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Research Report

Cultural Kasi'preneurs of Daveyton: Cultural entrepreneurs and their processes of creating cultural value in the township.



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Supervised by Avril Joffe

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by Coursework and Research Report in the field of Cultural Policy and Management.

Johannesburg, September 2020

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own original work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts by Coursework and Research Report in the field of Cultural Policy and Management in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other University.

I have acknowledged all sources used and have cited these in my reference list.



Dimakatso Motholo

28th day of September 2020

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1. Introduction.

In the past five years, the rise of unemployment, poverty and inequality has persisted in South Africa. Furthermore, the South African economy has failed to grow at a pace needed to create jobs even though the government wishes to create an inclusive growing economy. Government acknowledges that to overcome some of these persistent challenges, it needs to support and create environments for small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) to thrive. Most SMMEs are based in the townships[1], which has recently become a space that the government acknowledges needs transformation. Individuals within the township are thinking imaginatively about how they can add value to their townships. Entrepreneurs are moving beyond the stereotypical businesses found in the townships such as the car wash, salon, spaza shop[2], taverns, and *shisa nyama*[3], however, continue to be major contributors to the township economy.

The cultural and creative industries in the townships are marginalized and often seen only as entertainment or hobbies. Industries such as manufacturing and retail are thriving in the township landscape through the support of both government and the private sector. However, many of the businesses within these industries are not owned by black entrepreneurs from the community, therefore the money spent supporting these businesses by residents does not go back to creating wealth for the community, instead, it creates wealth outside of the township. Figure 1 illustrates the conceptualisation of the township economy, it highlights how the township economy is connected to the country's overall economy (McGaffin et al., 2015: 14).

The circular flow of the diagram highlights the interrelationships between the main institutions, markets and sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing. Households provide

[1] Townships, which are also referred to as the location or 'kasi' are defined as areas that were designed under the apartheid regime for cheap labour workers that were mainly classified as 'African' (Department of Co-Operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), 2009: 6). These spatial dynamics and economic characteristics will be explored later in the literature review.

[2] A spaza shop is also known as a tuck shop. It is an informal convenience shop business in South Africa that the business owner runs from home, selling small everyday household items. They grew out of a necessity as traveling to formal shopping centres became more expensive. For more on the dynamics of the spaza shop in the township economy, read *Kasinomics: African Informal Economies and the People Who Inhabit Them (2015)* and *Kasinominc Revolution: The Rise of African Informal Economies* (2018), both by GG Alcock.

[3] Shisa nyama is a Zulu phrase that translates as 'burn meat'. It is a term used in townships to describe a place where people braai and serve. The place is usually provided by the butcher owner and only people who buy meat from the butcher are allowed to use the open fire facility.

labour to nearby cities, as well as to the service industries within the township which in return they receive salaries and wages. Other opportunities for income for the household is through rentals. The consumption of the goods and services by the households takes place outside the township, therefore the earned income circulates outside the community, whilst the other portion of the household income is paid as taxes to the government sector for basic social and economic services. The suggested prototype township economy disregards the existence and interrelation of the cultural and creative industries with this economy.

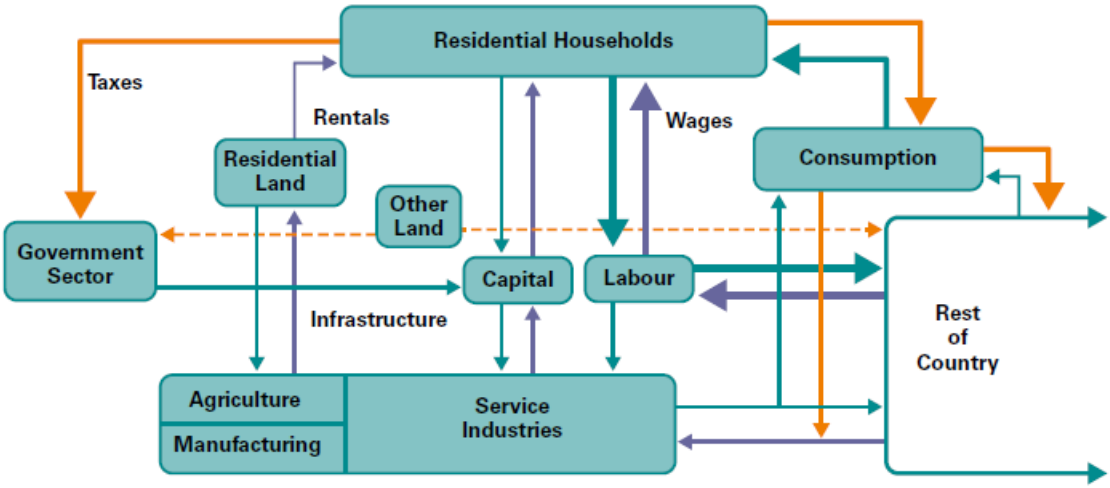


Figure 1: The Prototype Township Economy (McGaffin et al., 2015: 14).

The status of many African countries is that they are slowly transitioning from developing to being a developed country (Dana et al., 2018: 2). The economic structure of most of these countries is a mix between a small number of large corporates and many micro- and small enterprises (Dana et al., 2018: 2). Entrepreneurship in Africa has been recognized as the key driver of economic development because of its impact on job creation and poverty alleviation (Dana et al., 2018: 2). There has been the growing recognition that entrepreneurship is the solution to economic and social problems in parts of Africa (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 9). In the history of Africa, entrepreneurship has also been used to reduce conflicts after wars in countries (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 14). This has been evident in a country such as Rwanda, in which the coffee industry made use of entrepreneurship post-genocide to rebuild the country's economy; entrepreneurship, in this case, proved to have the ability to generate financial gain and employment (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 9). Social capital has become one of

the key ways that African entrepreneurs are able to overcome barriers and gain access to growth opportunities (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 18) for their business ventures.

The experience of black South Africans living in the townships needs to be documented, especially considering that townships are spaces that will continue to exist in South Africa. *Ekasi Lam - An Ode to Kwaito, Un-owed to Kwaito* is an offering of writer, director and theatre practitioner Jefferson Tshabalala. The play suggests that kwaito is one of the most genuine cultural forms that portray the township life. The music genre provides insights into how the majority of South Africans live in the township (Moncho-Maripane, 2019). Tshabalala conceptualized the play as a response to the lack of academic writings on the genre Kwaito and that the few scholars that have actually taken the time to write about the genre, have done so from a voyeuristic point of view. Tshabalala felt the need to correct the misconceptions and subversions of how Kwaito is described in these existing texts (Moncho-Maripane, 2019). Tshabalala adds that the play is part of his way of finding creative ways of staging cultural experiences of black people in South Africa (Moncho-Maripane, 2019).

The play acknowledges Kwaito artists as poets and the importance of knowing them by their birth names and not reducing them to their stage names. The following quote is taken from a monologue in the play, whereby the character expresses that despite the conditions found in the township, cultural producers such as Kwaito artists find ways to create value not only for themselves but also for their townships. Kwaito artists as poets can be highlighted as one of the first marginalized cultural entrepreneurs in the townships:

> Rona. Batho. Abantu abantsundu. Thina abamnyama. The natives. Black people. Icebo lihlala likhona. We are here in the township, living on these mining town of gold, walking above the earth's belly that swallowed the men we call Okhokho. Where there was once gold, the replacement has become the bones of those whose lives were not as precious as the jewel they gave their lives digging for Abelungu.
>
> Bula matlo. Jonga. Sheba. Look at how we live. A joke. All of it. A joke. We were made to be and continue to reside on the unsavoury margins of all things affluence and prosperity. Lana siyapatanisa. Siyapesha. Sidibandisa kuhlangane. Ithongo liye lavuma. Lasipha ithambo. A stone of bone. The gold that is Kwaito. Ekasi kunizima. Siya'juta ngabo "ghetto fabulous" mara kubi la. Ha eo "fine thanks, how are you?" monana. You say kunjani, you hear siyazama, siyancenga, matsatsi ha tswane, kuzolunga, itlo luka,

> sizothini? Re tla reng? -and the most positive response you can hope for is “ukukhala akusizi”. Where is the pathos? How dare you keep us at a distance, and when we make our own value, you appear on the horizon? After enjoying the convenient privilege of having a cheap labour force whom you force to labour cheaply, you take interest now in their mines. It is your now barren mines that will build these townships, and when we mould our gold into platinum, you will not let us be. (Tshabalala, Unpublished)

The monologue reflects on townships being spaces that supply a labour force that build cities and economies, yet are the most neglected spaces. It highlights the imbalance of how those in the township are committed to creating livelihood environments outside of their own environments. Instead those living in the township have accepted its history by living it. The monologue also comments on an attempt to create success or anything with the potential to be great, cannot or is not allowed to exist within the township space. Kwaito is used as an example of a commodity that is mined in the townships but the fruits of its labour builds creative cities.

Growing up in the township, you are taught that success is working hard to get away from the township, alongside getting a good education at a tertiary institution. This narrative is further supported by phrases such as “education is the key to success”. The career paths are directed towards being a doctor, lawyer, police officer, nurse, or engineer. One doesn’t grow up, thinking to themselves that one day they want to be a cultural entrepreneur. However, a recent wave of cultural and creative production within certain townships is challenging this perception, moving ahead of government initiatives and taking over ‘kasi’ to empower it.

This research report is a response to cultural entrepreneurs being disregarded as value creators within their townships. The research was conducted to identify cultural entrepreneurs, their key activities in creating cultural value through their businesses and to understand how these businesses operate in the township of Daveyton. Daveyton is a black township located in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, with a growing population of 127 967 and 14.45 km² in size (StatsSA, 2011). This research report further provides evidence of how cultural value is created in an environment that was initially designed and still is, a

labour supplying, resourceless, poverty-stricken, and struggling to be a liveable and workable environment.

This research report places emphasis on the role and importance of social capital, how cultural entrepreneurs establish and develop networks and platforms during their process of value creation[4], and the importance of social capital in this process. Research based on the township economy is limited but this is a research area that is slowly developing, however, the role of cultural entrepreneurs as contributors to both economic and social development in the township economy is scarce.

The following are questions used to guide the research:

1. What products and services do cultural entrepreneurs offer and how do these products or services produce cultural value?
2. How do cultural entrepreneurs in the township acquire resources to create their products and services?
3. What is the role of networks (social capital) in cultural entrepreneurs' process of creating cultural value?
4. What platforms are available for marketing cultural and creative products or services? How are these platforms exploited?
5. What are the key challenges that cultural entrepreneurs in the township encounter regarding the relationship between cultural value and pricing? How do they overcome these challenges?

The following provides an outline of the structure of this research report by briefly highlighting each chapter. Chapter 2 is a literature review that makes use of literature from across various disciplines, however, the literature is reviewed within the context of cultural policy and management. The literature review is structured into four themes which were identified as important for the research; the township economy, cultural entrepreneurs, cultural value, and the role of networks in the entrepreneurial process. In chapter 3, the conceptual framework provides a narrative that explains the relationship of the four

[4] Value Creation: The Business Dictionary defines the creation of value as the performance of actions that increase the worth of goods, services and the business (2018). In relation to the cultural and creative industries, value creation refers to the creation process of cultural value.

identified themes and how they have guided this research. Chapter 4, punctuates the qualitative approach used in conducting the research. The methods used to conduct the research were semi-structured interviews with eleven participants that are founders or co-founders of the business, as well as participant observation whereby participants were observed during their line of work. Chapter 5 discusses the findings of the research, which has five sections; cultural kasi'preneur, cultural kasi'preneur profile, cultural value and pricing, markets and marketing, and friends as networks. Chapter 6 foregrounds the limitations of the research as well as identifies possibilities for further research. Chapter 7 concludes that cultural kasi'preneurs offer new ways of seeing and thinking about our townships, which is important for the process of making townships attractive to investors.

2. Literature Review.

The following literature review is structured according to the four themes that have been identified as important for this research; the township economy, cultural entrepreneur, cultural value, and networks. It is important to note that the bodies of literature that will be drawn from are from various disciplines; urban geography, local economic development, sociology, business management and cultural entrepreneurship. However, this research is grounded and located in the field of cultural policy and management.

2.1. The Township Economy.

Daveyton is a township located in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, with a total population of 127 967 and 14.45 km² in size (StatsSA, 2011). It was established in 1952 but only achieved municipal status in 1983. The racial make-up is 98.5% of black African people (StatsSA, 2011). Daveyton is home to iconic artists such as Lebo Mathosa, Lerato 'Lira' Molapo, Victor Ndlazilwane, Rhoo Hlatshwayo, and Percy Mtwa. In 1986 Mtwa wrote and staged a play titled Bopha! It was later adapted to film, directed by Morgan Freeman and shot in Daveyton. One of South Africa's ground-breaking television drama series, Yizo Yizo[5] was set and based in Daveyton.

[5] Yizo Yizo is a South African drama series that aired in 1999. It received both positive and negative attention for its depictions of township school life. The series was set in a fictional school, Supatsela High, in a township of Johannesburg. Bomb Productions was commissioned by the South African Department of Education to

Townships were designed under the apartheid regime to physically separate people that were classified as 'African' to provide cheap labour to nearby cities. Spatially, Africans were located far enough to have a clear distinction of social differences (Mahajan, 2014: 3). Many of the townships in South Africa have not escaped the apartheid legacy; they still currently serve the dual purpose of providing cheap labour to cities (McGaffin et al., 2015: 10).
The history of the townships has shaped the socio-economic status of those that live and operate in them (COGTA, 2009: 6), and because they are placed at a distance from urban economic centres, job seeking and access to economic opportunities is excessively expensive (Mahajan, 2014 and McGaffin et al., 2015).

The economic characteristics of a South African township are unemployment, uneven access to basic public services and overwhelming levels of crime and violence (Mahajan, 2014: 2). Agriculture, manufacturing, retail, transport, tourism, personal and household services, and business services (McGaffin et al., 2015) are some of the key sectors that make up the township economy. Unemployment amongst young people is one of South Africa's most persistent challenges, however, through the above-mentioned sectors, young people have the opportunity and choice to enter the township economy as entrepreneurs (McGaffin et al., 2015: 2). As a developing country, South Africa is grappling with how to make townships liveable and developed.

Townships are exclusive to South Africa and therefore the concept of a township economy is unique to this country. Literature that focuses on the township economy is emerging as both scholars and government officials have shown great interest in understanding and supporting the growth of the townships through commissioned research. In the efforts to understand the township economy, the Gauteng Provincial Government announced in 2014 that it would commission a study on the township economy to perceive its size, influence, strength, and finding ways to measure its social and economic importance. Furthermore, South Africa is in the process of creating a national report on township economies. However, there have been

address problems in township schools as part of a campaign called Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service (COLTS) to produce the series.

two influential studies based on township economies; the World Bank study titled *Economics of South African Township: A special focus on Diepsloot (2013),* and the *Gauteng Township Economy Revitalisation Strategy 2014-2019.*

The World Bank study on Diepsloot shows that it has a R2 billion economy, most of which is spent in the suburbs of Sandton and Fourways; only an estimated 25% of the money generated in the townships is spent in the township (Mahajan, 2014). The impact of this World Bank study emphasises the potential the township economy has on the entire economy. When studying South African township economies, I believe that there are more complex aspects that influence the economies of townships such as the health, cultural experiences and well-being of the residents. The study on Diepsloot inspires context; the writers of the study foreground the importance of the context Diepsloot offers. Whilst generalisations can be made of townships in the findings, it is important to note that townships are heterogeneous because of their location, different histories, current dynamics and residents (McGaffin et al., 2015: 8). Therefore, each township has its own unique characteristics, suggesting there is a need to study the various townships across South Africa as each township has characteristics that are worth exploring. My choice to base my study on the township of Daveyton is, firstly, because I am from this township and secondly, Daveyton has less of a presence in the literature on townships.

The *Gauteng Township Economy Revitalisation Strategy 2014-2019* highlights the following as barriers to township enterprises:

- Poor understanding of the abilities and values of the township enterprises.
- Little hard evidence to demonstrate the impact and value added by township enterprises.
- Lack of entrepreneurial and productive activity.

