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COMMERCIALISATION OF KINSHIP IN AN URBAN SETTING

BY

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

SUPERVISOR: DR HYLTON WHITE

MARCH 2017

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. All citations and references used have been acknowledged accordingly. It is submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The thesis has never been submitted for any degree or examination at this university and any other university.



Phefumula Nyoni

-------- DAY OF ------- 2017

DEDICATION

To my wife Precious and all African business persons

ABSTRACT

This research is an investigation of how kinship is mobilised for commercial purposes by business persons and with what kinds of effects on forms of kinship and obligation. Ntabankulu urban, located in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa has specifically been targeted for this purpose. Through in-depth interviews targeting 'Black' South African business owners, the research establishes the identities of the business persons whilst further exploring how they draw from non-capitalist forms of organisation such as kinship in dealing with various challenges associated with the dictates of capitalist enterprise. Important is the point that the black business persons involved in this study have emerged from what can be deemed as 'liminal' precarious socio-economic backgrounds and proved to be active agents who could successfully draw from practices based on non-capitalist forms of organisation such as kinship to deal with obligation-related challenges encountered within an inherently capitalist context. This study constitutes a break from conventional economics that has previously viewed customary elements such as kinship as detrimental to business. This break is represented by noting the resilience of non-capitalist forms of organisation, particularly within the business context. Besides that, the relationship between culture and the market has been repositioned to create a close relational situation in contrast to previous claims of the two being incompatible. The study explores the ideas of kinship and related practices, reciprocal cooperation and conflict as well as modernity's influences within the context of efforts aimed at balancing kinship with business obligations. In addition, the study investigates how the inevitable coexistence of customary and business practices leads to newly invented forms of organisation that have seen ethnic communities notably reinventing themselves into business entities. It follows that South African corporations, just as is the case the world over, are increasingly embracing customary values such as kinship in efforts

to explore alternative markets and structures of consumption. The study also assesses the complexities involved in balancing kin and business obligations especially in relation to the multiplicity of kin and business obligations that in instances tend to be contradictory.

Key words: kinship relations, business obligations, reciprocal cooperation, capitalism

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introducing the study and outlining the statement of the problem

This research is an assessment of how individuals and collectives draw from non-capitalist forms of belonging such as kinship within the contemporary capitalist society in the quest to balance business and kinship obligations. The research explores various interpretations presented by reliance on such non-capitalist customary elements as kinship. This broadens to include various strategies businesspeople adopt in dealing with day-to-day business and kinship linked obligations, as well as the contradictions that manifest as they negotiate their ways within a complex social environment. Such an analytical approach relates to an assessment of the nature of emergent forms of kinship, obligations and belonging.

In terms of the geographical area of focus, the Ntabankulu urban area as part of the broader former Transkei homeland presents delimitation related problems when it comes to efforts aimed at classifying the area into rural and urban. The complexity is worsened not only by the physical location of the sampled business entities. It is rather worsened by the way, actors who are the businesspersons vacillate between the urban environment and the locations, that can be said to be within a predominantly rural area. In understanding this dilemma, it is important to allude to the work of Chari and Gillespie (2014:145), where they noted that African cities are by nature founded on contradictions. Of further significance is their emphasis on the notion that cities must be viewed as work in progress as they on the one hand constitute enclaves of creativity whilst on the other constituting spaces of stalled progress. At the centre of all these views on what characterises urban spaces are the wide range of day to day activities associated with city life, ranging from the legal and the illegal as well as the

moral and immoral activities. Whilst pointing to a combination of a multiplicity of activities has traditionally been more prevalent in cities like Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, it can be argued that the situation is rather more fluid when it comes to smaller urban centres like Ntabankulu. Such spaces are deeply surrounded by the rural areas. Whilst business activities can take place within the city, the business persons tend to reside in locations that are within the jurisdiction of traditional leaders and local councils.

The research targeted a cohort of ten purposively chosen black businesspersons from Ntabankulu in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The motivation for purposively targeting the group was to ensure relevance to the study as well as a mix of male and female representation. This group of businesspersons operate in an unpredictable business environment. They further belong to a sector that once faced pronounced marginalisation from the mainstream economy, particularly under apartheid.

In terms of the qualitative delimitation of the study, instead of dwelling on the financial statuses of the targeted businesses, my focus is rather on how these business people draw from the customary features of kinship ties as they negotiate their way in attempts to balance kinship obligations with the dictates of business. This is in view of the fact that customary values have been said by scholars such as Hallward-Driemeier and Pritchett (2015) to be incompatible with business. Besides the incompatibility, research has revealed the existence of a noticeable increase in the practices that can be linked to people's previously shunned customary practices. Attention is further placed on how previously excluded persons who still find themselves in uncertain environments establish cooperative relationships as they deal with the complex features associated with the uncertain environments they find themselves in. Uncertainty in the environment where businesspersons are involved can be explained in the context of the apartheid legacy that is associated with the creation of homelands such as

Transkei. Homeland creation was followed by pushing of majority of black South Africans into these spaces whilst the minority white population remained in the affluent metropolitan spaces. Besides this apartheid related type of exclusion, the businesspersons at hand constitute a lower class within a broader population that may have some few privileged businesspersons. The discourse in this thesis also presents insights on the way conceptions of kinship relate to notions of trust and networking. What further gets attention are the influences of kinship on the various forms of belonging that may arise.

Since the subject matter being explored requires in-depth explanations, the study largely drew on the ethnographic method, where issues relating to entrepreneurial and familial obligations were explored in detail. The in-depth engagements with participants focused on a sample of seven men and three women who are all Black South Africans belonging to various clan groupings; Delwa, Mpinge, Manci, Dlamini, Jola, Sukude, Nxontsa, Mhlakuana and Nuba. More men feature in the sample largely because men have historically dominated the business context in the research area. This research context experienced business promotion initiatives favouring 'Xhosa men traders' dating back at least to the time when the area was governed by the then Transkei government of Chief Kaiser Matanzima, as noted by Harvey (1976). The approach employed in this study largely relied on in-depth interviews that enabled gathering detailed biographies of respondents. In addition, the ethnographic approach assisted in getting information on the state of kinship as a key customary element and what happens if it is drawn upon in a commercial urban context.

In coining the statement of the problem for this research, my focus was on assessing how the reinvention of non-capitalist forms of relations such as kinship may lead to such values being mobilised for commercial purposes in the contemporary period. Scholars such as Bank (1995), Schatz (2005) and the John and Jean Comaroff (2009) have argued that the practice

of drawing from cultural aspects as a means of "empowerment" is widespread and clearly not confined to South Africa or that part of the world formerly known as Third.

It is important to note the increased prominence of 'traditional' elements in the context of capitalism as one of the features of the contemporary capitalist relations as presented through the ideas of the Jean and John Comaroffs (2009:19). In that regard, it can be noted that the research problem is coined on the premise of understanding how kin members enter business space. Importantly is the fact that this space was previously preserved for white capital under apartheid. It is crucial to also understand how the businesspersons seek to draw on non-capitalist forms of belonging as they negotiate processes related to balancing kinship with business obligations. Added to this, the research assesses the resultant forms of kinship and obligation arising from the efforts of the businesspersons in negotiating their ways through the dictates of kinship and business. The group of businesspersons who are of focus in this research consist of individuals belonging to various kin groups sharing clan names. These members have been previously excluded from actively participating in the mainstream economy but now find themselves in various small-scale business initiatives albeit within an environment that can still be considered to fall outside the margins of the mainstream economy. The research also seeks to find out how the sampled group of businesspersons deals with organising business around kinship while not only acknowledging the enduring nature of kinship but also grappling with the complexities it brings particularly for kin members who are engaged in business. Importantly, this is a factor that is not just peculiar to South African communities but found in many societies the world over. In addition, one needs to examine the balancing of kin and business obligations especially during periods of conflict. Since kin members are in some way said to carry symbolic connections through 'blood' and the umbilical cord (inkaba), one must explore the question of kin member transgressions. It is important to explore what happens when a family member who is an

employee in a business operated by a fellow kin member commits an offence warranting dismissal while at the same time believing that they ought to be left unpunished by possessing a 'blood connection' with the business owner. These challenges are further explored in situations where kin members have created obligation-related perceptions towards other kin members by these members owning businesses. Not only have such attitudes led to a clash of perceptions on handling of obligations but it has also led to the creation of a contested space where notions of belonging have come to be formed and reshaped at the same time.

The claim of Hutchinson (1996) that the penetration of general purpose money leads to inevitable transformations in spheres of exchange needs to be considered. Though directly focused on the situation among the Nuer of South Sudan, it presents an important dimension for understanding the resilience of customary values such as kinship in commercial relations. The aim of this research is therefore to assess how black businesspeople deal with obligations and how customary values are mobilised for commercial purposes. This approach has interests in the sustenance of the balance between business and kin obligations even during periods of conflict or contradiction. It follows that the problem of focus in this research is not necessarily on arguments pointing to the presence or absence of mutualism and cooperation between businesspersons and kin members but rather the complexities arising during the balancing of business and kin obligations. It has been noted that mutualism and cooperation among small-medium businesspersons, particularly amongst black South Africans, is a usually taken for granted aspect. This is the case even though it might be important towards understanding how people negotiate the question of trust in their quest for establishing networks for deriving livelihood. The focus is thus on how kin obligations are balanced with business considering the symbolic nature of the umbilical cord ties connecting kin members

within the household and business context. This becomes more crucial considering the conflicts that usually arise. It is therefore important to examine the question of different forms and interpretations of trust, cooperation and mutualism within uncertain environments, as reflected in the business spaces that form a part of this study.

The researcher is aware that mobilization of customary practices and associated social networks for commercial purposes can also present challenges especially when it comes to balancing kinship with business obligations. In previous studies, the mobilisation of networks on the negative side reflects in the emergence of violent groupings as reflected for instance in mafia gangs in Sicily (Thompson 2011). Kin members can possibly mobilise with the aim of perpetrating illegal activities, concealing criminal acts or protecting members from law enforcement. While there is truth in allegations that kinship relations and associated networks can be sources of illegality, the positive contributions that can emanate from mobilising customary institutions and initiatives still outweigh any anticipated challenges and remain an important research subject. In pursuit of the significance of this study, one can note that opinions on the capacity of collectives to mobilise 'traditional' elements for commercial ends remain subdued by the negative perception that they are incompatible to business (Hallward-Driemeier and Pritchett 2015). This is despite the increase in cases where collectives and individuals have successfully drawn from such values to deal with challenges encountered in the capitalist system (Vail 1989, Thompson 2011).

Historically the state of customary values in African communities, particularly under colonial regimes has had to endure the most of negative publicity as the colonial government categorized them as uncivilised and impediments to development (Vail 1989). It must however be noted that of importance in post-colonial African states, with South Africa

included, there has been some notable resuscitation of 'traditional' institutions though under an ideology of nation building. Leve (2011:513) has also noted an increase in interests about "identity". This is especially the case in contexts where deconstructing various primordialist and essentialist assertions has gained moral prominence, as exemplified by the advent of incidents of gross ethnic crimes and the emergence of powerful post 9/11 cultural conversations. This research is motivated by the urge to explore the contemporary position of customary values where they are increasingly being mobilised for commercial purposes. Sharaby (2011:491) has for instance revealed that several studies have highlighted the resurgence and reinvention of ethnic and religious features in modern democratic societies, as opposed to their decline. In addition, this has inherently seen individuals and groups increasingly drawing from such customary features as they deal with various elements associated with the capitalist society. The focus of this research thus follows a realisation that despite the rise in cases where collectives and individuals have sought to draw from customary values such as kinship for commercial purposes, there has not been adequate research done to assess how such values, networks and emerging kinship relations and obligations are mobilised for commercial purposes. Since the focus has largely been on economic aspects of entrepreneurship there has been a dearth of literature on understanding the way notions of kinship relate to networks and trust and arising obligations particularly in a commercial setting. During arguments related to an assessment of how communities draw from customary values in the contemporary period, a growing number of scholars have believed that there is neglect of the historical development of customary values. This according to Taylor (1979); Barth (1969); Greenly (1974); Vail (1989) and Bank (1995) has allegedly weakened efforts aimed at understanding how such customary structures have been exploited, particularly in post-colonial society.

Some researchers have tended to focus on policies as well as the regulatory framework governing enterprise establishment and operations, following weaknesses in the so-called state regulatory mechanisms in business. Following such an analogy, an important question is how business is done mainly considering the continued influences of kinship (Hallward-Driemeier and Pritchett 2015)? In the same line for instance, Narotzky (2009:178) has focused on the fluidity of a variety of features that influence the regulation of production and business relations at both formal and informal levels within a global context. This is something which the local contexts have also come to endure. Hallward-Driemeier and Pritchett (2015) and Narotzky (2009) as well as many other scholars have made little or no effort to research the 'local economy'. Since this is particularly so in relation to how businesspersons deal with the challenge of balancing kinship with business obligations it can be said that a study with an alternative locally oriented focus becomes important. It is therefore considering such a focus that this research adds knowledge related to how businesspersons deal with business and kinship obligations within the dictates of capitalism. The results may present expanded insight on the ways in which customary values derive from kinship with respect to conceptions of kinship, networks, trust, obligations and belonging. In this regard, the study adds to our knowledge of how businesspeople negotiate the relationship between kinship and the dictates of business. The thesis also provides useful insights into how businesspersons have sought to deal with obligations to kin even during conflictual times whilst also trying to deal with business obligations. The study is also important as it explores the overall significance of kinship in commercial transactions, which is contrary to modernist claims that such customary structures are detrimental to economic development. Since much of the existing literature focuses on the economic facet of capitalism, a study of this kind that brings in the dimension of what happens when kinship is mobilised for commercial purposes is vital. It not only provides valuable information to the available

literature but also opens more ground for further research on the state of capitalism in the contemporary period.

In efforts aimed at understanding the overview of theoretical frameworks employed in this study, it is crucial to note the challenges related to the failure of using modern approaches to speed up development in many developing countries. The challenge to conventional theories, particularly in respect to rural spaces, has led to the promotion of non-capitalist forms of organisation such as kinship. Kinship has therefore tended to present an important analytical framework in understanding how collectives and individuals have mobilised family and kin to sustain conceptions of trust in efforts aimed at balancing business with kin obligations. Meillassoux (1981) has also indicated that even though the family might occupy a lesser important position in the capitalist society, it remains that its function is important since it remains responsible to produce both the physical worker as well as ensuring the social ingredients essential for the functioning of capitalism.

Building on the rejection of modernist approaches that have included primordialism, it follows that the study adopted the use of theoretical frameworks influenced by constructivism in which fluidity forms part of the interpretive approach. These theories have included Turner's ethnography and consequently the concept of liminality that depicts richness in explaining complexity, multivocality and agency. This presents a related approach as contained in the ideas of Mauss on the obligation to reciprocate and give gifts. In arguments that support constructivist approach, Tarawneh and Mahmood (2011:616) have indicated how close connections tend to relate to 'the assumed givens' of lived realities. This embraces close kin connections or a situation in which one is congenital to a certain religious group and shares the same language or a language dialect whilst at the same time having collective

social practices (Geertz 1973 in Mahmood 2011:616). It follows that in its approach, conventional studies saw the idiom of kinship being crucial with people who shared the same natural destinies, belonging to the same collectivity be it ethnic group in which case one may add kin and other social formations. It is within the same line of argument that Durkheim highlighted the critical importance of kinship and the moral and religious ties in producing and reinforcing solidarity in societies.

Wan and Vanderwerf (2009) have noted that in explaining customary practices it is important to adopt an approach that avoids viewing them from a possibility of the existence of unique homogenous practices located within a clearly identified ethnic group with a clearly defined identity. They instead take a cue from John and Jean Comaroff (2009) who view ethnicity as fundamentally founded on relationships as opposed to a group's property. This position tends to transcend primordial assertions by embracing constructionism, which makes it an important foundation of the theorising in this study (Wan and Vanderwerf 2009:2). Dennis (2008:800) argued that primordialism highlights the idea that ethnic groups are characterised by profound, indescribable affections linked to "family, language, territory, custom and religion". Platt (2009:16) revealed the limitations of relying on primordial explanations of kinship particularly when it comes to its reliance on rigidly constituted allegiances be it language or physical traits and ultimate failure to adequately deal with the changing nature of kin based allegiances over time. Evidence has been provided on how whole kin alliances and individuals have repositioned their allegiances for political or economic advances citing different reasons. Such cases have showed how political repositioning, business partnerships and other factors transcend kinship and elucidate the fact that kin alliances change over time.

As noted by Dennis (2008:800) it follows that primordialism usually puts emphasis on the passionate power of ethnic ties that have a "sacred" quality. It is along the same argument

that Shils and Geertz have viewed primordialism as being largely predetermined and permanent with affections that presumably remain unchanged during social interaction. The affections are also viewed as given connections thereby denoting ethnic distinctiveness as having a permanent, convincing, and unconscious value (Dennis 2008:800). Constructivist ideas offer insights about the complexity of issues relating to the balancing of kin and business obligations of persons found within uncertain environments. The choice of theories in this study has been largely justified by their having a fair appreciation of fluidity and subjectivity that can adequately deal with the complex issues.

1.2 Hypothesis

Kinship is central to the ways black South African businesspeople negotiate questions of obligations, trust, cooperation and belonging.

1.3 Main research question

The main research question is: how is kinship mobilised for commercial purposes by businesspersons in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa and with what kinds of effects on forms of trust, obligation, cooperation and belonging?

1.4 Sub questions:

- What forms of cooperation, obligations, trust and belonging are established through kinship and how are they maintained in uncertain settings?
- How do businesspeople negotiate questions of trust and cooperation using customary forms of belonging such as kinship (i.e. defining friendship boundaries?)

- How are kin obligations balanced with business (for instance in times of conflict) considering the symbolic nature of the umbilical cord ties connecting kin members within the household and business context?

- How do kin members deal with the aspects of obligations and belonging within the context of commercialising and organising business around kinship?

1.5 Study objectives:

- Identify the forms of cooperation, obligation, trust and belonging established through customary elements such as kinship and to assess how they are maintained in uncertain environments.

- Examine how the business people negotiate questions of trust, cooperation and networking using customary forms of belonging such as kinship (i.e. defining friendship boundaries).

- Explore how kin obligations are balanced with business (for instance in times of conflicts) considering the symbolic nature of the umbilical cord ties connecting kin members within the household and business context.

- Assess how kin members deal with the aspects of obligations within the context of commercialising and organising business around kinship.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Overview of the methodology section

The methodology section deals with the nature of the research area, giving reasons why it was chosen, then presents the nature of the study and the methods chosen together with the explanations of why such methods were deemed suitable. The sample and sampling procedures and their justifications are presented. The ethical issues that were considered are presented together with a highlight of the study's limitations and how they were handled. The section also shows how the data was sorted and ultimately analysed.

1.6.2 Delimitation of the study

The research took place in Ntabankulu's urban precinct. This focus on the urban parts of Ntabankulu was purposive as this research seeks to understand how business people draw on concepts of kinship to create networks within an urban setting as opposed to a rural setting where customary values are still perceivably entrenched in determining people's relations. Although the physical location of the businesses is within a space that can be said to be urban, Ntabankulu presents a unique feature of urbanity as the surrounding previously rural settlements have formed part of the town's townships. Added to this blurred physical delimitation is the social space itself in which the respondents are part of the township and find themselves having to respond to certain obligations. This seemingly symbiotic relationship between these businesspersons and other kin members as well as the entire community dates to the 'homeland' period when trading store culture was popular (Vail 1989). It is within such a space with blurred social and physical boundaries that the key question of how kinship is mobilised for commercial purposes by businesspersons in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, and with what kinds of effects on forms of trust,

obligation, cooperation and belonging is explored. The research also focuses on the urban part instead of the rural part of Ntabankulu due to the researcher's need to explore the notions of kinship within an urban setting. This is particularly so considering the now contested claims that such non-capitalist forms lose influence when it comes to the urban setting where capitalist forms are dominant in defining relations. The Eastern Cape Province has many rural and urban settlements where many businesses exist. Following this observation, the researcher chose Ntabankulu mainly due to the observed proliferation of kin-linked businesses in the urban part of the town as well as the accessibility and availability of the population to the researcher.



Figure 1: shows Ntabankulu, the research area Source:www.localgovernment.co.za-Alfred Nzo District Municipality

1.6.3 Case study

Ntabankulu town as the area of focus in this research constitutes the case study as shown on the map in Figure 1 within Mpondo East. According to Gonzalez and Michelle (2008), a case study constitutes an exhaustive study of a discrete aspect or context. Although practices of drawing from customary values towards building trust and networking relations amongst kin are widespread across South Africa in general and the Eastern Cape Province, there is a need to focus the study on a smaller area with a marked concentration of kinship-linked businesses. This research is therefore a case study since a specific small area, Ntabankulu town was chosen for in-depth focus. Case studies are usually helpful in instances where an in-depth focus on phenomena can produce a valuable amount of information as opposed to spreading the data collection through a survey. It is usually impossible to conduct a case study using one technique hence a fusion of methods that included unstructured interviewing and direct observation was used for this study. The case study that informs this research focuses on a cohort of ten purposively chosen black South African businesspersons whose interaction with other kin members had resulted in the need to explore the concepts of balancing kinship with business obligations, with notions of belonging also needing highlighting. Ethnography was adopted and qualitative methods such as key informant interviews and observation were used to gather information surrounding how businesspersons draw from kinship and other forms of belonging in their quest to balance business and kin obligations. In general, ethnography has little if nothing to do with cultural origins but more with the generation of social meanings and systems of social classification historical contexts, as noted by Mafeje (1991:109). It is therefore the social meanings and resultant forms of cooperation, trust, obligation and belonging that are explored in detail in this study.

1.6.4 Unstructured interviewing and key informant interviews

Unstructured interviewing encompasses direct contact between the researcher and a research participant where guiding questions or themes are used in guiding the direction of the discussion. Despite the presence of such guiding questions, there is flexibility in the process. Flexibility was applied during many instances of the interview processes, especially since the issues being dealt with not only proved to be interlinked but also tended to appear out of touch with the usual language of business transactions that the businesspersons were used to. It was surprising for many interviewees how one may be interested in what they saw as not such important issues for business though being a part of the routinely applied discourses. The researcher therefore needed to be hands on not only for safeguarding digression from core topic issues but to also provide explanations on the questions posed. This implied that the sequence of the questions had to be changed where need arose. An unstructured interview is therefore rather different from traditional structured interviewing especially in relation to the method allowing more flexibility (Saki and Zvilerman 2001:115). The flexibility therefore allows the researcher to follow responses and shift the interview or modify questions as well as to clarify issues to avoid repetition. In addition, it assisted in enhancing the validity of data as well as in taking necessary precautionary measures where I sensed that the conversation was provoking feelings of bitterness or discomfort. The interview guide structure was structured such that each objective formed a theme under which sub-questions fell. The set of questions enabled the soliciting of information on the resultant forms of cooperation, interdependence, and belonging formed as business persons grappled with the complexities of balancing kinship with business obligations. Another set of questions aimed at soliciting information on how the business people negotiate questions of trust by drawing on conceptions of kinship. Other questions focused on the balancing of kin obligations with

dictates of commerce considering the symbolic nature of the umbilical cord particularly during periods of conflicts. Interview questions further explored the kin biographies.

The research involved ten key informants: three were women while seven were men. The ratio favours men due to their being found in higher proportions in businesses that were targeted and in generic terms. I conducted in-depth interviews with the informants in an intensive process spread over fifteen months, from August 2014 to November 2015. The depth of the interviews and the amount of gathered data justifies the fact that a relatively small number of respondents was selected. The intensity of the data collection process saw the researcher visiting the respondents periodically to have formal and informal engagement with them, recording information field diaries and in some instances voice recording. All participants in the key informant interviews were selected through a combination of snowball and purposive sampling. The participants were chosen from the pool of businesspersons most of who were identified during the 'acclimatisation' period, that is in one of the many tours I was involved in with colleagues from a local university where I taught as well as during outings with friends. Despite the researcher using guiding questions or themes, there was no formal and static designed instrument or practise during the actual interview processes. The research participants remained free to change the conversation towards any course of interest provided the issues that could arise during the interview remained relevant to the subject. Such flexibility proved very helpful during the data collection process as it enhanced the rapport building process. It can therefore be noted that the role of unstructured interviewing particularly in intensively engaging with a topic, cannot be underestimated, as noted by Gonzalez and Michelle (2008). Although the key informant interviews targeted the ten businesspersons, information was solicited through observations of respondents' interactions with other kin members. It is however equally important to note that there is a constraint in an

approach that relies on unstructured interviewing. The fact that each interview tends to be open with no prearranged established set of questions rigidly administered to all respondents poses a challenge. It is also usually more difficult to analyse unstructured interview data, especially when synthesising across respondents' answers. The challenges posed by using an unstructured instrument were however outweighed by the advantages as it meant more data could be solicited through the unstructured interview process. Furthermore, the probing helped create more room for additional issues that became more valuable for the research.

1.6.5 Direct observation

Direct observation can be differentiated from participant observation in various ways. In direct observation, the observer does not usually attempt to convert into a participant within the proceedings (Gonzalez and Michelle 2008). Direct observation is not as extensive as participant observation.

Direct observation has a tendency of being more intensive compared to participant observation. Direct observation also suggests what can be called a more detached viewpoint. I was therefore largely involved in observing kinship practices amongst the selected business owners. Further observations were done on how relations are handled with kin members in the day-to-day interactions during business and kin events where it was possible. The physical state of the surroundings was also observed as it proved to present a story about the spaces in which the businesspersons operated from. Although getting frequent access to observing during kin events tended to be limited due to the private nature of such interaction, what was of ultimate importance was to observe how the businesspeople generally related to kin members and other actors they interacted with. During the process of observation, the

researcher spent as much time as possible with selected participants. This was to observe the relations with other actors to assess how kinship elements were evoked and how kin obligations were balanced with business demands. Although direct observation is usually preferred over participant observation due to the time factor, the researcher spent over two years of pre-fieldwork engagements from early 2012 to early 2014 engaging with potential respondents to establish stronger rapport for enhancing observation and data collection.

1.6.6 Ethical considerations

In this study as in any research, the principle of protecting the identities of participants was a top priority. Confidentiality and anonymity were adhered to. While administering key informant interviews, it became important to make sure that informant identities received proper protection, as most of these belonged to family and kin where information relating to their relations is strictly monitored and approached with sensitivity. As portrayed in the view of Salzman (1998:34), it became important to ensure the protection of identities of sites of businesses. Such instances usually relate to researches that encompass sensitive features that may draw unnecessary attention if left unchecked. A similar scenario therefore prevails in the present research in which the protection of data became paramount to avert any of it lending on wrong hands hence exposing participants. The specific business entities were also kept secret and artificial names used. Informed consent was attained through information sheets in the form of pamphlets given to participants. The information sheets contained information on the research as well as personal information about me. They were for aiding explanations of what the research was about and clarifying its purpose. Gonzalez and Michelle (2008) successfully used the ‘pamphlet method’ and concluded that some respondents feel safe when they remain with evidence of their participation in the study. They pointed out that it helped

to bring confidence among participants and enhance rapport and the richness of responses. The pamphlets were therefore for reinforcing the verbal explanations on the purpose of the research as well as the expectations and rules governing participation. In this study, I found the pamphlet method helpful in that the business owners were usually busy and did not have time to listen to verbal explanations, especially since research is always perceived to be an academic exercise by many participants, as also argued by Fraser (2000:71). The researcher also made it a point that laid down principles and consent governing all parties was adhered to for ease of research and avoidance of disputes. Consent forms were signed prior to every interview, voice recording and other elements of the study. The researcher was also cautious and proceeded carefully giving sensitive aspects the attention they deserved. In this way, it became possible to ensure that conflicts among the various participants were avoided.

1.6.7 Data presentation

The section presents description of how the data was prepared and compiled. It follows that qualitative data from in-depth, key informant interviews and observation as well as biographic data follows a thematic format. The data in this study was cleaned, categorised and analysed in themes, after which presentation of findings was done. Use of thematic formats further enhanced the sorting and cleaning of the bulky data that resulted from the qualitative research used.

Use of a thematic format enabled the researcher to present the collected and transcribed data under the respective themes. This further assisted in the interpretation and ensuring a smooth flow of arguments during the writing up stage. It was also easier to rid the data of repetition and irrelevancy. A thematic presentation is therefore a handy approach that enabled me to commence the writing up during the data collection stage and hence saved me time.

1.6.8 Consolidation of fieldwork through tackling of limitations

The key limitation foreseen was that of getting adequate observation and interview time with some respondents. As businesspersons, they were usually reluctant to spend time on what they considered 'unprofitable engagements'. To deal with this challenge of reluctance by some respondents perceiving the research as time consuming I patiently awaited his appointments and doubled appointments just to cater for any eventualities. Furthermore, kin alliances proved to consist of so-called family secrets and it was rather hard to get some questions answered adequately without risking delving onto 'private affairs'. The challenge of trust and withholding of some information deemed private was however addressed through ensuring that quality interview time was spent with participants. The scheduled additional appointments enabled the capturing of a wide range of issues in more or less informal conversations than formal ones. The researcher viewed the issue of a limited geographic scope positively. This is so because the narrower scope enabled the researcher to engage in more depth on the issues at hand and have ease of observation. The researcher therefore managed to commit more time in observing activities in the various sampled businesses in Ntabankulu. Added to the limitations is the empirical limitation of a case study which focuses on an 'isolated area' such as Ntabankulu. This implies that the results are not generalisable to the entire District Municipality or Province, but I would emphasise that ethnographies from case studies are information rich due to the detailed information gained from the concentration of fieldwork in a smaller, easily manageable area as opposed to large areas that surveys cover. Added to this, kinship has commonalities among the Nguni and therefore the quest for generalizability may not cloud the importance of the findings.

The language barrier has been dealt with through the researcher going through some practical linguistic lessons coupled with the extended over three continuous year period staying with

the subjects. IsiXhosa speaking research assistants, some of who were not only drawn from humanities but were endowed with proper skills and passion in cultural issues as well as coming from the area of research were hired and further went through continuous ethnographic training. Being an isiZulu speaker and having done the two languages at high school helped me easily learn to speak isiXhosa as the two languages are similar. This advantage was complimented by the over three years that I have spent in the Eastern Cape where I intensively interacted with the isiXhosa speakers to learn the language.

The other limitation included the aspect of time and familiarity with the study area. Although I arrived in the study area in the beginning of 2010, it took me some time to map the study area and familiarise myself with the area and its activities. Taking a teaching post at a local University however helped me in many respects towards addressing the challenge of familiarity to the place. Coincidentally I was accommodated in a Bed and Breakfast (B and B) facility that became a backbone for connecting me with other business operators who periodically sought accommodation in the facility. During the stay at the facility, I managed to connect to some business operators through a link facilitated by the B and B owner's brother who took me on familiarisation tours around the research area. The tours where accompanied by the chronicling of the history of the places visited and information about the developments in the city. Being close to the then Head of the Anthropology department where I had a teaching post also helped a lot since he was born and grow up in a region closer to the research area and was also a businessperson himself. Added to explanations on the area he also took me around the place in many of his research trips that happened to be within my area of research. These opportunities therefore helped me in acclimatising physically, emotionally and importantly linguistically as well as culturally in general.

1.7 Defining key terms

1.7.1 Urban setting and class formation in South Africa

Prato and Pardo (2013:80) have noted that although research into urban settings has gained momentum of late, it remains clear that social and cultural anthropologists have stayed away from this important field of research as comparative studies focusing on western and non-western societies and culture. The scholars have further noted that the conceptual and theoretical definition of 'urban' and the extent to which 'urban' anthropology differed have remained thorny issues that continue to be the objects of academic dispute. They also note that while for some scholars urban anthropology is simply more or less classical, anthropological research carried out in urban areas, there are others who endeavour to define the city as a specific 'social institution' with its dynamics and social, economic and political relations, thus maintaining that urban anthropology is anthropology of the city. It can be argued that the later view tends to be weightier as indeed the 'social institution' label and the dynamism of the various relations characteristic in the 'urban' environment does indeed point to some complex social evolution of some sort that has been noted by many 'urban' studies researchers.

The pattern of urbanisation in South Africa has been complex. Cobley (1990:2) posits that the process of urbanisation in South Africa has reflected all processes of class formation and reformation associated with the early phase of capitalist development and complicated by a colonial heritage. The colonial heritage included a large white settler population locked into a protracted and partly unresolved struggle for economic primacy with a much larger indigenous population. Central to the development of the capitalist state in the 1920s was the emergence of the petty bourgeoise. Cobley (1990:2) defines 'petty bourgeoise' as "an intermediate class of people in a capitalist social formation". In terms of class formation, the

petty bourgeoise constitutes of a class made up of social groups whose material bases are insecure. They are neither completely separated from the means of production nor completely in control of them.

Stultz (1979: 79) has used the Weberian social dimension in explaining social inequality that characterised Transkei independence. He thus pointed out the issue of class, status and power as categories of classifying benefits whilst highlighting that the granting of Transkei independence not only created inequalities but led to divisive benefits too. He adds that capitalist benefits such as employment went to a few in a locale where most persons were employed in subsistence farming. What is important in his analogy is the notion that beneficiaries to the new system could be classified into three groups, namely chiefs, civil servants and new African entrepreneurs. It is important to therefore highlight that promotion of African entrepreneurship in the Transkei region has historical roots dating back to the granting of independence to the homeland. Since the policies followed a patriarchal inclination of society, it is such notions that explain why African entrepreneurship remains biased towards men with few women entrepreneurs participating even in the contemporary period, 22 years after the dawn of democracy.

The challenge to defining ‘urban’ dates to the 1970s and Prato and Pardo (2013:87) refer to the work of Southall (1983) who viewed the ‘urban’ as a highly spatial density of social interaction and in the process rejected a definition based on simple demographic and physical density. They further relate to the work of Gutkind (1983) who from a Marxist point of view argued similarly to Southall that it is not the physical density that constitutes an urban setting but rather the kind of social relations which he saw as being significantly different from those in rural settings. Class struggle for him was also a key component of the urban setting. Other

important contributions have noted that any studies of the city must acknowledge its location within the broader totality that is the state and global context to which it belongs (Prato and Pardo, 2013:87). Importantly is the argument that 'no town is an island to itself' by which he implied that cities are elements of a complex society, a feature that needs to be considered if chances of unravelling local level practices can be promoted.

Prato and Pardo (2013:83) have highlighted that previous research by scholars like Redfield has indicated that instead of 'folk' societies or peasant communities being isolated, they ought to be viewed as linked to economic forces outside their own communities. They are thus part of a larger social set up specifically the city and its 'great tradition' as opposed to the 'little' tradition of the small village. Due to the complexity of defining 'urban' and the distortions brought by the Chicago School through the 'urban ecology model', anthropologists have resolved to define their field of study as anthropological research in urban settings in contrast to 'urban anthropology' (Prato and Pardo 2013:83). In this study, the town under study constitute a setting whose rural-urban divide is blurred as the former has become the townships of the latter with actors crisscrossing between the two. The setting of Ntabankulu town has therefore come to be a single social space with fragmented features as opposed to different spaces with clear rural-urban boundaries. This is further highlighted by the fact that the business persons who were sampled are involved in a complex cog of the urban setting where on the one hand they are involved in activities that are intrinsically linked to kinship activities. It is therefore such thinking that has led to this study focusing on commercialisation of kinship in an urban setting.

1.7.2 Ethnicity

Concepts such as ethnicity are usually viewed as associated with ‘group’. In efforts to explain the association of ethnicity with the concept ‘group’, the work of Brubaker (2010:163) becomes important as he noted that practically the concept is crucial in political mobilisation, ethnic identity, economics, social classification, communal exploits, affinity, gender, beliefs, race, and understanding subgroups of every kind. Dennis (2008:799) notes Sollors’s argument that in contemporary usages “ethnicity” results from the Greek word ethnos. It tends to be linked to the 1941 works of Warner who used it to define earlier studied non-African and non-Asian mainly “white” European, immigrants to the United States. The concept therefore acted as a substitute to the concept “race”.

In conceptualizing ethnicity, John and Jean Comaroff (2009:39) have posited that, as is argued by Weber, unlike affiliations based on kinship and class, ethnicity is said to be vested in subjective beliefs and identities. It also related to the rise of ‘status groups’ and the facilitation of the formation of associations whose means and ends lie elsewhere. Despite the conceptual challenges surrounding the use of ‘ethnicity’ John and Jean Comaroff (2009:39) have argued that the term can be taken by the positivist sciences to describe a concrete, objectively measurable phenomenon. It can further be treated as an independent variable with the capacity to shape choices, life chances and social processes. Brubaker (2010:163) also argued that concepts of nation, ethnicity and race should not be viewed as bounded entities despite some imaginations in that regard. It therefore follows that these concepts need to be understood in terms of practical contextualised realities.

According to Taylor (1979) it is important to distinguish ethnicity from ethnicism. He argues that ethnicity denotes affiliation in a culturally organised group, that is, one that follows

certain established customs that it considers distinct and perceives itself as fondly attached to (Taylor 1979:6). Barth (1969) and Cohen (1974) in Taylor (1979) conceptualised ethnicity in both structural and cultural terms. In that view, the concept ethnicity refers to the principal connections that bind persons into mutual and harmonious entities. It can be argued that such views are supported by the ideas of a collective cultural history and shared symbols as contended by Hechter (1974) and Parsons (1975) in (Taylor 1979). The definition however suffers from a limitation as it tends to rely on mutually exclusive categories for setting boundaries perceivably clearly drawn. Ethnicity may go beyond such conceptual limitations to include new forms of behaviour and cultural values that people exploit to reconstruct or reinvent livelihood strategies. As has been the limitation in using the approach to understanding white-black relations, there is a likelihood of the classical approach failing to help scrutinize and highlight the important emergent interpersonal relations within the contemporary capitalist society. The other notable challenge might be related to understanding how actors draw from interpersonal relations founded on non-capitalist forms of organisation to create and sustain networks of trust not only in the commercial context but also in general.

Having noted the arguments surrounding various approaches aimed at conceptualising ethnicity, it is imperative to note that this research chose to use the concept of kin as opposed to ethnic group by kin having a practical link within the realities of the Mpondo through clan name usages. Lekgoathi (2014:433) noted the works of Philip and Mayer (1974) who in their study 'Townsmen or Tribesmen' demonstrated the rural/urban connection explanations relating to the emergence of social and cultural diversity within what appeared to be a culturally homogenous context. He further refers to the works of the Comaroffs (2009) who used the concept ethnopreneurialism to investigate some ways in which ethnic communities

in various parts of the world are reinventing their identities in the image of businesses. At the same time, the businesses are also infusing cultural practices in their trade (Lekgoathi 2014:433). While references are being made to 'ethnic' in the constitution of corporations this study focuses on 'kinship' relations which seems to be more applicable in a context when concepts like 'tribe' and 'ethnic' have come under heavy criticism particularly due to their homogenising assumptions.

1.7.3 Kinship and kinship relations

Opie, Atkinson, Currie, and Mace (2014:174) argued that despite the presence of divergences regarding the patterns and evolution of Bantu kinship, kinship remains a significant structure underlying human society with descent playing a deterministic role that explains how social position and wealth are inherited across generations. On the other hand, residence defines the guiding principles influencing a couple's direction of movement after marriage. It follows that consequently descent and residence forms define other essential relations within society. Such relations include association, craft and marriage partners (Opie et al. 2014:174). It is in line with such an argument that it became of importance to conduct a study that explores how notions of trust and obligations are negotiated and within what forms of belonging.

Opie et al. (2014:174) through their analysis have disputed conclusions of historical linguistic studies of the Bantu that sought to highlight bilateral and ambilocal kinship or the matrilineal and matrilocal kinship propositions. It is in line with such arguments that Opie et al. (2014:174) through their study provided evidence that pointed out that the kinship pattern for the ancestral Bantu populace was both patrilineal and patrilocal. They further noted the vacillations that occurred concerning patrifocal and matrifocal modifications among states as

the Bantu people stretched across Sub-Saharan Africa. They also noted that the modifications that took place suggest the manifestation of flexibility in the patrifocal and matrifocal features as Bantu people spread southwest, although the unilineal descent structures were retained throughout Bantu history, as opposed to the situation proffered by scholars like Vansina (Opie et al. 2014:174).

Kuper (2003:390) having noted that local ways of life and group identities have been subjected to a variety of pressures and have seldom if ever endured over the long term, further noted that in accustomed idealistic way, this culture is related with spiritual rather than material values. He draws our attention to the dubious claim that genuine culture may survive only in rural areas, since 'native' cultures are supposedly everywhere at risk from an alarming material civilisation associated with cities, with typical markets and outsiders. Kuper has also indicated that the loss of culture has in some circles been spoken of as some form of genocide. Kuper (2003:392) further avers that a constant shift in the colonial and national contexts has resulted in extra layers of obstacle towards understanding the past of populations that derived from the precolonial societies, rendering it even impossible to return to pre-colonial forms. In cautioning against the adoption of essentialist notions of culture and society, Kuper pointed out that society and culture of every current indigenous group features a complexity of various elements resulting from past interactive practices that are still undergoing transformation.

Alvard (2002:131) argued that individuals who follow norms of unilineal descent nevertheless define as kin only those individuals who share collective descent through either the male or female parent. In such systems two people who are equally related to Ego genetically may be defined differently according to kinship norms-one as in group member,

the other as an out-group member (Alvard 2002:131). Alvard (2002:131) further argued that in Sahlin's arguments, "even so the son of a man's brother may be one of the kin of the ancestor's descendants while the son of his sister is an outsider and perhaps an enemy (1976:12). In a related argument related to the evolution of kinship systems Harris (2010:4) pointed out that through contradictions besetting the recently developed social classes, the traditional society founded on kinship groups is broken up and a new society, with its control connected to the state emerges. The emergent subsidiary units no longer bear dominant features of kinship associations but rather local associations. He adds that this leads to a society in which the structure of the family is entirely dominated by materiality and in which there now loosely develop class differences and struggles that have hitherto shaped the composition of all written history (Harris 2010:4).

El Guindi and al-Othman (2013:2) pointed out that cultural issues are interdependent and hence instead of being understood in isolation, the meanings are derived relationally. This therefore applies to concepts such as kinship as well as myth and ritual among others. Their argument is extended to indicate that, like ritual, kinship is a domain both rich in symbolism and meaning and highly structured which makes it subject to systematic analysis at abstract levels just like myth and ritual. Relatives by birth (referred to as consanguinity) and by marriage (referred to as affinity) were both recognised in pursuing kinship both as analytic construct and as a human domain (El Guindi and al-Othman 2013:3). El Guindi and al-Othman (2013:4) have furthered their argument on kinship by noting that there has been a long-term controversy in anthropology regarding the role and meaning of blood in kinship with kinship often being said to be constrained by the fact of its natural foundations. The cultural basis of kinship which takes different forms in different local populations has however been expressed using different idioms. The lineal organisation of kinship relations in

a patrilineal fashion with vertical links of roots to the ancestry as well as the lateral linkage through matrilateral and affinal ties challenges the view of tribal structures as being viewed from within, as identifying upward to the ancestors or even that genealogical relations are constructed downwards from apical ancestry in descent (El Guindi and al-Othman 2013:4). Kinship relations are therefore important in understanding relations resultant in new forms of interactions especially where questions of cooperation, trust, obligations, and belonging are concerned.

1.7.4 Modernity

Tarawneh and Mahmood (2011:616) argue that in contrast to the pre-modern society, with the cultural beginning of modern society, understanding of the politics of attachment and belonging has been transformed in a move that has seen social relations being extended to beyond local and territorial structures. Such flexibility is said to have led to the opening of the door for identifications with social units of which one is not directly a member. Sanders (2011:106) states that the theorist of modernity Anthony Giddens has indicated 'that modernity in the form of the nation state and capitalism, had its roots in specific characteristics of European history and that it swept out of Europe to engulf the globe'. Modernity is said to have been felt heavily in the American and European contexts with any efforts to associate it elsewhere as being corrupt and flawed as the societies that later went through the so-called process of modernisation failed to live up to modernity's so-called dream of civilisation. Sanders (2011:106) has noted that despite disagreements on what modernity is, there is some sense of agreement that it at least involves industrialisation and the politics of citizenship and nation states. In addition, efforts linked to defining modernity have commonly seen it as a reality of some sort, comprising of the upsurge of the nation

state, nationalism, capitalism's globalisation, industrialisation, and urbanisation "but also simply a mind-set", that is, "the idea that an essential part of being modern is thinking you are modern". Modernity is viewed as not something that can be measurable but rather a normative and judgemental comparison. In that regard, it also entails people's thought processes at a certain time relating to their categorisation of "modern" and such an approach is important in exploring the influence of modernity not as an analytical category but as a strong conversational force operating in society as revealed by Sanders (2011:106).

Dawdy (2010:762) postulates the growing consensus surrounding the view that modernity is best understood not as a collection of notions and practices but mostly as a system of short-term philosophy that valorises newness, disagreement and linear plot lines. Dawdy further indicates that the "post-modern critical theory reset the clock with a new rupture" when it established a moral and epistemological appraisal countering the projects of the modern era though it remains accused of having failed to question periodisation itself. Dawdy has also referred to the view of Latour who noted that much of systematic practice draws from the "rhetoric of newness" (Dawdy 2010:771). Dawdy (2010:771) argues that the alteration and transfiguration of cities over time is not the result of singular logic based on a unilineal teleology or even a universal process of urbanisation. Instead, the city building processes are said to be contradictory and uneven with one of the contradictions of modernity being "that its temporality dictates that all forms lose value over time" whilst at the same time the idea of its self-importance emboldens the erection of monumental edifices built to last.

Mohammadpur (2013:129) has noted that the process of modernisation brought transformations in family structure with some being categorised as 'modern families' in which case the process of modernisation is said to have "not only transformed the objective aspects of" the family structure but also reconfigured the subjective, normative and value

sides of family among different tribal formations. In this way, modernisation is said to refer to a widespread decline of kinship and tribal ties, increasing social power of women, relative decrease in traditional and arranged marriage, increasing individual autonomy, transforming emotional relationships, and intra-family competition (Mohammadpur 2013:129). The new family is also said to be characterised mainly by loosening traditional patterns of family management, privatisation of family life, personalisation of marriage, declining kinship roles in arranging marriage, decreasing kinship ties, limiting family size, changing attitudes towards family and redistribution of power among sexes.

Considering various assertions on modernity, this research seeks to follow the view by Aloysius (2009:49) who notes that the term modernity, just like the corresponding concepts modernism and modernisation, is employed in varied ways, that include viewing it as a period on the one hand and as referring to a set of predominantly political institutions explicitly construed as modern. It is further noted that an extended though debatable connotation of the concept modernity is of a conversational creation of a special kind, that is, a continuous dialectic between a description and prescription and constitutes an ideology producing and authenticating set of practices that are by the same way constraining and delegitimising other sets of practices.

1.7.5 Obligations

Posner (1980:14) pointed out that the “obligation of sharing” with kinsman “is not the only device by which primitive society” cushions itself and members against hunger considering missing “formal insurance contracts or public substitutes”. It therefore follows that “generosity toward other members of one’s village or band as well as toward kinsmen”

constitutes a greatly esteemed feature in “primitive than in modern society” mainly due to its being considered a replacement for formal insurance (Posner 1980:14). In efforts to express the complex nature regarding the question of filial obligations in a Western context, specifically in the Netherlands, Schinkel (2012:396) noted the advent of differences between local Dutch and migrant elderly communities on obligatory expectations from children, with the latter expecting more care from their children. In addition to the differences in expectations by the elderly populations regarding the nature and extent of filial obligations it can be noted that such views are bound to contradict the actual behaviour of children. In terms of meaning, filial obligation entails the ‘special’ obligations that children have towards their parents (Schinkel 2012:396).

Falco and Wrwin (2009:1) have noted that unlike friendship networks which are typically voluntary and usually based on reciprocity, kinship relations (one may add clanship) may outline expected obligations for members setting the tone for a ‘moral economy’ where the moral obligations towards sharing and redistribution are supported by customs and norms that enable the kinship members to access support in dealing with difficulties. Kinship is said to be a celebrated successful indigenous African institution that represents a major component of social capital providing a safety net in times of need. It must also be noted that besides the compelling evidence of cooperation and pressure to honor obligations especially if one is perceivably able to do so, it is equally important to explore the questions of unwillingness and discontent as well as mistrust and conflicts characterising exchange relationships within the context of kinship obligations.

1.7.6 Trust and reciprocity

In efforts aimed at explaining the origins of trust, Siisiäinen (2000:1) notes the view by Putman in which he referred to it as 'thick trust' in the pre-modern and modern context that develops in interpersonal relations whilst when it comes to post-industrial societies it becomes complex whilst at the same time it is drawn from two interrelated contexts: values of reciprocity and networks of community interactions. Siisiäinen (2000:1) further indicates that trust as a possible constituent of symbolic capital can be drawn from in the exercise of symbolic power and symbolic exchange. On the concept of trust in the modern context Siisiäinen (2000:2) argues that it is usually referred to in the form of 'generalised trust' and it is needed when one leaves the domain founded on understanding to enter a world dominated by eventuality, complication and risk. It is however important to explore this assertion closely particularly when the issue at hand involves actors whose business practices tend to remain influenced by family obligations on the one hand and business obligations on the other. It can also be noted that not only is the unfolding situation likely to be complex particularly when it comes to the concept of trust in practice, especially when it is explored within an uncertain environment such as that occupied by the black business persons in Ntabankulu.

