting to note is that there appeared to be a strong association between educational level and the perception of a distinction between work and non-work. All four of the participants with post-school qualifications were amongst those who made the distinction.

6.2.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

The elements respectively classified as work and non-work by the farmer grouping are detailed in Table 3. It will be noted that, while there are a number of elements, such as farming and employment experience, which are unambivalently classified as work, there is a great deal of ambiguity associated with the elements identified as non-work. Only reading and hunting occur as exclusively non-work elements and these occur at a low frequency.

Table 3 Work and non-work elements: Farmers.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Employment (All forms)	10	*Sports participation	2
Farming	10	*Attending church	2
Schooling and study	9	Hunting	1
Interacting with family	7	Reading	1
*Attending church	4	*Voluntary associations	1
Herding as a boy	2		
Training	2		
*Sports participation	1		
*Voluntary associations	1		
Family business	1		

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.2.4.3 Centrality.

A few comments can be made relating to the relative importance of the various work and non-work elements. In the first place, in terms of the relative importance of work and non-work experience, the ranking of grid elements gave a clear indication that, almost invariably, non-work elements were considered less personally important than work elements. Secondly, relating to the ranking of the work elements, interaction with family was consistently highly ranked while farming was ranked between high and moderate. Employment was polarised in its ranking, although it tended to be ranked low, relative to other forms of work experience.

6.2.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

In Table 4 an outline of the farmer group's construct distinctions between work and non-work is given. The central themes indicate that work was associated with such factors as provision and gain,

obligation, strain and demand, while in contrast, non-work related to factors such as consumption, freedom, relaxation and lowered commitment. It is interesting to note that non-work can be a negative experience and in one construct is described as frustrating in contrast to a rewarding characteristic of work. Another interesting construct makes the proposal that non-work is seen to be essentially self-serving, while both self and community can benefit through work.

Table 4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Farmers.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCTS	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	2	- payment - provides means of subsistence	- no payment - eats (implies consumes resources)
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	3	- duty - prescribed - forced	- free will - free choice - not forced
MOTIVATION: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the activities.	3	- committed - strong purpose - for self and community	- uncommitted - little purpose - for self alone
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the activities.	3	- rewarding - tense - feel you are with others	- frustrating - relaxed - feel you are on your own
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	2	- rush - physically tiring	- peace - refreshing

6.2.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

The last issue to look at for the farmer niche relates to the construct distinctions between the most and least personally valued forms of work. Whilst the range of thematic clusters are best

Table 5 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Farmers.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCTS	
		HIGH VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	5	- with the land - mine with other people - enduring - time to rest - good working conditions	- with the people - mine alone - temporary - no time to rest - bad working conditions
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	3	- big return - contributes to knowledge - gives something permanent	- small return - doesn't contribute to knowledge - that can be taken away
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	4	- rule oneself - self controlling - free will - voluntary	- be ruled - controlled - governed - forced
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	9	- rewarding - happy (X2) - at ease - relaxed - confident - safety - revived - secure	- discouraging - unhappy - frustrating - strain - anxious - threatened - fatigue - unshielded
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	5	- desire to (self motivated) - do it for yourself (X3) - committed	- forced to by circumstances - do it for another - uncommitted
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	1	- brings the family together	- pulls the family apart
RESPONSIBILITY: Differences in the level and nature of responsibility demanded within the forms of work.	2	- personal responsibility - feel responsible	- shared responsibility - don't feel responsible
PERFORMANCE: Differences relating to performance in the work situations.	1	- competence	- learning

understood by referring to Table 5, it is worth commenting here that the most common distinctions associate highly valued work with positive as opposed to negative affect, committed self motivation as opposed to external motivation, and generally positive as opposed to negative task characteristics and demands.

6.3 SMALL BUSINESS PEOPLE.

6.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

As can be seen in Table 1, this sample comprised eight male and two female participants. Although in Keiskammahoek, women appear to be quite heavily represented, in particular in informal business activities such as hawking, the majority of forms of business activity are male dominated. It is therefore fair to suggest that the sample's sexual composition is not unduly biased with reference to the composition of the occupational niche.

As defined, the small business niche included both formal and informal business activity and a wide range of concerns were represented in the sample. The businesses included shops, building contracting, brick making, carpentry and joinery, shoe repair and the hawking of fresh produce.

Although some of the participants in this niche were drawn from the more isolated rural areas, the majority of the sample came from in, and immediately around the town. The reason for this is that the Keiskammahoek town is the commercial centre for the district and most business activity is conducted there.

It is worth noting that the average educational level for this group was fairly low, amounting to 6.8 years out of a possible 12. Two of the participants had previously been teachers and had

obtained teaching qualifications.

6.3.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 22/11/91)

This participant operated a small clay brick manufacturing business on the outskirts of Keiskammahoek town. He was 45 years old and had been born in Grahamstown. He grew up in the Fort Beaufort district, where his parents were farm labourers. He completed only one year of formal schooling, after which he was told by his parents to "go and look after the cattle".

As a young man his first job was with a building contractor in Fort Beaufort and he remained in this job for ten years. After this he moved to Adelaide where he found employment at a privately owned brick field. Here he learnt the skills necessary for the manufacture of bricks. In 1982, after some time in this job, he was "stolen away" by another employer with the promise of more money and found himself based in Keiskammahoek. He helped his new employer to establish a brick field in Keiskammahoek and worked there for a number of years. His employer eventually left Keiskammahoek and he was left without work.

For a while he worked for a building contractor in the area but found his wages unacceptable and left. Realising that he had the skills to manufacture bricks, he approached the Keiskammahoek council and was granted access to a piece of appropriate land near the river. Here he set up a small brick field with the help of one co-worker. At the time of the interview he had been running the business for four years. When conditions were at their most favourable, he was able to produce two firings of 10000 bricks each, in a month. However, he was often prevented from achieving this by rain and other circumstances. He was able to sell his bricks for between R150 and R200 per thousand, depending on their grade, but complained that with the high cost of coal for firing, the operation was becoming uneconomical. He commented that "I make something but at times it goes very slow".

His personal situation was that he was not married but was living with a woman and their four children in a township adjoining Keiskammahoek. His oldest child was 15 years old and the youngest still a baby. His family life was very important to him and was the only aspect of his life which he regarded as non-work. For him, time spent with his family was an opportunity for rest and relaxation.

The participant felt that work in general was extremely important and was essential for survival and an honest life. "If you are not working you will starve and become a thief eventually". This perception also had a strong influence on his own motives for working.

Amongst the aspects of work in his life, he rated his own brick making business the most highly. In contrast to previous employment his own business was important to him for a number of reasons. These included the feeling of being dependent on himself rather than on another, being paid for what he produced rather than for his labour and being personally in control rather than being controlled by another.

Finally, in regard to evaluating his own life circumstances and the differences in personal wealth that he saw around him, he put forward an explanation which combined fatalistic and personal elements. He felt that the quality of an individual's life is dependent on the effort that he or she puts into it, but that beyond this people are born with differences in the "heart" and that this ultimately determines the course of their life.

6.3.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.3.3.1 General.

With one exception, all members of this sample had been in some form of employment prior to beginning their business. A number of them had completed contracts as migrant labourers and then returned to the area. The personal motives for engaging in small business enterprise seemed to fall roughly into three categories. In the first place, for the older members of the group, the business provided a means of coping with retirement, supplementing income from pensions and providing the family with a long-term asset. For others, where alternative forms of income were regarded as inadequate and unreliable, the business provided supplementary income for the family, as well as security. Finally, for the remaining members of the sample, the business provided the sole source of income and the individuals were entirely dependant on it for survival.

In general, this group gave high importance to their business activity and in line with this, seemed to value their work autonomy and self reliance. The risk taken in starting and running a business did not emerge as an important issue for this group. If anything, the business was perceived as a source of security in the face of an alternative such as unemployment.

A lack of capital and access to loan capital seemed to be one of the most important factors limiting business growth in this group. Chance factors also appeared to play a role in determining success. In one instance, a woman had won a truck in a competition and this had enabled her to expand and develop her general dealer business.

Finally, an interesting issue is that of the extent of integration between these businesses and the community. In the majority of cases there was little evidence of clear boundary formation between business and client. These small business people and their activities tended to be closely integrated with their client communities. Typically, they appeared to rely heavily on the goodwill and support of community members for patronage, particularly where the quality or cost of their services did not compete favourably with larger businesses. This pattern seemed to hold even in cases where the businesses were new.

6.3.3.2 Work values.

As indicated in Table 6, relating to work values, this group emphasized the materialistic benefits of work and in particular the necessary relationship between work and survival. A moral theme was also frequently represented, implying that work was important as an alternative to crime. Work was also seen to relate to personal factors including health, development and fulfilment and psychological well-being. Finally, two respondents indicated that work fulfilled a social function in relation to community and family.

Table 6 Work values: Small Business.

THEME CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(10)	
Survival	6	If you are not working you will starve.
Well-being	2	You can get (material) things for a better living for yourself and your family.
Financial	2	You get money.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(6)	
Moral	6	If you do not work you will be a thief, steal and be arrested.
3. PERSONAL	(5)	
Development and fulfilment	2	Work educates me, it teaches me and I am gaining more and more experience.
Health	2	For health.
Psychological need	1	Work makes you feel all right and people can see that you are ok.
4. SOCIAL	(2)	
Community and society	1	You can't sit still in the house you must struggle to help people.
Family	1	You are happy with your family when you are working.

6.3.3.3 Personal work motives.

In a similar pattern to their general work values, the sample emphasized material and financial factors in their personal work motives. With regard to this, one participant made the comment: "I want to succeed financially, I have always wanted to buy a Mercedes (a motorcar which is associated with a high economic and social status)". Personal factors such as independence and identity were also common personal work motives for this group. Here one participant stated: "my goal is to work to be someone, not someone in hardship". Family related motives were of similar importance. The emphasis here was that work provided the means for educating children and providing for the family. Two less frequently mentioned motives related work to social and moral factors. In regard to these work was seen as a way of helping others and

avoiding criminality.

6.3.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

Somewhat surprisingly, the most frequent form of explanation given in this niche for differences in personal wealth, was a fatalistic one. Both situational and individualistic explanations also occurred but at slightly lower frequency. Given that these are self-employed people, a greater emphasis on an internal attribution for wealth creation might have been expected.

6.3.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.3.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

A total of six of the ten participants in this niche made the distinction between work and non-work with regard to their own life elements.

6.3.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

The work and non-work elements included in the repertory grids for this group are detailed in Table 7. It should be noted that there is a limited range of non-work activity recorded and that a substantial proportion of the non-work elements also occur as work elements. Further, that business and employment activities occur frequently and are invariably classified as work.

Table 7 Work and non-work elements: Small Business.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Business	10	*Interacting with family	2
Employment (all forms)	9	Listening to music / television	2
Attending church	3	*Sports participation	2
*School and study	3	*Schooling	1
*Interacting with family	2	Fishing	1
Farming	2	House chores	1
*Sports participation	2		
Training	1		
Raising children	1		

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.3.4.3 Centrality.

Grid rankings gave the general indication that non-work activity was less central than work activity for this niche sample. One exception to this pattern was an instance where family interaction (in this case classified a non-work activity) was ranked second highest overall.

Rankings between the work classifications gave the indication that small business activity was generally ranked highest, with employment experience generally being ranked low. Some exceptions to this pattern occurred where employment experience had the quality of a "vocation", such as in the case of nursing and teaching. Rankings of these forms of employment were somewhat higher.

6.3.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

As indicated in Table 8, the principal construct distinctions between work and non-work for this niche sample related to

motivational and outcome differences. In particular, work was associated with the acquisition of money and general gain, while non-work was seen to be pleasurable but not rewarding in a material sense. Differences are also indicated with regard to affect, outcome and the quality of experience.

Table 8 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Small Business.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	3	- get money (X3)	- get no money
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	1	- abide by rules	- use initiative
MOTIVATION: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the activities.	4	- for gain / development (X2) - purpose - for self & family	- for pleasure - no purpose - for self
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the activities.	1	- serious	- not serious
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	2	- working - rushed	- resting - relaxed pace

6.3.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

A complex range of distinctions between personally important and less important forms of work are detailed in Table 9. It should particularly be noted that important forms of work are associated with greater personal material gain, benefit to others in society, security, autonomy and high personal demand.

Table 9 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work:
Small business.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCTS	
		MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	4	- unlimited hours of work - rushed - reliability - ease	- defined hours of work - easy working - risk - hardship
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	4	- gives me something - gives me money - large amount of money - income	- gives me nothing - costs me money - little money - loss
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	2	- control myself - self paid	- ruled by another - paid
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	1	- confident	- not sure
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	2	- work for self - make for self	- work for someone - make for another
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	4	- helping people - many friends - close friends - developing self and others	- just working - few friends - friends - developing self
RESPONSIBILITY: Differences in the level and nature of responsibility demanded within the forms of work.	2	- many responsibilities - depends on me	- few responsibilities - depends on someone else
PERFORMANCE: Differences relating to performance in the work situations.	1	- competent	- unsure

6.4 BUSINESS PEOPLE.

6.4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

A total of seven participants from this small but influential niche were interviewed. All were self-employed business people and their

business interests included butcheries, general dealerships, building contracting and materials manufacture, transport, bottle stores, contract ploughing, farming and property rental. In addition to their business interests, a number of these participants were prominent community members and held or had held offices in political or local civil structures.

The sample included seven men and one woman and the ages of the participants ranged between 41 and 59. The average educational standard for this group was fourth highest overall.

6.4.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 21/11/91)

This participant was born in 1945 in the Keiskammahoek district and described his early upbringing as one of hardship and poverty. His father was a local labourer who struggled to educate his children. When his mother died in 1966, he was obliged to leave school, having only completed Standard 5. At this point he went to live with a relative in Port Elizabeth who operated a small trading business. He was given a position as a manager in this business but as he did not have urban residence rights, he was arrested in 1968 and ordered to return to the rural areas. Fortunately, through a personal contact at the labour offices, he was able to organise temporary and later permanent urban residence rights.

He was earning little in his position, but in 1970 his relative offered him the use of a newly acquired pick-up truck over the weekends. He used the vehicle as a taxi and in this way managed to supplement his income. He was also studying at night-school to further his education during this time. In 1978 he started his own business, running a taxi and doing some informal trading.

In 1979, his father died and he decided to return to Keiskammahoek. The reasons for his return were primarily his personal attachment to the area and the fact that he did not want his father's grave to remain "isolated". After considerable negotiation, he managed to secure the purchase of a small general-dealer shop in Keiskammahoek town, which had previously been owned by a white resident. The transfer of ownership was a protracted affair and for nine months the participant and his wife lived together with the previous owner. A particularly warm bond seems to have developed between

them.

The participant continued to operate the shop and a growing transport business until 1981, when he purchased larger premises. From here his business continued to expand, and extended to include a contract ploughing business, a brick and block manufacturing concern, ownership of several buildings and business premises in town, and a farm in a different district.

In 1990, the participant's wife died, and he experienced this as a tremendous personal setback. His health was negatively affected and without her help he had to cut back on some of his business activities. He was left solely responsible for the upbringing of their two teenaged children.

The participant's lifestyle included little time for non-work activity, although he attended church regularly and did not regard this as work. His perceptions of work were strongly associated with a sense of personal responsibility and constant effort and he found work to be draining rather than refreshing. His personal motives for working included a desire for his country to "recommend" him and for God to see that he had made use of the talents given him. He attributed his own success to the hardship he experienced as a child, the fear of going back to this and the discipline imbued in him by his father.

The participant's attitude towards work in general was that it was very important and that there is nothing worthwhile to be obtained without working. "To get something without working is wrong, this is God's policy". He felt that to progress and be stable a country needs hard workers. He blamed the poverty in the area on a range of complex interrelated forces, amongst the most important of which he saw to be people's fatalistic acceptance of poverty, migrancy and poor wages, and problems in the family structure.

6.4.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.4.3.1 General.

A particular distinguishing characteristic of this group was their strong personal orientation to business as a central life activity. The life histories of these individuals frequently reflected tenacity and commitment in developing and establishing their business. Most were first generation entrepreneurs although two had taken over family businesses.

For the first generation entrepreneurs, the experience of difficulties in early life was seen as a source of personal empowerment and a point of reference for current achievement. To quote one participant:

All the time you are in existence you are scared to go back to where you emerged from and there is a sweet smell of happiness you get which makes you struggle towards liberty.

Not surprisingly, members of this group commonly placed great value on education. This indication was confirmed by the fact that the majority of them were in the process of educating their children at costly private schools. In the few cases of second generation business people, it was apparent that education had also been highly valued by their parents. The niche members' own levels of education (averaging 10.1 years of formal schooling) were, however, only moderately high amongst the occupational niche groups.

Another interesting characteristic of this group was a common, strongly expressed desire for a sense of identity and place. This seemed to be associated with the feeling that, as individuals and as a generation, they were in the vanguard of change and development.

A general expressed need for security seemed to be strongly related to feelings of personal insecurity within a political and community framework. Despite the fact that the majority were long-standing Keiskammahoek residents, substantial financial success seemed to have marginalised this group within the community to some extent. While they doubtless occupied a position of power and respect within the community, they were also at risk of being seen as exploiters. Added to this, many had either currently or in the past, had government connections which were instrumental in their business success. Given the volatile nature of the Ciskeian political climate at the time, this was a further source of stress.

Of interest is the fact that, despite their financial success, the majority of this group retained a strong sense of rural identity. Most of them maintained access to agricultural land and property in the rural areas and some went as far as being active farmers. Part of the reason for this may be tied up with cultural/religious responsibilities. Some, for example, spoke about wanting to live near to where their fathers were buried. However, in addition to this, for many there was a feeling of personal attachment to, and rootedness in, the land.

6.4.3.2 Work values.

In this niche, work was principally valued for its materialistic, moral and religious functions. Work was seen as necessary for survival and as appropriate human behaviour. Further, work was also regarded as important because it benefits both individual and society.

Table 10 Work Values: Business.

THESE CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(6)	
Survival	4	Work is necessary for life.
Financial	2	The more you work the more money you get.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(5)	
Moral	3	Work teaches people to appreciate things, if you get something easily you lose it easily.
Religious	2	It is God's policy that you must work for your food.
3. PERSONAL	(4)	
Development and fulfilment	2	Work itself is a kind of education.
Health	2	Work gives you health.
4. SOCIAL	(3)	
Community and society	3	Social and economic progress depends on work.

6.4.3.3 Personal work motives.

The principal personal work motives for this group related to financial, family and social factors. Financial motives included the acquisition of wealth as an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. The education and general development of family members also emerged as very important, as did a desire to have a positive social impact. Less frequently occurring themes included a desire to find personal fulfilment through work and a religious desire to fulfil the personal potential granted by God.

6.4.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

The explanations given in this niche for differences in personal wealth are particularly interesting because, unlike most of the other groups, they excluded fatalistic explanations. The explanations that were given emphasized equally, individualistic and situational factors. Economic success was seen as the product of environmental opportunity and personal dedication. Although environmental opportunity was an obvious external limiting factor, the pattern of attribution, to a substantial extent, was person-centred and internal, presenting an empowered image of the individual.

6.4.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.4.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

Of the seven participants, four made a personal distinction between work and non-work. The remaining participants made no distinction between work and non-work in their lives.

6.4.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

Details of the niche participants' work and non-work elements are given in Table 11. Note that business activity and employment play a dominant role as unambivalent work classified elements.

Table 11 Work and non-work elements: Business.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Business	7	*Study	3
Employment	7	*Attending church	2
Farming	3	Reading	1
*Study	2	Socializing	1
*Attending church	2	Vacationing	1
Political activity	2		
Sports participation	1		

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.4.4.3 Centrality.

Rankings of non-work for this group were generally lower than work, except in the three cases where study was regarded as a non-work element. Here study was ranked highly even in relation to work elements.

With regard to the relative ranking of work elements, the businesses of the participants tended to be the most important. In contrast, employment was generally ranked lowest, although there were exceptions to this where the forms of employment had a vocational character. Farming and study, where they occurred as work elements showed a tendency to be highly ranked.

6.4.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

The principal construct distinctions between work and non-work for this niche related to the motivation and evaluation themes. Here the idea was put forward that, while work was necessary and was done for self-development or gain, non-work was less necessary and motivated by a desire to relax or pursue an interest. Other construct distinctions proposed that while work was financially

rewarding, non-work was not and that there is a difference in the quality of the two forms of experience.

Table 12 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Business.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	1	- money income	- no money income
MOTIVATION: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the activities.	2	- for self-development - for gain	- for interest - for relaxation
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	1	- working	- relaxing
EVALUATION: Differences in the individual's personal appraisal of the merits and demerits of work and non-work activity.	2	- difficult - necessary	- easy - not necessary

6.4.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

Construct distinctions between most and least valued work forms are detailed in Table 13. It will be noted that highly valued work was associated with large returns, personal control and responsibility, security and personal benefit. In contrast, less valued work was associated with small returns, being controlled and dependant, insecurity and benefitting another.

Table 13 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Business.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	2	- developing - large income	- tiring - small income
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	1	- controlling	- controlled
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	1	- security	- insecurity
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	1	- do for self	- do for others
RESPONSIBILITY: Differences in the level and nature of responsibility demanded within the forms of work.	2	- self reliant - personally responsible	- dependent on another - another is responsible

6.5 LOCAL EMPLOYEES.

6.5.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

A total of ten participants, seven of whom were male and three female, were interviewed in this niche. A wide range of occupations were covered including teaching, driving, municipal positions, hotel housekeeping, building and technical positions.

Participants were drawn from a variety of areas in Keiskammahoek although the majority worked in and around the town. All were either salary or wage earners and their employment was their principal source of income. A few of the participants earned extra income from moonlighting and one was part owner of a small business concern.

Educational levels for this group were in the mid-range for the overall research sample, amounting to an average of 8.6 years of schooling. Only two of the participants had formal post-school qualifications.

6.5.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 10/12/91)

This participant was born in 1936 in the Cathcart district, where his parents were working as labourers on a white-owned farm. He started schooling there but had only got as far as completing Sub A when his father died. When this happened he stopped schooling and went to live with his elder brother who was also in the same district. Here he stayed until he was old enough to get work. He signed up through a local mine recruiting agency and went to work on the gold mines in Johannesburg. He completed two contracts of nine months each on the mines, with a brief stay at home between the two.

Following this, he worked for a period of four years on a farm near Cathcart as a tractor driver, before leaving and going to Cape Town. There he obtained employment with a dairy as a milk man and held this job for a long time. In 1962 he returned for circumcision to the Eastern Cape but after this continued to work in Cape Town up until 1967 when he finally left. For the following three years he worked as a labourer at a textile factory in King William's Town. In 1970 he was recruited by a group of diamond prospectors and for a year worked as a driver for them in Namaqualand. He found this job particularly fulfilling and enjoyable. When the contract expired he returned to the textile factory but after two further years in this job left and took up a job as a driver in Keiskammahoek. He was initially employed as a tractor driver but later as a truck driver. He held this latter position at the time of the interview.

While working at the textile factory in King William's Town he married his wife and in 1967 they had the first of five children. When not at work he spent most of his time with his family at their home in a village close to Keiskammahoek Town. Besides this, his only other real interest was church, which he attended regularly.

At a general level, the participant felt that work was a good thing because "it is created that you must work in order to eat". Further, "a person who does not work will be a thief and take things from those who are working". His personal motive in working

was to be able to feed his children. He felt that if he was able to earn enough money he would be able to prevent his children from turning to "bad ways" even after his death.

Though the participant considered most of his life to comprise work, he felt that his time with his family was, for the most part, a non-work experience. Non-work for him was associated with "not having to do much", "being easy" and importantly, the idea of "controlling" rather than being "controlled". He felt that his interaction with his family assumed the character of work when, as the head of the household he was obliged to exercise discipline. He regarded his family as the most important component of his life.