I view the above barriers as productive areas for research. My research contributes to the understanding of the abilities and values of cultural and creative businesses in the township. In my reading of both these studies, I found that cultural entrepreneurs are overlooked as creators of value and contributors to the township economy. Therefore, my research contributes to our knowledge and understanding of the abilities and values of businesses run

by cultural entrepreneurs, providing evidence of the cultural value that their businesses offer, and highlights cultural entrepreneurial activities.

When defining the township economy, Mahajan (2014) and McGaffin et al. (2015) share a similar definition; it is the microeconomic activities that take place within the township. The township economy, however, does not exist in isolation, it is connected to the broader economy through the mobility of production (labour and capital) and through markets for goods and services (Mahajan, 2014: 8). McGaffin et al. (2015) highlight the following as areas in the township whereby young entrepreneurs display potential for business success; first, young people are able to translate their 'hobbies' into enterprise activities; secondly, young people are brought into their family businesses to help run them; and thirdly, young people with jobs can establish informal micro-enterprises as a safety-net or investment strategy (McGaffin et al., 2015: 1). It is important to note that not all enterprises in the township are informal; shopping complexes and malls in the township have formal clothing stores such as Jet and Mr Price, as well as grocery retail giants such as Pick 'n Pay and Shoprite, these are designed to thrive in the informal complexities of the township economy.
Although the township economy is exclusive to South Africa, other parts of the world have economies that exist in similar informal complexities. In the study of Diepsloot, Mahajan (2014) uses the concept of the township economy and urban informal economy interchangeably; they are characterised as similar to each other, from a global perspective the township economy can be referred to as the urban informal economy.

Webb et al. (2013) describe the urban informal economy as one that consists of economic activities that take place outside the formal economy; the economic activities take place outside formal institutional boundaries but occur within the informal institutional boundaries. This may suggest two things: the definition is limited to function and some of the economic activities are undocumented even though they maintain legitimacy for a large portion of the society (Webb et al., 2013: 600). Brown and McGranahan (2016) define the urban informal economy similarly to Webb et al. (2013) stating that it is economic activities outside official regulation. These activities include a wide range of activities such as street vending, domestic services, home-based enterprises and urban agriculture (Brown & McGranahan, 2016: 98).

Brown and McGranahan (2016) argue that although these activities may not be regulated, once again they are not to be confused with illegal goods and services.

Bromley (1978) states that the Kenyan report on its informal economy has influenced how the informal economy is characterised globally. The following are characteristics of an informal economy: easy entry, reliant on indigenous resources, family ownership, small scale enterprises, labour intensity and adaptive technology, skills acquired outside formal school, and unregulated competitive markets (Bromley, 1978: 1033 and Acharya 1983: 433). The characteristics described can also be used to describe the circumstances that are often found in the townships. Acharya (1983) insists that the informal sector is transitory because of its potential to grow and therefore, over time, it will be absorbed into the formal sector, suggesting that the informal economy exists in the present and has no future as it will be adopted into the formal economy. However, I disagree with this; easy entry is one of the characteristics of the informal economy that ensures that there will constantly be a flow of new entrants, therefore, the economy will continue to exist, as previous new entrants will move into the formal economy, creating opportunities for new entrants; the informal economy acts as the foundation phase for the formal economy. The fixed apartheid geography means townships will continue to exist in the future. Government has also recognized this which is the reason for the new interest in developing initiatives that stimulate the transformation of township economies.

Although there are distinctions between the formal and informal economy, Brown and McGranahan (2016) insist on the idea that the informal economy is dualist; the informal economy is a pre-modern sector that acts as an intermediate space between the mainstream formal economy and unemployment. Mahajan (2014), supports Brown and McGranahan's idea, stating that the urban informal economy is fully consistent with the growth of the urban formal economy, thus becoming a dual economy alongside the urban formal economy. Mahajan however, adds that the urban informal economy has the potential to be a key driver of economic growth (2014: 51). He further suggests a conceptual framework to understand the dynamics of a multi-layered economy. The base of the framework lies in the analytical understanding that urban informal economies are fully consistent with growth (Mahajan, 2014: 6). This is also on the praxis that advanced economies do not grow fast but rather developing economies do, giving potential to the urban informal economy to be a driver of

economic growth (Mahajan, 2014: 6), even with the lack of access to finance (Mahajan, 2014: 9).

Hart's (1973) writings reflect on Accra's informal income opportunities and urban employment. Hart highlights inflation, inadequate wages, increased surplus of urban labour markets as some of the causes of a high degree in informal income-generating activities (1973: 61). Furthermore, Hart emphasises that one of the key distinctions between formal and informal income opportunities is wage earnings and self-employment (1973: 68).

Charman (2016) argues that the township economy is able to provide opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship. McGaffin et al. (2015) elaborate on this by suggesting that the township economy provides opportunities to acquire skills, on-the-job experience, and build social networks. Furthermore, McGaffin et al. (2015) support Charman's argument by stating that there are good business opportunities for the youth whereby they are able to apply their knowledge and skills to mobilise capital.

2.2. The Cultural Entrepreneur.

The following section reviews literature through a time-line of research on cultural entrepreneurs; it outlines the development of research and the relevance of the research in the various periods in society. Entrepreneurship studies are viewed as a rare concept that attracts scholars from various disciplines, bringing together discussions and observations of what others are doing in other disciplines and questions how they are doing it; it is a research area that is interrogated across disciplines (Nieuwenhuizen, 2003: 9). However, the school of business management and economics are the dominating contributors of research in the field of entrepreneurship, with the schools of management science and social science contributing to the field through research about the different types of entrepreneurs.

One of the responses to the high unemployment rate in the townships is self-employment as a means to survive. Self-employment in the township may be viewed as a form of entrepreneurship, however, not all those who are self-employed identify themselves as entrepreneurs. From the government's perspective, entrepreneurship is the key driver in job creation, especially in a developing economy. To the South African government, entrepreneurs and their SMMEs are crucial to creating an inclusive growing economy.

Research has shown that entrepreneurship is practiced in various forms, such as the general entrepreneur, the social entrepreneur, the intrapreneur, and the cultural entrepreneur.

The Global Center for Cultural Entrepreneurship states that when culture is thriving within a certain environment, it is likely that cultural entrepreneurs are building businesses and organizations that express ideas, values, traditions, and perspectives through the sharing across cultures through markets. Cultural entrepreneurship has become a recent trend not only for cultural policy makers but researchers in the academic space and urban designers. However, concerns with this concept have been largely generated from a European perspective which fails to conceptualize cultural entrepreneurship in the context of countries in the global south.

Richard Cantillon (1680-1734) a French-Irish economist, was amongst the first to recognize the importance of the entrepreneur in the development of the economy and the market. Cantillon believed the entrepreneur to be an individual willing to take risks for future profits and is ready to accept the consequences associated with the decision they have made. Later in the 1800's, French economist Jean-Baptiste Say writes about the entrepreneur's ability to transfer resources from a lower area into an area of higher productivity for the purpose of better results. Furthermore, during this era, Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950), an Austrian political economist, moves towards defining the entrepreneur as an individual who creates new combinations of factors of production aiming at new products; new processes; methods and technologies; new markets and market segments; and new resources. In this era, the concept of the entrepreneur is emerging and scholars in economics are concerned with the potential and abilities of the entrepreneur.

Entrepreneurship in the arts considers social context and is concerned not only with profits but also bringing value to the audiences and art projects. This form of entrepreneurial practice priorities audiences' experience and arts over profits. The focus on entrepreneurship within the arts brought concepts such as the social entrepreneur, cultural and creative entrepreneur or cultural entrepreneur into existence.

The term cultural entrepreneurship was first introduced by Paul DiMaggio in his article titled *Cultural Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth Century Boston: The Creation of an Organisational Base for High Culture in America* (1982). In this article DiMaggio (1982) does

not define the practice of cultural entrepreneurship but rather focuses on the emergence of the cultural capitalists who have created and manage cultural institutions that are associated with high art in Boston. The article limits the practice of cultural entrepreneurship to elitist managerial positions in what was regarded as high art during this period.

It is only years later that the term cultural entrepreneurship is re-introduced in the writings of scholars such as Charles Leadbeater and Kate Oakley; *The Independents: Britain's New Cultural Entrepreneurs* (1999). Leadbeater and Oakley argue that cultural entrepreneurs are important not only because they are a source of job creation and growth but also because they are constantly providing new models of business and production (1999: 13). The study includes interviews conducted in Glasgow, Cardiff, Brighton and Sheffield and with the data gathered, Leadbeater and Oakley develop a profile of cultural entrepreneurs' strengths and weaknesses (1999: 12). The profiles are based on the exploration of the cultural entrepreneur's business context, thriving in cities and operating through networks that link them to larger organisations that have capacity and resources (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999: 12). These forms of networks induce collaborations between cultural entrepreneurs and big organisations, which ensures the survival of the cultural entrepreneur's business.

Leadbeater and Oakley refer to cultural entrepreneurs as the 'independents' who are enabled by technology, rather than seeing it as a threat, which they integrate into their business models (1999: 14-15). The element of self-employment provides a sense of freedom and autonomy, however, with this comes uncertainty, insecurity and constant change (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999: 15).

In the 2000's, researchers gravitated towards Cantillon, Say, and Schumpeter's concepts of the entrepreneurs. Researchers become concerned with how entrepreneurs can reach opportunities that bring into existence future goods and services that are yet to be discovered, created and exploited. However, the emphasis is placed on that this is not without consequences (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001: 545); these consequences are viewed as the risks that entrepreneurs calculate and take. The entrepreneur is characterized by the risk they are willing to take in their business venture; 'risk' becomes a key defining factor.

In their research, Lounsbury and Glynn (2001) focus on how business plans, marketing strategies, sponsorship and personal traits enable entrepreneurs to access and mobilize

resources to start a business or move towards new means of production, or the promotion of new ideas, products or processes that create wealth. This research is concerned with the 'becoming' of the entrepreneur; it answers the questions of how to be an entrepreneur and how to operate a business as an entrepreneur.

Table 1 highlights research trends in entrepreneurship and the various perspectives the investigation is from. Researchers shift their focus to what are entrepreneurial activities, competencies required, and policies needed to enable the practice. However, with reference to the table, there is a lack of interest in the different types of entrepreneurs, how they are different from one another, and their different contributions to the economy as a whole. However, the table reflects that the entrepreneur remains at the centre of the investigation from period to period.

Ellmeier (2003) characterizes the cultural entrepreneur as a multi-skilled individual who is psychologically resilient and independent. He or she is particularly interested in business opportunities in the field of art, music, or the media and are not attached to a particular location. Scott (2012) highlights that Ellmeier's view of the cultural entrepreneur suggests that they are mobile workers, however, this view lacks the understanding that the cultural entrepreneur is constantly negotiating with reproducing labour powers to pursue artistic interests.

Period	**Topics**	**Authors and Researchers**
1. What entrepreneurs do (1700-1950)	From an economic perspective	Cantillon, Say, Schumpeter
2. Who entrepreneurs are (1960-1980)	From a behaviourist perspective	Webber, McClelland. Rotter. De Vries
3. What entrepreneurs do 1980-	From management science perspective (finance, marketing, operations, human resources)	Drucker, Mintzberg
4. What support is needed by entrepreneurs 1985-	From a social perspective, including economists, geographers and sociologists	Gartner, Welsh, Bygrave, Reynold

5. What entrepreneurial activities are, and what competencies are required to perform 1990-	From an entrepreneurship perspective	Timmons, Vesper, Brockhaus

Table 1: Research Trends in entrepreneurship, Adapted from Fillion (1991).

The term cultural entrepreneur resurfaces and is popularised by *Cultures and Globalisation: The Cultural Economy* edited by Anheir and Isar (2008), in a chapter written by Thomas Aageson titled Cultural Entrepreneurs: Producing Cultural Value and Wealth. The chapter focuses on cultural entrepreneurs and their cultural enterprises, acknowledging that the concepts are fairly new, therefore there is a need to fully develop and understand the concept holistically (Aageson, 2008: 91). Aageson defines the cultural entrepreneur as follows:

> Cultural entrepreneurs are risk takers, change agents and resourceful visionaries who generate revenue from innovative and sustainable cultural enterprises that enhance livelihoods and create cultural value for both creative producers and consumers of cultural services and products. (Aageson, 2008: 96)

Aageson's definition of the cultural entrepreneur is inclusive of the conceptual thinking around entrepreneurship by previous scholars. However, Aageson's definition differentiates the cultural entrepreneur from the generic entrepreneur, as the cultural entrepreneur is not focused on profits but rather on the creation of cultural value and the well-being of consumers and co-producers. Cultural entrepreneurship has the power to influence a community's economic situation. This requires a shift that transforms the environment through the creation of market demand and cultural wealth; the systems created in cultural industries by cultural entrepreneurs lead to the enhancement and sustainability of cultural traditions and values (Aageson, 2008: 92). Aageson views the cultural entrepreneur as a catalyst for the cultural economy because of being a visionary, creating cultural value that enhances the livelihood of those in their environment, therefore, there is a need to train and finance new cultural entrepreneurs to create new and successful enterprises within their communities (2008: 106).

Giep Hagoort and Rene Kooyman (2009) draw on DiMaggio's conceptual thinking of cultural entrepreneurship, restricting the practice to art managers and their abilities to explore cultural opportunities in their own environment to formulate cultural innovations, to create a balance between cultural and economic values, and to show entrepreneurial leadership style. However, Phillips (2010) highlights that the artist as an entrepreneur can be viewed as a risk taker, innovator, decisionmaker, and an organizer and coordinator of economic resources. This is often due to the lack of support to the artist's career and as a result the artist is forced to fulfil all the roles required to bring their work to the market and ensure a sale. In 2010, the Utrecht School of Arts prepared a report for the European Commission. The study investigated entrepreneurial activities within the cultural and creative industries. It made use of the term cultural and creative entrepreneur, which is defined as an individual that creates and brings to market cultural or creative products or services through the use of entrepreneurial principles (HKU, 2010: 7).

Jenny Mbaye (2011) is amongst few scholars who have focused on cultural entrepreneurship in Africa. In focusing on West African hip-hop musical practitioners in Senegal, Mbaye highlights that cultural entrepreneurs are concerned with new ideas and how new ways (innovation) of doing things can emerge from an environment to provoke change (change agent) and that cultural entrepreneurs explore opportunities (resources) for the sake of development (2011: 55). Mbaye's conceptual ideas about the African cultural entrepreneurs supports Aaegeson's thinking about cultural entrepreneurs. Mbaye's findings on West African hip-hop musical practitioners in Senegal is useful to developing countries in the global south as many countries in the global south share a similar context to that of Senegal and therefore can relate to the circumstances found in the case studies. Her challenge was to understand how entrepreneurs make things happen locally, therefore trying to understand organisational and managerial dynamics in the music sector. Mbaye (2015) found that in the context of African music, music entrepreneurs in Africa as African music borderlands, create complex networks and relationships. It is through these networks and relationships that African music participants are able to create and produce organizational and entrepreneurial spaces on their own terms (Mbaye, 2015: 21). Mbaye (2015) highlights that it is more interesting and powerful to observe the creative process at the level of the individual as the driver in the

creative economy as opposed to observing an organization. It is individuals that are at the essence of the creative process (Mbaye, 2015: 21).

Scott's interpretation of entrepreneurship is that entrepreneurs can be an individual that makes decisions within a firm, a contractor, leaders, or a person who supplies financial support with the common denominator of that they are able to manage uncertainty and are risk coordinators (Scott, 2012: 241). Although Scott's interpretation of entrepreneurship is dynamic and draws on Cantillon's school of thought, it lacks specificity and recruits too many individuals; it is too broad and thus encompassing of people in leadership and managerial positions. For example, the decision maker in the firm doesn't always bear the risk and the lack of access to financial capital has become a challenge for entrepreneurial activities.