1.7.7 Commercialisation

The definition used in this study shall be along the view by Nazanin, Mousakhani and Behboudi (2011:119) who argues that despite the multiplicity of definitions of commercialisation, in simple terms, commercialisation infers presenting or introducing an invention to the market with the intention of profit making as well as operating within the framework of professionalization. They also mention the view of Nearly (2004) who defines commercialisation as a process through which production and retailing costs of a new product will decline in the quest to maximise profit. The other views highlighted are those of scholars such as Rosa and Rose (2007), OECD (2005) and Vincent (2005) who have sought to define

commercialisation as a set of actions that conveys knowledge to product. It is in this context that the question of what happens when kinship is evoked in a business context with the notion of profit making being involved is explored. Despite the presence of multiple definitions, the notion of commercialisation of clanship within an urban setting is in this research being pursued within the conceptualisation of Nazanin et al. (2011:119) whose extended definition embraces the element of "introduction of an invention to the market with the intention of profit making". This definitional approach combines well with the notions of kinship being reinvented within a business setting. This occurs in a way that seeks to understand how businesspersons who belong to kin grouping on the one hand whilst having business obligations on the other tend to balance the business and kin obligations.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has managed to present the introductory remarks of the study that has also highlighted the background features and reasons for engaging in such a study. The problem has also featured together with the questions that have laid the foundation for the objectives of the study. The chapter has also presented methodological issues that include the chosen methodology, research site, methods used in the data collection, limitations and ethical issues. Importantly the chapter also focused on the key concepts that feature in the study. It is considering these introductory sections that the next chapter presents the review of empirical literature and the theoretical frameworks used in this study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature on the development of capitalism and its urban contexts, on practices of cooperation, reciprocity, obligations, belonging and the embeddedness of economic practices in trust as a form of social capital. The chapter also examines literature on ritual, symbolism and meaning creation. I conclude with the theoretical frameworks used in this study.

2.2 Overview of 21st Century socio-economic processes associated with capitalism

In efforts aimed at understanding the state of socio-economic processes associated with capitalism it is important to explore the view of the state of capitalism presented by Herzfeld (2001:94). Herzfeld (2001:94) notes that the turning point that complements analysis of capitalism appears to have arrived with the insight of capitalism itself being viewed as a "local system" in as far as it cannot claim a universal status except to the extent that its bearers have coerced the rest of the world to accept it. In a related line of argument, Herzfeld (2001:100) posited the view by Sahlins who noted that the capitalist idea of a preordained economy is similarly embedded in cosmological and religious beliefs and thus does not considerably differ in nature though by the same way radically differs in its specifics from the local models. The twin forces of modernisation and globalization have been important in the creation and sustenance of the capitalist system. This capitalist system ought to be viewed considering the key principle of entrepreneurship that forms its backbone. In relation to the influence of modernisation and globalisation in shaping social reality Wan and Vanderwerf (2009:8) have indicated that the advent of modernisation and globalization has brought

changes in the way in which group and interpersonal relations are handled in post-colonial societies. Of importance in contemporary society has been the way capitalist society has been reconstructed partly because of the revitalization of non-capitalist forms of sociality such as kinship. In this regard, it becomes important to establish what happens when non-capitalist forms of sociality are mobilized within a commercial context particularly, when persons involved are faced with a complex situation of responding to both kinship and business obligations at the same time.

In understanding the features of capitalism in the 21st century it is important to explore the concept of the human economy, particularly as presented by Maucourant and Plociniczak (2013:512). They point out that not only is the human economy embedded and entangled in institutions, that is, economic and non-economic, but it is also important to consider the inclusion of non-economic institutions. This is because institutions like religion or government may be as significant "for the structure and functioning of the economy as monetary institutions or the availability of tools and machines themselves" (Maucourant and Plociniczak, 2013:514). Key to note in Polanyi's work is his eagerness to view his analysis as having broader application, that is, to be concerned with the "changing relationship between economy and society" (Maucourant and Plociniczak 2013:514). The economic process in other words consists of a system of social relations and shared rules and beliefs which reveal continuity and impose constraints on individuals while at the same time opening opportunities to them. Institutions were thus seen as 'embodiments of human meaning and purpose'. At the same time such institutions can also be viewed as socially constructed entities in which economic processes are culturally organised in such a way that the flexibility manifest in economic actions attains permanence. This involves a process of understanding the specificity of the culture of the market where it is present (Maucourant and

Plociniczak 2013:514). Referring to Polanyi's work they further argue in contradiction to what has come to be perceived as the conventional view held by economists. It is rather imperative to separate the institution of the 'market' from the institution of money, since the obligations characteristic in social interactions are not necessarily economic in nature (Ibid:515). It is in line with such views I raise the question of how kinship has come to shape obligations to business on the one hand and to kin on the other.

Larteza (2013:135) notes that the concept of the 'human economy' has a multiplicity of meanings as opposed to a definite label for a practical reality 'out there' to be studied with a priori theoretical tools. It therefore follows that mainstream economic propositions about universal tenets having dominance over the contextualised livelihoods of the actors that create the economy through day to day activities have been countered. This was done through proffering Hart's (2015) view that people do not always possess a deep understanding of 'the self' and hence need expert knowledge of the broader image and their location in it to comprehend their struggles and develop effective explanations. The emphasis in this approach is an understanding of what people do in contrast to what theories claim they are supposed to do.

In efforts to explain the state of social relations in the 21st Century the Comaroffs (2009) have suggested that it has been characterised by the revitalisation of customary elements. This has been particularly the case in the reorganisation and reconstruction of ideals of modernity such as capitalism. The Comaroffs present an important explanation of 21st Century capitalist forms by arguing that capitalist forms of organisation like cooperation are becoming societal vehicles through which 'customary' identities and groupings are being replicated. It therefore follows that instead of the institutions of capitalism threatening the very existence of

'traditional' identities, they have rather tended to become conduits for the sustenance of these values in a dialectical process characterized by collectivism and antagonism. It is because of this unfolding dialectic process that this research seeks to explore how people have drawn from 'traditional' values and with what kind of effects on forms of kinship and obligation.

It then becomes important to understand what happens when the contemporary capitalist system is reinvented such that customary values such as ethnicity and kinship play a part in shaping interpersonal and group relations. Efforts aimed at trying to understand the influence of the antagonistic relations created by drawing from customary values, in a context where they were previously shunned or least mobilized for example, for post-colonial state building projects in the 1960s, need to be explored closely. Beinart (2011:99) has revealed the militancy of people in Eastern Mpondoland. One of his research participants, Ganyile thus reveals, "Here people have always had a feeling of being themselves and nobody else" (Beinart 2011:99).

Pieterse (2011:58) points out that scholars such as Redding have revealed that the colonial government established and kept control over the African population through indirect rule that evoked African political consciousness and using local idioms of power, such as beliefs in witchcraft. As material deprivation increased in the 1950s and 1960s the Mpondo are said to have explained their material situations in relation to spiritual beliefs. The belief in witchcraft manifested itself in the state rule tactics relating to exerting control over Africans as manifested in the *Nongqause*[1] case whilst also later playing a role in laying a foundation

[1] This incident relates to the cattle killing of 1857 in which a vision by a young girl led to mass slaughter of cattle which further resulted in the weakening of the AmaXhosa nation giving the state an upper hand over them.

for revolts against state oppression. In that regard, the state was portrayed as illegitimate and evil to the extent that cultural knowledge of magic and supernatural forces was periodically evoked for defence against state evils (Pieterse 2011:58). It is therefore worth emphasising that belief in magic and witchcraft was widespread in Mpondoland with social ills being linked to the violation of custom (Drew 2011:69). It was associated with the wrath of ancestors who needed to be appeased through relevant ritual practices. It is in this context that one needs to also explore explanations of the mobilisation of these values in a seemingly incompatible capitalist context. This ought to be coupled with establishing resultant transformations including effects on forms of kinship, obligation and belonging.

There are also views that have sought to link patriarchy to the capitalist system especially in as far as it is being sustained through certain dictates of patriarchal engagements. Chowdhury (2009:600) has noted that the term 'patriarchy' is derived from an ancient Greek term that means, 'the rule of the father'. Its original usage is traced to its application within the context of herding societies where the father's authority over the family members was absolute. It is in line with such arguments that in some contexts patriarchy has been likened to capitalism in which its machinery of "oppression with a material base in the domestic mode of production" is highlighted. For Chowdhury (2009:602) patriarchy and capitalism are intensely interconnected such that it has been argued that capitalism is in a way another form of patriarchy. It must be noted however that the 21st century patriarchy just like capitalism has undergone and continues to undergo transformation. It is therefore important to note that the family institution in the 21st Century is constituted of complex relations that sometimes present themselves in crises just as is the case with capitalism and modernity.

The reconstruction of the capitalist economy in the contemporary period has consequently necessitated a more fluid approach towards understanding the form of the capitalist economy manifest in the contemporary period. Specific attention therefore focuses on how the revitalized customary value of kinship has influenced the ways in which business persons have drawn from kinship in their quest to balance kinship obligations with business ones. This is particularly important regarding the assessment of the mobilization of these customary values within a commercial context made complex by the heavy presence of kinship and business obligations. In this sense, arguments in this study are largely informed by a constructivist and fluid approach where focus is inclined to moving away from notions of unified culture. The focus is on assessing meanings and identities from a fluid point of view instead of perceiving notions of homogeneity within the cultural practices concerned. This further means that theoretically, issues are explored from a point of an active conscious agency as averred in the writings of several scholars (Bourdieu 1984; Wan and Vanderwerf 2009; Du Toit and Neves 2009; Kanbur and Varshney 2009:7; Thornton 2009; Becker 2010; White 2010; Worby 2010 and Nyoni 2012).

In presenting a critique of what he terms the 'modern' climate of thought, Turner (1987:2) noted the fascination of academic disciplines with so called clearly defined boundaries. He further indicates that within anthropology there exists a trend to denote social reality as a stable and immutable, harmonious configuration governed by mutually compatible and logically integrated principles (Turner 1987:2). It is also reported by Turner (1987:3) that such a trend was common despite the awareness by most anthropologists that there largely existed differences between 'ideal norms' and 'real behaviour'. The challenge was compounded by the prevailing approaches that seemed to be drawing from such

homogenising trends that tended to focus on ideological causalities instead of focusing on social reality itself and how the later contradicted ideology.

Narotzky and Besnier (2014: S6) have noted that an extended view of the economy tends to transverse a wide variety of human action beyond the purely material whilst at the same time it is also focused on different coexisting systems of significance. It follows that the expanded view of the economy can therefore go beyond the idea of making a living through various means be it within or outside state regulatory frameworks. This is through embracing the dynamics that may not be normally perceived as 'economic' or that are usually qualified by mainstream economics as faulty, deficient or even depicting signs that it may lead to economic retrogression.

Giving an example of how significant sacrifice is among the Luo, for whom spheres of religious and economic rationality overlap, Narotzky and Besnier (2014: S6) have moved to show how sacrifice enhances connections between material and immaterial entities. It also enhances forces, past and future connections that are key to the construction of a sense of belonging as well as physical and spiritual wellbeing across generations among other social life aspects. Of added importance in the argument is the view that in times of crisis, in which case one may extend the argument to uncertainty, people tend to draw from coping ways that enable them to find increasingly scarce resources. Such strategies are said to include relations of trust and care, economies of affect, networks of reciprocity, encompassing both tangible and intangible resources as well as material and emotional transfers that are supported by moral obligations (Narotzky and Besnier 2014: S6). It therefore follows that among marginalised groups, in which case I would like to use persons faced with uncertainty, social relations tend to constitute a much safer asset. This is about "petty entrepreneurship", that

contrasts the suppositions that view development policies that maintain microcredit and the entrepreneurial self (Narotzky and Besnier 2014: S6). Cases have been noted in contexts such as Brazil's Pernambuco region where metaphors are used among marginalised groups to highlight the importance of social relations over money (Narotzky and Besnier 2014: S6). One frequently comes across such exclamations as "money is good, but a friend is better" implying that money may disappear as soon as one earns it whilst friendship ties can be drawn upon in times of need (Narotzky and Besnier 2014: S6).

Boonzaier and Spiegel (2008:195) posit that appeals to tradition in contemporary society constitute a crucial component of the modern realm such that they ought to be viewed as responses to the contentious and modest demands of the world. This is also to ensure that they improve and sustain access to the resources they need to sustain themselves in a dignified way. They further allege that the evident paradox between modernity and traditionality has provoked anxiety regarding the tenacity and recurrence of a range of traditional thoughts and practices, with some arguing that these might be singularly out of place in contemporary South Africa. Considering this it can be noted that the print and broadcast media has reported and inspired debates on issues such as circumcision rituals, bride wealth, virginity testing, reed dances, traditional leaders and indigenous healers among others.

Debates and contradictions on what really constitutes the authenticity of cultural practices that go beyond raising key questions relating to relativism and authenticity are important. This is in addition to notions of social power and identity as they seek to emphasise a previously overlooked idea that the contestations over tradition and culture are importantly very much part of a modern global reality that cannot be ignored. It therefore follows that

instead of modernity ushering in homogenisation as popularly believed in neo-liberalism, this remains unattainable. There is sufficient indication suggesting that modernity takes on different forms at different times and spaces with people being actively involved in reinterpreting the past and resisting globalisation's homogenising tendencies through evoking and reconstructing what they prefer as their traditional or indigenous ways (Boonzaier and Spiegel (2008:197). Of importance in the argument of Boonzaier and Spiegel (2008:202) is the acknowledgement that different images of culture and tradition can appeal to different groupings. It is considering such arguments that the question of how kinship can be evoked within a commercial capitalist setting is being explored within the context of balancing business and kin obligations.

2.3 Exploring questions of social capital, reciprocity and obligations

Narotzky (2009:175) argues that concepts of social capital, reciprocity and obligation are often used to stabilise and clarify the social and cultural assets that support flexible local economies. In a similar line of argument, they constitute the historical specificity of a messy reality that is relevant to the actual processes that structure relations of production the world over. Poder (2011:343) alludes to the work of Coleman (1988) who is lauded for his interpretations of social capital as being part of individual rational choices that transcend society's underpinnings. Importantly in this regard Poder (2011:343) concludes "that based on exchanges motivated by self-interest, long lasting relationships are established and these are not only social structures but are also resources for individuals". The resources are said to establish social capital.

Of significance in the definition of social capital, Poder (2011:343) refers to Coleman's definition that seeks to understand the concept through its function. It is thus noted that social capital constitutes a variety of entities with two common elements; that is, they are constitutive of some aspects of social structures whilst at the same time they facilitate certain actions of actors regardless of whether they are persons or corporate actors within the structure (Poder 2011:343). The key aspects to note in Colemen's arguments are the six forms of social capital namely: obligation and expectation, trust, information, norms and sanctions, relational authority as well as social organisation and social network (Poder 2011:343). It is important to note that this research gives more attention to four that are: obligation and expectation, trust, norms and sanctions as well as social organisation and social networks. This does not mean that the other two are less important but it is rather these four that are at the heart of a study driven by the hypothesis that kinship is central to the ways black South African businesspeople negotiate questions of trust and cooperation.

In efforts aimed at explaining the importance of reciprocity as a form of exchange in kinship systems, Webster (2014:257) cites Sahlins (1972) who argues that reciprocity is intimately linked to cultural and kinship systems and in the process certain systems form the kinds of reciprocity that given social agents can engage in. It follows that in that sense reciprocities are a result of societal actions, although the reverse may be true that certain cultural frameworks are central in allowing for certain kinds of reciprocity (Webster 2014:257). Emphasis is put on the significance of social relations that are maintained through acts of help or support in shared spaces of socio-economic difficulty (Webster 2014:258). Social relations, being less entangled with formal institutions visa-vis the impact of uncertainties created by the unpredictable business environment as well as the lack of sustained financial capital, become central features of investigation in this study.

Wutich (2011:123) following the views of Polanyi defines reciprocity as a form of exchange in which goods and services are given with the expectation of future recompense. It follows that "like all insurance, however, reciprocity functions only when risks are diversified". Wutich (2011:124) adds that although reciprocity theories have traditionally been created and tested within rural settings, it follows that through the 1960s and 1980s anthropologists have demonstrated that in urban settings as well, the poor use reciprocity to obtain necessities such as loans, job assistance, child care, and help during crises like accident, illness and fire among others. Wutich (2011:126) notes that the idea of neighbors or family members being untrustworthy or ungenerous has repeatedly arisen. Wutich (2011:126) adds that envy and associated social tensions are common in resource-poor societies experiencing high levels of inequality. It follows that numerous scholars have of late reported that distrust, uncertainties about envy and perceptions of community dissent are predominantly prevalent in peri-urban spaces and one may add that the same can apply to spaces located within the heart of urban centers where societies are well resourced.

Molm (2010:119) notes that reciprocity, the extension of benefits to another in return for benefits received, is one of the essential features of social exchange and social life. In the same line of argument, Molm further reveals that as early as the beginning of the 20th century scholars such as Hobhouse noted the importance of reciprocity as the vital norm of society whilst Simmel equally argued that social stability and unity could not exist without the "reciprocity of service and return service" (Molm 2010:119). In a similar view related to trustworthiness and reciprocity being more of a collectively acquired trait than biological, Knight (2008:61) notes that instead of humans submissively accepting 'facts' of their biological relatedness they rather collectively shape and reconstruct those facts. It follows that descent group membership, marriage and property are facts only if people believe in

them although it needs to be emphasised that the aspect of human belief on facts does not in any way reduce them to mere distortions or hallucinations (Knight 2008:61). Other scholars have overlooked the concept of reciprocity for one reason or the other, especially having focused on the form of exchange that involve only on a single type of reciprocity, that is two party direct exchanges in which bilateral agreements are negotiated. In that regard, Molm (2010:119-120) argues that in reciprocal exchange actors perform distinct acts that assist another, like giving help or advice without negotiation and without knowing whether or when the other will reciprocate. This will be important towards understanding how business persons may find themselves having to cooperate with kinship members even if it means compromising business obligations. This they could do without any expectation that such action would be reciprocated in future.

Molm's analysis led to the proposition of the concept of integrative outcomes, that is, consequences that reveal how exchange brings people together through the emergence of bonds of trust, affective regard, and solidarity. Molm (2010:123) went on to "define trust as the belief that the exchange partner can be relied upon to help, rather than to exploit, the actor". Emotional affection was the constructive feelings toward the partner, combined with optimistic assessments of the partner's personality. Cohesion which is also important in exchange relations constitutes the actor's valuation of the connection with the companion as one of unity and harmony, a cooperative act that is reciprocally valuable to both parties. Molm (2010:124) also proposes the importance of risk as an essential feature for ascertaining and for judging one's own honesty, through processes that lead to increase in integrative bonds through trust promotion.

Harvey and Lanman (2014:680) argues that sharing the same beliefs and practices may not always be a sufficiently reliable indicator of trustworthiness, since the insignia of group membership can be faked and declaration of belief could be insincere. Sahlins (1972:13) indicates that economic man is a bourgeois construction, as Mauss put it "not behind us, but before like the moral man". He also notes that the connection between material flow and social relations is reciprocal. It follows that a specific social relation may constrain a given movement of goods, but a specific transaction "by the same token" suggests a social relation, hence the adage that if friends make gifts, gifts make friends (Sahlins (1972:186). Such statements can further be strengthened by the argument of Pinnock (n.d:20) who argues that humans are social creatures and belonging constitutes the baseline from which personality develops. Two Xhosa expressions said to capture this, the first being the notion of ubuntu 'a person is a person through other people', and the other being the saying that 'all children are my children'.

In relation to the concept of obligation particularly within kinship settings, Aboderin (2005:3) argues that children's 'filial obligation' is common in most if not all societies the world over. Children's filial obligation is normally perceived as being based on a norm of reciprocity and such reciprocal obligation notably does not simply exist at a normative level as it is also conveyed and drawn from in practice. It however follows that evident societal shifts or declines in fulfilment of filial obligations have reportedly occurred in both the developing world and Western societies and this has been so typically in periods of massive social and economic change as exemplified by industrialisation in 19th century Europe or the influence of modernity in 21st century Africa. According to Aboderin (2005:3) in African and Asian developing countries, recent decades have seen palpable declines particularly in material family support for older people. The decline in filial obligations has in some instances

reportedly led to widespread poverty and neglect among the aged. This decline does not however point to a blanket extinction of such obligations as some societies have tended to reinforce filial obligations through enforcement of various cultural practices and norms.

2.4 Religious and non-religious forms of belonging and influences on obligation

As a way of clarifying influences of religious and non-religious forms of belonging on obligation, it can be helpful to explore the view aimed at dispelling the impossibility of a theory of religion. In this case Comaroff (2012:15) argued that it is the inescapable embeddedness of religion in socio-historical structures that may serve as a point for departure for critical investigation towards exploring not necessarily a theory of religion as such but rather theories of religion and society. Scholars have long acknowledged the emergence of other forms of belonging defined along religious and non-religious factors. Sharaby (2011:491) has noted an expansion of the black Pentecostal movement among the alienated black immigrants in Britain. There are several studies that have supported growth in associations not just related to immigrants but migrants as well. These studies have not just focused on belonging founded only on religious networks but they have also revealed an expansion of cooperation within urban populations taking many forms such as 'homeboy' associations (White, 2010). This research therefore explores how a group of businesspersons facing alienation from conventional social structures be it capitalist or non-capitalist ones, tend to draw from other forms of belonging as they try to balance kinship with business obligation.

Sharaby (2011:491) acknowledges that some of the processes of globalisation that are adopted by modernity do influence the shaping of identity. This reportedly happens such that in some ways the processes have tended to influence cultural unity whilst in others it ushered

in the opposite effect. The ensuing processes have consequently led to the reviving of old identities whilst inspiring new ones, thus creating difference and diversity. Nagel (1994:152) argues that the resilience of cultural, linguistic and religious variances among groups has resulted in a search for a more accurate, less evolutionary means of understanding not only the revival of olden variances among peoples but also the actual rise of historically new ethnic groups. In relation to understanding kinship, this is said to have resulted in the development of a model of kinship that stresses the fluid, situational, volitional and dynamic character of kin identification, organisation and action, a model that emphasises the socially "constructed" aspects of kinship. This relates to the ways in which kinship boundaries, identities and cultures are negotiated, defined and produced through social interaction inside and outside ethnic communities.

Heaton, Spencer and Oheneba-Sakyi (2009:71) note that a lot of research has been done focusing on the association between religion and socio-economic attainment though most of this work is based on data collected in Western nations. They add that not only is the importance of religion growing as both a private and public aspect but noticeable rituals such as rituals of weddings are enacted in religious contexts (Heaton et al 2009:71). Of added importance is the point that social networks are performed through and by one's religion such that the absence of religion in one's life can lead to stigma. I explore this argument further in this research by asserting that whilst this situation noticed in the Ghanaian context also prevails among different groups across Southern Africa and South African groups, persons across families and kin are rather less conscious about the absence of religion but rather the type that one is affiliated to. As the authors have pointed out, religion is indeed embedded onto the strategies adopted by the business people as they negotiate questions of trust, cooperation and networking using customary forms of belonging such as kinship. It is in this

context that the various rituals and how business persons draw from them in dealing with notions of trust and cooperation whilst in the process constructing new forms of belonging is explored within an urban context. 21st Century transformations characterising religion have been reflected in weddings where traditional practices and rituals have been incorporated into Christian practices as shown by bi-sessional weddings that would see a combination of the Christian with the traditional elements.

Mayer (1971:29) presents an important dimension played by religion among the amaXhosa. He does this through distinguishing the 'Red' from the school people with the former being said to avoid prayer whilst serving ancestors. The 'Reds' are however said to value their ancestral worship with sacrifice and divination being a part of their everyday lives. If one's home is outside town individuals tend to embark on journeys to partake in rituals and ceremonies. Important in this argument is the view that diviners consulted by the sick or worried are usually quick to point to the problem an individual or family would be facing being a result of offending spirits. Schooled AmaXhosa are usually labelled '*amagqoboka*' meaning 'people with a hole' a derogatory term alleging that they are responsible for opening the nation to the 'white skinned people' (Mayer, 1971:30). It is crucial to however note that despite this division the two kinds of people do cross the divide to either side and participate in the respective rituals and ceremonies. This becomes an important argument as a similar scenario may play out in the relations of the black business persons involved in this study. Mayer's analogy therefore assists in understanding the forms of relations that emerge when the 'schooled' and the 'reds' interact within a capitalist environment.

Emirbayer (1996:116) posits that religious and other cultural beliefs whilst assuming a binary division of the world, express with duality being projected in a radical way between heterogeneous and incomparable worlds. Religious and other cultural beliefs however do articulate the form of sacred things and the associations they have with other sacrosanct or sacrilegious things. Of importance in this argument is the view that within the fundamental kinds of the sacred, one encounters further sub divisions between such categories as the pure and impure, the divine and the diabolical and the custodians of order and the dispensers of chaos. It can therefore be noted that symbolic creations always tend to display a complex internal structure and organisation. The shared sentiments produced in periods of 'sparkle' merge into transpersonal forms of both expressive obligation and cultural or symbolic identification. It follows that symbolic or cultural identification as structures belonging to the cultural setting of action constitute what Emirbayer (1996:120) calls "items on which a group has focused attention during a ritual" and come to represent membership in the group.

May (2011:367) argues that belonging, ought to be seen in the angle presented by Shotter (1993) who argued that "a sense of belonging is not built merely on the existence of a collectively shared culture, but requires also the right to participate in the development of the 'living tradition' or the reflexive arguments of that society". While the presented arguments further draw on contributions by Bourdieu on 'habitus' which is said to be characterised by an 'abstract emphasis on objective structural relations', May (2011:369) states that 'belonging' differs from 'habitus' due to it being a relational concept that necessarily focuses on interaction and inter-subjectivity as well as the emotional content of these. Emphasis on the 'inter-subjectivity' is further made considering 'belonging' being largely associated with negotiated accomplishments as opposed to individuals merely internalising their shared conditions. It becomes important to view 'belonging' beyond any feelings an individual may

hold, as it presents itself as a highly contested political issue beset with collective consequences. In some instances, some 'senses' and 'claims' of belonging might be rejected for one reason or another depending on the 'tilting of scales of political power' at play. May (2011:370) notes that since the 'self' is multifaceted as comprising of gender, age ethnicity, religion, occupation, cultural tastes among others, as well as the added interactions with different persons, social contexts and places, it follows that people's belonging cannot be fixed to a group, culture or place but they would instead experience multiple senses of belonging that may be sometimes complex and contradictory. It is also important to note that not belonging does not necessarily attract negative consequences just as belonging does not necessarily translate to positivity or an ideal state for that matter.

A well-documented example of 'senses' and 'claims' of belonging shifting can be that of various groupings in the apartheid and post-apartheid era in South Africa having led to highly contested debates surrounding the concept of 'racism' both in theory and practice (May 2011:370). In situations when individuals find themselves unable to accomplish their everyday life without hindrance, there are chances of uneasiness developing and consequently a feeling of lack of belonging. Of importance is the notion by May (2011:370) that what the concept of belonging allows individuals "to do that habitus does not, is to understand how people can be embedded in a familiar everyday world yet feel that they do not belong there". It can therefore be argued that while structures are important in defining people's identities, their actions cannot be exclusively determined by them. This is strengthened by assertions that conceptualising belonging as rooted in everyday life reveals a dynamic image of a two-way influence between structures on the one hand and everyday habits on the other. It is also important to note that the enthusiasm surrounding belonging

implies that as the world around people changes, be it through changes brought by interacting with different persons, social contexts or places, so do relations to the world.

Hann (2014: S190) has noted that the privileging of Western religion or even specific strands within it as the forerunner of modernity may equally risk an ethnocentric betrayal of the aspiration to a completion or even transcendence of its origins. Hann further notes that neither new cognitive approaches nor the many competing variants of post-modern, post-Durkheimian approaches to religion have paved a way to anticipated results (Hann 2014: S191). Von Scheve (2011:2) pointed out that Durkheim's study on religion largely drew from a focus on Australian aborigines. It indicates his interest in the issue of how religious beliefs and belief systems evolve and get replicated within a community. It also shows how they contribute to ordinary classifications and groupings mostly in relation to what he referred to as "the profane" and "the sacred". His assumption was that religion and religious practices played an important role in establishing the moral order of a group or community. This occurs through the shaping of their core values. It also brings about collective identity and collective conscience that ultimately lead to the formation of strong group bonds and produces a sense of community (Von Scheve 2011:2). Of importance in the contribution by Durkheim was the point that mere attainment of religious beliefs was not sufficient to generate the sense of community and belonging let alone to nurture the development of a collective conscience. He thus notes that too strong were the interferences of the ordinary and profane world and the attractions of the gains of purely individual courses of action, and too ephemeral the world of religious thoughts, beliefs and ideals. Von Scheve (2011:2) further posits that Durkheim saw the grounding of religious beliefs in the world of subjective phenomenal experience as achievable in rituals. This happens within a context in which the members of a group meet to perform various rites as exemplified by worshiping the gods,

forgiving sins or commemorating certain events. Of further importance in Durkheim's views is the assumption that beliefs and symbols which are effectively instilled during rituals unfold their functions for a group or community in the absence of ritual practices, that is, in everyday life. It therefore follows that the presence of affectively "charged" symbols does not only convey a specific emotionally-laden meaning, but may also activate traces of emotional memory related to the experience of collective emotions in ritual contexts. It can also be said that the same applies to the affective charging of beliefs, normative beliefs and moral convictions, which in part derive their convincing and commitment generating qualities out of their association with affective stimulation (Von Scheve 2011:3).

Kuper (2005:111) avers that the subordination of individual notions to the interests of the group was what Durkheim meant by morality, with religion and the family being sources of morality. It is important to note that as the nature of society changes so do the religion, the family and the moral code. Other aspects of modern society related to ritual segregation of women at puberty, menstruation and child birth as their blood is considered dangerous. Totemism could therefore potentially serve as the foundation story for rationalism. It follows that totemic beliefs are a rational phenomenon and people draw from them even in negotiating their way under a so called capitalist or urban context. Individual family relationships (far from being a product of civilisation as claimed by Durkheim and Rivers) were found in even the so called most 'primitive' societies co-existing with group bonds.

2.5 The question of rituals, meanings and symbols

In explaining the concept 'ritual' Turner (1987:5) suggests that "it constitutes a transformative performance revealing major classifications, categories and contradictions of

cultural processes". In contrast to Schechner and Goffman, Turner notes that they seem to mean by "ritual" a standardised unit of action, which may be secular as well as sacred while on the other hand he means the performance of a complex sequence of symbolic events (Turner, 1987:5). In a similar line of argument, Hull (2014:165) has noted that ritual has been described as "the performance of a complex sequence of symbolic acts". Of importance in Hall's view especially for this study, is the argument that ritual studies have recently undergone transformation resulting in the focus shifting to action, experience and the how parts, as opposed to what rituals communicate to the participants. This becomes an important dimension especially considering that meanings in rituals can attract varied interpretations and understanding whilst at the same time leaving room for contestation.

McAllister (1991:130) has highlighted the importance of recognising that ritual is used, manipulated, changed and created by people in response to a variety of factors such as economic and political realities both within the rural areas and outside such spaces. Examples have been drawn from scholars such as Lincoln who demonstrated how the Swazi inxwala ceremony was used as a 'ritual of rebellion' against the king whilst at the same time facilitating and expressing resistance to British domination (McAllister 1991:130). Comaroff's (1985) case of Tshidi Zionism being used by the Tshidi to restrict the extent of their incorporation into the apartheid system constitutes another example. Such cases can then be said to imply that even though culture can be perceived as a 'custom' or 'tradition', it is never static and unchanging but rather provides a resource which can be drawn upon, manipulated and used to achieve goals. It is important to note that the goals can be of social, political and economic nature among other types. It therefore follows that not only is custom something that can be created adapted and modified but it can also be drawn upon for new purposes in response to new situations.

Jackson (1989:1) notes that concepts such as culture, nature, and the linguistic and mental elements ought to be viewed as mechanisms. This contrasts with viewing them as determinations as can be exemplified by experiences in the Gerai Longhouse that became a case that served to indicate a discourse that contrasted western notions of life. It follows that observation and participation have usually been taken seriously which has led to valuable information being omitted. The observation method has been used successfully in studying the Kuranko of Sierra Leone and this indicated that method and object are inseparable. One of the key focuses of Jackson in studying the Kuranko related to his interest primarily in social management or manipulation of effect and in the ways bereavement patterns coalesces with ritual forms, the purpose being to resolve problems of concern to everyone in the community, not simply the bereaved (Jackson 1989:1). Incidences such as announcement of death by wailing therefore represent an invitation of the broader community to a problem that would have affected a certain family. In some similar way business persons who are a part of kin with associated rituals as well as the entire community needed to be observed to explore how such notions of belonging have tended to affect the way they balanced business with clan obligations.

Connor (2010:102) argues that through her experiences of some traditional male circumcision ceremonies like *umgidi* there seemed to be some room for women to express their feelings and experiences as mothers despite the conventional perception of the practice being male-directed dominated. Since rituals are viewed to have a connection to culture, Turner (2012:487) notes that ‘culture’ which is something that we neither understand nor control, is not simply the necessary medium through which we communicate our social status, attitudes, desires, beliefs and ideals (our identities in short) to others. It also constitutes our identities in

ways with which we are compelled to conform regardless of our self-consciousness or even our contempt.

Harvey and Lanman (2014:674) reveal that social scientists have long appreciated that rituals serve to bind groups together, with scholars like Ibn Khaldun referring to the practice of ritual collectivism as ‘asabiyah’: roughly translated from the Arabic to mean “social cohesion” or “solidarity”. Harvey and Lanman (2014:674) further allude to Khaldun’s view that ‘asabiyah’ was rooted in kinship though it could be extended to tribes and nations through the sharing of ritual and ideology. They further note that 19th Century social theorists like Durkheim, Frazer and Smith among others, also accorded to ritual a pride of place among the various cultural practices that promote solidarity and friendship formation. It therefore follows that there developed some consensus among theorists that it is the social function of the rituals to rejuvenate commitment to collective goals and to ensure acquiescence to the will of the group and difference to figures of authority.

It has also been noted that a potentially complementary line of research has considered the possibility that rituals inspire trust and cooperation through signalling commitment to the group. This view is extended to the effect that rituals are seen to serve as “credibility enhancing displays” for the group ideologies underlying them. Harvey and Lanman (2014:679) present the view that some rituals involve such extreme forms of torture that it would not be an exaggeration to qualify them as “rites of terror”. They illustrate this by stating that in Melanesian initiation cults, boys undergoing initiation rites may be extensively burned, permanently scarred and mutilated, dehydrated, beaten, and have objects inserted in sensitive areas such as the nasal septum, the base of the spine, the tongue and the penis. They further noted that such examples of dysphoric rituals are many and can be found in virtually

any region of the world given sufficient historical and ethnographic information (Harvey and Lanman 2014:679). It has also exposed one of the striking limitations of anthropological theories on the contributions of rituals towards social cohesion despite the underlying patterns in the symbolism of 'rites of terror' or what one may safely refer to as 'elements of terror' within rituals. It follows that there haven't been any attempts to explain why these kinds of practices are so painful and potentially harmful. Of concern in ritual practices is the notion of voluntary participation yet if participants in initiation rituals freely choose to undergo acute traumas to join the group, this might indeed lead them to conclude that group membership is worth the price. It follows that when people undergo painful or frightening experiences; they tend to remember them as life shaping episodes or self-defining memories (Harvey and Lanman 2014:680).

Harvey and Lanman (2014:680) point out efforts to explain the link between repetitive rituals and social complexity. The study of rituals has a long history in the social sciences, including Max Weber's early writings on "routinisation". In addition, the process in which a newly established religious group becomes embedded institutionally, its beliefs and rituals standardised and subject to authority of a priestly hierarchy becomes part of the embedding processes. It follows that Max Weber's contrast between routinized and charismatic authority has inspired scholars such as Ernest Gellner's pendulum swing theory of Islam. This theory proposes an oscillation between urban orthodoxies and the more emotional rituals of rural tribes. Turner has also been influenced in relation to his distinction between structure and "communitas". The research context in this case is a small urban centre that is virtually surrounded by rural areas. This implies that the pendulum swing theory seems quite appealing towards explaining how the business actors in question balance business and kinship obligations considering the obligation of having to remain strongly bound to the kin

members within the rural context, not just emotionally and physically but spiritually and obligation wise in general.

In efforts to shade light on the significance of symbols in shaping relations, Turner (1975:145) avoids earlier writings that saw symbols as parts of abstract systems elicited by investigators from texts, observations and controlled interviews. This happened when he focused on three types of social processes: the political, ritual and therapeutic. He pointed to a noticeable trend that sought to integrate studies of pragmatic action with those of symbolic action when he thus argued that symbols are instrumentalities of various forces; physical, moral, economic, political among others. He saw such forces as operating in isolable, changing fields of social relationships. It can therefore be noted that symbols ought to be viewed as instruments for expression of communication and control whilst at the same time manifesting power relations at play. Whether the forces being viewed relate to the political, economic or ritual dimension it is important to note that the unfolding processes will likely take place within a negotiated and sometimes complex environment beset by power relations. In many instances whether one is locating such processes within the family unit, kin, state or any social group for that matter. It is therefore important to note that the symbolic processes relating to what one may refer to as Turner's tripartite-forces are intertwined. This further brings into question any efforts aimed at singling out the forces as political, ritual and therapeutic or even economic. This is put into question by the fact that the boundaries between these are not only blurred but the operation of the forces is complex. This is such that whilst there might be room for the various forces for cooperation, there also exists the possibility for deep contradictions. This may ultimately lead to a multiplicity of interpretations and meanings as well as less predictable actions. White (2011:105) argues that commentators for and against African forms of sacrifices depicting a clash of cultures saw

both sides agreeing that sacrifices marked the contradiction of the (Western) modern, for good or ill, by (African) culture. Just as 'Whiteness' and 'Zuluness' can be said to nominate social imaginaries, they also mark two different structures of kinship and separateness that emerged in the 20th Century as Zulu households formed from contradictory potentials in the South African society (White 2011:106). This element of contradictory potentials marking two different structures of kinship can also be said to be characteristic of Xhosa family and kin formations and needing closer exploration particularly on how the groupings draw from the contradictory potentials as they balance kin and business obligations.

Pinnock (n.d:5) quoted the view of Emile Durkheim who observed that "society is not an empirical fact, definite and observable; it is something in which men have never really lived". It is merely an idea. Pinnock adds that ritual is so basic to our creation of society such that to lose ritual means to lose the way. Ritual or symbolic performance in a rite of passage programme may therefore better be described as 'transformance' implying that it constitutes a vehicle for transformation from one status, identity or situation to another. Pinnock further elaborates the importance of ritual in societies across the world by referring to the view of French anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep who found that many cultures he studied created ritual ceremonies around moments of individual life crises such as birth, social puberty, marriage, fatherhood or motherhood and death among others. It must however be noted that these ceremonies largely differ in the detail that each culture pursues although they are said to essentially constitute crucial life moments when 'life gears are shifted' Pinnock (n.d:5). Reference is made to the ritual of intonjane for females and that of ulwaluko (traditional male circumcision) for males. Pinnock (n.d:6) argues that his research among the Xhosa of Transkei, South Africa revealed the tenacity of ancient rituals among this group. He addes that despite more than a hundred years of disruptive migrant labour and nearly three centuries

of Christian and Western influence, rituals of adolescent passage and the handing down of ancestral teachings are still firmly in place.

2.6 Misfortune, familiars and associated rituals

Lambek (2015:240) argues that with respect to the Mayotte village in Switzerland just as is the case in Africa and Asia as well as other contexts, misfortune includes a variety of features. These include the arbitrary intervention of spirits, sorcery attacks by consociates, personal failure to maintain taboos, impersonal destiny and the position of stars and finally and comprehensively, the will of God. It therefore follows that prevention and alleviation of misfortune in various contexts where it is manifested draws on a broad spectrum such as God and other figures, spirits, local medicines and maintaining taboos among others. Hutchings (2007:189) highlights that the underlying importance of purification procedures may often be forgotten in Western Society. However, in rural Africa there is a great awareness of the mystical forces of pollution and danger that need to be overcome to ensure safe passage during times of transition-marking ceremonies such as baptisms, confirmations, weddings and funerals as well as markings symbolising maturity stages. Hutchings (2007:191) points to the work of Buhrmann (1984:27-29) who refers to two categories of ancestors, namely the 'living dead', that is kin members who are referred to as 'shades' in anthropological literature on the one hand and non-kin related ancestors on the other. Shades are regarded as mentors, guides and protectors particularly where customs are kept and regularly performed whilst on the other hand non-kin ancestors constitute the more distant, powerful and numinous. Non-kin ancestors are therefore associated with annihilation and suffering whilst on the other hand the shades are associated with alerting not just the individual involved but the entire family, drawing them to the mood and needs of the ancestors. In certain instances, as and when need arises, rituals of appeasement or thanksgiving are usually performed.

Death is usually associated with marked impurity and elaborate rituals aimed at restoring purity should take place. Hutchings (2007:198) argues that relatives of the dead are perceived not only to be in a position of danger themselves and in need of fortification but also to be a possible source of pollution to the entire society. The relatives of the dead are therefore barred from taking part in normal activities of the society until purification has been done and the mourning period over, in which case the mourning gets prolonged in cases whereby the surviving person is closest to the deceased.

In emphasising the importance of rituals performed in honour of the dead, Allison's (2013) research among the Japanese in the aftermath of the Tsunami reveals how surviving spouses and relatives ended up committing suicide in despair of having lost the loved ones. This happened in such a painful way that even denied them an opportunity of giving them proper burial and performing relevant rituals. In some instances, surviving spouses of those swept and whose bodies were never recovered frequently visited the spaces where they were last seen and spoke some words to them in anticipation that they may not only be heard but also full of hope that perhaps they might return alive. This constitutes an important case in which people adopt rituals in negotiating some difficulties encountered.

In clarifying the presence of diversity and how meanings are derived by actors participating in a common ritual, Keesing (2012:406) suggests that native actors participating in ritual need not share the same meanings. This also implies that a great many of the ritual participants probably make very superficial interpretations of ritual symbols. This therefore means that the vocation and orchestration of "deep" interpretations of symbols among a congregation cannot be necessary to the performance or perpetuation of ritual. It must however be pointed out that Keesing (2012:407) notes that the "function" of ritual and ritual symbols in the

community thus cannot be to evoke shared understandings of the later sort even if a highly coherent structured system of symbolism is part of the cultural heritage of a community. He thus reveals that because meanings depend so heavily on what individuals know it follows that the same ritual sequence or myth may evoke highly diverse meanings for members of the community. Such meanings may range from literal, superficial, mundane constructions to "deep" and global one. These arguments will be important in understanding how rituals influence the way business persons draw from kinship as they balance business with clan obligations within a capitalist context.

Referring to the Kwaio (a group of Pacific Island dwellers from Malaita, Solomon Islands) Keesing (2012:410) notes that they ritualise encounters with their *adalo* (ancestors) particularly their collective encounters. Such encounters are said to be precipitated by illness, death or misfortunes which are attributed to ancestral displeasure resulting from desecration, defilement or other human errors. They are also initiated to prepare a protective mantle. The collective encounters bring a kin group into intimate, immediate contact with ancient ancestors and their awesome powers and dangers. A bereaved group is usually subject to food taboos, mourning restrictions and rules isolating them from normal social life. It therefore follows that through a series of rites of de-sacralisation, the restrictions that set them apart are progressively lifted and the boundaries and categories of life are then restored (Keesing 2012:410).

It is also important to follow the question of witchcraft among clan organisations with Mayer (1967:33) arguing that witchcraft is a characteristic feature on the fringe of societies such as the tale mystical thought and ritual values. Carlson (1968:50) points to evidence in support of the hypothesis that witchcraft represents a means for handling symbolically a very wide

variety of situations involving ambivalence and frustration experienced by an actor. It is further viewed as a form of social control for disapproved behaviour as the accused always exhibit characteristics that are disliked. In addition, Kluckhohn's study among the Navahoes revealed that hostility developed but it was rather difficult for it to result in another member expressing the hostility against kin. In many South African communities, witchcraft lies at the core of people's wellbeing with belief in familiars for instance taking centre stage among the Xhosa of the Eastern Cape. Of importance in the argument involving witchcraft is the element of how it influences people particularly business persons as they negotiate their ways in uncertain situations.

According to Carlson (1968:49) religion provides a symbolic system of supernatural rewards to reinforce adherence to approved norms of social behaviour and punishments for violations of such norms including invocation of supernatural means to discover offenders. Carlson (1968:49) noted that Gluckman called attention to rituals of rebellion, in which socially approved and organised expressions of hostility against rulers took place, as well as expressions of hostilities based on grievances and expressions of hostility between social groupings such as between the old and young or between clans and tribes. Ayisi (1980:20) is of the view that the concept of the profane and the sacred by Durkheim is important in describing religion. The argument is extended to highlight the importance of rituals performed on the one hand and taboos governing pregnancy and explanations to miscarriages with the role of ancestors being also noted. The rituals introducing new born babies to ancestors and those for child protection are done as it is believed that babies are a gift from the ancestors who in turn have a role in determining the future of the child. Ayisi (1980:90) revealed the importance of distinguishing rituals from the simple personal ones to the

complex one where “familiars” are dealt with. Societies also take interest to observe mourning rituals where widowhood and widower rituals are involved.

In explaining the significance of ritual and ensuring a harmonious relationship with ancestors in people’s wellbeing, within a modern context the view by Kuligowski (2014:326) becomes important. This can be explained through the case study presented by Stewart and Strathern whose interpretations on the ritual practices by the people of the Hagen region in New Guinea pointed to rituals being used to ensure good fortune, fertility and success. Of importance in this case is the observation that if despite such ritual efforts, the breeding would not go well, displeased ancestors were to blame and were to be appeased. The view is extended to indicate that during the appearance of the first cars in the Hagen region, the people tended to allege that car break downs just like it was the case historically with bad pig breeding were attributed to displeased ancestors. Emphasis on rituals among the Pondo. Hunter (1979:266) points out that the ancestor cult constitutes a sanction for the respect for seniors upon which the social and political system is based. The ancestors are believed to have powers to send good and evil upon their descendants. Those living therefore rely upon the goodwill of the dead such that one would avoid offending somebody with a potential of being *ithongo.* This background is crucial towards an understanding of business people’s religious and ritual activities in the context of dealing with their business and kin obligations. Poewe (1989:22) posits that church participation among the Luapula area in Zambia has played several functions that include supplementing the inadequate justice system as the church board resolves some disputes. Church participation has also helped in mitigating the otherwise increasing lack of trust and cooperation mostly between members of the opposite sex, of the family and of those engaged in economic activities. Poewe (1989:24) also indicates that the functioning of the matrilineal system which continues to structure key

social relationships could have become more elastic due to its encounter with Christianity and commercialisation. Notions of change could be traced despite traces of matriliny still being largely seen as a "directed system".

Following a case study of the Gadaba people of India, Berger (2011:31) notes that reference to alimentary processes and actions does not necessarily imply a stress on what is commonly understood by agency. Instead, feeding, sharing and devouring are although dynamic, the main aspects of an encompassing ritual structure of that society. These concepts represent ritual domains, specific types of relationships as well as values. It also follows that although feeding and sharing are, as actions, part of a ritual system that leaves relatively little room for agency the strategic manoeuvres of actors, be it individuals or groups, and have their place in specific contexts. Berger (2011:31) also notes that alimentary actions involving meat, blood and liquor, more generally food both express and constitute social relationships. It has also been noted that illnesses are usually a result of precarious relationships that have gone wrong. It therefore follows that illness ought to be viewed as a 'reminder of a relationship'. Bad relationships between humans and ancestors and deities have been expressed in terms of 'sadness' or 'anger' may lead to non-cooperation or even misfortune caused by sorcery. It must also be noted that the bad relationships between the humans and deities are sure to prove fatal with disasters such as illness, death, infertility hunger or madness (Berger 2011:31). Transactions of meat, blood, rice, liquor and beer are the most crucial mechanisms for keeping things 'good and even'. In terms of similarity between sacrifice and hospitality if one does not give meat and blood to the gods they will be angry whilst if you invite an individual for a meal and you do not provide meat, they would get angry (Berger 2011:31). Although the two have a lot in common with hospitality usually following sacrifice in a single ritual process the two also have contrasting features. It follows that the sacrificial

consumption of meat transforms relationships or reconstitutes clear-cut relationships of seniority and leaves very little room for competition between actors or the articulation of tension. Hospitality is therefore by contrast very competitive, ambiguous, and a question of potential 'shame' (Berger 2011:33).

Parish (2011:247) argues that individuals tend to turn to the occult and witchcraft to protect themselves from imagined enemies and to achieve wealth beyond their dreams. Witchcraft in this sense is understood to constitute both jealousy and success and in the African context occult discourses are believed to thrive within an environment of a volatile global economy where the accumulation of wealth lies at the heart of the capitalist project (Parish 2011:247). Parish (2011:248) adds that Ghanaian witchcraft discourses as an example thrive particularly where the desire of individuals to accumulate and consume is seen to conflict with kinship obligations. This is even so in Southern Africa particularly in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province as noted by Jean and John Comaroff (1999) and Osei (2003). Bähre (2002:307) notes that in general, illnesses such as miscarriages, where blood became visible, were often linked to witchcraft. Bähre (2002:319) adds that certain events such as unexpected or peculiar deaths and diseases might be blamed on witchcraft. It follows that the existence of witchcraft and witch familiars explains misfortune caused by jealousy with jealous persons said to use witchcraft against their opponents. Such jealousy is said to be about a variety of things that include among others, money, children, consumer products such as cars and cellular phones. Above all witchcraft is said to occur when accumulation is an issue in which case inequalities and tensions between persons who depend upon each other particularly the kin are revealed.

2.7 Belonging and identity creation in a modern context

Belonging and identity creation are concepts that are interlinked both in theory and in practice. Tarawneh and Mahmood (2011:615) argue that the concept of identity in its simplest forms refers to the identification of a group of people to themselves in the first instant, and then to the other group(s) living in the same community. They also examine the crucial impact of the other, the stranger and the outsider in defining identity, be it individual or collective. Considering presented arguments on the mobilisation of customary values within a commercial context, it also becomes important to focus on how customary ways of belonging such as kinship have sometimes resulted in the restructuring of socio-economic relations in contemporary capitalist society. In support of this, it might be of importance to assess the state of customary forms of belonging in the various contexts to reach an understanding on how individuals and collectives in these contexts have drawn from the customary forms of belonging in reorganising their activities within a commercialised setting.

One can further argue that the customary forms of belonging, residence, family behaviour and obligations are a consequence of the tumult of experiences of the 20th century that exposes the crisis-ridden capitalist system (Russell 2004). In that regard, this has seen the capitalist society being restructured as customary elements have been reinvented and used in various ways as people sought to deal with challenges confronting them especially emanating from the inadequacies of the capitalist system to proffer concrete solutions. It can therefore be noted that the emergence of forms of belonging such as protest movements (# Fees must Fall), saving schemes such as stockvels, societies, worker's committees, neighbourhood alliances, anti-drug and anti-crime syndicates and many others represents an effort by the various groups to seek for where their interests will best be taken care of outside the conventional structures. This does not however mean a complete disregard of conventional

structures be it the customary ones or modern ones as in many instances these individuals have tended to act in a supple manner by making use of different structures concurrently.