His perceptions of work in his life related primarily to his employment experiences, although he did include his church attendance in this category. With regard to his evaluation of his most and least significant work experiences, the central criteria related to feeling free as opposed to forced, having good relationships with the people with whom he worked and earning good money. His job with the diamond prospectors was remembered with great happiness because he felt he had developed a particularly good relationship with his employers and co-workers. As he put it, "I was working with people who loved me". In contrast he had very bad memories of his migrant work on the mines, and working as an agricultural labourer. These experiences provided the primary negative contrast with his more positive work experiences.

6.5.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.5.3.1 General.

The composition of this niche was heterogenous and included participants in a range of socio-economic and occupational statuses. Both more traditionally orientated blue-collar workers and more affluent, younger individuals with middle-class aspirations formed part of the sample. In addition the level of job skills varied considerably.

Poor standards of education in this niche, like those in other niches, were frequently attributable to family poverty and pressure to become wage earners early in life. Related to this, career and occupational development patterns tended to be situationally determined and in only three cases was there any indication of the

individual intentionally preplanning for the occupation.

Job security emerged as a significant factor for this group. High levels of local unemployment and the recent dismissal of a number of state employees seemed to have contributed to general unease regarding the stability of employment. A manifestation of this insecurity was that a few of the individuals interviewed had developed additional sources of income in an effort to guard against becoming unemployed. This primarily took the form of informal sector activity either conducted after working hours or managed by another family member. Examples included shebeens (informal sector taverns), house-shops and motor repairs.

6.5.3.2 Work values.

Table 14 Work Values: Local Employees.

THEMES CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(9)	
Survival	4	You can't survive without work.
Well-being	3	You develop yourself (materially).
Financial	2	It enables you to earn money.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(6)	
Fatalistic	2	You must use your energy and brains.
Moral	3	A person who does not work will be a thief and take things from those working.
Religious	1	It is so created that in order to eat you must work.
3. PERSONAL	(7)	
Development and fulfilment	4	It is important that you can rely on yourself, it is not good to rely on others.
Health	3	By working your health is refreshed.
4. SOCIAL	(4)	
Family	4	You can educate your children. You can care for your parents.

As detailed in Table 14, this group saw work as important particularly because of its association with materialistic factors. These included the ideas that work was necessary for survival and well-being as well as a source of income. Moral, religious and personal factors were also seen to play an important role. Finally, the necessity of fulfilling family obligations was also frequently proposed as a factor making work important.

6.5.3.3 Personal work motives.

By far the most frequently stated personal work motive for this group was a desire to provide for the family. This included the desire to provide material support and to educate children. A desire to obtain a financial income was the next most frequent motive and this was to some extent associated with a desire for material well-being. The desire to have some kind of positive social impact through work was articulated by three of the participants, while one participant expressed the motive of finding work personally enjoyable.

6.5.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

Situational and individualistic explanations for the differences in individual wealth in society, dominated for this group. There were three instances of fatalistic explanations being put forward.

6.5.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.5.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

Only two of the ten participants in this niche did not make a distinction between work and non-work elements in their lives.

6.5.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

The life elements classified as work and non-work for this niche sample are detailed in Table 15. Again, employment in all its forms occurs as a frequent and unopposed work element. Study, housework

and own business are also relatively frequently occurring work elements while church attendance, interaction with family and sports participation are ambivalent in their classification.

Table 15 Work and non-work elements: Local Employees.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Employment (all forms)	10	Socializing with friends	3
Study	4	*Church attendance	2
Housework/home maintenance	4	*Interaction with family	2
*Church attendance	3	*Sports participation	1
Part time private business	3	Watching television	1
*Sports participation	2		
Political community activity	1		
*Interaction with family	1		

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.5.4.3 Centrality.

With regard to the relative centrality of work and non-work elements, non-work elements were generally placed in the mid to low range of the overall rankings. There was one exception to this, which occurred in a case where interaction with family was classified as non-work and was ranked highly.

With regard to the inter-work element rankings, current employment was consistently highly ranked. It was placed in the first position in five cases and in nine cases was ranked in the first three positions. Past employment experience fared less well and some form of past employment experience was lowest ranked overall in nine of the ten cases. Church and study, where they occurred, tended to be

ranked highly, while sports participation and home-centred activity were placed in the mid range of the rankings.

6.5.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

The most frequent construct distinctions between work and non-work for this niche related to the issue of control. Here work was seen to relate to being controlled, being responsible and benefitting others. In contrast, non-work was associated with self control, being dependant and being developed. Other distinctions, details of which appear in Table 16, relate to affect, quality of experience and task demand.

Table 16 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Local Employees.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	3	- ruled/governed - being depended on - developing others	- rule/govern - dependent - being developed
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the activities.	1	- suffer	- happy
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	1	- have problems	- free of problems
TASK DEMAND: Differences in the particular demands placed on the individual by the activities.	1	- use brain	- use body

6.5.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

As can be seen in Table 17, the principal construct distinctions between most and least valued work relate to outcome and affect related factors.

Table 17 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Local Employees.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		HOT VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	4	- safety - comprehensible -much to do -mental effort	- danger - complicated (confusing) - little to do - physical effort
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	9	- much money (X5) - self-dependent income - gain profit - constant income - develop the spirit	- little money - limited income - run at a loss - uncertain income - feed the body
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	1	- listen to me	- listen to another
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	5	- free - happiness - ease - confident - close to home	- forced - downhearted - hardship - unconfident - homesick
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	3	- committed to my future - enjoyment and commitment - survival	- uncommitted to future - duty - pleasure
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	2	- friendship - good treatment by others	- unfriendly - poor treatment
RESPONSIBILITY: Differences in the level and nature of responsibility demanded within the forms of work.	2	- being depended on - responsible	- depending on others - not responsible
PERFORMANCE: Differences relating to performance in the work situations.	1	- competent	- inexperienced

6.6 SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS AND PARA-STATAL EMPLOYEES.

6.6.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

With an average of 11,6 years of formal schooling and nine post school qualifications, this was one of the most highly educated of the occupational niche samples. The sample included significantly placed individuals in a number of fields including police, medical, agricultural and business development, forestry and education.

This was a heavily male dominated occupational niche and the sample included only one woman. The participants were also generally quite young with seven of the participants being in their 30's and only one older than 50. The residences of the participants were dispersed throughout the Keiskammahoek district and one participant lived in a district adjoining Keiskammahoek and commuted.

6.6.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 7/11/91)

This participant was in a senior position with a large agricultural concern in Keiskammahoek. He was married with two young children and was living in town.

He was born in 1958, the oldest of four siblings, in the Middledrift district which adjoins Keiskammahoek. His father was a local headman and he described him as being a strong and strict man. Though not wealthy, his parents struggled to educate their children and succeeded in sending all four to school. Although the family had no agricultural land of their own, they had access to commonage and on this ran some stock. It was through this that the participant first developed his interest in farming.

He attended local schools and excelled as a scholar, completing his Standard 8 course in 1976. However in 1977, while in Standard 9, he fell ill and this, combined with financial problems, resulted in him dropping out of school. He signed up to work on the mines and

completed a nine month contract on the Witwatersrand. He was initially employed as an underground sweeper but later worked as a "timber boy" and finally as an explosives assistant.

He returned to the Ciskei in 1978 and as a result of his own interest and the prompting of his parents, enrolled at an agricultural college. Money was tight and he was obliged to spend most of his vacations working at the college in order to help pay for his tuition.

In 1980, on completion of his diploma, he took a post with the Ciskei Department of Agriculture and worked as an Animal Health Officer in an area of Keiskammahoek. He was in this post for four years and during this time also managed to complete his schooling and obtain a Matric. In 1984 he left the government service and joined the agricultural organisation in Keiskammahoek as a manager. Feeling that his personal prospects were limited, he left this post in 1985 to complete a training course in stock management at a college in the Transvaal and stayed on to work there for a year, providing training to farm labourers.

In 1986, he returned to the Keiskammahoek organisation. He felt driven to further his studies and for a while enrolled with a correspondence university. However he soon found that he was unhappy with his choice of subjects, dropped his studies and enrolled for a course in Business Administration with a different university. After being transferred to heading one of the sections of the irrigation scheme in 1988, he was finally promoted into the position of overall scheme manager in 1990. This was the post that he occupied at the time of the interview.

At the time of the interview the irrigation scheme was facing something of a crisis. As a result of economic and political pressures they were moving towards privatizing individual farms and possibly closing down the central dairy operation.

Education was a particularly crucial issue for the participant in looking at his life. This is illustrated in the following quote:

I got to where I am through suffering in childhood. I sought to catch education because I saw education as a tool to pull myself out of the pressure. Education has done that.

He also spoke about the crucial role that he saw his community playing in his life. He sought to integrate his community life with his skills and his occupational position. As a result of this he saw no real opportunity for private time and felt that he was constantly in one way or another enmeshed with his community. Much of this related to playing the part of a role model.

In Middledrift where I grew up, most of the families

wanted their children to plant. A few sent their kids to school and they have become the example. We are now seeing qualified people, people with goals who are role models.

He felt that work was an extremely important thing for people.

Work results in many things, you reveal things of value to humankind by working. But if you just sit and wait for something to come to you, then there is no life. If you sit doing nothing then your body will waste away. Your energy needs to be used up to strengthen your body. Some people see work as a punishment, but work is not a punishment.

He described his personal goals in working as the development of himself and his family. In this he sought material and financial gain but also spoke about a goal of "self-actualization".

In looking at his life he described all but his sport activity as a form of work. Work for him included his employment experiences, his family life and his studying. He included family amongst his work experiences because he felt responsible for its creation and support and because in his family role he had to exercise authority and discipline. Sport as a non-work activity was particularly defined by its pleasurable rather than essential nature and the idea that it represented freedom rather than responsibility. His most favoured forms of work were associated with bringing together service to self and service to others, participating voluntarily rather than feeling forced, necessitating serious commitment rather than being relaxed and having the form of a complex rather than a simple task.

6.6.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.6.3.1 General.

In contrast to many of the other groups, this group showed some degree of pre-planning in their occupational and career development. Roughly half of the sample had had relatively affluent childhood backgrounds and had chosen and been directed towards particular careers. However, little diversity in occupational options appears to have been available to these participants and one commented that they had become involved in education because "teaching was the only career available at the time". The pattern

therefore appears to be one of following a career for the sake of its status and stability rather than its inherent interest. This was, however, contradicted in a number of cases where there was obviously a high degree of personal commitment to the work being done.

Parental affluence was by no means a universal experience for this niche and other participants had faced considerable hardship in their upbringing. Amongst these individuals, patterns of great occupational diversity were common. A number had worked as manual labourers in their early careers and had attempted a number of occupations.

Education was highly valued by participants in this niche and was seen to be crucial to occupational and personal success. This was well illustrated in the case example given earlier.

Another feature of this group was a common pattern of rapid development of occupational seniority. Career paths were typified by substantial jumps in occupational status. A proportion of this may be attributable to the occupational vacuums created by the process of homeland independence. Going along with this, many of the participants indicated that there had been political factors involved in their appointment to positions and that political sensitivity and connectedness was crucial to ongoing success. Regardless of the underlying issues, it was clear that this group was in the vanguard of occupational and social change in the district.

6.6.3.2 Work values.

The work value profile detailed in Table 18 shows an emphasis placed by this group on the personal cluster, and in particular on health related issues within this. The moral and materialistic clusters are also significantly represented, and socially related issues also receive some mention.

Table 18 Work Values: Civil Servants.

THEME CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(6)	
Well-being	2	To get the requirements for a normal life.
Financial	4	In order to get finance.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(5)	
Moral	4	You reveal things of value to humankind by working.
Religious	1	Do you want me to quote from the Bible?
3. PERSONAL	(12)	
Development and fulfilment	4	If you sit and wait for things to come to you then there is no life.
Health	8	Your energy needs to be used up to strengthen your health.
4. SOCIAL	(3)	
Community and society	3	By working you contribute to the development of people and hence your nation and community.

6.6.3.3 Personal work motives.

Four clusters of personal work motives emerged for this group. Family related motives were the most common and were put forward by six of the participants. In terms of this cluster, participants stated that they worked for the support and improvement of their family's life conditions and the education of their children. The next most frequent cluster was put forward by five participants and related to social factors. In terms of this, participants proposed that through working they sought to benefit and develop their community. The two remaining clusters comprised material and general well-being, and personal development and had a frequency of three and two respectively. In terms of these, participants stated that they worked in order to survive and to develop themselves in some way.

6.6.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

The explanations put forward by this group for differences in personal wealth related primarily to situational and

individualistic factors. Thirteen situational explanatory elements occurred, as opposed to nine individualistic ones. In total only three explanatory elements fitting into the fatalistic category were put forward.

6.6.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.6.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

A total of eight of the ten participants in this niche distinguished between work and non-work life elements.

6.6.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

Table 19 Work and non-work elements: Civil Servants.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Employment (all forms)	10	*Sports participation	5
*Schooling/studying	7	Socializing	3
Training	1	*Schooling/studying	2
*Sports participation	1	*Church attendance	2
*Church attendance	1	*Interaction with family	2
Herding cattle as a boy	1	Reading	1
*Gardening	1	Listening to radio	1
*Interaction with family	1	*Gardening	1
		Involvement in voluntary organisations	1

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

Details of the elements recorded as work and non-work are given in Table 19. It will be noted that there is considerable ambivalence associated with the range of both work and non-work elements.

Employment as a work element and socializing as a non-work element are perhaps the only two that are notable in their frequency and lack of opposition.

6.6.4.3 Centrality.

Regarding the issue of the relative centrality of work and non-work, the rankings of grid elements gave the indication that, in general, non-work was perceived to be less personally significant than work. In five of the seven cases where non-work was included, a non-work element was ranked lowest overall. However, there was one case in which a non-work element (gardening) was ranked highest overall.

In the relative rankings of work elements, the most noticeable trends to emerge were that study, where included as work, tended to be highly ranked and that the same applied to current employment positions.

6.6.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

Referring to Table 20, it will be noted that by far the most dominant construct cluster in relation to the distinction between work and non-work for this niche, was that of control. In terms of this, basic responsibility and control in work was contrasted to freedom and autonomy implicit in non-work. The emphasis on this form of construct is understandable, given that most of these individuals were in responsible executive and managerial roles.

Going along with the control cluster the next most frequent cluster was that of affect. Here, tension and strain associated with work was seen to contrast with relaxation in non-work activity.

Table 20 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Civil Servants.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	2	- paid - income	- not paid - loss
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	8	- controlled - demanding - time control - compulsory - responsible - responsibility - personally responsible - necessary for survival	- control myself - free will - no time control - voluntary - not responsible - freedom - not personally responsible - enjoyment
MOTIVATION: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the activities.	2	- helping others - knowledge growth	- helping yourself - spiritual growth
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the activities.	3	- tense - mental strain - task focused	- relaxed - refreshing - free
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	1	- struggle	- no struggle
EVALUATION: Differences in the individuals personal appraisal of the merits and demerits of work and non-work activity.	1	- essential	- not essential

6.6.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

A range of construct distinctions between most and least valued forms of work are presented in Table 21. As can be seen, the three most common thematic clusters related to outcome, motivation and social factors. In terms of these, the most valued forms of work tended to be associated with material and personal development, greater personal commitment and positive social conditions. It should, however, be noted that there was some ambivalence associated with this last factor. Besides these central theme

Table 21 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Civil Servants.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	4	- safety - use body and mind - complexity - scope for innovation	- danger - use body alone - clear direction - no scope for innovation
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	11	- develops me - fulfilling (X2) - self development (X2) - gain experience - gain knowledge - benefit materially - income - financial loss - of personal benefit	- doesn't develop me - limited - static - routine - little knowledge - no material benefit - expenditure - income - misleading
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	4	- autonomy - rule myself - free - not forced	- control - be ruled - confined - forced
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	3	- secure - serious - confident	- insecure - relaxed - inexperienced
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	7	- duty - for self and others - means to, and an end in itself - committed - feel compelled (X2) - serving self	- freedom - for self - means to an end - less committed - feel voluntary - serving others
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	6	- with others - working with others (X2) - feel isolated (forester) - in touch with the community - dealing with people	- alone - working alone - be with others - not in touch with the community - dealing with things
RESPONSIBILITY: Differences in the level and nature of responsibility demanded within the forms of work.	1	- take responsibility	- not caring

clusters, there was also a range of other construct distinctions associated with task characteristics, control, affect and responsibility.

6.7 WHITES IN SIGNIFICANT OCCUPATIONAL POSITIONS.

6.7.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

This was a relatively small niche sample, comprising only six male participants. The occupations of participants were in the fields of farming, industry, medicine and commerce. Some of the participants were self-employed while others held key positions of employment. As might be expected, the educational and occupational levels for this group were amongst the highest of the niches.

A noteworthy feature of this niche was that a minority of the participants actually resided in Keiskammahoek. Of the six participants, only two were permanently resident in the area, with the others choosing to commute from neighbouring "white" areas. This factor is indicative of the group's cultural and social marginalization in the area.

6.7.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 5/12/91)

This participant was born in 1954, in the Eastern Cape where his parents were farmers. He spent his childhood on the farm, where he learnt to speak Xhosa fluently. After attending a local primary school, he was sent as a boarder to a private senior school. Following this, he attended university, graduating in 1978. After two years in the military doing his national service, he was appointed to a post at a Ciskeian institution. In 1984, four years later, he was transferred to the Keiskammahoek district. At the

time of the interview the participant held a senior post.

The participant was married with three young children. He and his wife had bought a property in a rural village in South African territory adjoining Keiskammahoek, from where it was possible for him to commute to work. He felt that a rural setting was his ideal life context and that he was particularly fortunate to be in a position to combine his professional life with life in the rural Eastern Cape.

In terms of his own life circumstances, he made a definite distinction between work and non-work, in which non-work was ascribed a positive quality and work a negative one. From his personal perspective, work assumed the character of non-work, according to the extent to which it fulfilled the criterion of leading to personal growth and fulfilment. Work was associated with the factors of not being personally essential (i.e. in a non-material sense), imposing external limits on one, being emotionally contained, occurring in an alienating environment and being associated with an impersonal service orientation. In contrast, non-work was seen as personally essential, open and exploratory, socially positive, aesthetically harmonious and emotionally free. Within this personal framework, the participant placed his employment-related experience in a work category and study, handcrafts and the construction of his own home in the non-work category.

The participant's evaluations of work and non-work were quite clearly based on the assumption that material needs were not a primary issue. Whilst some of the importance of employment activity was attributed to its role in satisfying material and security needs, there was little association between material need satisfaction and the highly valued non-work activities.

At a general level, not specifically referring to his own circumstances, the participant regarded work as a form of discipline essential for personal growth. However, he saw this as being conditional on the individual finding the right kind of work. "People find themselves in work, if they find the right kind of work and work hard enough. I think you have to be exploratory about your work".

6.7.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.7.3.1 General.

There were a number of distinguishing characteristics in this group, amongst the most significant of which were their high level

of expertise, relatively high level of affluence and the diversity within their life experience and interests. Although the extent of the integration of these individuals with the general Keiskammahoek population varied considerably, they were constantly aware and made aware of their racial and cultural marginalization within the local context. In discussion with them, there was inevitably a tendency to externalise the issues and problems of the area and there was a sense of them being "involved outsiders". This was true even in the case of one participant who had been born and raised in the area and who had held a civic office in the town.

There were a variety of motives underlying the participants' presence in the area. The majority were obviously motivated by the business and entrepreneurial opportunities present in Keiskammahoek. However, beyond this, it was also clear that social commitment and physical environmental factors also played a role. All participants felt that in some way their presence contributed to the support or development of the district.

The work/non-work constructive distinction for this group was characterised by considerable complexity. While work provided a central theme in these individuals' lives, their attitude towards conventional paid employment forms of work was conditional and often not particularly positive. Decisions on the classification of activities as being either work or non-work seemed to be based largely on the extent to which the individual could exercise control and discretion in the situation, and the nature of the situational outcomes. Self-employment and professional employment were strongly represented in this group and both of these conditions seemed to be associated with a blurring of the distinction between work and non-work.

6.7.3.2 Work values.

Table 22 reflects an approximate balance between materialistic, moral and personal theme clusters in the work values for this niche

sample. Work was regarded as important because it was seen to be necessary for self development, material well-being and general moral cohesion and compliance. It is of interest to note that a social cluster was not represented in the responses.

Table 22 Work Values: Whites.

THEME CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(2)	
Well-being	2	People can better themselves.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(3)	
Moral	3	Many without anything to do find fault with others.
3. PERSONAL	(3)	
Development and fulfilment	3	It's a way of finding out where you are; a form of sussing out who you are. You won't find yourself unless you work through things.

6.7.3.3 Personal work motives.

The personal work motives for this group related to three theme clusters. The most common was that of personal development and fulfilment. This included the idea that work was enjoyable and was a way of keeping busy and avoiding boredom. The second most common theme related to material and general well-being and put forward the idea that work provided a means of maintaining a standard of living. Finally, some mention was made of a social work motive suggesting that work was important because it provided a service to others.

6.7.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

The explanations offered in this niche for differences in personal wealth were heavily weighted in favour of situational factors. No fatalistic explanations were put forward and there were only two explanatory elements fitting into the individualistic niche.

6.7.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.7.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

Of the six participants, five made a distinction between work and non-work elements in their lives. One participant, while recognising that such a distinction exists, felt that there was no aspect of their life which could be classified as non-work.

6.7.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

In Table 23 it can be seen that amongst the work elements for this niche, employment and own business activity are the most prominent and unopposed elements. Competitive sport and participation in voluntary organisations are also unopposed, but occur at a lower frequency.

Amongst the non-work elements, socializing is the most notably unopposed element. Family interaction occurs frequently but shows a degree of ambivalence.

Table 23 Work and non-work elements: Whites.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Employment (all forms)	6	*Interaction with family	4
Own business	4	Socializing	2
Participation in voluntary organisations	2	Fishing	1
Sports participation (competitive)	2	*Schooling/studying	1
*Schooling/studying	1	*Handicrafts	1
*Handicrafts	1	Building a home	1
*Interaction with family	1		
Farming	1		

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.7.4.3 Centrality.

There was little evidence of a set pattern in the relationship between work and non-work for this group. In general, however, it did appear that non-work activity was located in the mid to high range of the rankings. In two cases interaction with family as a non-work element was ranked highest overall. It can be concluded that non-work activity played a relatively important role in this niche.

Regarding the inter-work element rankings, the general indication was that private and self-managed forms of work tended to be highly ranked, while employment in various forms was ranked in the low to mid-range.

6.7.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

The most common construct distinctions between work and non-work in this niche related to the control and task demand clusters. In general, while work was seen to display features such as

Table 24 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Whites.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	3	- compelled - time control - emotionally constrained	- free choice - no time control - emotionally free
MOTIVATION: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the activities.	1	- not necessary for growth	- personal growth
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the activities.	1	- alienating environment	- aesthetic harmony
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	1	- active	- relaxing
TASK DEMAND: Differences in the particular demands placed on the individual by the activities.	2	- definite limits - service orientation	- exploratory/open - personal orientation

compulsion, constraint and imposing limits, non-work was seen to relate to freedom, exploration, relaxation and personal harmony. Most notably, there was a general sense of the more positive attributes being associated with non-work.

6.7.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

A complex range of constructs emerged as important in this group's distinction between most and least valued forms of work. Though the reader is best referred to Table 25 for an analysis of the results, it can be pointed out that the most emphasized cluster was that of task characteristics and demands.

Table 25 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Whites.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	8	- exploratory/open - creative - change - unlimited - complex task - multiple possibilities - good working conditions - wide physical environment	- definite limits - repetitive - routine - limited - simple task - limited possibilities - poor working conditions - close, intense environment
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	2	- learning new things - satisfying outcome	- not learning new things - static outcome
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	3	- autonomy - free choice - freedom	- control - compelled - control
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	3	- fulfilling - tranquillity - enjoy	- not fulfilling - stress - dislike
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	4	- strong motivation - serious participation - pursue a light - for self and others	- weak motivation - casual participation - follow a routine - for others
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	2	- personal - warm interpersonal relationships	- impersonal - distant interpersonal relationships
RESPONSIBILITY: Differences in the level and nature of responsibility demanded within the forms of work.	2	- responsible for success - own responsibility	- not responsible for success - others responsibility

6.8 WOMEN IN DOMESTIC ROLES.

6.8.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

All 11 participants in this niche were women whose primary activity centred around their home environments and comprised such activities as the raising of children, home management and home maintenance. The ages of the sample ranged between 22 and 69 and five of the participants were widows. Of the remaining six, four were married and two were single.