Suwala (2015) describes the process of cultural entrepreneurship as complex and contradictory. He elaborates further that the complexities of the process are derived from how cultural entrepreneurs interpret the creation of cultural ideas, methods of production and distribution, cultural innovations, and exploit the commercial potential of cultural goods and services (Suwala, 2015: 513). This means that cultural entrepreneurs exploit cultural content through the transformation of ideas into marketable goods and services (Suwala, 2015: 513). Toghraee and Monjezi (2017) understand a cultural entrepreneur as an individual who has a vision in establishing a cultural organisation and is motivated to get access to resources and customers. Cultural entrepreneurship prioritises the cultural value of innovation over economic value, whilst entrepreneurship focuses solely on economic productivity (Toghraee and Monjezi, 2017: 68). Essig notes that the 'arts', 'cultural' and 'creative' entrepreneurship are usually used interchangeably, however cultural entrepreneurship has been used frequently in literature but the distinction between the three is still not clear (2017: 126).

Research on entrepreneurship is understood from a European and North American perspective, therefore theory developed is biased towards the context of developed countries (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 18). In examining countries in Africa, the context of the social and economic landscape needs to be understood, thus recognizing that culture impacts businesses and the important use of social relationships to build and operate these businesses (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 18).

More research focusing on Africa needs to be conducted as entrepreneurship research in Africa has been neglected (Dana et al., 2018: 3). Although African entrepreneurship has been popularised in the media, there is still a lack of literature on how African entrepreneurship is different compared to entrepreneurship in other geographical locations (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 10). Africa is an interesting case study for entrepreneurship because of its cultural heritage and innovative business practices (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 14). In conducting studies on African entrepreneurship, scholars are able to build a body of knowledge about this geographical area (Ratten and Jones, 2018: 15).

2.3. The value of cultural goods and services: cultural value.

An industry's value is measured by its contribution to the GDP. In the Caribbean economy for example, Nurse (2009) identifies that the cultural and creative industries are key growth industries because of their contribution to the GDP; exports, and employment as well as its impact on tourism and intellectual property branding. In the context of the global south countries such as South Africa, the cultural and creative industries are key drivers of sustainable development. However, an economy cannot operate in isolation, instead economic possibilities are informed by a society's cohesion (O'Connor and Gibson, 2016: 4). Many people's cultural needs and aspirations are supplied by the market in the form of goods and services (Cunningham, 2002: 58). O'Connor and Gibson (2016) state that the value of the cultural economy can be viewed in two folds; firstly, it is able to demonstrate economic aspects of cultural activities and secondly, it fundamentally brings attention to the cultural value of these cultural activities, creating a distinction from other economies. Furthermore, they highlight the importance of cultural value within a cultural economy. The scholars emphasize that the economic value of a product or service derives from its cultural value, therefore concluding that there is no cultural economy without cultural value (Joffe & Newton, 2007 and O'Connor & Gibson, 2016).

It is important to note that cultural goods and services are not like any other products. The value of a single industrial product decreases each time with every use; however, cultural products have the opposite effect (Venturelli, 2001: 8). The more the product or service is viewed, used and applied by increasing numbers of people, the more value the product gains; the more society engages in cultural activities the more valuable these activities become to

society. Hearn et al. (2007) describe the value of a cultural product or service as dependent on its ability to connect people and their culture. We often experience this through connecting identity and cultural themes that are explored and exploited within the cultural product or service (Hearn et al., 2007: 424).

John Holden (2006) suggests that publicly funded culture generates three types of value; intrinsic, instrumental, and institutional. Intrinsic values are values that we relate to the subjective experience of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually (Holden, 2006: 14). Instrumental value refers to when culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose (Holden, 2006: 16), which Bakhshi et al. (2015) refer to as the secondary benefits of culture. David Throsby (2008) adds that instrumental value is associated with the economic value which is rooted in economics, whereby the notion of value has a distinction between the value in use and value in exchange. Institutional value refers to the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for their stakeholders (Holden, 2006: 17).

The challenge with intrinsic value is that people's cultural experiences are subjective (Holden, 2004: 24). Culture is a personal and private encounter; it evokes emotions and an intellectual response (Holden, 2004: 24). Intrinsic value is difficult to articulate and calculate because it is values that are set within the subjective experience of culture intellectually, spiritually and emotionally. As a result, intrinsic value is experienced at an individual level and cannot be measured in mass outcomes (Holden, 2006: 14), as each person's experience is unique and valued differently but the experience can be shared amongst individuals that share the same values. Holden (2006) then suggests that intrinsic value can be viewed in terms of the capacity and potential of culture to affect the individual.

Economic value cannot express the full worth of cultural products and services, as cultural value is an important determinant of economic value; economic value is dependent on cultural value (Holden, 2004: 36). How do we best capture the value of culture? One approach suggests the combination of intrinsic and instrumental value of culture, meaning that in advocating and measuring the value of culture, we would have to acknowledge culture's ability to transform people and provide them with agency, as well as that culture can be used to meet public policy objectives (Holden, 2004: 25). However, this view fails to create a good relationship between cultural producers and potential consumers (Holden, 2004: 25). The

disjuncture takes effect when objectives are favoured, and the role of the cultural producer is disregarded (Holden, 2004: 26). The conceptual framework needs to allow a conversation that uses convincing language that acknowledges the beneficiaries of culture equally, whilst fully recognizing the central role of cultural producers (Holden, 2004: 26). The conceptual framework must be inclusive and provide an adequate means of discussions around culture (Holden, 2004: 26).

In *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy (2006)*, Holden expresses the importance of having the government understand what the public values about culture and that producers of cultural goods and services learn to articulate this value. However, the struggle between government officials and cultural producers is that they have different interests in culture (Holden, 2006: 13). The public is more concerned with intrinsic and institutional value, whilst government is concerned with instrumental value, and cultural producers are concerned with intrinsic value (Holden, 2006: 30-31). This creates a discrepancy of value concerns (Holden, 2006: 31), causing tension between stakeholders and as a result, culture is not supported or regarded holistically.

Later in 2015, Holden provides another suggestion to the ongoing struggle of how the value of culture can be measured. He suggests that the treatment of culture as an ecology will allow people to view culture beyond the economics which focuses on the financial values, dismissing other values that are difficult to measure but just as important (Holden, 2015: 11). This suggested framework provides a language that expresses how culture transcends the monetary transaction for economists to understand. The cultural ecology acknowledges the interplay between the commercial and cultural aspects that cultural products and services have to offer (Holden, 2015: 13). Figure 2 presents the cultural ecology as a cycle of regeneration.

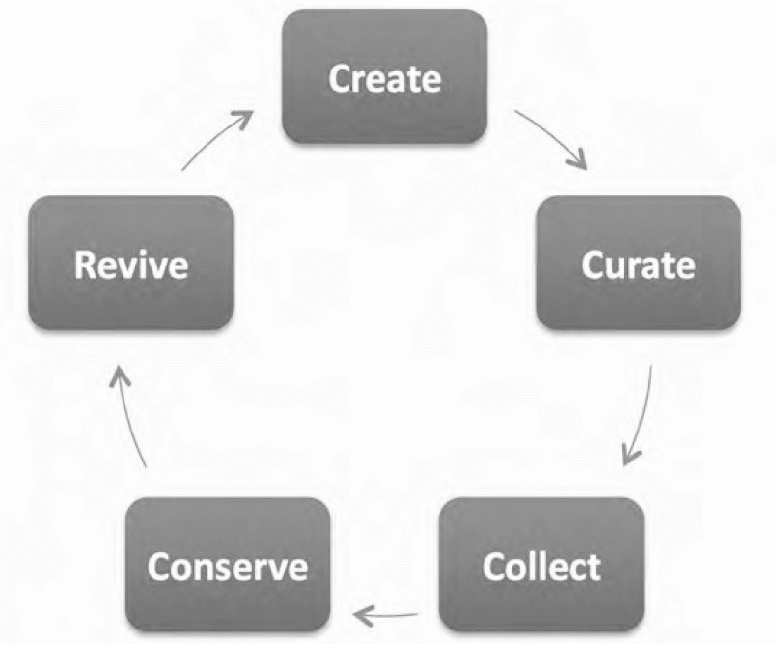


Figure 2: The Cultural ecology (Holden, 2015).

It is clear that cultural value is a complex concept, Throsby (2008) adds that it is unstable and lacks a general agreement. O'Brien and Lockley (2015) support Throsby by stating that cultural value is a problematic concept, with no clear consensus as to its meaning. Crossick and Kaszynska (2014) state that cultural value is grounded in art and culture's capacity to effect change, meaning it is "*used to refer to the effects that culture has on those who experience it and the difference it makes to individuals and society*" (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2014: 124). As a result, we can think of cultural value as the process of valuing culture (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2014: 124). However, it is important to note that these effects can either be viewed as both negative and positive.

Since the changes within government's policies on the funding of the arts, proving the worth of the cultural sector on its own terms has become a centre of debate; intrinsic value versus instrumental value (O'Brien, 2010: 10). The views expressed by government officials, policy makers, artists, and cultural scholars is that the assessment of the worth of cultural goods and services is difficult because the value of art cannot be expressed in monetary terms. The current measurement systems include an emphasis on qualitative measures and attention to public perception. The new paradigm of cultural value needs to recognize the effective elements of the cultural experience, practice and identity, as well as the social and economic effects of cultural value (Holden, 2004: 59).

One of the most popular and favoured methods of measuring cultural value is the Contingent Valuation Model (CVM). The model attempts to measure the intrinsic benefits people derive from arts and culture, and 'translates' this into monetary value (BOP Consulting, 2012: 19). In 1983, David Throsby and Glen Withers undertook the first application of CVM to the arts, which measures a community's willingness to pay (WTP) for a nonmarket good or service benefits (Throsby, 2003: 275). CVM and its significance use of WTP attempts to address the issue of how we place economic value on the benefits of culture that are not captured in market transactions (Throsby, 2003: 276). Holden (2004) highlights that what has become problematic is the notion that the things that are easy to measure tend to be objects and those that are not, are ignored which has presented an issue for the cultural sector as most of its outputs are not objects. O'Brien highlights that Holden (2004, 2006, 2015) and Throsby (2003) share the belief that there are intrinsic qualities in an object that cannot be understood using the framework of economic valuation (O'Brien, 2010:19).

The literature focuses on tensions amongst the public, producers of cultural value and government but not on the internal tensions that producers face when valuing their own products. Given the importance of intrinsic benefits, it is unfortunate that they have been marginalized in both public discourse and research on the arts. They are beyond the traditional quantitative tools of the social sciences, and often beyond the language of common experience. One of the key cultural producers are cultural entrepreneurs, their cultural products and services create value that is beyond the monetary exchange. This research report will add to the literature about cultural value through the focus on the tension between pricing and cultural value from the cultural entrepreneur's perspective.

2.4. Social Capital and Networks.

In the publication titled *Cultural Entrepreneur, cultural entrepreneurship: Music producers mobilising and converting Bourdieu's alternative capital (2012)*, author Michael Scott reflects on the processes of mobilisation and conversion of what Bourdieu refers to as alternative forms of capital, being used by cultural entrepreneurs in a use-and exchange value to create new cultural goods. Scott uses Bourdieu's alternative forms of capital (social, cultural, and symbolic) as a framework for his argument. These alternative forms of capital are viewed as

resources that are readily available to be mobilized and converted in advancing a career (Scott. 2012: 238).

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1985) describes capital as the force inscribed in the subjective or objective structures and is also the principle underlying the inherent regularities of the social world within a social context. Bourdieu (1985) states that capital is accumulated labour which when appropriated on a private and exclusive basis by individuals and groups enables them access to capital. Bourdieu (1985) identifies three different types of capital that can be understood as power that is constantly changing through exchange and conversion. It presents itself in three fundamental ways; economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1985: 47). Bourdieu describes social capital as the social obligations converted into economic capital and institutionalized in nobility (1985: 47). Bourdieu's writings were particularly interested in the different forms of capital that are available to the individual. He furthermore describes social capital as,

> the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition. (Bourdieu, 1985: 248)

This view of social capital reduces the term to function; social capital becomes something needed for the generation of economic capital and social status (McLean et al., 2002: 5).

The volume of social capital possessed by a given individual, therefore depends on the size of the network of connections they can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural and symbolic) possessed in they own right by each of those to whom they are connected to (Bourdieu, 1985: 51). The relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain these relationships. Furthermore, these relationships may be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name but are constantly reinforced and maintained in exchange (Bourdieu, 1985: 51). Within the constant exchanges, social capital is maintained through affirmation and recognition.

McAdam and Soetanto (2018) claim that network theory and social relations have become one of the popular themes in explaining how entrepreneurs gain access to resources and penetrate the market. Entrepreneurs are products of their social context; their opportunities are influenced by their social relations. The entrepreneurial process can then be understood

as a social system that entrepreneurs engage in a social space to identify opportunities, gain access to resources and overcome certain challenges (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 74).

Influenced by Bourdieu's thinking, Raffo et al. (2000) state that it is important for a cultural entrepreneur to be fully immersed in the field both professionally and socially, as this allows them to build networks and develop their social and cultural capital. McAdam and Soetanto (2018) build on the concept of a network operating within a social structure by defining social capital as an aspect of social structure that facilitates certain actions within the individuals in that structure. The value of social capital emerges when access to resources are gained through the relationship formed. Social capital includes social ties, trusting relationships and value systems which facilitate the actions of the individual in a certain social context (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 77). Scott identifies social capital as the primary form for cultural entrepreneurs as it allows them to assess possible partnerships, collaborations, customers and employees (2012: 244). Social capital is therefore social contacts and networks that share the benefits of shared resources, accountabilities and rights that are based on trusted reciprocity (Scott, 2012: 244). However, McAdam and Soetanto (2018) suggest that social capital does not always have a positive effect. They argue that being within a certain social structure can also limit the individual's autonomy because of the structure's enforcement of norms (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 77).

The content and structure of a network can change due to the response of the entrepreneur's requirements at that specific time (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 79). Each network characteristic plays a role that is influenced by the context, the stage of its development, and other external factors, therefore networks change and develop across different contexts and stages of the entrepreneurial process. In building a network, the entrepreneur will transition from informal to formal relationships when creating and operating their business (McAdam & Soetanto, 2018: 80).

McAdam and Soetanto (2018) identify the four important roles that networks perform in the entrepreneurial process: firstly, they provide access to new ideas, resources, and information, secondly, they can become endorsements for the entrepreneur through association with other established and reputable individuals, thirdly, through the sharing of knowledge,

networks offer learning opportunities and lastly, they help achieve goals and the formation of new networks assists with the strengthening of existing networks (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 75). Konrad (2013) suggests that the process of cultural entrepreneurs is not without networking. Konrad notes that networks help maintain business relationships, therefore agreeing with McAdam and Soetanto (2018) that networks increase the entrepreneur's access to information, finance and any other useful forms of resources. Hearn et al. (2007) adds that the flow of value in the clusters of networks is multi-directional and therefore value is created and extracted in a network of relationships and is understood as the function of the entire network (Hearn et al., 2007: 424).

McAdam and Soetanto suggest that a network will consist of strong and weak ties and the nature of these ties will have an impact on the operation of the network as a whole (2018: 78). Strong ties are defined as long term, reciprocal and require trust and emotional closeness, these relationships therefore benefit from a transfer of complex information and because of the emotional bonds, individuals invest their time and effort in sharing ideas (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 78). Weak ties are described as temporary and transient, within the network they enable information flow and dissemination (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 78). Figure 3 illustrates three stages of activities by entrepreneurs to create and maintain their network.

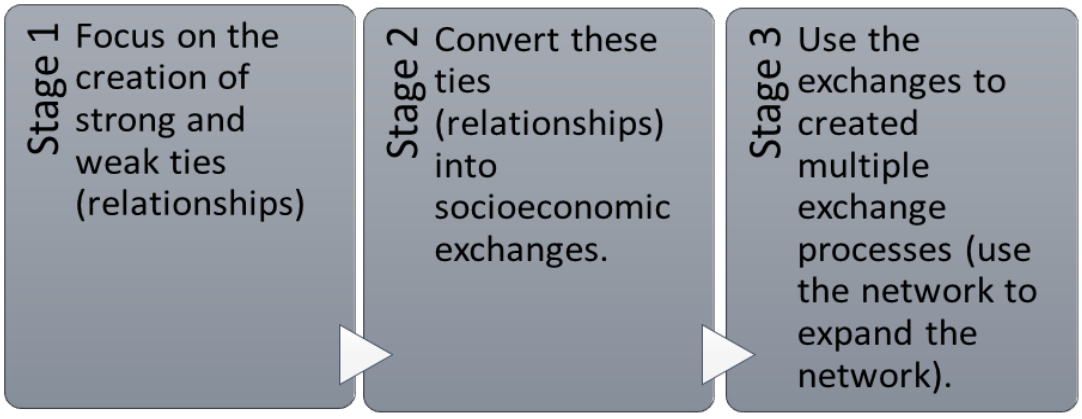


Figure 3: Three stages of network activity (Starr 1993).