It can thus be noted that new forms of belonging have had to be forged within the peculiar constraints of the urban industrial economy and it becomes important to assess how the actors in the various contexts have tapped onto the customary elements to deal with challenges they encounter in a capitalist society (Russell 2004). The main important issue however in this argument is not the revitalisation of the customary elements or emergent forms of belonging. It is rather how customary values have been drawn upon at interpersonal and collective levels in efforts to deal with dictates of the capitalist system within a context where kin members also require certain obligations to be fulfilled. It must also be noted that individuals and collectives the world over have proven to be conscious agents as they have designed and implemented progressive strategies whose success has varied from time to time and context to context. It is therefore a widely held view that progress of any society is embedded in its culture (Cox and Fafchamps 2008). This study therefore focuses on issues from this viewpoint by exploring the question of how the individuals and collectives in various contexts particularly the urban one, have invoked principles of customary forms of belonging such as kinship to deal with dictates of capitalism on the one hand and kinship obligations on the other.

2.7.1 Historical overview on marginalisation and class formation in South Africa

The need for economic growth as a means of alleviating poverty has remained important. Separatist policies have however historically hindered this as Verwoerdian apartheid policies were designed to perpetuate the dominant position of whites. The acceptance of *dejure* albeit internationally unrecognised independence by the four homelands lies at the heart of the

policies that saw the government policy stripping South African citizenship from blacks. The irrational development policies of apartheid sought to curve separate political entities from an economically integrated region. The division of South African society into the 'haves' and 'have nots' has historically been viewed as a microcosm of the global space. In that regard, the third world was seen to be at the mercy of the first world with the latter being reluctant to resolve poverty and underdevelopment of the former. This conceptualisation was used to justify apartheid and explain the tension and polarisation in South African society. What becomes important in this argument is that this situation continued even in understanding the post-apartheid socio-economic challenges faced by South Africa. The majority of black South Africans found themselves having to rely on activities that were considered 'informal', therefore attracting the label second economy. This contrasted with the first economy whose activities were recognised as crucial and more acceptable for broader economic growth. This argument becomes important in explaining the economic position of the business persons involved in this study as they are in the historically disadvantaged homeland context. This has seen then lacking direct access to capital and other support initiatives as these have allegedly continued to favour the historically advantaged white population.

According to Mbeki (1984:32) as late as 1951 following the passing of the Bantu Authorities Act, the homelands received different administrative approaches. Important is the fact that such approaches were largely meant to usurp the powers of powerful chiefs through the establishment of administrators. With respect to Transkei, it follows that the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 as a statute of the South African Parliament claimed to represent the desires of the Transkeian people yet neither an African nor a representative sat in it (Mbeki 1984:49). The different approaches and policies that were used to create perceptions of some measure of autonomy to the homelands such as participation by chiefs in District Councils

did not help the issue of separate development (Southall 1982). It follows that the issue of self-rule that was announced in 1962 did not deal with the burning question of how blacks could participate in the government of South Africa, let alone the right of participation in the economy (Southall 1977:4; Southall 1982:66). Neither did such initiatives erase the broader economic isolation of the homelands from the mainstream economy. The resultant economic gap continued during the apartheid years and did not stop during the post-apartheid dispensation. It is such a background that serves as an important piece of knowledge in understanding the circumstances of black business persons found in an urban space located within a former homeland as the ones found in Ntabankulu Town. The precarious nature of the Homelands dwellers emanates from the Bantustan policies. In summing up the poverty levels in the Bantustan areas and especially the Bantustan policy, Mbeki (1984:65) points out that "For the Bantustans are the most densely populated African rural areas in South Africa, the homes of millions of peasants who leave in grinding poverty, and so the traditional reservoirs of labour for the entire country". It is in this background that a study focusing on what happens when kinship members commercialise and how they draw from kinship and non-kinship forms of associations. This can best be explored when the historical context of the area in which the black business persons is closely assessed.

2.7.2 Race, Class, power dynamics and resistance to the Apartheid State

Wolpe (1988:1) points to the importance of understanding the resistance against the apartheid system and the arising theoretical questions around economic and political conditions of social transformation in South Africa. From a political view point these problems relate to the conceptions of the relationship between class and race and between the political structure of apartheid and the capitalist economy as well as the form of the state and political arena and the structural conditions of political struggles (Wolpe, 1988:1). It follows that the African

National Congress and its allies hold the view that colonialism of a special type, which based on a conception of linkages between race and class points to a conscientised black working class playing a leading role in the apartheid system including the transfer of "banks and monopoly industry…. to the ownership of the people" [ANC speaks, 1977, p.14]. This differs from the theoretical approach that explains issues from the premise of race where apartheid is viewed as exclusively a racial order. It is said to result in a political perspective such as black consciousness whose emphasis is exclusively on racial antagonism and alliances. It is however important to note that this research draws from the classical work of Southall (1977:2) who refers to the ideas of Adam and views the issue of the formation of black elites as a feeder of the Apartheid state as opposed to a foundation for black consciousness that would lead to enforcement of redistribution of economic opportunities to the majority blacks. In this case a new class that is deracialised is likely to be formed. The change is likely to be evolutionary with ruling groups most likely to find value in collaborating with a domestic black bourgeoisie in a process of pragmatic accommodation that leaves white power largely intact. It is in this context that this research explores the historical emergence of a black bourgeoisie in Transkei having an association to the homeland and its policies.

Of importance is that this type of class formation and manifest inequality has continued playing itself in post-apartheid South Africa, not only within former homelands but even in large cities. The black elites have remained marginalised from social and economic processes of the Republic despite having some relative political integration. It is crucial to note that the debates surrounding poverty and transformation as well as the notions of class and race still feature in contemporary South Africa. Race and ethnicity which in Wolpe's analogy have no distinction are used strictly about social categorisations. Of importance in the usage of these terms is the argument that race reductionism makes it impossible to pose questions about the

class content of national struggles and conversely economic reductionist notions of class exclude questions about the broader national content of class struggles. It is worth mentioning that the formation of structures and relations is always the outcome of struggles between contending groups or classes and that this outcome is Janus-faced, that is, being always simultaneously functional and contradictory. It is therefore crucial to embrace the view of a special type of colonialism that defines the coexistence and articulation of a colonial relation between black and white people and a developed capitalist economy within the confines of a single national state (Wolpe 1988:28). It follows that the struggles of the black businesspersons in question will not be explored in isolation of the general national struggles of the black bourgeoisie in the different parts of South Africa.

Wolpe (1988:2) explains the concept of class from a Marxist point of view as defined in terms of relations of production and the expropriation of surplus labour. Using a non-reductionist Marxist approach to explain classes, Wolpe (1988:51) argues that, in the economy itself, that is in the sphere of production and exchange, classes exist in forms that are fragmented and fractured in numerous ways. This may go beyond the division of labour to encompass the concrete organisation of the entire system of production and distribution through which classes are necessarily formed by for instance; politics, culture and ideology within that division of labour as exemplified through gender, religion, the mental-manual divide and racial differentiation (Wolpe, 1988:51). It is crucial to therefore note that classes in whatever for they may exist are constituted not as unified social forces, but as patchworks or segments which are differentiated and divided on a variety of basis and by varied processes (Wolpe, 1988:51). Whilst unity may exist under certain conditions in classes it is not given but occurs as a conjunctural phenomenon. This analogy of class formation is important in understanding how black business persons within the context of Ntabankulu

ought to be understood in relation to the historical class formation element characteristics of the homeland economy.

2.7.3 Relations and property rights in economies located within rural enclaves

Berry (1993:181) argues that rural economies in Africa have historically been characterised by scarcity of capital. This condition can also be said to be a characteristic feature not only of rural Transkei as a former homeland as it broadens to include the economies of small towns located within its boundaries such as Ntabankulu. Importantly is his notion that subsidies in such enclaves are rather limited. This was mainly because of colonial policies on commercialisation that were meant to induce forced migration into various European establishments such as mines with a cheap labour supply guaranteed. In most African societies, mobilising family labour especially in pursuit of commercial initiatives has served as a readily available source of labour in substitution to hired labour (Berry, 1993:157).

Berry (1993:180) indicates that in economies located within rural enclaves property rights remain subject to renegotiation and multiple claims as opposed to converging towards private ownership by individuals or by closed property groups. This is important as it is set to lay a foundation for exploring the 'precarious' state of the black business persons in question. It can also be argued that proliferation of claims on property and the negotiability of social identities reinforced the dynamic character within social networks and the permeability of their boundaries. This implies that people can alter their positions within a network or shift their energies and attention from their own resources changed. This therefore points to the existence of an atmosphere of enhanced flexibility that defines relations in such spaces.

Berry (1993:160) also points to the importance of size of following in kin. He alludes to the fact that in most African societies, social identity and status may be achieved as well as ascribed. What is crucial in his arguments is the fact that within most African societies, funerals, marriages, naming ceremonies and initiation rites create opportunities for individuals to gain respect and create obligations among their kin and neighbours. This usually done through contributing food, drinkables, clothing, ritual offerings and gifts. It follows that people's contributions may serve to enhance and reaffirm their status within their families and communities and abilities to draw on the resources. This can be extended to the issue of support of the group as people can draw from such contributions to negotiate their own claims to productive resources. This is highlighted in lavish spending in funerals and marriage that is used to show commitment to local institutions of kinship and seniority. In contributing towards the gender dimension in kinship networks and establishment of autonomous networks, Berry (1993:157) argues that women in most African societies have been able to create their own networks. Such networks have operated relatively autonomously from kinship influences.

2.8 Theoretical and conceptual framework: exchange Theory, reciprocity, gift giving and liminality

2.8.1 The Exchange Theory

Kuwabara (2011:560) draws on various literature in explaining the idea that exchange relations take on expressive value that reinforces integrative bonds of solidarity remains one of the most long-standing views from classical exchange theory. Kuwabara further notes that through repeated exchange, actors develop mutual trust, regard and feelings of attachment toward one another or the relationship itself (Kuwabara 2011:560). Exchanges have been said

to constitute the core of human interactions in society whilst in process being simultaneously social and symbolic since these exchanges usually involve words, gifts, gestures and products among other items (Niederle and Radomsky 2008:4).

Thye, Lawler, and Yoon (2011:388) refer to the works of Emerson who defined an exchange relation as a pattern of repeated exchange among the same actors or firms over time. Economic exchange is further distinguished from social exchange. Economic exchange involves actors who engage in one-shot transactions driven by the characteristics of an impersonal market or network. Social exchange captures more broadly the recurrent interactions between the same individuals as "actions contingent on rewarding reactions from others" (Thye, Lawler, and Yoon 2011:388). It follows that the demarcative role of the classical exchange theory on social and economic exchange suggests that the theoretical principles from social exchange theory may assist to expose the micro mechanisms for how "stickiness" develops in markets at the local level as well as how "relational commitment" emerges among contracting agents. Thye et .al (2011:389) also posit that to ask how micro structures of exchange generate network level group affiliations is analogous to asking how group based forms of embeddedness come about and shape economic exchanges in a neo-classical market. It follows that in social constructionist terms, the network itself becomes an "objectification" or "reality" for actors. A group affiliation involves a person to group relational tie distinct theoretically from person to person relational ties. Embedded ties are interesting in the sense that they generate departures from market prices and promote the exchange of private information and trust whilst at the same time allowing informal governance and reducing the monitoring costs associated with contracting (Thye et al. 2011:390).

Kuwabara (2011:561) argues that the effective basis of solidarity consists of mutual trust, regard and cohesion through which actors can maintain mutually beneficially exchange or to produce collective goods. He also posited that trust and affective regard are positive perceptions and sentiments that actors develop towards each other while cohesion refers to the sense of unity or we-ness based on the strength of relational bonds between actors. Referring to various literature, Kuwabara (2011:561) further reveal that solidarity constitutes a multidimensional construct consisting of interpersonal and relational bonds. He thus states that when exchange tasks are construed as cooperative, they presuppose compatible interests and mutual commitment, in the process producing constructive sentiments and perceptions that strengthen solidarity. Molm et al. (2012:142) argue that they find strong inoculating effects of reciprocal exchange on actor's responses to negotiated exchange that is, both a prior history with reciprocal exchange and embedding negotiated exchanges in an ongoing relationship of reciprocal exchange significantly strengthen feelings of trust, affective regard and solidarity, compared to pure negotiated exchange. It follows that effects of embeddedness are particularly strong, affecting both power-advantaged and power-disadvantaged actors in a relationship.

According to Kuwabara (2011:562) economic exchange is characterised by joint action by both parties to reach specific and often binding agreements on the division of benefits. This is opposed to social exchange that is said to involve sequences of unilateral giving and receiving in which actors provide favours or benefits to each other separately and without explicit bargaining. It therefore follows that norms of reciprocity in such instances tend to create diffuse obligations to return favours although the questions on when or how to reciprocate remains generally unspecified. The issue of trust comes into the fore when such questions are raised. Whilst trust and regard can develop based on positive perceptions about

each other as individual actors, cohesion develops primarily based on perceptions about the relationships as the critical context of effective experiences.

Cheshir, Gerbasi and Cook (2010:176) point out that the exchange of goods and services has been at the heart of economic theory from the beginning. Anthropologists such as Malinowski, Mauss and Levi-Strauss focused their attention on the social implications of exchange. It follows that the various approaches converge on the view that individuals exchange goods and services. This is done through different forms of interaction that include negotiation, gift giving and even implicit understandings of direct or indirect reciprocity among individuals in networks groups or communities. Cheshir et al. (2010:177) have asserted that some exchange relationships particularly the interpersonal ones may begin with the reciprocal exchange of favours such as picking up mail for a neighbour away for a weekend or looking after pets. Such relationships have the potential to expand negotiating formally over goods or services. On the other hand, the relationships must start out based on negotiations between two parties which may shift into a less formal mode of exchange embracing exchange of favours or gifts on relevant occasions. This implies that by so doing the negotiated exchange relationship is transformed over time by including elements of reciprocal exchange involving no explicit negotiation of any kind. It has also been claimed that it's important to focus on the various forms of exchange along power dynamics and other indicators of solidarity such as dyadic commitment, trust and relational cohesion. It follows that the originality of Mauss' work lies in not separating the goods and the rites that are the subject of the exchange from the meanings and symbols which are attached to them. Of importance in arguments relating to the exchange theory is the view that by using the concept of 'total social phenomenon' Mauss proposes that the exchange should be considered. It is

from the foregoing arguments that notions of how business persons deal with kin obligations on the one hand and business ones on the other will be explored.

2.8.2 Obligation to reciprocate and give gifts

Sandrine and Michelson (2011:63) note that the obligation of reciprocity remains the dominant paradigm for the analysis of social (and business) relations. They add that reciprocity ensues when some action from a giver evokes a counter response from a recipient or receiver which shows some formal recognition of the giver's original action (Sandrine and Michelson 2011:63). Besides noting that interpersonal reciprocity in business can also be culturally established as in the case of guanxi in Asian contexts, the notion of gift giving is well established when facilitating or building new business relationships (Sandrine and Michelson 2011:63). They further note that it is such a response (however measured or interpreted) which preserves and sustains human exchanges whilst at the same time it is in these and a range of other circumstances where limits are placed on the freedom and choice of actors, whether explicit or implicit, through the creation of obligation to respond in the expected way. Palomera (2014: S105) notes the importance of values in relation to the concept of reciprocity which he saw as important for the reproduction of impoverished groups. Palomera (2014: S107) relating to contemporary relations in Spain noted that "reciprocity" was thus perceived as a moral obligation of those who were doing better to offer support to those who required it, which translated into a constant circulation of resources and a relative socio-economic homogeneity among members. Tensions within one's circle pointed to the fragility of values based on mutual support as they get entrenched in commodified structures based on petty capitalist strategies such as businesses or properties (Palomera 2014: S112).

Falco and Wrwin (2009:1) argue that kinship is a collective institution that represents a primary principle of social organisation in Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and elsewhere in the world to the extended family and thus argued that membership of a kinship network is acquired through bloodlines, marriage or adoption. Kinship is said to govern social relationships, marital customs as well as to regulate access to resources and services. This regulatory principle of kinship needs closer scrutiny as it overlooks other forms of belonging that may be drawn upon by kinship members in such a way that the regulatory control element of kinship gets challenged and sometimes even replaced.

Mauss (2002:17) argues that not only is it easy to find many facts concerning the obligation to receive but he also noted that for a kinship group, household or a group of people, a guest has no option but to ask for hospitality, to receive presents, to enter into trading, to contract alliances, through wives or blood kinship. In emphasising the importance of the obligation to give, Mauss also notes, to refuse to give, to fail to invite, just as to refuse to accept, is synonymous to declaring war as it constitutes a rejection of the bond of alliance and commonality (Mauss 2002:52). Mauss (2002:52) thus argues that the obligation to accept also has equally weighty constraining effects as one has no right to refuse a gift or to refuse to attend a gift giving ceremony and to act in that manner is to show that one is afraid of having to reciprocate, fear being 'fattened' (that is losing one's name) until one has reciprocated. The idea of being flattened tends to imply one's name losing weight. Receipt of a gift also means the receiver is committing himself whilst at the same time a gift is received 'with a burden attached' (Mauss 2002:53). In a related argument, Sandrine and Michelson (2011:66) argued that in a gift exchange perspective, gift affects the happiness or the satisfaction of the recipient whilst at the same time it is basically impossible for the recipient to refuse a gift because to do so would be tantamount to violating social norms. Similarly, it is inconceivable

for the recipient not to try to give back a gift of similar value and this implies that gift giving can be perceived as an affirmation of power and selfhood such that the recipient who does not give back would experience a feeling of inferiority or dependency.

Mauss (2002:21) also referred to Van Ossenbruggen who noted that gifts to humans and to the gods also serves the purpose of buying peace between them both. It follows that it is through such a way that evil spirits or bad influences in general even not personalised are eliminated. Alms have been seen to be the fruits of a moral notion of the gift and of fortune on the one hand and of a notion of sacrifice on the other. In a similar line of argument generosity viewed as an obligation, because nemesis avenges the poor and the gods for the super abundance of happiness and wealth of certain people who should rid themselves of it. Such an approach has come to be known as the ancient morality of the gift, which has become a principle of justice.

Sandrine and Michelson (2011:64) have avoided a total rejection of the orthodoxy of exchange as a dominant mechanism in explaining social and business relations. Nonetheless they have decided to question whether the logic of reciprocity is sufficient by itself to account for all giving oriented motivations and behaviors. Following their introduction of the concept of ‘existential gift’, Sandrine and Michelson (2011:64) argue that unlike social exchange with its obligation of reciprocity, under the existential gift perspective the action of giving could itself be sufficient and independent of any expectation of return. They also argue that freedom and choice are not curtailed or limited for both the giver and receiver whilst on the contrary because the obligation of reciprocity is not established, both actors have greater freedoms in their choices. For them it is this freedom, among other factors which helps create the potential for identifying more promising human models in business which the current

crisis might suggest. Sandrine and Michelson (2011:67) have posited that ambivalence, envy and negativity can periodically emerge in gift exchange whilst other scholars are quoted as having noted high levels of anxiety associated with giving and receiving. Consequently, a giver's claim of giving freely and disinterestedly constitutes an illusion because the gift is usually compensated later with failure to respond or returning a counter gift only jeopardizing the relationship. A compulsory or binding gift would no longer be a gift but potentially a burden of obligation.

Molm, Whitham and Melamed (2012:141) have pointed out that exchange in social life includes both the reciprocal gift giving that classical theorists envisioned and the negotiated transactions that most contemporary researchers study. They further note that the two forms of exchange, that is, reciprocal and negotiated, are commonly associated with distinct spheres of interaction in which case reciprocal exchange is said to be linked to interactions among family and friends whilst negotiated exchange is associated with business and economic transactions. It must however be noted that the two forms are combined in more complex relationships in which they both occur either sequentially or concurrently. Gift giving has been highlighted as an important aspect of umgidi, with various gifts having a symbolic meaning especially in relation to the kin attachment between the recipient and giver (Connor 2010:106). Connor (2010:110) adds that ritualised occasions reflect the diverse ways in which groups of men and women have relocated themselves in their (new) surroundings using both performative and practical idioms of expression.

Since this study also relates to some elements of kin being sources of labour or ritual and business activities having an association with one kind of work or the other it becomes important to explore the concept of work particularly as highlighted by Narotzky (1997). This

is also made crucial in the context of exchange and networking. Narotzky (1997:36) points out that non-western societies studied by anthropologists such as Malinowski and Firth had to be approached with a flexible concept of work appropriate to all sorts of activities connected with subsistence and the reproduction of a society. It follows that domestic 'work' of equal 'economic' standing activities such as the maintenance through ceremonial or ritual activities of social networks were approached as work from an economic point of view. Networks have proved to be an important tool in securing labour or other resources at certain points in the annual economic cycle or along domestic or individual's life cycle. It is important to also view 'invisible work' considering trust with wages being earned in various forms. Narotzky (1997:37) also notes that the problem of value affects not only women's housework but all other activities which take place outside market exchange but are clearly part of the work necessary to the material production of society. Such is the case of non-monetary exchanges of labor and voluntary community services. Exchanges of work are inserted in 'non-economic', 'non-market' social relations such as friendship or kinship and have a wide range of application. It follows that family, relatives and friends as well as neighbours and the local community have been underscored as networks of economic relations covering formal and informal production processes. One can add that this may also be the case where exchange takes place in kinship relations. The concept of personal or family income has expanded beyond its usual reference to monetary wages to include not only goods constituting payments in specifics still referred to as market values but also transfers of goods and services occurring in a non-market environment refereeing to values such as friendship and filial solidarity. It follows that consumption of objects does not follow destruction during a final use but rather remain entangled in the process of consumption with the aim of creating and recreating social bonds through continuing transactions. In both instances transactions are the movement of products between people and generally some kind of transformation of their

meaning arises during that process. In western contemporary societies, people appeared separated from their social context and confronted as individuals during transactions: things were severed from people in an autonomous realm of exchange.

2.8.3 Turner and Liminality

Van der Waal (2011:63) notes that key elements in the works of Turner are his use of a process-focused approach towards understanding village level politics in rural Africa as well as his focus on ritual and drama as the performance of core social values. In addition, Turner's ethnography is said to be rich in its focus on complexity, multivocality and individual agency. Versteeg (2011:5) argues that traditional religion which is said to be giving way to spirituality refers to established main line religion in which the central idea is one of service to an exterior power that defines the way in which people 'ought to' live. On the other hand, the religious orientation said to be gaining momentum and labelled 'holistic' or 'alternative' spirituality in some circles is used to indicate a growing type of religiosity in which people are focused on their own subjective spiritual interests and preferences. Whilst the rise of such alternative spirituality has been associated with processes of religious change not only in the Netherlands and Western Europe but North America as well, this is by no means a Western phenomenon but rather a practice closely related to middle class consumerist lifestyles which can be found the world over. Referring to the term communitas, Versteeg (2011:5) defines it as a state of being in which people feel they are part of a non-hierarchical community of equals. In its spontaneous forms communitas is said to be characterised by intense experiences of unity among those who partake of that practice. Despite the various conceptualisations relating to unpacking Turner's work it remains clear that any understanding of ritual practices will always be characterised by complexity.

In presenting arguments indicating the linkage of communitas with liminality Versteeg (2011:6) indicates that liminality means lifting the indicative mode of everyday social life and living the subjunctive mode of play. It follows that by projecting his observations from 'pre-modern' ritual praxis onto modern society Turner concluded that liminality had ceased to be so prevalent even though there were still certain domains of social life where liminal forces seemed to exist. In efforts aimed at describing and distinguishing the domains from liminality, Turner is said to have used the term 'liminoid'. Versteeg (2011:6) indicates that Turner saw liminality as a characteristic of a transitional state which leads to social integration as exemplified by a rite of passage or a permanent state of being for a certain sub-group in society as typified by monastic order. Turner therefore rather saw the liminoid as not forming part of such arrangement. Turner suggested that the liminoid depended on much more individual preferences and motivations to create temporary enclaves of contemplation, vision and intemperance (Versteeg 2011:6). In further distinguishing the liminal from the liminoid, Versteeg (2011:6) and Spiegel (2011:15) note thus, different from the liminal, the liminoid really has the potential for change because it really is a space outside of structure. Turner is said to argue that this is so even though at first glance, the liminoid seems to have a similar function as the liminal, that is a kind of safety valve to release structural pressure. Versteeg (2011:6) also posits that even though liminality in ritual practices opens a 'storehouse of possibilities' it in fact points to a state of powerlessness, a condition in which people are subjected to structure in such a way that they have little power to change their constraining conditions.

It is in response to Turner's position depicting actors as being subjected to constraining conditions and having little power to change that Van der Waal (2011:63) challenges as being

too limited to explain the power contestations and complexity surrounding ritual practices at any given level of liminality. Van der Waal (2011:63) thus argues that not all ritual and theatre is per definition creative and dynamic as many rituals suffer from romantic formality, strongly underscoring the status core, while the everyday can equally be innovative. In further responding to some challenges postured by Turner's work on liminality Van der Waal added that Turner's conceptualisation of liminality tended to have a too strong theological, even utopian dimension at the expense of complexity and focus on contestations for power (Van der Waal 2011:63). Ybema, Beech and Ellis (2011:21) present the view that experience of liminality considerably disrupts one's internal sense of self or place within a social system, a situation that leads to actors needing to reposition their 'selves' across diverse divides in such a way that their identity is meaningful for themselves and for their community. Of importance in this argument is the projected view of Turner who is said to have extended the conceptualisation of liminality by seeing liminal persons as 'inter-structural' due to being 'betwixt and between' the positions that they occupy at the points of separation and aggregation (Spiegel 2011).

In further clarifying the characteristics of the inter-structural position, Turner is said to have thus noted that during the liminal period, the liminar stands outside society and is socially if not physically invisible. It follows that identity wise the liminar exists outside definition due to being neither one thing nor the other. Ybema, Beech and Ellis (2011:22) further argue that in terms of social position, the transition involves liminars undergoing a change from an old to a new status that consists of either a gain or a loss of social position with 'statuslessness' or 'limboness' defining them during the actual transition. Of essence in this argument is the view of transition being metaphorically conveyed as death and rebirth since the liminar is structurally dead with an option of being ritually buried, lying motionless, marked black or

covered in blood whilst upon entering society they receive a welcome like a new birth with a new born identity and new responsibilities and powers. Ybema, Beech and Ellis (2011:22) note that social actors are likely to find themselves to be transitionally liminal when they are in-between who they used to be (a former identity) and who they might become. This implies that a future identity, with the focus in this case being mainly on a person's sense of in-betweenness and uncertainty during an identity reconstruction process. It is considering this conceptualisation on liminality that this study presents explanations on the nature of the liminality characterising the activities of the business persons as well as exploring the question how they balance kin and business obligations. The ritual activities that are carried out either within the kin or business context are also explored.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has engaged with literature on key issues such as the background for the overview of 21st century capitalism. The questions of social capital, reciprocity and obligations were explored together with literature on ritual and the production of belonging. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks used in interpreting the findings are presented. They include exchange Theory, the obligation of reciprocity and gift giving, as well as liminality. Having presented the empirical literature and theoretical framework the next chapter then presents issues surrounding the overall research context.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 OVERALL RESEARCH CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on my research setting, including its physical and demographic features. The concept of an urban setting is also explored in depth along with a profile of the Eastern Cape together with the profiling of the respondents as well as the historical background to the development of capitalism in the region.

3.2 Plotting the physical and demographic status quo (urban versus socio-economic)

It is important to explore arguments around kinship networks and rural-urban interconnections in efforts to understand how businesspersons draw upon customary elements in a capitalist context. Scholars such as Thompson (2011); Stoklosa (2007); Broodryk (2005) underscore the importance of kinship networks and rural-urban interconnections in various facets of society. It has then become important to understand how the connection of urbanites to rural kin can be linked to a form of capital which individuals and collectives have drawn from to deal with challenges posed by the capitalist society. This study therefore seeks to understand how non-capitalist forms of belonging such as kinship have been constructed, reconstructed or even contested among different kinship networks in South African cities where individuals maintain different kinds of ties with the respective kin in areas of origin. In his argument Russell (2004:53) points out that everybody is dejure a part of a social network which is in principle very stable, fixed by agnatic rules in which case kin is in the social expression of these rules.

Banton (2011:192) explains the differences between encounters among individuals. He thus indicated that an encounter between two members of a small-scale society in which 'everyone knows everyone else' will differ from an encounter in the impersonal settings of a large industrial city. He further argues that when two persons interact in a small-scale society, all relationships to which everyone is a party are potentially relevant to their behaviour (Banton 2011:192). He goes on to say that nevertheless even within industrial societies, the playing of one role may be constrained by the other relationships of that person or by other persons with whom he or she is associated (Banton 2011:192). This can be exemplified by a shopkeeper who may be cautious in discussing controversial matters with customers lest from feelings of irritation they move elsewhere.

Beinart (1991:106) noted the ideas of Van Onselen whose work revealed a variety of organised male associations among newly urbanised Africans in South Africa. These ranged from the centralised, criminal Ninevite gang to the loosely structured amalaita groups of domestic servants and migrant workers. These groups are said to have appeared to be important and enduring features of the early twentieth century urban social landscape in Johannesburg and Durban. It has been revealed that evidence on the Nomi societies in northern Mozambique and southern Malawi indicated that hierarchical gang like work associations were not necessarily confined to the urban areas (Beinart 1991:106).

3.3 Urban context: Real or imagined setting?

Urbanisation as a continuous process of change is considered a crucial factor in shaping and constructing the self-identity of a group of people. Because of urbanisation, interactions between and among different social groups increase which lead to the fact that identity will be transformed in form and essence (Tarawneh and Mahmood 2011:615). Tarawneh and

Mahmood (2011:615) have also noted that taking into consideration the dynamism of all factors that include identity, urbanisation, space and time makes the task of contextualisation of urban identities much more complex. In efforts to conceptualise 'urban' Tarawneh and Mahmood (2011:616) have argued that following Wirth's conception, by 'urban' is meant large size, density and heterogeneity such that the urban centre is characterised by a state of anomie and social void, and collective behaviour tends to be unpredictable. They further state that one could argue that modern social life is characterised by profound processes of reorganisation of time and space coupled to the expansion of disembedding mechanisms which prise social relations free from localities.

In enlightening the usually played down complexities characterising realities surrounding the "urban" context, Gillespie (2014:203) envisages a diagnosis of "urban" through describing a certain "blindness" towards the urban, that is an inability to view the urban as such. The argument goes further to note that "blindness" consists in the fact that we cannot see the shape of the urban, the vectors and tensions integral to the field, its logic and dialectical movement as well as its essential demands. The argument concludes that people largely see things, operations and objects. Of importance, however in this whole argument is the view proffered by Gillespie that admittedly urban studies have since done considerable work to rectify the results of "blindness". There however remain important ways in which the inability to see the whole field, defines something important about the quality of urban space and citizenship (ibid 203). Gillespie therefore presents an important dimension by drawing on what she terms 'our capacity to shift our vision from the specificity of "things, operations and objects" that take shape in urban space to the urban condition itself constituting its own shape' to understand the phenomenon of murder.

Chari and Gillespie (2014:145) open their article with an insightful view that that African cities are work in progress whilst at the same time being remarkably creative on the one hand and enormously stalled on the other. This view is followed by a list of activities characteristic of cities that include cooking, selling, loading and unloading, selling, praying, fasting, decorations, waste and many others. No more emphasis than this can therefore describe the situation in smaller towns such as Ntabankulu, not just because of their sizes and location compared to big cities like Johannesburg but more so due to the hive of activity that is largely influenced by the 'sea' of villages and locations surrounding them.

Chari and Gillespie (2014:145) indicate that the importance of studying the urban relates to attempts aimed at asking how lives are established around certain affinities and connections, certain ways of living together in urban space, even as that attachment is sometimes also a process of isolation and division. Sahlins (1999: xviii) note that the general presumption of Euro-American history of urbanisation besides having a stranglehold on the anthropological imagination, also held the general presumption that urbanisation must everywhere put an end to "the idiocy of rural life." It is further argued that by the very nature of the city as a complex social and industrial system, relations between people would become impersonal, utilitarian, secular, individualised and otherwise disenchanted and detribalised. This situation has been qualified by some scholars like Robert Redfield who held the view that as the beginning and end of a qualitative change, countryside and city were structurally distinct and opposed ways of life with persons becoming different from what they used to be (Sahlins 1999:xviii). Sahlins (1999:xix) however notes that it was not long before scholars like Edward Bruner challenged the folk-urban continuum by demonstrating the continuity of identity, kinship and custom.

It follows that, examined from the structural point of view; the Toba Batak communities in village and city are part of one social and ceremonial system. Further speaking from a wider point of view in relation to Southeast Asia Bruner is said to have noted the opposition to traditional theory. This found that in many Asian cities society does not become secularised, the individual does not equally become isolated, kinship organisations do not break down nor do the social relationships in the urban context become impersonal, superficial and utilitarian (Sahlins 1999:xix). Such a view was presented in the context of rural-urban relations between Toba Batak villages of highland Sumatra and their urban relatives in Medan. This situation however can be said to possible define rural-urban relations not only in South Africa but in Africa and the rest of the world. As the gestalt shifted from the antithesis of the rural-urban to the synthesis of the translocal cultural order scholars groped with different terminology that included among others; "a bilocal society", "a single social and resource system", a non-territorial community network", "a common social field" uniting countryside and city (Sahlins 1999:xix). It is noted that the rural order itself extends into the city, in as much as the migrant folk are transitively associated with each other on the bases of their relationships at home. Kinship, community and tribal affiliations then tend to acquire new functions and perhaps new forms as relations of migration. The flow of money and goods can best be understood considering "reciprocity" as opposed to "remittances" and since it replicates the migrants' obligations to homeland kin, "reciprocity" as opposed to "remittances" appropriately shifts the analytic perspective from a terrestrial village that is small to a social village spread over thousands of miles.

Naidoo (2015:99) drawing conclusions through referring to Johannesburg's Sophiatown noted that in the city, persons and groups interact within spaces and institutions. They all experience themselves as belonging to these spaces, but at the same time without having

those interactions dissolving into unity or commonness. This is further emphasised through a quote from Iris Young who thus noted: "City dwelling situates one's own identity and activity in relation to a horizon of a vast variety of other activity, and the awareness that is unknown, unfamiliar activity affects the conditions of one's own… but they do not create a community of shared final ends, of mutual identification and reciprocity" (Iris Young (1990:238) in Naidoo 2015:99). Naidoo (2015:100) has pointed to the view of the seminal 'urban theory' text from Lefebvre's work. The argument is that all space we encounter, including untouched natural or 'absolute space', should be understood as a social product or construction that is not just a reflection of power relations but rather constitutive of a specific historical social reality and sense of everyday life. Naidoo further argued that with the extraordinary dense superimposition and interpenetration of social spaces within contemporary cities, the 'urban scale appears to have become the central institutional, political and geographical interface upon, within and through which the contradictory politics of capitalist restructuring are currently being fought out' (Lefebvre 1991:3 in Naidoo 2015:100). Naidoo (2015:101) refers to the work of De Certeau who has examined how people often alter things, including objects, street plans, rituals, laws, and language, to make them their own. His analysis is therefore on the ways in which people re-appropriate traditions and symbols in everyday situations, because in the activity of reuse lies an abundance of opportunities for ordinary people to subvert the rituals and representations that institutions seek to impose upon them.

Following such explanations regarding the complexity of qualifying 'urban', this research adopts the same dimension towards understanding the obligations characterising business persons in Ntabankulu, an urban setting that is also seemingly affected by the urban "blindness" as was noted by Gillespie, that the "blindness" element noted by Henry Lefebvre

may apply mutatis mutandis in other urban contexts outside the city of Cape Town. In that regard, it is therefore of further importance to explore the argument by McAllister (1990:133) who states that considering Xhosa migration into urban areas, rural communities remained so valuable such that some people even felt that it is mostly in such settings that one can clearly be a 'proper Xhosa'. It follows that the group of business persons that is being researched not only physically share space with surrounding rural communities and clan members within the townships, but they also closely interact with them when it comes to business transactions. Identifying with the kin and community has therefore remained a necessity within the survival of the African businesses and any understanding of the ensuing relations ought to view the various actors as interacting within a singular social space despite it being fragmented as opposed to a space with explicit rural-urban boundaries.

3.4 Profiling the Eastern Cape Province

Ruiters (2011:35) reports of uneven development among and within South Africa's provinces. As far as the Eastern Cape Province is concerned it is said to be economically split into the eastern, western and inland vs coastal divides. It follows that in terms of cultural divisions contemporary Pondoland is divided into seven districts: Eastern Pondoland which consists of four districts: Lusikisiki (Qaukeni) which was and is still regarded as the capital town of Eastern Pondoland, Flagstaff (Spareni), Bizana and Ntabankulu (Ruiters 2011:35). Western Pondoland comprises three districts: Libode, Ngqeleni and Port St Johns (Nyandeni), the capital town of Western Pondoland. These districts were subdivided into smaller sections, which were no longer under the administration of the Pondo Paramount Chief but were governed by a magistrate who gave orders to him. Ruiters (2011:43), in explaining the current characteristics of the Eastern Cape Province, reveals a mixture of

consequences of which are the ‘given and inherited circumstances’ which the province must yet transcend. The three key circumstances that Ruiters (2011:43) presents are:

- Defeat of the liberal Cape tradition which had given rise to an empowered though frustrated intellectual and political leadership.
- Collapse of the peasant economy and the entrenchment of the migrant labour system which turned most of the people of the Eastern Cape into displaced proletarians as noted by (Hendricks 1990).
- Failure of the local ruling class to construct the kind of economically strong and politically coherent foundation which might have enabled the Eastern Cape to safeguard the interests of its people and to escape marginalisation in the greater South Africa (Ruiters 2011:43).

Ruiters (2011:51) notes that economically speaking the ‘Xhosaland’ border depended on black trade and black production, the output of a flourishing black peasantry. The ‘native’ trade is said to have taken place through trading stations in King Williams Town. It must be noted that in general the Eastern Cape economy is underdeveloped relative to the South African economy as a whole with large disparities within the seven Eastern Cape Districts, namely Alfred Nzo, Amathole, Cacadu, Chris Hani, O.R. Tambo, Ukhahlamba and the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan District which accounted for half of value whilst carrying a sixth of the population compared to the others. Unemployment and poverty have been noted as some of the key challenges to the province.

Hamann and Tuinder (2012:23) posits that within the Eastern Cape Province Xhosa people are increasingly moving from rural areas with few prospects to towns and cities that perceivably have better prospects, leading to peri-urban sprawl and informal settlement. Of

importance to this argument of people's movement within the province is the view that in addition many high density rural communities in the former home lands are undergoing what can be termed 'in situ urbanisation'. This involves communities beginning to function more like suburbs of the urban centres in their vicinity. This has seen the link between villages and towns growing and consequently the rural-urban boundary increasingly appearing blurred. In efforts to dealing with this challenge, some districts such as the Amathole District as early as 2005 decided to act by declaring many rural villages in the former Ceskei as formal townships with the full range of urban services and associated development plans. Watson (2009:161) adds that a significant feature of urbanisation in Africa and Asia is the strong urban-rural ties which still exist and which keep many people in motion between urban and rural centres. Watson (2009:161) further points out that through further research in Africa, the strategy of spatially 'stretching the household' has continued to function as an economic and social safety net facilitating access to elusive economic opportunities as well as maintaining kinship and other networks.

Important in this argument is the critique levelled against the view that seeks to conceptualise towns and cities as self-contained entities which can be planned and managed accordingly. Similarly proposed is the view that the commitment of people to urban locales together with what occurs in them becomes more ambiguous (Watson 2009:161). Watson (2009:161) adds that this leads to the support of the view by Simone (1999) who suggested that connections between social and physical space become progressively disjointed with frameworks for identity formation and networks being spread across regions and nations instead of being rooted in specific locations.

3.5 The fieldwork choice as a ‘missing link’ and negotiating entry

The journey of the fieldwork began way ahead of the actual data collection process itself. The choice of the area of research itself was partly influenced by my interest in finding what I can call a ‘missing link in my life’. What I refer to as a missing link relates to efforts of tracing the clans of both my paternal and maternal great grandparents whose narratives pertaining to their descent attracted my attention from a younger age. Having been born in South Western Zimbabwe where I grew up surrounded by the Ndebele and Kalanga I noticed some hostilities from a section of the community who always questioned my family’s origins. This bothered me so much that I found myself challenging my father who reluctantly retraced the family lineage trail to our great grandfather who was a cook for a wealthy British family initially stationed in Ezinyonini in Durban. He revealed that being a very good cook and helper saw his employers making the decision to move with him together with his wife uMaNdhlovu who was of Xhosa origin from the Ndhlovu clan in East London. The interest to discover more about that piece of the history grew as I also grew up with things taking a positive turn after I studied anthropology at higher levels. The choice of the topic on clanship was therefore in a way partly influenced by the quest to one-day find a missing link. Besides the issue of the ‘missing link’ I am also running a trading store in my home area and has been a long-standing dream since 2007 which came into fruition in December 2012.

One would then ask how I chose Eastern Cape as the area of research instead of perhaps choosing KwaZulu Natal where I could resolve the mystery on my paternal origins whose cultural significance weighs more in descent circles. The main reason was that narratives of my great grandmother portrayed her as a strong woman who had visible dominance over our great grandfather. Besides developing the interest of understanding tracing my maternal origins I found it consoling to start by just interacting and gaining some form of

understanding of the Xhosa people. This was compounded by the fact that I grew up surrounded by the Ndebele, whose language dialect and cultural practices are closely related to those of the Zulus. Awareness of Zulu practices reduced my anxiety in relation to imagination on what kind of clan my great grandfather came from. It was different when it came to imaginations relating to my great grandmother in which case I had lesser knowledge of the Xhosa cultural practices besides some customary menus and songs that my father used to introduce to the family. It is considering, that I found myself taking up a teaching post at a local university in the Eastern Cape in 2010 later followed by the decision to pursue my fieldwork in the same region.

It must however be understood that though my research choices were influenced by a quest to finding my lineage's 'missing link', the main compelling reasons for choosing the research site were consequently influenced by academic reasons. This follows Ntabankulu town having been observed to possess a significant proportion of black South African owned businesses, especially by AmaMpondo. This scenario was different in towns like Mthatha which had a rather diverse business ownership profile when it came to ethnic categorisation. It follows that most business owners in Ntabankulu are from the Mpondo group whilst in Mthatha they come from a multiplicity of groups with a significant proportion being non-South African nationals. This scenario therefore forced me to settle for Ntabankulu where most of the potential respondents were black South Africans who had linkages to clanship.

In relation to the establishment of connections with businesspersons, when I arrived in Mthatha almost two years before commencing my studies, I got accommodated in a Bed and Breakfast facility for almost a year. It is during this period that I met Njabulo[2] a brother to the

[2] This name just like all other names used in this study is a pseudonym.

Bed and Breakfast facility who was to later become my best friend and helped immensely with providing familiarisation tours that enabled me to identify the most suitable research site and map it. It is during one of the familiarisation tours that I met Mxo who later became my conduit into the seemingly difficult to approach Ntabankulu business community. It was through Mxo who embraced me like a kin member that it was possible for me to gain an understanding of the black business community in Ntabankulu. By affording me the opportunity of attending some of his informal meetings with his peers, I could penetrate the group and establish additional networks that helped a lot during the section of respondents and mapping the fieldwork space. The conservativeness of business persons especially from Mpondoland was clear and to further enhance the rapport and give assurances to my respondents I had to enlist the services of two local fieldworkers (a male and a female) who despite having prior research knowledge, had to be provided with more training. The assistants became valuable because in as much as rapport had been established there are some research participants who needed continuous assurance. The assurance relates to that the research was not going to do any harm in which case a closer look showed that indeed some research participants could have expanded their parameters beyond what could be legally permissible by law. Having people who they lived with and knew made it easier to secure the much-needed trust. This was something which was revealed by the relaxed nature of the business persons as the data collection intensified.

3.6 Profiling the research participants

The study focused on ten research participants of which seven were males whilst three were females. The first research participant, Mxo, is a 39-year-old male and owns three saloon businesses at Ntabankulu town. Mxo belongs to the amaMpondo and his clan name is Delwa. Although he did not know much about other members of his clan beyond reciting clan names,

he indicated that in his family stretching to other kin members they are very close to each other and act collectively. He further noted that they are nine in the family although only three of them are working. The second research participant Zamo is a female aged 42. Zamo owns a restaurant, Bed and Breakfast outlet as well as a tavern. She belongs to the amaMpondo and her clan name is Mpinge which consequently leads to her being referred to as MaMpinge. Zamo noted that her immediate family consists of four siblings.

The third research participant, Andile, is a 26-year-old male who belongs to the AmaMpondo group and whose clan name is Dlamini. They are ten in his family, and their parents have passed on. He is the only one who brings something in support for the family as he is an owner of three trading stores. The fourth research participant is Isivile, who is a 54-year-old male who belongs to the amaMpondo group and whose clan name, is Manci with accompanying clan names being Qholo and Mbali. The fifth research participant is Mbulelo who is a 40-year-old male also from the amaMpondo group whose clan name is Sukude. The sixth research participant is Bongikhaya, a 42-year-old male whose clan name is Jola. He is married and they have four children. The seventh research participant is Daluxolo, a 35-year-old man whose clan name is Nxontsa. The eighth research participant is Keketso a 45-year-old Sotho woman who owns a restaurant and two taverns. Her clan name is Mhlakuana. The ninth research participant is Dalumzi a 54-year-old male whose clan name is Delwa with accompanying clan names being Ndaba and Mthunzi, and owns two shops and a 'mini-factory'. He is married to Mandi whose clan names are Mamtolo, Dlangamandla, Mchenge and they have four children. The tenth respondent is Nongayindoda, a 44-year-old woman whose clan name is Nuba. She is commonly known as MaNuba. Nongayindoda owns three shops and a bus.

3.7 Background on the emergence of capitalist forms in South Africa and Mpondoland

May (2011:364), has referred to 20th Century theorists like Sennett (1998) and Putman (2000) among others, who have all offered similarly gloomy accounts of modernity. Theirs constitutes a warning on the dire psychological consequences related to the loss of traditions and old certainties that is turning us into other directed, self-obsessed, helpless and fragmented persons which in turn is eroding trust, social cohesion and society. May (2011:364) also points to the work of Giddens (1991) who posits that "as our lives have been disembedded from tradition and old contexts, the self has become a reflexive project no longer determined by social position". May (2011) adds that because of the social changes and challenges characterising the social order within the modern context people now inevitably face both the new freedoms and the new challenges or uncertainties that the reflexivity entails. It is therefore imperative to challenge the assertions that equate the personal with 'everyday life' which is created in essentialising terms leading to a mythical construct of 'ordinary' everyday life. Equally needing attention is the argument that views social structures as semi-permanent features that exist over and above people, whilst being imposed over them and consequently shaping who they can be.

In emphasis on the mutually constitutive nature of self and society May (2011:364) alludes to arguments by Simmel (1950:9-10) who depicts society as an event, as something that individuals do rather than a concrete substance and consequently went on to use the term 'association' instead of 'society'. This brought into fore the element of interaction as an important element of the social, thereby setting a stage for social scientists to shift from limiting themselves to studying larger social formations whilst downplaying the importance of studying so called less visible forms of interaction whose significance need not to be

ignored. May (2011:366) adds that society is made up of how people relate to their environment as well as to more intangible or symbolic notions such as 'society', shared cultural norms, traditions and values.

In terms of efforts related to business establishments in the Transkei region, according to Harvey (1976:18) the Eastern Cape Development Corporation currently located at Mthatha under the label ECDC was initially established in 1965. It was initially established as the Xhosa Development Corporation [XDC] two years after the Transkei had been made a self-governing state. The aim of the corporation was to establish industries in the Transkei and it was to specifically target assisting Xhosa businessmen who largely operated trading stores, the then popular business schemes of the time. Harvey (1976:29) avers that the trading store in late 20th century Mpondoland was considered part of the Xhosa's way of life. Flagstuff under Mpondo chief Mqikela became popular with two traders Owen and Bowles with Owen putting up the flag on Sundays symbolising that he was closed. Urban centres such as 'Mtata' acted as buffer zones separating the Thembu and the Mpondo.

Mpondo West constitutes Nyandeni beyond the Umzimvubu River that was crossed using a bundle of wood (inyanda). It was founded by Ndamase son of chief Faku. Harvey (1976:29) quoted the words of Mr Mc Cleland, the then XDC chairperson who was putting emphasis on their vision of promoting black business ownership when he thus said, "It is within the realm of probability that all white owned businesses in Black-zoned areas of the Transkei will come into Bantu ownership within the next three years". Mr WH Mc Cleland, XDC commercial manager in charge of trading stations, commenting in August 1970.

The “zoning” was meant to eventually lead to Xhosa owning even former white owned businesses with the aim being to compel white owners to sell their businesses to the South Africa Bantu Trust, a grouping of black business persons. White traders were targeted in areas such as Mont Frere, Mont Ayliff and the then Tabankulu now Ntabankulu. There were also reports of African trading stores being unsuccessful and going broke compared to the success enjoyed by their white counterparts. According to Harvey (1976:45) the pace in the absence of white traders was slower than the go ahead European with work, shopping or any other kind of business being reduced to essentially a “social activity”.

In a way that indicated some knowledge of the persistence of capitalism in the so called peripheral economies as well as acknowledging its contradictions Chief Matanzima was thus quoted as saying:

> *“The government and the people of the Transkei are capitalists by nature who place a high value on their personal possessions. My government’s policy will be one of capitalism with a conscience”* Chief Kaiser Matanzima, speaking at a luncheon at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, April 22, 1975.

Harvey (1976:33) also argues that though the fact that as business men the Mpondo and other Black business persons in Mpondoland could possibly earn more money in the large South African centres this did not seem to arouse some interest and lure these black business persons into such centres. He further argues that not only had the business persons sunk their roots deep into the Transkei as their home, they had also forged close ties with the Xhosa people, though such ties are not easy to define.