Income sources for the sample included old age and disability pensions and support from working children and husbands. The range of employment experience was generally limited and the nine participants who had had employment experience, had worked either as domestic servants or manual labourers. After marriage, employment experience was rare.

The sample was drawn from throughout the Keiskammahoek district, including remote areas and the Keiskammahoek town.

6.8.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 22/10/91)

This participant owned and was living in a house in a rural village a few kilometres from Keiskammahoek town. She was the head of a large household, consisting of herself and six children, the youngest of whom was still at school. Her husband had died in 1986, since which time she had been solely responsible for the family. Her main source of family income at the time of interviewing was an old age pension.

The participant was born in Rabula in the Keiskammahoek district, in 1928. She went to school in the area, and passed Standard 6 in 1946. Her father refused to allow her to go further, because he

wished to educate his son, and could not afford to keep them both at school. He felt that it was more important for a man to have an education than for a woman. This was a source of great sadness and regret for her.

My father's decision not to educate me was very painful. Although I do not bear a grudge against him, if he had educated me, I would have had a tombstone made for him.

She spent her young adult life at home and never sought wage employment. She was married in 1951, and moved to her husband's home. She describes her life with her husband as one of economic hardship. He was employed as a labourer in a farm dairy, and later as a watchman, and "we struggled so that the children could go to school". They could not afford to educate their first child, the second went as far as Standard 8, the third Standard 7, and the next two sons passed Standard 10. One of her sons obtained a college diploma in Public Service Law, and up until shortly before the interview had been working in a government clerical position in Keiskammahoek.

In 1986, when he was returning from work, her husband was knocked down and killed by a motor car. In the few years after her husband's death, the family survived on the salaries of two of her sons, who were in State employment. However, after these two lost their jobs as a result of taking part in a strike, the family was left entirely dependant on the participant's pension.

The participant felt that in general, work was extremely important for people. "Because if one works, one is working for one's future. If someone is working, he can take a portion of the money that he earns and put it into savings, and this can be used in an emergency". She felt that, with regard to her own life, no facet could be regarded as non-work. The principal components of her work comprised working in the home, studying as a child, attending church, and time spent with friends.

Church, which was associated with "feeding the soul, as opposed to feeding the flesh", held great importance for her. She particularly regretted not having been in employment, as this meant that she had never had the opportunity to earn money and develop any savings. A major issue for the participant was the position of women in rural society, and what this had meant in her life.

Women's work is not taken as important work because there is no income. This is an unfair perception, and has been a source of frustration to me. On this question regarding the status of women's work, you don't work on one thing like in employment. You have many responsibilities and it is all on your shoulders.....you are embarrassed by the statement that you are staying at home doing nothing. Sometimes the job can't be left behind at five o'clock;

still they say you are doing nothing and look down upon us. For the housewife things have changed (referring to the tasks that they do), but the status of women has not changed. My daughter may have different experiences because of her education.

6.8.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.8.3.1 General.

There are a number of gender related contextual issues which are of relevance to this niche. A lack of geographical mobility is a major issue and is particularly linked to monetary income problems. Because of their domestic responsibilities as wives and mothers, these women tend to be tied to their home environments and are thus left dependant on husbands, other family members or the state for monetary income. Although combining some form of remunerated employment with domestic responsibilities could ease financial difficulties, the volume of work in the domestic environment and the fact that there are very few employment opportunities in Keiskammahoek, makes this unfeasible in most cases. The effects of dependency are exacerbated by the fact that such income is frequently inadequate and unreliable. Given the system of migrancy and the dearth of employment opportunities in Keiskammahoek, these women are often left solely responsible for the management of domestic affairs and must see to the education of children, the provision of food and general home maintenance.

For those fortunate enough to have an income from a pension, other problems applied. Often pension money was the only form of household income and in these cases it had to be used to support the entire family, even adult unemployed offspring. In the niche sample of eleven participants, four were dependant on pensions as a primary source of income.

Given the conditions of poverty that applied in many cases and the

consequent struggle for survival, it is not surprising that work in this niche assumed an all-encompassing quality. "You don't work at one thing like in employment, you have many responsibilities; its all on your shoulders".

The recognition of the importance of these women's work and its status is another problematic issue. In general these women felt that there was too little recognition for what they do. One participant stated: "Women's work is not taken as important work because there is no income". Another: "...still they (men) say you are doing nothing and they look down on us". Going along with this low work status was a sense of resigned, fatalistic acceptance of their role and position as married women. This was borne out by one participant's statement: "Us black women, we are just taken and put into long dresses".

In a number of respects, education emerged as an important issue for this niche. While their own educational level was in the mid range of the occupational niches, education of children was advocated as an extremely important issue. Often the education of children necessitated considerable economic sacrifice and effort but this was inevitably considered worthwhile. Commonly, education was seen as a way out of the hardship experienced by the mothers. One participant commented: "If you are educated you won't have a hard time in life; you can work for yourself and not depend on others."

6.8.3.2 Work values.

As can be seen in Table 26, with regard to the work values for this niche, materialistic and personal theme clusters emerged as the most central. Further, within these two clusters, the sub-clusters of health and survival appeared as particularly important. Moral and social themes are also reflected in the responses although not with the same frequency.

Table 26 Work Values: Women.

THESE CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(5)	
Survival	4	Everything comes from your strength; you can't survive without working. No work means no food.
Well-being	1	Because one is working for one's future.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(2)	
Fatalistic	1	When you are married you can't sit without work.
Moral	1	You must work in order not to be a rascal.
3. PERSONAL	(6)	
Development and fulfilment	1	A person who does not work has no love and is vicious and desperate.
Health	5	A person who employs someone else to do work is killing himself because the body must function.
4. SOCIAL	(2)	
Family	2	You work in order to keep the home in control.

6.8.3.3 Personal work motives.

The principal cluster of personal work motives for this niche related to material and general well-being. As in the case of the niche's general work values, the struggle for health and survival appeared to be an important determinant of responses. A moral cluster and a personal development and fulfilment cluster were also represented in the responses, while there was a little support for social and family related motives.

6.8.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

This niche most strongly emphasized fatalistic elements in their explanations of wealth and poverty, indicating a tendency towards an externalised, disempowered view of the world. Both situational and individualistic explanations also occurred in the responses, but at a lower frequency.

6.8.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.8.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

Only two of the participants in this group made a distinction between work and non-work and this suggests that, for the most part within this niche, life and work are synonymous. The simple need for survival and adequate material comfort is paramount and work is an unquestionable way of life. This point is well illustrated in the following quote.

All in life is work if you are devoted to it. Anything done with devotion is work; work is following the duty of life. There is nothing in life that is not work, fetching water or firewood is work, even washing a spoon is work.

6.8.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

As detailed in Table 27, there were a range of unopposed work elements that occurred in this niche. It should be noted that all three of the non-work elements recorded were ambivalent in their classification.

Table 27 Work and non-work elements: Women.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Schooling/ studying	9	*Socializing	1
Employment (all forms)	9	*Church attendance	1
Housework	9	*Watching television	1
Raising children	8		
*Church attendance	5		
Caring for stock	3		
Home management	2		
Interaction with family	2		
Hawking	2		
Agriculture	2		
*Socializing	2		
*Watching television	1		
Handcrafts	1		
Making clay animals as a child	1		

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.8.4.3 Centrality.

For the two cases in this niche where a distinction between work and non-work was made, a clear indication was given that non-work was regarded as less important than work. Amongst the work elements, the most highly ranked forms of activity tended to be the raising of children, studying and, where included, church attendance. House-work and agricultural activities tended to be ranked in the mid range while employment and television tended to be ranked low.

6.8.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

The construct distinctions between work and non-work for this group need to be interpreted with reference to the small proportion of

participants who actually made the distinction between work and non-work. Nevertheless, the general indication detailed in Table 28 is that while work was associated with factors of personal benefit, a sense of compulsion and routine and the evaluation of being important, non-work was seen to be of little or no benefit, voluntary, associated with change and evaluated as being unimportant.

Table 28 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Women.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	2	- get money - benefit personally	- get nothing - don't benefit personally
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	1	- feel compelled	- voluntary
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	1	- routine	- change
EVALUATION: Differences in the individuals personal appraisal of the merits and demerits of work and non-work activity.	1	- important	- unimportant

6.8.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

As described in Table 29, the most frequently represented clusters for this niche were those of outcome, control and task characteristics and demands. It will be noted that there are a number of construct reversals within the clusters. These include the constructs proposing a distinction between mental and physical effort, between payment and non-payment and between controlling and being controlled. Although there is obvious significance attached to these reversals, it would seem fair to suggest that the tendency

of the majority within the entire niche sample, best suggests the correct direction of the construct.

Table 29 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Women.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	7	- using strength - using brains - much to do - not tiring - refreshing - time not controlled - thinking a lot	- not using strength - using energy - little to do - tiring - tiring - time controlled - relaxing
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	10	- being developed - no payment (X3) - money - profit (X2) - promotes health - growth - for the soul	- developing others - get money - no money - no profit - does nothing for you - routine - for the flesh
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	6	- working for self (X3) - be ruled (X2) - control self	- working for others - rule myself - be controlled
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	1	- worried	- not worried
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	3	- for learning - devotion (X2)	- getting money - free
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	1	- work with people	- work with things

6.9 UNEMPLOYED.

6.9.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

This niche sample of twelve male participants had the lowest average level of education of all the niche samples. Terms and conditions of unemployment varied considerably and the average length of unemployment for the sample was approximately five years. There was also variation in the last form of employment held and positions included skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled positions. Four of the participants had worked previously as mine contract labourers and the occupations of the others included a garage attendant, a bus driver, a magistrates court clerk, an unqualified mechanic, a sawmill worker, a teacher, a local headman and a barman.

The sample was drawn from eight different areas in the district and included some of the most isolated sites and villages. None of the participants had a formal source of income and seven of them stated that they had no source of monetary support at all. The others either relied on income generated by other family members, savings or a pension received by a family member.

6.9.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 27/10/91)

This participant was an unemployed migrant labourer living at a village in the Keiskammahoek district with his wife and six young children. His home was extensive, consisting of five independent wattle and daub buildings, but was, however, in a poor state of repair. He had no agricultural land of his own but with access to communal grazing land he managed to maintain a small flock of five goats. His sole source of monetary income had been his wages earned as a contract mine labourer. However, his last contract had finished a year before the interview and he had had no employment since then. He was unwilling to return to the mines because of the

violence then being experienced in the mine hostels but at the same time had little chance of being employed elsewhere. He and his family had been surviving on his savings but these were dwindling.

He was fifty two years old and had been born in the district, not far from the site of his home. He never attended school and spent his entire youth at home. At the approximate age of seventeen he enrolled for his first mine labour contract and went to work on a Transvaal gold mine. His first contract was for only nine months. However, he returned again the following year and for the next seventeen years worked on four different gold mines. His longest unbroken contract during this time was for an eight year period at the Western Area mine. During this time he returned home only for brief periods of leave. His work during this period was primarily as an underground winch driver.

In 1975 he left the gold mines and took a contract at the Hlobane coal mine in Natal. Here he at last found some happiness. "It was the only time when my children and I were well looked after" he commented. He remained on this mine in unbroken service for sixteen years, again only returning home during his annual leave. Only on one occasion during this period did his wife visit him at the mine.

The termination of his employment finally came about in 1990, as a result of ethnic-based fighting amongst the mine labour force. As he described it, one night a group of Zulus entered the predominantly Xhosa mine hostel where he was staying and attacked them. In response to this crisis the mine management paid all of the Xhosa mine workers off and returned them home. The participant found himself at home with only limited accumulated savings and no pension. He had been paying unemployment insurance and as a result was paid out for four months, after which this too stopped.

What the participant found most difficult about his unemployment situation was that he was unable to care adequately for his children and maintain his home. "It is difficult to be without work and to have children; it is very difficult". He commented further that, "when you are working you are aiming at something, doing this and that, but with unemployment it feels to me as if my arms have been amputated. If I think of buying a sheep I won't be able to". This feeling of helplessness was further expressed in a metaphor which he used: "When you have nothing you can't do anything, you have no matches with which to light the flame... I can't do anything for myself, I have lost hope!".

At a general level, the participant felt that work was important to people because their survival and health depended on it and that without work there was a risk that people would turn to crime. Monetary income featured strongly in his own goals for working. He felt that if he had money he would be able to do things and put things right.

The only distinction that he made with regard to his life, between work and non-work was between his state of unemployment and all other aspects of his life. He considered everything other than his unemployment to be forms of work, including here his family life, as well as the jobs he had held. His family was central in his life interests, with his last employment position ranked second. In his assessment of work, the central issues related to his physical safety and the quality of the work environment, his own contentment and that of his family and the question of income. His family as a work component of his life was noteworthy, in as much as it was the one aspect where he was personally in control rather than being controlled by another.

6.9.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.9.3.1 General.

The actual experience of unemployment is obviously a crucial issue affecting work meanings within this group. Its profound influence on the goals and motives of the individuals emerged clearly. As one participant stated: "I have lost all my priorities and dreams and spiritually I have been pulled down".

Unfulfilled familial responsibilities appeared to be a particularly noteworthy source of problems. Many of the participants complained of being unable to see to the welfare and education of their children.

The group was characterised by a general sense of resigned hopelessness and an impaired sense of security. Coping strategies varied. Farming activity appeared to be a major means of filling in time, though none suggested that this was an adequate means of providing for needs. Other means of coping included limited informal sector activity and occasional local piecework.

6.9.3.2 Work values.

There were two principal clusters in the work values for this group. First was a cluster relating to personal factors, which in

particular included the sub-clusters of development and fulfilment, and health. Second was a materialistic cluster, which included the sub-cluster themes of survival and finance. Moral and social factors were also represented in the responses, though at a considerably lower frequency.

Table 30 Work Values: Unemployed.

THEME CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(9)	
Survival	5	One can't survive without working.
Financial	4	You must have money in the bank.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(3)	
Moral	3	(Work) keeps you busy and prevents you from doing wrong things.
3. PERSONAL	(10)	
Development and fulfilment	5	As a human being you have a lot of things to do as long as you are growing. If you are not working things will fail.
Health	4	It means something to your blood; it makes you well physically.
Psychological need	1	If you are not working it can worry you in your brain and someone will say that so-and-so is going insane.
4. SOCIAL	(2)	
Family	2	Children will be well brought up and stay in peace.

6.9.3.3 Personal work motives.

The predominant personal work motive expressed in this niche sample related to family issues. In terms of this, participants felt that they sought work in order to support their families and in general to provide them with a better standard of living. Personal development and fulfilment also featured as a motive, as did material and financial factors.

6.9.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

Situational, fatalistic and individualistic forms of explanation occurred in this niche. Although situational explanations were the most common, followed by individualistic, the frequency differences were generally small and there was a rough balance between the three forms of explanation.

6.9.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.9.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

A high proportion of this group made a distinction between work and non-work elements in their lives. Only one participant did not recognise such a distinction. This result is, however, conditioned by the fact that the state of unemployment itself was frequently included in the grids and was invariably regarded as a form of non-work. In three of the cases, unemployment was the only non-work element occurring in the grid.

6.9.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

Details of the work and non-work elements for this niche are portrayed in Table 31. It should be noted that once again employment occurs as a frequent and unopposed work element and that, conversely, unemployment is featured as a dominant form of non-work. Further, it can be noted that interaction with family and participating in sport were both ambivalent in their classification.

Table 31 Work and non-work elements: Unemployed.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Employment (all forms)	12	Unemployment	11
*Interaction with family	5	*Interacting with family	4
Farming	5	*Sports participation	3
Schooling/studying	4	Socializing	2
Church attendance	2	Caring for stock	1
Activities around the home	2		
Private business activity	2		
Occasional local piece- work	2		
*Sports participation	1		
Local political office	1		

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.9.4.3 Centrality.

Regarding the relative rankings of work and non-work, there was a general tendency for non-work elements to be valued less highly than work. Family interaction, where included as a non-work element however, tended to fare better and in two cases was ranked second amongst the combined elements. Amongst the work elements, family interaction emerged as being consistently highly ranked while employment experience varied in its ranking from most to least valued.

6.9.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

For this group, the work/non-work distinction was strongly conditioned by a contrast between the state of unemployment and wage employment. It is therefore not surprising that, as reflected in Table 32, outcome-related differences were the most commonly featured in distinguishing work from non-work. Outcome, in this

case, particularly related to material and financial benefit deriving from work, in contrast to a lack of earning and loss associated with non-work. Besides the outcome, control-related factors were put forward at a moderately high frequency and affect, quality of experience and task demand factors were also represented.

Table 32 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Unemployed.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	8	- earn or gain money (X3) - income - income - gaining things - allows you to plan - builds me up	- get nothing - waste of time - loss - losing things - planning ahead not possible - doesn't build me up
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	4	- be ruled - supervised or controlled (X2) - dependent on others	- control myself - free - not dependent on others
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the activities.	2	- strain - unhappy	- relief - happy
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	1	- tiring	- not tiring
TASK DEMAND: Differences in the particular demands placed on the individual by the activities.	1	- goal directed	- not goal directed

6.9.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

Table 33 indicates that for this group, the most common construct clusters in the distinction between most and least valued forms of

work, were control, and task characteristics and demands. Outcome, affect and social clusters were also featured. Although there is a fair degree of directional ambivalence in the constructs, there is a general indication that the more valued forms of work were associated with factors such as stability, safety, gain, the ability to exercise control and positive affective evaluation.

Table 33 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Unemployed.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	7	- work comfortably - strenuous - safety (X2) - cool air - near home - cannot be moved	- tiring - easy - danger - hot air - far from home - can be moved
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	4	- spiritual benefit - personal gain - paid - not paid	- physical benefit - no personal gain - not paid - paid
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	6	- rule self (X3) - be ruled - supervised - obligated	- be ruled - rule self - free - free
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	4	- concentration - confident - happy (X2)	- pleasure - worried - unhappy
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	2	- good fellowship - brings the family together	- poor fellowship - divides the family

6.10 YOUTH.

6.10.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

Of this niche sample of ten participants, three were females. All were high school pupils and the average education level achieved stood at 11.1 years of formal schooling. The school Standards attained by the group ranged between six and nine and there was one participant who was repeating Standard 10. Given this relatively high level of education, it would seem that this niche sample was representative of the educated sector of the youth in Keiskammahoek rather than the youth in general.

None of the participants were in remunerated employment and all were supported by other members of their families. Two of the participants were resident in the Keiskammahoek town while the remainder were drawn from a variety of areas in Keiskammahoek.

6.10.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 23/10/91)

This participant was living at his mother's home in Keiskammahoek town. He was the youngest of five siblings. He had completed his matriculation examination some five months prior to the interview and since that time had been hanging around town not certain what to do next. His parents were separated and his father was living some distance away but also within the Keiskammahoek region. His mother was a pensioner and the household subsisted on her pension income and the salary of one of the elder sons. The participant spoke fluent English, although it was his second language, and gave the impression of being an intelligent and reasonably well-informed individual.

The participant was born in 1970 in East London where his mother was employed as an hotel cook. He spent most of his youth on a small family farm in the Keiskammahoek district where he helped herding cattle and also began attending school. In 1979 his parents

decided to move to town and bought a property in the centre of Keiskammahoek. Moving to town was a major change for him and he had to adjust considerably. He found that, in contrast to the "rural situation" where one does not know "what is happening on the other side of the hill", there was much to learn and experience in town. However while life became more exciting and easier, he also found that he had new problems to deal with. The family had difficulty adjusting to the increased costs of living in town and their altered life style. In addition he found that he had new social pressures to face. He particularly commented on the issue of "gangsterism" in town and how he had had to find a way of fitting in.

He continued his studies at two schools near the town, and besides one year when his studies were disrupted by student political activity and personal problems, his scholastic career was relatively uneventful. He did not sit for his matriculation examination in 1990 and instead wrote in May of the following year. He had failed to obtain a matric exemption but was not intending to return to school. He spoke about enrolling at a technical college for a course in industrial work studies in the following year but was uncertain if he would be able to obtain funds to support himself while studying. If this plan fell through, his intention was to move to one of the larger urban centres and look for work.

The participant felt that at a general level work was very important and gave three reasons for this. Firstly that "everything comes out of people's hands and that life depends on working". Secondly, that for the individual work was important because it allowed them to be self-dependent. "Without working you are nothing". Finally, he also felt that to improve the general standard of society it was necessary for people to work together. At a personal level he described his own goals in working to be to produce an income that he could depend on in the future and also permit him to have a social life. "To enjoy my social life I must work because a social life costs".

The participant made a clear distinction between work and non-work activity in his life; associating work with employment and non-work with anything which was not employment. The two principal non-work elements that emerged were sport and socializing, both of which were of obvious importance to him. In distinguishing work from non-work, what appeared to be particularly important to him was that, in non-work he felt independent rather than dependent, and that non-work cost him money rather than providing him with money.

In considering his future career, his desired options included personnel work and teaching. At the opposite end of the scale his least desired options included becoming a policeman or a farmer. The principal factors on which this judgement was based included a desire for physical safety rather than danger, a desire for participation rather than being told what to do, mental rather than

physical effort and a desire for interacting with people rather than with technical things.

In looking to his future, the participant was not optimistic. He felt uncertain about his prospects for obtaining work or further training and was uncertain as to what to do next.

6.10.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.10.3.1 General.

A particularly notable feature of this group was their unstable school attendance patterns. Many of the pupils had attended three or more schools and this seemed to result from several factors. School boycotts and political activity was one obvious reason. The geographical dispersion of the schools, their relative reputations and the curricula offered, were further contributing factors. A number of the pupils were at schools a considerable distance away from their homes, which often meant that they would have to find board and lodging closer to the school.

The financial demands of attending school and the general conditions of poverty, resulted in a common uncertainty about continued school attendance. Although some of the families of the pupils seemed quite able to cope, others were experiencing financial difficulty. In a number of cases, older employed siblings were responsible for supporting participants' attendance at school. These individuals had often forgone their own education in order to be able to support younger brothers or sisters.

6.10.3.2 Work values.

The major work value theme clusters for this niche were material, social and personal. Two points of particular note are the frequency with which a finance-related theme occurred, and the relative importance of the community sub-cluster. These two emphases indicate a somewhat different pattern in the work values

in this niche, relative to the others.

Table 34 Work Values: Youth.

THEME CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(8)	
Survival	2	You can't survive without working. There are those on the mines; without them how would we survive?
Financial	6	Everything needs money and it is therefore wise for a man to work to get money.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(1)	
Moral	1	If they (people) stay at home with no work there will be trouble in the location.
3. PERSONAL	(5)	
Development and fulfilment	3	Without working you are nothing.
Health	1	Work keeps the body fresh.
Psychological need	1	If you just sit down you get frustrated.
4. SOCIAL	(6)	
Community and society	4	Work brings people together as a community.
Family	2	You can support your parents.

6.10.3.3 Personal work motives.

The most frequently occurring personal work motive for this niche related to a concern with family. In terms of this, participants would seek to work in order to develop home and family. Motives falling into the material and general well-being cluster were the second most frequent. Social motives, which particularly included a desire to help others, along with personal development were also represented. Finally, there was one instance of financial motive emerging.

6.10.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

In explaining differences in wealth and poverty, this niche strongly emphasized situational forms of explanation. This can be understood in terms of the fact that this group was relatively socially and politically aware. Individualistic forms of explanation were the second most common, while fatalistic forms occurred infrequently.

6.10.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.10.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

All members of this group made a distinction between work and non-work activity.