The main challenge and the response of cultural entrepreneurs is the need to create cultural products even without economic capital, what and how can skills and other resources be exchanged for what is needed to create these cultural products or services? One of the most important skills that a cultural entrepreneur can have is the ability of coordinating their own social network for the purpose of cultural production. Social networks also reflect that cultural entrepreneurs need support during the entrepreneurial process as they cannot achieve success in isolation. My research explores how and to what extent networks contribute to the flow of information and resource allocation, contributing to the overall production of cultural value.

3. Conceptual Framework.

The following section provides a narrative and visual illustration of the conceptual framework used to guide the research. The cultural kasi'preneur operates within the township economy as their microeconomic activities are based in the township. They can be defined within the contexts of being risk takers, change agents and resourceful (Aageson, 2008) because they are able to innovate, enhance livelihoods and create cultural value (Mbaye, 2011), not only for themselves but for creative produces and consumers of cultural services and products. The focus for the cultural kasi'preneur is on the creation of cultural value and the well-being of consumers and co-producers. Cultural entrepreneurship has the power to influence a community's economic situation. Furthermore, cultural kasi'preneur work towards exploring opportunities that provoke meaningful change (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2014: 124) through new ideas that can emerge from the environment (Mbaye, 2011: 55).

The cultural kasi'preneur takes advantage of the characteristics of an informal economy as they can also relate to these circumstances; easy entry, reliant on indigenous resources, family ownership, small scale enterprises, labour intensity and adaptive technology, skills acquired outside formal school, and unregulated competitive markets (Bromley, 1978: 1033 and Acharya, 1983: 433). With such difficult circumstances the township economy provides opportunities to acquire skills, on-the-job experience, and build social networks for the cultural kasi'preneur (McGaffin et al., 2015. 1). The township economy is a space that can

thrive in the informal complexities, therefore, the means of conducting business does not always follow the norm.

Below is a visual illustration of the conceptual framework;

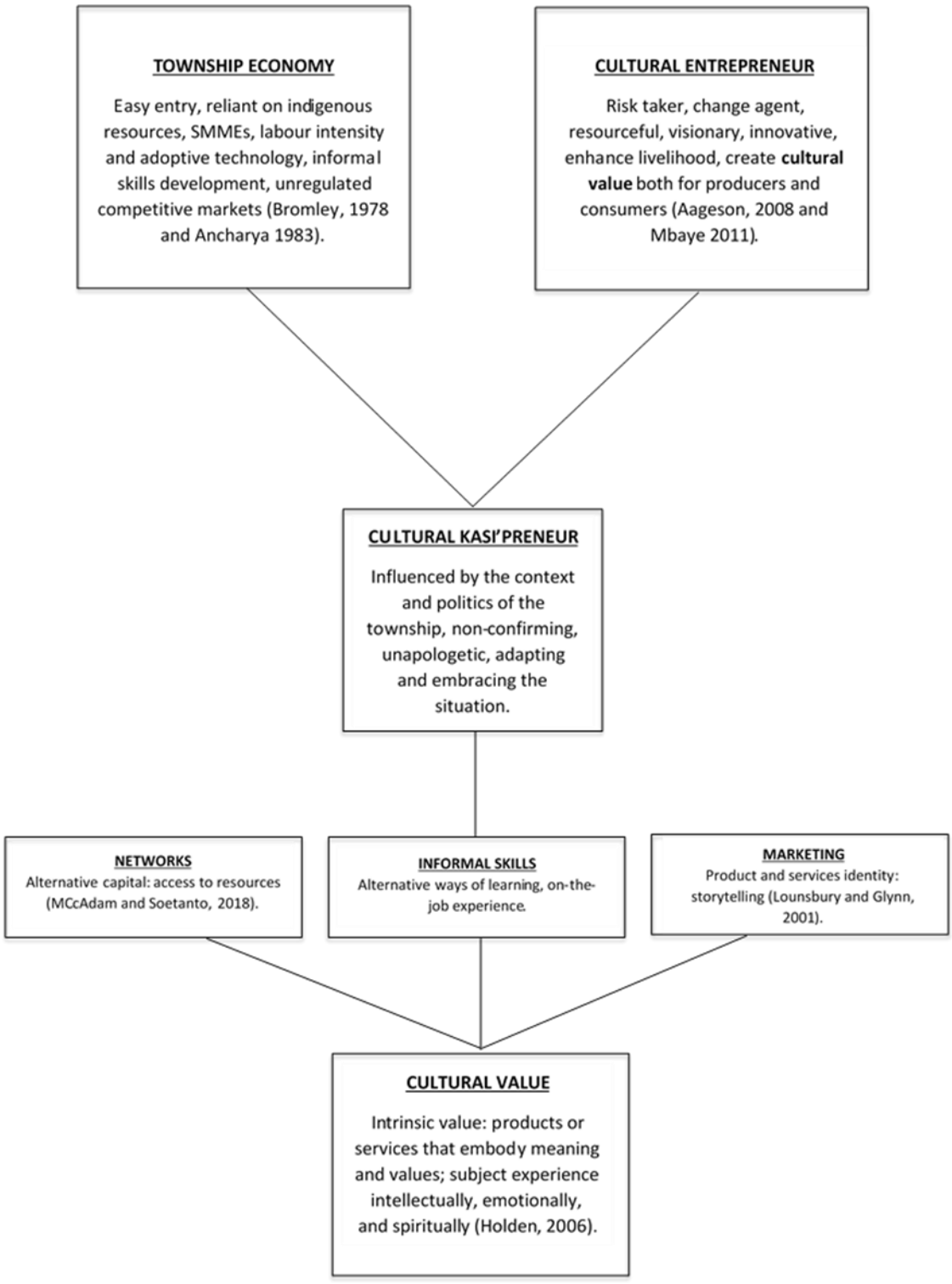


Figure 4: Visual illustration of the conceptual framework.

One of the most important skills that a cultural kasi'preneur can have is the ability of co-ordinating their own social network for the purpose of cultural production. Social networks also reflect that cultural entrepreneurs need support during the entrepreneurial process as they cannot achieve success in isolation. The value of social capital emerges when access to resources are gained through the relationship formed. Social capital includes social ties, trusting relationships and value systems which facilitate the actions of the individual in a certain social context (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 77). This research is guided by that networks formed based on trust, recognition and that the flow of value in the clusters of networks is multi-directional and therefore value is created and extracted in a network of relationships and is understood as the function of the entire network (Hearn et al, 2007: 424).

The processes of cultural entrepreneurs are intricate; resources in the form of alternative capital are readily available to be converted and mobilised (Scott, 2012: 238). Furthermore, alternative capital needs to be combined by cultural entrepreneurs to attract and stimulate consumption by consumers whilst generating marketable values (Scott, 2012: 244). The processes of cultural entrepreneurs are for the creation of cultural value which generates three types of value; intrinsic, instrumental and institutional (Holden, 2006: 14). To create wealth and cultural value, cultural kasi'preneurs need to be innovative, which Drucker (1984) highlights as the act of endowing resources with new capacity. Overall, these processes contribute to the growth of the environment that they are situated in, whereby in this case is the township.

The process of creating cultural goods and services makes use of innovative solutions; new business models emerge, interaction with audience and value creation is constantly changing in new and dynamic ways. The cultural entrepreneur is not particularly concerned with the financial gain from the cultural products or services, rather the criteria for success is consumer's responses, recognition and providing a cultural experience and sustainable livelihood.

4. Research Methods.

This research was conducted within a qualitative framework as it allows participants to describe their cultural experiences on their own terms (Carnwath and Brown, 2014: 76). Qualitative methods make use of words (concepts, terms, and symbols) to create a framework that reveals the significance of the data. It is important to understand that data in qualitative research is not given as fixed but rather can be reassembled in various ways, therefore providing the researcher the opportunity to constantly see the data in various ways (Schostak and Schostak, 2008:10). I acknowledge that to have participants describe cultural experiences on their own terms and meanings, makes standardized comparison difficult (Punch, 2014: 87). However, it is important to note that the aim of this research does not seek standardisation but rather is concerned with how cultural entrepreneurs in Daveyton create value through their cultural products and services. The context of a township will differ from the next township and as a result the data collected from each township will present unique factors. For example, the context of Soweto is different from that of Daveyton, they are both identified as townships but their history and cultural influences make them different from each other. However, the culture of one township can be influential to another township through the process of migration and cultural exchange amongst the residents.

The main source for data for this research is eleven semi-structured interviews, which were on average a duration of two to three hours each with the identified cultural entrepreneurs. Further data was collected through the means of participant observation, which included the attendance of cultural events and following the cultural entrepreneurs' business on social media.

As a resident of Daveyton, I selected participants through observation; selection was made through the visibility of invitations in the form of physical and digital posters to the cultural events hosted by the potential participants. Although this proved to be effective, I also made use of snowball sampling to identify and select additional cultural entrepreneurs that were not as visible. The snowball sampling technique is often used to find other research participants through the researcher's current participants (Atkinson and Flint, 2001: 1). I applied the technique through the use of a link-tracing method (Spreen, 1992); connecting participants and their associations, to the larger effect of a network; this is also how the theme of networks became significant to this research. The process of snowball sampling is

based on the assumption that a bond exists between initial participants and the overall targeted participants, therefore allowing referrals to be made within the circle of the participant (Berg, 1998). The referrals to other participants were done during and after the interviews were conducted; either through deliberately asking for any possible referrals or the reference of collaborations and partnerships that participants identified as part of their network.

I also collected digital posters from various cultural events hosted by five different businesses, of which all founders are participants of this study; Retrofontein Apparel, Chant Nation, Shokcoll, Richard Rich Pty, and Studio 6546. The posters were accessed through social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp. The analysis of the posters was not based on the effectiveness as a marketing tool or for creativity but rather I used these posters to find the frequent support structures amongst the participants. This assisted in generating an overview of how collaborations and networks are formed and benefit cultural entrepreneurs.

The semi-structured interviews took place at the participants' place of work, which in most cases was their home as well. Unlike a structured interview, in a semi-structured interview, the researcher is able to digress from the interview schedule with follow-up questions in instances that the participant provides knowledge that is profound (Creswell, 2003: 181 and Berg, 2004: 81). A structured interview confines the researcher to the interview schedule. Throughout the process of conducting the interviews, the interview schedule developed as the reoccurring follow-up questions were added to the schedule. As a result, certain questions became irrelevant and were removed from the interview schedule. Please refer to Appendix A for the final semi-structured interview schedule.

The interviews were recorded on three digital audio recording devices. All participants gave consent to the recording of the interview, by means of signing a consent form. Participants also gave consent for their participation to be known, therefore the real names of participants and their business are used in this research report. However, one participant would like to remain anonymous and a pseudonym is used; they are referred to as Richard Rich and the business as Richard Rich Pty. During the interviews, notes were taken that contributed to the formation of follow up questions and future questions that were potentially to be added to the interview schedule. Thorough details were added to the field notes through listening to

the recorded interview, which also allowed for the identification of potential phrases that could be used as supporting quotes.

The importance of the phrases was identified through themed categorization. Both the detailed notes and recordings were read and listened to for the purpose of understanding (analysis and interpretation) and accuracy; once a comprehensive understanding of the content and context were gained, only then did the process of abstraction, coding and identifying patterns begin.

Participant observation provides access to the participants' world as it naturally unfolds (Berg, 2004: 129). This method was applied to observe how cultural entrepreneurs operate their business during cultural events and the making or providing of products and services. During participant observation, descriptive field notes were taken regarding attendance and activities of the events (Creswell, 2003: 185 and Stake, 1995: 61). Trompenaars and Hampden (1997) state that body language is not always easy to interpret, specifically when people are from different cultures. It is advised that an observation list is created, however, for this research a formal observation list was not created but rather observation guidelines were put in place. The guidelines were created to assist in defining a market based on attendance. There were no registers or guest lists that I could access, however I relied on engaging with individuals. I attended events that had an average of 50 people attending. The data gathered from this source generates an overview of how a market can be shared amongst cultural entrepreneurs in the township.

Scholars such as Partington (2003) and Neuman (2011) argue that there is no one single approach accepted in the qualitative content analysis process. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest a set of analytical activities applied to the data collected, which are as follows; codes are given to the initial data obtained from observation, interviews and visual field notes; the researcher will then add comments and reflections; later the researcher goes through the data to identify similar phrases, patterns, themes, and differences between subgroups (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 9). Similar to these analytical activities is Best and Khan's (2006) three-step approach to qualitative data analysis; organising, description, and interpretation, which become the foundation for analysing the data. Interpretation requires the explanation of the research findings, the answering of questions, and putting identified patterns into an analytic framework. A popular approach to analysing qualitative data according to Scott and Usher

(2011), includes the coding of field notes, observations or interview transcripts by examining what is significant from the words or the repetition of certain phrases. In analysing my data, I used a combination of these techniques to access multiple layers of the data, this led to the following themes being identified; friends as networks, digital platforms for marketing and accessing markets, cultural products and services creating cultural value, and the cultural kasi'preneur.

Furthermore, my analysis was guided by the themes highlighted in the research aim, research question, and sub-questions to identify relationships and patterns. I also made use of two steps in the process of coding: open coding and selective coding. Codes can be understood as the labels a researcher assigns to certain units or phrases that relate to the meaning found in the data collected about the phenomenon (Henning et al., 2004: 104). Thiétart (2007) describes open coding as the identification and naming of segments of meaning from the data, the focus is on wording, phrasing, context, consistency, frequency, extensiveness and specificity of comments (Thiétart, 2007: 139). Open coding allowed links between the phrases that were consistent with the themes I identified through my research questions to be made. These were organized into a matrix by the use of an excel spreadsheet. The final step of the process of coding involved selectively scanning all the identified codes for comparison, contrast and linkage to the research topic (Thiétart, 2007: 139), furthermore, the codes were evaluated for relevance to my research aim.

5. The Cultural Value Creators of Daveyton: the cultural kasi'preneur.

5.1. The Cultural Kasi'preneur.

Aageson et al. (2010) state that amongst the people that create buildings, artefacts, places and experiences that make communities and economies thrive, cultural entrepreneurs have been largely ignored by economic development and market development practitioners. Cultural entrepreneurship is associated with the activities of establishing and bringing to a market products and services that possess cultural value and have the potential to create economic gain. One of the main reasons some people find themselves attracted to the townships is because of the culture and diverse lifestyles presented within townships. At the

forefront of these cultural and lifestyle waves are cultural kasi'preneurs, disrupting and challenging the negative stereotypes, such as the township being viewed as an unproductive space that is mostly associated with crime. Not only are cultural kasi'preneurs ignored in conversations about economic development but their environment is often under-estimated. For example, the extent to which public essential services, such as water and electricity, in some of the townships are limited. An environment struggling with basic needs is difficult to imagine as conducive for the running of a successful business. Cultural kasi'preneurs find themselves in these environments, that tyrannizes them in such a way that economic freedom seems impossible. However, the cultural kasi'preneur has found the means to be defiant and create wealth in spaces that have been neglected and struggle to maintain a sustainable livelihood; they navigate in spaces that are poverty stricken, lack infrastructure, lack access to financial and business support from formal institutions (Mahajan, 2014 and McGaffin et al., 2015). To add to this environment are the conditions that Scott (2012) describes as

> precarious employment, low and sometimes non-existent wages, emotional labour, gendered constraints, dense social networks, identity investments, intense competition leading to high failure rates (and shame), and multiple-job holding to sustain both livelihoods and cultural production (Scott, 2012: 239),

which are associated with the conditions for a cultural entrepreneur in general. These conditions are described in a negative manner but for the cultural kasi'preneur, dense social networks have assisted in overcoming some of the challenges that the environment enforces upon them. The cultural kasi'preneurs hold multiple jobs and finds ways to diversify their business activities as a means to sustain the main business activity. To be able to overcome some of these barriers as an individual and business is something that can no longer be ignored. In this section I have created profiles of each participant and then later discuss how the cultural kasi'preneurs responds to challenges such as the lack of supportive programmes, lack of access to higher education, low income stream, and lack of infrastructure.