3.8 The forms and essence of 21st century capitalism

Screpanti (1999:1) indicates that attempts to define capitalism have suggested that it is an economic system in which control of production and the allocation of real and financial resources are based on private ownership of the means of production. This has been too limited to properly define the capitalist forms prevailing in modern industrialised economies. This definitional failure can be said to be glaring in emerging economies particularly in the small towns such as Ntabankulu where the rural-urban context boundaries are highly blurred, that is if ever they can be traced at all. Of further importance in the efforts to reconstruct capitalism is the notion that even if modern capitalism were to be mainly based on private ownership, it can equally not be disputed that in the current 21st century environment there seems to exist a multiplicity of institutional arrangements capable of regulating the development and functioning of economies. Consequently, the transformations that lead to neo-forms of capitalism have managed to do so through a complex process of contradictions that cannot be easily explained through conventional explanations. Considering such arguments on the complex nature particularly in respect to the 21st century capitalist forms Screpanti (1999:2) thus adds that what hinders our ability to grasp and embrace the different forms of capitalism as specific forms of unique and general mode of production is the widespread acceptance of a traditional notion of ownership according to which a property right ties the claims on 'enduring' control and on 'enduring' income. Screpanti (1999:3-4) further avers that the significance of norms which tend to determine the attribution of 'enduring' income and consequently the distribution of wealth. The most important view is the extended argument stating that the various norms involved in the capitalist processes may be defined by law, others by custom whilst others may even be embedded in the collective values and beliefs of a society.

Gupta (2002:281) notes that it cannot be an overstatement to argue that the arrival of the 21st century, historically speaking possesses some striking similarity with the emergence of the 20th century with commonalities in feelings of anger, frustrations and protest mounted particularly by the working class. Other scholars have added that the 21st century is beset with widespread unrest coupled with weak performance of global markets demarcating a turning point during global capitalism. They further argue that the important question that needs to be asked is whether such wave of unrest and market failure together with the inherent structural contradictions may represent a transition into a new phase of capitalist development or the end of capitalism altogether (Chase-Dunn and Roberts 2012:259). This become even more complex if one considers the view of Drahokoupil (2004:839) who posits that a person's economic behaviour is not necessarily influenced by an individual's economic interest but rather by their social interest. The implication being that the principles of economic behaviour are determined by the socio-institutional patterns that are dominant in each society effectively meaning that individuals act to gain social assets.

In explaining the embeddedness of the economy in non-economic institutions like the social, religious and political ones, Drahokoupil (2004:839) revealed that according to Polanyi, the economy in pre-industrial society was embedded in social, political and religious institutions and there were no distinct institutions based on economic motives of individual behaviour. Ibid (2004:841) further adds that the economic transformations that took place in the Western society led to a reversal of processes such that instead of the previous situation whereby the economy was embedded in society and dictated by the social processes, it became society that was embedded in the economy with economic processes dictating terms. Whilst modern societies are said to be characterised by a disembedded economic system that is driven by the motive of gain and nothing less than to maximise profits, such analogy may be too simplistic.

It could be simplistic in the context of the complexities surrounding the relationship between social and economic institutions within the 21st Century capitalist system. It can thus be argued that the complexity of 21st Century capitalism relates to the contradicting processes that are highlighted by the expansion of markets and their so called disembedding on the one hand and the efforts by society aimed at countering the 'ills' of capitalism through various aspects of redistribution located within social institutions on the other. In support of this critique Drahokoupil (2004: 842) concurs that the problem is that the separation of the market and the subordination of society to it are not possible. Drahokoupil adds that such a situation has never been attained in the history of mankind and merely represented a utopian goal of the ideology of market liberalism.

According to Smith, the key question needing exploration when dealing with petty commodity production has been how to conceptualise the articulation between capitalist and non-capitalist forms of production (Smith 1986:29). Although the issue of the existence of exploitation between various forms of production has been highly contentious, with the linkage of the forms of production proving to be a difficult task, there appears to be exploitative relations between economic systems rather than between classes. Smith (1986:31) raises the view of Khan who highlighted that not only does petty commodity production vary in form with different modes of production being commodified through connections with a larger external economy, but he also saw no mechanism of surplus appropriation. Smith (1986:32) goes on to dispute Khan's formulation as it leads to a singular dimension of the production process among petty commodity producers being lost largely because it is not usually the individual producer who is linked to all others through the market, as in capitalism but rather it is a household often organised despotically and

patriarchally. He extends the argument by noting that whilst communal bonds may be broken by the market, it is not so for the domestic units which organise production.

Chase-Dunn and Roberts (2012:259) indicate that capitalist production has occurred in 'Black Africa' since the introduction of cash crops without any significant changes in land tenure systems but more in land use. The argument is taken further by indicating that absence of property rights in traditional African societies cannot be equated to an absence of exploitation and domination. The key task should instead be on finding ways of conceiving such forms in those kinds of societies. It can for instance be noted that the position of elders who are custodians as opposed to owners of a patrimony or matrimony and are under a kinship obligation to surrender power to juniors when time comes needs scrutiny. It consequently means that the question of exploitation does not necessarily imply class existence in a society. If the existence of classes in any society is dependent on property relations, one may therefore argue that 'pre-capitalist' society social categories like women, juniors and ethnic groups are open to a materialist interpretation. The various societal obligations may as well represent a form of exploitation outside labour. It can therefore be argued that claims presenting some of the main tenets of the capitalist economy as having been introduced as new forms of control or domination constitute a distortion of the realities surrounding the pre-capitalist institutions.

When it comes to understanding capitalist forms, it has been argued that neo-classical and orthodox Marxist arguments are said to be far too simplistic, with the general tendency of lumping together all forms of non-capitalist production into one general form, supposedly consisting of everything that capitalism is not (Smith 1986:35). It is such biennial views that this research seeks to unravel as they create a false impression of 'purity' in relation to

defining boundaries of either capitalist forms or non-capitalist forms. On a similar note, Meillassoux (1981:141) notes that one of the key contradictions facing capitalist development comes from the persistent use, even within the most developed countries, of the family to reproduce the social ingredient which up until now has fed capitalism with the 'free labourer'. One may then argue that capitalism in the 21st century takes various contradicting forms, with elements of so called non-capitalist forms deeply entrenched in some instances leading to a highly fluid complex scenario that is difficult if not impossible to understand in classical terms. Smith (1986:40) raises an important view drawn from Burawoy in which he points to the impossibility of separating politics and ideology from the other elements involved in a production regime. The same can be said to what happens in one place which cannot be separated from the processes occurring in other places as the world market in commodities emerged. Instead of seeing peasants resisting commodification, Smith sees them resisting separation from their means of production implying that they attempt to engage in a commodity economy without losing control over their subsistence economy (Smith 1986:40).

3.9 Capitalism and the advent of the market system

Following Polanyi's arguments relating to the theory on society and economy, it has been noted that the study, (be it sociological or anthropological) of the shifting place occupied by the economy in society is the study of the way the economy is embedded and entangled in institutions, economic and non-economic (Drahokoupil 2004:839). This implies that a human's economic behaviour is therefore not led by individual economic interest but rather social location. The principles of economic behaviour are determined by the socio-institutional patterns that are dominant in each society. It follows that humans appreciate material goods if they have a certain social value or when they serve to reach a social end. Polanyi argued that the economy in pre-industrial societies was embedded in social, religious

and political institutions. This resulted in economic relations being regulated by non-economic norms and motives.

Also in the history of the Western societies, the production and redistribution of goods has been ensured by the behavioural principles of reciprocity, redistribution and house-holding (Drahokoupil 2004:840). In a similar line of argument, Holzman (2012:100) notes that more recent analysis has shown that while outstanding arrangements of reciprocal exchange may persist, they tend to do so only within restricted and structurally unique spaces amidst the broader market arrangement. He further notes that once presented with the external market systems, tribal societies tend to descend towards market based economies over a period. Drahokoupil (2004:842) thus argues that in a market society, the diverse economic system is distinct from society which is completely subordinate to it. Following the institutionalisation of the market economy, commodification of all aspects of industry such as labour, land and money follows. It must however be noted that the total separation of the market and the subordination of the market to it are not only impossible but such has never been achieved in the history of mankind. It rather remained a utopian goal of the ideology of market liberalism. Of importance in arguments relating to the influence of the market on non-economic issues, Drahokoupil (2004:842) argues that for Polanyi the greatest danger the market poses is not economic in nature, it is neither that it is unstable and volatile, nor that it produces recurring economic crises, nor that it impoverishes workers but the danger is rather the obliteration of social institutions and cultural degradation. Holzman (2012:101) notes that Polanyi's evaluations take for granted the fact that orders of society and patterns of social behaviour must be performed on an individual level. Social orders are but the collective reflections of the individual relationships maintained by their constituents, the social structures through which men conduct their social pursuits.

Hann and Hart (2011:57) argues that whilst formalists and substantivists recognized the importance of markets for economic coordination, for Polanyi the market principle could not be the main 'form of integration' in world economic history. Kuper (2005:5) also raises the view that the question of a primitive society is fundamentally unsound. He elaborated on this view by referring to Morgan who revealed that before the state existed, political systems had been based upon kinship with Engels concluding that the state emerged only because of private property and class conflict. Polanyi thus argued that markets were present in primitive and archaic societies but they did not yet pose a threat to the integration of the economy in the wider social system ('embeddedness') (Hann and Hart (2011:57). Narotzky (1997:43) presents the view of Polanyi who dispelled the universalistic assumption that logic of rational economic choice for the achievement of ends with scarce means is present in all economic processes. In certain contexts, the human economy is embedded and enmeshed in institutions, both economic and non-economic with the inclusion of the non-economic being vital. In Narotzky's (1997:51) market form of transaction appears as a one to one relation with equivalences regulated by supply and demand while it obscures other material, political and symbolic transfers which are in fact integrated in a long range, complex social process.

3.10 Money, the market economy and clarifying the socio-economic system

Hart (2015:414) argues that all forms of money are distinguished by use and interchangeability, and all these are shaped from the inside by the social practices and cultural values of their users. Following this analogy, it can be noted that far from being alienated from markets and money, most people bend the monies available to them to their own personal and differentiated purposes. Hart (2015:414) states that in addition, there is no paradox between intimacy, morals and money with money being not a 'thing' but rather a process through which people establish human relations. Beckert (2009:245) argues that

markets are the central institutions of capitalist economies and consequently the development of modern capitalism can be viewed as a process of the expansion of markets as mechanisms for the production and allocation of goods and services. Hart and Ortiz (2014:466) postulate that the multiple meanings of money tend to keep society together and strengthen the roles played by each member. They further reveal that money's capacity to transcend group boundaries drives the extension of society to more inclusive levels whilst at the same time transforming identities in the process (Hart and Ortiz 2014:466). This view therefore supports the notion that when it comes to the influence of money beyond Europe, the non-European societies ought to be viewed as being segmented instead of homogenous. This can be supported by the opinion in which in emphasising the importance of culture in financial transactions Herselman (2008:39) points out that culture challenges the fundamental strategy of marketing, customer relations, definition of products, price as well as advertisements.

Hart and Ortiz (2014:467) highlight the contributions of Mauss who avoided a unitary theory of money by showing how it fundamentally shapes our social identities. They pointed out that in his famous essay The Gift Mauss (1925 and 1990) shows how freedom, justice and the person can be understood only within the specific monetary arrangements that give us our social identities. It follows that the valuation of persons and things through money is never just technical, as it is also moral, religious and political, placing everyone symbolically in society according to various orders of reckoning. Mauss (2002:92) reveals that following observation by Malinowski on the 'primitive' economy particularly in respect to the amassing of very large surpluses that depict signs of wealth and kinds of money that are exchanged, it is important to note that the whole of this rich economy is filled with religious elements. Mauss adds that money still possesses its magical power and is still linked to kin or to the individual whilst at the same time, the various economic activities such as the market are

suffused with rituals and myths. They therefore retain a ceremonial character that is obligatory and effective whilst at the same time being filled with rituals and rights.

Mauss (2002:93) argues that the situation characterising the relationships to which the contracts give rise are in a state that is not only far from being materialistic but also far less prosaic than buying and selling, renting of services or even games played on the stock exchange. White (2013:144) in explaining the close connection existing between the worlds of the spirit and economy highlighted the importance of money as a prerequisite for the motion of all kinds of value from point to point in the broader interpersonal network of interests and commonalities that includes both visible beings and spirits of the departed. Of importance in this argument pointing to the relevance of money in spiritual transactions is the view that since the circulation of money is shaped by much more complex transactions extending beyond a national economic space that is in turn located in fluid global and regional economies, it follows that the dynamics of relations between the leaving and the dead are largely materially structured by forces of the modern economy that operate across a global scale (White 2013:144).

Posner (1980:1) argues that the applicability of the economic model of human behaviour to 'primitive' man has produced extensive debates among anthropologists with one group being labelled the "formalists" whilst the other has been the "substantivists". The debates have also drawn the attention of economists like Frank Knight. The "formalists" are said to have argued in support of the applicability of the economic model to 'primitive' man and in support of such a view they have embarked on studies of the explicit markets which are sometimes found in 'primitive' societies (Posner 1980:1). On the other hand, the "substantivists" are said to have argued that the conventional economic categories are largely inapplicable to

'primitive' society and that what appear to be equivalents to western markets have mainly a different and non-economic function in 'primitive' society (Posner 1980:1).

De L'Estoile (2014:63) arguing from a more radical angle towards understanding economic elements, suggested that ethnography by focusing on the ways people conceptualise their practices, leads us to questioning the very framework of the "the economy". It is a taken for granted framework for perceiving the world and acting on it as reflected in the works of many scholars including anthropologists. He further notes that this will allow us to go beyond "economic anthropology" itself as a product of such a framework. This will be to specifically focus not at "economic practices" in other settings but at other ways to construct the world and live in it or pursuing other forms of life (De L'Estoile 2014:63). De L'Estoile (2014:63) posits that in the economic framework, issues of alignment to the future have been usually framed in terms of "expectations". It follows that "expectation" constitutes a crucial analytic concept in economics but also in the social sciences. In this regard, Mauss is said to have "suggested that expectations are the essence of social life and that this notion" produces economy and law while on the other hand Weber is also said to have given a leading place to expectations.

3.11 Colonial influences on the post-colonial economy

Scholars have pursued arguments relating to the state of traditional African social systems during the colonial and post-colonial periods. It can be noted that scholars who have written on the state of contemporary African customary structures such as the ethnic group and general kinship systems have acknowledged the 'weakening of lineage control' due to 'integration into the capitalist economy' (Russell 2004). It follows that although scholars such as Wilson and Mafeje (1963:76) and Chiwome (1994) in Russell (2004) allude to the

negative and disorienting impacts of the Eurocentric surname, Mehlwana (1996) in Russell (2004) has a different view after his 1995 research in Cape Town found clan to be embedded in people's social lives. His argument is that far from replacing kinship as Wilson and Mafeje had indicated, the new voluntary associations found in town were based on kinship. He goes on to emphasize that although not every kinsman was considered close kin, it was with kinsman that relationships were established. In this regard, the shared clan name guaranteed enduring relationships 'through blood' (Mehlwana 1996:24 in Russell 2004:52). According to Russell (2004), the contemporary prominence of clan and one can add kinship consciousness may be a counter to the anonymity of urbanization providing a readymade but hidden network of potential kin. It is in that regard that Harvey (1976:45) notes that Mpondos like other Xhosa tribes enjoyed an exchange of greetings. In a similar line of argument, Beinart (2014:400) in view of Mpondo migrants in cities noted that the Mpondos were conscious of other ethnic groups and stuck together whilst often displaying signs of upholding the Mpondo collective identity and displaying pride around it. It must also be noted that in addition to the Mpondo being conscious of other ethnic groups, their attachment to greeting each other is also important such that clan names played a central role in such greetings. It is still a common feature for persons meeting to be heard posing against each other the question, '*ungumni kanene*' meaning what is your clan name. This line of argument is supported by Spiegel's data gathered in Cape Town as well as Manona (1991:217) in Russell (2004:52) who predicted a revival of agnatic kinship as part of a new African nationalism. In a related case depicting resilience of customary identities even under so called modernised settings Mhando (2014:55) argued that despite the concerted efforts by colonial administrators to marginalize Kuria speaking people's customary marriages, in favor of Christian faith, they have found ways of continuing with their own practices such as a union

with a dead single daughter. This form of resistance to identity erosion must however not be construed as depicting Kuria speakers and Mpondo identity as uniform.

To understand the aspects surrounding the mobilization of customary elements for commercial purposes it is important to present an overview on the influence of colonialism on non-capitalist forms of belonging. It can therefore be argued that although in many instances historically, development has been embedded in the cultures of societies in question, the rise of colonialism saw customary values suffering demonization as replacement of customary values remained one of the most powerful forces in determining change (Thompson 2011). Some scholars have pointed to colonialism and urbanization as a root cause to the disorienting impacts of modernization, urbanization and the colonial policies in African communities (Wilson and Mafeje 1963:76 and Chiwome 1994 in Russell 2004; Mehlwana 1996 in Russell 2004). This demonization and attack on customary practices was not exclusive to Africa and South Africa as similar approaches were adopted in dealing with indigenous populations and their practices in North America and Australia. It can also be argued that the associated colonial policies that sought to replace customs with so called civil ways made it harder for useful customary practices to be part of mainstream development (Osei 2003:23).

In light of arguments on the so called destructive and alienative effects of colonial policies on African populations it must be argued that the same processes have been instrumental to the promotion of the 'traditional values'. Meillassoux (1981) presents a supportive argument to the enduring nature of 'traditional' elements in each stage of societal development when he posits that instead of history being viewed as a succession of modes of production totally exclusive from each other, the domestic relations of production have been physically

integrated in the development of each subsequent mode of production. Instead of an exclusively new social order being construed, the question of how individuals and collectives drew from such 'traditional' values arise together with their effects on the arising forms of kinship and obligations. This further supports Wan and Vanderwerf's (2009:8) notion that a culture practiced for generations can never be removed entirely by colonization and foreign cultural, political, economic and social transplants. Instead of being extinct African customary practices are now fragmented and remain locked away in the African collective unconscious and the living memory of an increasing few (Thompson 2011). The other notable challenge about customary values is that they are now practiced in shrinking pockets of indigenous society. Such a society remains untouched by modernity today while at the same time a significant proportion of the younger generation despises customary elements and considers them old fashioned.

Comaroff (2012:17) reveals the challenge to the widely acknowledged focus of British anthropology on presentist models of small scale, non-western polities that still clung to the possibility of assessing the totality of relations of a society, the essential workings of a culture in any one place and time. Comaroff found it inconceivable to reduce the expansive Tswana-speaking 'homeland' either ethically or methodologically to a bounded self-producing "society" or clutch of "villages" (Comaroff 2012:17). The mention of zombies by Comaroff (2012) has been invariably attributed to experiences such as disappearance of work characterising post-apartheid South Africa that were attributed to liberal policies. Of importance in explaining the state of relations characterising the era of late capitalism, Comaroff (2012) posited that in the late modern era the line between sacred and material has become ever more overtly contested by social and religious movements of various types. Comaroff (2012:31) responds by indicating that, destined ever to "run ahead" of prevailing

forms of human reason as foreseen by Durkheim faith tends to exist in mutually constitutive relation with society. It acts to legitimise established arrangements or to wield its revelatory force, its otherworldly legitimacy in order to 'speak truth to power'.

The Comaroffs (1999:283) note that the case of the Howick monster together with the "pyramid schemes" and "the epidemic of witchcraft and the killing of those suspected of magical evil, moral panics about the piracy of body parts" are alike constitutive of an occult economy waxing behind the civil surfaces of the "new" South Africa. They further argue that drawing on cultural features with long indigenous histories, this economy is itself an essential facet of what they refer to as millennial capitalism which they explain as that odd combination of the modern and postmodern, of hope and hopelessness, of utility and futility of promise and its pervasions. The Comaroffs (1999:284) note that just as indicated by Gluckman they also hold that the practice of mystical arts (witchcraft being part of these) in post-colonial Africa does not imply an iteration of, a retreat into "tradition". They argue that it is instead often a mode of producing new forms of consciousness; of expressing discontent with modernity and dealing with its deformities. The Comaroffs further note that instead of seeing witchcraft as existing in isolation or even an African phenomenon, it follows that in a surging implosive economy it is just one element popping up in comparable contexts all over the world, although in an array of diverse local guises. The Comaroffs also hint that the northerly provinces of post-apartheid South Africa constitutes an example of a context characterised by realities that appear more than usually fragile, fluid, fragmentary and contested. In addition to the views of the Comaroffs on post-apartheid urban South Africa's fluidity, fragile, fragmented and contested nature Krige (2014:420) refers to the work of Krige (2012) who argued that in post-apartheid South Africa, a few charismatic Ponzi-entrepreneurs have arguably had a comparable impact on urban communities and their

utopias of freedom in relation to anti-capitalist and post socialist social movements. The contestations have been manifest even through a current raging debate that has beset the South African communities pertaining to the legalities surrounding the ponzi-schemes despite the millions of individuals forging ahead and displaying willing to take the risk to become potential investors.

3.12 The historical and contemporary state of Mpondoland

The Mpondo people constitute one of the groupings of the Xhosa national group though they differ in terms of culture and customs. They are reportedly renowned for possessing strong ties and firm harmony that originates from deep roots in the past. Among the Mpondo, religion and politics were taken very seriously (Meel 2009). It follows that their beliefs in ancestors was of great importance as it was connected to the kinship system whilst traditionally the king was chosen from the royal family. Among the Mpondo every member of the community was obliged to adhere to the customary obligations of the community, was bound by the tradition of the ancestors and was required to observe the family and the community as dictated by elders under the ambit of the ancestry. It follows that the chiefs and the elders were entrusted with ensuring that the faith of the community was not violated. Meel (2009:62) points out that Transkei was a former black homeland with high illiteracy and poverty with many of the people leaving in rural areas. He also noted that there are deep-rooted beliefs in ‘tradition’ and local customs.

Hammond-Tooke (1984:8) notes that Mpondo social relations just like the Nguni groupings tended to display evidence showing the importance of the homestead head or chief relationship with little evidence in these social formations pointing to economic structures wider than the homestead itself. Instead of visible large economic structures governing social

organisation, researchers in Mpondo have alluded to homesteads appearing as independent economically with wider economic interaction taking the form of work parties (*amalima*) typically involving neighbours and not necessarily or exclusively kin. Hammond-Tooke also added that early 20th century traditions of the Mpondo paramountcy indicated that transaction was conceived of as being between chief and subject with no reference to intervening structures such as the alleged lineages. He further referred to the work of Beinart who believed that in the mid-19th century communal activities as controlled by the paramount receded in importance as production became increasingly atomised to the homestead levels and there is further no evidence against the assertion that such was characteristic of the traditional Nguni relationships. This forms an important part of the argument that seeks to go beyond exploring how kinship and business obligations are balanced in a fluid and uncertain environment where new forms of belonging are a possibility leading to 'traditional' forms coming under scrutiny.

3.13 The question of formality and informality in economic and kinship studies

Conroy (2011:3) argues that the notion of informality has now been applied usefully to a range of economic structures and situations in developed and underdeveloped economies. The relationship between the formal and informal may consist of complementarity and competition with Conroy arguing that informality usually occurs in the shadow of a dominant formal economy. Without engaging in the raging debate on what really distinguish formality from informality one is drawn to the attention of the silence by Conroy to qualify what is meant by 'the shadow of a dormant economy'. To clarify the dilemma of distinguishing formality from informality Conroy does however note that in many contemporary cases although the formal economy may have a larger market share, the numbers of persons sustained by the informal economy may be higher and more so it is important to note that

informality is not just solely played out there on the streets as it operates also at the 'big end' of town (2011:4).

Kosals (2007:74) notes that though informal relations exist in formal organisations throughout the world as well, their role among kin tends to be different as the informal relations among such relations can override formal law with members preferring to shield one another as opposed to cooperating with law enforcement agents. He thus adds that intimate relationships between kin members are accompanied by a very high level of personal trust and sympathy with relations sometimes referred to as brotherhood or family. It follows that strong loyalty to the group in general and to its actions, raising no doubt whatsoever represents a principle social norm of the community (Kosals 2007:74). In as much as there exists some form of integration within kin, it tends to also possess some strong exclusionary elements with the kin members being hostile towards strangers. It is important to also to note that in as much as the hostility may be perceivably skewed towards strangers, this can by no means be used to downplay the hostilities that are usually manifest among kin members themselves.

3.14 Conclusion

The chapter has managed to explain the physical and the social qualification of the study. The arguments also focused on the complexity surrounding conceptualising the 'urban' both theoretically and in practice thereby calling for caution when an urban study is to be conducted particularly within a town deeply surrounded by rural spaces. The notion of the research journey and personal and academic experiences were presented. The background towards the emergence of capitalism as well as colonial influences on the post-colonial

economy was dealt with. It is in view of such arguments that the next chapter will then situate the study within a business context.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 NOTIONS OF TRUST, KINSHIP AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSOCIATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the concept of trust and how it is drawn upon and negotiated in various forms of association. The chapter also explores the issue of trust and how it is drawn upon in uncertain environments. Issues on various types of ties related to trust, such as strong and weak ties, are discussed. The question of social capital and its association to business is also closely explored. Explanations of networks and other forms of social capital are also explored. This chapter further focuses on the concepts of kin and kinship, presenting explanations on how they relate to the commercial setting. The notion of kinship and its linkage to blood relations is also explored in detail. It presents clarity not only on information towards understanding the concept theoretically but it presents an opportunity to highlight some of the complexities surrounding its manifestation in every day interactions. The issues of symbolism and the nature of umbilical cord ties are also explained.

4.2 Explaining the concept of trust

Herselman (2008:42) notes that trust is “intangible, unstable and illusive” and it follows that once established it can also be easily destroyed. In addition, trust is a necessity for efficient and successful business transactions. The presence of trust has been important in as far as it reduces the need for legal controls in transactions. Trust is also said to be based on kinship and the honor of ‘keeping one’s word’ implying its reliance on ongoing face to face contact between people as well as on people’s credentials and on relationships that are grounded in

shared cultural values. This is therefore said to suggest that trust is located within a 'closed' group of relatives, friends, and members of a church or some other common interest group.

Molm et al. (2012:143) defines "trust as a belief that an exchange partner can be relied on to behave benignly or favorably toward the actor and to resist exploiting the actor". It follows that as implied in their definition trust is intimately tied to perceptions of a partner's trust-worthiness. Cheshir et al. (2010:181) argues that through the process of trust building, initially opportunistic, socially risky relations can become trust relations over time. This view therefore implies the potential of trust developing in more uncertain environments, such as those created in reciprocal exchange or to some extent in non-binding negotiated exchange. Trust has also been linked to the concept of *ubuntu* and its philosophy of people having their existence through others. Despite the linkage of trust to the concept of *ubuntu* researchers such as Cheshir et al. (2010:181) have however found that the notion of *ubuntu* in African communities has tended to lose credibility. Such loss of credibility has been explained to be a result of the crime, violence and volatile interpersonal relations that affect and sometimes destroy people's lives as well as the generic emergence of conditions that point to the absence of evidence of trust between people.

It has however been noted that working with the concept of trust in theory and in practice can be problematic due to the concept of trust having a range of meanings across economics, political science and socially in general. The situation may be complicated by people who tend to work with trust as a clearly defined concept, be it socially or economically. To give clarity on the best mechanisms towards using the concept of trust, Franklin (2004:3) refers to the view by Fran Tonkiss who suggests a need to distinguish between 'trust' as a normative social concept on the one hand and 'trust' as confidence in economic terms on the other. In

that instance, she argued that trust is expressed as a feeling and operates on an informal level, affecting social action and interaction whilst at the same time allowing individuals to leave with and accept uncertainty. Confidence is viewed as belonging to the formal, contractual arrangements set up to take the personal out of every day exchanges. Despite this effort to separate the two concepts and even if one were to accept the conceptual differences, it remains to be seen how in reality it can be possible to put fixed boundaries as some trustful relations do entail some degree of confidence. The dilemma faced is as equally gross as the one facing the efforts to separate informality from formality no matter how theoretically sounding the efforts may sound. The assumption that contracts and regulations induce higher levels of trust while eliminating risks may be too simplistic as in reality the so called 'morally sanctioned informal relationships' have proved to attract higher levels of trust than the formally governed relationships.

Kwon et al. (2013:982) notes that trust is widely known to benefit economic activity especially through reducing transaction costs associated with creating contracts and monitoring compliance. Of importance is the argument that there are different types of trust with social trust being one of these. Despite these differences, social trust has been one of the important ones as it spreads beyond the boundaries of the face-to-face interaction incorporating people whom one has never met. Social trust has been given many references that include among others, 'generalised trust', 'depersonalised trust', 'moralised trust'.

Svendsen, Svendsen and Graeff (2012:352) reveal that the importance of social trust can be likened to that of similar concepts such as social capital or social networks. Of importance in their contribution is the view that although an unequivocal definition does not exist, it is generally agreed that social trust comprises fundamental principles of social interaction such

as reciprocity, solidarity and fraternity. In definitional terms, Svendsen et al. (2012:352) noted that the term social trust does not mean that people trust each other personally simply because they know each other well but instead trust denotes a much broader assessment of how trustworthy people are in general. It therefore follows that in a way social trust reflects both a person's optimistic expectation of the interaction outcome with others and the underlying understanding of how the social fabric of society works.

4.3 Negotiating the question of trust in associations and in uncertain environments

Fukuyama (2002:27) argues that business life in many contexts, with Latin America not being an exception, remains familistic and further indicated that the strongest and most reliable bonds of trust are among family members or else among relatively small circles of close personal friends. Social capital is thus said to reside primarily in kinship networks and in many respects such networks constitute an important social asset. Herselman (2008:42) lists several core values linked to the continuous shaping of the cultural roots within South Africa's black societies which she suggested to be linked to the market. The list includes funerals as honorary rights for the deceased, the position of women as home makers, kinship as regulator of interpersonal relationships and behaviour, networking, complex family composition, particularistic rather than universalistic values and beliefs among others Herselman (2008:42). Of importance is the mention of the importance of the communal as opposed to an individualistic lifestyle that persists in the black societies of South Africa. Emphasis is put on reliance on trust linked to people, that is relatives, neighbours, members of a church group or employees at the same company. Bestowing trust on individuals as opposed to institutions or contracts is exemplified in stokvel transactions.

Tonkiss (2004:19) avers that one critical area in which the boundaries of trust and confidence become especially blurred is in respect of families. In the family context family relations are said to consist of a complex and changeable mix of trust, duty, law, contract, norms and convention with trust relations in this context having the tendency to involve a stronger sense of mutuality than the minimal assumption that the other person means you no harm. The argument extends to indicate that family interactions rarely are or at least rarely feel 'freely' entered. Familial relations are nevertheless representative of an exemplary source of trust with the family acting as a basic unit of social capital. It is important to assert that despite some challenges in the application of the concept of trust, retaining it can be important. This is so especially in uncertain environments characterised by absence of formal insurance. This is in respect of both specifically indicating how far and for who the 'obligations' of family are voluntary and for addressing the question of power within families. Tonkiss (2004:20) argues that the trader's social networks tend to produce a kind of trust that is neither simply 'cultural' nor strictly economic in form. This goes on to show how social capital as represented in family, community and neighbourhood ties explained by Coleman, involves forms of trust. Such forms can facilitate economic exchange, be used to access economic opportunities or mobilise economic resources, particularly in the absence of formal contracts or access to 'mainstream' economic institutions. It is from the angle of the preceding arguments that the concept of trust in relation to its influences in the balancing of business with kin obligations would be explored.

4.4 The concept of social capital and its connection to business

Franklin (2004:2) argues that, briefly 'social capital' is a concept that refers to the ways that people create social networks and social relationships, and to the trust and norms of engagement that ease those interactions. The argument goes further to indicate that as forms

of social capital, networks and trust are perceived to generate social solidarity and inclusion. Franklin (2004:3) also notes that although social capital is a term that refers to the social sphere, it is framed in economic terms, and it has exchange value such that it can be owned by individuals and communities. At the same time however, social capital is intangible and has a fragile quality since it flows in and between people and is only apparent in its effect. It is in line with such views that communities with 'good' social capital are set to thrive they feature low crime rates and high levels of membership of local associations, political participation and economic prosperity. Franklin (2004:3) notes that in social capital theories, it is understood that the dynamics of individual and social lives are mediated through trust. Trust becomes a central factor in building cohesive and integrated communities such that it is the glue that holds society together with its presence seen to have a positive impact on the ways individuals act towards each other and its absence, evident in the breakdown of social and institutional relationships. Ravanera and Rajulton (2010:63) argue that the initial conceptualisation of social capital was closely linked to the family. They went on to note that although Coleman's description of social capital including its creation and features could encompass different organisations and networks he elevated the family institution prominence in his illustration of the benefits of social capital.

Kwon, Heflin and Ruef (2013:980) note that the influence of social capital on business activities is of long standing theoretical interest. They also highlight that despite a notable theoretical interest in the relationship between community social capital and commercial activities, most empirical work has tended to focus on social capital at individual level, particularly on the role of personal networks in promoting entrepreneurship (Kwon et al. 2013:980). While such focus has succeeded in explaining the role of social capital at micro-level, it has fallen short to offering satisfactory explanations when it comes to macro levels

particularly across larger geographic units such as communities or regions and one may add kin in this instance. The importance of a theoretical focus at community level relates to growing evidence showing that individual businesspersons' social networks are embedded in a broader societal context. It follows that individual's actions and outcomes are influenced not just by their dualistic relationships with network contacts but also by the larger social environment. This further implies that any previous research that sought to focus only on individual's dualistic network ties neglects important features that can significantly facilitate or constrain individual social capital, that is, contextual factors associated with larger social networks (Kwon etal. 2013:981). Kwon et al. (2013:981) also allude to the limitations relating to literature on social capital especially at an individual level where it is viewed as 'a private good and treated as an individual resource'. In that way individuals are said to benefit directly from their own social affiliations and network strategies. Instead of seeing an individual benefitting, scholars like Putman have argued on the diffusionist tendency of social capital to several persons within regions or groups where it is found in high levels. This situation is further referred to by some as a spillover effect of social capital in which community cohesion and information flow that accrue to members who do not personally have high levels of personal social capital.

Prandini (2014:222) alludes to the view by Coleman on social capital where he noted that the idea of social capital includes the qualities of family relationships. He further adds that for Coleman the family's social capital, defined as the relationship between parents, children and other relatives living under the same roof, has an important role in building the younger generation's human capital. Family relationships ought to be therefore seen as a source of social capital even if the persons live under the same roof. Alberto and Ferrara (2000:847) thus note that, many observers including economists are convinced of the complex stock of

social norms, trust and networks of civic engagement that has been grouped under the term "social capital". McAllister (1990:132), who points to the importance of the network of economic relationships within which individual homesteads are embedded, presents more insight on the importance of social capital in defining various relationships especially in the economic realm. Of further significance in the argument is the view that such relationships are said to be based on the principles of kinship and of neighbourhood or territory which are both locally defined as pillars of customary forms of social organisation. In the context of the Mpondo, just as it is the case with other Xhosa groups, this cooperation is said to result in a high degree of economic interdependence between homesteads, based on relationships cast in the idiom of Xhosa custom with the possibility of people being able to interpret their participation in the wider economy in terms of the familiar dialect. This is set to constitute an important analogy in exploring how business persons in and outside kinship associations balance business and kin obligations drawing on various forms of social capital associated with such groupings.

4.5 Networks and other practices of social capital

Katz and Noshir (2004:308) define a social network as consisting of a set of actors ("nodes") and the relations ("ties" or "edges") between these actors in which case the nodes may be individuals, groups, organisations or societies whilst the ties may fall within a level of analysis ranging from individual to group ties. Katz et.al (2004:308) notes that networks are typically multiplex, that is, actors share more than one tie. Granovetter (1973:1361) notes that the strength of a tie constitutes a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services which characterise the tie. In some of Polanyi's symposium papers, Granovetter in Poder (2011) argues that networks are only interesting because they are a mediating proximate cause. They are points where cooperation, trust and

domination and compliance are produced and those are crucial parts of every socio-economic system (Granovetter 1990: 95-96 in Poder 2011:345). Burchardi and Hassan (2013:1219) indicate that a sizable amount of literature on social networks and social capital reveal the importance of social ties between individuals in determining economic performance at both microeconomic and macroeconomic levels. They further allege that individuals with valuable social ties can create a competitive advantage for the firms at which individuals work as well as the regions in which they live. The social ties that are maintained for non-economic causes in specific regions may thus also affect the economic advancement of such regions.

Thornton (2009:5) notes that social networks often constitute social capital, and went on to define "social capital as the value inherent in informal social connections with others and with the community". One can however note that such a definition by pointing to 'informal connections' need to be taken cautiously as social capital is so fluid such that it transcends both 'formal' and 'informal' connections, hence to restrict it to informal connections may downplay its complexity. This complexity is acknowledged by Thornton when he argues that social capital is difficult to measure because it also depends on social values such as status, sense of wellbeing, happiness, fulfilment and engagement with others among others (2009:5). Of importance to note in Thornton's contribution is the view that social capital is the direct value (in cash, kind, reputation, distinction or other tangibles and intangibles) that persons may derive from social structures, roles and networks. He thus states that increasing social capital is held to reduce social alienation and hostility or to mend a sense of loss or loneliness (Thornton 2009:5).

Whilst at face value one can accept such an analogy depicting the positives of increasing social capital, it is important to note the potential contestations and conflicts that may arise.

These may not just emanate from external forces represented by excluded individuals and groups but from within the network as it is impossible to reach a point of saturation or to balance equilibrium where relations are concerned. This is so either in interpersonal or in group relations. It has been noted that when dealing with networks it will be erroneous to characterise them solely in terms of cooperation and harmony as each point of contact within a network can be a source of harmony on the one hand and conflict on the other as noted by Gluckman when he studied modern Zululand. It follows that in his analogy conflict and cooperation are meant to be viewed as co-existing elements just like two sides of the same coin. Networks are also said to commonly involve aspects of dependency and particularism in that by establishing enduring patterns of repeat trading for instance, they tend to restrict access, with opportunities to new comers being overshadowed either intentionally or more subtly through such barriers as unwritten rules or informal codes of conduct (Powell 1990:306).

Cheung and Chan (2010:206) note that social capital is a kind of capital that draws benefits from social relation. In the process, it draws upon helpful social relations to enable the acquisition of information, resources and other forms of capital in productive work and the generation of capital. This 'social relation' is said to essentially involve a variety of sources, including the family, workplace, friendship, voluntary organisations, community, and other social networks. It is important to note that social capital cannot be defined within the scope of exclusively bounded indicators. It therefore follows that in many current studies social capital tends to be commonly viewed as a label applied to a large number of indicators of social relation, trust and reciprocity involving networked members and organisations (Cheung and Chan 2010:206). Some studies are also said to have equated social capital to trust, social networks and support hence the focus of the current study on how

businesspersons draw from trust in balancing business and kin obligations. It would also be of importance to explore how trust may influence new forms of belonging among the businesspersons in question. Cheung and Chan (2010:208) have defined reciprocity as the expectation of conditional help received from other people, in response to the help provided to them. In a way, it consists of another mechanism in which the condition for exchange is registered, which makes a social network helpful.

Networks are therefore a convenient matrix for studying individual action; they appear as a useful analytic instrument for economic anthropology especially when abstracted from social exchange theory. People tend to respond to situations through shifting of forms of belonging. Narotzky (1997:89) also notes that contracts are intrinsically imperfect because of the uncertainty of future outcomes. This is because contracting parties have to rely on customary practices and on the other's good will. Far from Durkheim's view of individuals being bound by social facts, there are other binding forces at play in addition to contractual forces between individuals. Non-contractual features of exchange agreements are key and functional to any ecosystem based on trade. Far from being 'free' from non-contractual relations, all contracts in a market system rely heavily on trust, and all employment contracts involve an element of trust which cannot be obtained or expressed simply in contractual terms. It follows that Granovetter uses network analysis as a theory of social relations, which is one where personal concrete, economic and social transactions build trustful relations between individuals (Granovetter 1990: 95-96 in Poder 2011:345). Social relations are transactional experiences and economic action would involve choice between alternative partners to maximise the unwritten 'trust' element of contracts, a formalist version of 'embeddedness'.

Kuper (1992:6) points out that there are no bounded societies any longer and instead 'different meanings and meaningful forms may occur in different social relationships, and….the cultural context of more or less adjacent relationships may impinge on one another'. It follows that global processes tend to inevitably touch everybody's experience no matter how isolated they may appear to be. Kuper relates to Hannerz's view of preferring the image of 'social networks' to that of a 'society'. The actor participates in a series of divergent networks, guided not by culturally set values but by flows of meaning through various networks of relationships. Kuper (1992:51) in avoiding describing the global space as a single network sought to underscore the point that at the same time "network ideas are less totalistic, more pluralistic... decentralised and mutable". It follows that in terms of network analysis any networks to which we choose to devote special attention do eventually belong within something wider yet at the same time noting the importance of avoiding prioritising local social relations over those operating over greater distances.

4.6 Exploring the strong and weak ties

Poder (2011:345) relates to the work of Granovetter (1990) whose focus on 'weak' and 'strong' ties has presented useful insights on how relations within networks are shaped. This is complimented by the assertion that economic actions are "imbedded" in social relationships. In this case "imbedded" denotes "that… action is always socially situated and cannot be explained by reference to individual motives alone and that social institutions do not arise automatically in some inevitable form but rather are socially constructed" (Granovetter 1990: 95-96 in Poder 2011:345). The linkage of embeddedness to social relationships can be further highlighted by the argument of Granovetter (1985:482) who highlighted the view that there is embeddedness of economic behaviour in social relations in premarket societies as opposed to more autonomy in modernised societies. Such an approach

perceives the economy as a progressively distinct distinguished domain in modern society, with economic transactions no longer defined by the social or kinship obligations of those transacting but by rational calculations of individual gain. Sometimes it is further argued that the traditional state of affairs is reversed such that instead of economic life being submerged in social relations, it in turn becomes an epiphenomenon of the market. It is in line with such arguments that the study tends to explore notions of commercialisation of kinship within an urban setting.

An important dimension to the study of social capital is the difference in views between Bourdieu and Coleman in which case the latter is accused of failing to see the differences in internal power. He is accused of regarding social capital as a kind of collective good whereas for Bourdieu it is the person having the power on the group who mobilises the resource (Poder 2011:348). The issue on the differences in internal power is an important one as it reveals that no matter how equitable the resource distribution within a network might be its mobilisation and attainment in reality cannot lie within a context of a bluntly equal collective effort devoid of manipulations and controls or even sacrificing of additional material or non-material resources. It is also worth noting that Bourdieu foresees a situation where by persons within a network have to work towards attaining social capital as opposed to Coleman who finds social capital to be given and readily accessible to members of the particular network.

Drawing from the works of Putman (1983 and 1993), Poder (2011:349) identifies horizontal (woven between equal actors) and vertical ties (woven between actors of unequal power relationships of hierarchy). Of importance in this argument is Poder's emphasis that the networks of horizontal ties such as those formed in voluntary associations, support the emergence of norms of reciprocity which in turn foster trust, exchange and collective

engagement; and the success of past cooperation (Poder 2011:349). It is further argued that such contexts are usually associated with generalised reciprocity that helps to bring individuals closer as well as their interests through a chain of constructive arrangements. In contrast to horizontal ties lie the vertical ties where individuals find themselves trapped in situations characterised by mutual exploitation, with corruption and greediness being part of the norms (Poder 2011:349). In such situations generalised reciprocity is said to be impossible as actors remain eternally guided by their greed or their immediate personal interest. This creates and maintains selfish behaviour against which it is very difficult to protest. While acknowledging the importance of the 'Putman informed categorisation of horizontal and vertical ties' one can note how the differences of the two ties may face challenges. It follows that just as the usage of terms such as 'good' and 'evil' draw problems if applied on human actions since individuals may periodically shift and prove to possess 'good' and 'evil' characteristics depending on the context it may be equally helpful to view horizontal ties as coexisting just like two sides of the same coin. This might be a more appealing approach particularly when dealing with the issue of how kinship is mobilised by business persons mainly considering the uncertain situations in which they find themselves in.

4.7 A review of the concept of kinship in relation to organisation and obligation

It must also be noted that despite literature pointing to the rejuvenation of kinship in shaping contemporary relations among kinship groups, one must take note of how fluid, conflicted and uncertain kinship can also be in situations where children's parents are unmarried as in the case for many South Africans. Hunter has explained the disorganization and challenges related to the complexity of economic obligation to kin particularly in urban areas (1936:449)

in Russell (2004). In her explanations, she saw urban social life as being structured around new special interests such as religion, politics and sports.

Although scholars such as Mitchell and Green, (2002) in Russell (2004) and White (2010) presents valuable evidence pointing to the renewed importance of extended kin particularly among the urbanites, rates of marriages have plunged and proportions of marriages ending in divorce has risen. One can therefore seek to find out whether the weakening of more proximate family ties leads to an established of more abstract forms of kinship becoming more salient. Further, questions of how the new forms of belonging emerging from the reconstruction of family have been used for commercial transactions tend to proliferate. The situation in the South African context where family ties are being restructured has also been noted in other African countries and beyond. They have been manifest for instance in the British context where elements of a reconstituted family are common depicting the absence of a couple. These cases pointing to the restructuring of kinship patterns will be closely explored as they may have influence on how people establish cooperative relationships in turbulent and uncertain environments. This complexity will be further explored as it has taken new forms in the contemporary context particularly where commercialization of kinship is involved. According to Mayer (1967:12) kinship describes and defines domestic relations and person to person ties derived from them whilst at the same time being used in dealing with lineage relations that include agnatic and cognatic ties. In most instances agnates have mutual bonds of sentiment and reciprocal obligations though not necessarily common interests.

A lineage group or a household is said to be a result of social expansion caused by common habitation of kinsmen (Ayisi 1980:28). Members claim to be related to every member of the

group by direct descent or descent from a common ancestor (patrilineal) or ancestress (matrilineal).

4.8 Exploring family and kinship relations

A South African government Report, the Green Paper on Families (2011:5), states that the family remains key in the lives of its members within different stages occurring between birth and death providing the members with psycho-emotional and economic support. The Green Paper has also acknowledged that the family institution is continuously changing and adapting to societal and global transformations. It also follows that the responsibilities and obligations to family and community members and society in general tend to be defined within the family setting. Besides strong families being able to effectively deal with conflict, stress and crises, a strong family has what is known as rhythm, which is expressed in routines, rituals or traditions.

A family is defined as ‘a group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood, adoption or cohabitation characterised by a common residence (household) or not interacting or communicating with one another in their respective family roles, maintaining a common culture and governed by family rules Green Paper on Families (2011:45). Mohammadpur (2013:124) argues that the traditional family category, which interacts with supporting factors, demonstrates that family relationships, interactions and rules are internally regulated and function based on in-group solidarity. It is said that family affairs are organised around in-group traditions, values and norms. The argument goes on to indicate that it is therefore nearly impossible to disobey the traditionally defined obligations. Following a study of plastic bag sellers in Soko Kuu market of Mwanza city, Tanzania, Burbidge (2013:98) argues

that kinship did have some significance when participants reflected on how strong their safety net was if things were to take a turn for the worst and they were no longer able to support themselves. If respondents had family, they would at those times turn to them for help. The importance of this argument has also been the question of what happens in situations if things went wrong as it has seen family and kin allegiance shifting as other forms of belonging are embraced.

Levine (2008:376) points out that American's reference to biology in their discussions of family and relatives had no necessary relationship to biology as a natural process but rather were social constructs and essentially symbolic. Levine (2008:377) also argues that more recent studies have focused on globalizing or developed societies and have stressed the fluid and contingent nature of kin relationships and how they are instituted and natured over time through various actions. It follows that in place of system and structure, the new focus stresses analogies based on practice and process. Prandini (2014:224) argues that family can be defined as an emergent property of social relationships, sui generis, constituted layer of reality that can feed back to its constituents. It follows that from such a view point the family constitutes a 'reflexive social subjectivity' with its peculiar memories, projects and identity.

Ayisi (1980:6) indicates that rules of incest and exogamy are complementary. Ayisi (1980:15) refers to the view of Levi-Strauss who using 'family' to distinguish it from the universalistic view which treats the nuclear family as building blocks of social structure contends that the most important aspect of the family is that it is founded upon the institution of marriage and hence it unites two kin groups in reciprocal obligations and mutual interests. A conjugal family has certain autonomy but is commonly enmeshed in an extended kinship system and furthermore kinsmen often exercise great control over the conjugal pair and

frequently dictate the choice of mate. Ayisi (1980:16) argues that the extended family that is common to most African societies forms the core (raison d' etre) of all social cooperation and responsibility. It is a source of social security for the group and is smaller than the lineage in span but detached. The extended family constitutes several joint families. A joint family is made up of heads of two or three lineally related kinsfolk of the same spouses and offspring who occupy a single homestead.

According to Read and El Guindi (2013:11), if kinship systems may be construed as being pluralistic with multiple idea systems. It can therefore follow that the kinship systems with the kinship ideas they represent and out of which kinship relations are constructed are more important than the terms themselves. Geller, Harrison and Revelle (2010:4) argues that many aspects of kinship have been studied in anthropology such as its role in social life, the kinds of social needs it satisfies and the influence it exerts on society. It follows that kinship systems describe a basal social structure, namely the one given by blood lines. It must however be noted that the kinship structures represent more than mere lineage systems and while kinship indeed often defines the elementary family, it also provides a basis for social structures (such as extended family, local group, tribe and clan), functional relationships such as marriage and basic mechanisms such as affinity and emotions (Lyon, Jamieson and Fischer 2015:14). Geller et.al (2010:4) refers to critiques of kinship studies such as Schneider and Kuper who notes that kinship is a rather fluid and constructed kind of thing. Following this argument, he noted that with respect to the Punjabi kinship, although in indigenous terms one can have many kinds of brothers and sisters, some tend to be much "closer" than others. It is this "closeness" of kin members and other broader ties that will need to be explored strongly within Ntabankulu business persons. In addition, it follows that there is a real possibility in which people may perceive a kin relationship where there exists no genetic relationship.