6.10.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

As was explained in the last chapter, a proportion of the elements constituting the grids for this niche was made up of potential future forms of work, which the participants saw as either desirable or undesirable. In selecting these, the participants invariably chose to propose desirable and undesirable forms of employment.

The overall range of employment forms put forward was reasonably limited and reflects on the limited range of occupational role models and occupational information available to the youth in Keiskammahoek. The more commonly occurring occupations were in the fields of medicine, teaching, the military, religion, agriculture and law.

The range of non-work elements included in the grids is detailed in Table 35. The emphasis on sport and media in the elements is noteworthy.

Table 35 Work and non-work elements: Youth.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Employment (all forms)	10	Participating in sport	7
- REFER TO TEXT -		Listening to the radio	4
		Watching television	2
		Reading	2
		Watching sport	1
		Studying	1
		Playing music	1
		Helping people	1
		Socializing	1

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.10.4.3 Centrality.

Regarding the relative centrality of work and non-work, no fixed pattern emerged. On average, non-work elements were ranked in the mid-range of the overall evaluations, although there was a wide range of rankings, including both extremes.

Relating to the work elements, of the employment alternatives put forward, military and police careers seemed to be particularly unpopular options. The range of desirable options was limited and emphasized medical and service professions. In only a few cases were technical and agricultural positions proposed as being desirable. Teaching was the one career which was commonly rated both positively and negatively.

6.10.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

It will be noted in Table 36 that, in distinguishing between work and non-work, this niche placed a heavy emphasis on outcome-related factors. Work was particularly associated with income and

benefit, while non-work was seen to be associated with little or no material benefit. Motivational and task demand factors were also recorded for more than one participant, while affective, control, quality of experience and evaluative distinctions were each mentioned once.

Table 36 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Youth.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	10	- monetary income (X4) - income/profit (X3) - benefits you physically - develops people - productive	- no monetary income - loss - doesn't benefit you physically - does nothing for people - unproductive
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	1	- dependent	- independent
MOTIVATION: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the activities.	2	- to get money - helping others	- developing oneself - helping self
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the activities.	1	- serious	- enjoyment
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	1	- purposeful	- pleasure
TASK DEMAND: Differences in the particular demands placed on the individual by the activities.	3	- no time for others - use brains - to think	- time for others - use energy - to relax
EVALUATION: Differences in the individuals personal appraisal of the merits and demerits of work and non-work activity.	1	- essential	- not essential

6.10.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

In distinguishing between desirable and undesirable forms of work, this niche placed particular emphasis on factors relating to task

Table 37 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Youth.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	13	- safe (X5) - protected - helping people - time for people - technical skills - needs brains (X3) - easy	- unsafe - unprotected - not helping people - no time for people - human values - needs strength - difficult
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	4	- develops people - helps the community - unlimited income - much money	- does nothing for the people - doesn't contribute to the community - limited income - less money
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	2	- democratic - own boss	- autocratic - ruled
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	1	- like	- dislike
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	5	- respected by others - loved by the people - acceptable to the people - trustworthy status (X2)	- not respected by others - hated by the people - unpopular with the people - untrustworthy
PERFORMANCE: Differences relating to performance in the work situations.	2	- will succeed (X2)	- will fail

characteristics and demands. In terms of this cluster, desirable work was seen to be particularly associated with safety, the use of mental rather than physical effort, and having a positive social impact. The social cluster was also frequently represented, as was the outcome cluster. Social factors in general appear to be particularly important within this niche, and are reflected both directly and indirectly in the thematic clusters. The indication is

that this group had a particular desire to find social acceptance and respect in work and to be of service to others.

6.11 MIGRANTS.

6.11.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NICHE SAMPLE.

The sample in this niche consisted of ten male participants, ranging in age from 23 to 57. The sample recorded an average level of education of 5.5 years of formal schooling, which was only marginally higher than the lowest placed, unemployed niche.

All the participants were employed at sites a considerable distance from Keiskammahoek and spent a substantial proportion of their time away from the area. Their forms of occupation varied and included blue collar industrial positions, labouring positions in mining, construction and commerce, domestic service, and one was a South African police constable.

6.11.2 ILLUSTRATIVE CASE EXAMPLE.

(Interviewed 2/12/91)

This participant was born at a village in the Keiskammahoek district in 1928 and attended school there, only going as far as Sub B (two years of formal school) because, as he put it, "the old people then thought about cattle they did not value education". At the age of 18 he went to Port Elizabeth, where he got a job as a labourer with Escom (an electricity supply organisation). He left after two years and moved to East London where he was employed by an hotel as a cleaner for a number of years. Following this, he got a job with a large textile company in East London and remained there for twenty years. After this period he returned home, fully intending not to leave again in search of employment. However, he found it increasingly difficult to survive in the rural areas without a fixed income and in 1981 again left to seek work. This

time he found employment at the Mercedes Benz plant in East London and worked there on the assembly line. His health, however, began to decline and he developed rheumatism. He became unable to cope with the physical demands of the assembly line job and was given a lighter job as a cleaner on the shop floor. At the time of the interview he had one year to go before officially retiring.

He was married in 1954, to a woman from the adjoining Amatole Basin and established a home in a village not far from his parents' home. He had two children, both of whom were in their thirties at the time of the interview and had moved to urban areas. In addition to his job at the motor plant, he also farmed on a limited scale. Although his own property was only large enough for an extensive vegetable garden, he had access to the surrounding commonage. With this he was able to support a few goats and up until shortly before the interview, five head of cattle, which had apparently died during a drought. His farming operations were made difficult by his absences from home and had to be managed during his visits home, which occurred, at best, at fortnightly intervals.

In reviewing his life, the participant made no distinction between work and non-work. He regarded all of life as work of one form or another. Work for him was important because it was necessary for survival and because it was seen to be essential for physical health. "If you are not working your body won't be right because your blood will not flow well. At my age I would have been dead by now if I was not working". His principal goals in working were focused on the home. "I want to make my home look beautiful and once I am pensioned I want cattle again".

In a comparative evaluation of different forms of work in his life, a number of discriminating factors emerged as being significant. Work was seen to be important, in as much as he felt that it had contributed to his personal development, and improved his future prospects. Autonomy and personal control, although apparently important, did not appear to be directly related to his evaluation of work. Despite his limited schooling, education emerged as a highly ranked element in his life. With regard to employment, the amount of cash income was seen as important, as were the quality of work conditions. Church attendance made a particular contribution to his life as a source of "nourishment to the soul", while other forms of work were principally seen to "feed the flesh".

Finally, in explaining his life circumstances and those of the people around him, the participant felt that much was attributable to chance and the will of God. He felt that people were not born equal and that this was sufficient to explain differences in their material circumstances and conditions of life.

6.11.3 CONTEXT ISSUES.

6.11.3.1 General.

An important factor pertaining to this group, which emerged from the life histories of the participants, was the profound influence that migrant labour has had on the totality of their life experience. Migrancy placed demands on how these individuals organised their time, their family relations and responsibilities, and virtually all other aspects of their lives. In addition, it emerged that migrancy had become something of a stable life pattern for these individuals, and that they had learnt to live with the demands and difficulties it placed on them.

For the majority of these individuals, the first work experience had been on the mines, and without exception this was recalled as a negative experience. Mine work in general seemed to be associated with a real fear for physical safety and consequently was viewed as particularly unattractive.

A surprising indication was that, despite the fact that some of these individuals spent as little as two weeks per year in the area, there was an unquestioned feeling that Keiskammahoek remained their home, and there was little enthusiasm for permanent relocation to the urban areas. Many of these individuals were in the process of expending considerable effort and cost in developing their homes and land in the Keiskammahoek area.

There seemed to be complex reasons for this situation. On one hand, the urban environments of many of these individuals were unappealing and dangerous, and offered little by way of security. On the other hand their rural bases, although characterised by economic hardship, were nonetheless more established and secure, in both a physical and social sense. At a deeply personal level, the rural environment seemed to have the enduring appeal of being a place to return to when times were bad or the time came for

retirement.

6.11.3.2 Work values.

As described in Table 37, the dominant theme cluster in this niche's work values related to materialistic factors. In terms of this, work was particularly linked to survival and the earning of money. Development and fulfilment and health were also recorded as important themes under the personal cluster, and there was one example of a moral related theme.

Table 38 Work Values: Migrants.

THEME CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(10)	
Survival	4	Work means survival.
Financial	6	You are dependant on work to get money and this generates all things.
2. MORAL/RELIGIOUS	(1)	
Moral	1	Without work you turn to crime.
3. PERSONAL	(5)	
Development and fulfilment	2	Work is generally important for one.
Health	3	Your body can't be healthy if you just sleep all the time; your blood must flow well.

6.11.3.3 Personal work motives.

Only two personal work motive clusters emerged for this niche. First, under the material and general well-being cluster, there was an indication that these participants worked in order to survive and to improve their future opportunities. Second, and by far the most frequently cited motive was that of family. In terms of this, participants worked to develop their families and to educate their children.

6.11.3.4 Explaining differences in wealth.

In explaining differences in wealth and poverty, this niche sample emphasized individualistic forms of explanation. Situational explanations were the second most frequent, and fatalistic the least.

6.11.4 CONTENT ISSUES.

6.11.4.1 The distinction between work and non-work.

Half of this niche sample made a distinction between work and non-work in their lives, while half did not. Some of the participants recognised that such a thing as non-work existed but not in relation to their own lives.

6.11.4.2 Work and non-work elements.

Details of the work and non-work elements for this niche are recorded in Table 39. It can be noted that employment remains an unambivalent work element. Family interaction also emerges as a frequently cited and unopposed work element, while within the non-work element range there is considerable ambivalence associated with all but one factor.

Table 39 Work and non-work elements: Migrants.

WORK ELEMENTS	f.	NON-WORK ELEMENTS	f.
Employment (all forms)	9	*Sports participation	2
*Schooling/studying	7	*Watching television and listening to the radio	2
Interaction with family	4	*Socialising	1
Farming	3	Watching sport	1
*Watching television and listening to the radio	3	*Schooling/studying	1
Church attendance	2		
Reading	1		
*Sports participation	1		
Gambling	1		
*Socialising	1		
Private business activity	1		
Activities around the home	1		

(f. - frequency of participants recording this element)

(* - indicates common work/non-work element)

6.11.4.3 Centrality.

Regarding the relative centrality of work and non-work, there was a general indication that non-work was valued considerably less highly than work. In three of the cases where a distinction between work and non-work was made, non-work elements were the lowest ranked overall. There was a common tendency to negatively evaluate non-work, which is illustrated in the following quote: "It (non-work) is like the wind, I see no goodness in it".

Secondly, relating to the ranking of the work elements, the elements that tended to be ranked highly included current employment, family and study. Conversely, the lowest ranked forms of work included prior employment (particularly mine employment),

television and radio.

6.11.4.4 Construct distinctions between work and non-work.

Although the frequencies of response within the construct clusters for this dimension were low, some emphasis was evident for the two clusters of control and outcome. In a broad, not necessarily monetary sense, this group felt that work was associated with gain and non-work with no gain or possibly even cost. Further, the necessity and demand of work was contrasted with the freedom and lack of responsibility of non-work.

Table 40 Construct distinctions between work and non-work: Migrants.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	2	- gain(X2)	- no gain
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	2	- necessity - responsibility	- freedom - little responsibility
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	1	- working	- relaxing
TASK DEMAND: Differences in the particular demands placed on the individual by the activities.	1	- using brain	- not using brain
EVALUATION: Differences in the individuals personal appraisal of the merits and demerits of work and non-work activity.	1	- difficult	- easy

6.11.4.5 Construct distinctions between most and least personally valued work elements.

As illustrated in Table 41, the most frequent construct cluster distinguishing between the most and least valued forms of work for this niche, was that of task characteristic and demands. In terms

of this, work was valued according to its security and the general conditions that applied.

In terms of the remaining factors, work was valued where it was associated with factors such as significant gain, personal development, autonomy, responsibility, purposefulness and positive affective evaluation.

Table 41 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work: Migrants.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
		MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	5	- secure - good physical conditions - good treatment - profession - easy	- insecure - poor physical conditions - poor treatment - ordinary work - difficult
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	3	- large gain - develops you - recognition	- small gain - does nothing for you - tiring
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	3	- control time - autonomous - done for self	- another controls time - controlled - done for another
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	2	- feel healthy - feel safe	- feel unwell - feel fear
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	2	- has a purpose - feel determined	- has no purpose - feel less determined
RESPONSIBILITY: Differences in the level and nature of responsibility demanded within the forms of work.	1	- lots of responsibility	- little responsibility

CHAPTER 7 COLLECTIVE RESULTS.

The aim in this chapter is to present a summary of the combined results for the ten occupational niches. These collective level results have two primary functions. In the first place, they serve as an additional point of comparison for analysing the niche-specific results, by providing a collective point of reference against which niche specific differences are highlighted.

In the second place, the collective results are also of interest in their own right. They represent an extended secondary level of case law, which subsumes the case law thus far developed for the ten occupational niches. In as much as the ten occupational niches provide adequate cover of the range of occupational alternatives in the Keiskammahoek region, the collective results are reflective of general patterns of work meanings that exist in the region.

In interpreting the results detailed in this chapter, it should be remembered at all times that the data derive from case studies and a case study sampling strategy. The intention in this analysis is to detect common patterns and consistencies between the cases and between the occupational niches in the spirit of case law development. The sample used in the research is not a statistically representative one, and it would be incorrect to interpret the results in an absolute statistical sense.

The results are presented in a similar format to that used for the niche results in the previous chapter. This should facilitate comparisons and interpretation.

7.1 CONTEXTUAL ISSUES.

7.1.1 GENERAL THEMES.

There are a number of common contextual themes which occurred within the collective research data. The most central of these are discussed in this section.

In the first place, amongst the research sample there appeared to be a common commitment to and valuing of, life in the rural context of Keiskammahoek. The only exception to this tendency occurred in the youth niche, where the advantages of living in an urban environment were more highly valued. The commitment to living in Keiskammahoek was a significant theme even in the business niche, where economic status and aspirations were noticeably different from the other niches.

Going along with the commitment to living in the rural context, there was a noticeably strong orientation towards, and valuing of, family and family life. Family appeared to be a central source of personal identity for a large proportion of the participants.

Another general theme apparent in the data was the pervasive influence of poverty on the lives of people living in Keiskammahoek. With the possible exception of participants in the business, whites and civil servant niches, economic hardship played an important role in people's everyday experience and outlook on life. In the more affluent niches, many of the participants had experienced poverty at some stage in their lives and this had an crucial influence on the development of their personal attitudes.

One of the noteworthy products of poverty is what could be described as a "culture of insufficiency". Many of the participants had become habituated to living with poverty and inadequate

resources and there was a sense of resistance to change and an unwillingness to place already inadequate resources at risk. Going along with this, the levels of felt personal and occupational security appeared to be low for many of the participants.

Education and educational levels also emerged as important issues. With few exceptions, the educational levels amongst the participants tended to be low and there were few professionally qualified people. Further, the qualifications which were held by participants were limited in range and for the most part related to the limited opportunities available in the area. Despite these factors, it was very obvious in the research that great importance and weight was attributed to education, and that for the majority of participants, education was of considerable personal significance.

The political and historical dimensions of Keiskammahoek as a South African "black" homeland, provide an extremely important further contextual influence in understanding the research results. The ethnic and cultural composition of the Keiskammahoek population is the direct product of historical and political forces, and these must be understood in interpreting the results of this research. The historical background to Keiskammahoek has been discussed in Chapter 5. However, there are a number of specific issues associated with the system of apartheid which have a bearing on the experience and meaning of work for Keiskammahoek residents. Some of the most noteworthy examples of these include: the system of migrancy, the restriction on population mobility, forced population resettlement and educational disparities. The influence of many of these variables will have been noted in the case study examples and data recorded in the previous chapter.

The general level of commitment to and enmeshment with community, is another contextual issue worthy of note. It was clear that, for the most part, participants were keenly aware of the social

dimension of their lives and actions. The whites niche provided the only exception to this trend, demonstrating, in general, a more individualistic orientation to life. In contrast, the youth niche seemed to attribute particular significance to the social acceptability of their life actions.

The influence of gender on occupational distribution and composition was another important contextual theme to emerge from the research. Gender seemed to play a crucial role in determining the occupational opportunities available to participants, and in a major way influenced the nature of work experience.

Finally, it was clear that, despite the diversity of alternative forms of work experience in the Keiskammahoek region, wage employment occupied a position of great importance and prominence. Economically and materially, the majority of people living in Keiskammahoek were dependant on employment-derived financial income, and such income played a decisive role in determining the quality of their lives.

7.1.2 WORK VALUES.

An analysis of the work values for the collective research sample is outlined in Table 42. Without exception, work as a broadly defined concept was regarded as important by all the participants in the research. The explanations put forward for the importance of work followed a number of themes. The significant theme clusters, identified through content analysis, include materialistic, personal, moral and religious and social factors.

Looking first at the materialistic cluster, it will be noted that the theme of survival as a justification for the importance of work, was particularly strongly represented. Despite its overall

Table 42 Work values: Analysis for the collective sample.

THEME CLUSTERS AND SUB-CLUSTERS	f.	N. O.N.	ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM EXAMPLE
1. MATERIALISTIC	(74)	10	
Survival	34	8	If you are not working you will starve.
Financial	29	8	The more you work the more money you get.
Material wellbeing	11	6	Through work people are able to raise their standard of living.
2. PERSONAL	(60)	10	
Health	29	9	If you are just sitting, not working, your body goes wrong.
Development and fulfilment	27	10	If you look at a person who has a job he is always committed. At the end of the day he is able to say that he has done this and that.
Psychological need	4	4	(If you are not working) it can worry you in your mind and someone will say that so-and-so is going insane.
3. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS	(37)	10	
Moral	27	10	You must work otherwise you turn to crime.
Religious	5	4	Work agrees with God; man will eat his sweat.
Fatalistic/Unquestioned norm	5	3	Work is part of life.
4. SOCIAL	(23)	8	
Community and society	12	5	By working you contribute to the development of people and hence your nation and community.
Family	11	5	You are happy with your family when you are working.

f. - The frequency of participants in the total sample putting forward the particular theme cluster or sub-cluster.

N.O.N. - The number of occupational niches in which the theme cluster or sub-cluster occurred.

high frequency, however, the theme was not represented in the whites and civil servant niches, both of which were amongst the

more affluent groupings. The importance attached to a functional link between survival and work can be seen as strongly associated with the experience of material poverty in the district. The association is not metaphorical, and for many survival, in a real way, necessitates ongoing work and struggle.

The themes of financial income and material wellbeing are similarly associated with the materialistic cluster. For the most part, the remunerative aspect of work had an instrumental connotation, in that money was seen to provide a means of procuring necessary or desired goods. The theme of wellbeing, while also indicating a material value to work, did not hold the urgency and immediacy of the survival theme

The second cluster related to personal factors and was also strongly represented. In particular, what was indicated here was that work was valued for its role in promoting and maintaining an individual's health and ensuring personal development and fulfilment. The theme of health promotion is an interesting one, as it associates work with physical and general bodily exercise. In many cases, work was seen to have a physically regenerative as well as a maintenance function.

Personal development was represented as a broad theme, and the general frequency of its occurrence, combined with the fact that it occurred in all the niche samples, gives it considerable weight. More than anything else, this theme indicates the significance attached to work as a means of finding personal expression and meaning in life.

The remaining theme in the personal cluster, that of psychological need, occurred at a low frequency but was represented in four of the niches. In terms of this, work was seen to be associated with mental health, and its absence to be associated with psychological problems.

The next cluster incorporated moral and religious themes. A moral justification for the importance of work was strongly represented in the data. This emphasized a definite contrast between working on one hand and criminality on the other. Work was seen to stand in opposition to crime and to be its inescapable alternative.

A religious justification for the importance of work was also proposed in this cluster. This theme occurred at a low frequency, but was represented in four niches. The focus of this theme for the most part reflected on the Adamic myth and the idea that human work was in keeping with the fall from grace and God's decree.

The last, relatively minor, theme in this cluster proposed a fatalistic orientation to work, indicating that work was an inevitable and natural aspect of life.

The final cluster of general work values related to social issues. Two themes were principally represented here: community/society and family. In terms of the first, work was seen to broadly contribute to the welfare of society, in this way providing a benefit beyond the individual worker. The security and contentment of the family unit was the final justification for work's importance.

7.1.3 PERSONAL WORK MOTIVES.

It will be recalled that one of the things that participants were requested to do, was to explain why or for what purpose they worked. The analysis of the responses to this question is summarised in Table 43. It will be noted from this analysis that there are similarities between these personal work motives and the work values dealt with in the previous section, as well as some important distinctions.

Table 43 Personal work motives: Analysis for the collective sample.

CLUSTER TITLE	f.	N. O.N.	VERBATIM EXAMPLES
1. FAMILY	43	9	- For the education of my children. - To maintain my wife, house and property. - I want better things for my family.
2. MATERIAL AND GENERAL WELLBEING	23	9	- For my health. - I seek to survive and seek health. - To produce something that I can depend on in future.
3. PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FULFILMENT	20	9	- My goal is to work to be someone; not someone in hardship. - I don't want to be just loose, I want to be somebody. - I want to develop myself further.
4. SOCIAL	18	7	- I want to help others through my work. - I want my country to recommend me. - I would like to work with, and help a lot of people.
5. FINANCIAL	14	5	- I want to succeed financially, I have always wanted to buy a Mercedes. - I have a dream of becoming a millionaire.
6. MORAL	3	2	- If I do not work I will go robbing and my children will be brought up wrongly.
7. RELIGIOUS	1	1	- So that God will see that I make use of the talents that he has given to me.

f. - The frequency of participants in the total sample putting forward the particular theme cluster or sub-cluster.

N.O.N. - The number of occupational niches in which the theme cluster or sub-cluster occurred.

The strong emphasis placed on family as a work motive is particularly interesting. In contrast to its relatively weak representation in the work value analysis, family emerged as a very strong personal motive for working. It was absent only in the whites niche data and had a high overall frequency of occurrence. The family motive included a desire to see to the education of children and to the general material and personal welfare of the

family unit and its members.

The motive of ensuring material and general wellbeing was also represented. This incorporated the factors of working in order to survive, to ensure adequate health and to improve material life conditions.

Roughly on a par with the wellbeing motive, was the motive of pursuing personal development and fulfilment through work. It was apparent from this motive that work was seen to be an important source of personal identity and growth. Interwoven with this theme was the idea that social identity could also be conferred through work.

A social motive in working also emerged as fairly important. What is important here, is that the individuals perceived social significance in their work and were seeking to make a contribution within a social, community or even national context.

For a moderate proportion of the participants, a financial motive in working appeared to play an important role. In many of these cases, it appeared that the acquisition of money in itself provided the motive but there is clearly an interrelationship here with the instrumental value of money in obtaining social and material status.

Finally, there was slight support for moral and religious motives. As in the case of the work values, the moral factor related to a desire to avoid having to turn to crime in order to survive. The religious motive, which occurred in only one case, related to a desire to exercise God-given talents through work.

7.1.4 EXPLANATIONS FOR THE DIFFERENCES IN WEALTH.

In Tables 44 and 45 an analysis of the participants' explanations for differences in the personal wealth of individuals is presented. Table 44 provides a response frequency breakdown for the three thematic clusters that were identified. Table 45, in turn, summarises the major explanatory themes that were encountered. The interpretation of the results is made complex by the fact that they relate to explanations of both poverty and wealth. However, it should be remembered that the intention here is primarily to assess the nature of the explanations offered, and in particular whether they focus on individual, personal characteristics or factors external to and essentially beyond the control of the individual.

Table 44 Analysis of explanations for wealth and poverty: Response frequencies.