5.2. Cultural Kasi'preneur Profile.

The creation of profiles of each participant is inspired by the work of Leadbeater and Oakley (1999). They created profiles of the cultural entrepreneurs' strengths and weaknesses, that were interviewed in Glasgow, Cardiff, Brighton and Sheffield as part of their study (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999: 12). The profiles were used to enhance the study through the exploration of the cultural entrepreneur's business context, thriving in cities and operating through networks that link them to larger organizations that have capacity and resources (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999: 12).

The cultural entrepreneur finds themselves in instances of playing the role of owner, employer, employee and change agent (Aaegeson, 2010) all at the same time. Cultural entrepreneurs in the townships navigate the space from ideation to production and deliver to a market under excruciating conditions. This makes them a different breed of cultural entrepreneur that is non-confirming, unapologetic, adapting and embracing their situation. Appendix B is a table that lists the participants in this research. The table reflects that all participants are males between the ages of 25 years and 40 years, their qualifications are between having a matric and a degree, mostly are the sole founders, and businesses have been operating for 5 years being the youngest and 15 years being the oldest. The following profiles highlight the brief history of the business, the products or services offered, and the unique feature that brings value to this research.

The participants identified offer cultural goods and services ranging from music production, fashion design, graphic design, photography, events management, ecommerce, and industrial furniture design. The participants provide insights on how they make use of self-taught skills and the influence of their environment to create and support their businesses. For each business, the environment and location of the township contributes to how the business is structured and has to offer. Furthermore, the participants are multi-skilled which is used to diversify the cultural goods and services they offer within their businesses.

5.2.1 Studio 6546.

Bhekuyise Charles Magangane, known as BMA, was the founder of Gas Chamber Productions, a music company that BMA decided to close because he felt that the industry regulations hindered the advancement of upcoming artists that could not afford resources such as

booking recording sessions at a professional recording studio. With Gas Chamber Productions no longer active, BMA started Studio 6546 in 2005 which is an informal recording studio in the living room of his residential home. Studio 6546 refers to the physical address of BMA's home in Daveyton. BMA is the studio manager, producer, graphic designer and sound engineer for the studio. Studio 6546 provides experiences, services and opportunities that are usually accessed outside of the township in the settings of a professional studio. The studio's main purpose is to serve new and aspiring hip hop artists from the townships; however, the studio has received attention from established artists outside of Daveyton. BMA was influenced by his own personal journey in the music industry to start a recording studio in Daveyton, he describes his journey as follows:

> Growing up I was in need for it (recording studio) and most places were in Johannesburg and that meant travelling expenses. I had to go through my schooling without being in a professional recording studio. It delayed my process of growing and working in the industry and I wanted to change that. I think I contributed to that because now there are quite a few studios in the hood. (BMA, 2018)

Studio 6546 is made of a combination of new and old equipment but prioritizing on the necessary equipment to create good quality music, which also maintains a minimalistic look to the studio. Studio 6546 also hosts a networking event titled Weekend Jumpstart, which is a platform whereby artists from the music industry, the hip hop genre specifically, in the township come together to build and maintain their networks. As a case study, Studio 6546 provides insights on the use of minimal resources for cultural production, alternative ways of learning skills and having multiple skills, and the importance of the value of the service one provides.

5.2.1. Retrofontein Apparel.

As you drive down Mocke Street towards Sinaba Stadium in Daveyton, you will find a blue shipping container in the front yard of a residential home. This is the location of Kabelo Tsoka's flagship store, Retrofontein Apparel. Retrofontein, a retrospective fountain of creativity and design, was established in 2012 by Tsoka and a friend who unfortunately left the brand in 2014. Tsoka started the brand by collecting early 1990's retro clothing, customize

these with African prints and then re-sell the customized product. The brand later shifted and focused on narrating township stories through urban street wear. Tsoka's brand is popular for the statement 'Valid Dreams', here he elaborates on how the idea came to existence:

> In late 2015, early 2016, I had applied to have a shelf at this big chain store. They replied this thing is not trendy enough and not what we are looking for. I was depressed and thought maybe my brand doesn't meet the standards. And then the same week I was watching the BET Awards and I think Black Coffee had just won an award and part of his acceptance speech, Lupita Nyongo said "your dreams are valid". And then, light bulb! Ayi vele maan who are they to validate what I'm doing because this is my dream, not theirs. Then I started with just writing it and thought hey man this would look dope on a t-shirt. (Tsoka, 2019)

Retrofontein is associated with validating the dreams of those in the township; the brand wants people from the township to know that their dreams are important and only they can make them a reality.

Tsoka also hosts an event called the Street Fair which promotes Retrofontein as a brand and other local brands that are similar to Retrofontein. The event is a platform for local brands to interact with each other and sell to a shared market. Retrofontein articulates the importance of storytelling for brand identity, how networks are beneficial to the cultural kasi'preneur, and the embodiment of meaning and value in a product.

5.2.2. Chant Nation.

Born in Limpopo, Kholofelo Dennis Mashilo, popularly known as Mochene, is a hip-hop artist and the founder of Chant Nation. Chant Nation is a music and events company that was established in 2018. The company also acts as the representative of Mochene in terms of bookings, content ownership, and general management. Mashilo started Chant Nation as a means to house Mochene's music in the form of a record label and still have the artist own the rights to the music. Mochene raps in Sepedi, which is his mother tongue[6]. As an artist,

[6] Mother tongue is a term that refers to the language one learns from birth. It is also understood to be the native language or home language.

Mochene uses his mother tongue because he wants to inspire children to be creative and express themselves in their own language, he states the following:

> When I create music, it's for people overseas. In my head, I'm thinking this music is for London, and Berlin. It's an ambition thing. But it's also for rural kids. I have this picture of a kid in a remote area listening to my music through one ear piece because the other one doesn't work but still wants to listen to the music because we share the same language. And he hears every word and he tells himself that he is going to do this one day and bigger than the guy he is listening to. (Mashilo, 2018)

Mochene refers to his rap style as chantrap, he draws his lyrical content from what surrounds him, which often reflects on working hard every day to achieve your goals. The combination of the content and the language creates music that the rural child can access, he or she is able to relate and be inspired to create their own world through their own means. Mashilo provides insights to how networks are formed and maintained, and maximizing on these various networks as a cultural kasi'preneur.

5.2.3. Richard Rich Pty.

Richard Rich started his own graphic design company Richard Rich Pty in 2017. Rich offers unlimited graphic design services such as graphics for digital magazines, branding, illustrations, digital invitations to events, marketing packages such as logos, posters, flyers, and visuals for social media. Although Richard Rich Pty is based in Daveyton, Rich has worked for clients such as Kelloggs South Africa and Phillips Kenya and South Africa. Rich states that his business depends on his creativity and working from home on his own time frames, below he describes how working a job that restricts him to the 9 o'clock to 5 o'clock time frame has never been ideal for him:

> The idea was always in my head since I figured out that I can actually turn this graphic thing into a business. So, I've always had that idea in my head, I wanted to start something of my own. The problem is I've never loved working a 9 to 5 in my life. I don't see myself doing a 9 to 5, unless a situation pushes me into doing a 9 to 5. But I don't see myself, so I've always had that thing that I want to do something of my own, that maybe at some point, or when the years go by its going to help somebody from

> the hood or any child. It's going to employ them. This is my own baby and I know if things don't work out, I'm responsible and I'm comfortable with it. (Rich, 2019)

Rich offers two crucial lessons; firstly, how informal support structures can contribute to the formation and building of a business, and secondly, that one can start a business without financial support but rather identifying opportunities and making use of the resources that are available, including the creative self as a resource.

5.2.4. The JamShack SA.

"*For the love of the music*" is a phrase that has been used by artists in the music industry. This is no exception to deep house movement Jamshack. In 2015 Nkosana Monyemangena and six of his friends became the co-founders of the movement JamShack. Imagine a place that only plays deep house music and appreciates the DJs[7] that contributed to the genre? This is the concept behind JamShack, the movement is a platform for both established and upcoming DJs in the genre of deep house. Monyemangena describes how the movement was conceptualized:

> We were out with a group of friends and came back in the early hours of the morning and were discussing how we didn't like the music. Our close friends were DJs and they agreed. We started playing music at one of the co- founder's house. We then invited a DJ who played the same genre called deep house. They were locally based and they have helped Jam Shack to grow in terms of their support. We always gave them the platform to play and they would never reject this. The music comes from the DJs that we would hire. (Monyemangena, 2018)

JamShack is also an event for a niche market, whereby deep house lovers come to appreciate the music and be in good company. The six co-founders all have a role in the realization of the movement and ensuring that the events are a success. The responsibilities are shared according to their strengths and portfolios such as technical, production management, marketing and brand awareness, and finance.

[7] A DJ is a person that plays recorded music for an audience.

JamShack has opened up a different cultural experience in the township by also creating opportunities for local business through stalls, this allows the experience to holistically include food, fashion and music (offer music and lifestyle). Although the movement began with a focus on Daveyton, the co-founders of JamShack are now focusing on the entire Ekurhuleni district, bringing together all the townships of the East Rand through music. JamShack places deep house music at the forefront of the movement, the purpose of the movement is to make the subgenre attractive. As a case study, JamShack offers insights into how to embed meaning and value in a service, as well as the benefits of informal structures to the creation of a business.

5.2.5. Thato Molele (Pty) Ltd.

French fashion designer Christian Louboutin once said “Shoes transform your language and body. They lift you physically and emotionally”. As people we make connections with each other and objects that bring meaning into our lives, including our shoes. Thato Molele started his business from customising his own shoes. He describes his journey as follows:

> I was too lazy to wash my shoes then I decided to paint my all-stars instead. People saw my shoes and asked me to do a pair for them which they were willing to pay for. The same day when I delivered the pair another person wanted to give me two pairs to customize. So that’s how I started without the knowledge of drawing. Regardless of the request, even when the request was a Flintstones themed shoe. I was forced into a situation of having to draw but I surprised myself and managed to do so. (Molele, 2018)

Thato Molele established his business Thato Molele (Pty) Ltd in 2015. Thato Molele (Pty) Ltd houses two brands; TM Customs and TM Sneaks. TM Customs believes in reimaging your old shoes and re-establishing the bond you formed when you first bought them. Having started with one yellow fabric paint and one paint brush, TM Customs customizes new and old shoes with painted designs that range from African prints, logos and even cartoon characters. People can bring their old shoes or purchase already customized shoes. TM Sneaks is in the process of designing its first boat shoe but will also focus on designing sneakers and heels.

Molele as a cultural kasi'preneur offers lessons on how to acquire skills and on-the-job experience.

5.2.6. 1520 Online.

1520 Online is an online business that started in 2015 by Zuko Soyizwaphi, who is originally from the Eastern Cape but moved to Daveyton in 2006. Soyizwaphi is assisted in running the business by his wife, son and friend and colleague Brian Dubazana. 1520 Online has three streams of income generation; firstly, it sells watch and sunglass boxes online, secondly Soyizwaphi offers online marketing services such as web design, online business profiles, and the creation and maintenance of a company's online presences, thirdly there is automation, whereby Soyizwaphi finds retired automated parts from various suppliers upon request. The naming of the business 1520 is two dimensional; 1520 is Daveyton's postal code which marks the business's location. 1520 is a number, there is no gender or race attached to it, unfortunately being a black business owner from the township comes with negative connotations such as lack of trust, thus with a number no identity is attached to it, Soyizwaphi elaborates on the naming choice:

> Sometimes one has to hide their identity because when white people find out that you're black and from the township, they don't want to do business with you. 1520 is a number and took the race thing away and was just a business that is online. (Soyizwaphi, 2018)

1520 Online highlights the challenge of customers not trusting the products or services that are produced within the township.

5.2.7. Capture and Release Visuals.

Street photographer, videographer, and artist Sibusiso Ncwana started his business in 2013 with a partner who later left the business. Ncwana called his business Capture and Release Photographer but later diversified and called it Capture and Release Visuals. In the naming of the business, Ncwana was inspired by the concept of fishing as a hobby, the act of capturing and releasing the fish, the fisher is more intrigued by the experience of fishing rather than the fish itself, he states the following:

> Sharing the art with people and sharing information is important. Art needs to breathe, it needs to be seen, it needs to take the centre of attraction at any given moment, it sparks conversations. The concept of fishing as a hobby, capture and release of the fish gave me the idea. The experience is priceless. Sharing is more important than the actual price of the art. The art and content come first. (Ncwana, 2018)

For Ncwana, being a photographer is about capturing moments and sharing the art; the art and the content are prioritized; he values the process of meaning making. Capture and Release Visuals offers services in photography, videography, and the making of industrial furniture such as rondavel chairs, wine racks and bar tables. Rondavel chairs are designed from old tyres and rope, whilst the wine racks and bar tables are made from pallet wood. Ncwana also has a hire and maintenance element to the industrial furniture aspect.

As a photographer, Ncwana photographs social events and private shoots. However, the work that he cherishes the most is his series works such as his most recent work titled *The Skill Trade Series*. The work focuses on ordinary people in Daveyton making a living from their own hands, often on the side of the street such as the man that repairs shoes or the ladies selling clothes on the side of the road. Ncwana is inspired by photographer Fhatuwani Mukheli from I See A Different You, which focuses on changing the world's negative view of Africa into a positive one through telling our own African experiences through an African lens. Ncwana's ability to diversify income streams for the business to support not only his livelihood but his artistic practice is important to the development of cultural entrepreneurship.

5.2.8. Shokcoll.

Thabo Collen Shoko began as a stylist, styling himself and posting different clothing combinations on his personal Facebook account, through this he was able to style musicians for their music videos. Shoko describes his love for fashion and how he began to see himself as a designer:

> I've always loved clothes but I never loved crowds. I had a lot of friends but was always the odd one out. I was working on my profile of being a stylist, it was easy because I already had a number of people who thought that I was a designer. It was easy to

> agree with them and say yes I am a designer. I sold people dreams that I made come true. (Shoko, 2018)

Shoko's love for fashion grew when he became a designer, wearing clothes that he made himself. In 2014 Shoko began his own clothing brand called Shokcoll. Shokcoll focuses on custom designs such as dresses and suites for high class events. The brand also has a ready to wear collection that Shoko releases yearly. Shoko describes his designs as functional, eco-friendly, cultural and timeless. The brand also celebrates individuals that have survived being ill-treated by society because of their gender, race, disability or religion. Shoko's experience offers insight on finding alternative ways of learning skills and how informal structures such as family support the inception of a business.

5.2.9. Igumbi Art Room and Tourism.

Brian Dubazana started Igumbi Art Room and Tourism as a platform that acts as a coordinator, curator and consultant offering the hiring of a mobile art gallery. The concept behind Igumbi was to find many different ways of creating a room that is filled with artworks, rejecting the formal gallery language. Furthermore, the platform organizes cultural events that include live performances, poetry, musicians and dancers. The business aims to educate, grow, and create employment whilst putting Daveyton on mainstream tourism. They also offer 10km cycling tours of Daveyton, whereby you can either attend with your own bicycle or rent one from them. Dubazana resonates the cultural kasi'preneurs ability to evolve and adapt to the environment through the mobile gallery.