Geller et.al (2010:4) further refer to newer literature exemplified by Sneath who in a postmodernist, constructivist fashion highlighted the importance of overlapping relations within a group of people based on role or gender among other things and the individual as actively constructing relationships. In this instance, what some writers have viewed as tribes have been construed as aristocratic lineages. It can be also noted that social constructions of kinship influence social identity, its range within an aggregation of individuals as well as how an individual is placed in such aggregation. This can be illustrated by a case presented by Murray who indicated that in Punjabi there is a clear difference between "sides", that is mother's side and father's side and the occupants in these sides are not kin to one another with marriage occurring between unrelated lines focusing on one household at a time and constantly changing through the generations (Murray 2013:8). On the other hand, in Tamil a marriage constitutes part of a continuing system of relations between parallel, related descent lines going through successive generations (Murray 2013:8).

Chapais (2014:752) argues that human kinship configuration is made up of several complex social patterns such as patrilineal kinship networks, the social inheritance of status and marital arrangements. It follows that such configurations are collective, group level phenomena with their own uniqueness. Among other things such as referring to the works of Geertz (1973a) and Schneider (1984) not only are all aspects of human kinship configuration extremely variable cross-culturally in any society but they are rather also consistently apparent under specific forms and meanings. These are moreover considered by many to be incommensurable cross-culturally (Chapais 2014:752). Kuper (2005:158) notes that as revealed by Malinowski individual family ties were structurally in conflict with group relationships. A young man had open resentments against his father but instead loathed his father's brother or mother's brother because of his hold on him. In essence, it is important to

focus on what people did in reality instead of focusing on vague ideological constructions. In the same line of argument, Kuper (2005:159) notes that there have been questions on whether kinship in its origins was individual or collective.

Chapais (2014:751) highlights the important effects of kinship in small scale societies when he thus noted that the kinship in such societies correlates with strong biases in residence patterns, whilst also shaping cooperative relationships in various areas ranging from subsistence activities to child care and coalition formation. Chapais (2014:751) further asserts that kinship remains an important factor determining membership in a group. It also structures rivalries and alliances between lineages and kin groups, lying at the heart of strong ties and alliances between local groups as well as having a preponderant effect on the transmission of status and wealth. In relation to marital issues kinship is said to play a major role in the choice of partners whilst at the same time creating positive and negative biases in formation of marital unions and poses a central factor patterning group fissions.

According to Fleischer (2007:417) family in the African context involves not only biological and social parents and siblings but also uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, nephews, the family members of the spouse and in many cases "people with whom you identify" such as friends and other non-relatives. Fleischer (2007:417) although making specific reference to the Cameroonian extended family system argued that extended family systems and strong kin and lineage relations remain important in most regions of Cameroon since they provide a sense of belonging, solidarity and protection. This is even though the extended family systems also involve expectations, obligations and responsibilities whilst at the same time playing a crucial role in social control. It therefore follows that economic, social and demographic behaviour in African societies cannot be analysed without reference to the

extended family and its involvement in the decision-making processes. Fleischer (2007:417) further argues that in contrast to nuclear families, extended family systems allow access to resources and enable the exchange of children across nuclear family units but they also entail obligations and responsibilities. Use of witchcraft within the extended family has also been reported.

Kutsoati and Morck (2012:1) argues that the idea of family in Sub-Saharan Africa extends beyond its conjugal members and whilst further pointing out that lineage or extended family constitutes a far larger web of relationships in which all members have a common ancestor either male or female. Whilst lineages are historically a bastion of emotional and financial support, expectations of being supported by and of having to support members of one's lineage can also deter human capital accumulation, labor supply, entrepreneurship and risk taking. There is therefore a likelihood of exclusion of others whilst embracing some depending on the context rather than on quantifiable criteria. Consequently, human societies individuals tend to refer to the behavior of others qualitatively by categorizations such as "friend like" or enemy like instead of using quantitative categorization (Dwight 2013:159). It however follows that the boundaries of the categorization may be individual specific and are used to separate those with whom one interacts into groups such as "my friends" and "my enemies".

Emirbayer (1996:113) notes that one of the important works of Durkheim relates to the idea of the modern family in which case he follows its formation in sequence of the stages that involved the diffuse kin, the differentiated family of maternal or paternal lineage, the joint family of agnates, the patriarchal family, the maternal paternal family as well as the modern family itself. It is further argued that even in the modern age not only does the conjugal

nuclear family remain a focal point for group norms and attachments as well as individual moral development. It follows that in addition, the marital bond is said to strengthen thereby serving a moral function that enhances "moral health and happiness" acting as a regulatory mechanism creating social bonds among individuals (Emirbayer 1996:114).

Hammond-Tooke (1984:9) notes that whilst it is important to note the incorporative potential of kinship, it is equally a useful corrective to realise that kinship is divisive, particularly the family. In view of this assertion on the incorporative potential of kinship it's argued that family membership just like descent sets norms of incorporation and differentiation with the divisiveness being drawn upon for various reasons. The incorporative nature of kinship is also seen in marriage alliances. In distinguishing kinship from descent, Hamond-Tooke (1984:9) indicates that kinship refers to the system of relationships that centres on the individual and includes relatives on both the father's and mother's side as well as the affines. Descent on the other hand is said to be more specific as it refers to the singling out of one side of the family for special emphasis, though matrilineal and patrilineal principles can be combined (though rarely) in several ways. Of importance in the concept of descent is the fact that its salience can vary from the simple inheritance of a name to the formation of fully corporate groups usually referred to as kin and lineages which can have major functions particularly in acephalous societies with the elders having considerable power that is usually of a ritual nature. Kriege and Comaroff (1981:30) notes that following Barth's criticism on discussion of friendship and marriage for its exclusive focus upon the contrast between "alliance" and "descent" systems suggests the existence of a third generic type, that is descent group segments are defined by the descent rule but in the absence of the exogamic prescriptions, parallel cousin marriage produces and individual network of kinship ties across

such segments as exemplified by Arab patrilineages that are distinct from exogamic patrilineal systems. The same can be said of incest rules.

Krieje and Comaroff (1981:60) define marriage as a process involving elements such as betrothal, co-residence and the payment of bridewealth. There also ought to be acceptance of the marriage by the community as a critical component in ensuring one's own definition of social and conjugal relations is generally accepted existence of associations such as stockvels, position of businesspersons that is, urbanites in daytime and later relocating and getting back to community-immersion and responding to community and family obligations.

Wright and Hamilton (1996:18) suggests that kinship systems operated as sets of ideas or mental maps about who was related to whom, either by descent or by marriage and therefore about who had what obligations to whom and who could expect what dues from whom. They functioned to define certain basic patterns of behaviour between individuals and between groups. Notions of who was related to whom were, according to circumstances subject to frequent manipulation by individuals and groups either to establish closer social and political links with others or else to distance themselves from others (Wright and Hamilton 1996:19). This therefore serves to suggest that kinship groups were fluid, they existed not as objective collectives but like gender groups and age groups as mental maps which shaped relationships and identities on the ground. Wright and Hamilton (1996:19) have taken the argument further by noting that ties of interdependence in the community were reinforced by the tendency for some of its constituent homesteads to manipulate their traditions of origin in such a way as to enable them to claim a common descent. Such claims served to strengthen networks of dues and obligations both between ordinary families of local leaders and their members. Even though at any point in time there were always some homesteads in the neighbourhood which

stood outside the means of genealogical relationships, members of a core cluster of homesteads tended to develop a sense of themselves as a group descendent from a common male ancestor and to identify themselves by his name (Wright and Hamilton 1996:19). The sense of solidarity was expressed in and strengthened by participation in collective activities such as hunting, formation of work parties to perform certain kinds of labor, the performance of certain rituals as well as the holding of various festivities. The centrality of the notion of descent was underpinned by a religious system based on worshiping of the ancestors.

Kuper (2005:109) argues that ties of descent which had regulated communal property relationships were losing their old importance with the prominence of nuclear family and the personal tie between husband and wife becoming relatively more significant. The aspect of individualism in modern society is overemphasised and one can concur with part not the entire notion of Kuper who posits that the family of today is not more or less perfect than that of old (Kuper 2005:109). The family is different because circumstances are different whilst at the same time it is more complex largely due to the complexity of the environment in which it exists. Holms in Bamford (2009:60) indicates the possibility that, at least for some Luo, the community is a place of fluid, encompassing and shifting identities, that is, a place in which relations of power are negotiated and fashioned by complicating and reformulating colonial kinship rather than by reproducing kinship in and through 'the blood'.

4.9 Relating kinship to ethnicity and tribe

In explaining the complex relationship between 'nation' and 'corporation' by referring to 'the Bafokeng nation' and 'the Bafokeng Corporation', Kriel (2010:44) notes that anthropologists who have written about Bafokeng Inc. despite recognizing the ambiguity characterising the 'nation' and 'corporation' aspects have not attempted a clearer analysis of this relationship.

Ethnicity Inc. organisations are dependent upon legitimizing representations although it's important to ensure that such organisations are not taken as givens-distinct, fixed and unitary entities that impact the terrain in which nations, states and corporate institutions function. Kriel (2010:52) emphasises that research ought to instead focus on efforts to understand the evolution of these and how they are distinguished from other institutional forms as well as what effects their construction has on the nature, boundary and role of the state as well as on the operation and diffusion of power throughout society.

Platt (2009:14) argues that whilst it is possible to take kinship to be analogous to ethnicity this does not in any way mean they are the same although in many contexts kin identity has tended to play an analogous role to ethnic identity especially in instances were violence is concerned. This can be said to be the case not just in situations characterised by war and perhaps interethnic violence as played by the xenophobic and Afro-phobic attacks in South Africa but also in situations where differences may arise in terms of access to material or non-material resources within various groupings. It is along these lines that some commentators have argued that in as much as the kinship structure is perceivably a foundation of people's lives across African societies and the world over, it does so within the principle of cooperation and antagonism between and within social groups. Cook (2011:S155) supports Comaroff and Comaroff's (2009) view in Ethnicity Inc. where they argue that "the more that ethnically defined populations move towards the model of the profit seeking corporation, the more their terms of membership tend to become an object of concern, regulation and contestation". This implies the presence of "inclusion" and "exclusion" as a key dimension to ethnically defined enterprise. It is further stated that it does not however follow that the Bafokeng powers that be may favor biology and heredity over socio-cultural elements of belonging (Cook 2011: S155).

Nagel (1994:152) further posits that according to such a constructivist view, the origin, content and form of ethnicity reflect the imaginative choices of individuals and groups as they define themselves and others in ethnic ways. It follows that ethnicity is constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry or regionality with the location and meaning of ethnic boundaries being continuously negotiated, revised and revitalised, both by ethnic group members themselves as well as by outside observers (Nagel 1994:152). The assertion of ethnicity as being socially constructed does not mean a denial of the historical basis of ethnic conflict and mobilisation. Nagel (1994:162) states that groups construct their cultures in many ways which involve mainly the reconstruction of historical culture and the construction of new culture. It follows that the techniques for cultural reconstruction include revivals and restorations of cultural practices and institutions whilst new cultural constructions include revisions of current culture and innovations that constitutes the creation of new cultural forms. Leve (2011:514) points out that that ethnic revivalism and the resurgence of "neo-tribal" identities may themselves be partial products of late capitalist accumulative techniques. Legal changes that present themselves as positive responses to minority demands may also act as strategies for the cooptation and control of citizens by states.

Mafeje (1991:107) argues that the concept of 'tribe' needs critical re-examination as it presupposes experiences of contradictions among Africans. Tribalism ought to be seen as more of an ideological construct than an index of some concreate existence in Africa. Mafeje further argues that the idea of African societies being 'tribes' signifies a colonial legacy in Africa. Instead he saw a prevalence of different forms of social organisation that need careful identification of social formations. At close review of African social formations leads to a realisation that instead of 'tribes' and kingdoms existing as clearly distinct bounded

homogenous entities, they reflect different stages of becoming and belonging. Mafeje highlights the impossibility of having a single tribe spread all over the interlocustrine region as instead the household economy prevailed in such areas. There existed kinship bound status and not tribal or segmentary focused. Mafeje (1991:108) notes that 'tribe' refers to a particular form of political and social organisation not people. African social formations were modelled around the household economy as the general feature and unlike in Asian village economies there is a tendency towards economic integration in tributary social formations. He thus takes the argument beyond stating that individual families were units of production as well as of appropriation and could hold their plots of land in perpetuity as long as they were under use. It however casts doubt on the supposition by liberal economists and Marxists alike that the so called communal land tenure necessarily militated against the development of material forces in Africa (Mafeje 1991:109).

Wright and Hamilton (1996:15) argue that a common assumption is that ethnicity, or tribalism as is often called in its African context, is an inherent feature of African society and therefore needs little by way of historical explanation. They further indicate that the word 'tribe' as commonly used implies a fixed group with a common language and culture who live under the rule of a hereditary chief in a clearly defined territory. It has been indicated that prior to colonial rule, many African people lived in polity units which did not have clearly defined territorial borders or a firmly fixed membership whilst at the same time they were not always linguistically or culturally homogenous. Use of 'tribe' however further blurs the distinction between polity units of different types. Wright and Hamilton (1996:16) further note that before the advent of colonial rule people in African farming societies lived in polities that ranged from small loosely structured communities under the patriarchal authority of a group of elders to large states where paramount chiefs or kings who belonged to clearly

defined aristocracies ruled over various categories of commoners. To conceive the various kinds of polity within this range as all constitutive of 'tribes' is therefore equivalent to making a thoroughly confused notion of political and social relations in precolonial Africa (Wright and Hamilton 1996:16).

It follows that applying the term 'tribe' to today's African communities leads to similar confusion as it implies that these communities are essentially of the same kind as precolonial communities and political conflicts among them are largely a continuation of conflicts that originated in the historical past. Such a conclusion based on ahistorical notions is unacceptable as it fails to consider the deep seated political and social transformations characterising many African societies long before the establishment of colonial rule and even the 19th century transformations resulting from influences of colonialism, industrialisation and urbanisation. It must also be noted that though to some extent political ideologies in Africa today may often involve 'tribal' histories in their discourses; it is rather too narrow a view to suggest that they do so for 'modern' purposes. The conflicts between African groups in the current context aren't about primordial tribal issues but they rather constitute a multiplicity of struggles for power and resources.

Wright and Hamilton (1996:16) view ethnicity as a worldwide phenomenon that has been receiving enormous attention. It must be noted that whilst much has been written around the subject particularly pertaining to what it is and how it works in the modern world, there is relatively very little on the question of how ethnic consciousness comes into being in the first place. Similarly, there is very little said on how it has changed over time hence the literature is always accused on being ahistorical in its approach. Ethnicity has to do with the process by which people come to see themselves as belonging to a group (other than a descent group)

whose members share or believe they share a common historical origin. This is central to understanding what an ethnic group is and how ethnic consciousness come to be formed (Wright and Hamilton 1996:16). They further argue that an ethnic group has certain similarities with but differs from a 'cultural group', a 'racial group' and a 'nation'. It can also be noted that contrary to the popular view, it does not have an objective existence outside the minds of its members. Like a 'race' and a 'nation', it exists as a mental construct, an imagined community. Wright and Hamilton (1996:31) thus caution that usage of terms tends to be rooted in the long established European conception of people in Africa being viewed as living in distinct cohesive 'tribes' each with its own generic name. Such a notion falls short of adequately reflecting the complex and contested processes in which Africans built up a range of group identities for themselves.

4.10 The question of totems and totemic symbols

Read (2001:79) avers that kinship concepts ought to be stemming from their inclusion as symbols within a system of symbols that has intangible structure of some kind. This structure is also said to be generative and based on conceptually definable reciprocity property that links one symbol to another as reciprocal symbol. This analytic approach moves kinship away from presuming that the relationships are firstly genealogical and reproductive and instead presents a rethink of the concept that considers the relationships as they are culturally specified both in terms of the structural form of the system of symbols through which the relationships and symbol meanings get expressed.

In terms of understanding totems and totemic symbols Kuper quotes Frazer's notion of three typologies of totems that include: clan totems, sex totems and individual totems (Kuper 2005:91). It follows that in line with arguments distinguishing the types of totems; Kuper

(2005:91) thus indicates that clan totems are by far the most important whilst also revealing that these were once a religious system and a social system. Kuper adds that the religious and social aspects of totems drifted apart in the course of time (Kuper 2005:91). The social form of a clan totem was therefore a system of exogamous clans that traced descent in the female line. Religious aspect of totemic clan consists of the relations of mutual respect and protection between a man and his totem usually symbolised by a taboo on killing and eating the totem. It follows that though Kuper refers to the clan totem as the most 'primitive doctrine' he rightly points out that the totem was the ancestor of the clan and this is despite the fact that no satisfactory explanation on the theory of totemism has been given there is emphasis on the importance of belonging to totem, that is seeing animals as friends or enemies of man (Kuper 2005:91). It is significant in comparison with that of ghosts or demons, to say nothing of higher deities. It's important to note also that exogamy can and does exist without totemism and was independent from it (Kuper 2005:91). In relation to totemism, a man identifies himself and his fellow clansmen with his totem and such does not amount to religion. This critical engagement with totemism is important in this study as it enhances the exploration of how business persons, who belong to the clan, which in turn upholds totemic symbols with high regard, balances his or her devotion to rituals and ceremonies where the totem is evoked. Whilst Kuper's analogy focuses on the important of clan totems it is important to highlight that totems and clan names play an equally significant role in kin ceremonies and rituals that are of focus in this study. The question of how kin members draw from clan names as they negotiate notions of belonging within a capitalist context where they seek to balance kin with business obligations shall be addressed.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has managed to explore concepts of trust, social capital and networks in relation to the business context. The chapter also focused on the strong and weak ties in relation to various associations. The concept of trust and social capital are of importance in relation to understanding how relations are created and recreated within a business context where the businesspersons would be involved with several actors drawn from kin and non-kin groupings as they try to balance business and kin obligations. The chapter also focused on explanations relating to the concept of kinship in which case various arguments regarding the theoretic and practical complexities where presented. The chapter also engaged with the related concepts of family and kinship whilst there was an effort to explore how notions of kinship relate to ethnicity and tribe as they are different despite the similarities in which they are used theoretically and in practice. They cannot be used interchangeably. This is important as it allows for the application of a flexible approach in relation to understanding how business persons draw from kinship and non-kinship form of association as they balance kin with business obligations.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPLORING KINSHIP WITHIN A BUSINESS CONTEXT

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on describing kin businesses whose owners participated in the study. Explanations are also presented on how the businesses where established, noting individual agency and the type of kin assistance that might have been involved. Modern influences on the businesses are also explored together with the extent to which businesspersons draw from kinship and other customary practices. The concept of kinship is engaged within a framework that links it to other units such as the family and neighbourliness whose practical expression extends even beyond the confines of a 'village community' (ilali). Instead of broadly using the concept of 'community' in this research the use of the concept of villagers (abahlali belali) is used to refer to 'township dwellers'. This is despite the conceptual challenges and criticism surrounding its application in practice. The concept 'ilali' for instance is preferred over the term 'township community' as noted to be the case within the research participants vocabulary.

5.2 Profiling the businesses involved in the study

Narotzky (2009:179) argues that small business initiatives are usually characterised by in-flexible location practices and often dominated by middlemen and workers as well as the petty entrepreneurs who are tightly bound to each other and frequently merge or emerge from one another. This contrasts with the large factories and commercial ventures which have flexible location practices and use advanced information technologies. For Narotzky (2009:179) small business initiatives form part of a 'regional economy' and it is the place-boundedness of these initiatives that "defines the regional economy as a space of social

capital". It therefore follows that such a form of economy has "a perceived and extremely differentiated network of shifting but necessary alliances" articulated in the subjects' characterisation of the region as a coherent space with "entrepreneurial culture," meaning a continuous movement of emerging and declining economic destinies (Narotzky 2009:179).

Referring to the work of Smart and Smart (2005) Narotzky, (2009:179) indicates that despite the presence of shared belonging within local economies, a lack of stability within relations typifies what they call "petty capitalism". It is therefore noted that it is the influence of the personal and affective relations in the creation and maintenance of such hierarchical networks of production that has its effect in the stress produced in such relations, induced by the tension of differentiation within the domains of shared belonging. Such domains of shared belonging can be typified by the family and community. The resultant effect is that the region appears as a thick network of forced solidarities which is simultaneously a highly differentiated field of closely-knit feelings of belonging (Narotzky 2009:179). In cautioning against notions of being over-romantic on the aspect of closely knit feelings and shared belonging within the local economy, social scientists have indicated that the relations within this regional economy constitute a crisis of some kind.

5.3 Recounting the business establishment trail- 'defying the odds of Victor Turner's liminality'

5.3.1 'From school dropouts to successful business owners'- The case of Mxo, Zamo, Andile

The uncertain economic background of all the respondents reveals a group of actors who have shown to be active agents even considering finding themselves having to deal with various challenges emanating from the uncertain socio-economic setting they find themselves

in. The business persons in question have defied the socio-economic challenges characterising the uncertain environment they found themselves in. It follows that they have not just pushed to become part of the business grouping but they have done this having to deal with challenges such as dropping out from education at tender age, lack of formal skill and financial resources. This is mainly because even the very kinship and friendship networks they could possibly draw from are in a similarly precarious position. This situation can be analysed from the view of Versteeg (2011:6) who refers to the idea of Turner in which he concluded that liminality implies lifting the symbolic mode of everyday social life and living the subjunctive mode of play. This connects well to the current case study particularly when one relates it to Turner's work who saw liminality as a characteristic of a transitional state which would ultimately result in integration as is the case in a rite of passage. It can also be assessed in respect to a social group attaining a permanent state of being as one would envisage of the business persons in question. This is so in that the data from the current research indicates that the business persons have expanded and become entrenched into the business community despite having to deal with certain kin related challenges such as inadequate economic and social capital and non-kin challenges such as historic exclusion linked to the apartheid legacy that relegated them to the margins. It is in light of such arguments that the view by Versteeg (2011:6) becomes of value as he revealed that even though liminality in ritual practices is characterised by actor's possibilities to show elements of 'active agents' it rather tends to point to a situation of actors wielding little power to deal with their constraining conditions. It follows that the businesspersons in this study contrast the notions of 'relative powerlessness' that could be related to actors within a ritual process. The businesspersons who are participants in this research, have actively utilised the various kinship and non- kinship capital to deal with various business and kin obligations they have had to confront within the uncertain settings they find themselves in. Having presented this

theoretical argument it follows that with respect to the establishment of business initiatives in Ntabankulu, the findings revealed the significant role played by the kin members not just in supporting their business establishment but also in dealing with kin obligations. Mxo a 39-year-old male owner of three salons along one of the 'busy' streets in the town started the conversation by stating that he was not the one who founded his first salon business but rather his cousin brother Thabani. Mxo added that his cousin brother Thabani also started by working in a salon for someone else. Upon realising the business potential of the salon, Thabani embarked on saving his salary until the savings were enough to start his own salon. Mxo pointed out that prior to his cousin Thabani starting to work at salon; he knew nothing about hairstyles and fashioning. He worked hard to acquire the skills from the experienced persons and thereafter decided to open his own salon. He looked for a place and brought requisite equipment. He employed some people to help around the Hairdo and cosmetics. The persons he started working with were individuals 'not related to him by blood' he got to know after having met them during the time he worked in the previous saloon before owning his. Mxo in the meantime, after having completed his matric education stayed home not studying because he could not afford fees to further his studies. It is at that time that Thabani, Mxo's cousin called him to come and assist at the salon. Mxo thus had this to say on how his business journey began with his cousin Thabani calling him to come to assist him:

> *Umzala wam wandibiza ukuba ndimncedise emana endipha amasentana okuba ndenze into endiyifunayo. Ndamane ndiyigcina loo mali ndaya ngayo esikolweni ndenza i-make-up artist ndifunda nangendlela yokulungisa iinwele. Xa ndibuya umzala wayinikezela kum isaloon yakhe. Andiqalanga ekuqaleni kuba izinto ezininzi bezisele zikhona.* (My cousin called me to join him in town to assist in his business and during that time he would give me some money to spend on my needs. I however saved the money until it was enough to pay for my fees as a fashion designer and it was upon my return that he gave me his salon to run).

This call for a kin member to assist ought to be viewed as an important aspect as it points to the start of a long business journey whose foundations are hinged upon kinship. It is also of

importance as it points to the importance of the umbilical cord connections that are manifest in blood relations. Whilst Thabani did have other employees 'assisting' him, the fact that he still felt the need to have his cousin come and 'assist' points to the speciality that 'kin member assistance' has over employee assistance. This is also important in as far as it emphasises trust being squarely located within a 'closed' group of relatives, friends, and members of a church or some other common interest group as indicated by Herselman (2008:42). This therefore implies trust as being based on kinship with the honor of 'keeping one's word' implying its reliance on ongoing face to face contact between people as well as on their credentials and on relationships that are grounded in shared cultural values as indicated in the Mxo-Thabani relationship.

Mxo pointed out that his business journey began after he joined his cousin Thabani to assist him at the salon in which case during that time Thabani usually gave him some money to buy some necessities he needed from time to time. Mxo pointed out that instead of spending the money he saved it with the intention of going back to school. He further noted that when the money was enough to cover college fees he requested his cousin for permission to go to college for acquiring skills related to hair styling and he agreed. Mxo further noted that he went straight to college to study as a makeup artist and after completing the course he returned and it is upon his return that his cousin gave him the salon to own and that marked the beginning of his business journey. In a view that further strengthens the importance of kinship relations in the business journey Mxo, also noted that he was grateful because largely he did not personally start the business from scratch because many things were already there when he received the salon from his cousin but just had to add some few things from his experience. It is therefore important to note the significance of kinship as a form of corporate tie and hence I present the establishment of kinship Inc. which is synonymous to the ethnicity

Inc. and Bafokeng Inc. that the Comaroffs (2009:104) coined. The combination of Mxo and his cousin for commercial purposes can to an extent be viewed in the light of a 'kin corporate feature' developing. Inspite of the minute nature of kinship relations coalescing around business ideas with a magnitude of the Royal Bafokeng nation, it is important to acknowledge the importance of such 'Afrocentric' pillars towards understanding notions of commercialisation of customary values such as kinship. The relationship of culture and the market tend to be repositioned especially considering the previous popular claims that the two are incompatible. Kinship capital can therefore be equated to clanship Inc. with a possibility for reshaped capitalist identities that are characterised by the rejuvenation of customary values and their integration into the capitalist economy. This can thus be interpreted as part of the recreation of a neo-form of 21st century capitalism currently unfolding. Importantly Mxo has expanded the business from a single small salon by adding two more salons to make it three large salons.

5.3.2 From fat cake and sweet vendors to business women- the case of Zamo and Keketso

It is important to focus on the case of Zamo, a female respondent pointing towards the significance of individual agency in addition to the importance of kinship capital in providing support during the establishment of business. Zamo owns various small businesses that include a restaurant, Bed and Breakfast outlet as well as a tavern. Of significance in her case is the fact that she represents persons who have come a long way from being school dropouts, a situation of deep uncertainty to running various businesses. In what can be viewed as the manifestation of kinship capital in business establishment, Zamo highlighted the assistance she received from her husband when she explained that he helped her with the money to start her business while he was still employed. She added that as a school dropout who left at

grade five because her parents could not afford to buy her school uniform, she found herself faced with having to drop out as at that time they would be beaten for not wearing school uniform. Regarding the support she received from her late husband whilst at the same time highlighting reasons for her dropping out of school which point to the uncertain environment she and other business persons face, Zamo was quoted as saying:

> "*Imali yokuvula ishishini ndayifumana kumyeni wam esaphangela. Ndayeka esikolweni ndifunda ibanga lesihlanu kuba abazali bengakwazi ukundithengela izinto izinto ezifunwa esikolweni kunye nempahla enxitywa khona. Ndaza ndazama indlela yokuziphilisa ngokuthengisa amagwinya neeswiti ukuze ndifumane iisenti zokuziphilisa*". (I received the start-up capital from my husband when he was still employed. I dropped out of school at grade five as my parents could not afford fees and other school necessities like uniforms. It is then that I had to engage in selling small items like sweets to try to get some income).

It is also important to note that although the data revealed a general sense of uncertainty within the environment in which the businesspersons in question must establish and operate under, there is no homogeneity of experiences. This uncertainty coupled by a lack of homogeneity can be seen considering some businesspersons having a privilege of being linked to ties of relatively stronger kinship capital whilst others have come from relatively poorer networks. It is in this light that some businesspersons like Zamo have had to go through difficulties with very little kin capital and resources to draw from as shown by her experiences as a vendor of fat cakes and sweets. Zamo thus had this to say in explaining her condition of uncertainty and having to drop out of school:

> "*Ndayeka esikolweni ndifunda ibanga lesihlanu kuba abazali bengakwazi ukundithengela izinto izinto ezifunwa esikolweni kunye nempahla enxitywa khona. Ndaza ndazama indlela yokuziphilisa ngokuthengisa amagwinya neeswiti ukuze ndifumane iisenti zokuziphilisa*". (I dropped out of school at grade five because my parents could not afford to fulfil school obligations such as fees and uniforms. Having dropped out of school I had to find means of earning a living through selling fat cooks and sweets).

5.4 Business persons as liminars and reliance on clanship capital

In explaining the liminar state of female businesspersons within the business establishment trail, it is important to relate these issues to the ideas of Turner as presented by Versteeg (2011:6) and Spiegel (2011:15). In this regard, they attempted to explain issues by distinguishing the liminoid from the liminal, in which case they saw the liminoid as having the potential for change due to it being constituted as a space outside of structure. This is opposed to the liminal that Turner saw as being largely constrained in his postulation. Before one embraces an argument that sees some agency of the liminars it is important to note the position of being constrained by the business persons at hand even though they have drawn upon various kinship and non- kinship resources in their quest to deal with various life challenges they have faced. It is therefore important to explore the view by Ybema, Beech and Ellis (2011:22) who note that social actors possess a likelihood of finding themselves within a position of transitional liminality in which case they would be in-between their former identity on the one hand and future identity on the other. This view is important in that it draws us to largely focus on a person's sense of in-betweeness and uncertainty during an identity restoration process. This view further becomes important in understanding how kinship and business obligations are balanced by this group of persons who on the one hand are grappling to get established in business circles whilst at the same time maintaining kinship ties and obligations.

It is considering these arguments on liminality that the experiences of female respondents Zamo and Keketso are explored particularly due to the uncertainties they had to deal with as they tried to enter the business environment. Females have largely been having experienced marginalisation that has its historical roots dating back to the apartheid era. Whilst the marginality also affected their male counterparts, it can be argued that women tended to bear

most of the brunt even within the post-colonial dispensation. Zamo indicated that she started her business journey by selling fat cakes and sweets until her husband decided to assist her. The financial assistance she received from her husband enabled her to buy the cooking equipment after which she went to town to look for a place to operate the first restaurant. After finding the space, small as it was, she then started cooking various dishes and clients came one by one and increased as the news spread about their dishes and prices. Zamo further indicated that she made good profit and clients also came with other ideas of on the kinds of dishes preferred and we gladly added them onto our menu list. Zamo added that the location of her restaurant by the margins of the town and within the proximity of a taxi rank made taxi drivers and commuters to be one of their target customers. In a similar experience relating to having started from a difficult position or rather humble beginnings Keketso, another female respondent noted that her passion for business started at early age during her schooling where she always loved selling at school in which case she used to help a friend who used to sell chips and sweets. Keketso also indicated that she ended up buying her own sweets and chips and started selling at school. She further narrated that she found herself quitting school but continued with the selling business. This meant going to town where she found some space on the street and began selling fruit. She added that she did the sweet and chips selling business for two years up until the time when her father came home for pension. This presented an opportunity as he gave her some money to start something more tangible and capable of bringing in profits. The money that Keketso received from her father was enough for her to rent a caravan and buy cooking equipment. She initially cooked food and sold a variety of dishes to a range of clients but mostly taxi drivers. After a year she could get some space for a restaurant after which within two more years she was able to open two additional taverns. Keketso further added that due to her cooking skills she gets many clients

especially at the restaurant. In explaining her case beginning with dropping out of school to being funded by her father through his pension money Keketso thus explained:

> "*Ndaqala ndathengisa iiswiti namachipsi esikolweni ndisafunda. Ndayeka esikolweni ndayothengisa edolophini esitalatweni ndithengisa iziqhamo namasoseji. Ndathengisa apho iminyaka emibini wathi xa ebuya egoli utata efumene umhlala phantsi wandinika imali ukuze ndandise ishishini lam*". (I started by selling sweets and chips whilst still at school but then after I dropped out of school I became a street vendor selling fruits for two years and thereafter when my father returned from Johannesburg as a pensioner he funded me with money from his retirement package to establish my business).

In another case pointing to the importance of kinship capital in starting a business, Andile, a young male respondent who now owns three trading stores revealed that he started the first shop with the money he borrowed from his uncle. He revealed that he was working in the mines at that time. During the negotiation with his uncle, he promised to pay the money back upon the business having started making profit. Andile was motivated to start the business having realised the dire need his family was in as his elder sister got temporal jobs that did not last whilst other siblings depended on him for most of their basic needs. Having received what one can refer to as the "soft loan" whose guarantee was the verbal assurance Andile was able to establish the first shop that later expanded to three that he is currently operating. In a related case of the importance of kinship capital in business establishment Daluxolo moved from a position of being unemployed with only part-time jobs to rely on to be a business owner through the help of his wife who was employed as a teacher who assisted him to secure a loan from the bank. I was unemployed and used to work part time jobs never that have seen me never being permanent. Having received the loan money through his wife Daluxolo converted one of his backyard rooms into a small shop and purchased the stock for start-up. Things moved well and with the profit he made he was able not only to pay back the loan but also to also expand and open two more retails, this time in town. He also expressed

sentiments of gratitude for the backyard shop whilst at the same time adding that he finds it very useful to have a shop in such a location as besides enjoying the community's client base he did not pay rent.

In another case of how a combination of agency and kinship capital was drawn upon to deal with the constraints of liminality, Isivile, a male respondent indicated that he started by working at a Sasol outlet in Johannesburg and during that time he maintained kinship ties with those back home with the intention of returning to do business. During my research, especially on holidays I observed an influx of persons coming from various parts of South Africa and even abroad to re-join their families and kin for rituals and just for 'visiting home' in general. It is during these visits that rituals and ceremonies such as umgidi are preformed whilst the 'visitors' get treated with traditional dishes. During my research, I had few opportunities when I got a glimpse of such feats and indeed one would often hear exclamations where the traditional dish would be praised in contrast to the "white dishes". The 'whiteness' label has been clearly articulated by White (2011:106-107) where his descriptions depict how Zulus distinguished for instance chickens into "Zulu chickens" and "white Chickens". It is therefore common for Xhosa to give praise to what they call "inkukhumakhaya" (traditional chicken). Other common foodstuffs include "umngqutshu" (samp) and "inyama yegusha" (sheep meat) among others. Isivile who was once a part of this grouping added that the time he was working there saw him saving some money with the hope of someday returning home to start a business. After having saved for a period of about five years, Isivile went back to Ntabankulu where he managed to purchase a tractor. After that he decided to quit his job and went home where he used the tractor to plough for neighbouring farmers at the time it was fifty rand per field and twenty rand per garden. Isivile further explained that he used the money for the day-to-day needs of the family whilst saving

the rest. He added that when the tractor started to give him problems he had enough money to buy another one. Isivile further pointed out that this financial position changed for the better slowly until he could find space for a shop in town. The shop brought enough income that allowed him to open two more shops within the precinct of Ntabankulu town.

5.5 Rituals and agency in business establishment- The cases of Nongayindoda, Dalumzi and Bongikhaya

The issue of individual agency and struggles within a constraining and uncertain environment culminating into business establishment is contained in the case of Nongayindoda, a female business owner of three shops. Having spent quality observation time and interacting with Nongayindoda and the community I later learnt that 'Nongayindoda' was a nickname that she received from the community. It established that the nickname emanated from her perceived resilience and hard work as well as her resoluteness not only to venture in a perceived male domain of the taxi industry but she popular for even taking any male counterpart head on, in any matter. Nongayindoda noted that she used to work for someone as a taxi driver for many years. She was quick to highlight some of the challenges she encountered especially as a female taxi driver. In that regard, she thus pointed out that it was very difficult being the only woman who is a driver and in many instances passengers did not trust her driving skills and would pass derogatory statements against her. She added that it was clear that too many of the commuters seeing a female driver was shockingly new such that some of them even went further by shunning her taxi and waiting to use the next one. Nongayindoda however revealed that she ignored people's criticism and maintained her focus on raising the funds for purchasing her own taxi. After having managed to purchase her taxi she drove it for a few months before employing someone to drive for her. She went on to reveal that she always had some business ideas going through her mind and this motivated her to keep on saving money.

Having saved what, she considered sufficient to start a shop she looked for a business site and built a shop. In the shop, she sold small packets of food and other basics like paraffin and candles among others. Nongayindoda further noted that the shop is very busy and there are many customers enabling her to realise good profits. She added that from the profit she has been able to expand and add two shops on her list as well as to buy a bus and personal car. She further indicated that of further significance is the fact that her shop acts as a pay point by the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) cardholders. She noted that this is helpful for her business as it has boosted her customer base and she is even eager to offer credit to some of the SASA beneficiaries knowing that they would be able to settle their debts.

Although some female respondents suggested that being female on its own becomes a disadvantage when it comes to entering sectors that are historically perceived male domains, it must be noted that the struggles involved in business establishment are not limited to a particular gender but rather cut across gender as shown by the cases of Bongikhaya and Dalumzi. The case of Dalumzi depicts similar notions of having to struggle within an uncertain environment before stablishing a business initiative. Dalumzi pointed out that he was working in the mines and got involved in an accident that left his leg injured. The injury led to him being retrenched and he had to return home as he could not work. It is important to note that whilst he was endowed with financial capital the support he received from his clan members also played an important role especially during his recovery prior to the establishment of business. clanship support played an important role as Dalumzi had to rely on his clan for different kinds of support following his injury and ultimate retrenchment. He pointed out that he used his retrenchment package to buy a van and then started selling poles. Upon realising that the business was going well he then bought a truck. He further pointed

out that having a truck compelled him to seek for some space to establish his business and he secured the space in an area on the outskirts of town as he found that it was busy and more conducive for the timber business. He added that having done so he secured a deal with nearby established cement companies for cement deliveries and they agreed. The arrangement made it easier for him to engage in manufacturing blocks. This symbolised the beginning of a business journey as he could grow his business empire to two shops and a mini factory as he called it. Besides the importance of individual agency in the establishment of business, the importance of ritual performance cannot be downplayed even in the case of Dalumzi who noted that having grown up in a family that respected and consistently drew upon rituals, he also continued with ritual practice. This is even though he is now a Christian and since his wife does not ascribe to ancestral worship, he goes to his parent's place where he meets with other kin members to do the rituals. Though my participation was limited I had an opportunity of accompanying him to some of the ritual gatherings where I observed how they still ascribed to what they call the customary ways of conducting the rituals. This was manifested in the containers used as well as reliance on elderly members of the kin grouping to communicate with the ancestors. In expressing his belief in both Christianity and customary practices and having to use his parent's place to balance obligations to both Dalumzi had this to say:

> "*Mna ndiyaya ecaweni kodwa ndiyakholelwa emasikweni. Xa ndifuna ukwenza isiko ndingalenzela ekhaya ukunqanda ingxabano. Ndiye ndimcele unkosikazi ukuba aye emizini yasekhaya xa kukhona nokuba yintoni na ukuze kungabikho ngxabano*". (I attend church although I still believe in customary practices. In case I need to perform rituals, I have to do that at (home) our parent's place. I usually ask my wife to attend all clan gatherings to avoid conflict with clan members).

Besides indicating how Bongikhaya's case also relates to the struggles that businesspersons go through within a constraining environment as they seek to establish their entities. He thus

pointed out that his father was a migrant worker at the mines and despite that they struggled to make ends meet and this continued throughout the years when they grew up largely because their father only remitted his earning irregularly. Bongikhaya also revealed that as the eldest of the siblings he felt more pain and sympathised with his mother especially in those instances when they had nothing to eat for almost an entire month, as they would resort to begging from neighbours and closer kin. Bongikhaya added that his mother used to give him some money for lunch at school in the rare instances when his dad decided to send them money. Bongikhaya noted that instead of spending his money he started saving every cent he received from his mother for future purposes. He further revealed that repeatedly his father would fail to remit something home and such a situation would force him to give his mother the money from his savings for her to buy food for them. This was however unsustainable and in situations when things got worse his mother used to approach the kin elders and report what was happening. This difficult situation continued up until the passing on of his father and this made things even worse as he had to drop out of school and go into town to search for employment. Bongikhaya went on to indicate that he was unfortunate as he failed to secure a good job except temporal jobs where he earned very small amounts of money. Of importance in the narrative of Bongikhaya is the fact that despite all the challenges he faced at the time, he was having a dream of owning a shop. Zamo another female respondent also noted the nature of challenges respondents faced during their business trail efforts. Zamo thus revealed that when her husband passed on leaving her alone with his family which never liked her. Having lost her husband and facing dislike Zamo indicated that she then decided to go back to her paternal home and since she had no child, she felt that was for the best as she managed to quickly recover from the loss of her husband and set up her businesses. Another respondent, Andile who rose above challenges of the uncertain environment he found himself revealed that he did not get a chance to further his education and only has a grade twelve

certificate because his parents could not afford tertiary fees. Despite the uncertainty surrounding him, just like other respondents like Zamo, Andile prevailed and managed to establish his businesses.

It is also important to note that ancestor worship among black South Africans constitutes an important element in various spheres of life. It is without saying therefore that Bongikhaya's family and the broader kin drew from ancestral powers when they faced difficult economic situations. They had to perform several rituals that constitute appeasement on the one hand and pleading for assistance on the other in efforts to deal with their problem. In relation to Bongikhaya's mother drawing from ritual performance for problem resolution through evoking ancestral intervention during times of financial difficulties caused by his father's negligence Bongikhaya had this to say:

> "*Bezithi izinto zakuba zingalungi kukubi kakhulu umama aye ebantwini abadala bekhaya achaze ukuba kwenzekani. Kuthathwe inkukhu kulayitwe impepho kuthethwe nabantu abaphantsi ukuba mababuyise utata angazilibali ukuba unosapho. Emva kokuba kwenziwe njalo sibone utata ebuya esiza ekhaya ephethe imali sikholwe ukuba ngabauntu abaphantsi abambuyisileyo*". (During difficult times in the family, our mother would approach clan elders and explain the situation. A chicken would be slaughtered and ancestors would be evoked to assist in ensuring that our father remembers his family obligations and after the ritual performance, he would return home with money and we would believe that it is the intervention of ancestors that resolved the problem).

This is also in line with the view of Turner (1967:95) who noted that a ritual is transformative whilst a ceremony is confirmatory. In addition, Turner (1967:96) presents an important view that symbolism attached to and surrounding the liminal persona is rather complex and bizarre. It is in line with this view that the rituals performed by Bongikhaya's mother point to signs of complexity. It follows that on the one hand she is engaged in efforts to appease angry

ancestors whilst on the other she is seemingly making a plea for them to assist in resolving their poor economic state that has brought untold suffering to the family. Bongikhaya therefore indicated that his mother used to burn *impepho* and talk to the ancestors asking them to stop the suffering she and the family was experiencing. During the ritual, she pleaded with the ancestors to give Bongikhaya a job and make his life a lot easier than the way she raised the family. Other respondents such as Isivile have revealed that clan names play a role when the kin members met to perform ritual practices such as *imbeleko*, which were performed for children. He added that during the *imbeleko*, ritual *impepho* is set alight and whilst the smoke is being emitted, a goat is taken to the house to be seen by the child and clan names are evoked in the process. He added that rituals of thanks giving are also used when thanking ancestors for various achievements within the kinship alliance and similarly in that process clan names are evoked to ensure that ancestors are a part of the proceedings. It is therefore in explaining the symbolism of clan names and how the call for ancestral intervention on breakthroughs was made that Bongikhaya thus noted:

> "*Umama ubemane eqhumisa impepho abize iziduko zasekhaya ecela ukuba abaphansi bandijonge bandiphe umsebenzi*". (My mother used to burn impepho and in the process, evoke clan names requesting ancestral intervention in enabling me to get employed).

In another case pointing to the importance of drawing from a combination of individual agency and kinship in business establishment, Bongikhaya noted that despite having to rely on the short-term jobs, he made it a point that he would serve as much as he could. The savings led to him having enough money to start a trading store within the community and he managed to consequently stock it. He also pointed out that of importance is the support that he received from his kin and the surrounding communities when he first established the first shop. Bongikhaya also noted that having begun his business journey he still has in mind the

need to expand to another type of business and the business that came into his mind was that of selling cosmetics and he felt that there was a need to try it. Bongikhaya also pointed out that he felt that he needed to establish the cosmetics outlet in town where there was a greater market share. He pointed out that after having found a place to rent; he then purchased stock in the form of cosmetics and other salon necessities and began to operate. Wearing a broad smile on his face he indicated that just as he had anticipated, the profit within the urban space was good. Of importance in this case is the information Bongikhaya presented in relation to his continued worship of his ancestors, this time with thanks giving annual ceremonies. He thus noted that he does not forget to do thanks giving every year to show appreciation to his ancestors. In that regard, he added that he strongly believes that the ancestors made a huge intervention in transforming his life and that of his entire family and he felt that without such ancestral intervention he would not have attained what he had so far. It is therefore crucial to appreciate Hunter's view (1979:266) in which he pointed out that the ancestors are believed to have powers to send good and evil upon their descendants. It is in such a context that his view that those living therefore rely upon the goodwill of the dead becomes important to explore. It follows that those living would avoid offending somebody with a potential of being *ithongo.* This statement on the performance of the annual ceremony also further highlights the confirmatory nature of ceremonies as opposed to the transformative element of rituals as Turner suggested. With respect to the symbolism and connection between business success and rituals performed through evoking ancestral intervention Bongikhaya noted that:

> *Imali ndiyayibona futhi andilibali ukwenza itheko lombulelo qho izinto xa zihamba kakuhle ndibize bonke abantu bekhaya sidibane sonwabe*. (I can now see improvements in my finances and I always ensure that I engage in thanksgiving dedicated to the ancestors and all other clan members are invited for the ceremony for celebrations).

5.6 The question of family and kinship influence on cooperation and interdependence

The research indicated an inevitable interconnection between individual businesspersons the family, kin and community particularly when it comes to the question of cooperation and interdependence. As noted earlier on, the use of 'community' must not be taken loosely but rather considering a group of members within a 'lali' and in this way, they view themselves as forming part of a 'community'. There seems to be a level of embeddedness of businesspersons into the family, kin and community. It is essential to note that although one can note some differences in the levels of embeddedness of businesspersons to the three groupings, it rather remains reciprocal and significant in the establishment and sustainability of African person's businesses especially within an uncertain environment. Andile pointed out that he cannot even imagine having his business without family, kin and community members. He thus noted that in terms of client base his businesses drew from family, community members and friends. Andile also indicated that family members are supportive more especially during times when he needs them. He further explained that this relationship was rather two ways as there are times when he needed to attend to obligations of family, kin or community. Andile pointed out that kin members support him in many ways such as offering free services such as in cleaning. He also indicated that he was very much appreciative of the support from family, kin and community such that without them he feels hollow. Andile revealed that in return he makes sure that he responds by attending to the obligations of the other parties be it family, kin or community. Andile also noted that the help he gets from the family, kin and community is intense especially from family and kin. He noted that this assistance is not imposed but rather comes 'from their hearts' an emphasis to the moral strength of kin obligations. Andile however added that sometimes he had to help with various obligations be it family, kin or community regardless of whether they have

assisted or not as he perceives this to constitute one of his obligations by belonging to such associations.

It is due to cases such as that of Andile where kin members have engaged in assisting him in what appears to be a blurred distinction between kinship obligations and doing work in the rationale sense. Narotzky (1997:36) has pointed out that non-western societies studied by anthropologists such as Malinowski and Firth had to be approached with a flexible concept of work appropriate to all sorts of activities connected with subsistence and the reproduction of a society. It follows that domestic 'work' of equal 'economic' standing activities such as the maintenance through ceremonial or ritual activities of social networks were approached as work from an economic point of view. Networks have proved to be an important tool in securing labour or other resources at certain points in the annual economic cycle or along domestic or individual's life cycle. It is important to also view 'invisible work' as represented in kinship networks reflected in Andile's case considering 'trust capital' that can be equated to wages being earned in various forms. Narotzky (1997:37) has also noted that the problem of value affects not only women's housework but also all other activities which take place outside market exchange but are clearly part of the work necessary to the material production of society. Such is the case of non-monetary exchanges of labor and voluntary community services. Exchanges of work are inserted in 'non-economic', 'non-market' social relations such as friendship or kinship and have a wide range of application. It follows that family, relatives and friends as well as neighbours and the local community have been underscored as networks of economic relations covering formal and informal production processes. The concept of personal or family income has expanded beyond its usual reference to monetary wages to include not only goods constituting payments in specifics still referred to as market

values but also transfers of goods and services occurring in a non-market environment refereeing to values such as friendship and filial solidarity as reflected in Andile's case.

It is also important to note that there are variations in terms of the level of cooperation and interdependence with it being stronger at family level than at clan and community level. This came out so strongly during the fieldwork such that in many instances respondents would mention relations with family such that even other kinship relations that fall within the broader ambit of the kin tended to be narrowed to family relations. This implied that despite the participation in ceremonies and other practices requiring the broader kin members most of the issues raised relate to the immediate family. The fact that kin and community members ultimately get involved in various activities does not mean that they get to equally participate in all the initial preparation stages be it for ceremonies or rituals. The participation line becomes even more blurred due to the impossibility of rationalising when and how kin members participate in various practices. This is largely because in real life interactions they get to be constantly identified as 'elders of the family' or just family members with the identity 'kin' largely being widely used in exceptional circumstances as in the evoking of clan names during a ritual or ceremony. For instance, in the case of Keketso, when asked about how relations and obligations are handled within kin she responded by drawing the conversation towards kinship relations. In that regard Keketso noted that she is the only one who has guaranteed income through his businesses. He added that his siblings do not have permanent work but rather have temporal jobs that did not last. Keketso also noted that when they plan of doing a ritual or something they get together and share responsibilities. The one who is not working is obliged to contribute by providing his or her labour. Keketso, the youngest of the four siblings in her family however revealed an important element of conflictual relations that dent the spirit of cooperation and interdependence within kin. In that

regard, she noted that there are instances when some of the unemployed or needy kin members are called to help in her business in exchange for assistance yet they have always reacted angrily and scoffed at her. She added that the refusal by kin members involve declaring that they will never be her employees, insisting that she should not forget that she is young and obliged to assist without the person having to offer anything in return. This further explains the complicated nature of obligations when either a businessperson or a kin member evokes kinship as it is linked to age being symbolically used in defining relations and obligations.