	FREQUENCIES OF EXPLANATORY THEMES		
	SITUATIONAL	FATALISTIC	INDIVIDUALISTIC
FARMERS	5	5	8
SMALL BUSINESS	7	8	6
BUSINESS	7	-	7
LOCAL EMPLOYEES	6	3	6
CIVIL SERVANTS	13	3	9
WHITES	8	-	2
WOMEN	5	8	5
UNEMPLOYED	9	7	8
YOUTH	14	4	8
MIGRANTS	6	4	9
TOTALS	80	42	68

Table 45 Analysis of explanations for wealth and poverty:
Explanatory themes.

EXPLANATORY THEMES		
SITUATIONAL	FATALISTIC	INDIVIDUALISTIC
-Education deficiencies -Scarcity of work -Lack of capital -Access to land and land control -Drought -Inheritance favouring first born -Closure of recruitment agencies -Lack of appropriate local role models -Hard workers are sanctioned by community -Too many children -Poor wages -Migrancy provides no continuity in support -Alcoholism -Parents wealth passed on -Ethnic split between Xhosa and Mfengu -Money generates money -A wealth norm lacking in the culture -Reduced local dependence on money -Political and economic oppression -Bribery and graft in the area -Discrimination -Retrenchments	-Luck -Giftedness granted to the person -A gift from God -The wheel of fortune -Luck from God and the Ancestors -Being born with patience	-Dedication in work -Idleness and laziness -Having aims and goals -People taking responsibility -Self dependency -People grow used to poverty and accept it -Taking pride in your work -Need for perseverance -The rich have no feelings -Wealth is linked to effort -Saving as opposed to eating your money -People do not want to help others -A lack of objectives -The ability to handle money -Learning what is taught -The use of brains -Doing required rituals

It will be noted that, overall, the emphasis, both in terms of frequency and ideational fluency, was placed on situational forms of explanation. A considerable diversity of explanatory themes was encountered here, including political, educational, economic, social and physical environment factors.

Individualistic forms of explanation were the next most strongly

represented. Unlike the situational explanations, which ascribed cause to factors outside the individual's direct control, cause, in this case, was attributed to immediate personal factors. These personal factors included the individual's commitment and orientation to work, the level of asceticism, acceptance or rejection of poverty and the level of self interest. One additional theme which was classified as belonging to this cluster, but which to some extent also interfaces with the fatalistic cluster, related wealth to the conducting of rituals. Within the context of ancestral beliefs, luck and ancestral benevolence is ensured through ritual and sacrifice. The idea thus was that wealth and success is linked to the conscientiousness with which the individual conducts his/her ritual obligations.

The last cluster to emerge from the analysis dealt with fatalistic forms of explanation. These were particularly characterised by the perception that wealth and poverty derive from uncontrollable forces entirely external to the individual, such as chance or the will of supernatural and divine forces. The chance aspect is succinctly illustrated in the following quotation taken from one of the participants in the women niche: "We look the same but our hearts are not the same; one works to drink the other to build his home; one has care the other none. The heart that we are born with drives us round and round".

Despite the emphasis placed on situational forms of explanation, the results show that the understanding of wealth generation, in general was a complex and multifaceted one. The information offered by participants often spanned all three forms of explanation and brought in a range of issues. Such complexity in understanding is illustrated in this quotation from one of the local employee niche members:

There are two routes to wealth. A person may become a tycoon yet remain a fool, he may become rich by stealing

and killing. A rich man like this has no mercy. Sometimes a person becomes rich by working decisively and with the gift of God. However, one who shares his money and supports his family will remain poor.

This quotation is also important because it gives an indication of the perceived link between social factors and wealth. Social duty and wealth generation may be seen to conflict with one another, thus leaving the individual in a position of ambivalence.

Finally, it is interesting to note that in many cases the understanding of wealth and poverty had a hierarchical dimension. Individualistic explanations were often followed by situational explanations, and these by fatalistic ones. For example, success might in the first instance be attributed to the person's motivation and effort, secondly to his/her opportunities and thirdly to their allotted abilities and potential.

7.2 CONTENT ISSUES.

7.2.1 THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN WORK AND NON-WORK.

Table 46 illustrates the proportions of participants in the sample who made a distinction between work and non-work in their lives. Whilst the overall percentage of those making the distinction stood at 67, it will be noted that there were substantial inter-niche proportional differences. These vary from 100% in the case of the youth niche to 18% in the case of women in domestic roles.

Table 46 Proportions of participants conceiving of a distinction between work and non-work in their lives: Analysis for the collective sample.

NICHE SAMPLE	% OF GROUP PERCEIVING A DISTINCTION
YOUTH	100
UNEMPLOYED	92
WHITES	83
LOCAL EMPLOYEES	80
CIVIL SERVANTS	80
SMALL BUSINESS	60
BUSINESS PEOPLE	57
FARMERS	50
MIGRANT LABOURERS	50
WOMEN IN DOMESTIC ROLES	18
COLLECTIVE SAMPLE	67

7.2.2 WORK AND NON-WORK ELEMENTS.

Tables 47 and 48 present a summary of the non-work and work elements that were included in the repertory grids. There are a number of factors which make the presentation and discussion of these results complex, one of the most obvious being the fact that there is a considerable degree of ambivalence between the elements included in the two categories.

The data in the two tables provide an indication of the extent to which particular elements occur as typical forms of work or non-work. In reaching this insight, two factors need to be taken into account. These are, the frequency with which an element occurs within the work or non-work category, and its proportionate representation in both categories. It can for example, be assumed

that an element that occurs frequently in the work category and does not occur in the non-work category is strongly represented as a work element. Although the tables themselves should provide the reader with a considerable amount of information, there are some important issues which need to be highlighted.

Table 47 Non-work elements included in repertory grids: Analysis for the collective sample.

ELEMENT	FREQUENCY	RANK
Participating in sport	27	1
Time spent interacting with family	15	2
Listening to radio and watching television	15	2
Socializing with friends	14	4
*Unemployment	12	5
Church attendance	9	6
Schooling and study	8	7
Reading	5	8
Involvement in community groups	2	9
*Watching live sport	2	9
*Helping people	1	10
Doing things around the house	1	10
*Vacationing	1	10
*Gardening (for pleasure)	1	10
Handcrafts	1	10
Caring for livestock	1	10
*Playing music	1	10

(The frequencies given here relate to how many of the 97 participants put forward the particular element within the non-work category.)

* Indicates elements that occurred exclusively in the non-work category.

Table 48 Work elements included in repertory grids: Analysis for the collective sample.

ELEMENT	FREQUENCY	RANK
*Conventional paid employment positions	84	1
Schooling, study and training	49	2
*Own business	35	3
*Farming	27	4
Interaction with family	23	5
Attending church	22	6
*House work and home management	14	7
Participating in sport	11	8
*Raising children	9	9
Caring for livestock	7	10
Listening to radio and watching television	4	11
*Community/political activity	4	11
Involvement in community groups	3	13
Doing things around the house	3	13
Handcrafts	2	15
Socializing with friends	2	15
Reading	1	17
*Gambling	1	17
*Clay modelling (as a child)	1	17

(The frequencies given here relate to how many of the 97 participants put forward the particular element within the work category.)

* Indicates elements that occurred exclusively in the work category.

Looking first at the non-work factors, it will be noted that the only element which occurs moderately frequently and is unambiguously classified as non-work, is that of unemployment. This

element was particularly applicable to the unemployed niche and the reader is referred to the discussion in the previous chapter.

While watching live sport, helping people, vacationing, gardening and playing music were unambiguously classified as non-work elements, they all occurred at a low frequency. To the Western reader, these activities, with the exception of helping people, are likely to appear to be typical leisure activities. The element of helping people related to an individual case where the participant stressed a particularly strong personal social commitment.

Considering the elements that were ambiguously classified, there were four which appeared to lean towards the non-work pole of the work/non-work dichotomy. These included participation in sport, listening to radio and watching television, socialising with friends and reading. The non-work/work classification ratios of these elements were respectively 27:11, 15:4, 14:2 and 5:1.

Going on to the work elements, perhaps the most noteworthy issue was the unambiguous classification of all forms of wage employment within the work category. Two other frequently occurring unambiguous work elements included own business and farming. Housework and home management and the raising of children, both of which occurred with moderate frequency, were interesting work elements which have particular bearing on the women in domestic roles niche. Further unambiguous work elements included community/political activity, gambling and clay modelling, although these occurred with relatively low frequency.

There are several elements which, although ambivalent in their classification, appeared to be predominantly representative of work. These included; time spent interacting with family (23:15), attending church (22:9), schooling and study (49:8), involvement in community groups (3:2), doing odd things around the house (3:1), handcrafts (2:1) and caring for livestock (7:1). The ratios given

here refer to the frequency of classification as work versus non-work respectively.

7.2.3 CENTRALITY.

Regarding the question of the relative centrality of work and non-work, the results indicate that in general, work elements were valued more highly than non-work. The one exception to this, was the whites niche. Here there was considerable ambivalence in the relative evaluation of work and non-work, and, depending on the individual case, non-work was ranked above or below work. At the level of the individual elements, there were a few noteworthy exceptions. In particular, interaction with family, and schooling and study tended to be ranked highly where these were regarded as non-work elements.

There are a number of issues that could be discerned in the ranking of the work elements. The elements of interaction with family, the raising of children and studying tended to be highly ranked. The rankings of employment-related work elements tended to be polarised. In many of the niches, the current employment of participants was ranked highly, while forms of past employment were amongst the lowest rankings. Particular forms of employment such as migrant mine labour seemed to be consistently ranked low, whilst employment with a vocational character was generally ranked high. In some of the niches, particularly those of whites, business and small-business, there was an indication that forms of work with the characteristic of being self-directed and motivated were regarded highly.

7.2.4 CONSTRUCT DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN WORK AND NON-WORK.

Table 49 provides a summary of the central constructs found to distinguish work from non-work for the research sample. In total,

seven thematic clusters were identified and these deserve brief discussion.

Table 49 Construct distinctions between work and non-work:
Analysis for the collective sample.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	N. ON	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
			WORK POLE	NON-WORK POLE
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the activities.	8	31	- provides means of subsistence - get money - builds me up - develops people	- consumes resources - get no money - doesn't build me up - does nothing for a person
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicated in the activities.	9	25	- duty - ruled/governed - responsibility - dependent	- free will - rule/govern - freedom - independent
MOTIVATION: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the activities.	6	14	- committed - for self and family/others - for self development	- uncommitted - for self - for interest
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the activities.	7	12	- rewarding - tense - focused	- frustrating - relaxed - free
QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE: Differences in the quality of the experiences and the contexts in which they occur.	10	12	- rush - struggle - routine	- peace - no struggle - change
TASK DEMAND: Differences in the particular demands placed on the individual by the activities.	5	8	- use brain - service orientation	- use body - personal orientation
EVALUATION: Differences in the individuals personal appraisal of the merits and demerits of work and non-work activity.	5	6	- difficult - important	- easy - unimportant

f - Frequencies here refer to the total number of times constructs complying with the cluster definition occurred in the grids.

N.O.N - The number of occupational niches in which the particular thematic cluster occurred.

The most frequently represented cluster was that of outcome. This cluster was, however, present in only eight of the ten occupational niches. The broad position represented here was that, while work was seen to relate to gain and particularly material gain, non-work was seen to have little or no material benefit for the individual.

The second most frequently represented cluster, which was present in nine of the occupational niches, was that of control. A fairly clear indication was given here that, while work involves the acceptance of responsibility and possibly submission to another's will, non-work implies freedom of choice and independence.

A distinction between the motivational forces underlying work and non-work was next in frequency. In terms of this, work was seen to involve commitment and frequently to be for the purpose of benefitting others besides the individual worker, whereas non-work was both less pressing and more likely to be restricted to personally benefitting the individual. In some cases, a hedonistic motive was ascribed to non-work.

A cluster dealing with affect-related differences between work and non-work was next. This cluster indicated an interesting ambivalence in that, in some cases, non-work was experienced as frustrating, while in others it was relaxing. Similarly, work was either experienced as being rewarding or tension-inducing. In the final evaluation, however, the general trend was for work to be associated with strain and tension and non-work to be associated with pleasant feelings of refreshment and relief.

Whilst the next cluster, quality of experience, occurred with a frequency of only twelve, it was represented in all ten niches. In essence, this cluster gave the indication that work was associated with serious struggle, while non-work was associated with peace.

Construct distinctions relating to the cluster of task demand,

which was represented at a relatively low frequency, definitely implied that work was associated with mental effort, and non-work with physical effort. This construct cluster should be understood with reference to the particular niches in which it occurred.

The final cluster that was identified related to evaluative constructs. In terms of these, work was described as being difficult and essential, while non-work was seen to be easy but unimportant.

7.2.5 CONSTRUCT DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE MOST AND LEAST PERSONALLY VALUED WORK ELEMENTS.

In this final section of the discussion of the collective results, attention is focused on the nature of the construct distinctions between the most valued and least valued forms of work. A total of eight construct clusters were identified as having a bearing on this issue. The analysis of this dimension is reflected in Table 50.

The most frequently represented cluster related to differences in the task characteristics and demands of work situations. The most general indication here was that work was valued in terms of such factors as reliability, autonomy and safety. The factors of status, mental challenge and the physical context of work also appeared to be relevant.

A cluster relating to work outcome was the next most frequent, and was represented in all of the ten niches. What was clearly indicated here was that the more valued forms of work were associated with higher levels of gain. However, the term gain is broadly defined in this context and encompasses various forms, including monetary, material, personal and even spiritual gain.

Table 50 Construct distinctions between most and least valued work elements: Analysis for the collective sample.

THEMATIC CLUSTER: TITLE AND DEFINITION	N. ON	f.	CONSTRUCT EXAMPLES	
			MOST VALUED POLE	LEAST VALUED POLE
TASK CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMANDS: Differences in the characteristic features of the work task and the demands placed on the individual.	9	58	- reliability - using brains - time not controlled - safety - much to do	- risk - using energy - time controlled - danger - little to do
OUTCOME: Differences relating to what is gained or derived from the forms of work.	10	52	- big return - gives something permanent - much money - promotes health	- small return - can be taken away - little money - does nothing for you
CONTROL: Differences in the nature and source of control implicit in the forms of work.	10	30	- rule oneself - voluntary - working for self - obligated	- be ruled - forced - working for others - free
AFFECT: Differences in the feelings brought about by, or associated with the forms of work.	10	30	- rewarding - tranquillity - safe - relaxed	- discouraging - stress - threatened - strain
MOTIVATION/GOALS: Differences in the personal intentions underlying the forms of work.	8	27	- desire to - serious participation - pursue a light - do it for yourself	- forced to - casual participation - follow a routine - do it for another
SOCIAL: Differences in the social demands or relational aspects of the work context.	8	22	- brings the family together - friendship - with others - loved by the people	- pulls the family apart - unfriendly - alone - hated by the people
RESPONSIBILITY: Differences in the level and nature of responsibility demanded within the forms of work.	7	12	- personal responsibility - depends on me	- shared responsibility - depends on another
PERFORMANCE: Differences relating to personal performance in the work situations.	4	4	- competent	- inexperienced

f. - Frequencies here refer to the total number of times constructs complying with the cluster definition occurred in the grids.

N.O.N - The number of occupational niches in which the particular thematic cluster occurred.

A cluster of control-related constructs was next in frequency, and was also represented in all of the niches. Particularly evident here was the fact that the more highly valued forms of work were associated with autonomy and self regulation, while the less valued forms were associated with external control and supervision.

Affective related constructs were next in frequency, and understandably indicated that the more valued forms of work were associated with positive affective feelings and the less valued with negative ones. For example, feelings of happiness, reward, confidence and safety were contrasted with feelings of unhappiness, discouragement, anxiety and fear.

Next in order of overall frequency was a cluster of motivation-related factors. Here, a basic voluntarism and self-motivated willingness in valued work, was contrasted with a sense of compulsion in the least valued forms. This was accompanied by a greater sense of commitment and involvement in the valued forms of work.

A cluster dealing with differences in the social demands of the work context was next in order of frequency. Reflected in the constructs here was the idea that positive social factors, such as friendship, family integration and community support were associated with the more valued forms of work. The least valued forms of work, in contrast, were commonly associated with isolation and a lack of acceptance by others.

Responsibility formed a relatively small cluster of constructs. In a similar vein to the control cluster, what was indicated here was that personal responsibility and self-reliance were associated with the more valued forms of work. In contrast, responsibility was often granted to others, or simply reduced, in the less valued forms of work.

Finally, a small cluster of constructs relating to performance also occurred. This indicated that experience and competence was positively related to the valuing of work in a small number of cases.

CHAPTER 8 DISCUSSION.

The task in this chapter is to bring the multifarious strands of this thesis together into a coherent whole. Principally, these strands include the various levels and divisions of the research data, the conceptual model of work meaning adopted in the research, and the existing literature in the field. In order to achieve this integrative aim, the discussion in this chapter will be divided into three sections. The first of these will seek to present a niche-specific interpretation of the results, the second a generalized description of work meanings and the third will attempt to locate this research in the context of the existing literature.

8.1 WORK MEANINGS AND THE OCCUPATIONAL NICHES.

The aim in this section is to give attention to work meanings within each of the ten occupational niches. Rather than trying to present a comprehensive discussion of the work meanings in each niche, the discussion here will be orientated towards establishing that which is particular to, or emphasized within, the niche. Discussion of the generic or common trends, as already indicated, will be left to the latter part of this chapter.

Before beginning this discussion it is necessary to clarify an important issue relating to the niche data. The model of work meaning formulated for this research makes allowance for three components, namely process, content and context. The basic rationale being that the person's orientation to work is irrevocably grounded in their life circumstances and, in addition, has an evolving rather than a static character.

In regard to the model of work meaning, the notion of occupational niches is of considerable value. It helps to clarify and specify

significant aspects of the context relevant to the work meanings for niche occupants. However, it should be remembered that the aim of the research is to explore the meaning of work for people, not the meaning of particular kinds of work. In talking about the work meanings within particular niches, it is not the meaning of particular forms of niche-specific work that is being referred to, but rather the meaning of work for occupants of the niche. It should be borne in mind that niche members are likely to have had work experiences which fall outside the bounds of the niche definition.

8.1.1 FARMERS.

Agricultural activity forms only one component of the rural economy of Keiskammahoek. Many of the residents have little or no real access to agricultural resources and there is a very high dependence on income derived from such sources as employment, pensions or private business. Even where families do have access to land, they are for the most part substantially dependant on externally generated income. Extensive research on these income patterns has been conducted by Sperber (1993). Despite this situation however, agrarian values and attitudes continue to exert a fundamental influence on the lives of the people of Keiskammahoek. Agrarian influence is deeply embedded in the ritual, customs and beliefs in the area. It is within the context of these perpetuated agrarian values that the farming niche must be understood.

As described in Chapter 4, the farming niche was comprised of individuals who had adequate access to agricultural resources, and for whom farming was a major source of income. Despite the fact that some of the participants in this niche had additional sources of income, the distinctive characteristic of the group was the value they placed on their farming activities. In a sense, they

were the bearers of the most strongly surviving agrarian tradition in the district.

Although united in their commitment to the land, this grouping was not homogenous. Points of variation included the extent of economic dependence on agricultural activity, the form of agricultural activities engaged in, the extent of commercial orientation, occupational background, education and means of gaining access to land.

There are a number of themes which emerged in specific relation to the work meanings for this group. These themes included an individualistic orientation, conservatism in attitudes, a depth in the personal significance of farming activity and a pervasiveness of work experience in the lives of the individuals.

With regard to individualism, it is apparent that farming, by its very nature implies, for the farmer, direct control over and responsibility for, both activities and product. In the Keiskammahoek context, while this individualism is moderated by social factors and cultural custom, the basic characteristic of personal responsibility remains important. This was illustrated both in the work motives that emerged for the farming participants, and in their emphasis on individualistic explanations for distinctions in personal wealth. The work motives in this niche most commonly related to personal development and also emphasised an interest in the general welfare of the family unit.

Regarding participants' attitudes, the overall profile of the niche is a conservative one. The work values expressed most commonly related to material factors such as survival, and financial income and moral and religious elements were fairly common. Farming appeared to be strongly influenced by traditional patterns and values, particularly amongst the dry land farmers. In terms of this, there was a tendency towards following farming strategies

which minimised risk, such as the growing of small quantities of a variety of crops, a low capital-intensive approach and complete reliance on natural climatic and seasonal cycles.

For the majority, farming appeared to be a work activity with particularly deep personal significance. The fact that farming is a highly self-directed and motivated activity seemed to be crucial to this high evaluation of farming activity. Work experience where limited scope for self-direction existed, such as non-vocational employment, was generally regarded as being of relatively little importance.

Although for many of the farmers, situational influences had played a dominant role in their entry into the occupation, it was nonetheless clear that the majority felt a strong commitment to farming. Even amongst the irrigation scheme farmers there was a feeling that they were pursuing an occupation of their own choosing and that success or failure rested on their own shoulders. Many had had to struggle and make sacrifices to gain access to the land.

For the farmers, life experience appeared to be pervaded by the concept of work. Only half of the niche sample made a distinction between work and non-work experience in their lives. This was one of the lowest ratios amongst the niches covered. Where non-work activity was recognised, it was seldom highly valued and seemed to play a relatively minor role in the lives of the individuals.

As reflected in the contrast between work and non-work for this niche, work was seen to be associated with factors such as necessity, duty and productivity. In contrast, non-work was seen to have a largely superfluous quality and was associated with factors such as lowered commitment, consumption and frustration. However, some positive attributes were also ascribed to non-work. These included free will, relaxation and peace.

In the contrast between the most and least significant forms of work in this niche, a cluster of factors comprising control, motivation and responsibility issues emerged as particularly important. Valued work was particularly associated with self-control, personal responsibility and personal commitment. This contrasted with the factors of being controlled, sharing responsibility and being externally coerced. This cluster of factors is closely aligned to the individualism of the farming occupation, which was discussed earlier. Understandably, valued work was also associated with positive affective factors such as contentment, security and confidence. Finally, valued work was also associated with more positive outcome factors, including a greater volume of return, enduring rewards and personal development.

8.1.2 SMALL BUSINESS PEOPLE.

The small business niche occupies an important position in the range of occupational niches covered in the research. Given the extremely limited prospects for local wage employment within Keiskammahoek, the development of small business offers one of the few avenues open to residents seeking to make a living locally. However, the niche does fulfil a role beyond that of simply offering a means of survival to local residents. It also serves as a point of entry, and a developing ground for entrepreneurial ability. It is with this latter function in mind that business and State organisations in South Africa have become involved in attempts to foster and enhance the growth of the small business sector. At the time of the research, the Ciskei Small Business Development Corporation was providing some infrastructure and financial support to small business in Keiskammahoek and a few of the research participants in this niche were recipients of this assistance.

The distinction between entrepreneurial, and what can be termed

maintenance-orientated small business, is interestingly reflected in the research sample. As outlined in the results section, the niche participants appeared to fall essentially into three categories.

The first of these comprised older people who had begun or acquired their businesses after having retired from previous wage employment. For these individuals the business seemed to serve primarily as a source of security, consolidating and developing monetary savings and providing a family asset, the benefits of which could be passed on to further generations.

The second type of small business person appeared to rely on their business as a source of supplementary income. Typically, these individuals also held jobs or had alternative sources of income, and the business provided a means of spreading economic risk. Commitment to the business in this grouping was typically conditional rather than absolute.

Finally, in the third type, the people were solely dependant on the business as a source of income. Commitment to the business was generally at its maximum in this group, although businesses were frequently provided with inadequate resources. An entrepreneurial orientation, in the sense of a desire to expand and develop the enterprise and a willingness to take risks was most strongly evidenced in the last category. It was also in this last category, that the greatest diversity in the forms of business was encountered. In the other categories there was a pronounced tendency for the businesses to take the form of small retail shops.

Despite the diversity in the orientation of the small business participants, it was evident that the businesses and business activity were consistently of great personal value to these people. Though all but one of the participants had had some form of employment experience prior to starting their business, it was only

in the rare cases where this employment experience had a vocational quality, that the rankings between employment and business were at all comparable. Business activity was in almost all cases ranked very highly whilst employment experience was frequently ranked lowest.