5.2.10. Centre Creation.

Growing up in Daveyton, Floyd Masuku was influenced by the fashion and recycling industries. With no leisure money for the movies or arcade games, Masuku and his friends would collect cans and sell them to recycling companies. Masuku used the money to buy clothes for himself. His interest in fashion was intrigued by fashion magazines such as Vogue which his aunt would bring home from work. Masuku was inspired by the clothes in the publication and wanted to dress like the models, he further elaborates:

> So looking at those magazines, I was inspired by the clothes those people were wearing. At the time, I didn't think of making the clothes but rather that I want to dress like them and look good like them. But as time progressed the desire to make the clothes came. (Masuku, 2018)

In 2007, Masuku started his own brand called Centre Creation. Centre Creation alters, designs and makes most forms of clothing. Masuku is popular for creating shirts and dresses for people attending events such as weddings and parties. He also creates garments from off cut material, making the garment unique as it cannot be reproduced. As a case study, Masuku provides insights on finding opportunities in materials that are viewed as no longer useful, he has also provided informal mentorship which highlights alternative forms of learning.

5.3. Support Programmes for Cultural Kasi'preneurs.

The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (Asgisa) has identified the cultural and creative industries as a driver of sustainable economic growth and livelihood (Joffe and Newton, 2007: 237). However, despite the South African government's ongoing efforts, in the form of initiatives set up by the Department of Arts and Culture, such as the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (1997), Mzansi Golden Economy (2013), South African Cultural Observatory (SACO)(2014), and the Cultural and Creative Industries Federation of South Africa (CCIFSA) (2015), there is insufficient direct support to cultural entrepreneurs in the townships. During interviews with participants, none of the above mentioned government initiatives were cited as providing support to cultural kasi'preneurs and their businesses. There was also a lack of knowledge about the existence of these initiatives and that they were created as a means to provide support to the cultural and creative industries in South Africa. Most participants' response to the lack of relationship with government initiatives is that their independence and survival requires action and waiting for the government to actively show interest and provide assistance is not an option. However, this is not to say that there was no experience of other forms of government initiatives. For example, BMA and Masuku share that they received some form of support from other government departments such as the Department of Trade and Industry through seminars; Masuku describes his experience at one of these seminars:

> The Department of Trade and Industry and CIPRO in Springs, I used to attend seminars about business management. It was a set-up of a programme and you would receive an attendance certificate. (Masuku, 2018)

Masuku did not unfortunately make reference to any skills he had learnt from these seminars. BMA attended a mentorship programme by the South African National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), here he describes his experience:

> I attended a government programme by the NYDA, they were trying to use their funds to empower people but I really never learnt that much. I attended workshops but don't even think they are worth mentioning because I didn't learn that much from them. (BMA, 2018)

The intention to educate people through these government initiatives is apparent but the programmes lack the capacity to provide the learning of skills that will assist, provide access and support the development of cultural and creative businesses in the townships. The programmes do not connect to the needs of the cultural kasi'preneur. As a result, the cultural kasi'preneur seeks other learning and supportive formats such as a mentorship programme whereby learning is through practice and experience, this format is highlighted below by Mashilo as influential to how he runs Chant Nation:

> It was a three-day experience with Cassper Nyovest's team. How he runs Family Tree has influenced my thinking. The set up was for a workshop. The people that surround you are often your friends but what he has done is he gave his friends roles to contribute to his success. He still does everything himself but with the proper support in place. (Mashilo, 2018)

Cultural and creative businesses such as Family Tree can offer support to cultural kasi'preneurs by inviting them to observe their production processes. The observation of how the business operates can influence how the cultural kasi'preneur creates a business model. This also provides insights that the form of a mentorship is still necessary but the programme needs to be tailored and move beyond the seminar format.

5.4. Alternative Forms of Learning.

The environment of the townships has provoked cultural kasi'preneurs to be concerned with new ideas and production processes that can emerge from the environment for positive change. Mbaye (2011) highlights that cultural entrepreneurs in Africa explore opportunities for the sake of adapting to a challenging environment and economic development. The lack of access to higher education due to financial circumstances is one of the reasons cultural kasi'preneurs have had to explore alternative forms of learning.

On average the cost of studying at a tertiary institution a year is R60 000, this is only tuition fee and accommodation. For many households in the townships, this presents itself as a financial burden as opposed to being an investment in education and possible fulfilment. Without a bursary or scholarship, the financial capacity in a household determines whether an individual furthers their studies or finds a job to help support the family. Many people in the township struggle to go study at a tertiary institution because of the financial situation at home, and of those that manage to go, some drop out because of the debt that is being accumulated whilst studying. Although access to higher learning has such financial implications, it is still viewed as pivotal to the success narrative of the black child from the township. However, the perception around learning and success is slowly shifting. BMA was studying music when his experience of the curriculum emphasized history and theory rather than music production. He describes his journey as follows:

> I dropped out…I felt that I had the basics of everything. I started feeling that formal schooling wasn't working out for me. Especially the fact that we were coming into the information age, whereby technology was advancing. Things that you can learn at school are available online and are advanced and directed to your needs because you are learning in your own time and at your own pace. I could create my own online programme. (BMA, 2018)

Although BMA's reasons for leaving a higher learning institution were not related to financial circumstances, he suggests online learning as another form of learning and experience that is beyond what formal institutions are able to provide. For individuals without the support of a formal structure to acquire knowledge, finding other means of acquiring knowledge becomes necessary. Self-teaching becomes a tool to access knowledge for the cultural kasi'preneur. They take initiative by finding means of learning through online platforms, from people with

experience or in the simple efforts of trial and error. The internet has offered a lot of self-teaching tools in various skills, from graphic design to the management of a business budget. Ncwana describes how he learnt his skills by using different software without prior knowledge:

> I started playing around with software, there was a studio at the mall called Parasol. the visits to the studio I learnt Software: Picasso (editing of the pictures), pricing, props for photo shoots. (Ncwana, 2018)

Ncwana provides an example of learning through practice. The access to the software allowed him to educate himself and develop his skills through the trial and error method of using the software to edit images. With the art form such as graphic design, new trends are constantly emerging, therefore, the skills set needs to be regularly developed. When a graphic designer is constantly working on their skills set, it allows them to be diverse and are able to compete in the market space. The trial and error way of learning is not without risks, the business can fail in some aspects because of the lack of experience and incorrect knowledge, this is where mentorship offers assistance; learning from someone with experience and expertise provides access to knowledge. Shoko describes how he learnt to make clothes from working for a local designer Masuku, referred to here as Floyd:

> At the time I was working on being a stylist and didn't know that I could be a designer. I helped Floyd with alterations and that's when I learnt how to sew, how pants are made from undoing and putting them back together. After Floyd, I went to Transnet for a year and six months. I was good at welding but my heart wasn't in it. I woke up one day and decided that I couldn't do this anymore and that I wanted to do fashion. (Shoko, 2018)

The relationship between Shoko and Masuku highlights the success of informal mentorship programmes within the township. Although there is no set curriculum or structured support, the mentorship relationship provides access to knowledge and opportunities for the cultural kasi'preneur.

5.5. Diversifying Income Streams Through Multiple Skills.

Ncwana works as a photographer and visual artist. He has diversified his business based on his skills and capabilities. His skills in making chairs from tyres supports his series photography. Through his business, Ncwana has created multiple jobs for himself that support throughout the various seasons; this is possible through sales and services rendered income (maintaining and hiring) from industrial furniture, photography and part-time Deejaying. Ncwana attempts to describe the structure of Capture and Release Visuals:

> The business is not yet structured but mostly I have become a consultant in a way. I'm breaking down the business into smaller businesses that can stand on their own but also can feed into each other. (Ncwana, 2018)

Having multiple skills, allows the cultural kasi'preneur to diversify their income streams. The need to diversify the business is often due to the need to support the core activities of producing the cultural product or services. Often the other activities within the business are linked to the core activities and extend the business. The need to diversify is a response to the possibility of an income stream suffering, diversifying creates income streams that support one another. It can also be viewed as a strategy to overcome financial issues that occur in the business in the efforts of protecting the business. For the cultural kasi'preneur to be able to diversify, they need to seek opportunities outside what they are already offering or seek opportunities for expansion of the business within their skills set. For co-founders of JamShack, the alternative route of financing the businesses is through personal finances. Each co-founder is either employed or running another business. Their personal finances are mostly used to hire good quality sound equipment. Monyemangena emphasizes that the experience of the music is crucial to the brand thus having poor quality of the sound is not ideal for the consumer experience.

5.6. Creating Productive Workspaces.

The data reveals that although finding space for work is a key challenge, cultural kasi'preneurs have found ways to transform unconventional spaces into working and productive environments. The lack of infrastructure in the townships has not stopped the start and growing of businesses. The concept of the workspace at home can also be viewed as the reason for these businesses to be located in the township of Daveyton. Businesses are

forming in the homes of the cultural kasi'preneur and working from home has its advantages and disadvantages.

For the cultural kasi'preneur to cut costs during the production of cultural products and services is a major priority. Working from home allows the cultural kasi'preneur to not bear the costs of travelling every day to a workspace, rather the money that would have been spent on commuting between spaces can now be spent on the business such as material costs, paying suppliers, contributing to salaries and any travelling costs that may occur during distribution. Financial support is very limited for businesses in the township therefore being able to run a cost-effective business allows opportunities for the business to be sustainable. Many residents of the township spend most of their time commuting to and back from work, not only is this time consuming but a large portion of their salaries and wages is spent on transport. When this travelling cost is cut, the money can be saved and invested into the business.

The creation of cultural and creative businesses within the township leads to the transformation of spaces. For example, a simple backyard is transformed into an outdoor gallery that offers a different experience to the consumer. The format of the gallery is challenged as the space is transformed and redefines itself. For example, the 'Backyard Market' transformed a wrecking yard into a visual art environment. A mobile gallery is created on white doors that exhibit artwork from local visual artists. Other spaces such as abandoned buildings are able to house the needs of a cultural and creative business. An abandoned bus factory is turned into a co-working space for various organizations and enterprises located in the township. The space is transformed into a production house for industrial furniture and future streetwear brands. Masuku states his experience of working at Bus Shed:

> Working at Bus Shed, you meet people in the same line of work as you and sometimes have more experience. They offer help by referring technicians to fix the machine. In a crisis you can call the technician and they come to you to fix the problem.
>
> (Masuku, 2018)

Spaces such as Bus Shed become co-working spaces that foster collaborations, these can be viewed as intentional or unintentional. Within a co-working space, resources, information as

well as expertise are shared amongst those that cohabit the space. From this sharing experience, people become connected and a network begins to emerge.

Most of the participants work from their homes because of circumstance and not necessarily by choice. Often the circumstance is a result of the lack of finance. The assumption that is usually made is that life is affordable in the townships, however, for small businesses trying to grow, this is not the case. Office space or retail stores for rental are expensive and as a result the cultural kasi'preneur finds themselves working from home to avoid this cost. This also removes the pressure of a rental fee every month from the business, allowing the business to focus on its core activities. Working from home can be convenient for the cultural kasi'preneur in that they have more time to focus on ideation and producing content for their business. The cultural kasi'preneur is not subjected to a specific time frame to work, instead they are able to work at a time that is convenient to the cultural kasi'preneur.

In many cases people make conclusions about businesses based on its physical environment. Although working from home has advantages that assist to overcome financial constraints, it is not without challenges. One of the major disadvantages about working from home is that clients may view the cultural kasi'preneur as not professional or do not trust that the product or service will be of quality and delivered within the requested time frame, Shoko elaborates on this experience as a fashion designer:

> Some of the challenges of working from home is that people don't always take you seriously and the environment can hinder your creativity. Where is the fitting room? Some people judge you based on the machine that you have so they tend to want to see the machine. (Shoko, 2018)

As a result, one can lose clients without being given the opportunity to provide the product or service. This also highlights that working from home, the product or service offered needs prove its value in the market space more than other products or services from corporates or well-established businesses. Clients can easily misinterpret the value of the product or service based on the environment it is created in.

Working from home requires discipline as there are more distractions. Time can easily be wasted on matters that do not concern the business. With the lack of separation between home time and work time the boundaries are not clear and focus is easily lost. One aspect

can easily get lost in the other as a result there is a lack of balance. The process of creation can easily be interpreted, Rich describes how creative block hinders his creation process:

> Creative block is a big setback. I tend to meditate. It relaxes and it helps me block out the unnecessary noise. And think of what I want to think of. I start thinking of ideas for the work, I use little things to create big ideas. (Rich, 2019)

The cultural kasi'preneur can easily lose confidence in their own product and services as they feel that their business is not growing beyond the home environment. A lack of confidence within the cultural kasi'preneur can slow down the process of creating value.

5.7. Cultural Value and Pricing.

The cultural entrepreneur is not particularly concerned with the financial gain from the cultural products or services, rather the criteria for success is the consumers' responses, recognition and providing a cultural experience. The values of the cultural entrepreneur align with how culture enhances the quality of life. The consumer engages more deeply and personally with cultural products and services because of the built-in significance that allows connections to heritage, aspirations and meaning making (Stoop-Alcala, 2015 and Cunningham, 2002). In this section, I will discuss the tensions between cultural value embedded in cultural products and services, and the challenge of pricing these cultural products and services.

5.7.1. Cultural Value in Cultural Products and Services.

Cultural products or services embody expressive forms that value human feeling, capture individual uniqueness and hold a subjective world of experience (McCarthy et al., 2004: 43). Cultural products and services are created with the ability to communicate pain, comfort, and excitement with sufficient power, subtlety, and depth (McCarthy et al., 2004: 43), they occupy the space that natural science models of knowledge fail to comprehend, describing the uncensored human aspirations (McCarthy et al., 2004: 44). The mathematical and impersonal mode of understanding the world, struggles to explain the emotional and expressive reality of society. Tsoka makes use of his brand and ready to wear garments to express different

perspectives to the township narrative, he highlights the meaning expressions embedded in his brand:

> Our prints stretch far beyond our garments, they stem from our genetics, this is echoed by the African print designs on the shirts. Clothing should not just be a cover of your body, but an expression of your experience of life too. (Tsoka, 2018)

The values that are embedded in the Retrofontein brand are that African stories told by black people are important and significant. This validates individuals in the townships, providing them with confidence and self-worth. These are the intrinsic benefits that are not always clear during the exchange between the business and the consumer. Consumer's do not walk into the Retrofontein store and purchase confidence and self-worth, they purchase a product whether a shirt or cap that has been embedded with meaning by Tsoka; the product becomes the physical representation of the meaning and value embedded in the product. The cultural products can be described as objectifications of subjective life (Langer, 1957), whereby the cultural kasi'preneurs find and manipulate images and forms to embody their values and vision in such a way that their creative expression can be shared with others and benefit from the experience of the cultural product (McCarthy et al., 2004: 43). It is the quality of experience that the product brings to the consumer that the cultural kasi'preneur values, the experience of the product or services creates these intrinsic benefits (McCarthy et al., 2004: 44). The intrinsic benefits of cultural products can go beyond the personal and create a common experience that brings people together and influences the way a community views itself (McCarthy et al., 2004: 37). The aesthetic experience can encourage a community to participate in each other's lives and provide support in various ways imaginable. When a community has the capacity to grow and change positively, the physical environment slowly begins to shift.