In terms of kin unity and cooperation one of the female respondents, Zamo noted that in their kin they are united and respect each other. She noted that although there are times when they fight but most of the time they sort out their differences. We usually get together as kin when there is a ritual that needs to be done. In addition, on the aspect of cooperation and interdependence, the sentiments expressed by Daluxolo are of importance in showing the importance of kin cooperation and interdependence especially at family unit level when he noted that in his family they are very connected and love each other so much. He added that when he has done something wrong, other kin members are able to approach him and they sort out any disagreement peacefully. He further highlighted that although he is very busy taking care of his businesses he ensures that he makes time for family and kin occasions that include ceremonies and meetings. In emphasising the strength of cooperation and interdependence in families, Andile noted that they have a strong sense of cooperation within their family. He added that at the broader kin level this cooperation and interdependence is linked to the teachings of respect for elders and even those younger members of the family and kin. This issue of the importance and complex nature of cooperation and interdependence was manifest in the case of another male respondent; Isivile who also highlighted the

importance of cooperation and interdependence within the kin. In that regard Isivile noted that even though only three out of the fifteen siblings are working they share the obligations of catering for the needs of the rest of the family. He also pointed out that he is the only one who earns a living closer home within the location whilst other family members work in cities. He added that other members of the family remain within the city for long periods of time without returning home and only return home when there is something that requires them to come home as well as during holidays. This is also an important aspect of interdependence and cooperation within families as it points to the importance of family and clan members in cities maintaining ties with their kin in the rural areas, thus presenting a complex form of representation that is largely driven by the agency of actors more than their geographic location. This can be supported by arguments presented by White (2010) when he highlighted an expansion of cooperation within urban populations as represented in homeboy associations. The arguments of White (2011:108) are also essential due to the assertion that not only is the solidaristic kinship understandably at odds with the modernising modes of wider society but it also becomes important to note that millions of South Africans tend to lead mobile lives that span rural-urban divisions. This is made possible through a system of frequent and rapid shuttling among the multiple nodes of private networks that tend to present a more complex and open-ended form than notions of rural-urban interconnectedness might suggest. In emphasising the importance of interdependence and cooperation among the family members within a township context, Isivile had this to say:

> "*Ndilimpondo singooDelwa, kusapho lwam singabantu ababambeneyo kwaye siyathandana. Sihlala silithoba, kuthi bathathu abantu abasebenzayo. Abanye bancedwa sithi kwizidingo zabo zemihla ngemihla*". (I am a Mpondo man and we belong to the Delwa clan. In our family, we are nine who stay together but only three of the elderly are working as some are assisted by us in their needs).

Isivile pointed out that at home, as a family unit, they live better and respect each other. He added that there are celebratory ceremonies that bring them together for example when there is an old cow and their parents ordered that it to be slaughtered. Isivile emphasised that such an occasion is very important and all kin members are expected to attend with no excuses. He added that in such occasions all the kin members are called to come and eat meat with everyone rejoicing and celebrating. The occasion is also characterised by rituals of thanks giving to the ancestors and requests for them to protect members. This is also the time when some problems are communicated to the ancestors who are called to intercede. Isivile also noted that sometimes they meet for a birthday of one of kin clan members and during such an occasion everyone is expected to be present. Isivile noted that these ceremonies are important especially in ensuring the maintenance of kin unity and that kin members remain in touch by lessening the chances of some kin members taking longer to visit home. Isivile's case can therefore be further interpreted through the ideas of Keesing (2012) who in referring to the Kwaio (a group of Pacific Island dwellers from Malaita, Solomon Islands) noted that they ritualise encounters with their adalo (ancestors) particularly the communal encounters. Just as in the case of Isivile and his kin, such incidences are said to be precipitated by illness, death or misfortunes that are attributed to ancestral displeasure resulting from desecration, defilement or other human related blunders. Isivile's indication of ancestors being called to intercede also is emphasised in the arguments by Keesing (2012:35) who noted that ancestral rituals are also initiated to prepare a protective mantle. It is therefore with respect to the importance of rituals and ceremonies among kin that Isivile noted that:

> "*Kuthiwe iyagugiswa apho kubizwa zonke izihlobo ukuba ziyotya inyama konwatywe. Ngamanye amaxesha sihlanganiswa litheko lokuzalwa komnye wethu, xa kusenziwa elo theko kufuneka sibekho sonke. Zonke ezi zinto zenza ukuba sihlale sixhumene ngalo lonke ixesha umntu anganqabi ekhaya*". (The slaughtering of the cow results in a ceremony where all kin members are invited to come and feast in celebration. Other

important gatherings also take place during birthdays and all of us are obliged to be in attendance without fail. All these aspects enable us to remain connected).

Other respondents such as Zamo noted that when the year ends they gather as kin members and talk about everything that has happened during the year, be it good or bad and then plan for the following year. Of importance in the narratives of the various ceremonies and rituals is the fact that all these ceremonies enable the continual strengthening of kinship ties whilst also ensuring kin members remain interconnected. The case of Mbulelo provided additional information on the importance of cooperation and interdependence among kin members when he noted that people who are related are more likely to be interdependent than those that are not related. He added that this interdependence gets stronger for immediate family members as there are things that not even a friend can do for a kin member that needs only one's kin member to deal with it whether they like it or not. Mbulelo emphasised this by giving an example of ritual performance by stating that only family can do a ritual for a kin member and nobody else. He elaborated by stating that friends and community members are unable to deal with ritual situations. Mbulelo further pointed out that people cannot choose their kin members as they are only given whether one likes it or not, they remain stuck with them and must therefore make sure that they deal with whatever challenges there could be. He also noted that kin members are key in being responsible to bury other kin members something that a friend and community members cannot do as they could just attend the funeral to offer their support. He added that since clan names are also used during which communication with ancestors is done, its only kin who can do this and in most instances not just any member of the kin group but the elders. Kinship within kin groups has been revealed to be so important such that it cannot be reduced to any monetary

value. In emphasising the importance of kin members even if they are of lower economic status Mbulelo thus noted:

> "*Izihlobo zidingeka, nokuba azinamali kuba xa zifika zenza imisebenzi engaphezulu kwaleyo ingenziwa yimali*". (Kin members are needed even if they have no money due to the significance of their contribution which supersedes any monetary value).

5.7 Modern influences on the balancing of kinship and business obligations

Most of the respondents expressed strong sentiments on the influences that modernity has had on customary practises particularly when it comes to kinship practices. Cultural practices are therefore said to have changed because of Western cultural influences. Some respondents such as Mxo noted that the government through various policies and interventions has a role in the contradictions that western culture has had. Mxo further noted that currently to nurture your child you must follow the bill of rights as children have rights. His concern is that this is confusing and is responsible for the plethora of problems such as teenage pregnancy as the girls always tend to resort to evoking rights when efforts to control them are being made. Other respondents such as Zamo also weighed in on the issue of modernity influences on customary practices when she noted that cultural practices have changed because of Western cultural influences. Andile also noted that his wife is ashamed of engaging in customary practices due to their embracing of Christianity to the extent that some neighbours stay away when the customary practices are being conducted. Andile however pointed out that a neighbour who failed to perform customary practices had a child being afflicted by epilepsy and adds that it was obvious that the child needed customary practices to be performed on them. He also noted that the neighbour's case started as a toothache but because the mother did nothing claiming that it is Satan attacking her child. He added that this failure by the

mother, who is a Christian convert to do the ritual such as *imbeleko*, the child has continued suffering from the epilepsy.

It is in response to transformations brought by modernity that Mxo had this to say:

> "*Amasiko nezithethe zethu zimoshwe yinkolo yaseNtshona, abantu ngoku bawatyeshele amasiko abo. Bathi amaxesha ngamanye ngoku izinto zakudala zayekwa. Imithetho karhulumente iyaphikisana nesintu. Ngoku intombazana ayihlohlwa ngoba kuthiwa inelungelo lokuzifihla ukuba iyintombi nto okanye akunjalo*". (Our customs and traditions have been influenced by Western beliefs with people neglecting their customary beliefs as they consider them out dated and no longer relevant to their present situations. At the same time government policies are in contradiction to our customs for example even girls can no longer have their virginities examined as they purport to have rights).

It is in view of the ensuing discussion pointing to the influences of modernity on the balancing of obligations relating to kinship practices where businesspersons are involved that the view of Cherlin matters. It follows that Cherlin (2012:577) having embraced Goode's (1970) idea notes that whenever economic systems expand through industrialisation, family patterns also change. It is within the same argument that the idea that extended kinship ties are said to weaken with lineage patterns dissolving and the nuclear family becoming more independent from the kinship unit has come to be challenged. This is largely due to the findings of this study pointing to the resilience of customary practices related to kinship even within a business context and within the setting of balancing various obligations. The same analogy further presupposes that the key components of industrialisation were the existence of the market economy in which workers are hired based on merit, not family ties and wages paid to individuals and not the family. It is also argued that the industrial economy reduces the authority of parents and other kin over their children. It is however important to assess these 'Goode aligned' assertions especially in the context of the current study whose focus is

on the balancing of kin and business obligations. This is crucial particularly in a context where individuals have found themselves stuck with obligations as the kinship unit maintains its resilience particularly within and urban context where it has been reportedly weakened by the forces of industrialisation. Whilst it can be admitted that wages are paid to employees with individually negotiated contractual obligations, it is important to note that the relationships with the kinship are more complex and far from being simply defined by notions of disconnection or independence even if the wage is involved within an industrial economy (Cherlin 2012:577).

Other respondent such as Zamo also weighed in on the transformations that modernity has brought to cultural practices when she indicated that modern ways of doing things had a great influence on people's culture. She thus indicated that things have changed significantly especially in terms of how rituals used to be handled as before kin used traditional beer to do rituals yet presently alcohol is bought from taverns. She also added that if one plans to do rituals with traditional beer people tend to complain or look down upon the drink to the extent of not drinking the beer. Zamo also noted that in some instances people tend to go to attend other gatherings at the community where they are assured that modern beer is available. Zamo added that customarily only ancestors were invited when the ritual was about to begin but now God is also invited whilst ancestors in some instances are said to be demons. Zamo also noted that it is due to such dilution of customary practices especially during rituals that the world has been engulfed by evil occurrences. Zamo added that in some cases kin members have tended to neglect ancestral obligations and bad incidences have been experienced for prolonged periods and these worsen up until rituals of appeasement are performed. Zamo referred to funerals in which she noted that these used to be descent and respected before but presently it is the place to show new fashion through various colourful

modern dress codes. In addition to western values being adopted by individuals and groups other respondents like Mxo indicated that the government is also contradicting cultural practices especially in instances when policies on child rearing have tended to impose so called modern aspects in the name of rights. Mxo explained that at present for one to nurture their child they have to follow the bill of rights as children have rights. His perception on this is that this is confusing and alleges that it is responsible for many problems such as teenage pregnancy.

In emphasising the transformative influences of modernity on various customary practices such as the type of beer currently consumed during rituals and transformations relating to funerals Zamo had this to say:

> "*Impucuko nokutshintsha kwexesha kuwachaphazele amasiko ethu. Kudala amasiko ayesenziwa ngomqombothi nokutya kwesiXhosa. Ngoku enziwa ngotywala besilungu xa ungenabo utywala besilungu abantu bayahamba baye kweminye imizi enemicimbi notywala besilungu bakushiye wedwa. Xa sisenza isiko sasingavuli ngomthandazo njengokuba kusenziwa ngokhu. Kwakunqulwa izinyanya kuthethwe nazo. Emngcwabeni abantu babesiya ukuyothuthuzela abantu belokhaya lehlelwe lilifu elimnyama kodwa ngokhu kulapho kuyoboniswa khona ngefashoni*". (Modernity and changing times has negatively influenced our customs as in the past customary practices involved drinking of customary beer and customary Xhosa foodstuffs. At present modern beer is consumed and failure to provide it results in people shunning your ceremony and going elsewhere where they think they can get it. Prayers were also not used in opening ceremonies or rituals but ancestral spirits were evoked. Even funerals have turned into more of fashion shows instead of the past way whereby focus was on consoling the bereaved).

Cherlin's (2012:577) support to the idea of a conjugal family that is unencumbered by obligations to kin and where personal achievement rather than assistance to and from kin may not only be rather too simplistic but also ill-informed. This the case especially in the context

of businesspersons who always find themselves perceived as ‘moneyed’ and therefore ‘flooded’ by both material and non-material obligatory requests. This perception of being ‘moneyed’ levelled against businesspersons does not only define emerging relations with kin members alone but also characterises the way their economic status gets perceived in other forms of belonging such as friendship, church groupings and even the communities. This can be further explained in the context of class formation within kinship groupings. Notions of class formation are therefore not exclusively left to the capitalist structure as they have historically been manifest in the customary forms of relationships such as kinship. It is such regard that Cherlin (2012:578) has also questioned the notions relying on the assertion of the strengthening of a conjugal family, arguing that this has not even worked in Western communities. In many sub-Saharan African countries an increase in orphanage due to AIDS related mortality and conflicts as well as poverty related challenges, the extended family and clan have remained key in taking care of the ensuing obligations. It would therefore be a misconception to suggest that a wholesome strengthening of conjugal relations might take place in a non-western context of a small town like Ntabankulu. This may also be non-conceivable even in big cities where kinship ties remain strong though in various forms. Instead of the growth of ‘independence from kin’ that is presented in the work of Cherlin (2012:578) as initially noted by Goode, it is rather important to acknowledge the development of a culture of interdependence that may even manifest in dependency in some instances.

Other respondents such as Isivile felt that traditional practices are showing signs of being in continuous transformation due to modernity as exemplified by rituals surrounding the shaving of the baby’s first hair in which case in the past the mother of the new baby was expected to brew some traditional beer before the child could receive the first cut. Isivile

went on to explain that with the transformation brought by modernity at present the child is just taken to the father without any consultations with kin members and when they return the child would have received the cut at a salon. The mother only brings issues to kin members' in cases when the child suddenly is afflicted by an illness not realising that this could have been prevented through having the necessary rituals taking place. In a related case of hair cut rituals having been abandoned due to modern influences though in this instance, in relation to funerals Mbulelo noted that in the olden days during the mourning period all females and children were supposed to shave all their hair. He however added that this was no longer done with flimsy excuses that the children would be upset. It is therefore on such reasons that their mothers consequently support the children on being excused from undergoing customary mourning processes. Mbulelo also indicated that people seem to be very proud in engaging in so-called modern practices other than those that show who they really are. In a similar point related to transformations related to performance of customary practices, Andile noted that people have stopped in engaging in customary practices because of claims of having converted to Christianity.

In response to changes that have influenced how clan customary practices are handled, Mbulelo also weighed in by indicating that things have changed as materials that people used to obtain from the forest are now being sold because people are either too lazy to fetch them or feel embarrassed due to modern lifestyle linked stereotypes. Mbulelo also added that after every funeral, on the morning before kin members return to respective residence or work places all of them needed to go through the body cleansing ritual that ensured purity and protection from further bad luck. Mbulelo added that the elders of his kin used to go to the forest where they would gather traditional herbs for preparing the concoction used for ukuphalaza (the ritual body cleansing that involves induced vomiting). All kin members were

expected to partake in what one can refer to as a ‘ritual of purification and protection’ before departure to their respective places of residence or work. It is believed that the ritual of ukuphalaza having ensured purity and protection also supports societal reintegration of the person who would have just lost their loved one. Mbulelo bemoaned the abandonment of the ritual and noted that in most cases this has resulted in bad luck afflicting those returning from funerals in which case some people get involved in fatal road accidents whilst others are robbed and she pointed to cases he is familiar with in this regard. In a related view Nongayindoda also added that people have been attracted to western cultural ideals and they see their culture as unimportant to them anymore. She went on to indicate that rituals of purification are not only important to business persons and the general community as even most of prison mates need traditional practices to be cleansed in order to enable them to return to a normal state again. She however bemoaned the fact that many people ignore such ritual necessities. She also noted that customary practices in the past used to be done with home brewed beer but now people buy it in the shops. She also pointed out that some girls are usually the first ones to claim their share of beer with no shame at all.

In explaining his perceptions towards the transformations that modernity has brought in customary practices, Daluxolo noted that people have gotten so used to western cultural ideals to the extent that they have even abandoned their own culture. He added that customary practices are no longer practised whilst those that are still practised have changed and no longer carry the same meanings they historically used to bear because they are no longer done in accordance to the customary dictates. Daluxolo further noted that traditional beer for ceremonies and rituals is no longer brewed in the customary way as people have come to prefer purchased commercial beer brands. This lack of proper customary procedures is said to have led to the ancestors turning their back to the homes that do not have traditional

beer because it is believed that they also play an active role in the ceremonies and rituals in which case they would have been invited through clan names. Daluxolo also explained that often persons currently involved in ceremonies and rituals tend to shy away from traditional food in favour of the perceived tasty 'deep fries'.

In response to changes that have taken place within the moral section of issues Dalumzi noted that modernity and the associated so-called freedoms has ruined the younger generation who have abandoned moral virtues such as respect for elders. The new generation is also said to be interested in doing things their way and tend to shy away from advice that might come from their elders. Girls have resorted to live in marriages although when things start being difficult they want to come back to adults for help. Dalumzi however lamented that in some instances girls have failed to report abuse in their live-in marriages due to the embarrassment of having bypassed the elders. Dalumzi also noted that boys used to be afraid of breaking a girl's virginity because of fear of punishment and compulsion to pay damages in the form of cattle. Dalumzi indicated that in the past, the girl would proudly inform her parents on issues like who is responsible for breaking her virginity but presently the girl does not even know who would have broken her virginity because they would have been drunk in many instances.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter drew from a combination of empirical literature and fieldwork data to present and discuss various elements that serve to situate the study within a business context. The chapter has dealt with various issues situating the study in the business context. This included profiling the businesses involved in the study. The chapter also provided explanations on the influences of customary and modern elements on businesses together with arguments on kin obligations. It is in view of these sections that the next chapter, chapter seven that focuses on

the questions of clanship in business as well as notions of exchange and belonging also receive attention.

CHAPTER SIX

THE QUESTION OF HOW KINSHIP IS EVOKED IN BUSINESS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the nature of rituals and other related practices that businesspersons engage in and their symbolic value not only to their day-to-day lives but also to their businesses. These rituals tend to portray a complex interaction between Christian and customary practices in which there is complementarity on the one hand and contestation as well as antagonism on the other. Whichever ritual practice is preferred between custom and Christianity or a combination of the two it remains clear that the businesspersons largely do draw from the practices within the business domain. Issues surrounding reciprocity, exchange and belonging are also dealt with in this chapter.

6.2 Notion of obligations, rituals and kinship practices among businesspersons

It has been established that rituals have historically been embedded into kin practices and this is so in terms of rituals performed within either the family and kin or business. In this regard, most respondents acknowledged the importance of rituals in their day-to-day lived experiences although some have notably abandoned the customary part of the rituals after converting to Christianity whilst some respondents pointed out that they prefer practising both. In that regard Isivile thus noted that they grew up in a family seeing their parents practising customary rites, something that is still done at present. In emphasis to the importance of customary practices and their continual importance to the family, Isivile thus said:

> "*Ndikhule ekhaya kusenziwa amasiko njengokuba esenziwa nangoku*" (As I grew up in my family rituals were being practiced as they are still being practiced).

In explaining the importance of ritual practices within the kin and business environment, Daluxolo indicated that he believes in customary practices and added that when he grew up his family drew from customary practices. He went on to indicate that every time after the ritual had been performed they would immediately notice a difference and change from the way things were prior to the ritual. Daluxolo also indicated that they believed in the practice of customary practices where customary beer (*umqombothi*) will be brewed and a beast in the form of goat, sheep, or cattle slaughtered. In emphasis to how clan members cooperate during rituals performed for the dead as Nongayindoda noted that as Xhosa people during rituals obligations are divided for instance such issues as ritual leaders are clearly identified. She added that when a beast is to be slaughtered someone who is tasked to do that job would be readily available and this person is known as *intlabi yekhaya*. She also noted that there is an individual responsible for giving people beer and this person is known as *injoli*. The woman who slices bread is also known as well as the one who distributes *amahewu* drink. I was able to observe a number of these ceremonies with my attention being drawn to the enthusiasm that was shown by participants in the various roles allocated just as has been described by White (2011) whose focus was on the Zulu rituals. The essential nature of rituals performed for the dead, has been reflected by Allison (2013) who has highlighted the importance of rituals performed for the dead. Since this performance of rituals is being done in the capitalist context, it is important to note the resilience of rituals and other customary practices particularly within a business context.

Daluxolo gave an example of when rituals are practiced when he noted that when someone is having bad luck in life, this compels a ritual to be done to plead with the ancestors to rid the person of such ailment and to ensure restoration of fortunes as well as to ask for ancestor protection and success in life. Daluxolo also noted that of importance in the customary ritual

practices is the evoking of clan names as an important symbol during the communication with the ancestors. It is in a related argument though on totems that Kuper (2005:91) has emphasised that clan totems remain important in customary practices especially in as far as kin identity is concerned. In this regard, clan names can be said to hold a similar position as totems as they represent the pillars of the kin and their identity. In relation to other situations, the clan names are evoked when one of family member died somewhere else not closer home or even when the body is taken out of the hospital for burial. Nongayindoda added that in such situations the kin members go there to get his spirit with elders carrying a leaf and speaking to the dead person's spirit informing it that the kin members are there to fetch it. She also noted that clan names are evoked during the practice of intonjane. In a similar case revealing the symbolic importance of rituals in burial practices, Zamo a female respondent noted that when they are bringing back the spirit of a clan member who died at hospital or in an accident, they use clan names. These are evoked for purposes of guiding the spirit of that dead person to its proper resting place, within the proximity of the homestead. It is further said by Zamo that this is done to call the ancestors to come and welcome the dead to be one of them so he or she would not wonder around.

In relation to the connection between rituals and clan names, Daluxolo further revealed an important dimension of customary ritual practice performance being linked to business success. In that regard, Daluxolo indicated that when the business is not doing well he also performs a ritual in which he evokes clan names whilst in the process appealing to the ancestors to intervene and restore the business's glory as well as to ensure its protection. He added that in conducting the ritual for addressing poor performance of his business he summons other kin members during which he burns *impepho* (an *impepho* constitutes dry herbs) and then slaughters something even if it is a chicken to share with other kin members.

During the ritual process clan names are evoked as the message is passed to the ancestors. He emphasised that of importance is the fact that noticeable positive change usually follows ritual performance, a symbol of the results of ancestral intervention. Another female respondent, Bongikhaya also explained that the burning of *impepho* whilst calling upon ancestors has been used in rituals involving family members where a kin member would have been away from home especially without any reason. Bongikhaya added that it is then that a ritual was done with a chicken slaughtered and *impepho* being used as an appointed person who is usually an elder member of the family or kin speaks calling the ancestors using clan names and asking them to bring their son home whilst at the same time pleading with the kin ancestors to let such an individual not forget his family. Bongikhaya also noted that after some time following the ritual they would see their father returning home and beginning to render financial support to the family. She also noted that the family ended in happiness with things having normalised due to the ritual performed. She concluded that they believed that their father was brought home through the intervention of ancestors.

Andile, another male respondent weighed in on the symbolic nature of ritual practices when he revealed that their parents used to practice customary practices and in such occasions, they gathered as a family together with other clan members. He noted that in terms of family rituals other kin members are also involved in customary practices whilst in his family they have continued with the customary practices even after the passing of their parents. Andile also highlighted the challenge of having lost his parents before they could do all rituals that needed to be done for the family that included *imbeleko* (a postpartum ritual meant to introduce children to ancestors of the kin and request for protection against ailments and familial attacks). He gave an example of the challenge they encountered when one of his sisters used to have toothaches. Andile further pointed out that in response to his sister's

toothache problem the elders of the kin noted that it might be that the *imbeleko* ritual had not been done for her. He went on to indicate that in response to the escalating challenges he as the head of the family by being the eldest male child, decided to perform the *imbeleko* for those who had missed it. Andile however noted that the first thing was to introduce the homestead to the ancestors before the ritual could be done. He explained that this was symbolic to ensuring that the ancestors are familiarised to the homestead for protecting it from bad spirits and for bringing light to the family. Andile added that the *imbeleko* ritual was performed at their grandfather's home because their homestead was never introduced to the ancestors and hence it was unknown to them. In explaining the significance of a homestead being known to the ancestors prior to the conducting of any ritual, Andile noted that when their homestead was finally introduced to the ancestors through a ritual there were stars all over the yard surrounding houses whilst others were seen near the gate of their homestead. He also indicated that this shocked them although the elders of the clan quickly allayed their fears when they informed them that they had experienced ancestral visitation. Of importance in this 'divine encounter' with the ancestors is Andile's revelation that following the ritual of homestead introduction to ancestors, things started to be smooth for the family with no member still facing the challenges they faced before the ritual. It is therefore important to view Andile's case in view of the embeddedness of business practices into the clan and ritual practices. Other respondents like Andile also emphasised the symbolic importance of rituals of protection such as *ukuqiniswa* when he revealed that they faced a challenge that their homestead never went through (*ukuqiniswa*) and because of that ritual omission two of his children got sick and it was believed that bad spirits attacked them. Andile added that his children began to see strange things that they themselves could not see whilst at the same time they would be heard talking alone. He also noted that it is then that he felt that there was a need to call a diviner (*igqirha*) to assist in diagnosis and to do the ritual

to heal the children and ensure that the ancestors became actively involved in protecting their homestead. Andile noted that the protective element of the ritual of (*ukuqiniswa*) they had to ensure that every day before they retired to bed they used *intelezi* (the protective charm or medicine mixture) to make sure bad spirits could not come closer to children.

In another case that revealed the rituals that the business persons participate in and their associated symbolism, a female respondent Nongayindoda indicated that in his culture all kin members must scarify their faces and even those other families who are no longer interested are forced to engage in it. Nongayindoda revealed a case that showed the significance of having all members going through the scarification ritual, as she noted an example of one child of a kin member who was scarified and got healed after being struck by a mysterious total blindness. She added that the child was taken to special doctors but they could not diagnose what the problem was with his eyes. The doctors gave him medication but it did not work and due to the frustrations one day, the child was caught trying to scarify himself with a knife on the face. Then the reason for the child's action was known and the elder was called to scarify him. What became an underlying symbolic aspect emanating from the scarification ritual of the boy is that a few days after the ritual; the child regained his vision once again.

It is in relation to the usage of both customary and Christian practices that Mxo just like what Zamo, a female respondent said, pointed out that when they grew up customary practices were done with their parents always emphasising the importance and symbolic nature of the practices. Added to conducting rituals they also attended church services. Customary practices and Christianity worked hand in hand when they grew up. Mxo just like other respondents noted that despite the adoption of Christianity at a later stage of his life he still upheld his customs as important.

"*Apha ekhaya ndakhula kusenziwa amasiko nendlela esikhuliswe ngayo besiboniswa ukubaluleka kwawo.Sikhule kuyiwa ecaweni kodwa izinto zakwantu bezingayekwanga, kodwa ekukhuleni kwam ndiye ndawayeka amasiko ndasindiswa, ndinonyaka ngoku ndisindisiwe. Nangona ndisindisiwe ingqengqeshoyasekhaya akhange ndiphulukane nayo*". (When I was growing up, we used to practice rituals. We were also attending church although at the same time we still engaged in ritual practices. It's been a year now since I converted to Christianity but I did not forget the principles I was brought up with and remain holding onto them steadfastly).

In response to the symbolism of evoking clan names in ritual performance, Zamo a female respondent indicated that clan names are used when one of family member is in labour and will deliver the baby from home. She added that the evoking of clan names is of ritual significance in as far as it assists in making delivery easy and safe because the ancestors would be there to ensure success in the process. Zamo further noted that clan names are also used when *intonjane* is done for girls when they reach womanhood. In a case that further explains the symbolism relating to evoking of clan names during ceremonies, Zamo noted that this remains important in practices such as when a girl who is a family member has been sick for a long time with consulting doctors not leading to any improvements to the illness. In such cases the kin elders suggest that ancestors must be consulted for help. In most instances, such consultation usually results in the ancestors demanding the performance of *intonjane* for the girl. Zamo also noted that *intonjane* should be done for the girl when she reaches womanhood without even getting sick but sometimes the means to do it could be limited leading to the family omitting the practice only to encounter challenges that may force then to resort to performing the ritual. Clan names are used when *intonjane* is done so that the ancestors are drawn to participate. In instances where the *intonjane* is performed due to illness, the ritual has proven to result in the girl recovering whilst at the same time receiving protection against future attacks. It is also essential to note that the contradictory symbolism

of ritual that carries a blessing on the one hand and illness on the other as explained in the case of Zamo. It can then be linked to the views of Hylland (1995:210) who notes that the fundamental contradiction in the ritual as explained by Bloch is his multi-layered analysis is his reference to the symbolic association between blessing and its opposite, namely violence. In addition, the views of Hutchings (2007:189) become important as he highlights that although the underlying importance of purification procedures are often overlooked in Western society, this is different in the African context. It follows that in rural Africa there is a greater awareness of the mystical forces of pollution and danger that need to be overcome to ensure safe passage during times of transition-marking ceremonies be it confirmations or funerals as well as marks representing maturity stages.

Mbulelo also explained the symbolism in ritual practices by indicating that they gather as a family when one of the boys in the family who would have attended the circumcision school in the mountains is being welcomed back. Mbulelo noted that when the initiates return from initiation, the kin members gather to celebrate and during the celebrations, clan names are evoked because it is believed that the ancestors are responsible for having provided the protection to the boy during his stay in the mountain. He further pointed out that such ceremonies are important as all kin members are expected to attend and celebrate. In relation to how then he manages to balance attending to such kin ceremonies whilst at the same time having to attend to the business, he noted that on the day of the ceremony he starts by going to attend to his businesses for few hours before later joining other kin members by the ritual site. He however expressed discomfort in this arrangement when he noted that he could not help it but feel unease whenever he is away from his businesses.

In terms of highlighting the symbolism surrounding ritual performance among kin, even female respondents such as Keketso noted multiple practices that unite kin members and these include ceremonies involving an initiate's return from the mountains. She further noted that when the newly initiated man comes back home they get together to celebrate and during the celebration clan names are evoked during the communication with clan ancestors who are thanked for protecting the initiate and ensuring his protection and safe return. The ancestors are also requested to continue providing protection and guidance to the young man. Keketso also indicated that in their culture as the BaSotho a newly initiate is not permitted to sing the songs they used to sing whilst in the mountains. In an indication of the monetisation of rituals in the 21st Century, Keketso added that the parents of the newly initiated are culturally compelled to slaughter a cow and in case they do not have it, they can even ask someone to give them the cow on credit so that they pay it in instalments. Keketos further explained that during the morning of the ceremony the mothers can enter the cattle byre in the morning to identify their children and to offer them blankets. She also revealed that the boys are not slowed to have eye contact with their mothers but they rather look down until they depart. She also explained that whilst all this is happening the newly initiated young man would all be naked only wearing something like underwear called *utujana* whilst the rest of their bodies would be covered with ochre (*imbola*).

Keketso also noted that rituals are used among her kin during marriage ceremonies involving the introduction of the bride to the living kin members as well as to the ancestors in the ritual called *utsiki* in which a sheep not a goat is slaughtered. She added that in the Basotho culture the new wife goes around the yard freely and in the house too. Keketso also noted that on the day when a newly born baby is discharged from the hospital, a kin elder shaved the baby's hair using a blade. She also noted that in a case a woman loses her husband the widow only

wears *izila* for six months, whilst the mourning period is shorter than one month for the loss of a child.

Keketso revealed the use of customary means for securing her businesses in what can be referred to as rituals of protection when she noted that when she hires someone from the community she asks them to be faithful to her from the start. She also noted that she reveals to the person that if they choose to steal they should not blame her for what they might experience because she has a traditional healer who helps her to run the business successfully. She added that she believes that a traditional healer can make people who steal develop a habitual trend that will ultimately lead to them being caught. In another related case where healers play a role in ritual performance, Dalumzi noted that they gather as a family during traditional ceremonies, weddings and during funerals. Dalumzi added that clan names are used when they give thanks to the ancestors for success on a range of issues. He also indicated that sometimes when there is a child that keeps getting sick there is always suspicion and belief that a ritual needed to be performed to deal with the illness. Dalumzi also explained that clan names are evoked and elders plead to ancestors to heal the child and ensure protection. He also noted that in some instances a child may get sick and a traditional healer diagnose that the ancestors want the child to be initiated into being a *sangoma*. He noted that in such instances kin elders might communicate with ancestors to inform them to forgive the child who they consider too young to be initiated and in the process, they plead with the ancestors to wait until the child gets older. During this ritual, *impepho* is used in the house and none of those present are permitted to wear shoes and everyone sits on the ground as no chairs are allowed. The preceding arguments not only point to the importance of rituals within the African context but as noted by Hutchings (2007:189) it is essential to note the important role of purification and awareness of mystical forces of pollution within the day to

day practices among different communities. The need to have these overcame are crucial elements featuring prominently in day to day practices among many social groups particularly within the African context. In this case the Xhosa are no exception. The case of Dalumzi that points to rituals of appeasement also strengthens the view by Hutchings (2007:189) where kin ancestors are distinguished from non-kin ancestors. It follows that the non-kin ancestors are usually associated with destruction and suffering whilst kin ancestors who are also referred to as shades can play a role of alerting individuals and kin of obligations, hence the need for rituals and ceremonies of appeasement such as in times of sickness or other challenges that can even be business related.

The respondents also pointed out to cases that show an embeddedness of kin practices into business practices. In this respect, one of the respondents Mbulelo noted that he believes that his ancestors will never let his business go down but they would rather protect it all the time. Mbulelo also believes that the ancestors are always looking after each kin member no matter who they are. He added that this implies that if someone is plotting something bad or even evil against his businesses he believes that the ancestors are watching that person and one day they will expose him. In this regard, he narrated an incident in which he believes the ancestors were responsible for breaking up a syndicate of criminals stealing his stock from one of his shops. He indicated that he first saw signs that something was wrong somewhere when he will always experience breakdowns when transporting his stock yet his truck was well serviced. He noted that this was a sign by the ancestors that something was not right and following such instincts he set a trap that led to the criminals who were responsible for stealing getting caught. Afterwards he had to declare a ceremony of thanks giving (*umbulelo*) to thank the ancestors for assisting in preventing his business from collapsing. In explaining the close connection between business and ancestors, Mbulelo thus noted:

"*Ishishini lam ndiyendikholwe ukuba abantu abaphantsi abaako ukundiyekela litshabalale bazolikhusela. Ndiyakholwa ukuba bayasibona nokuba senza ntoni na. Loo nto ivuselela isazela kusapho lwam kuba noba mna andimboni umntu abaphantsi bona bamjongile kulento ayenzayo. Ngoko kuye kufuneke ukuba ndizame ndibathembe lonke ixesha*". (I strongly believe that my business is under the watchful eye of my ancestors and they will always protect it never allow it to falter. In addition, I just have to trust my family members).

In terms of family and kin gatherings and cooperation, Mxo noted that kin gather during the birth of a child, during weddings or ancestral worship. He also indicated that they gather to do *imbeleko* for their children. He also noted that during the practice of *imbeleko* a kin elder member burns *impepho*. He went on to explain that while the smoke is coming out the elder would be calling clan names and informing the Delwa ancestors of the newly born baby. The ancestors are further requested to protect the child from bad spirits and to always take care of it and not desert the child (*ukufulathela*). At that time of the ceremony the child is swung around the burning *impepho* and held to a position enabling the inhalation of the smoke, an important experience symbolising connectivity with the kin ancestors. Mxo also explained that the goat is then presented at the door and the child is shown the goat and then informed that the goat is his/hers. It is then that the goat is slaughtered and the gallbladder is carefully extracted for making a writ bangle for the baby. The baby is also expected to sleep on the goat's skin.

"*Zininzi izinto ezenza ukuba sidibane, njengokuzalwa komntwana kuyasidibanisa xa ezokwenzelwa imbeleko. Kulapho sonke siye sidibane kuqhunyiswe impepho ngumntu omdala wekhaya. Abize iziduko zalapha ekhaya ecela ukuba ooDelwa bamkhusele bangamfulatheli umntwana wabo. Ngelo xesha umane edluliswa phezu komsi wempepho umntwana. Aboniswe ibhokhwe ayiphiwayo kuthethwe naye ixhelwe afakwe inyongo esihlahleni, alale esikhumbeni sayo lo bhokhwe*". (There are many reasons why we gather such as when an imbeleko ritual would be performed for a child. It is in

such instances when we gather that *impepho* is burnt by a clan elder who calls on clan names during the process of introducing the child to the ancestors whilst at the same time calling upon them to protect the child. During this ritual, the child is swung over the burning *impepho* and shown a goat to be slaughtered for the ceremony).

It is important to clarify conceptual usages of terms such as *ikhaya* and *umzi* in which Mxo and other respondents often made use of '*umuntu omdala wekhaya*'. It is important to contextualise the term's usage due to the sociality of its meaning in this research as opposed to the structural meaning where if taken literally it could be taken to mean 'homestead'. In a similar line of argument, Ross (2010:74) notes that whilst the word commonly used in everyday translation for the English term home is *ikhaya*, there are important differences in its usage among English speaking South Africans and in IsiXhosa. The terms *ikhaya* and *umzi* also carry different meanings in which they referred to different generational relations and responsibility to the homestead. Though *umzi* could be translated to mean 'homestead' pointing to communal living, it is important to go beyond such a conceptualisation. Broadening the conceptualisation of the term helps explore the *umzi* as not just the physical space consisting of buildings that house the kin but also in relation to it having features such as the cattle byre that represents the symbolic centre not just connecting homestead members to ancestors but as the hub for rituals and ceremonies. In that sense, it broadly represents an important connection with kin ancestors. In the same line of argument, Ross (2010:74) notes that the cattle occupying the kraal, the social relations that qualify it, various rituals performed within it collectively constitute the *umzi* offering material centre to weight of time and ritual obligation. Importantly Ross added that it is in the kraal that one's umbilical cord is buried, that the ancestors are appeased whilst important rituals are conducted within this space. Such rituals are said to both enable the present whilst at the same time remedying social relations.

In emphasising the embeddedness of ancestry worship in the lives not just of individual businessperson's day-to-day successes and challenges but that of entire kin, respondents such as Isivile noted that there is a time when they go to the cemetery to share and communicate successes and challenges with kin the ancestors. Isivile explained that the visits to the kin cemetery are two pronged as sometimes they thank the ancestors for some good things that would have happened while on the other hand it could involve appeasing ancestors in view of misfortune that would have befallen the kin. Isivile also revealed that when things are not going well they visit the cemetery to plead with the ancestors to intervene and address the situation. Of importance is his emphasis that it always follows such ceremonies there is noticeable positive change. He added that sometimes when things are going well they also go there to thank ancestors for bringing the success. He made an example of when a kin member buys a new car, indicating that in such instances they celebrate and slaughter a goat to introduce the car to the ancestors. The ancestors are believed to be the ones who protect the car from causing accidents. Isivile explained that in the *ukuqiniswa* ritual, there is also *intelezi* (this is a special mixture of herbs chosen due to beliefs of their protective nature) that is used to sprinkle *ukuchela* the car before it is used and this is believed to work hand in hand with ancestral power in protecting the car. Isivile also indicated that in instances of widowhood, the woman is expected to undergo the widowhood rituals and engage in mourning so that she can be cleansed physically and spiritually.

> "*Kubakhona ixesha lokuba kuyiwe emangcwabeni kuthethwe nabantu abadala xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle kuyocelwa emva koko izinto zitsho zihambe kakuhle. Ngamanye amaxesha xa kukhona umntu othenge imoto phakathi kwethu ekhaya*". (There comes a time when we go to the cemetery to talk to our ancestors be it when things are not going well or in times of challenges. This also happens when one of the kin members has acquired a car for instance).

Nongayindoda has also added explanations on how some of the rituals business persons do are directly linked to business success when she noted that they gather as kin and discuss before they do anything to decide on how to proceed. She however noted that besides the kin-linked rituals she engages in what she called some private rituals in which case she indicated that she has a traditional healer that she consults and in the process, gets (*imifuno*) herbs that make her strong whilst at the same time helping to secure all her properties. Nongayindoda revealed that she has herbs that she burns every morning inside her businesses before opening. She further revealed that she burns the herbs as part of efforts to bring luck and increase her customer base. She also noted that she burns the same herbs in her cars so that the ancestors can offer their protection against accidents and other related forms of misfortune. Nongayindoda also explained that her home has received similar strengthening and protection rituals and she believes that no evil can breach that protection. She went on to reveal that people always perceive her as being stubborn and acting in a masculine manner something which she considers an unfair stereotype. She concluded that it is due to notions of perceived masculinity that people call her Nongayindoda meaning 'a woman who acts like a man'. The arguments pointing to the essential ceremonies and rituals performed in response to various challenges facing clans are highlighted in Lambek (2015:240) whose analysis of Mayotte can be related to the prevailing situation among the clans in question. It can be noted that in both cases just as it may be the case with other societies the world over, prevention and alleviation of misfortune drew on a broad spectrum that include God and other figures, spirits, local medicines as well as maintaining taboos among others. Above all the contradictions associated with the rituals and ceremonies together with other forms of remedies point to the fact that instead of being viewed as simple structured performances it is important that they be understood as rather more complex as argued by Van der Waal

(2011:63). White (2011) raises an important similar argument in which he states that African forms of sacrifice depict a clash of Western so-called modern and customary values.

6.3 Kinship influences on gift giving, cooperation, reciprocity, and obligations

Cooperation has survived the impacts of urbanization as is seem by its existence in the form of family and kin associations and businesses, *stockvels* and burial societies among others. White (2010) has also emphasised the importance of kinship ties among South African urban dwellers that in some instances are advised by healers to travel back to their rural areas to connect with kin members to have some ailments dealt with. In a similar line of argument, Russell (2004) and Boon (2007) have noted that wider kinship links were continuously part of the Black's strategies of securing a livelihood. This is so even though the same kinship obligations exerted levelling tendencies and inhibited the accumulation of exceptional wealth. Russell and Knoll (2009) further cautioned that we should not underestimate the resilience of the old institutions to linger on, as models for modified behaviour under a wide range of circumstances. It follows that we should not discount the creative power of people to adapt their cultural resources to new situations rather than to adopt, by imitation the cultures of others. It must therefore be noted that customary values of kinship have been an integral part of communities and they have evolved with the different phases of socio-economic transformation to play important roles.

In the South African context, although networking and cooperation among South Africans is prevalent, it has historically been noted to be more pronounced among migrant communities. For instance, in assessing networks among Namibian entrepreneurs Dobler (2008) indicates that culture is usually used in bridging gaps in networks. In the case of South Africans who have migrated into the towns to seek employment and to establish businesses, the kinship ties

are said to be used in bridging gaps in the establishment and operation of the small-scale enterprises (Dobbler 2008). According to scholars like Evans (2010) and Hart (2007), the cooperation among migrants has largely been in the form of hometown associations informed by kinship ties. In this instance, Hart (2007) puts emphasis on the importance of informal networks in the livelihoods of urban communities, regardless of being migrants or locals. These networks are strongly supported by a spirit of mutual respect, trust and cooperation, which then enhances people's livelihood strategies across the local and foreign populations. It can therefore be argued that it is important to understand how some individuals and collectives in Asia have successfully tapped non-capitalist forms of belonging through the spirit of cooperation, complemented with trust and respect have managed to achieve stronger networks and higher levels of trust in their societies. The culture of goodwill, which remains core to sustaining networks, trust and a general culture of accountability in their business initiatives, can be equated to the concept of kinship.

Powell (1990:304) argues that reciprocity is key to discussions of networked forms of organisation although it is rather an ambiguous concept, used in different ways by various social science disciplines. An important question in studies relating to reciprocity relates to whether it entails exchanges of roughly equivalent value in a strictly delimited sequence or whether it involves a much less precise definition of equivalence, that is, one that emphasises indebtedness and obligation. Anthropological and sociological analysis of reciprocity are said to be commonly couched with and according to such a view, a measure of imbalance sustains the relations thereby compelling another meeting (Powell 1990:304). It therefore follows that obligation constitutes a means through which practices remain connected to one another and calling attention to the need for equivalence might well undermine and devalue the relationship. Powell (1990:305) further adds that reciprocity is a long-term process, which as

noted by Mauss goes beyond the simple notion of rational calculation as it embraces cultural tenets that provide objects with their meaning and significance and provide a basis for understanding the implications of their passage from one person to the other. Following such an analogy, Powell (1990:305) has concluded that cooperation thus emerges out of mutual interests with behaviour being based on standards that no one individual can determine alone. It is in such a process that trust is said to be generated and playing a lubricant role to exchange. Powell (1990:305) extended his argument on trust by referring to Luhmann who noted that by trusting another party one treats as certain those aspects of life which modernity rendered uncertain. It is through such a process then where trust is reducing complex realities far more quickly and economically than prediction, authority or bargaining.

The aspect of gift giving reveals itself in religious situations especially within the church context. In this regard, Mxo noted that the community members at church always watch closely when it is his turn to give (*ukunikela*) so they can see how much he has given. He added that the other congregants expect him to give more than every one of them because he is a businessperson. Mxo also revealed that in case he gives less other congregants are quick to condemn him and accuse him of being mean. Other respondents like Daluxolo also pointed to the complex position of a business person in church when he noted that the collection of offerings at church just as is the case with collections for community functions, people expect them to contribute the highest amounts of money simple because they own businesses. He added that sometimes fellow congregants announce a meeting at short notice and in if it happens that during the meeting there is something suggested that requires money, people expect larger amounts to be donated especially from the business persons. He noted that even in situations where it is impossible to afford the higher donation, he is always accused of being mean though he tries to brush this aside by embracing the biblical teaching that one

ought to do things to please the creator who is believed to provide the business. Daluxolo also noted that other things are shifted to become part of his obligations with people telling him that if he did not fulfil the obligations, he would lose the blessings he was going to be provided with. He thus noted that he usually tries his best to conform to the community and church members' demands and whilst also indicating that during this time he leaves the business with a trusted person. It is in view of the compulsion to give that exists in various social formations as presented by the various respondents that it becomes important to refer to the works of Gleicher and Willumstad (2013). In that regard, they point out that from the onset of his work "The Gift" states a central problem he intends to address, that is pertaining to the question on what rule of legality and self interest in societies of archaic type compels the gift that has been received to be obligatorily reciprocated and the question of what power resides in the object given that causes its recipient to give back (Gleicher and Willumstad 2013:7). Gleicher and Willumstad (2013:8) further suggest that contrary to Mauss's assumption of gift giving as obligatorily reciprocated they view gift giving as rather as not an obligatory reciprocation in the sense of being experienced as an imposition. Gift giving is thus communicated to the subject in commodity language implying that there exists a meaning in the act, no less than there is in the act of making a purchase in the context of exchange. Gleicher and Willumstad (2013:11) in archaic communities, gift giving constitutes an act of freeing the self from the community, the community being represented by the tribe, kin and household among others.

As a form of exchange, gift giving constitutes one of the processes that integrate a society (Sherry, 1983:157). Sherry goes on to note that gift giving is usually associated with the accumulation of roles with the gift pointing to the importance of a role. For instance, it is noted that as a male acquires the roles of son, brother, husband, father and grandfather a gift

allocation strategy ought to be devised in view of the competing obligations. The giving gets altered in view of being an employee, employer or retiree. It is in that regard that Mxo shared his experiences giving associated with him and his aunt when he noted that other additional things have just become part of his obligations whether he likes it or not. He pointed out that as the oldest among siblings in his family and with the passing on of their parents; the obligations have come to be his. He went on to give an example of his father's sisters (aunts) who usually came to visit and when they went back his father was obliged to give them some money. Mxo also revealed after the death of his father, his aunts reminded him of how they related with his father who used to treat them and how he used to also give them money. Mxo accused his aunts of putting him under pressure by making him feel guilty if he did not offer them any money. He concluded by noting that his unemployed siblings are also expecting him to cater for their needs.

The case of clan pressure being exerted in relation to the obligation to give gifts as highlighted in Mxo's case can be understood by referring to the works of Gleicher and Willumstad (2013:6) who argue on the act of gift giving, in line with Malinowski's definition. It follows that such a view is unilateral and not founded upon an agreement between parties that in turn would communicate the commodity in money. They further note that in the same line reciprocity is not exchange (barter or otherwise) but mutual giving as posited by Lévi-Strauss. It follows that such kind of community circulation tends to be more understandable when one considers that gift giving in archaic communities often involves the periodic hosting of grand presentations within and across both kinship and tribal lines. Within such a context the commodity is said to be transparently not communicating itself in a language of exchange but that of giving.

Keketso one of the female respondents noted that people help each other every time they get together and decide what to do to render assistance to each other, for instance *amalima*. She added that during the *ilima* people help each other in the fields to do weeding. She further narrated that when it is harvesting time they also help each other to do harvesting and to transport the produce to the relevant homestead. Keketso also highlighted that men do *amalima* when it is time to plough fields through combining the cattle for draught power and plough for all the persons participating. She also added that it is expected of every woman to go and help when their relatives are having a ritual or ceremony in any way they can. She also explained that no one tells others what needs to be done as everyone works hard as if they own the task. In a related case highlighting the issue of interdependency among communities, Dalumzi noted that community members expect favours from him all the time. He however indicated that he could not afford to offer favours as he also does not get favours from the wholesales but buys everything he sells. In relation to community interdependence, Dalumzi revealed that in his community people do *amalima* to help each other. He added that sometimes when one of the community members is building a hut, other women assist her by collecting grass with her in what is locally known as *ukukrhela*. During that process, the girls are responsible for transporting the grass. He pointed out that everyone was compelled to assist hoping that the same will be done for him or her in return.

Keketso indicated that people in the community do things for others because they are willing to help and by doing that they expect help in return when it is their turn. According to her helping others comes from the heart and the desire to change someone's life. Keketso went on to indicate that they have a burial society group that helps when one loses a family member. In that group, they buy food and collect it, take it to that home so that they have something to cook for mourners who came to share the pain with them. Keketso noted that

they have a book on which they record their contributions. She revealed that in certain instances they use the contributions for the funeral.