The general tendency in this niche was for participants to be strongly orientated to work in their lives. Work was seen as a means of achieving recognition and identity and was regarded as morally desirable. Although six of the ten participants in this niche made a distinction between work and non-work elements in their lives, non-work elements for the most part were not regarded as being of great importance. Where the distinction between work and non-work was made, a reasonably clear constructive basis for this distinction existed. Whereas work had a goal-directed quality, involving material gain, commitment and serious personal involvement, non-work was orientated towards pleasure and relaxation and had the quality of being less essential and more open-ended.

Analysis of the distinction between highly valued and less valued work for this niche reflects a desire for self control, autonomy and maximal gain in work, and an acceptance of the demands for responsibility and intense effort that this implies. This orientation can be seen to be a basic requirement for success in a business enterprise. A further theme which was frequently featured in this niche, but interestingly absent from the business niche, related to the importance of social characteristics of work. The most valued forms of work were associated with positive social interaction, such as friendship and assisting others. This point is compatible with the general observation made that, in contrast to the business niche, boundaries between business, community and client were not clearly demarcated in the small business enterprises.

8.1.3 BUSINESS PEOPLE.

In some respects, the business niche represents an extension on the position of small business in Keiskammahoek. However, as pointed out in defining the business niche, there are both qualitative and quantitative aspects which provide this niche with a distinct identity. The scale of the business operations and the financial commitment involved tended to be considerably greater than that in the small business niche. Further, while retail trade still tended to be a dominant form of activity, there was an inclination towards specialization in particular areas, such as bottlestores and butcheries. In addition, other business interests requiring considerable capital investment, such as property leasing and transport, were represented in the business niche but absent from the small business niche. Finally, a particular defining characteristic of the business niche was the fact that many of its occupants had more than one form of business interest.

The work meanings for members of the business niche must be understood with reference to the marginalised position this niche holds within the rural community. As discussed in Section 5.5.3.1, the financial standing and lifestyle of members of this niche were substantially different from the average local community member. While many of them occupied positions of power and commanded respect within the community, there remained a distance between them and the general populace which was far less visible in the case of the small business people. It was particularly interesting to note the strong presence of an attitude of social benevolence rather than connectedness in this niche. This was demonstrated in such desires as "wishing to set an example for others" and wanting to "serve the community". Benevolent attitudes of this form were commonly represented in the personal work motives put forward by members of the niche.

The marginalisation of the business niche was further reflected in

an ambivalence in the personal identity of the niche members. Although many of the participants valued rural life and traditional practices, Western values and interests were strongly reflected in their lifestyles and interests. Although the orientation of the business people could not fairly be described as individualistic, they certainly tended more strongly in this direction than did most of the other groups. The impression gained from their explanations for differences in personal wealth was that they were, to a considerable extent, acceptant of a pattern of internal attribution for economic success and failure.

A desire for security in both a material and personal sense was commonly expressed in this niche. For those participants who had experienced poverty and deprivation in childhood, the threat of returning to a state of poverty appeared to be a strong driving force, pushing them on to further effort. The desire for security was featured in this niche as an important work motive and in addition, was a factor positively associated with the evaluation of work forms.

To some extent, the desire for security also accounts for the high value placed on education within this group. Education appeared to be particularly valued for its inalienable quality, and in the case of children, education was seen to provide a guarantee of an easier life.

The general case data for this niche indicated that work occupied a particularly important position in these peoples' lives. Without exception the participants displayed a strong orientation towards work, and in particular towards work in the form of their business activity. It was apparent that their success in business owed much to this personal orientation. Work was judged to be important in this niche because of its materialistic, moral/religious, personal and social characteristics. The nature and frequency of these judgements about work's importance tended to indicate that a form

of "work ethic" was well established within the niche.

In total, only four of the seven participants in this niche made the distinction between work and non-work elements in their lives. Where non-work elements were present, these were generally not amongst the most highly valued elements. An exception to this occurred in regard to "study" which, as indicated in Chapter 5, was invariably ranked highly, regardless of whether it was seen to be work or non-work.

The importance of work within this niche was again amply reflected in the construct distinctions between work and non-work. In a similar pattern to that encountered in the small business niche, work was associated with material gain and a sense of necessity and urgency. In contrast, non-work activity was seen to be largely unessential but none the less to have the benefits of relaxation and providing the individual with an opportunity to pursue an interest.

With regard to the patterns that emerged amongst the work elements for this niche, there was a strong indication of high value being placed on autonomy. This was demonstrated in the general trend towards giving business activity a high rank and employment a low rank. Further, in the construct analysis there was the indication of a positive value being attached to controlling rather than being controlled, and to self reliance rather than dependence.

8.1.4 LOCAL EMPLOYEES.

This was a fairly heterogenous niche, defined primarily by the geographical location of the occupant's principal work place. The participants from this niche covered a range of occupational strata, from teachers through to manual labourers.

What was particularly interesting about the results for this niche was that they indicated a moderately entrenched dichotomy between work in the form of employment, and non-work. Eight of the ten participants in this niche recognised a distinction between work and non-work elements in their lives. In contrast to non-work, work was associated with such constructs as being ruled rather than ruling, being dependant rather than independent and having problems' as opposed to being free of problems. For the most part, these factors provide evidence of the strong conditioning influence of employment on the understanding of, and attitude towards work, of these individuals.

While it is fair to suggest that this dichotomy between employment and non-work existed for this niche, it should none the less be noted that work was still broadly defined. In addition to employment, other elements such as study, house work, private business and, in some cases, even church attendance were classified as work.

Work also remained relatively more important than non-work for these participants. The importance of work was related to such factors as material outcome, moral standing, personal benefit to the individual and association with providing for one's family. Cumulatively, the impression given is one of a basic acceptance of, and dependence on, work.

Within the range of work experience of these niche members, the positive valuation of work was particularly associated with the nature and quantity of financial and general gain. It is therefore understandable that current employment positions were consistently highly ranked.

Family emerged as being a very important work-associated element for this niche. Care for the family occurred as one of the most common work motives and was also commonly cited as a justification

for the importance of work. It is of significance that family was accorded this level of importance in a niche where the siting of work and residence were close to one another. The close proximity of work and residence is likely to be conducive to the maintenance of sound family relations. Finally, it should be pointed out that, while family was an important element in this niche, this was not a trend exclusive to this niche. Family-related issues occur frequently throughout the research data.

8.1.5 SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS AND PARA-STATAL EMPLOYEES.

One of the most noteworthy characteristics of this niche was their relatively high level of education. This factor has bearing on two aspects of work experience in the niche. In the first place, as a result of their educational attainment, members of this niche appeared to have had a relatively greater degree of occupational choice in the development of their careers. However, as was pointed out in Chapter 5, the range of occupational alternatives available to these individuals nevertheless remained limited. The second education-related factor was that education seemed to be closely associated with occupational success and status within this niche. In particular, the need to create and fill government posts and implement Affirmative action in the wake of Ciskei independence, seems to have accelerated the advancement of those with relatively greater education. Given the association between education and their occupational success, it is not surprising that education was a highly valued work element in this niche.

The general trend towards a high evaluation of work was continued in this niche. Although a large proportion of the participants in the niche distinguished between work and non-work elements in their lives, work for the most part remained the more important aspect for these people. Within the work classification, current employment emerged as a particularly highly valued element, along

with education, as previously mentioned.

There was some indication of the non-work domain being valued more highly in this niche than in the majority of others. In one extreme case, gardening as a form of non-work was the most highly valued element overall. It is of interest to note that the only niche that appeared to exceed the civil servants in positive regard for non-work was the whites niche.

Constructs derived from the repertory grids for these niche participants reflect a distinction between work and non-work most frequently based on the theme of control. While work was commonly associated with responsibility and demand, non-work was, in contrast, seen to relate to freedom and voluntarism. Bearing in mind that employment and study were the most common work elements in this niche, this contrast is not unexpected.

What was interesting about the contrast between the most and least valued forms of work for this niche, was that the most common theme indicated a valuing of personal development as a work outcome. This theme was similarly reflected in the work values for the niche, where personal development and fulfilment, and health were the most commonly cited factors attributing importance to work.

The final issue that should be mentioned in connection with this niche is that, despite the fact that the niche members tended to emphasize an individualistic orientation to work, this was strongly moderated by their social commitment. In the work motives for this niche, the second most commonly expressed motive was a desire to benefit and develop their community. Such a social component would seem to be a logical component of a senior civil servant's role.

8.1.6 WHITES.

As has been previously pointed out, the results in the whites niche must be understood with reference to the niche's racial, cultural and historical context. Whilst the levels of affluence and education in this niche were amongst the highest in the overall sample, the niche was also characterised by considerable diversity in the participants' occupational experience, and high levels of skill and expertise.

A distinctive feature of this niche is that its occupants held an orientation to work which, in a number of respects, was fundamentally different from that in other niches. In the first place, there was great complexity in the relative valuing of work and non-work. Whilst the necessity of work was recognised, in some cases there was a noticeable tendency for the non-work domain to be valued more highly than the work domain, and this represents a reversal of the general data pattern. The central issue here is that, whereas in the other niches, non-work was ascribed a neutral or negative character, in this niche it was characterised in largely positive terms. The valuing of non-work elements was most visible in the constructs distinguishing between work and non-work, which associated non-work with factors such as personal growth, freedom, aesthetic harmony and openness.

In the second place, the attitudes to work and non-work for this group appeared to have been strongly influenced by the experience of employment. Employment in general was viewed negatively, and some aspects of employment, such as those involving routine, restrictive control and lack of personal expression, appeared to be associated with particularly negative evaluations.

Many of the individuals in this niche were engaged in forms of self-employment. While such experience was generally highly valued, there was some ambivalence as to whether it constituted work or

non-work. In some cases, the participants vacillated in deciding how to classify their business activity. This ambivalence was entirely absent in the other niches where business activity was featured.

A third distinctive feature of this niche was that the basic orientation to work was, for the most part, intensely individualistic and self-referent. In the contrast between most and least valued forms of work, task characteristics and demands emerged as the most common theme. In terms of this, work which provided personal challenge, demand, fulfilment and variety, was highly valued. There was little reference to the outcome-related factors, which played a central role in the majority of other niches.

Social themes for the most part played a relatively minor role in the niche data, and were represented neither in the work motives nor the work values of participants. Where a social theme was encountered in the constructs associated with valued work, it referred largely to positive personal relationships in the work context, rather than to broader social issues. Commitment to serving and developing the local community was expressed by almost all niche participants. However, as in the case of the business people, this had the quality of benevolence, and implied distancing between participant and community.

Whilst the issues discussed indicate some distinct features of the whites niche, it is instructive to note that there were also strong tendencies displayed in the niche data in common with the general trends in the other niches. This is well illustrated in the distinction between work and non-work, where the common tendency to associate work with compulsion and high levels of activity, and non-work with voluntarism and relaxation, was displayed.

8.1.7 WOMEN IN DOMESTIC ROLES.

Of all the niches, it is this one which most clearly illustrates the limitations of adopting a definition of work that extends only as far as paid employment. Despite the fact that none of the people in this sample were in wage employment, and two had never even had this experience, it was in this niche that the experience of work appeared to be the most all-encompassing.

Of the total sample of 11 participants in this niche, only two made the distinction between work and non-work. For the majority of these women, all aspects of life comprised work and there was no scope for non-work. Work had the characteristic of being an uncompromising, essential struggle for these women.

A noteworthy feature of this niche was that its participants appeared to hold a largely disempowered view of the world. In explaining differences in wealth, the most common form of explanation was fatalistic. In addition to this, a number of the participants felt that their work was under-recognised and considered unimportant by others. Despite this, however, it was obvious that the volume of the participants' work and the level of their responsibility was substantial. In many cases, the women held major or even exclusive responsibility for the running of their homes and family affairs.

The general attitude towards work in this niche was, to a substantial degree, influenced by a perception that work was essential for survival in a material sense. This association was particularly demonstrated in the work motives of the participants. In the work values for this niche, work was also associated with the maintenance of personal health. This association between physical wellbeing and work is an interesting one and was also reflected in some of the other niches.

Much of the work carried out by these women had the characteristics of repetition and routine. Cleaning, home maintenance and cooking provide examples of this. In one case, a construct used, associated non-work activity with change, and work with routine. Challenge in work was provided by such responsibilities as the raising of children and study. These work elements were also relatively more highly valued than those associated with routine.

A considerable amount of ambivalence and contradiction was demonstrated in the work-associated constructs for this niche. For example, it remained uncertain whether valued work was particularly associated with mental or physical effort, and whether or not it necessarily involved material gain. It was, however, clear that, in keeping with the general trend in the research data, autonomy was a valued characteristic in work. The ambivalence in the work-related constructs may to some extent be associated with the breadth of work definition in this niche.

8.1.8 UNEMPLOYED.

The interesting thing about trying to understand work meanings in this niche is that one was dealing with individuals who felt that they had been forcibly alienated from a major work-related life element. Assuming that deprivation generally enhances perception and appreciation of what was originally possessed, one might expect work meaning issues to be particularly visible and prevalent in this niche.

As might be expected, a sharp polarisation between employment as a work element and the state of unemployment as a non-work element was encountered in this niche data. Despite this contrast, however, it should be noted that work, for this niche, continued to be broadly defined, including other elements such as interaction with family, study and church attendance.

A further very interesting result was that, in the face of unemployment, employment did not appear to assume an all-encompassing importance. Whilst the negative effects of unemployment were clearly in evidence, and demonstrated in a reduced sense of personal power and an inability to fulfil obligations, other forms of work element remained highly valued. One work element which was particularly highly valued in the niche was interaction with family. A partial explanation which can be offered for this, is that the unemployed individuals tend to be forced into an unusually intense interaction with their families. This, in combination with the generally positive and supportive role played by family members, may raise the importance of this interaction in the individual's estimation.

Despite these anomalies, the influence of unemployment was clearly expressed in the construct distinctions between work and non-work elicited within this niche. These constructs associated work with a gainful outcome, being controlled by another, experiencing strain and being able to plan ahead. In contrast, non-work was associated with a lack of gain, exercising control over self, relief and the inability to plan ahead. The contrast here is for the most part a contrast between work and unemployment.

The pattern of construct distinctions between the most and least valued forms of work for this niche showed a similar composition, but different balance, to that in equivalent employed niches. Task characteristic and control-related differences occurred at a relatively high frequency. However, affect, outcome and social differences were also represented. A high level of ambivalence in the control theme was indicated. In terms of this, highly valued work was associated both with being controlled or controlling oneself.

8.1.9 YOUTH.

As was pointed out in Chapter 7, the limited occupational history of members of this niche, necessitated the use of an adapted version of the basic research strategy. Rather than relying exclusively on elements of past and present experience in the grid construction, anticipated work elements were also used. These anticipated work elements were obtained by getting participants to identify two desirable and two undesirable future forms of work. The final composition of the grids for this niche comprised two desirable forms of work, two undesirable forms of work and two forms of non-work activity.

The different manner in which data were derived in the youth niche places limits on its direct comparability with data in the other niches. However, an understanding of this niche's orientation to work, in terms of the general analytic criteria, can still be obtained, and provides some useful insights.

One of the first points to note is that, without exception, participants in this niche were able to make a distinction between work and non-work with reference to their lives. When asked to identify possible forms of work, participants invariably specified forms of employment. The most common form of non-work element put forward was that of participating in sport, whilst media such as radio, television and literature were also commonly featured.

The fact that work elements were exclusively restricted to forms of employment, is to some extent an artifact of the methodology employed, and cannot be taken as an indication of work being exclusively associated with employment. Although not reflected in the grid data, it would seem likely that elements such as study and sport may be considered to be work by some members of this niche.

One of the most interesting themes to emerge from the youth niche

data was a particularly strong sense of social commitment. A desire to benefit others through work, and to follow occupations which enjoyed a high level of social acceptability, was common. Social themes were reflected in personal work motives, work values, most favoured forms of occupation and in the construct distinctions between desirable and undesirable forms of work. The explanation for this tendency may rest, in the first instance, in this group's level of education, politicization and social awareness. A second contributing factor may rest in the fact that, as non-economically active adolescents they were largely free of the form of pragmatic economic responsibilities which tend to foster in the individual personal, rather than social concerns. This latter point relates to a possible developmental aspect of work meaning.

A concern with family provided another strong work-related focus of meaning within this niche. Family issues were reflected in both the work value and work motive sections. The general indication was that work was valued because it provided a means through which the individual could provide for their current and future families. Given that, for many of the niche occupants, schooling necessitated considerable economic effort and sacrifice on the part of parents and siblings, the concern with family is not surprising. In part, the concern reflects a reciprocal desire to provide for parents and other family members.

In comparing work and non-work elements, the participants very commonly referred to outcome-related factors. In particular, the perception was that, while work resulted in gain, monetary and otherwise, non-work either provided no such gain, or actively consumed resources. This emphasis on outcome-related factors would seem to be particularly tied in with the close association between work and employment in this niche.

Finally, in looking at the construct distinctions between the most and least valued forms of work for this niche, it will be noted

that the theme of task characteristics and demands was particularly commonly represented. Within this theme two factors occurred which deserve brief discussion. The first of these is safety, which in five cases was associated with the most valued forms of work. It would seem fair to suggest that this emphasis needs to be understood with reference to the political and civil violence in the country at the time of the research. The second factor is one which associated desirable work with the use of mental, rather than physical effort. Again, this should be understood with reference to social factors and the history of economic oppression of the black people of South Africa.

8.1.10 MIGRANTS.

The migrant niche has particular significance in the context of the black rural regions of South Africa. It is this grouping who have traditionally provided support to the non-self-sustaining rural economy, and they have been the subject of a considerable amount of anthropological and sociological research (eg. Mayer & Mayer, 1971; Maree & de Voss, 1975)

Although there were some individuals in skilled occupations in this niche, the majority of the participants occupied blue collar status jobs. The average educational level in this niche was second lowest of all the niches covered.

An important factor pertaining to this niche, which emerged from the life histories of the participants, was the profound influence that migrant labour had had on the totality of their life experience. Migrancy placed demands on how these individuals organised their time, their family relations and responsibilities, and virtually all other aspects of their lives. In addition, it emerged that migrancy had become something of a stable life pattern for these individuals, and that they had learnt to live with the

demands and difficulties it placed on them.

One of the commonly observable characteristics of this niche was an enduring attachment to life in the rural environment of Keiskammahoek. A number of the participants were questioned as to whether they would choose to live in urban areas if the opportunity arose, and almost without exception the response was negative. Although this tendency is partially the consequence of having selected those individuals who are relatively stable residents in the rural area, it seems fair to suggest that for the migrant niche, much of their personal interest and values are focused in the rural context.

Going along with the attachment to the rural area was an indication that family was once again an important focus of meaning. Provision for family was commonly cited as a personal work motive, and interestingly was associated with work rather than non-work.

The indication given by the results was that members of this niche were strongly oriented to work, and that work for the most part was broadly defined. Only half of the sample made a distinction between work and non-work elements in their lives. For the most part, work had the quality of a basic necessity in this niche. This was demonstrated by the fact that the materialistic themes of survival and financial gain played a dominant role in the work values for this niche.

Finally, in regard to the issue of employment, it was interesting to note that, although current positions of employment were frequently evaluated highly in this niche, migrant mine labour could be particularly singled out as an unpopular and largely negative form of work experience. Many of the migrants' first work experience had been in the capacity of mine labourers, and almost invariably attitudes to this experience were negative.

8.2 TOWARDS A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF WORK MEANINGS IN THE KEISKAMMAHOEK DISTRICT.

The approach adopted in this research has been to develop an understanding of work meanings which is firmly grounded in individual subjective experience and life conditions. It is therefore particularly significant that patterns of concurrence have emerged from the research data, to the extent that it is possible to propose a general description of work meanings within the district of Keiskammahoek.

As in the case of the descriptions of work meanings within the occupational niches, the logic used to reach the point of describing general work meanings relates to Bromley's (1986) notion of case law development. However, the central unit of analysis employed here is the occupational niches, rather than the individual case studies.

An aggregated analysis of the research results has been presented in Chapter 6, and this provides the central point of reference for this discussion. However, the discussion and results at the occupational niche level are in certain instances also relevant, and where this is the case, they will also be referred to. The discussion presented here will be closely structured along the lines of the work meaning model presented in Section 2.4.

8.2.1 THE CONTENT FACET.

It will be recalled that the personal construct model of work meaning developed for this research makes allowance for two principal content components. In the first, work is defined and given meaning in its contrast with that which is not work. In the second, work acts as a generative category, and has associated with it, constructs, which develop and extend its meaning for the

individual. In the application of this model within the research, both content aspects were explored with specific reference to the individual's personal life experience.

The first point to note is that the results indicate that personal non-work experience is by no means universally recognised by the residents of Keiskammahoek. Although the percentage of those recognising such a distinction ranged between 18% and 100% across the occupational niches, the average percentage stood at 67.

It is of interest to note that there appeared to be a tendency for those with little discretionary flexibility in work, such as women, and those in high intensity discretionary roles, such as business people, to be least likely to perceive non-work as a component of their lives. Between these two poles, and particularly in association with remunerated employment, greater recognition of non-work life elements was found to exist. This result would suggest an association between the individual's quality of work experience, and discrimination between work and non-work. It may be that the experience of an alienating or meaningless work context, encourages discrimination between work and non-work experience.

Educational level was another factor which appeared to be associated with the discrimination between work and non-work. Civil servants, whites and school-going youth were simultaneously amongst the most educated and most discriminating.

It should be noted that, in focusing on personal life elements, the research to some extent precluded the possibility of contrasting constructs based on a division between personal experience and external factors. Although the issue was not explored in great depth, a fair amount of evidence was accumulated which suggests that, for many of those who did not recognise non-work in their lives, non-work was equated with undesirable idleness and even criminality. This was clearly brought out in the work values

dimension, where stealing was commonly proposed as the only alternative to working. To some extent, this would support the proposal, that the true contrast of work is idleness rather than leisure. However, it can be pointed out that, where the contrast between work and non-work is referenced to the individual's own life experience, the nature of non-work appears to have the quality of leisure rather than idleness.

As has been previously discussed, Thomas (1964), has made the suggestion that pre-industrial societies frequently do not make a conceptual distinction between work and leisure, and that entrenched divisions between the two are largely a feature of modern industrial society. Thomas' proposals may have useful explanatory value if we consider that developing society contexts, such as Keiskammahoek, include a mixture of pre-industrial and industrial factors. This would, in part, account for the range in personal orientations to work and non-work that were encountered in the sample.

Turning next to the question of what forms of activity and experience constituted work and non-work, the research again gives some interesting indications. An important point to make in this regard is that, although the research has consciously avoided equating work with employment, one of the clearest indications obtained was that remunerated employment was, in an unambivalent way, regarded as a form of work activity. However, despite this, strong support for a broad, subjective definition of work emerged from the results. Besides employment, the definition of work was found to typically include other factors such as schooling and study, business activity, farming, housework and child rearing. In addition, a range of elements were found to be ambivalent in nature. The most noteworthy examples of these included interaction with family, church attendance and participation in sport.

Non-work life elements, for the most part, were found to be

relatively ambivalent in their classification. Besides the experience of unemployment, only socialising with friends, listening to radio and watching television could be adequately isolated as non-work.

On the question of work centrality, it was clear from the findings that work, within the broad definition that emerged, was regarded by the great majority of individuals as extremely important. The breadth of the definition of work is, however, crucial here, in understanding the implications of this point. The "work orientation" which is demonstrated in the research findings should not be taken to imply an employment ethic, but rather, more specifically, a commitment to work as subjectively and locally defined. It would be inappropriate to suggest that there is basic equivalence between the work orientation encountered in the research and that which one might expect to encounter in a First World, industrialised context.

The whites niche provides the one exception to the general trend towards valuing work highly. In this niche, non-work activity appeared to hold a substantially higher ranking than average, and this is indicative of a different understanding of non-work, and a generally more positive attitude towards it. Given the limited scope of the research, the reasons for this variance can only be a matter of conjecture. It is suggested, however, that the explanation lies in the different cultural, social and economic context of the niche.