5.7.2. The Price of Cultural Value.

How do we put a price on confidence and self-worth? The cultural entrepreneur is not directly selling intrinsic benefits but this is what the consumer is receiving as part of the package. The secondary benefits of these cultural products and services are what Bakhshi et al. (2015) and Holden (2004 & 2006) refer to as instrumental values. Culture in this context is used to achieve

social and economic purposes (Holden, 2006: 16). For the cultural entrepreneur, this refers to the financial gains from their cultural products and services. There is no set formula in measuring cultural value, specifically because no one community in society will value the same thing exactly the same way as another community throughout the world (Bakhshi et al., 2009: 7). The case study of BMA and his minimalistic studio highlights the tensions between intrinsic and pricing, here he describes how he saw the need to provide his services even though the people he is providing to cannot afford to pay:

> Being in a community where a lot of the people are not able to pay for the services but still need them. You can see there is a need when kids spend their break time making music but there is no way of capturing that or monetizing that. It's also like who caters for the upcoming artist? I experience a lot of people that don't have resources. I deal with people who have dreams but don't have the means to fulfil them. (BMA, 2018)

BMA values having the means to assist upcoming artists rather than monetizing on being a recording studio located in the township. The process of creating cultural services makes use of innovative solutions; new business models emerge, interaction with audiences and value creation is constantly changing in new and dynamic ways. BMA expresses that being focused on the equipment rather than what value you can offer people and what they can afford forces studio owners to charge and fixate on how much equipment costs. BMA realized that he cannot use standard rates when charging his consumers, instead he evaluates what an upcoming artist from the township can afford and charges that fee, he describes this process below:

> You start charging people based on the equipment you have because of how much the equipment costs you. The prices increase and you disregard whether the person can afford those prices. So people end up paying for the studio instead of the services you should be providing. (BMA, 2018)

The tension in this approach to pricing is that this strategy only helps maintain a certain living standard and the growth in the business is stagnant but BMA values his ability to help advance an artist's career and describes this as the purpose for his business and the choice for his

location. In the interview he reiterates that he does not run a typical business and this has forced him to understand the meaning of success differently, he describes as follows:

> I really like helping people. I don't use the standard rates. I look at what can the typical dude in the hood pay to make more than one song, to sustain his dream. What is the typical buying power in the area? I charge what I think they can afford and help me maintain a certain standard of living which is not much. It's understanding a different meaning of success and that it's not a typical business.
>
> (BMA, 2018)

However, not all cultural kasi'preneurs view the purpose of their businesses like BMA. There is a struggle and a need to align both intrinsic value and financial benefits from cultural products and services. Often customers misunderstand the value of the product or service and only reduce the cultural value or product to the monetary exchange, not considering the experience and stimulation (intrinsic value) the product and service has to offer beyond that monetary exchange value. Cultural kasi'preneurs such as Ncwana find themselves conflicted in pricing their products and services and accepting the payment conditions that their consumers put them in. The underestimation of the value of the products or services provided, has long term effects on the business. The lack of financial support from the consumer (target market) hinders the development of the business. In this case, Ncwana often finds himself surrendering to the prices his consumers negotiate (discount) with him as opposed to losing the consumer completely and not making an income at all. Molele highlights that the discount requests tend to be influenced by the relationship the cultural entrepreneur has with their consumers, he describes it as:

> …the mentality that because I know you or we know each other, people want discounts forgetting that there is the cost of paint, and packaging before my time.
>
> (Molele, 2018)

The requests for discounts can have a crippling effect on the business. The discount is often asked for by the consumer because they are not well informed about the cost and value of the product or service. This provides insights into the need for consumer education about the products or services that are being purchased. Cultural kasi'preneurs need to engage their

consumers in such a way that the cultural product or service's instrumental and intrinsic value is understood.

The disconnect between the intrinsic value and price is a consistent challenge that cultural kasi'preneurs face. Rich has a different approach to value and pricing, during his interview he revealed that during the creation process, when he finds the work created to be more valuable (based on an aesthetic criteria) than what he was intended to be paid, he keeps the work and recreates something more suitable to what the consumer is willing to pay. When consumer requests graphics at cheaper rates, Rich provides cheaper versions of the work but he informs the consumer that the quality will not be the same. The consumer's willingness to pay does not always satisfy the cultural kasi'preneurs perception of the intrinsic value of the product that they have produced. We cannot ignore that the consumer factors the location in their willingness to pay. The interview data reveals that consumers will demand lower prices but expect good quality products and services, and when the product or service is expensive, the possibility of the quality being exceptional is disregarded specifically because the business is based in the township. However, consumers are willing to pay more for the same product or service from a business located in the city.

Measuring the intrinsic benefits consumers derive from the cultural product and service, and translating it into monetary value is a challenge for the cultural kasi'preneur. The value of cultural products and services cannot be adequately expressed statistically (Holden, 2004: 21). To understand the intrinsic benefits of cultural products and services, the objective view of the social scientist needs to be abandoned (McCarthy et al., 2004: 37). The product offers more than what it is in its physical form, it offers pleasure, emotional stimulation and meaning. How do we place monetary value on a personal experience a customer encounters with their product? Each customer will have a subjective experience with the product. There is a need for cultural kasi'preneurs to educate their customers about the intrinsic value of their products and services, as well as the costs of providing their products and services. The lack of knowledge from the consumer affects their willingness to pay which hinders the growth of the products and services and the business. In essence the disjuncture between cultural value and pricing remains a true struggle for cultural kasi'preneurs.

5.8. Markets and Marketing.

Cultural kasi'preneurs are exploring strategies to be competitive, more market oriented and attractive to current and future customers. Social media platforms have become the main tool in exploring these strategies; they are effective in supporting the marketing strategies of cultural kasi'preneurs. As a tool, they support promotion, communication, stimulate word of mouth, assist in market research and innovation management (Hausmann and Poellmann, 2013: 158). Social media platforms facilitate the interaction between cultural kasi'preneurs and their markets. Cultural kasi'preneurs are making use of at least one social media platform in their marketing strategies to generate what Scott (2012) refers to as "buzz" around their products and services. In this section I will discuss niche markets in the township of Daveyton and how storytelling is important in the marketing strategies employed by cultural kasi'preneurs.

5.8.1. Markets.

The segmentation of markets through size, is often argued to be a result of large enterprises not interested in the niche markets, believing that these markets cannot cover their high fixed costs, therefore abandoning them for small enterprises to penetrate (Dubios, 2012: 28). This model means that large enterprises focus on investing in cultural and creative products whose conventions are widely shared, whilst small enterprises are left to focus on genres that seem to be less appealing (Dubios, 2012: 28). However, a niche market is not without influence, it is also constrained by the social relations and institutional trusts, networks, norms, and beliefs. Markets can therefore be understood as embedded within existing broader society conditions; they cannot exist in isolation, rather they are within a specific context (Lee, 2006: 301). Participants identified that their market is particularly from the township. Their businesses receive a large support from the residents of Daveyton but they also promote their business outside the township and find that they are supported by residents from other townships such as Soweto, Voslorus, Katlehong, Thembisa and even Pretoria. Tsoka describes black people in South Africa can relate to the township hence he's target market is the township:

> I feel like every black person can relate to the township, in one way or another and that's why I am basing my store in the township because I want everyone, because everyone has access to the township. And that's the reason I make my stuff for people that can relate to the township. (Tsoka, 2018)

In the statement above, Tsoka refers to 'black people' and 'people that can relate to the township', although this doesn't provide a clear description of his target market, his target market is those attracted to the township content. With about half of South Africa's population living in townships and informal settlements (Mahajan, 2014), the township market is big and diverse. It is not everyone living in the township that is interested in the content that the context of the township can produce. Tsoka may not have a detailed description of his target market but he understands who he is creating clothes for. He is not only focused on the township of Daveyton but townships in South Africa.

Although the market in Daveyton can be described as niche and supportive of most of the businesses by cultural kasi'preneurs, the interview and observation data reveals that each market case differs according to the type of business and what it has to offer. Observation notes suggest that the events hosted by cultural kasi'preneurs in Daveyton are attended mostly by the same group of people, creating a loyal supportive market. Cultural kasi'preneurs also attend each other's events as part of a networking approach, which enables the sharing of a niche market as a cultural kasi'preneur's targeted market are likely to follow the activities of the cultural kasi'preneur as another form of showing support. However, cultural kasi'preneur Shoko expresses that his products and services are not accessible to people in the township even though they are based in the township and as a result plan on moving and working in a city like Johannesburg:

> 20% of my clients are from Daveyton and the rest come from outside. People from Joburg are supportive. It's mostly females attending events. Males require designed suits only when they go to weddings. (Shoko, 2018)

In the music industry, digitization has been embraced to facilitate new ways for consumers to access music and for the artist to sell their music (Carboni, 2014: 150). "They (digital platforms) create markets and user communities with global scale, providing businesses with a huge base of potential customers and effective ways to reach them" (Manyika, 2016: vi).

Digital access has allowed consumers to reach music in a number of ways whether free or purchased; through downloads or the streaming of an album or song. It therefore becomes the artist's responsibility to ensure that their music is available on all these platforms (Carboni, 2014: 150), however, this is not without challenges. Mashilo ensures that Mochene's music is available to download and stream on international digital signal processors (DSPs) such as Apple Music and Audiomack, and local websites endorsed by established hip hop artists such as Silkouronlife. For emerging artists such as Mochene, Audiomack offers Mashilo the opportunity to share music at no cost to him and in an unlimited way, cutting down on distribution costs. This direct form of distribution (downloading and streaming) of the content gives both consumer and artist direct access to the product (Fonseca, 2008: 33). The music application is available on Apple Store and Google play, therefore increasing Mochene's possibilities to access a global market. However, being on such a platform forces Mochene to compete with well established artists. The potential of the internet has changed the music industry in such a way that artists like Mochene are no longer dependent on big record companies for the success of their music but rather have more control over their work and how it's distributed (Carboni, 2014: 150).

5.8.2. Marketing.

Marketing is viewed as a human exchange of relationships (Lee, 2006: 302). This idea of marketing as a human interaction allows cultural kasi'preneurs to understand and think differently about the marketing strategies they employ. The interaction with consumers is facilitated by the cultural kasi'preneur's ability to tell their story. Lounsbury and Glynn (2001) define cultural entrepreneurship as the process of storytelling that mediates the access to resources and capital in order to create wealth. Storytelling is viewed as a form of identity creation and legitimacy for new businesses (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001: 546), stories are important symbols that make use of verbal, visual and written language.

The identity of the business becomes the key element to attract investors, providing a competitive advantage, access to consumers and new market opportunities (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001: 545). It is through these stories that cultural kasi'preneurs are able to communicate the value of their products and services. The story becomes the link between

the cultural kasi'preneur's business and the rest of the world. The interview data suggests that cultural kasi'preneurs combine personal and the business' story to assist the consumer to connect with their offering, this contributes to the running of a successful marketing campaign. These stories distributed on the correct platform, have the potential to create what Scott (2012) refers to as 'buzz'. Scott (2012) describes 'buzz' as the cultural entrepreneur's ability to combine social, cultural and symbolic capital to generate excitement and enthusiasm in various settings to attract consumers, stimulate consumption and generate marketable values. To achieve 'buzz' around their products and services, participants make use of online social platforms to communicate their stories; the top three platforms used are WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram. Molele describes his process of informing consumers about his products:

> After each custom I make, I take a picture and use my personal Facebook, Instagram and Twitter profile to display my work. And that's how people gained confidence in my work. I'm not that active on Twitter. Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp are the ones that I use a lot. (Molele, 2018)

Molele highlights how these three platforms are easier for him to use and communicate with his consumers. The platforms allow Molele to tell the story of the business visually and in written language. The existence of various social media platforms allows content creation, modification and exchange; collaborative projects that encompass online knowledge communities and instant messaging (Hausmann and Poellmann, 2013: 146).

Social media platforms are virtual communities that bring together individuals that share the same interests and values (Norazah, 2014: 953). Information is shared and access is provided through online interaction, this is done through profiles, posting comments and messages, uploading videos, and consumers subscribing to channels. Social media platforms present opportunities for new forms of product communication and commerce between the cultural entrepreneur and the consumer; information is shared at any moment from any location through the internet (Norazah, 2014: 954). Mashilo describes how he makes use of social media:

> I handle my own social media: post about the track, how excited I am about it, I make noise for myself. Start conversations around my own brand. You see it on my Whatsapp, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram sometimes. I create a conversation around the brand online because that's where people exist. I also engage with people on social media. If you are constant on my social media platforms, I go as far as sending my music personally before it gets released. (Mashilo, 2018)

For Mashilo, social media platforms provide him direct access to his consumers. He has taken advantage of this by using it to enhance his relationship with his consumers. The extra effort of providing access to music before it is released to the public makes the consumer feel important, strengthens the support for the product, and makes them feel part of the process. Mashilo also acknowledges that communities do exist online and can be viewed as another form of word-of-mouth. Communication amongst people has moved to online platforms, it is on these platforms that they share information with one another.

Word-of mouth is one of the most effective forms of marketing. In the digital age, word-of-mouth has moved to online platforms where access and sharing across countries is made possible. This form of marketing allows satisfied customers to engage with other potential customers regarding a business' existing product directly through social media platforms. Tsoka makes use of the hashtag on Instagram to start conversations. The hashtag is used on online platforms as a means to draw attention, organize and promote certain ideologies and stimulate word-of-mouth marketing. "Let's track the story of our brand together, using the hashtag #RetroTBT[8]", this is a caption that accompanied an image posted on Instagram on the 6th of February 2020. Tsoka places his hashtag within a very popular online social context. 'Throwback Thursday' is used on social media platforms to reflect on past events and is easy to find online. Creating his own hashtag within a popular online context makes it easier to find, follow and contribute to the online conversation, and increases the chances of the target market finding the business. The use of the hashtag has enhanced connectivity; the hashtag can be used pre-production, during production and post-production therefore constantly including the consumer in the production process. With posts on Instagram such as:

[8] #Retro refers to the brand Reftrofontein and TBT refers to Throwback Thursday.

> What is style/class without the touch of Africa?, Validation should be sought only from yourself, If you aren't validating your own dreams, someone else will easily invalidate them and you'll fall into the trap of never dreaming…Never doubt your dreams.
>
> (Tsoka, 2018)

The young black child from the townships are encouraged to follow their dreams regardless of their circumstance, that they are important and their dreams are sufficient. Through Instagram posts, Tsoka is able to narrate the Retrofontein story, visually, and educate the consumer about the values of the brand.

During his interview, Musku presents a different view on marketing from the other participants. He relies on referrals from previous consumers, believing that the designed garment will market itself. Furthermore, he states that his foot traffic is high and this is a combination of designs and alterations requests. When Masuku is not home, he leaves his number on the door of the room he works from, for people to contact him. In Masuku's case, he is dependent on word-of-mouth and recognition. Having been in the fashion industry for a decade, he has been able to build a reputation for himself with the township landscape.

Cultural kasi'preneurs have found other forms of creating visibility and sharing the market. The friendship between Tsoka and Mashilo has brought their brands together, supporting each other through association, Mashilo as Mochene describes how their brands found each other:

> He (Tsoka) started doing clothes and one day he asked if he could take pictures of me in his clothes. I've been wearing his clothes ever since, I perform and go to events wearing Retro most of the time. Both our brands just seemed to align well.
>
> (Mashilo, 2018)

The two brands indirectly endorse one another. Mashilo as a local hip hop artist and a local clothing brand bring together two niche markets to create a bigger market to share. Based on their friendship and trust, Mashilo is the ambassador for Retrofontein; there is no official contract that binds them but the contract of friendship (network). Mashilo's fans purchase the Retrofontein brand to relate to their artist whilst supporters of the Retrofontein brand are also likely to be introduced to or know of Mashilo's music. This is also made possible because of the geographical space they share within the township. Tsoka and Mashilo's

relationship can also be viewed as the formation of a network, this is discussed in the following section.

It is evident that there is no single approach to accessing markets and marketing, rather cultural kasi'preneurs have found ways of aligning their brands together in the efforts of sharing a market and taking advantage of social media platforms for storytelling. The storytelling by cultural kasi'preneurs plays a critical role in enabling the growth of their business, possible opportunities and resource flow towards the business, as well as the creation of wealth. The data also reveals that although the business is based in the township of Daveyton, cultural kasi'preneurs do not limit themselves to Daveyton but are also supported by other townships.

5.9. A Network of Friends.

Capital is the force inscribed in subjective or objective structures and it is also the principle underlying the intrinsic regularities of the social world (Bourdieu, 1986: 46). The value of capital is determined and operates within the structures of the social world. In creative cities, networks and collaborations are an example of economics of proximity; they provide access that is not accessible by the individual (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999. 13) and contribute to the individual's production process. Social capital is therefore social contacts and networks that share the benefits of shared resources, accountabilities and rights that are based on trusted reciprocity (Scott, 2012: 244). In this section I will discuss how the relationship amongst friends can contribute to the formation of networks, which provide access to resources.

5.9.1. The Informal Support Structure.

In the township, business support from formal structures and access to financial assistance is scarce. As a result, cultural kasi'preneurs have to seek other forms of support for their businesses. Friends and family have become informal support structures to various aspects of the business. Participants refer to a network of "friends" rather than acquaintances to gain access to relevant information, collaborations or human resources in the form of offering skills to the business.