6.4 The question of belonging within the context of balancing kinship and business obligations

6.4.1 Family and kin as a form of belonging

Respondents noted the challenges and complexities of having to deal with obligations in the context of belonging to the family unit. It is within this context that Bongikhaya revealed that the challenge with kin members is being reluctant to pay for goods as they feel that by the businessperson belonging to their kinship network, they are entitled to receive the goods freely. She also added that in some instances kin members want to take things on credit hoping that they will receive a reprieve not to pay because they are family. Regarding kin members expecting more from the businessperson, Daluxolo noted that kin members expect more from him because he has a business. He emphasised that they just relax and conclude that he is there to cover most of the needs with them not doing much in the process. He also noted that the little he does is either less or not appreciated at all because kin members think they deserve more by being kin members. In some instances, the issue of expectations is manifested in pressure for businesspersons to attend family gatherings. In that regard Mxo indicated that kin meetings are held on Saturdays or Sundays so that he can also attend. He also revealed that upon realising the tensions caused by his lack of attendance of the meetings, he came up with that suggestion and the other members agreed. Mxo also noted that in efforts to balance monetary obligations for kin and business, he ensures that when money is needed immediately whilst in the business he also has something that needs

purchasing, he resorts to splitting the money into half to ensure that he does something both sides.

In a similar line of argument, Keketso noted that she usually begs her kin not to expect so much from her by virtue of her being a businessperson. She added that she asks them to be satisfied with whatever they receive from her, as she cannot always deal with all their needs. She also indicted that although she runs restaurants where food is sold she makes it clear to family members that their food needs will be dealt with once in a month like is the case in other families. She further revealed that family members are also informed that if a household item is finished before the month ends she informs them to wait until month-end and not expect her to divert business funds to deal with the problem. Bongikhaya however revealed that he deals with cases where kin members want to use kinship to get items for free harshly by boldly informing them that when they receive items on credit they are obliged to pay for whatever they owe in full. Bongikhaya also indicated that anyone who already has credit irrespective of whether they are kin or not is forbidden from receiving additional assistance until they fully pay the credit they have. He added that without such measures the business obligations would get so neglected to the extent of risking destroying the business.

The responses from respondents such as Bongikhaya also pointed to situations whereby them as business persons also rely on kin for various assistance. He thus pointed out that kin members are helping him and in return, they receive a wage at the end of the month. He however bemoaned lack of commitment by some kin members who he accused for usually 'wanting to be idle and have items freely'. He argued that he does not accept such behaviour so that when he is not around he could count on them and even ask the person to help with duties such as stocktaking. Bongikhaya indicated that he does this so that the family members

know that he is able to find out when an item goes missing. He further noted that upon return from his engagements he usually asks for the cashed money to ensure that nothing went wrong. Isivile's case further revealed the complexities surrounding balancing kin obligations when he pointed to certain instances involving a crisis at home that coincides with some business obligation. He indicated that if he decided to attend to business obligations first, kin members often allege that he cares much about business more than kin matters yet that might not be true at all. He thus emphasised that it is difficult to balance business and kin obligations. He added that this pressure is also exerted concerning the attendance and sponsorship of various occasions within the kinship group. Isivile added that he has tried to deal with this situation through making efforts to attend most of the occasions that are done in the community, a practice that has assisted in lowering tensions though not enough to dissuade kin members from demanding more obligatory initiatives from him.

In a case that explains how belonging influences the complex nature of obligations where business persons are involved with kin members, Zamo, a female respondent, noted that by virtue of belonging, family is supposed to help other family members even if they do not cooperate on family matters. She indicated that in the case of parents having died, many people depend on the elder brothers on matters that could have otherwise been dealt with by parents if they were still alive. She further noted that even if the other siblings are working they keep turning to the eldest brother for help and they do this without thinking of reciprocating through rendering back the help. She indicated that their belief is that it is within the scope of the eldest brother's obligation to make sure they are fulfilled. Zamo went on to indicate that when parents passed on everyone knows that their obligations are taken over by the eldest sons. She also pointed out that in terms of obligations her belief is that those relating to the 'clan' should be a shared responsibility more especially when other

family members are also gainfully employed. She however regretted that the family and clan tend to look up to the persons considered as 'being able to afford obligations' with members making effort to absolve themselves from fulfilling obligations. Zamo also indicated that family members expect the eldest brother as the head of the family to be married and this is said to be important in securing his income from being wasted with unmarried women. Zamo explained that Xhosa people do not have an age limit for a person to depend on others and hence a person can depend on his brother who is usually head of family until they reach old age. Other respondents also indicated the importance of residence and ties as in indicated in the case of Mbulelo who noted that he stayed with his wife as other family members have their own places. He added that his parents are still alive but they do not live together, but rather gather when there is something such as a ceremony or funeral. He also indicated that traditional practices were done when they grew up at home and they are still done even now whilst at the same time they attend church on Sundays. This also points to some modern influences that have consequently not only influenced kinship relations but also the resultant state of obligation.

The case of Mxo further revealed notions of dishonesty related to belonging to the family among employees drawn from family and kin when he noted that although he generally works well with people who are family members, there are those individuals among his employees who are dishonest. He noted that these come late to work, work slowly as if they are pushing time so they go home and sometimes decide to go shopping without reporting to him. Mxo noted that in such instances he starts by trying to talk so such a person to ensure that they are aware that such behaviour is unacceptable but in some instances, they ignore such warnings yet when its payday it is the same persons who are first to demand pay. Mxo pointed out that when this happened he could not dismiss the person because they are family

leaving him to suffer the consequences of having family employed in business. The aspect of belonging was also shown to reflect notions of trust as reflected in the case of Dalumzi. It follows that in terms of family members having an expectation of receiving a service without having to pay Dalumzi noted that other people more especially family members do not make a clear statement when they want credit as they present their case as if they are going to pay. It is only afterwards that the businessperson would realise their reluctance to pay or finding out that they have no money upon delivery of goods. He went on to indicate that such family members do not even see the need to explain that they have no money and arrange the payment method. He however noted that not all the family members are untrustworthy as there are some though few who do offer support to his business by utilising cash in purchasing goods and not defaulting on paying credits. Nongayindoda shared the sentiments of Dalumzi when she noted that family members take advantage and sometimes they do not want to buy things. She added that when she permits them to do as they like that means that she is unlikely to meet the business obligations such that it would be impossible to get any profits in her businesses. She concluded on the matter by noting that family members have a tendency of making her feel guilty if she would not have permitted credit even though she would be aware that chances are high that they will not honour their obligations to pay back. Andile also noted that although he perceives his shops and restaurants as falling under small business initiatives, he wishes to expand and operate a bigger business in future. In that regard, he indicated that he usually pleads with his family members not to expect so much from him simply because he owns businesses. He informs them to be satisfied if they have most of their basic needs. He also noted that although in the restaurants he sells food but he informs his family that their consumables ought to be bought once a month like in every other family. This implies that if any item is finished before the expected time of replenishing they must wait until such a time when replenishing supplies is done and not earlier.

According to Mbulelo there are instances when kin members have given him problems because he has a business and they approach him knowing that he cannot turn his back on them because they are kin. He also noted that some kin members do not approach him because they are really in need of basic items but they just come to make demands to highlight their so-called kinship derived entitlements. Mbulelo also noted that it is common to receive kin members escorted by grandchildren claiming that they have nothing to eat or any money to purchase basic items. He added that however that it has occurred that when he starts giving them the basic needs they increase the list of items some of which would be clearly luxurious. He noted that he views this as failure by kin members to acknowledge the sacrifice he puts in providing for them and let alone the business obligations that are sacrificed in the process of fulfilling the kin obligations. It is such elements of dishonesty that puts the businesspersons in a somewhat complex position as it is impossible to rationalise a kin member's needs in order to isolate unwelcome practices.

6.4.2 Reciprocity and belonging within a 'lali' township setting

It must be noted that in this thesis, communities resident on the outskirts of Ntabankulu town, in what can be townships within bigger cities, rather view their neighbourhood as more of a 'village' *lali* as opposed to seeing it as an urban settlement. In Ntabankulu townships obligations are therefore organised similarly to those characterising the rural settings of the Eastern Cape Province. Respondents such as Zamo revealed that in terms of social organisation outside the family, '*ilali*' which is taken to imply a village constitutes an important unit that is characterised by members who care for each other and assist each other in times of need. Zamo went on to indicate that in instances of bereavement of a particular family, the women go to that home and assist with various chores such as cleaning and cooking. She noted that the women remain providing the varied assistance until the funeral

day. She added that the assistance in cases of funerals continues every night with women who are '*ilali*' members going to that homestead to spend the night with the concerned family providing consolation during such a difficult time. In a similar line of argument, Isivile noted that community members do assist each other when they are having a problem. He added that in instances such as when one of the homesteads in the community has lost a family member, the women go and spend nights there until the day of funeral. They only return to their homesteads for a short time in the morning to see if things are still ok and return to the bereaved homestead. He added that the women do that to show their support to other people and if some women do not do it other women will not attend to their funerals. Isivile further noted that the community helps each other with things like chairs, plates, big pots and other things used to prepare for the funeral and if one does not render the support the same thing is done to punish them.

Zamo pointed out that in case whereby the person who is the head of the family fails to assist those in need, village members are likely to reciprocate in the same way by staying away from his functions. She explained that a person who fails to attend other people's functions suffers the fate of community isolation such that even friends become few because they know they will work alone with no assistance from community. She added that friends are supposed to help each other but if one is the kind of friend who does not assist, they also do not help. She also pointed out that community members assist others with things like plates, teacups and other things but if one decides not to participate in such communal activities when it is their turn to be assisted by community members.

In a similar case regarding the importance of ensuring reciprocity and assisting other community members in need, Andile pointed out that he is expected to participate in

community activities because if he does not do so people would observe this would reciprocate the same way if he is faced by a similar situation. He explained this 'negative reciprocity' by relaying a case of a man in the community who decided to shy away from assisting when other men prepared the grave. It happened that the community has been watching him for a very long time. Andile went on to reveal that one day a family member of this man passed on and no one from the community went there to assist in preparing the grave with only the man's kin members in attendance and such members were forced to attend due to being kin. Andile concluded the case by indicating that the consequences of the boycott by the community members had serious consequences as the task was very difficult and fraught with delays due to lack of manpower whilst at the end they were very tired and all because of the family head's non-attendance of community occasions.

Andile echoed the sentiments of other respondents such as Zamo when he noted that when there is something affecting any community member, be it a funeral or traditional practice, members are obliged to go to that home and render their assistance. Importantly in relation to this 'communal mutualism' is the point of assistance being a kind of responsibility presented by Andile when he said that the assistance to another community member is more than an obligation. He noted that by being a family head he is obligated to ensure that he finds someone to relieve him in the businesses so that he can attend to the gathering. He further explained that by belonging to the community he is obliged to participate in community occasions. He noted that for example in his community when there will be a funeral all men are expected to wake up early on the day of the funeral to prepare the grave and no man is expected to avoid this. As noted by Zamo women also have an important role in the process. He added that in most cases people also contribute more with money than their labour. He also indicated that in some instances, a family can send a girl to the bereaved family to assist

with whatever she can and that is considered that family's way of contributing. In terms of other forms of assistance rendered during a crisis Mbulelo noted that sometimes people form *stockvels* and funeral covers in which members pay affordable prices. She also indicated that some of the groups involved maybe those that gather food for the bereaved family with each member being told what it should source. In a similar line of argument that points to the interdependence and cooperative nature surrounding community obligations, Daluxolo noted that each member depends on another by virtue of them belonging to that '*lali*' community'.

It follows that before family, kin relations are even raised, and if any person decides to go against these expectations, they suffer the consequences of not cooperating. He added that the cooperation in his community is seen more especially when one of the community members died. He thus noted that as the community, they agreed to collect five rand from every family in the community and the contributions are given to the bereaved family as a gift. Daluxolo also indicated that any person who is not paying the contributions is easy to identify because when the money is collected the names of heads of the families are written down. It is this reciprocal nature of communities even within township spaces that is highlighted in the view of Molm (2010:119) who has noted that reciprocity, is one of the defining features of social exchange and more generally social life which has historically been a crucial part of societies the world over despite modern and urban influences.

Respondents like Isivile also noted the inevitable influence of belonging to the '*lali*' community on the shaping of relations between the community and businesspersons. He thus indicated that when one of the family members is going to visit the in-laws' place especially during bereavement there is a need for other kin members to show their support by being there first and by providing assistance either in kind or financially. Support in kind may be in

the form of a blanket, *fasikoti* (apron) blanket, *ijalimane*, or anything they might be able to contribute. Isivile also noted that as businesspersons sometimes one might even offer to provider free transport to show support. In case of the death of the groom, the kin members of the bride are expected to be present in large numbers, as attendance by a few is perceived to show a lack of unity in that clan. Isivile also highlighted that in times of bereavement the physical presence and support is considered as prime as opposed to financial assistance.

The aspect of belonging in practice is linked to the headship roles in families as the clanship and '*ilali*' community obligations are usually demanded through these family heads. Isivile also explained that it is well known in his culture that when parents pass on, the headship of that family becomes the responsibility of the eldest brother, a role that he is currently playing. He added that as the family head there is an obligation to ensure that he participates in many events for from family and kin to '*ilali*' community' ones whether he likes it or not. He also indicated that at family level it is part of his obligations to ensure that everything is perfect all the time. He gave an example that should he be found failing to support his mother with items he is trading with, people will think that he does not care for the family at all. Zamo indicated that as a businessperson who is also obliged to participate in village activities she is happy with the assistance that she is receiving from the community members without which she feels she would not be successful in her business. She noted that besides the assistance in times of hosting functions community members are her regular customers and whilst at the same time she employs some of them to help in her businesses. Zamo noted that there is a closer relationship with her clients to the extent that in times when she faces menu challenges her clients do understand. She added that they metaphorically exclaim that she has' starved them' as if to suggest literally that they have no choice of going elsewhere but instead that it is an indication of the social bond that has grown between her and the clients.

In terms of a social connection between businesses and the local community another male respondent, Andile pointed out that community members treat him differently. He added that the community members are the ones largely buying items from his business and he values their support. Andile pointed out that the location of some his shops within the community in a way helps the community members and saves them time and money of getting into town for such items. In terms having a mutual relationship with the community, Andile pointed to the importance of trust when he noted that when community members approach him to ask for a credit, he usually gives them trusting that the person will be trustworthy and settle the debt on the day they promised to settle it. He indicated that other clients are honest while others are untrustworthy bring disappointment when it comes to time to pay. Andile indicated that in dealing with dishonest clients, he confronts them and informs them that they are forbidden from getting credit due to their dishonesty. He also noted that he usually advises his clients to inform him if they have encountered challenges for paying within the agreed time instead of avoiding him until they encounter another challenge needing his assistance.

Andile also noted that the aspect of mutualism among members in the community could even be traced in metaphoric expressions. He also noted that this is one of the key aspects drawing from the philosophy of ubuntu when he noted that one could not be able to wash one hand properly without the help of another. In that regard he noted the influence of ubuntu philosophy on his actions when he revealed that he prefers assisting other people whilst at the same time adding that African people like practising mutual assistance to each other which extends to strangers in some instances despite the fact of this value being disrupted by modernity setting identity boundaries. To show how entrenched his actions and beliefs are to the philosophy he went on to ask a rhetoric question when he said: “If someone is hungry why do I have to throw food into the dust bin?” Mbulelo also noted the mutuality forms

within the community when he noted that people in the community are expected to do things that seek to assist others in a way that shows humanity. He explained that those are things a person can do out of affection not because they are obliged to do them. He further explained that people should do what they wish others to do unto them. Andile added that the community is made up of people with different characters with some of the community members being trustworthy, faithful and working with all their strength and mind whilst others are thieves, lazy and think they can do whatever they want.

In what can be seen as contradictions within the mutuality prevalent between businesspersons and the community Andile however noted that despite having a mutually cooperative relationship with the community, there exist conflicts in some instances. He indicated that he sometimes gets embroiled in conflicts with parents who send children to the shop to buy some items and it happens that after having received the change the child loses it on their way home perhaps because they were playing along the way. He noted that the conflicts usually arise when the child becomes dishonest to disclose that they lost the change but would rather lie that they did not receive it and parents would come to confront him without giving him a chance to explain. He however revealed that these conflicts do not usually severe the relations as in most cases they fix them amicably.

In further explaining the contradictions characterising business and community relations and the prevalence of conflicts despite mutuality in communities Keketso, a female respondent noted that community members sometimes make things difficult for her and business because they do not want to understand when it comes to her having to be excused from some activities. She used the example of when in the community there are community ceremonies for rainmaking more especially if it is in summer. She noted that in that regard everyone in

the community is expected to go to pray for the rains in the mountain with the argument that when it rains it rains for the whole community so if she decides not to attend there are sanctions. She also added that every month there is a meeting, where things concerning the community are discussed at the chief's place and being a community member, she is compelled to attend to follow proceedings and contribute in discussing solutions to such challenges. Keketso also indicated that other gatherings requiring her presence take place in winter when they gather *kwabhodi* to allocate people homestead sites for those who would have applied for homestead sites. She noted that it's important to have meetings over the allocation to ensure that all allocations are accounted to and to present double allocations. This case points to the importance of adhering to community obligations that are not in any way inferior to kin obligations. At the same time, it can be noted that clanship obligations in reality aren't isolated from the broader community obligations as they tend to coalesce at some point.

6.4.3 Friendship as a form of belonging and its influences on obligation

The respondents pointed to variations in the types of friends they deal with and forms of relations. It is in this regard that Mbulelo indicated that there are good and bad friends with bad friends being those who do not want to see their friend happy and succeeding in life. He added that such friends expect good things to happen to them only without thinking of reciprocating. He pointed to an example of a woman who always thought about how to assist other people in the community. He revealed that she would advise people and celebrate with them when they succeed in life. In an unfortunate turn of events pointing to complexity of reciprocity especially in situations when it is expected but instead remains elusive Mbulelo noted that surprisingly people in the community did not want to see the lady succeed and out of jealousy even started unnecessary fights with her. Mbulelo also revealed that most of the

lady's neighbours were once her best friends but they could not accept to see her succeed. He thus concluded that any person can never have everything they need and live in isolation so it is important to help each other especially in line with the African philosophy where communities believe in helping each other with members viewing each other as brothers and sisters.

In explaining the mutuality and interdependence notions of friendship, a female respondent Bongikhaya noted that she has friends and she is assured that if she happens to have a problem they will come and help. She is confident that when she needs something she knows that her friends will help her more especially financially. She added that in times of need it is when she can see if she really has friends or they are just pretending to be friends when things are fine. Respondents such as Bongikhaya noted that they can borrow money from their friends with friends also being free to do the same. In addition to drawing from friendship in a reciprocal manner, Bongikhaya noted that good friends do not leave their friend in bad times but they stay and assist their friend until they succeed in what they would be aiming to achieve. In emphasising the significance of friendship networks Bongikhaya thus noted:

> "*Umntu xa enabahlobo usuke esazi ukuba xa enengxaki uzobiza bona ukuze bamncede. Abahlobo ubabona xa unengxaki ukuba bangabahlobo benene na okanye akunjalo. Abahlobo benene abamshiyi umhlobo wabo xa esengxakini byamnceda umntu ade ancame nezakhe izinto ukuze kulunge le yomhlobo wakhe ingxaki. Umzekelo xa ndidinga imali ndiyazi ukuba omnye wabahlobo bam uzakundinceda*". (Any person with friends knows that they can always rely on them and true friends emerge in times of problems and they do not abandon their friend but would always assist them, in instances by sacrifices their own obligations to sort the friend's problem. I also know that if I need money one of my friends would assist me).

In a similar line of argument relating to relations associated with friendship in its various forms, a female respondent, Keketso pointed out that friends have a way of assisting each other. Keketso added that when she is doing a ritual or there is a funeral at her home she can be supported with groceries. Importantly to the reciprocity concept is Keketso's revelation

that when her friend is doing something she can return the favour by freely providing her with food and catering teams from her restaurants. Keketso also noted that within her friendship network they can lend each other some money and they give each other terms and conditions in doing so. In a similar case pointing to the embeddedness of interdependency within friendship networks Dalumzi noted that friends repeatedly assist each other and they do not count the number of times they would have been there for one another. In addition to this view Mbulelo highlighted how much he values his friendship although he noted that despite friendship being valuable to him he remains obliged to take care of the business obligations too and not allow friendship to negatively affect business. Mbulelo also indicated that he is totally convinced that friends should not be offered credit because of the risk of ruining friendship especially in cases when the friend defaults in making payments and becomes doggy. This highlights the complex nature of balancing friendship with business obligations especially as highlighted in how credits are handled between friends with respondents such as Isivile stating that it is rather difficult to give someone who is a friend credit because sometimes small things can break friendship. In a similar view Bongikhaya clearly stated that if a friend insists he does offer them credit but he also informs them that since he buys the stock the friend should pay to keep the business running.

Respondents also pointed to the importance of friendship as a form of belonging with influences on how relations are shaped. Isivile noted that friends assist each other when one of them needs to be assisted. He also noted that since one of his business enterprises is involved in selling wood, when a friend has a funeral at his home he can offer them wood freely. Isivile noted that of importance in that relationship is the reciprocity expected as he expects the friend to do the same thing when he is the one in need of assistance. Isivile noted that if the assistance isn't in kind then they support each other with money. He thus noted that

he can lend money to his friends more especially large amounts and they lay rules on such loans. He noted that the friend who breaks the rules is never again given money and never trusted. He indicated that fortunately so far no one has broken the rules all transactions have gone well. He highlighted that they are still honest to each other. In a similar line of argument on the form of relations within friendship networks it is therefore also important to consider the case of Andile who noted that his friends are also supporting him whilst at the same time he also assists them with their needs. He gave an example of one of his friends who sells wood from the forest. He revealed that sometimes his friend's truck needs service while he wouldn't be having enough money to pay for the service. It is in such instances that Andile noted that if his friend comes to borrow it from him he lends him without fear because he believes that his friend will do the same for him in future. Andile however noted that in cases of a friend who does not help him he finds it difficult to help them and the same applies to one who borrows and never pays back. He thus added that he prefers a friend who is honest and who does as per promise all the time, the one who will think before doing something. Andile also raised the question of honesty with his friends when he noted that he does not like to give some untrustworthy friends credit because they like to take advantage of the mere fact that they are friends. In such instances, he indicated that he usually gives to the one he trusts and inform them that they do not have to mix their friendship with business as the way he operates. Andile also added that sometimes he just tells them that he is waiting for some money for buying stock. Andile thus noted that when one of his friends ask for something they need he starts by assessing them and weighing the cost of giving out such an item to his business instead of just giving them. He further noted that if he can afford to give what is being asked he gives it away but if it will cost the shop a lot he refuses. In instances of refusal to let go of the items he noted that he explains why he could not give it away and that does not lead to any conflict as it ends amicably. Andile also indicated that he has a friend he trusts

the most as he puts the shop first whilst at the same time always informing him of any tacts of dishonesty. In another case showing the form of friendship networks being perceived as more of a burden than an obligation, another respondent Mxo pointed out that his friends also expects a lot from him even in situations when they decide to jointly contribute money to buy something, they expect him to contribute more than them. He added that if he tells them that he cannot bring more they usually accuse him of being mean. He concluded by revealing that sometimes the friendship networks come with costs just like clanship networks as his friends are always expecting favours from him.

Some respondents such as Mbulelo indicated the importance of friendship as an alternative form of belonging in situations when the kinship has proven to be a source of liability than capital. He thus revealed that friends are important in people's lives as they can provide assistance in situations when the family and broader kin membership fails to do so. It is in that regard that respondents like Zamo noted that she can handle her friends because she is able to tell them that they should pay for everything like other people with no favours expected. She went on to indicate that friendship does not mean the friends are exempted from paying. She thus revealed that she tells her friends that her restaurants are a source of income like any other employment and if should pay her a visit at home and not expect free meals at the restaurants. She was however quick to say that she usually talks to them in a way that will ensure that they understand her and take no offence. Zamo noted that in terms of credits she does offer the friends at client level and nothing more. In a similar line of argument Keketso another female respondent noted that she does not like offering friends credit because they like to take advantage of their friendship. She thus revealed that she extends credit to the one she trusts although she usually cautions them against having to mix

their friendship with business highlighting that that is not how things are done. She added that she dismisses the untrustworthy by just informing them that she has no stock.

The research also revealed how belonging to a friendship network may lead to mutual assistance. In that regard Mxo noted that he can help a friend as much as he can when they are in trouble. He narrated a case in which one of his friends was interested in opening a saloon. Mxo indicated that he helped him with some money and advised him to open it somewhere not close to his as the street was full of competition and clients already preferred established saloons. Mxo noted that his friend thought that he was jealous and that he can manage building his customer base despite the competition. He went on to indicate that is not what he had in mind but rather knew that in that area it would be hard for the business to attract enough customers to be profitable. He further indicated that although his friend went ahead with the business just as he suspected his business failed. He noted that the incident created tension between them in terms of paying back of the money he had lent his friend but due to their friendship he had to let it go. In a similar case pointing to interdependency within friendship networks, Daluxolo pointed out that good friends help each other when in trouble. He added that in terms of their network they have even formed a *stockvel* group in which they make monthly contributions to purchase stock in bulk from Johannesburg and Durban, an arrangement that assists them not only with cutting transports costs but in boosting profits.

6.5 The community-business nexus and the notions of obligation and honor

With regards to the community and business nexus in relation to obligation and honor, respondents revealed the prevalence of cooperation and interdependence between community and businesspersons. It is in that regard that Isivile indicated that community members

support him by purchasing their construction material from him. He also noted that in return he also employs members of the community to assist in various areas. He indicated that at night, there are security guards employed in various outlets and these were drawn from the community. He also further revealed that when he went to the river to fetch sand there are boys from the community who assists him with loading the truck. He went on to indicate that other members drawn from the community load blocks and unload them when they deliver. Other respondents also noted the mutuality and interdependence between community members and local African businesspersons. It is in that regard that Bongikhaya pointed out that the community members and businesspersons depend on each other in one way or the other. He added that there are things that a person cannot do in isolation from other community members due to the symbolism attached to the assistance from the community. She indicated that for example in her community when people realised that they were losing their livestock through theft they decided to get together and patrol at night and if they met someone suspected of having negative intentions that person would be beaten. Of importance in this initiative was the revelation that local businesspersons were involved in sponsoring the patrols.

The interactions of businesspersons with community were also highlighted in situations where credits are concerned. It is in relation to the issue of relations related to credits that Mxo noted that when community members come to ask for a credit, he usually gives them with the hope that they would be faithful and pay back on time. Mxo further explained that others are faithful whilst others do not honor their obligations. He thus explained that regarding those who are unfaithful he usually confronts them and tells them straight that they cannot get credit again because of their unfaithfulness. Mxo also revealed that he prefers

persons who would come forth to report the challenges they might be encountering in making payments instead of just disappearing.

In explaining the how it is easier to deal with community members as opposed to family and clan members Keketso noted that she can rebuke any person who has done something wrong but it is not that easy when it is a family member. She thus further noted that when it is someone from the community she can say it without fear. She went on to indicate that in case of the person being her employee if she decides to dismiss the person she can easily accomplish that to show how serious she is. She however explained that she always gives people a chance without pre-judging them more especially if she believes they need another chance. She concluded by noting that business people are also human beings who also make mistakes.

Respondents also revealed how they should deal with dishonest community members. In that regard Mxo noted that when one has a business, people tend to expect and in some instances even demand favours. He added that they are in instances also reluctant to pay whilst at the same time ignoring the fact that he would have spent money in acquiring the stock. He revealed that he has encountered instances in which a community member would just come in and ask to have her hair done but thereafter that person would just thank him and leave without paying. Mxo noted that this has always left him upset because he believes that these community members should understand that he is in business to make profit and not in the 'business of dishing free hairdos'. He also explained how complex it is to deal with such situations harshly due to the perceptions he fears to create especially when the person is a family member, hence he prefers avoiding the conflict altogether. Mxo further indicated that such incidences usually affect his profit margins negatively because 'every drop of shampoo

and relaxer counts'. He concluded by stating that instead of a direct confrontation with dishonest community or family members, when such a dishonest person returns, he informs them that the relaxer is out of stock and they must bring theirs. In a similar case related to notions of dishonest by community members especially in relation to credits Isivile noted that people from the community usually approach his businesses to ask for credit thinking that if they do not pay he will just forget about the money. He however noted that in cases of delays in payment he prefers rather waiting patiently for the persons owing him until they pay. Isivile added that after the dishonest individuals pay he usually informs them that in future he will never offer them credit because they do not pay on time.

In explaining the prevalence of dishonesty among community members Mxo noted that whilst community members always pay there are some individuals who just decide to come and trick him. He added that he has an example of a lady who came at his salon desperate to for a hairdo but then she told him that the queue was too long at the A.T.M. He indicated that he proceeded to do the hair and when he was done the lady promised to come and pay as soon as she withdraws the money. Mxo went on to indicate that he waited and waited until it was time to go home and the lady never returned and it is now two years since the incident. He indicated that she never returned but still believed that she might return and he will still demand his money and he will ensure that unlike other clients she pays before her hair is done. This case further highlights the importance of aspects of honesty in shaping relations outside the limits of kinship. In an indication of how other notions of honesty outside kinship are handled especially in as far as business protection against dishonesty is concerned rituals of protection were alluded to. It is in that regard that respondents like Andile indicated that when they hire someone from the community they ask them to be honest to from the start. He further explained that he informs that particular person that if they choose to steal from the

business they should not blame him for whatever consequences they might suffer because he has a herbalist who helps him in securing the business. Andile noted that he believes that a herbalist is able punish those who would have broken their trust. This he added works to his advantage as it prevents his workers from stealing from his businesses although he noted that some employees would doubt him and insist on their readiness to test the herbalist capabilities.

Respondents also indicated that though they have a good working relationship with community members who have continuously rendered their support to their businesses there are times when they have challenges when it comes to credit provision. It is in this regard that Zamo noted that sometimes a community member comes in and asks for credit. She went on to indicate that it is difficult to just offer any community member credit as it is easier to deal those who are considered trusted customers. In a similar approach that reflects complexity towards dealing with the aspect of honesty on credits Bongikhaya noted that community members also get things for credit though there is a limit on the timing and size of the credit depending on previous encounters with the person involved. He added that the limit assists in ensuring that the person does not just take items including those they do not need. In another case pointing to how business persons deal with notions of dishonesty related to non-kin members Mxo explained that for someone who is just a community member it is rather easier to deal with them without fear of kin reaction. He indicated that it's easier for the non-family members to receive warnings and if the bad behaviour continues he usually dismisses the person and remains unshaken by his decision. Mxo pointed out that he acts harshly in dealing with non-family members as a warning to would be offenders that they should not dare repeat the same mistakes and expect forgiveness. He concluded by stating that he cannot tolerate misbehaviour from other people as he finds it enough when it is from kin members. Zamo

however noted that sometimes she is forced to assist even those she has never dealt with before and if it happens that the person fails to pay back without offering a proper explanation she leaves the person alone but at the same time their future credit requests are declined. She indicated that it's important for clients to be honest such that when she asks for what is owed that person should be able to explain the reason for not paying and if they were to do so then they are eligible for getting credits every time.

Respondents also pointed to the pressure exerted by the community in case of failure to deliver on their expectations be it attendance of community gatherings or financial contributions. It is in that regard that Isivile noted that people from the community tend to react negatively if they feel that he did not do as they expected. He also noted that sometimes they would deliberately praise another businessperson so that he may feel bad for not doing enough like that person and then respond by trying harder to impress them more than the other person does. Isivile also noted that community members tend to place so much pressure on business persons as if they forget that there should be profit made in business not just for running the business but also so that the business person and family can earn and sustain a living. He noted that any efforts to try to impress the community may be detrimental to business. Mbulelo also noted that community members also make things difficult for him and business especially due to the demand for him to attend monthly meetings where issues concerning the community are discussed, at the chief's place known as *kwabhodi*. He added that the challenge is that every Wednesdays there are also meetings *kwabhodi* where issues are discussed that relate to people's well-being and grievances. Mbulelo thus revealed that as a community member he is required to attend the community meetings to listen and contribute in discussing solutions to community problems and he gets into trouble when he fails to attend the meetings. Another respondent Daluxolo also emphasised the importance

attached to the *kwabhodi* meetings to businesspersons especially in enforcing debt payment by defaulters when he pointed out that punishment was being mated out to uncooperative community members who are taken to *kwabhodi* but still fail to honor their debt payment obligations. In that regard, he revealed that a defaulter is given a punishment at *kwabhodi* because non-payment is taken to reflect a perceived failure to cooperate and looking down on instructions given by the leaders of the community. In relation to the importance of *kwabhodi* not just for individual challenges but for resolving community challenges Isivile noted that his father is *ubhodi* and when there is kin conflict he calls other members to come and resolve such conflict. He added that many members from different kin with conflict challenges came to report to his father and got resolutions and this positionality of his father made it easier to have their problems resolved. In emphasising the effectiveness of *kwabhodi* in conflict resolution Isivile noted that when they grew up people would come to his father with deep hatred but they would emerge from the meeting with his father with all animosity gone.

6.6 Exploring religious influences on business practices

The importance of religion in shaping how business persons relate with others showed itself in almost all respondents especially Keketso who noted that as a Christian she loves to help other human beings whether she knows them or she does not know them. She added that Sunday also gives her the once a week time to be with her family. She thus noted that she does not open on Sundays because she must attend church. She added that the infrequency in which she meets with her family is not unique with her as other people put business before anything with even their family coming second. She also indicated that other business persons spend all the time they have at their business places whilst others even sleep there.

In another case showing complexities presented by the embeddedness of religion in business people's lives Dalumzi revealed that he thanks God for his children who are trustworthy both at home and in business. On another note revealing complexities on how religion is drawn upon, Dalumzi's case also pits reliance on both Christianity and customary religion when he thus noted that he believes in customary practices and his parents did engage in the practices too but his wife is saved and the customary practices cannot be done in their home. He noted that they attend church every Sunday but when he wants to do something that has to do with the ancestry worship he has to do it at his parent's house. To avert a conflict between family members especially a clash between his wife and her in-laws Dalumzi usually asks his wife to go and assist with preparations in case of any community member having to prepare for a ritual. He also noted that she is compelled to attend despite her Christianity values not permitting her to do so because when it's their turn to be hosts other women will not attend her functions if she does not help them.

Mair and Evans (2015:206) refer to Robbins who argued that Christianity carries with it an account of culture that envisages a radical rupture with the past on conversion, that is, in what they refer to as their terms an account that is all about affinities. Of importance is the argument by Mair and Evans (2015:205) in which case they note that scholars like Robbins have written about tensions between Christianity and traditional religion in Papua New Guinea. In the current research in Ntabankulu, the data revealed a situation that contradicted the work of Robbins in which he was quoted by Mair and Evans as pointing to the contradictions between Christianity and customary religion particularly in Papua New Guinea. In contrast, the data revealed that often people tend to practice both Christianity and customary religion despite instances where they do stick to one of them. On a similar note, the case of Dalumzi importantly revealed that in as much as his wife does not approve of

customary practices, he still goes to his parents' place to fulfill any customary practice that needs to be carried out. His wife is also not completely out of it as she must engage in assisting with preparations for those community members who still subscribe to customary practices or rituals. It is in view of that situation that one of the respondents Zamo noted that in her family and during kin events they have grown up embracing both Christianity and traditional religion when she thus noted that when they grew up on Sundays attending church services whilst also doing rituals in which ancestry was evoked. Simon (2015:280) referred to Zigon who argued that "ethics" are performed in moments expressing dilemmas or break down of normal expectations, when disagreements arise or when an older "moral-cultural way of being" encounters a new one such as Pentecostal Christianity. It is further noted that in that way a distinction is made between morality as the unreflective mode of being-in-the-world and ethics as a tactic performed in the moment of the breakdown of the ethical dilemma.

Naidoo (2015:110) noted that besides the church existing as a platform for people meeting and knowing each other there existed less personal visits between persons who considered themselves as 'strangers'. White (2013:139) indicated the importance of relations of mutuality with ancestral spirits to the family life of many people resident in the countryside who are descendants to peasants and migrant workers. These are persons whose efforts to make family life is beset with difficult economic conditions associated with high unemployment. White presents an important view relating to the closely-knit connection between the world of spirit and economy particularly within a context of economic uncertainty.

6.7 Conclusion

The chapter has managed to present data and arguments pointing to how kinship is evoked in business and with what forms of obligations. This was done through the presentation of arguments indicating how various rituals and practices present certain symbols to businesspersons as well as how these influence the balancing of kin and business obligations. The chapter also presented aspects of gift giving and reciprocity as well as various forms of exchange. The issue of belonging to various forms of association and its influences on obligations was also tackled.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BALANCING KIN AND BUSINESS OBLIGATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents arguments that engage with the issue of how businesspersons draw from kinship in balancing obligations. The question of how trust influences the balancing of obligations is also explored. The chapter also presents the various complexities that emerge when kinship is evoked in business. The nature of conflicts and how they relate to obligations is also presented.

7.2 Kinship: A form of capital or obligation?

In relation to the aspect of kinship as a form of capital or obligation, it is important to note that there cannot be any rational mechanism in which there could be an exclusive linkage of kinship to capital or obligation. This therefore implies that instead of viewing the two as parallel, they need to instead be seen in the light of two sides of the same coin. It is in that regard that Zamo revealed that as business persons they all depend on other kin members in one way or another whether one likes it or not. Zamo added that most people forget how important kin are and isolate themselves from them. She also noted that when others leave in search of jobs they tend to neglect kin, especially when things are good for them, and stay away from home. Zamo further revealed that when things are bad, friends stay away from the same kin members, especially when they have no money and they are sick. Zamo explained that in cases of a kin member being reportedly sick kin members would frequently visit the person using their money and even make efforts in trying to find a solution for their relative. Zamo added that kin members are important in times of sickness such as when a kin member is admitted at hospital. Zamo thus added that if it happens that sick kin members are on their

own with no visitors, hospital staff begins to worry because there is no one they can relate to during the treatment or when the person dies as next of kin are usually expected to be known. In further explaining the symbolism attached to kinship Zamo noted that a bereaved kin member can only be buried by kin and even if friends do not participate its immaterial and the funeral can continue but not in the absence of kin members especially if they are known. She also revealed that it is therefore in such situations that some kin members think about kin as they strongly believe that kin members can never turn their backs on them, even though that is exactly what they themselves would have done. This case further highlights not only kinship as capital but also the symbolism of the umbilical cord and 'blood' connections as opposed to other connections like friendship whose enduring nature may be broken in certain circumstances. In a similar view on kinship being a part of capital and obligation especially for parents Mbulelo noted that he has taken over the family obligations because he can now afford to. He also noted that in as much as parents have an obligation to take care of their children in raising them up, the roles shift when parents are aged as their children are expected to take over the obligations of taking care of their parents. He further noted that one ought to also bury their parents when they pass on. Mbulelo concluded that everybody is expected to do so in the community. In a similar case relating to the importance of kinship not just to businesspersons but also to kin at large Nongayindoda pointed out that kin members are very important because they have an obligation to take care of their 'loved ones', that is, other kin members. She thus noted that they all depend on other as kin members in one way or another whether one likes it or not. Nongayindoda further emphasised the importance of the kin when she noted that most people forget how important kin members are and isolate themselves from the especially the members who go into faraway places such as big cities and tend to take for granted the importance of linking with kin in their places of origin. She thus noted that when things are bad friends sometimes tend

to desert, more especially when such a kin member has no money and they are sick. She sarcastically added that it is in difficult situations that the kin member who would have isolated themselves begin to think of kin as they know kin members would never turn their backs on them, even though they would have done exactly that themselves with the result being a shameful return with the '*Khumbul'ekhaya*'[3] crew to apologise.

This need to fulfil kin obligations was notably fluid as it extended to encounters that involved some business persons rendering assistance to any persons who share the same clan names with them whether they know them or not. This further served to reveal not only the strength of kinship ties and connections in which obligations to other members is of importance but also points to the fluid nature of the very concept of kinship itself. The concept of kinship cannot therefore be exclusively limited to kinship relations that are exclusive. The shifting of kinship boundaries cannot be rationalised as in reality one may never know the identities of all kinship members leaving the process of obligation discharge open. It is in that regard that respondents like Isivile pointed out that people who are tied by kinship are obliged to help each other always. He added that in his case when he meets a needy person even in town he assists them more especially when they share same kin names even if he does do not know them. Isivile also pointed to the importance of the gathering of persons with the same clan names and efforts that are usually made for them to know each other.

Business persons such as Zamo also noted the importance of kinship as both a form of capital and obligation when she noted that she sometimes asks kin members to come and assist her with various duties such as cleaning and food preparation in her restaurants. She added that

[3] Khumbulekhaya is an SABC show that focuses on efforts of reuniting long gone or lost kin members with their families.

her intention is always of tapping on their labour whilst at the same time getting them to feel how demanding business obligations can be. Zamo added that making kin members assist also gives them some insight on the nature of effort put to keep the business going. In a similar line of argument on kinship being drawn from both as capital and obligation another respondent Andile noted that a kin member's assistance in business is very useful more especially when that person is honest.

Respondents also pointed to the challenges that are poised by kinship to businesses when they noted instances when kinship obligations turn into a burden. It is considering this view that Andile cautioned that dishonest kin members always engage in activities that may be detriment to business with any opportunity they get. Andlie also revealed that sometimes when a kin member has done something wrong it becomes difficult to rebuke them because other kin may just decide to support them. He thus further indicated that in many instances if he feels he has weak proof against the accused person he prefers keeping quiet for the sake of peace with kin members. Andlie also revealed that he usually warns kin members against illicit actions such as stealing from the businesses as that would mean closure of the businesses and consequently a loss of income to the entire family and broader kin. Andile indicated that such warnings are usually helpful in restraining kin members from harbouring bad habits that could negatively affect the business.

Other cases pointing to the burdensome nature of kinship where also revealed by Isivile, Zamo, Mbulelo and Dalumzi. In that regard Isivile noted that when there is a ceremony that is done and the kin is collecting contributions, kin members tend to look up to him for contributing more than everyone else by owning a business. He noted that they always hold perceptions that he has a lot of money, something he considers misleading and unfair. He

bemoaned such perceptions for being responsible for the shifting of most kin obligations to him with members avoiding sharing the obligations. Isivile added that kin members are always expecting favours because he owns businesses. He also noted that some of their actions that he does not like include the tendency of wanting to be given things for free just because they are kin. He pointed to cases when kin members have made orders from his hardware and upon delivering the items they just say nothing pertaining to making payment. He also indicated that the sad element under such cases is that when he tries to make an inquiry on payment kin members would react angrily and he becomes the one tainted. Isivile concluded that when he finds himself in such situations he has rather preferred withdrawing and not fighting back due to them being kin.

On a similar case pointing to the burdensome nature of clanship Zamo noted that she is the only one providing income for her family and other kin members and views her obligations as extensive. She noted that besides assisting other kin expects her to buy food, clothes and to provide them with other day-to-day needs. Mbulelo also revealed the burdensome nature of kinship when he revealed that when there is a ceremony that to be done they gather to discuss it and divide obligations. He added that he has always observed that sometimes kin members favour shifting more obligations to him due to his status as a businessperson. He however noted that he does not just accept it but reminds them that the business needs stock, renovations and payment for workers. He also revealed that such conversations have in some instances become conflictual especially if they try imposing obligations on him. He also noted that in some instances relations have led to him not being on talking terms with some members. Importantly in his case is his indication that such conflictual situations are usually temporary as kin elders would call a meeting and instruct the conflicting parties to stop whatever they are doing as it would delight the kin enemies. In further pointing to the

burdensome nature of kinship, Mbulelo revealed that kin members always unjustifiably complain when they feel that he has not fulfilled their expectations. He expanded by indicating that although he has built a nice home for his parents kin members still reflect badly about him as if he did not meet his obligatory expectations. He also noted that he is obliged to buy food requirements for the family every month among other things with his family expecting to get whatever they want all the time. He noted that sometimes he must cancel his business appointments due to the need to take his parents to the clinic for medication. He noted that whilst he would have preferred other members to also assist this is pushed to him with no consideration on how burdened he is already. To further elaborate the kin member's lack of care Mbulelo noted that one day his sister phoned him whilst was busy at the shop. He went on to indicate that his sister was requesting him to come over to her place urgently as her child was dying. He noted that after rushing there he was very disappointed to note that one of his nieces was in labour and he was supposed to take her to the hospital. He felt this to be a burdensome component of kinship, as he believes that they should have opted to calling an ambulance that could have provided proper free assistance without his business having to be interrupted. He noted that instead they chose to call him just because they knew he could not refuse to assist. This case presents a complex side of kinship because from the thinking and actions of Mbulelo's sister the kin member comes first to her mind when she is face by a problem even though she had an option of calling for an ambulance. Despite his protest, Mbulelo also had to assist and console himself by noting that they are a crucial part of his kin after all. He added that if he were to ask his sister to pay, people would consider him a heartless person. He also noted that to maintain peace he prefers just complying even if he disfavours what they are doing as during the time he is rendering the assistance the business would be at a standstill. In a related case of business persons viewing kinship as burdensome, Dalumzi noted that members of his kin have a tendency of

failing to take full responsibility especially when there is a ceremony to be done. He also noted that for example I there are contributions to be made in case of a funeral his clan looks up to him to make donations of items such as the cement and sand for grave preparation without any other member coming forward to. In emphasising how kin members tend to avoid obligations Dalumzi indicated that:

> "*Ekhayeni kuyathenjiselwana ngowo nowo akafuni kuzijula ijacu xa kukhona into eyenziwayo yekhaya. Izinto ezinganceda kuloo nto yenziwayo xa kuzizinto endizithengisayo bazifuna ngenkani ukuba ndincedise ngazo ngaphezu kwemali xa sigqibe ngokubetha imali. Umzekelo xa kuswelekiwe izitena, Isanti nesamente yokukhonka ingcwaba akuthethwa nokuthethwa nam ngazo kuba ngathi kunyanzelekile ukuba mandizikhuphe. Ndizova abantu sebesithi kanti zizoziswa nini izinto zokwenza ingcwaba*". (My kin members always avoid taking responsibility on obligations and they always try to impose every task on me especially if they know that the required items are available in my business).

7.3 The question of trust in balancing kin and business obligations

The issue of trust notably constitutes an important aspect in the balancing of kin and business obligations. It therefore follows that in relation to the question of trust between businessperson and kin Mxo noted that he prefers that a person ask when they need something. He added that someone who asks is the one he trusts more because it shows that the person has conscience. Mxo went on to indicate that having observed a person for a while he can leave the person alone with money not under lock knowing that it is safe. Mxo also pointed out that he does not hide things more especially when there is a new employee as part of the test towards trustworthiness. He also revealed that he does not trust people who consume alcohol because they can do everything to get a beer and that is why he does not hire them. Mxo however exposed the complex nature of the concept of trust when he revealed that sometimes it happens that he trusts the wrong person or give a premature judgement that

somebody can't be trusted. He therefore conceded that everybody deserves a chance before they can be judged adding that there is no perfect person in this world and that includes him.

Other respondents preferred putting their trust on non-kin members particularly Dalumzi who noted that most of the time community members are very much trustworthy than kin members. He added that they tend to value their jobs since they know when they are found involved in illicit activities they can either be easily sent to jail or dismissed, something which kin members seem to be least concerned with. Dalumzi also noted that non-kin members tend to show greater commitment to work than kin members do something that also makes him softer on them when something is missing. Asked to explain this sudden rare softer approach he noted that in cases when something goes missing in a situation when employees are a mixture of kin and non-kin members he usually starts by investigating the kin members. He added that they are usually the ones who would have more compulsion to do wrong compared to the non-kin members who are always afraid of being reported by kin members and the knowledge that they are easily dismissible. In some instances, respondents linked the issue of trust with culture and racial belonging when they pointed out how they believed certain racial groups have more 'trust capital' than others do. It is that regard that Zamo indicated that other races fare better bin terms of trust as she believes that they are very trusting more especially Indians who she added can even invest large amounts of money in businesses of other kin members. She however added that 'blacks' still have a problem with trust and that is what makes them not to help each other most of the time. Zamo also noted that sometimes she encounters trust in situations when she needs advice when she indicated that various individuals come with different types of advice pertaining to how she may improve her business. She thus noted that she can choose good advice from bad one with the help of kin members. This constitutes an important point in relation to how persons who are

familiar to each other are likely to forge closer ties. This may point to a possibility of a more trustful relation between persons who are familiar to each other as opposed to where strangers are involved. In a similar case, pointing to the importance of kinship ties being important in shaping relationships Isivile noted that he trusts his kin members because they are trustful to him. Isivile added that the respect he teaches his children makes him to trust them even with money for the business. He went on to reveal that his wife is the one he trusts the most and consequently she manages all finances. It is not always easy to know when someone can be trusted or not. Isivile also indicated that sometimes when he observes trustful characters in an individual and believes that such a person can be of good use for the business he usually employs them. Mbulelo also presented a similar situation when he noted that his kin members can inform him when they feel he has done something wrong and he consequently listens to them. This inclusion of kin members in decision-making constitutes an important dimension of trust in which people tend to trust more those they know more than strangers do.

In a case that indicates how close kin can be more trusted than strangers, Mbulelo's case presents some complexities to the notion of trusting a closer kin member. He revealed that sometimes he leaves his wife in charge of business but still he does not feel at ease even though he believes she can take good care of the business. He thus added that he always prefers doing things by himself although not disputing that the assistance from his wife brings him a piece of mind. Mbulelo also noted that his children also assist with business obligations during holidays. He noted that although he trusts his children but there are instances of dishonesty and he has a way of punishing them. He thus revealed that he punishes the child by withholding things that they love. To further add onto the complexity of trust in practice especially regarding the limitation of the view that trust gets stronger where people are familiar as in kin, some respondents pointed to trust challenges when it comes to close kin

members. It is in that regard that the case of Mbulelo becomes important particularly when he indicated that kin members especially the elderly members have a tendency of making mistakes and then apologising, but repeating the same mistake again. He noted that this is problematic especially given that he is unable to rebuke them even if such wrong would be harmful for his business. Of importance in his explanation is the emphasis that in terms of trust he does not look at who the person is be it kin or non-kin member as he just decides who to trust or not to trust based on his experiences with that person. He added that in case of having associated himself with an untrustworthy person he makes sure that he cuts ties with such a person. He added that it does not matter whether the person is a best friend or an employee. In a similar case pointing to the complexity of dealing with trust in practice Bongikhaya noted that for those friends he can trusts he can ask them to take care of the shop but one mistake of untrustworthiness is enough to destroy their friendship.