Having acknowledged that the distinction between work and non-work is not automatic, and that work is for the most part regarded as more important than non-work, the next question to ask is how the two are distinguished from one another. It should be remembered that, in terms of the research model, this process of distinguishing between work and non-work is in part what defines work's meaning for the individual. Analysis of the repertory grid

data in the research discloses several themes in the distinction between work and non-work.

In discussing the themes, it should be noted that some of them occurred at low frequencies in the results. Given the nomothetic nature of the current analysis, the themes are discussed in a hierarchical sequence from most to least frequently represented. This hierarchy gives some indication of the relative strength of the themes.

The first factor which appears to distinguish work from non-work is related to differences in the material outcomes of the two activities. Whilst work, for the most part, results in material gain (both monetary and otherwise), non-work activity does not result in material gain, and often consumes what resources the individual has.

The second factor deals with the issue of implicit control in work and non-work. In work, the individual is constrained and obligated by either internal or external forces. They are either bound by duty or a sense of responsibility, or alternatively are bound to the will of another person. This latter alternative is an obvious feature of an employment relationship. In contrast, non-work activity is associated with personal choice and a lack of constraint.

Third, in association with the factor of control, there is also a difference in the motivation of the individual engaging in work, as opposed to non-work. Work requires a sense of commitment and is done with a definite purpose in mind. This may be a goal such as developing oneself, one's family or others. In contrast, non-work does not require this sense of commitment and purpose, and has more of the cursory quality of "following an interest". It is also frequently more self-centred than work.

The fourth factor deals with affective experience. In work, there is a tendency for the individual to be focused and tense, in contrast to a general feeling of relaxation in non-work. The direction of this contrast, however, does not always appear to hold true. For some it appears that the direction may be partially reversed, with non-work being experienced as frustrating, and work carrying feelings of reward and achievement.

The fifth factor relates to differences in the quality of experience associated with work and non-work. In terms of this, work tends to display the qualities of struggle and turmoil, whilst non-work is more likely to be characterised by peace. Further to this, work for some may display the quality of repetition and routine, which contrasts with a sense of change and variety in non-work.

The sixth factor relates to the demand placed on the individual by the activities of work and non-work. In terms of this, work tends to place a demand on the mental capacities of the individual, whereas non-work tends towards making physical demands. Also associated with this factor is the tendency for work to be more limiting and restrictive in its demands than non-work.

Finally, there is an evaluative contrast between work and non-work. This implies that work, for the most part, is activity which is regarded as difficult and important, while non-work tends to be evaluated as less important and easier.

In the second content component of work meaning, the focus shifts from a comparison between work and non-work categories of experience, to a comparison within the work category itself. As defined in the research, this internal comparison specifically related to a contrast between highly valued and less valued forms of work. The repertory grids elicited in the research provided a means of analysing this contrast, and go some way towards answering

the question of what it is that people desire from work.

From the research data analysis, it is possible to distinguish several common themes which characterise the distinction between highly valued and less valued work. As in the case of the work/non-work distinction, the themes have been arranged in a sequence running from most, to least frequently occurring. The purpose of this, is to give an indication of how strongly the themes apply in a nomothetic context.

One of the most commonly represented themes relates to the demands and characteristics of the work tasks themselves. Subsumed within this theme are a number of constructs. In the first place, while valued work is commonly characterised by reliability and durability, less valued work is associated with risk. Second, complexity and challenge, rather than simplicity and routine, also characterise valued work. Third, valued work tends to be associated with mental effort, rather than exclusively physical effort. Fourth, environmental conditions also appear to be significant in the evaluation of work. Work that has a propensity to have a socially meaningful impact is valued more highly than work which is regarded as being socially irrelevant.

The second theme in the distinction between highly valued and less valued work relates to the outcomes obtained. The principal constructs included here indicate that work is valued according to the volume of resultant profit or gain to the individual. Although the extent of monetary gain does appear to be important, profit does not always take a material or financial form. A fairly common construct in the research associated "benefit to the soul" with the more valued forms of work, and "benefit to the flesh" with the least valued. In a general sense, it appears that in order to be valued, work should enable a process of personal growth, development and accumulation, rather than resulting in a loss.

The third thematic cluster relates to the issue of implicit control in the work situation. The common tendency here is to value work which permits the individual to exercise personal control and freedom of choice. Work in which the individual is controlled by another, and in this way is forced to comply, tends to be less valued.

The fourth theme concerns the issue of affect. As might be expected, there is a tendency for the more highly valued forms of work to be associated with positive affective factors. These include happiness, security and a sense of physical wellbeing, and are contrasted with feelings of frustration, strain and insecurity in the least valued forms of work. This tendency towards positive affect in valued work is in some situations contradicted. For some individuals, feelings of tension and strain may be associated with valued work, while the least valued forms of work are identified with relaxation.

The fifth cluster focuses on distinctions in the motivation of the individual engaging in the contrasting forms of work. The most valued forms of work are characterised by self-motivation, in contrast to the situation of being forced by circumstances to act. Going along with this, valued work implies a depth to the individual's motivation, in terms of which they feel determination and commitment, in contrast to seeing little purpose in the activity. Finally, there is also a distinction in the goals pursued in work. Valued work tends to imply goals which are of personal benefit, or which intentionally benefit others. Work where such goals are absent, and the benefit accrues to another individual who is distanced from the worker's own context, tends to be less valued.

The sixth cluster relates to social factors in the work context. Valued work, in a broad sense, is associated with sociability and fellowship, in contrast to a sense of isolation in less valued

work. In addition to this, social acceptance, as opposed to rejection of the work activity, appears to be important. Further, valued work for the most part is work which has a cohesive influence on the family structure, rather than disrupting this bond.

The seventh theme concerns the issue of responsibility. Here there is some indication of valued work being associated with personal, as opposed to shared responsibility. In addition, valued work tends to imply that the individual possesses substantial, as opposed to minimal responsibility.

The final theme deals with the question of performance and gives an indication of the importance of success in work. Valued work is characterised by the individual being competent and able to cope, while less valued work may be associated with inexperience and a lower level of success.

Besides looking at the common construct distinctions between the most and least valued forms of work, it is also important to question whether there are particular forms of work which typify the two ends of the scale. The research results provide a few useful insights in regard to this question. Some discussion has been devoted to this issue in Chapter 6, and the central points are reviewed here.

In the first place, it is clear that employment includes a diverse range of potential experience and cannot adequately be treated as a uniform category. Where employment is challenging, and particularly where it has a vocational character, the individual is likely to experience it in more positive terms than where it is menial, repetitive and unchallenging.

One consistent indication is that, of the range of employment experience in Keiskammahoek, migrant mine labour stands out as a

particularly negative work experience. This can be understood in terms of the arduous nature of the labour, the stressful and dangerous working conditions, and the personal and social difficulties associated with migrancy. Another indication is that the family provides an important arena for meaningful personal work. Both general interaction with family members, and specifically the raising of children provide meaningful work experience.

Two remaining important forms of work can be distinguished. The first of these is study. This work has clear links to the personal development of the individual and also links to success in other forms of work. The second is business activity which, where it is engaged in, is commonly highly valued. This form of work allows for a considerable degree of personal control and influence, and is in keeping with a number of other criteria associated with valued work.

8.2.2 THE CONTEXT FACET.

In terms of the model of work meaning, people do not relate to the work components of their life in a vacuum, but are strongly influenced by factors such as their values, experience, personal motives, and a range of general influences in their environment. Together, such factors provide a context to the person's work experience.

To deal first with the issue of work values, there appear to be four general elements of note which illuminate the value of work. The first of these rests in work's association with survival and material wellbeing. Work is perceived as the unavoidable path through which the individual ensures survival and an adequate standard of life. The second associates work with personal wellbeing and growth. In terms of this, work is seen to be a medium through which the individual develops as a person, in both a

psychological and a physical sense. In the absence of work there is risk to both body and mind. Third, although the individual may survive through dishonesty and crime, work is regarded as the morally appropriate path to follow. It carries both a general moral sanction and also, for many with a leaning towards Christianity, a religious justification. Lastly, there is an important social dimension to work. The individual works not only to benefit him/herself, but in addition works for the benefit of others. These others may, in the first instance, include members of the family, and personal acquaintances of the individual, but there is also a more general benefit to society.

There is the question of why people engage in work and what it is that motivates them. Amongst the most common motives is a concern for the wellbeing of the family. People work to maintain and improve the economic and social standing of their families. Secondly, they work to ensure their own health and survival. Beyond this, they seek personal development, identity and fulfilment through work. Less commonly, individuals may be motivated by financial gain, or by social concerns such as helping others. Finally, a small but significant indication is that people may work because it is perceived as being the morally or religiously correct course of action.

Underlying personal contextual factors such as values and motives, there are a range of even more fundamental factors which, in particular, relate to the individual's external environment. As discussed in Chapter 7, in the Keiskammahoek context the most obvious of these include: the rural nature of the environment, widespread poverty, poor general standards of education, political and historical factors, the central role of community issues, gender relations, and the pervasive acceptance of employment. Together, these and other factors combine to present the individual with certain opportunities for work experience and, at the same time, limit access to others. They exert a crucial influence on

both what is experienced and how it is experienced.

While it is certainly the case that environmental circumstances to a large measure determine the range of potential work experience for the individual, it is equally important not to see the individual as a necessarily passive recipient in the relationship. For some people, the experience of environmental restraints becomes a challenge and they are driven to do what they can to influence and determine their life course and circumstances. This empowered response is typical of entrepreneurial business people and is also encountered in some professional categories. The power of environmental restraints is undeniably great, however, and for the majority of people, the response to environmental restraints is largely acquiescence. In these cases, survival is sought through following a path of minimal resistance rather than challenge. This stance is typified by the position of women in domestic roles.

8.2.3 THE PROCESS FACET.

The final aspect of this description of work meanings, deals with the proposal that there is an essentially dynamic and evolving component to work meanings. Although the research did not go far in exploring this facet, its existence was amply demonstrated in the research data.

It would seem to be the case that there are two influences in this dynamic facet of work. The first influence is a direct product of the work situation and relates to the fact that, with the passage of time, the individual tends to be exposed to a range of different work experiences. In the case of employment, the worker may experience different work situations as he/she changes jobs. Alternatively, they may find that a single position is transformed through promotion, technological change, job redesign or some other such influence. A similar pattern may prevail in the case of

private business where new initiatives and efforts may be undertaken. Non-employment forms of work show a similar propensity to change and develop, though often not at a comparable pace. Interactions with family members, for example, change in quality and structure as years pass, and even the domestic routine of the housewife is not immune to influences such as changing technology and changes in social custom.

The effect of this kaleidoscopic range of work situations is that the individual is exposed to different demands and experiences, and forced to adapt to these. In one case, the experience of employment was transformed for the participant when he entered a new job where he found for the first time that he was regarded as an individual and felt that he was loved by others. In another case, one of the participants in the women's niche spoke of how the domestic work of women was changing, and explained, by way of an example, how some tasks, such as the gathering of firewood, which were traditionally done by the women themselves, were now being done professionally by people who were paid to provide the fuel.

Meaning, as dealt with in this thesis, is foremost a quality which the individual infuses into his/her work, rather than being a passive quality of the work situation and context. This introduces the second influence in the dynamic facet of work meanings, which derives directly from within individuals themselves. In interacting with their world through the medium of work, people are constantly redefining and evaluating their situation and actions; in essence, seeking to explain and find meaning in what they do. This point can be directly associated with the "person as scientist" proposal put forward in Personal Construct Theory. As demonstrated in the analysis of constructs associated with highly and less valued forms of work, people implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, relate to forms of work in particular ways.

It can be argued that both the forces of maturation and personal

development act on the individual's relationship to work. The maturational process from childhood, through adolescence to adulthood and eventual old age, carries with it changing role demands which influence how the individual relates to work. For example, the desire for socially meaningful employment encountered amongst the youth niche in the research may, with time, be overshadowed by a concern for outcome and stability, as the participants assume the roles of parents and bread-winners.

Somewhat more subtly than this, the process of personal development may also influence how work is experienced. The idiographic character of the worker invariably finds expression in the work experience. It is clearly true that no two workers experience a particular task in exactly the same way. Each finds his/her own particular meaning in the situation. This point was vividly illustrated in the research, in the uniqueness of every case study.

In understanding the process facet of work meaning, both personal and work situation influences must be accommodated. The cumulative picture of work meaning which arises out of these two influences, is that of a complex interaction between person and work task. It is apparent that the evolving nature of work meaning does not lie wholly in the changing context of work, nor in the individual's relationship to tasks, but rather in the interaction between these two.

While it is proposed that work meanings are in a state of constant change and development, it is important to note that this change is not devoid of order or logic. What is interesting about the content findings in this research, is that they identify general thematic patterns in the relationship between individual and work which appear to be common and generalized. It must therefore be concluded that, while work experience is consistently shifting and changing, there are repeating patterns in the flux.

8.3 CONCEPTUAL ROOTS REVISITED.

In the opening chapters of this thesis, a review of Personal Construct Theory was presented. This theory provides a conceptual context and grounding for the model of work meaning used in the research. Having presented the principal findings of the research, it is now appropriate to briefly revisit this conceptual context and assess the process that has been followed and the ends that have been achieved. For the most part, the approach informed by Personal Construct Theory has proved to be a useful one and, in regard to this there are a number of issues which deserve discussion.

The first issue relates to the need expressed in this research for a broad approach to the concept of work, rather than one restricted to the notion of employment. The point was made early in the thesis that employment-based definitions of work have the disadvantage of excluding the wide range of non-remunerated activities which individuals perform, and that this is particularly problematic in the context of a rural developing society setting. The adopted approach of dealing with work as part of a pervasive construct, and as a construct generative category has proved to be successful. In particular, the approach was useful in providing the requisite structure for dealing with a subjective definition of work.

One of the principal ways in which structure was provided was via the use of repertory grid methodology. This methodology made it possible to isolate constructs and themes associated with work, despite the diversity of subjectively defined work experience. Not only could intra-case analysis be carried out, using this technique, but it also facilitated the process of inter-case analysis at the occupational niche level.

As regards the results of the research, it has been established that, at least in as far as the Keiskammahoek district is

concerned, work appears to be a universally accepted concept. Further, it has been established that the patterns of construal and meaning associated with work are, for the most part, consistent and generalized. Less clarity exists regarding the non-work pole of the work/non-work construct. For many of the residents of Keiskammahoek, work is a pervasive life experience and the concept of constructive leisure experience is by no means always accepted. In many instances, non-work is understood negatively as idleness and immoral behaviour.

Another issue which deserves mention concerns the basic nature of constructs. It will be recalled that one of the proposals made in Personal Construct Theory is that constructs are not free-floating, but are grounded in the experience of the individual, and hence in their objective world. This proposal was accommodated in two ways in the research. In the first instance, it played a central role in the development of the individual case studies. Here, an attempt was made, wherever possible, to relate all aspects of meaning data to the life experience of the participants. For example, except in the youth niche, repertory grid elements were comprised of elements drawn from the life experiences of the participants and, in general, life history data comprised a crucial component in the analysis of individual cases.

Secondly, at a broader level, the identification and use of occupational niches can be seen as a way of further accommodating the link between constructs and experience. The idea that members of an occupational niche would have been exposed to similar experiences and hence may have similar relationships to work, was an important justification for the use of the niche concept.

The next issue concerns the notion of meaning as related to work experience. The position adopted in this thesis was to define work meaning holistically in terms of content, context and process aspects, and in this regard Personal Construct Theory has made a

crucial contribution. It will be recalled that three essential forms of meaning were associated with Personal Construct Theory. The first identified meaning as an integral component of cognitive constructs and cognitive structure. In the second form, meaning was seen to be associated with creative action and the process of engagement with reality. The final form was one identified by Harri-Augstein (1978), and referred to a form of meaning embodied in the context, structures and institutions of society which act as agents of meaning in the individual's experience. These three forms of meaning correspond respectively to the content, process and context aspects of the work meaning model, although the correspondence in the case of the second two factors is rough, rather than exact.

As has already been discussed, this research has tended, for the most part, to concentrate on the content and context aspects of work meaning, leaving the process aspect to be inferred rather than directly explored. However, it must be pointed out that this aspect of meaning, both with regard to work and Personal Construct Theory remains a crucial one.

A further issue for discussion relates to the endeavour in this thesis to bridge the gap between idiographic and nomothetic work meaning. This was one of the most complex tasks in the research strategy. Whilst the bridging between the two levels was accomplished through the use of Bromley's (1986) notion of case law development, the implications, from the perspective of Personal Construct Theory, of creating such a bridge have yet to be discussed.

As was indicated in the last section, substantial commonality was encountered amongst the research participants with regard to the construction of work meanings. It was on this basis that a general description of work meanings in Keiskammahoek could be developed. It will be recalled that, while Personal Construct Theory puts

forward an essentially idiographic model of construct development and meaning (as described in the individuality corollary), it acknowledges that experiences of common environmental and social conditions exert a homogenising influence on peoples' construct systems. This line of argument ties in with the theory's perspective on culture, which it identifies as patterns of common construal. If one relates these points to the research findings, they provide a partial explanation for the consistency in the patterns of work construal amongst the participants. To a substantial extent, participants shared a wide range of common experience by virtue of racial, geographical, political and other factors. The identification of distinct patterns of work construal amongst members of the whites niche, who for the most part had substantially different background experience, further supports this line of argument. However, it would appear to be important that the context referent argument is not carried too far with regard to the issue of work meanings. There appear to be many aspects of work meaning, such as those associated with survival, psychological health and sociability which by nature are very deeply rooted in the general human condition.

Finally, it is important to deal briefly with the issue of motivation in the context of the results and Personal Construct Theory. The model of motivation put forward in the theory has a paradoxical character. Whilst the person is seen to be essentially a forward-looking being engaging in an effort to understand and master his/her world, s/he is frequently thwarted in this endeavour, by the complexity and dominating presence of the world. This paradox emerged clearly in the analysis of work meanings. Many of the desirable and valued qualities in work that were identified in the research were seldom realized by the individuals in their daily work activity. The lives of all participants, to a greater or lesser extent, reflected compromises between desire and reality.

8.4 THE RESEARCH IN PERSPECTIVE.

This final section of the discussion chapter examines the research findings in the context of existing literature in the field of the meaning of work, and attempts to assess the significance of the research within the context of developing societies. The discussion will roughly follow the format used in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, as this will provide structure and continuity.

8.4.1 THE RESEARCH IN THE CONTEXT OF EXISTING MATERIAL ON THE MEANING OF WORK.

Returning to Helldorfer's (1971) phenomenological description of the work experience which was discussed in Section 2.2.1, it would seem to be the case that, while elements of his description parallel the findings in this research, his approach is deficient in a major respect. His description is idealistic and altogether too narrow for the vision of work that emerges from the research data. One of the most prominent findings in this research is that, for the majority of people living in Keiskammahoek, work was a broadly defined component of life experience. It encompassed much, and in some cases all, of waking life. Furthermore, work for the majority of those resident in Keiskammahoek was perceived as a matter of necessity and there was little of the voluntarism that is implicit in Helldorfer's description. In this pragmatic context, the nature of work experience more closely reflects a range of compromises between personal, physiological and social forces, rather than the search for self expression.

The finding in this research that much of work activity is associated with the themes of necessity and obligation, should not be taken to imply that the activity is therefore meaningless to the individual. On the contrary, the idea that work may involve necessity and obligation can in itself be indicative of its

meaningfulness. In a Western, First World setting, meaningfulness is often evaluated in terms of affective and hedonistic factors, and this is inappropriate in the context of this research. While a sense of pleasure may be largely absent from certain forms of work activity, this certainly does not intimate that the work is meaningless.

The concept of work meaning, as used in this research, is, to a substantial extent, a quality imposed on the work situation by the workers themselves. The data in this research clearly indicate that, even in the most restrictive work conditions, people struggle to give meaning and purpose to their activity. In keeping with the proposals of existential writers such as Victor Frankl (1967), and those of Personal Construct Theory, the results support the notion that the individual is an active agent who engages in a process of engendering work with meaning. Work meaning thus does not arise simply out of the objective conditions of the work activity itself, but rather out of a combination of these and the meaning-seeking and meaning-creating influence of the person involved.

Having said this, it is also clear from the results of the research that not all forms of work are of equal value to the individual and that some forms of work develop little significance beyond the extrinsic rewards they may offer. Although certain types of employment appeared to quite commonly fall into this latter category, some non-employment forms of work were also occasionally featured. A description of the factors that were found to be associated with meaningful work has already been given in an earlier section.

Although a broad, subjective definition of work has been used in this thesis, it is important, in terms of the literature on the meaning of work, to give specific consideration to the position of employment within the definition. As has been previously stated, employment was found to be the most unambivalently classified work

element amongst the research participants. At the same time it was also clear that employment, to some extent, has a distinct identity of its own. Although the potential range of employment experience is considerable, there appear to be certain aspects of the employment relationship, in particular those of remuneration and control, which give this experience a distinctive character. Although it was not within the scope of this research, there certainly appear to be grounds for further investigation specifically aimed at situating employment experience within the wider range of work experience.

The broad definition of work deriving from the research also has some implications for the issues of mental health and alienation, which deserve to be mentioned. It could be argued, in keeping with Seligman's (1965) position, that the relatively global orientation to work encountered in the research is indicative of integration between elements of play, work and culture in the participants' lives. This would imply that a generally low level of alienation existed. An alternative argument could be put forward suggesting that the broad orientation to work would tend to decrease the personal impact of specific experiences of alienated work activity, by allowing negative work experiences to be more easily compensated for by other positive experiences. However, in making this suggestion, one has to be very careful to acknowledge the relative impact the alienated work experience has in terms of time and general involvement of the individual. If, for example, as may commonly be the case, the alienating experience takes the form of full time employment, the impact on the individual is likely to be severe, regardless of other conditions. The migrant niche illustrated how far-reaching and encompassing the employment experience can be. As described earlier, these individuals may spend as little as two weeks in the year at home, and there is thus little opportunity for any form of compensatory work experience to take place.

A further point that needs to be made is that the work meanings illustrated by the research must be understood in the context of the economic poverty and hardship that is present in the rural areas. There is a danger of romanticising people's relationship to work, or seeing it in an unrealistic light. To repeat Kasl's (1974) suggestion, it is likely to be the case that people in positions of hardship reduce their standards of aspiration and consequently may appear to be more fulfilled than they in actual fact are.

In the review of literature, discussion was devoted to the distinction between work and various forms of non-work. As has already been pointed out, the distinction between work and non-work life activity was found to be far from universal amongst the research participants. Further, in almost all of the occupational niches covered in this study, where the distinction was made, it remained ambivalent and blurred. These findings illustrate the complexity of the work/non-work construct and further indicate the limitations of adopting a narrow, restricted definition of work.

The results also provide an indication that the concept of leisure activity as a discreet entity separated from work activity, is poorly formulated in the Keiskammahoek area. Significantly, it was only in the whites niche and to some extent in the business, youth and civil servant niches that the concept appeared to be present. The notion of leisure relies on a clear definition and boundedness of work experience, and possibly also acceptance of life being divided into discreet time intervals. Examples of the latter may include private time, work time and free time. The regulation of time in this way and the more exclusive association of work with employment, are more a feature of urban, industrialized settings than they are of a rural, developing society context.

Turning to the issue of work centrality and Dubin's (1956) proposals, the results again offer some interesting insights. It will be recalled that Dubin's research indicated that, in

industrialised society, work does not constitute a central life interest for blue-collar workers. For the most part, the current research clearly indicates a strong orientation amongst the participants, towards work and an acceptance of its importance. However, the definitions of work used in Dubin's and this research are very different and if, in parallel with the latter, one looks at the position of employment in this research, it is clear that a strong positive orientation towards such activity is often not present. However, even in those cases where formal employment was regarded as unimportant there was no implicit rejection of the importance of work per se.