The cultural entrepreneur's social capital is reflected in the amount and value of these personal relationships and how they contribute to the survival of the business (Lizé, 2016: 45). The core idea of social capital is that social networks have value and this affects the productivity of individuals (McLean, Schultz, and Steger 2002: 4). These influential relationships form strong networks that cultural kasi'preneurs are able to draw upon during the process of creating cultural products and services. During the interviews, participants referred to establishing their networks through their childhood friends or meeting other influential people through individuals they grew up with. Through these friendships, there is a sharing of resources and collaborating with each other on projects and ideas.

In the process of production, the cultural entrepreneur's network is crucial to assess possible resources, partnerships, collaborations, customers and employees (Scott, 2012: 244). Their network reflects their social capital and when this alternative form of capital (Bourdieu, 1985) will be mobilized and converted into the needed resource, cultural entrepreneurs are able to access resources they do not possess, increase their use-value as well as exchange-value (Scott, 2012: 246). Rich describes how he gained access to resources he needed to start his business:

> I started with a laptop, with nothing. I had no money. They had just bought me a laptop here at home, I got software from my homies. They taught me how to use most of them. I was like you know what I'm going to change this nothing into something. (Rich, 2018)

It is through his family and friends that he was able to start his business. His friends shared information, skills and knowledge without requesting a monetary exchange but rather shared with him based on their friendship. This also reflects that within these networks, cultural kasi'preneurs do not see themselves as competition but rather as support structures with opportunities for future collaborations. For cultural kasi'preneurs such as Rich, networks are the foundation of their businesses and are able to create sustainable livelihood because of their networks. Furthermore, strong networks have the ability to support the growth of the business. During his interview, Ncwana emphasizes how most of his big orders for his rondavel chairs were the result of an existing network. This suggests that the links formed amongst cultural kasi'preneur is beneficial in that it provides access to a market. Networks can provide support in various forms and at different stages of the business. Mashilo reflects

on how the support of the Mochene's brand comes through his affiliation and how he maintains this support:

> Most of my support comes from my affiliation. I think I have created a big network around the Mochene brand. I mean every three months we manage to have something around the brand with radio personalities, radio stations, social media influencers and I make sure that I'm in relevant spaces with people that are doing relevant things. When I go to places or interviews, I always take someone from my team, I find that it strengthens the network. (Mashilo, 2018)

The building and development of social and cultural capital is dependent on the cultural entrepreneurs' ability to immerse themselves both professionally and socially in the world of their business (Raffo et al., 2000: 361), therefore, for survival, growth in isolation is difficult. Networks are often built with people within the cultural kasi'preneur's proximity. Mashilo further states how he has been able to find opportunities within and with his friendship circle:

> …that creates a network when your friends start doing things outside on their own and growing in their respective fields. Tlou Graphics for example, the guy that does my graphics, he also started growing outside of the Mochene brand. It creates a good umbrella for my brand and his brand. Because when you do an event, we all show up and the people that see us, know that guy does that, that guy does that and they know you're a pusher. When they see us together, it's like a creative hub. (Mashilo, 2018)

This highlights how a network can become a 'safe space' for the business. Mashilo places emphasis on being affiliated with individuals that are active; when the people in the network are able to grow, whether it being capacity or skills development, it can have an effect on those in the network. Social capital refers to "connections amongst individuals-social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000: 19). The connections between the cultural kasi'preneurs of Daveyton creates a big network that has become a site for reciprocal transference of symbolic capital (Lizé, 2016: 46); they are linked to each other through friendships which have provided access to resources, information, knowledge, opportunities, collaborations and market access which all contribute to a sense of wealth shared amongst them.

However, Shoko refers to his network of people as “plugs and connections” and not friends. He reflects on how it’s not the size of the network that is beneficial but rather being connected to the right people; “you really need to know that one person that has access” (Shoko, 2018). For Shoko, knowing the right people has given him the opportunity to work in collaborative space and access to equipment.

The network of friends suggests that networks are not static but rather should be viewed as social systems that are adaptive because of contextual factors such as location and resources; the nature of a network offers the cultural entrepreneur a social space whereby they are able to pursue needed but scarce resources (McAdam and Soetanto, 2018: 74). The formation of networks takes place across artforms, as these forms have found ways to support each other. Friends in this context are influential relationships, supporting and contributing to the business in various ways that don’t exist in some formal structures. The connections amongst the cultural kasi’preneurs is reciprocal and dependent on trust.

The relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain these relationships. Furthermore, these relationships may be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name but are constantly reinforced and maintained in exchange (Bourdieu, 1985: 51). Within the constant exchanges, social capital is maintained through affirmation and recognition.

6. Limitation and recommendations for future study.

The intention of this research is to study cultural kasi’preneurs in the context of Daveyton, this is one of the limitations of the study, however, it is important to note that a study similar to this one can be conducted in every township in South Africa and each context of these township will deduce a different perspective of the cultural kasi’preneurs experience. Future studies on cultural kasi’preneurs needs to evaluate the impact of the products and services offered from a psychological and economical perspective on the communities that cultural kasi’preneurs are embedded in.

Ideally the next step for such research, is to identify the support needed by cultural kasi’preneurs, an evaluation of their businesses and how to grow their businesses at a gradual pace. The challenge for government and urban designers is how to convert townships from

their historical stigmas into spaces whereby individuals are able to create sustainable livelihoods for themselves. With the assistance of cultural kasi'preneurs, government and urban designers will be able to transform these spaces, however, stakeholders need to acknowledge that townships form part of the cities.

The theme of the digital realm can be considered for further research; how do cultural entrepreneurs navigate the digital space to create online business models, change the value chain, and grow their businesses.

The advancement of cultural entrepreneurship and strategic management can be achieved through an integrative framework involving the resource-based view of the businesses, the institutional analysis of organizations, and organizational identity (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001: 559). Research that investigates the relationship between resource capital and institutional capital, and how they are created are beneficial to the process of cultural entrepreneurs.

During the interviews, many participants were grateful to The Village Market for providing a platform to showcase their businesses and networking opportunities. A business like The Village Market would provide insights to why although a business is well supported, it can still fail. The Village Market was known as the market that brings the village together. It was inspired by other markets around Gauteng and was a platform for exhibitors to showcase their products and services whilst creating a cultural exchange for the community. Founded by three women; Nomsa Themba, Nombulelo Mawela and Leseba Mothibe, The Village Market was launched in 2015 and thrived in supporting black businesses that contributed to the township economy. Unfortunately, the market no longer exists even though the platform presented first time opportunities to a market to many of the cultural entrepreneurs in townships across Johannesburg. The Village Market is an interesting case study that will produce insights on a business in the township that has the right networks, support and strong foundations but still found it difficult to survive in the township landscape.

7. Conclusion

The cultural kasi'preneur offers a different definition of success for the black child in the township; their stories inspire and influence children from the township to know that opportunities and dreams can exist within the township landscape; there are dreams being realized in the township, cultural kasi'preneurs are transforming their townships through their own visions and cultural value.

In this research report I have identified a new breed of the cultural entrepreneur; the cultural kasi'preneur. The cultural kasi'preneur emerges from the location of their cultural and creative business in the township, therefore contributing to the township economy. This research report highlights how the cultural kasi'preneur has taken advantage of the negative characteristics of the township and created their own opportunities. Cultural kasi'preneurs make use of networks to access information and resources. The system of the network is embedded in friendships formed over the years; therefore, the relationships are based on trust and are reciprocal. The cultural kasi'preneur also recognises the power of affiliation. Affiliating the business and the brand with other local businesses and brands allows cultural kasi'preneurs to share a market. This also reflects that survival is sometimes dependent on sharing rather than competing. To be able to share this market, the cultural kasi'preneurs ensure that their stories are relevant but also different from one another. Storytelling through online platforms is one of the most popular and cost-effective ways for the cultural kasi'preneur to communicate the values of their cultural products and services. Storytelling online is used as a tool to educate the consumer regarding the cultural products and services, however, this is not without challenges. The tension between measurement and cultural value remains consistent. Cultural kasi'preneurs struggle to price their cultural products and services because consumers lack the understanding around the cultural value the products or services embody. Despite the circumstances they find themselves in, cultural kasi'preneurs find alternative ways of creating meaning for themselves and their communities.

Townships are major consumer spaces because of the populations, however despite their huge potential, businesses in the township struggle to attract the attention and the investors needed to grow the business. We need to move towards making townships attractive and sustainable for both livelihood and businesses. Townships are unique to South Africa and in reality, are growing. This research adds to the body of literature about South African cultural

entrepreneurship in the townships. The cultural and creative industries in the township have the potential of making our townships attractive for investment.

Cultural kasi'preneurs allow us to think of the township as a space capable of existing and recreating itself beyond the boundaries of its historical formation (Mbhele, 2020). The township is more than just a place that we constantly dream of escaping but rather is part of the dream and the success we aspire to have. Unlike their cultural predecessors that reiterate the need to leave the township, cultural kasi'preneurs are finding alternative forms of existing, creating meaning, seeing, surviving and thinking about the township. They have a sense of appreciation for the potentialities of the township which are outside the norm that anything that tries to find life is already dead (Mbhele, 2020). The cultural kasi'preneur understands that there is no other option but to create cultural value and redefine success.

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9. Appendices

Appendix A: Final semi-structured interview schedule

Duration: 2 hours max.

Questions.

1. What is your name and surname?
    1.1. How old are you?
    1.2. Where are you originally from?
    1.3. Please tell me a bit about yourself and what it was like for you growing up?
    1.4. What kind of education (or training) have you received in your lifetime? Eg. Qualifications?
    1.5. Have you attended any workshops or incubation programmes that have given you the skill set you have today in running your business?
    1.6. What kind of jobs have you held or have? Work experience?
    1.7. Growing up, what kinds of businesses were you exposed to?
    1.8. How have these businesses influenced your way of thinking around your own business?
2. What is the name of your business?
    2.1. When was your business established?
    2.2. How old were you when you started your business?
    2.3. How long has your business been operating for?
    2.4. Why are you operating in Daveyton? If not originally from Daveyton, why did you choose to set up your business here? Or what attracted you to Daveyton? Or are they particular reasons for you choosing to set up a business in Daveyton as opposed to the city of Joburg or another township?
    2.5. What were some of the challenges you have faced in establishing your business?
    2.6. How did you overcome those challenges?
    2.7. When establishing your business, what kind of support did you receive and from where? Eg financial from a bank or moral support from the community, investments?
    2.8. At what stage of your business did you receive the most support, from where and how did this impact the business?
    2.9. What kind of products or services does your business offer?

2.10. Why are you offering these products or services?

2.11. How did you know that there was a need for your offering or is this something you've always wanted to do?

2.12. Do you only offer these to the residence of Daveyton? If not, who else do you offer these products or services to?

2.13. If given the opportunity to operate elsewhere such as a city, would you take it? Why?

2.14. Does your business only operate in the township of Daveyton? If not where else does your business operate?

2.15. Describe a typical day in your enterprise.

2.16. So far what are some of the challenges in completing the day to day activities of your business?

2.17. How do you deal with these daily challenges?

3. Do you own or rent the property that you are operating on?
   3.1. How did you acquire the space for the business?

   3.2. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of owning the property where you conduct business for a business such as yours?

   3.3. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of renting the property where you conduct business for a business such as yours?

   3.4. What are some of the challenges you have faced regarding the renting or owning the property where your business is located?

   3.5. How have you managed to deal with these challenges?

4. How do you create the product or deliver your services to your customers? Describe the production process.

   4.1. What kind of mission or vision does your product/service adhere to? Example to inspire, redefine success or challenge social norms.

   4.2. How do you ensure that your product/service upholds the mission or vision you mentioned above?

   4.3. What are the main resources you require to create or deliver your product or services? Eg venue, data, raw material, capital

   4.4. How do you access these resources?

   4.5. What other forms of resources do you think are available in this township for businesses such as yours?

4.6. What other forms of resources do you think are available outside this township but can benefit businesses such as yours?

4.7. Why do you think these resources are useful in such businesses?

4.8. What kinds of opportunities inside and outside of Daveyton, do you think are available to your business? Platforms, market gaps, collaborating with a competitor (share resources).

4.9. How have you exploited these opportunities for yourself and your business?

4.10. What kind of formal structures do you think are necessary to facilitate access to needed resources inside and outside the township? Institutions, banks, and the government.

5. How do you price your products and services?
   5.1. What is the biggest challenge you face in pricing your products/services?
   5.2. How do you overcome these challenges?
6. Who do you think are your customers? Age, gender, income bracket, education.

   6.1. Why do you think these particular people are your customers?

   6.2. Are these particular people only found in Daveyton or do you think you can find them in other spaces?

   6.3. How do you attract and inform your current customers about your product or service?

   6.4. How do you attract and inform new customers about your product or service?

   6.5. Why do you use this approach?

   6.6. How does your approach benefit the business??

   6.7. How do you keep your customers interested in your product or services? What kind of experience do you think your product or service provides your customers?

   6.8. How do you think your customers benefit from your product or services?

7. Would you say that over the years, you have created and continuously built supportive networks?
   7.1. What kind of supportive networks have you then formed? Group of people that support the business whatever means, advertising platform.
   7.2. How do you build these supportive networks?

6.3. How do you maintain these networks?

6.4. How do you use these networks in your business?

6.5. What are some of the challenges you have faced in the creation and maintaining of these networks?

6.5.1. How do you respond to these challenges?

6.6. What other networks do you wish to have for the purpose of growing your business?

6.7. How would you use these networks?

6.8. How do you think you can build or gain access to the networks you wish to have??

8. What kind of collaborations have you been involved in? Working alongside a group similar to you.
   8.1. How did some of these collaborations come into existence?
   8.2. How would you describe these collaborations in terms of being beneficial to your business?
   8.3. What other forms of collaborations are you looking forward to or would like to see happen in the near future?
   8.4. How do you think collaborations assist businesses such as yours to grow or reach their full potential?
9. What words would you use to describe yourself? Creative, producer, entrepreneur, cultural entrepreneur, business man/woman, artist, event organiser, hustler?

   9.1. Why does that description resonate with you the most?

   9.2. What kind of change or experience do you think your work brings to the community of Daveyton?

10. Where do you see your business in the next five years?

    10.1. Would you like to see your business expand beyond the township of Daveyton? Why?
    10.2. What do you think is necessary for this expansion to happen?
    10.3. How do you see this expansion happening?

Appendix B: Table 2 List of participants interviewed for this study.

	Participant name and surname	Age	Gender	Race	Qualification	Business Name	Role in the Business	Years Operating
1.	Bhekuyise Charles Magangane	39	Male	Black	Matric	Studio 6546	Producer, sound engineer, music production, host networking event	15
2.	Thabo Collen Shoko	27	Male	Black	Matric	Shokcoll	Fashion designer	6
3.	Floyd Masuku	38	Male	Black	Matric	Centre Creation	Fashion designer, tailor, brand founder	13

4.	Kabelo Tsoka	30	Male	Black	NQFL 6 Human Resource Management	Retrofontein Apparel	Brand designer, brand founder, host cultural events	8
5.	Kholofelo Dennis Mashilo	31	Male	Black	NQFL 5 Events Management	Chant Nation	Hip Hop artist	5
6.	Richard Rich	26	Male	Black	Matric	Richard Rich Pty	Richard Rich Pty	5
7.	Nkosana Monyemangena	38	Male	Black	RE5 Certificate (FNB)	JamShack	Co-founder	5
8.	Zuko Soyizwaphi	34	Male	Black	NQFL 5 Tourism and Travel Management	1520 Online	Ecommerce sales consultant, web designer, graphic designer, online marketing consultant	5
9.	Sibusiso Ncwana	37	Male	Black	Matric	Capture and Release Visuals	Photographer, videographer, industrial furniture designer	7
10.	Thato Molele	24	Male	Black	Matric	Thato Molele (Pty) Ltd	Shoe designer, visual artist	5
11.	Brian Dubazana	39	Male	Black	Matric	Igumbi Art Room and Tourism	Visual artists, events co-ordinator	5