7.4 Complexities in balancing kin and business obligations

Respondents pointed to the complexities involved in balancing kin and business obligations especially in relation to the perceptions on businesspersons as moneyed and therefore expected to extend the financial support to clan members. It is in that regard that Daluxolo noted that because he owns three shops, kin members hold perceptions that he has more money than even those kin members who are employed in high-income positions. He added that contrary to such popular claims his businesses are sustained by his managerial and saving skills. The study also revealed how businesspersons have tried to assist kin members as part of obligations to empower them but without success in some instances. It is in that regard that Bongikhaya pointed out that when he realised that his business was doing well he tried to assist his brothers to start their own businesses. In that regard, he noted that he gave them money to go and buy their start-up stork and for paying rentals. He however noted that

instead both of his brothers chose to take the money and waste it on alcohol and luxuries. Bongikhaya also indicated that, that was the last time he tried to assist them financially. He further pointed out that his brothers behaved this way because they know they will never go hungry while he has money and he noted that is true as he would find it hard to abandon assisting them altogether. Having failed to find anything positive in assisting his family Bongikhaya noted that he took his bakkie and gave it to his mother's last-born thinking that he would be different from others. He added that he expected him to use the bakkie for hire by people who would have bought bulky items that cannot be transported through public transport.

It follows that Bongikhaya's revelation on how his uncle abused the bakkie by using it with his friends to travel to town every day and going into bars, where they will drink and return home late without having to focus on what he needed to do with the bakkie. Bongikhaya further explained that this irresponsible behaviour persisted until one day when he was driving under the influence of alcohol he got involved in an accident and the car was written off. Bongikhaya also noted that this incident brought him anger and disappointment especially that his uncle acted as if he had done nothing wrong, with not even an apology being provided as if he was entitled to the bakkie. He added that kin members appear to be non-caring especially because they feel that their day-to-day needs will always be catered for. Bongikhaya then concluded that although he will never offer financial assistance to any kin member, at the same time he cannot completely withdraw from supporting them despite the complex relationships related to the perceived less caring nature of the kin members.

Daluxolo also emphasised that every family constitutes a family head that provides a linkage to the clan and community. He added that firstly parents have responsibility to provide day to

day needs for families but in situations of their passing on the responsibility does not end but it is rather given to someone else more especially the first born in the family. If they are still young, the responsibility is taken to their father's brother to take care of them on a caretaker basis.

In explaining the form of kinship obligations that businesspersons engage in, Nongayindoda noted that sometimes she finds herself doing something that she perceives as not part of her obligations as she would feel compelled to assist such a person. She gave an example of when she finds a child belonging to a kin member without school shoes she just buys the kid the shoes because she understands from her personal experiences how embarrassing and painful it is for the child. She added that she does that without expecting anything in return but gets content upon seeing a smile on the child's face. She reiterated the placing of all family responsibilities on a family head even after the passing of parents. Nongayindoda also indicated that a family head is expected to have a wife and take care of others. Of importance is her conclusion that it is not easy to balance the obligations of family and kin with business at the same time. This highlights the complex nature of balancing such obligations.

In pointing to the complexities surrounding balancing kin and business obligations Andile noted that he finds it difficult to balance business with family and kin obligations. He thus noted that he is always at the shop to see what needs to be done like items needing stocking and those needing to be replaced as well as all other activities. He also indicated that he does try to make time to be with his family and do things that need to be done at home during the weekend because he closes early for that purpose. In a similar case Mxo noted that having children brings a lot of responsibility because he has an obligation to meet their day to day needs. In that regard, he added that also working nearer to home he has to shoulder more

responsibility than family members who work far from home. He revealed that kin challenges usually require his attention due to him being closer. He added that part of the complication relates to the fact that having his own business and not working for someone creates the perception that he has a lot of money. He also highlighted that this perception of him being 'moneyed' motivates his siblings and other family members to negate their responsibilities and obligations to the family having pushed everything to him. In a similar case Andile also explained that he usually makes sure that he is present whenever there is a family gathering. He added that whilst he may try his best to spend time with his family during weekends he feels that he might be giving too much attention to the family and kin obligations. He added that he just like other businesspersons perceives business as very important in such a way that other persons even leave their families to run business in other areas away from home and remain there for the whole year. By this Andile sought to imply that his proximity to home is a double-edged sword as whilst on the one hand it may be advantageous in situations when he is needed. On the other he feels that being closer home puts him under unnecessary pressure in terms of family and kin obligatory expectations particularly in relation to family and kin gatherings and practices. In a similar line of argument, relating to the complexities faced in balancing business with family and kin obligations Mxo noted that it is difficult to balance business and family obligations because of how things are done in his culture that is the Mpondo culture. He elaborated by stating that when one is faced with a situation of having many dependents, it becomes difficult to renovate and upgrade the business. He added that most of the profit tends to be channelled towards providing for their daily needs. He thus revealed that even if sometimes he saves money for upgrading the business more often than not obligations within the family or kin comes up that needs to be solved by using money and in such situations, everyone just looks away and expects him to fix it. He added that when faced with such situations he usually conforms not because he would be financially capable

but rather to save himself from embarrassment. This according to him compromises his business immensely. Other respondents however pointed out that in uncertain communities there is greater compelling pressure to find ways of dealing with balancing kin and family obligations with business ones. In that regard Zamo noted that in uncertain settings business people have a way of balancing business and family obligations. She added that the first thing they do is to limit the number of dependents that are presumed mature enough to be independent by supporting them in starting their own businesses.

7.5 Forms of conflict and influences on relations

Susser (2010: S229) noted that Gluckman's perspective although highlighting the importance of conflict in the transformation of capitalism, carefully specified the political forces for cohesion. Gluckman emphasised the need to posit a theoretical system in equilibrium, which is to assume that within a crisis or conflict there would be social mechanisms that would perpetuate or maintain the social system. Mxo pointed out that they as family and kin have had disagreements like any other family and kin. Mxo also noted that in most cases the mother-in law usually engages in conflict with the daughter in law due to perceived changes in the way she would have related with her son before he was married. He noted that for instance it may happen that the mother in law could have received obligations directly but due to the marriage she could be uncomfortable with having to receive obligations through her daughter in law. This also extends to many other things that used to be discussed directly with the mother but having to start elsewhere. He added that to deal with the conflict, kin usually recommend that the son should built a homestead for his wife although this does not eliminate the conflict as the mother in law still feels that her son would have been taken away from her.

In explaining some of the kinship conflicts Mxo pointed to some disagreements between members surrounding the handling of customary practices that are done when a kin member passes on. He thus noted that when one of his married brothers died and the wife refused to wear izila claiming that she was now a Christian. Mxo also noted that the refusal by his sister in-law to wear izila (this refers to morning attire) constituted a very confusing matter because in their culture they knew that when the husband passes on, the widow should show respect by wearing izila. He went on to explain that a meeting was called with all the kin elders where a decision was taken that when a kin member decided not to abide by kin customary practices they should call for a meeting. This would be to inform the whole kin that they would have decided to no longer ascribe to kin practices so that everybody will be aware and therefore not get shocked by the news at the last minute.

It can therefore be noted that the refusal of Mxo's sister in law to wear izila due to her Christian background ought to be viewed as one of the instances in which society finds itself going through transformation in which case customary practices are usually an example of such institutions prone to change. This institutional transformation that targeted rituals in this instance can be explained using the works of Mauss. Of importance in the works of Mauss was his key modification to Durkheim's legacy where he sought to conceive society as a historical project of humanity whose limits were extended to become ever more inclusive implying that society could not be taken for granted as a pre-existent form. Instead society ought to be made and remade, sometimes from scratch, implying what can be construed as radical changes or 'shocking' as implied in the reaction of Mxo (Hart and Ortiz 2014:468). In another case pointing to kin conflicts emanating from transformations within rituals, a female respondent Nongayindoda revealed that when they are doing a ritual they sometimes have disagreements on its handling but added that they quickly sort out such differences. She noted

that for example when they do intonjane for girls, customarily the girls must all shave their hair but sometimes their mothers support their refusal to do so as they feel ashamed of having baldheadedness. Nongayindoda concluded that during such times a clan meeting is called and elders have come out firmly instructing members to either do the practice following the customary dictates or else not doing them at all. The intervention of the elders has always led to a return to the customary laid down procedures despite protests from other kin members some of who have avoided attending. This is an important case as it points to the complexities surrounding ceremonies and ritual practices in the 21st century.

Another case pointing to the influence of institutional transformation can be revealed in the case of Zamo in which the death of her husband led to relations being redefined with her in-laws. It therefore follows that in an incident pointing to the influence of transformation within marriage bonds on daughter in law and inlaws relations, Zamo's case revealed that marriage becomes an important bond in joining different families only as far as it is socially defined as such within a context as its breakdown usually leads to a redefinition of relations and a consequent breakdown of historically established ties. It is along the lines of such an argument that Zamo indicated that after the death of her husband she clashed with her in-laws to the extent that she had to return to her maternal home. The notion of breakdown of relations upon marriage dissolution is reflected in the case of Zamo who thus noted:

> "*Umyeni wam wasweleka ngoku ndingenamntwana ndaphindela ekhaya kuba izinto phakathi kwam nabantu bakowabo bezingahambi kakuhle, besingavani*". (My husband passed on leaving me with his family but because relations were always bad I then decided to go back to my family and since I had no child, it was for the best).

Respondents also pointed to conflict occurring due to children of kin members' wrongdoing such as when a child goes to a kin member's place and steals as noted in Zamo's case. She

noted that in such instances the elders of kin call for a meeting to discuss the matter with interested parties and to ultimately restore peace between them. She noted that in many instances parents of the wrongdoing child would tend to be defensive and stand by their child. She added that such matters have always been 'swept under the carpet' because a child of a kin member cannot just be taken to court. Andile presented a similar case of conflicts being inherent within the kin when Andile noted that because they are human conflicts do arise sometimes due to disagreements on various matters such as ceremonies and ritual practices but there is always a way of resolving it. As revealed by Zamo, he thus noted that to resolve conflicts a meeting is usually called with kin elders with parties involved in the conflict being asked to explain the incidents leading to the conflict and giving them enough time to defend themselves. Andile thus concluded that having weighed the matter, the elders would ask the wrong party to apologise to the one being wronged leading to a mutually inclusive resolution. In a similar case of conflict arising due to misunderstanding emanating from misbehaviour of kin children, Dalumzi noted that sometimes conflicts arise due to misunderstandings relating to kin member's children being dishonesty in business. He noted that there has been an instance of a kin member approaching him with her son and asking him to employ the son so that he could earn a living for the family. Dalumzi noted that having decided to employ the kin member's son after a while he noticed that the son was getting arrogant and disregarding business rules. Dalumzi went on to explain that when he tried to intervene by rebuking the young man, he could not succeed and he was then forced to report the matter to the boy's parents. Dalumzi however faced defensive parents who indicated to him that their child was not ill behaved and in the process, they decided not to believe him and taking their son's side. Dalumzi added that this defensive position of the boy's parents left him in a difficult position as he could not dismiss him but had to keep him just to maintain peace with kin members. This further meant that he had to keep an unproductive employee due to his belonging to kin.

7.6 Possibilities and impossibilities for commercialising? Influences of belonging on commercialisation

Stewart and Hitt (2012:59) argued that scholars who recognise the continuing vitality of family businesses nonetheless believe that these firms would be more effective if they would behave more like non-family businesses, an emphasis on commercialisation through 'professionalisation of the firm'. Professionalisation as an important aspect in commercialisation is referred to as a multidimensional process that in the context of family firms might be used to mean hiring full time, non-family employees particularly with the delegation of managerial authority (Stewart and Hitt 2012:59). It is further argued that the term implicitly or explicitly entails other dimensions such as formal training, meritocratic values, formalised structures or independent directors and such traits have led to professionalisation being sometimes referred to a holistic transformation. It is however important to note that arguments relating to commercialisation through professionalisation of businesses have become over-reliant on rationality and classical interpretations. Unfortunately, such views tend to downplay the significance of non-capitalist elements such as 'clanship capital' in its various forms that has played an important role in the day-to-day operations of businesses especially in uncertain environments such as Ntabankulu. Stewart and Hitt (2012:65) have also noted that a weakness of many studies on kin business is limited attention to the aspect of the kin domain.

It is in view of the notable gap pertaining to limited attention towards the aspect of kin domain characterising many studies on kin businesses that this study's findings have revealed a strong influence of kinship and related capital in the day-to-day operations of the businesses involved in the study. This view is being explored in the context of the complexities surrounding commercialisation of businesspersons that is, what it really means in practice? It

therefore follows that in relation to the aspect on the possibility of commercialisation by businesspersons especially after belonging to kinship institutions; respondents such as Mxo noted that many people who own businesses do not separate business and pleasure as they mix them that he finds risky to business. He added that business people should focus all the time so they can generate higher profits from whatever they are trading on. He however noted that in some instances it is hard for African businesspersons to commercialise as they tend to put family before business yet he believes that it should be business first. In expressing the challenges of failure to follow business dictates and the risks associated with such practices Mxo had this to say:

> "*Abantu abaninzi abanamashishini abakwazi kububeka ecaleni ubuhlobo emsebenzini. Nazihlobo kunye nabahlobo bayayisebenzisa into yokuba besazi bangahlobo ukutshonisa ishishini. Kaloku umntu xa ethatha into ethengwe ngemali felefele ebizothengiswa ibenenzuzo kumnikazi weshishini uyalibulala ishishini elo*". Ngoko ke ubuhlobo mabungahlanganiswa neshishini makubhatalwe, le yinto eyenza thina bantu abamnyama singaphumeleli njengabantu abemhlophe abanamashishini. (Many people struggle to separate kinship with business and they allow kin members to wilfully plunder the business and this means that kinship must never be associated with business as it is the cause of 'black' business persons failing compared to our white counterparts).

In a similar line of argument, some respondents noted that trustworthiness has been a part of the promotion of business practices. In that regard Nongayindoda noted that her employees are usually trustworthy and are persons who she would have worked with them for a long time. Nongayindoda also pointed out that she takes her business obligations seriously as when there is something missing she calls a meeting and investigates it before carrying on with normal business activities. In a similar case that points to how businesspersons deal with employees Mbulelo noted that he uses the employment act to deal with problems relating to

his employees although he also noted that he does add his own rules and if someone breaks them he takes a final decision after having given warnings. Mbulelo also noted that when one of his employees does something wrong he calls for a meeting to inform other employees of what that person would have done. Mbulelo concluded that after having given the person at least two chances, if they repeat the same mistake he then dismisses them. In addition, Nongayindoda noted that when someone owing the business fails to pay by the promised date she usually sends someone from the business to go and remind that person that the money is needed. In case another repayment promise is made and broken, Nongayindoda noted that she approaches the defaulter herself though in some instances she is forced to wait longer before payment is made. She added that it is difficult to rigidly refuse to extend credit to defaulters especially those who would come up with genuine reasons for failure to pay. She also noted that she would have preferred to limit credits but clients would renegotiate this for being too low and end up forcing her to increase the limit. She however indicated that the flexibility is not good for business.

In certain instances, businesspersons have implemented the concept of record keeping in effort to professionalise their businesses in line with trends in mainstream businesses. It is in line with this view that respondents such as Bongikhaya noted that to manage the stock she records every time someone buys something to balance what is sold against what is stocked and to deal with the question of profits. She noted that this practice also relates to risk management. She added that this helps her see and manage the things that need to be stocked so that she can avoid buying items that are not required by customers. In a similar case relating to the importance of records especially in managing risks through credit control Mbulelo noted that people from the community come for credit all the time and he ensures that he formulates ways of managing them to avoid the detrimental effects they might have

on business if left unchecked. He went on to indicate that he can give them basic needs not exceeding certain amounts that he would have set as a limit per individual. Mbulelo also added that he makes sure that in as much as he works hard for his business he also attends to the family and kin obligations. Mbulelo also pointed out that in some cases clients promise to pay sooner but it can happen that they fail to do so by the promised date and in such cases, he maintains credit record be it family, kin member or friend or community member. In a similar move to black listing, Mbulelo noted that when someone does not pay as per promise they are denied future credit assistance. In a statement pointing to efforts towards rationalising business obligations or to some extent 'Professionalisation' Mbulelo noted that his friends are aware of his strictness regarding his emphasis that 'business and friendship does not go together'. Respondents such as Bongikhaya also noted that they also draw support from friends that do not dilute his obligations to business. He thus noted that she makes it clear to her friends that she would not give them any favours, as they ought to understand that she is in business and would not want to compromise business obligations. In addition to how respondents have engaged in efforts towards commercialisation despite having to balance business and kin obligations, respondents like Bongikhaya noted that he does not just freely give a person everything they want because they are family. He noted that instead of taking items from business to service kin obligations she prefers to instead assist them with cash so they cover their obligations and in cases when he does not have cash to spare they must wait till she has it. Bongikhaya also noted that he offers part time jobs to family and kin members so that they can earn income and sustain themselves instead of always relying on her. In addition to belonging to family and clan structures Bongikhaya also periodically participates in societal practices where he attends community gatherings to be abreast with what is taking place. Bongikhaya also noted that when he comes across someone struggling such as at neighbourhood level he finds it part of his obligations to assist them in various ways ranging

from providing food and clothing to assisting with schooling. On a similar note, Daluxolo noted that he is also able to assist needy people though he always gives them advice that they should use the little they have, to sustain their needs with the example being the advice that people can use land to plant fruits and vegetables. In a related case Bongikhaya also noted that he believes in sharing whatever he has with others no matter how small it is by upholding humanity principles surrounding ubuntu he thus concluded that he strongly believes in the principle of 'I am what I am because of other human beings' as highlighted through the adage *umntu ngumntu ngabantu*. He thus highlighted that he believes that an individual especially businessperson who deal with many people from clan and communities cannot live in isolation but will always draw from the cooperation of others within the spirit of interdependency.

The findings in this study further point to the significance of cooperation by other clan members as an important aspect in the day-to-day operations of businesses as opposed to classical assertions that these are retrogressive to business. It is in line with this assertion that Isivile noted that children are helping a lot in his business. He added that he has ensured that they are empowered with driving licenses. Having been so much empowered Isivile noted that his children all have driving licences and when he is busy delivering peoples orders they help him deliver. In addition to children assisting with deliveries, Isivile also noted that sometimes they handle cash and he has relied on them for that as they are honest and have ensured that thy safeguard business items from being stolen. Isivile also noted that other kin members are supporting him by ordering from him and being honest with payments. He added that finances and the profits made constitute the responsibility of his wife. Isivile also indicated that in cases when he needs cash to spend on any business or no-business initiative he approaches his wife who oversees the finances. In a related case pointing to business

persons drawing on clan members as they promote their business obligations Daluxolo noted that his other brother takes care of the business in his absence. In addition to kin member support Daluxolo noted that he receives support from community members who provide support to him as customers as well as sources of employees. In an explanation pointing to the complex nature of kinship ties particularly when it comes to it proving to present limitations on trust that business persons can draw from as they aim to commercialise, Daluxolo noted that he favours doing things by himself as opposed to delegating to clan members. He however noted that he does appreciate assistance from kin members as it enables him to have more time to focus on other important business obligations. It is the contradictions within kinship that have led to critics blaming it for the uncertainties that it presents especially as businesspersons try to deal with balancing kinship with business obligations. In an explanation relating to how business persons deal with elements of belonging especially to non-kin networks in the quest to commercialise Daluxolo noted that his friends have never been called to directly assist with business obligations although they do lend each other money.

This is important as it indicates that even the businesspersons who are located within the so-called margins of mainstream business do engage in rational business practices that need to be explored as forming an important cog in defining the commercial characteristics of these businesses. The arguments being proffered through the findings are therefore pointing towards the realisation that 'black' businesspersons have the urge of commercialisation whilst bearing in mind their obligation to family and kin. Respondents such as Mbulelo noted that he started businesses with the money he served whilst he was working at Da'Gama. He added that he finds it difficult to spend time with his family because he wants to accumulate as much profits as he can and he noted that the best way to succeed was to operate all the

days of the week. Mbulelo added that it is difficult to even think of taking time off his businesses to be with family but remains thinking about his businesses because he is the only one with obligations to ensure it operates well all the time. Mbulelo also noted that most people put business before family and they tend do so to make sure that they are able to balance family obligations. Mbulelo concluded that his main challenge is that he finds it hard to trust that other people will be able to do what is best for his businesses.

Respondents also showed the urge to ensure business growth when Mbulelo noted that he does things the way he perceived as good for business. He added that in situations when he received advice from people he ensures that he considers such advice deeply before implementing it. He also noted that his main aim is to always see his business making more profit and expanding without necessarily allowing other people to influence his business obligations. Mbulelo noted that as part of the stringent measures he accepts all transactions in cash and never allows credits. Even for business persons belonging to networks located within the city outskirts, it follows that possibility and evolution of small business opportunities remains a reality. This is so despite popular claims that the very same environment perceivably characterised by uncertainty, kinship and other forms of belonging is said to be incompatible to business yet it remains a source of opportunities. It can therefore be argued that just as the urban environment might create some perceptions of better income opportunities to individuals, so do the businesspersons find themselves from the perspective of family and kin members as well as any other persons who might be aware of their occupational standing. In terms of moving from relative marginal business positions within a space characterised by uncertainty the cases at hand have pointed towards the possibility of using agency to grow out of the liminal space into another level of business. In that sense Ybema, Beech and Ellis (2011:22) have noted that social actors are likely to find themselves

to be transitionally liminal when they are in-between who they used to be (a former identity) and who they might become, that is, a future identity. In this instance, the focus in this case is mainly on a person's sense of in-betweeness and uncertainty during an identity reconstruction process. This aspect of being transitionally liminal can be likened to the position of business persons in question as the aspect of having to belong to kinship whilst at the same time trying to balance kinship obligations with business ones leaves them in a limbo position. It is considering this view that the explanation of Dalumzi becomes important. He thus pointed out that he makes very effort to try on the one hand to be there for his kin and family where he has obligations as a father to his children. He noted that on the other hand he also must be in his business to deal with business obligations. Dalumzi noted that in effort to ensure that his business obligations are strengthened he has ensured that he operates daily from Monday to Sunday such that a trusted kin member must manage on Sundays when he and his employees would not be at work. It is in light of the preceding arguments pointing to the possibilities of businesses commercialising through kinship that the view of Lekgoathi (2014:433) becomes valuable. He has argued that ethnic communities globally are reimagining themselves in the image of corporations. Importantly, he added that corporations are co-opting ethnic practices to open new markets and regimes of consumption, a feature that can be equated to kinship. Despite the importance of arguments pointing to the resilience of non-capitalist forms of organisation in influencing relations within a business context, other scholars such as Stewart and Hitt (2012:59) have cautioned that businesses ought to shelve aside clan-related behaviour and act professionally. This view can however be taken as too reliant on conventional approaches as in reality it is impossible to delink business from kinship as was the case with the emergence of Western businesses that were linked to families, something that remains the case today. Elimination of customary elements such as kinship cannot therefore be viewed as a panacea to attaining commercialisation as such non-

capitalist elements tend to be another side of the same coin when it comes to their positionality within the business context.

7.7 Conclusion

The chapter has presented arguments surrounding kinship as a form of capital and associated obligations. The question of trust and its influences on obligations was discussed together with the complexities manifest when investigated. The idea of whether commercialisation is possible and how notions of belonging may influence such a process was investigated.

8.0 CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Overview

This chapter presents a summary of the key issues that formed the thesis. Issues covered include kinship and its linkage to the establishment of businesses and how this relates to obligations to the other kin members. The chapter also presents summaries of arguments around notions of belonging and their influences on obligations. Notions of modernity and its influences on commercialisation are presented together with key recommendations.

8.2 Kinship ties in business establishment in the context of obligations

The study not only established the importance of the concept of kinship within a business context but also the way day-to-day activities and consequently relations tend to be reorganised. The data and the subsequent arguments in this study point to the importance of appreciating the resilience of non-capitalist forms of social organisation in the form of customary values such as kinship. This is the case notwithstanding the expanding influences of capitalist forms of organisation from the days of apartheid to the contemporary context. What makes the ideas relating to the resilience of kinship in influencing the nature of associations and resultant obligations significant in the current research is that they are being explored within a business context. It is therefore important to note that arguments presented in this study point to the view that kinship ought to be viewed as an inevitably significant feature in understanding obligations related to business relations together with its foundations on the principles of cooperation and reliance on kinship ties. In addition, it is crucial to avoid viewing kinship as being side-lined and considered detrimental to business as has been claimed by proponents of the capitalist philosophy and its related interpretations. To the

contrary, it follows that kinship lies at the centre of any interpretations seeking to understand how black businesspersons draw from it as they balance business and kin obligations.

It follows that one of the key issues revealed in this study, especially relating to the establishment of small business initiatives, is the issue of black businesspersons' drawing from numerous forms of cooperation that are closely linked to kinship in their quest to balance business and kin obligations. This notion of drawing on cooperation in its various forms tended to cut across gender, age and even status of the respondents, an indicator of it being a critical basis for shaping relations and associated obligations. It can also be noted that drawing from collaborative initiatives tends to play an important role particularly in the context of businesspersons in question coming from precarious backgrounds and having to deal with an uncertain socio-economic setting. This becomes an important argument because even though the small business initiatives in question have been established by black businesspersons who have emerged from what can be deemed as precarious socio-economic backgrounds, they have proved to be active agents. As active agents, they can successfully draw from non-capitalist forms of organisation to deal with challenges located within an inherently capitalist context.

The notions of businesspersons successfully drawing from various forms of cooperation related to kinship ties and other forms of association is reflected in different initiatives that business persons engaged in as they tried to balance different forms of obligations. It can be argued that in some instances the business owners involved in this study got engaged in saving with the assistance from kin members to the extent that they could establish their businesses. This dispels the notion that persons in so called 'weak networks' usually associated with 'liminal spaces' are relatively powerless and at the mercy of central powerful

forces. This research therefore challenges the notions 'haplessness' usually levelled against persons associated with so called weak networks and being located within liminal spaces. It can therefore be noted that so called 'weak networks' do have a strength of some sort especially where kinship is concerned since it tends to become a rallying point drawn upon in dealing with challenges either emanating from within the group or from outside it. While previous research has always revealed a noticeable cooperation within migrant populations, this research in fact revealed that cooperation remains an important foundation for social groups even within the contemporary business spaces where one would have expected the capitalist philosophy to influence relations. Instead of non-capitalist forms of associations declining in influence, they have rather gone through some revitalisation. This revitalisation has seen business persons successfully drawing from such forms of association in balancing business and kin obligations.

Since the precarious position experienced by the businesspersons in question can be likened to being in a 'liminal space' as presented in Turner's theorising, it is important to note that unlike the sort of powerlessness that characterise persons in liminal spaces within ritual practices, and with the business persons in considerably similar circumstances, the later have acted rather differently. They have actively drawn from a combination of agency and non-capitalist forms of association in dealing with their situations. The small business initiatives that are explored in this study have notably been forming a key part of what can be termed the 'regional economy' even though many commentators have related their activities to 'petty capitalism'. It is therefore important to argue that the businesspersons who participated in this research managed to actively make use of various kinship and non-kinship forms of capital to effectively balance business and kinship obligations albeit within an uncertain setting. It also follows that the very physical location of the businesses within the so-called margins of the

town has come to be an important element of an everyday ever-ready reliable pool of customers.

It is important to note that a focus on the influences of non-kinship is strongly highlighted in this study. This does not in any way deny the influence of individual businesspersons' agency also playing a role in not only in business establishment but also in shaping how obligations to kin and business are handled. What is emphasised is the view that agency did not play an exclusive role within the establishment of small business initiatives by black South African business persons as the broader networks such as the family and kin as well as friendships also played an important role. One can therefore note that the forms of activities that highlight both kin and business obligations relate to varied forms of support ranging from ritual participation by a businessperson to provision of resources and labour to business initiatives. It is considering such kinship capital that several businesspersons highlighted the importance of support received from kin members.

In many instances, the research indicated that it is not just the importance of kinship capital that matters but also the way that businesspersons who belong to a kinship group drew from the few resources to address kin and business obligations. It is equally significant to consider cases in which some business persons drew from non-blood connections in establishing their business initiatives. The research in that regard revealed instances in which business initiatives were started through forging alliances with persons whose connections were not necessarily through blood. The various forms of non-kin belonging that were reported in this study include friendship networks as well as belong to the same church denomination. Of importance in such cases is the notion that kinship itself cannot be exclusively confined to blood ties as in reality it extends to include non-blood related associations. Besides opening

notions of business establishment to notions of non-kinship, such an approach becomes important in as far as it highlights the fluidity of applying the concept of kinship. Without downplaying the importance of non-kin connections in business, it can be argued that the strength of the argument pointing to the importance of non-blood ties is however put into question by the fact that such associations are usually for certain common interests whose sustainability may not outlive that of clanship relations. One can also note that although the temporality of non-kinship forms of cooperation can be manifested in instances as related to assistance rendered when opening a business for a kin member, notions of the significance of the umbilical cord in defining blood ties remain manifest. This is notably the case in not only the need for kin member participation in kin ceremonies and ritual performance but also when it came to some businesspersons choosing to offer a business outlet to a kin member as opposed to making the offer to one of the non-blood associates. The cases presented in the discussion therefore strongly highlighted the symbolic importance of kinship relations for most businesspersons who participated in the study. Kinship ties that are mainly founded upon blood ties and the umbilical cord connections were therefore notably stronger than non-kinship ties such as the friendship and community ties. This alienation and relegation to the margins of non-kinship ties was reflected in terms of participation in ceremonies with kin members being commonly involved in more intimate stages of the ceremonies and rituals. It is therefore important to note that indeed 'blood' ties and the symbolic value of the umbilical cord connections remain crucial in defining and reinventing the resilient kinship practices particularly within a business context. It follows that the strength of kinship ties not only in the establishment of businesses but also in providing financial support to business persons by kin members has led to the realisation that kinship can be viewed as a corporate. It is in this regard that this study consequently presents the concept; 'Kinship Inc.' that can be equated to the Comaroffs' Ethnicity Inc. (2009). This is due to the findings indicating that

businesspersons have had to take kin related practices such as rituals into how they interpret their business fortunes and misfortunes. This further strengthens the view that non-capitalist practices in the contemporary period have been reinvented thereby repositioning the relationship between culture and the market to create a scenario of them relating to each other in contrast to previous claims of the two being incompatible.

Without downplaying the importance of kinship as has been presented in the foregoing discussion it is equally important to note that although the blood ties are important in determining kinship relations, they are also a source of contradiction as in certain circumstances business persons prefer engaging in 'private rituals' related to protecting their businesses from perceived external threats. In some instances, these external threats can be suspected kin members. It follows that some business persons, driven by their beliefs consulted healers and sangomas in efforts to source remedies not only for protecting their business but to also seek ways of ensuring growth. These acts of seeking protection are not limited to business persons who bear customary hallmarks of customary beliefs and ancestry worship as those aligned to the Christian religion have also used 'prayers' and 'oils' under similar circumstances. It is significant to note that it is not the primacy of religion that is pursued in this argument, as focus is rather on trying to understand the influences that the fear of 'blood' and 'umbilical cord' connections present to kinship. This is especially the case when such connections are linked to the dreaded familiar spirits and witchcraft, a reflection of the deep contradictions that are reflected by the same connections being a source of ancestral connection and protection as well as cooperation with other living members on the extreme opposite side. It is however essential to understand the contradictions within the broader context of the multiple means that are embraced by businesspersons as they seek to balance business and kin obligations. Presenting the arguments relating to such notions of

antagonism does not relegate the conventional principles of cooperation through 'blood' and 'umbilical cord' connections that are foundations of kinship and inherently influence obligations. It is also fundamental to understand interpretations beyond the aspect of antagonism that has led to open or covert conflict between the businesspersons and the various groupings they are associated with. This is essential moreso due to the view that when it comes to kinship such conflicts have come to present kin not only with self-correcting mechanisms as it has also played a role of reemphasising the essential role of the 'blood' and 'umbilical cord' connections. Following the views of Gluckman on conflict in society it can therefore be noted that even within spaces where kinship relations feature, conflict ought to be both an inevitable element as well as a necessity that acts to facilitate a reinvention of kinship ideals. It can also be argued that it is in such spaces of conflict resolution where power and ideas are not only contested between different actors, the kin elders come to also reinforce their dominance, especially through emphasis on customs and related obligations of various kin members.

8.2 Notions of belonging in balancing kin and business obligations

The study revealed the complex nature that belonging to various socio-economic groupings can present in as far as understanding obligation to business and clan is concerned. This relates to both monetary and non-monetary contributions expected of businesspersons. The various forms of belonging that were noted to influence obligation include family, kin, friendship networks, church groupings and community among others. The multifaceted nature in which kinship and associated networks is manifested become an important point that can be linked to the concept of an imagined community. The importance of the concept of imagination in kinship can be said to be manifested in what scholars like Palmer viewed as 'deep horizontal comradeship' that transcends all other loyalties and attachments such as

class, ethnic, gender, religious as well as kin differences. These rather fluid characteristic features qualifying kinship boundaries as imagined becomes important when it comes to understanding why in reality kinship can be evoked anytime with any member one would have met and accepted as belonging to their kinship grouping. The argument on kinship as characterised by 'notions of imagination' can be further emphasised by the view that neither a rational mechanism nor some form of verification is usually required in proving the kinship attachment of the interacting actors. This is the case besides the information exchanged by actors during specific encounters. Such a scenario leaves belonging boundaries open to shifting at any given time. It can therefore be argued that though the different forms of belonging tend to be accompanied by varied levels of cooperation it is impossible to tell that high levels of cooperation can be associated with relations were belonging to kinship groupings is concerned as opposed to belonging to non- kinship associations. It follows that in some instances non- kinship spaces such as belonging to a friendship network or religious grouping has tended to reveal significant influences in the shaping of obligations to kin and business.

With respect to influences of belonging to kinship groupings, the study noted that in most instances business persons are usually pressurised to fulfil both material and non-material obligations as by owning a business they are perceived as having unhindered capacity to fulfil the obligations. It is considering such views that the study noted that the businesspersons are usually put under pressure to ensure attendance to kin meetings and ceremonies as their absence is usually ridiculed no matter how strong an explanation one could give. The reinforcement of kin belonging presenting itself as bearing 'moral enforcement' powers in relation to obligations to kin tends to be pronounced in several contexts. Key of these are sentiments when kin members have periodically indicated to businesspersons that even if one

has money it cannot bury that person nor can it provide the kind of emotional support that kin members usually provide in times of need. It can thus be further argued that despite complexities surrounding the balancing of kin and business obligations by belonging to a kin group, obligations to the kin group remain an inevitable part of businesspersons. One can also conclude that even though a kin member may be unhappy about the level of cooperation and reciprocity displayed by their kin counterparts they are nonetheless compelled to fulfil obligations wherever they are called to do so. This compulsion to fulfil obligations even 'under protest' further points to the strong influence of kinship and related 'moral sanctions' over business obligations as well as the associated complexity of balancing the kin with business obligations.

It is important to point to the conceptual nuances surrounding the concept of 'ilali' as prefer over concepts like township and community although these have been commonly used to refer to such spaces. Although the 'lali' resembles what can pass as a township due to the organisation of settlements and proximity to Ntabankulu town, to the research participants and residents is remains commonly known as the 'ilali' hence the concept's adoption in this research. Whilst it was important to clarify the conceptual aspect of terms, this is mainly done to lay a foundation for arguments related to obligations between businesspersons and 'ilali' community. Obligations to other forms of social organisation that may be considered to fall outside conventional kinship boundaries in which businesspersons belong such as the 'ilali' community were also noted to be important in understanding notions of business and kin obligations. For instance, the research points to business persons being obligated to participating in 'ilali' activities such as attendance to meetings as well as to participate in 'ilali' occasions such as funerals and ceremonies. The cooperation of the business member in communal activities was said to be key as failure to do so could draw not only rebuke but

also what one could term negative reciprocity. Under negative reciprocity one could face seclusion as members of the 'ilali' would be seeking to put pressure in relation to the point that belonging to their grouping and associated obligations ought to be taken seriously. In this regard, it is important to note that the issue of obligations towards 'ilali' community not only indicates that notions of obligations extend beyond ideas of kin belonging as it further indicates that these obligations are intertwined with non-kinship conceptions of belonging in a rather complex manner. It was therefore notably important to ensure that 'ilali' obligations are also balanced with business ones because it could happen that sometimes 'ilali' activities could coincide with the time when one needs to attend to some business initiatives thereby creating a challenge. It can therefore be noted that kinship ties may appear to be stronger than community and friendship ties especially when it comes to how obligations between these forms of association and business persons is concerned. However, these coalesce in many instances thereby blurring the boundaries related to how the obligations are handled. It follows that any efforts to understand influences of belonging to kin on obligations need to be tackled holistically, thereby embracing other forms of belonging such as family, religious groups and friendship relations among others. This is strengthened by the impossibility of any rational means to determine when one can rely on kinship and non-kin relations. In addition is the view that communal obligations tend to become appendages of kin obligations bearing similar levels of obligatory 'expectations' as well as 'sanctions' in case one fails to cooperate or is perceived to have failed to do so.

The importance of belonging to non-capitalist forms of association such as kinship as a foundation towards an approach aimed at understanding the nature of obligations produced when actors draw upon such forms can also be linked to the concept of trust. Trust can notably be viewed as an important aspect as far as understanding how the balancing of kin

and business obligations is concerned. It follows that trust and honor features prominently in understanding the interactions that lead to the creation of relations particularly where the balancing of kin and business obligations is concerned. This is mainly the case due to the presence of non-capitalist forms of association such as kin that present themselves as inevitable important cogs driving the creation of the relations within a capitalist context. It can thus be noted that although not all kin members may be untrustworthy the research noted the significant influence of the concept of trustworthiness in shaping relations within various levels of belonging particularly as far as the balancing of business and kin obligations is concerned. Although this influence of trust on relations can be said to be mostly pronounced within closed groups such as relatives and friends, it is important to note that notions of trust are also an inevitable part in understanding relations between individuals interacting outside group settings. The issue of some kin members being perceived as being untrustworthy and the consequences of mistrust on relations was strongly highlighted in the study, with respondents noting that they had to be harsher in dealing with dishonest kin as failure to do so may lead to a compromise in the balancing of business and kin obligations. It can therefore be argued that trust ought to be viewed not only as multifaceted and elusive but also as unbalanced and imagined. The fact that is impossible to measure the amount of trust that may sustain or lead to the breakdown of trust within both kinship and non- kinship associations points to the fluidity of trust such that whilst it can be established anytime, one can expect it to equally dissolve anytime.

8.3 Centrality of rituals in dealing with kin and business obligations

In respect to notions relating to the centrality of rituals in the context of balancing kin and business obligation, this research established that rituals formed an important foundation not just in enabling the functioning of business but also in the maintenance of cohesion between

businesspersons and kin members. It is however important to note that the role of rituals in both business and kinship relations ought to be understood as characterised with complexity that in some instances includes contradictions between various philosophies. It is therefore not uncommon in many instances to find Western ritual approaches that are linked to modernity clashing with customary practices. In the case of business persons who believed in the influence of ancestors it was clear that the ancestors had influence across a broad spectrum of their life. This is such that successes and calamities characterising the business was defined within the context of the strength of relations with ancestors. If relations were at their weakest between ancestors and an individual or kin then it pointed to challenges that required rituals of appeasement. Businesspersons therefore found it important to engage not only in individual rituals to appease the ancestors but they also ensured kin was also involved, with clan names commonly being evoked. It is in that regard that businesspersons explained their engagement in performing rituals of appeasement when faced with business downturns or other socio-economic challenges. These rituals were noted to be aimed at appeasing ancestors on the one hand whilst pleading with the ancestors to intervene and assist in resolving the problem on the other. It is also essential to note that the same ancestors are evoked regarding both business and kin obligations, be it in 'seclusion' or during kin ceremonies.

The ritual practices in which businesspersons were commonly involved within the kin setting included *imbeleko*. In terms of business rituals, it was noted that though these are widespread, they are usually conducted in much more private settings where even kin members are excluded. Of importance within the practice of rituals for either business or kin obligations is the centrality of the burning of *impepho*, slaughter as well as consumptions of customary beer though modern brews have become common of late. Above all, the centrality of the evoking

of clan names in various contexts such as during the performance of rituals that point to the symbolism of belonging to the kin group in shaping relations becomes important. This is particularly the case towards accomplishment of rituals of appeasement and thanks giving within the business and kin settings. It is also important to note that the rituals have been drawn upon in business settings when businesspersons are protecting their businesses against perceived and real familiars who are perceived to pose a threat to the business. Remarkably, the kin members are not spared from being accused as associated with familiars, a notion that reveals the contradictions that kin belonging brings within a business context. This contradiction manifests itself in that on the one hand a business person is faced by the inevitability of ensuring that connection with the kin is maintained whilst on the other such a connection may present some risks to business which one is obliged to protect always against any enemy whether they are clan members or not. Despite the presence of such contradictions it remains a challenge to rationalise and identify the point at which business persons isolated certain kin members as associated with familiars whilst at the same time needing to draw from the same grouping for kin ceremonies of both thanks giving and appeasement. One can also not shy away from a conclusion pointing to the importance of maintaining good relations with kin ancestors always, an aspect that was further revealed in the practices of those who have converted to Christianity but who remain obligated to the ancestors.

8.4 Modern influences and the question of commercialisation in balancing kinship and business obligations

Regarding the nature of modern influences on customary practices the study revealed that such influences are manifest in ceremonies ranging from customary rituals and ceremonies where Christianity values and processes are now integrated into proceedings. In as much as these Transformations due to modernity have been reported in areas such as childhood rituals,

funeral proceedings, mourning rituals, introducing a child to their paternal kin among others. Other rituals that were notably affected by modernity included the ritual of 'purity and protection' customarily known as *ukuphalaza*. It was noted that failure to either perform the ritual totally or digressing from its core processes has seen endless spells of bad luck not only in businesses but in terms of life experiences in general. It is considering such views that the research noted that in some instances people have stopped obtaining materials from forests as was the norm customarily as such materials have now been commercialised and increasingly come to be available within business outlets. Modernity has thus tended to also influence lifestyles and the handling of customary practices. Of importance in arguments seeking to understand the influences of modernity on kinship is the aspect of the contradictions relating to western philosophies associates with modernity and customary practices and initiatives drawing from kinship just as is the case with rituals.

The study revealed that the spread of urbanisation and the resultant industrialisation usually lead to some transformation of kinship relations. In this regard, it is not just a matter of exploring the influences of modernity and industrialisation on family patterns but rather the complex nature of resultant relations that are manifest particularly within the context of balancing kinship and business obligations. Whilst the idea of the weakening of extended kinship ties, the lineage patterns are dissolving and the nuclear family becoming increasingly independent from the kinship has been embraced in some circles kinship has been found to be strengthening and resilient in this study. This resilience largely comes about as the findings of the study have pointed to increasing reinvention of customary practices such as kinship especially when evoked in business. Instead of the envisaged weakening of extended kinship ties and dissolution of kinship ties paving way for an independent nuclear family, kinship has proved to be resilient and closely associated with shaping relations even within a so-called

modern urban setting. In addition, instead of the industrial economy reducing the authority of parents and other kin over their children, there has been a remarkable reinforcement and reinvention of such authority particularly in as far as obligations to elderly kin members are concerned.

Modern influences can also be linked to notions of commercialisation in which case the question of professionalism in business practices tends to feature. The notions of commercialisation noted in this research however do not relate to the rational principles of profit making in the conventional economic sense but it ought to be understood within the context of how non-capitalist elements such as kinship have been drawn upon by the businesspersons in their quest to fulfil business obligations. It follows that the main practices that businesspersons engaged in, that proved core to understanding business obligations seemed to relate to the importance of ensuring that a business makes profit. This is even though such practices appear to be involved in some interface with the non-capitalist elements which sometimes resulted into an antagonistic relationship that could threaten the very essence of the business values. Businesspersons thus displayed some notable consciousness towards promoting the business obligations that mainly relate to the philosophy of profit making and accumulation even though they had to deal with kinship and other non-commercial obligations. The arguments pointing to the interface relationship between business and kinship obligations leads to the conclusion that they are inseparable and ought to be viewed as different sides of the same coin. The contradictions that sometimes characterise the practices related to the fulfilling of the obligations must therefore not be viewed as alienated from the processes that are key to negotiating the balancing of obligations to kin and business. Above all, one can argue that the presence of non-capitalist forms of association such as kinship in a capitalist context and the related contradictions must

not be viewed as presenting an insurmountable task towards attaining commercialisation. Key focus ought to be on how businesspersons negotiate their way as opposed to eliminating the non-capitalist forms of organisation from the business setting.

8.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Having established the inevitable presence of non-capitalist forms of organisation within a capitalist setting, it is important that further research is carried out in the subject. Importantly in this regard is the need not only to establish the nature of the non-capitalist forms of organisation but to also understand more with what result such influences have on obligations to both businesses and kinship groups. This is made crucial also considering the prevailing scenario in which globally, ethnic communities are notably reimagining themselves in the image of corporations whilst at the same time corporations are increasingly embracing ethnic practices in efforts to open new markets and regimes of consumption.

- Having noted the resilience and positive influences related to customary practices associated with kinship within the business context the characteristic challenges related to the ensuing relations can be negotiated in efforts to transform situations of persons who may be regarded as located within so called ‘liminal’ spaces with some degree of precariousness. This is important not only for enhancing business obligations but for ensuring the sustainability of social cohesion within social institutions whether they are the kinship or non- kinship ones as well as ensuring continued reliance on African value systems in general.

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APENDICES

Appendix A

Participant Information Sheet for participant in baseline research on:

"Commercialisation of clanship in an urban setting"

Good day Sir/Madam

My name is Phefumula Nyoni and I am a PhD student in the Department of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of my studies I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating how clanship is mobilised for commercial purposes by business persons in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province and with what kinds of effects on forms of kinship and obligation. Ntabankulu town has specifically been targeted for this purpose. The aim of this research project is to find out how clanship is mobilised for commercial purposes by business persons in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province and with what kinds of effects on forms of kinship and obligations.

As part of this project I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This activity will involve us engaging in a conversation with guided questions and will take around an hour of your time and will be arranged not to interfere adversely with your schedule. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using a digital device.

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this study, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else. If you experience any distress or discomfort, we will stop the interview or resume another time.

If you have any questions afterwards, feel free to contact me. This study will be written up as a PhD thesis.

Yours sincerely

Researcher name: Phefumula Nyoni,

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Appendix B



Informed Consent Form
Wits School of Social Sciences
University of the Witwatersrand

TITLE OF PROJECT: **COMMERCIALISATION OF CLANSHIP IN AN URBAN SETTING**

I …….. agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO (please circle)

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his research report YES NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded YES NO

…… (signature)

…… (name of participant)

…… (date)

Appendix C



INTERVIEW GUIDE THEMES (QUESTIONS MAY BE TRANSLATED INTO ISIXHOSA/ISIZULU/ SOTHO OR ANY OF THE RESPONDENT'S LANGUAGE AND RESPONSES CAPTURED IN THAT LANGUAGE)

Thank you very much for taking your time to be part of this valuable research: [Researcher needs to also observe the respondent's interactions with various persons in the domestic and business environments]

SECTION ONE

- Age of respondent [NB. No real names pliz you may use "Artificial Name/ pseudonym"]
- Sex [observe]
- Tell me about yourself [clan, family, cultural background, occupation/ how you founded your business]
- Kindly explain the traditional/customary state of relations within your immediate family (ie, your parents, siblings. You may relate how you rely on traditional aspects also between yourself and your wife and kids).
- Explanations in all instances may cover any activity or action or ritual or even you may consider being associated with your culture.
- Explanations may involve how the family members communicate with each other, what traditional practices they consider important and how these influence their way of life.
- What kinds of differences in opinions exist be it in the form of conflicts among members and how are these handled traditionally.
- How and when are clan names used and why are they used in such contexts indicated in previous questions?
- How are the traditional practices changing or have changed due to modern influences?

- [Responses must be deep with follow up questions if possible and may include issues not asked though related. The responses must be captured largely in direct speech or in the language of respondent though they may use English if comfortable]

SECTION TWO

- Please tell me what forms/types/nature of cooperation and interdependence exists within families, communities, groups or friendship alliances [freely give an explanation on how you understand the question- try to reflect on what you have seen happening or action/ practices taking place in families, communities or groupings which has influenced cooperation and interdependence or even fuelling conflict for that matter]

- Kindly explain how cooperation and interdependence among customary elements is shaped by clanship?

- Explain how the types of cooperation and interdependence are influenced by clanship or family/ community cultural expectations or moral rules

- Kindly explain how the influences of cooperation and interdependence under the family/ community or clan environment tend to affect balancing of obligations to business on the one hand and family/ clan on the other?

- Please explain how are the balance in obligations to the family vs business are maintained in uncertain environments?

NB. The responses must be detailed with each item/ bullet response covering at least half a page or more although obviously some aspects will give more detail than others. Ensure that response details for family, community and or clan and friendships are dealt with separately and in detail in each question they appear.

SECTION THREE

- How has the aspect of blood ties/inkaba/ umbilical cord influenced your approach to family/ clan/ community and friends vis-à-vis the business obligations? [Also explain this in view of how clan obligations are balanced with business ones (for instance in times of conflicts) in view of the symbolic nature of the umbilical cord ties connecting clan members within the family/ community/ clan on the one hand and dictates of the business environment on the other?

- How has involvement of family/ community/ clan or friends in your business affected the nature of responsibilities? [Even in cases where there is no involvement of the listed groups pliz explain how non-involvement is managed and its impact on relations with the excluded groups or business companions.

- Kindly explain how any traditional values inform you to define trust in the family, community or clan vs in business

- How has your judgement within the family, community or clan affected your handling of business responsibilities?

- Which traditional aspects inform your judgement in deciding who to trust or who to network with in business?

- Please kind give your general view on how business people negotiate questions of trust, cooperation and networking through the use of customary forms of belonging such as clanship? (i.e. Defining friendship boundaries)

Thank you very much for your time !!!

Appendix D: Ethics clearance letter- Protocol no. H16/11/29: to be attached as hard copy