A further issue relating to centrality is the high significance attributed to family interaction. As has already been discussed, this attitude was present both where family interaction was constituted as work and where it was constituted as non-work. This finding has something in common with the MOW Research Team's (1987) results in which it was also found that family was a major focus of personal meaning.

It is interesting to ask the question whether or not the importance attributed to work amongst the research participants is indicative of the existence of a work ethic. The rudiments of such are certainly suggested by the research findings. Work, as broadly defined, was certainly seen as morally and socially appropriate behaviour, and a number of the participants made reference to Christian doctrinal sanction of work. The idea that for many participants, non-work was equated with indolence or even criminality is also significant.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Wilensky (1960) proposed three alternative hypotheses for explaining the relationship between work and non-work. Two comments can be made on the basis of the research findings, which are of relevance to Wilensky's proposals. In the first place, the ambivalent distinction between work and non-work

encountered in the research, would tend to imply that the possibility of a segmented relationship between work and non-work is unlikely. If the two forms of life element are not clearly distinguished from one another, it seems improbable that they can be isolated from one another in the individual's life experience. In the second place, given the breadth of the definition of work, it would seem fair to suggest that, if compensation and spillover effects do occur, they may take place within the realm of work experience rather than between work and non-work. In other words, a particular form of negative work experience may either influence, or be compensated for, by other more positive work experiences.

As far as the contrast between play and work is concerned, again only limited comment can be offered. Some qualitative distinctions in the experience of work were evident in the research. For example some work was found to be "heavy", in contrast to more enjoyable work. However, play as a specific form of experience could not be isolated in the data with the possible exception of it being referenced to sport activity. In one interesting case, a female participant described making clay animals as a child as a form of work. This she based on the perception that at the time of performing the activity she "took it to be (her) work". Once again this illustrates the integration of work and non-work experience encountered amongst the research participants.

The link between community and work was very strongly illustrated in the research, with respect to the Xhosa speaking participants. In keeping with Price (1985), the research supports the notion that the two factors are essentially inseparable. The link was most clearly demonstrated with regard to non-employment forms of work such as domestic work, parenting and agriculture. Here many of the work roles are socially prescribed and deeply enmeshed within the fabric of rural society.

The demonstration of the link between work and community was not

limited to non-employment forms of work but also occurred in the case of employment. There are numerous examples that can be cited here. One example is the fact that a number of the participants whose first employment experience was as migrant mine labourers, described this as having been "expected of them". Although, with changing mine recruitment practices, access to mine employment has become restricted, it has apparently been customary for young men to work out a contract or two on the mines prior to going through initiation and circumcision. In this way, employment and community custom have become interlinked. Another example concerns the issue of community status. In the research it was very clear that employment occupation and status in the community were closely interlinked. The fact that business people generally held positions of power and influence in the community has already been mentioned in the results section. Examples of other occupations which also appeared to be linked to high social status include nursing, education and social work.

As regards community identity finding expression within employment, the data are fairly limited. It can, however, be inferred from the importance attributed to social aspects of the employment situation, that employment can provide and facilitate an experience of community. There is one specific example, already discussed, of the individual who found an employment position particularly meaningful because he felt "loved" and a member of a group.

Another important issue which requires discussion is that of gender. As was commented in the literature review, it is essential in considering the meaning of work, to take gender issues into account. With regard to the research, there are a number of points that should be mentioned. In the first place, gender factors were strongly reflected in the composition of the niches and in the case samples drawn. There were obvious gender-based biases in the composition of many of the occupational niches, such as civil servants, farmers, whites, migrants and the unemployed. Where

possible, an effort was made to balance gender representation in the niches, but this was seldom achieved because of biases in the composition of the niches.

In the case of the women in domestic roles, gender was specifically used as a criteria in the identification of the niche. The work experience within this niche has already been documented in an earlier section. However, it is worth noting that many of the difficulties that emerged in this niche had their basis in gender relations.

One encouraging indication in the research was that the position of women in the occupational mix appears to be developing and changing for the better. It was clear that, particularly in the small business and business niches, women are becoming increasingly strongly represented. Further, the occupational aspirations of the young women covered in the youth niche show a marked trend away from traditional women's roles.

8.4.2 THE RESULTS IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

In this final section of the discussion chapter, brief consideration is given to the issue of what implications the research holds for rural and national development. It will be recalled that in Chapter 2 it was suggested that psychology has a particular role to play in facilitating and explicating processes of development.

It is clearly the case that the district of Keiskammahoek, which provides the context of this research, is subject to various forces of change and that socially, infrastructurally and demographically the area is constantly and irrevocably changing and developing. As a microcosm of the wider South African situation, it is subject to the same broad influences of political events, urbanisation,

technological advance and industrialisation. In addition to this, the area has been, and is likely to remain, the subject of conscious development strategies. Examples from the past include the government betterment schemes developed from the 1930's onwards (see Westaway, 1993), the irrigation resources and schemes developed during the rule of President Lennox Sebe in the Ciskei, and the small business development projects that have been initiated.

Going further, it is argued that the phenomenon of human work is an integral part of the processes associated with development and social change. In a number of respects, it acts as an agent and catalyst of such change. From this, one is logically drawn to the conclusion that the questions of how people relate to work, what they expect from it and what they get from it, must be asked, in order to acquire an effective understanding of development processes.

Regarding the specific contribution of the current research, perhaps the most important aspect is that it has illustrated the complexity and richness of work meanings in a rural South African context. Work has demonstrably emerged as a major focal point for the expression of personal meaning and values, even in the context of economic and social hardship. Further, it has shown that employment must be considered as only one aspect of peoples' work experience and that, while important, it should not be considered in isolation from other aspects.

The implication for development initiatives is that they need to be sensitive to the structure of work meanings and, where possible, build on and extend positive work experience. Initiatives involving work which is not found to be fulfilling are likely to be met with little commitment and even resistance.

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that this research has

consciously avoided making the suggestion that work meanings are progressively arranged from traditional rural to modern, more Westernized contexts. To do this would be to fall squarely into the camp of the modernization theorists and be subject to the same criticisms of European ethnocentrism (for example see Hoogvelt, 1978). Although distinctions in work meanings related to economic, educational and occupational factors have been noted in the research, no judgement of these differences has been intended. In many ways, the holistic nature of the work experience of the rural farmer is highly admirable when compared to the disjointed and polarised life led by the average First World, urbanized resident.

The real challenge to be faced is whether the conditions of economic and social hardship in developing societies can be improved without alienating those involved and losing the richness of the existing work experience. The need for a content and context-sensitive understanding of work meanings would seem to be particularly appropriate at this delicate juncture in South Africa's history.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION.

It will be recalled that three principal research goals were put forward in this research. The first was the explication of work meanings in a rural context within a developing society, the second referred to developing a cross-sectional analysis of work meanings amongst the existing sections of the community, whilst the third involved the development of an appropriate conceptual and methodological framework for dealing with meaning of work issues in a developing society.

In order to achieve these goals, a complex research strategy had to be used. Working from a metatheoretical basis grounded in Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, 1955), a three-faceted model of work meaning was developed. This comprised content, process and context facets. Use of this model facilitated the development of a subjective definition of work in the interaction with research participants. Basically it allowed the participants to define what, for them, constituted work and how such activity was distinguished from non-work.

It is proposed that this subjective definition of work is one of the key contributions of the current research. It overcomes the limiting trend of restricting the definition of work to paid employment, which is encountered in most of the previous research on the meaning of work. Further, given the fact that work tends to take a diversity of forms in developing societies, it provides a particularly appropriate conceptualization of work in this context.

Methodologically, the strategy of using multiple case studies in the research reflects an attempt to capture both an idiographic and a nomothetic understanding of the meaning of work in a developing society setting. As operationalized in the research, multiple case study analysis allowed for the exploration of work meanings at a

collective as well as occupational niche level. In respect of the latter, it made possible the attainment of the research goal of comparing work meanings across prominent occupational sectors in the Keiskammahoek population.

The research interview used as the data gathering technique was developed out of the meaning of work model. The inclusion of a simple repertory grid as a part of the research interview proved to be successful, despite the limitation of having to rely on a dyadic construct elicitation process. The instrument helped to structure the link between Personal Construct Theory as a metatheoretical framework, and the research. In addition to this, the grid acted as a focal point in triangulating between the three sources of data in the research interview.

The value of the research strategy has been effectively demonstrated in the results obtained in the research. These make a number of important contributions to understanding the role and meaning of work in developing society situations. Perhaps the most important contribution is that they demonstrate the complexity of the relationship between people and work in rural Third World situations, and indicate that, at a global level, work remains an extremely important and valued life element.

At the occupational niche level, the results illustrate both the universality of certain aspects of work meaning, and the differences that may occur in the actual experience of work and its interpretation. Further, at this level, the results relating to the distinction between work and non-work are also informative. They illustrate how, for different occupational niches, the delineation of work varies, and the extent to which work stands as a discreet form of life experience.

Inevitably, as with most research of this nature, there are a range of limitations which apply to the research design and results. In

the first place, it should be noted that the context of this research resulted in a number of specific difficulties. One of the most noteworthy difficulties encountered was that of language. Without the mediation of a skilled research facilitator/translator between researcher and participant, the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural aspects of the research would have presented a major obstacle. As it is, there are undoubtedly some inter-linguistic complexities which remain unresolved in the research.

A second important problem faced in the research concerned that of adequate sampling and gaining access to participants. Given the geographical distribution of participants, lack of population data and the extremely poor communication infrastructure in the area, research participants could not be selected in advance, and planning of the sampling strategy was difficult. Going along with this, suspicion and unwillingness to participate could have proved to be major problems, although these were again resolved through the use of the research facilitator/translator. This individual, being a local resident of some standing in the community, was able to explain the nature and purpose of the research and assure participants of confidentiality, in this way easing their anxieties.

The fact that the research could rely only on single interviews was a further limitation. Attempts to gain access to participants for further rounds of interviews would, for the most part, have proved to be both impractical and invasive. Members of the migrant niche, for example, were obliged to give up personally valuable leave time to participate in the research and would have resisted further incursions into their time. In view of the fact that very few participants were given prior notification of the interview, the participation that was granted was remarkable.

As regards the conceptual model used in the research, it should be noted that the three facets of content, process and context,

provide a complex and intricate basis for research on work meanings. Even under ideal research circumstances the model would not be easy to implement. Under the conditions that pertained in the current research, the difficulties were compounded. However, it should also be pointed out that the complexity of the model was, at the same time, necessary and beneficial. Without this complexity, much of the richness of the research data would have been lost.

Another issue to consider is that of the shift between idiographic and nomothetic levels of explanation in the research strategy. This, it will be recalled, was achieved through the use of the case study method and the concept of case law development. With regard to this, it should be noted that the move between idiographic and more generalised levels of explanation inevitably implies the loss of a degree of depth and richness in research analysis. In the research, the extraction of themes from the research data, as a means of moving to a higher level of analysis, meant that aspects of the individual case data had to be discarded. In particular, an understanding of the dynamic interrelatedness of work meanings within the individual case studies, could not be carried forward into the broader analysis. It should be noted that the inclusion of the niche case examples in this thesis was intended to partially offset this loss.

As regards the use of case study methodology and case law development, these served as an excellent and manageable means of eliciting and dealing with the data. One problem that occurred with regard to the case studies was that it proved to be difficult to build adequate case studies on the basis of a single, once-off interview. Considerable further depth would have been added to the case studies had it had been possible to conduct multiple interviews.

A further point that can be made is that the life history material that was elicited from participants could have been extended.

Although the material that was elicited was adequate for the purposes of constructing repertory grids and providing some contextual information, further depth to the life history data would have been of great value. In the absence of a longitudinal research design, life history data potentially provides the best insight into the process aspect contained in the work meaning model, and this link could have been better developed in the research. Once again, multiple interviews would have proved useful here, as they would have allowed a greater amount of life history data to be gathered.

In the research, the need to cover relevant sectors of the Keiskammahoek population was dealt with through the medium of occupational niches. Whilst these niches successfully encompassed a range of occupational alternatives, this cover cannot be described as entirely comprehensive. Certain elements in the rural community have inevitably been marginalised or ignored in the niche analysis. One example of this occurred in the case of the youth niche, where non-school-going individuals were not included in the sample.

A very important question is the extent to which the research findings can be generalised to other rural South African areas and to developing societies at large. Although this question cannot be empirically answered without recourse to further research, some tentative comments can be made.

In keeping with the context-sensitive approach emphasised in the research, it is proposed that the primary backdrop to the research results is defined by the local conditions that pertain in the Keiskammahoek district. These include, amongst others, local cultural, social, historical and political factors. At a secondary level, however, the results can also be seen against the backdrop of broader national conditions, such as the apartheid legacy and the economic system of the country. The range can be extended still

further, as there are parallels between the South African situation and other developing countries in Africa and elsewhere. As the results are generalised through these successively wider levels they will undoubtedly lose some of their relevance and focus. However, it is suggested that many of the work meaning issues dealt with in this research are of a sufficiently fundamental psychological nature as to survive such translocation.

Despite the limitations and qualifications which have been discussed, it is argued that the research has opened up an important area for psychological research. With regard to the conceptual definition of the meaning of work and methodological concerns, the subjective and qualitative approach adopted in the research suggests a constructive alternative to traditional approaches, which are limited in their application to the Third World. Second, with regard to psychology's involvement with Third World development issues, the field of work meanings appears to be one where substantial contributions can be made.

The general nature of this research has, for the most part, been exploratory. As a result of this, a number of areas for further research and study have been highlighted. The most obvious of these can be briefly described.

In the first place, there is a definite need to extrapolate and further explore the trends that have emerged from this research. Besides the need to find further confirmation of the patterns of work meanings that have been discovered, there is a particular need to develop the analysis of the process aspects of work meanings in developing society settings.

A second area is that there appear to be grounds for further developing the analysis of occupational niches in relation to meaning of work issues. The potential exists for some very interesting comparative analyses between occupational niches. One

prominent example is that of the comparison that could be made between the small-business and business niches. There are important issues associated with motivation and entrepreneurship here, which could be clarified through research. In addition to this, the use of occupational niches in a cross-cultural context could provide important insights into the culture-boundedness of work meanings.

There is also important research to be done on the relationship between, and the relative standing of, work and employment meanings. In a developing society context, there are crucial questions to be asked regarding the assimilation of an employment culture, and modification of traditional work orientations concomitant with economic development. In the South African post-apartheid era, with Affirmative action and changes in economic alignments occurring, such questions promise to be particularly important.

Another issue which deserves further exploration is that of the interrelationship between gender and work meanings. This major area was only peripherally dealt with in this thesis and still requires a great deal of research. Gender relations in both developed and developing societies are deeply enmeshed with the nature and experience of work. In developing societies, the work/gender relationship provides an important locus of social change.

Another question to consider is what impact technological change has on meaning of work factors in a context such as Keiskammahoek. This is an important issue to consider with reference to development projects aimed at bringing about economic and technological change. One example of such a project described in the research was the intensive dairy scheme set up on the outskirts of the Keiskammahoek town.

Yet another field of enquiry concerns the interrelationship of locus of control issues with meaning of work and economic

empowerment factors. This issue was highlighted in the data pertaining to the business niche. It may have important implications for the understanding of entrepreneurial behaviour in developing societies.

Finally, with levels of education improving, career aspirations amongst the rural youth are also undergoing change. The interplay between this process and the work values and work meanings amongst the youth provide yet another area for research.

It seems appropriate to close this thesis with a statement made by one of the participants, which reflects on the interface between work and employment and the spirit of human work:

There are different kinds of work. If you work with people whom you are in love with, you become healthy, but if you work with people who make things compulsory, it will get heavy. If they dictate, you will never be happy. There is work which is meaningful, and other which is not meaningful. Part of what you get out of work must be yours, then you can be a free man, but when they dictate, it's different, there is no opening for improvement.

APPENDIX 1.
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.

Introduction

Introduce researcher and explain the nature of the research and the issue of confidentiality. In particular explain the case study orientation in the research and that the focus is on them as an individual rather than on them as a representative of their group or community. Confirm that the individual is willing to participate and answer any questions they may wish to ask.

Part 1: Biographical and control data

- a) Interview reference number.
- b) Case study category.
- c) Name of participant.
- d) Date of interview.
- e) Place of interview.
- f) Place of residence.
- g) Time started /finished.
- h) Sex.
- i) Age.
- j) Dependants.
- k) Particular family circumstances.
- l) Present occupation.
- m) Sources of income.
- n) Education and training.

Part 2: Life History

Develop a concise life history for the participant using the following as a cue question and ad hoc probing.

Q. I would like you to tell us about your life to date starting from when you were born. It is important that in telling me your story that you concentrate on things that are important to you rather than tell me about things you think we may wish to hear.

Part 3: Grid Construction

- a) With the participant, isolate significant life elements from the life history.
- b) Get the participant to categorise elements as work or non-work. If none of the elements can be classified as non-work, ask the participant if they can describe what non-work is, and explore any distinctions that are made.
- c) Selection of elements for use in the grid.
- d) Ranking of grid elements.
- e) Derive constructs using elements and a dyadic process.
- f) Compile grid ratings using a seven point scale.

Variant of Part 3 for use with youth sample

- a) With the participant, isolate significant life elements from the life history.
- b) Get the participant to categorise elements as work or non-work. If none of the elements can be classified as non-work, ask the participant if they can describe what non-work is, and explore any distinctions that are made.
- c) Ask the participant to describe two forms of work (not necessarily employment) that s/he would like to do in future and

two forms s/he would not.

d) Isolate a combination of elements from the life history and stated future likes and dislikes for use in the grid.

e) Ranking of grid elements.

f) Derive constructs using elements and a dyadic process.

g) Compile grid ratings using a seven point scale.

Part 4: Open Questions

a) Q. Is it important that people work? Why/why not?

b) Q. Why do you work?

c) Q. Looking around Keiskammahoek one sees obvious differences in wealth, some are well off while others are struggling. How do you explain this situation.

d) Q. One sometimes comes across the situation where you have two people who have the same difficulties and advantages. Despite this one ends up doing better than the other. Do you agree and if so why does this situation exist?

e) Q. If you look around Keiskammahoek what general problems relating to work do you see?

f) Q. What particular problems do you face in your situation relating to work.

g) Q. Is there anything further that you would like to tell us about or anything more you would like to know from us?

APPENDIX 2.
CASE STUDY ANALYTIC FRAME.

The following structure was used in the development of case studies from the case protocols. It also facilitated the process of developing the niche studies and collective analysis.

Control Data

1. Case Number.
2. Case Category.

Biographical Data

3. Sex.
4. Age.
5. Present occupation and position.
6. Marital status and particular family circumstances.
7. Number of children and dependants.
8. Place of residence.
9. Income sources.
10. Level of education.

Exclusion Data

11. Does the participant discriminate between work and non-work experience? Provide a listing of non-work elements if these exist. (Relates to grid elements and anecdotal information).

12. What construct distinctions does the participant make between work and non-work? (Relates to construct distinctions included in the participant's repertory grid and any anecdotal information).

13. What kinds of evaluative distinctions does the participant make between work and non-work? (This question deals with the issue of centrality and relates to element ranking and anecdotal data).

Inclusion Data

14. What forms of experience does the participant include in their conceptualization of work? (Relates primarily to the range of elements included in the repertory grid and anecdotal data).

15. What construct distinctions does the participant make between forms of work experience? (Relates primarily to significant construct distinctions in the repertory grid).

16. What kinds of evaluative distinctions does the participant make between forms of work experience? (Relates to element ranking and anecdotal data).

Contextual Issues

17. Work values. In general terms does the participant see work as important and why?. (Relates to question a. in part 4 of the interview schedule and to anecdotal sources)

18. Work motives. What are the participants personal motives for

working?. (Relates primarily to question b. in part 4 of the interview schedule and to anecdotal sources)

19. Achievement beliefs. How are differences in individual wealth and success explained and understood?. (Relates to questions c., d. and possibly f. in part 4 of the interview schedule)

20. Life history. What elements in the participants life history can be identified which appear to be significantly related to their orientation work?.

21. Environment. What factors related to the Keiskammahoek district, identified by the participant, could have a bearing on their orientation to work?. (Relates to question e. and possibly f. in part 4 of the interview schedule)

Niche Specific Issues

22. What factors relating to work meaning can be identified which appear to be specifically related to the participants occupational niche?.

Case Summary

23. Provide a brief general case summary focused on the participants orientation to work.

APPENDIX 3

ANALYSIS OF PERSONAL WORK MOTIVES.

This analysis was derived from question 18 of the analytic frame.

1. Theme: PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FULFILMENT (f=20)

NICHE	f	VERBATIM EXAMPLES
FARMERS	2	- there is nothing else I want to do, I like farming. - I like working for myself.
SMALL BUSINESS	3	- my goal is to work to be someone, not someone in hardship. - to be able to stand for myself, not under anybody.
BUSINESS	2	- to enjoy myself, I enjoy work.
LOCAL EMPLOYEES	1	- I don't want to be just loose, I want to be somebody.
CIVIL SERVANTS	2	- I want to develop myself further.
WHITES	4	- to occupy my mind and do something. - I have an interest in business.
WOMEN	2	- I aim to develop myself (materially) and exercise my muscles.
UNEMPLOYED	2	- I want to practice my profession.
YOUTH	2	- I would like to look after myself; to be independent.

2. Theme: FINANCIAL (f=14)

NICHE	f	VERBATIM EXAMPLES
SMALL BUSINESS	3	- I want to succeed financially; I have always wanted to buy a Mercedes.
BUSINESS	4	- I have a dream of becoming a millionaire. - for financial security; in case I come a cropper in the new South Africa.
LOCAL EMPLOYEES	4	- I want money.
UNEMPLOYED	2	- to get money.
YOUTH	1	- to get money.

3. Theme: MATERIAL AND GENERAL WELL-BEING (f=23)

NICHE	f	VERBATIM EXAMPLES
FARMERS	1	- for my health.
SMALL BUSINESS	4	- I seek to survive and seek health.
LOCAL EMPLOYEES	2	- to survive mentally and physically.
CIVIL SERVANTS	3	- survival is the first thing.
WHITES	2	- security. - to improve my lot in life.
WOMEN	4	- survival is the only thing.
UNEMPLOYED	1	- to get food for my stomach.
YOUTH	4	- to produce something that I can depend on in future.
MIGRANTS	2	- for survival - I am working for my future.

4. Theme: FAMILY (f=43)

NICHE	f	VERBATIM EXAMPLES
FARMERS	2	- for the education of my children.
SMALL BUSINESS	3	- to educate my family. - to develop my family and have a good living with them.
BUSINESS	4	- to provide for my children and educate them.
LOCAL EMPLOYEES	7	- to provide my family with a start in whatever they choose to do. - to maintain my wife, household.
CIVIL SERVANTS	6	- I want better things for my family.
WOMEN	1	- to get money to educate my children.
UNEMPLOYED	7	- my aim is to help my family because I had few opportunities in life.
YOUTH	5	- to develop my home.
MIGRANTS	8	- to develop my home. - to educate my children.

5. Theme: SOCIAL (f=18)

NICHE	f	VERBATIM EXAMPLES
SMALL BUSINESS	2	- I want to help others through my work.
BUSINESS	4	- I want my country to recommend me.
LOCAL EMPLOYEES	3	- to develop my environment and community.
CIVIL SERVANTS	5	- I am very interested in the nation as a whole; to bring up their standard.
WHITES	1	- I see it (an aspect of his work) as a social commitment and I am very happy with it.
WOMEN	1	- I would like to work and help a lot of people.
YOUTH	2	- to benefit others in the community.

6. Theme: MORAL (f=3)

NICHE	f	VERBATIM EXAMPLES
SMALL BUSINESS	1	- if I do not work I will go robbing and my children will be brought up wrongly.
WOMEN	2	- I do not want to be like these youngsters; thieving.

7. Theme: RELIGIOUS (f=1)

NICHE	f	VERBATIM EXAMPLES
BUSINESS	1	- so that God will see that I make use of the talent he has given me.

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