Hospitality and History: The Entrepreneurs of Soweto Engage Identity,

Technology, and Opportunity

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Chapter 1: Reconciliation and Entrepreneurship

On Saturday, December 16th, 2010, I am sitting in my car on the western bypass of the N1 highway that connects the northern Johannesburg suburbs to the former township of Soweto in the south-western part of the metro area. It has been raining all night and continues to do so, and one of the underpasses ahead of me has become flooded, as have parts of Soweto (News24, 2010). Traffic is at a standstill and I am late for a meeting with the Pimville Four, a group of women who have formed an informal cooperative around their bed and breakfast (B & B) establishments in one subdivision of Soweto. I've arranged this meeting with them to discuss what happened during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which took place in June and July of 2010.

The Pimville Four, named after their Soweto subdivision, are a group of women who typify Soweto's reputation for hospitality. Florence, who owns Flossie's B & B, started her business when she left the postal service after 25 years. When discussing her decision to retire and open her own business, she said, "I decided, let me go out there, and just follow my dream. To run something like a guest house or hotel-like situation was always in my mind. In fact, I wanted to start when I was young." Florence registered her business in 2005, and the retired to operate it full time in 2006. She is the youngest of the Pimville Four, and in addition to her B & B, operates a catering business. She also cares for her granddaughter, as do many grandmothers in South Africa. Florence is business oriented; as she mentioned in our first meeting she "knows the intricacies of running a business."

Ida, who owns a B & B called The Lady, was a schoolteacher prior to becoming an entrepreneur. About her decision to start her business, she said, "I felt, no, I can't be just sitting and doing nothing." She partnered with a chef in the community to start a cooking school for local youth; when she tried to get classroom space from the City Council, she was turned down and she reported that the cooking school "fizzled out." Her partner decided to run a taxi; Ida decided to register her company and operate it as a B & B. Like the other women in the Pimville Four, Ida operated her business from her home: guests stay upstairs while she and her family stay in another part of the house.

Mookho, or Jane, was employed with the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg from the 1970s, and later with the University of the Witwatersrand, or Wits, as it is known to South Africans. In its heyday, the Carlton Hotel was described as Johannesburg's premier hotel (Sparks, 1995); it closed in 1997 and remains so until now. In one conversation I had with the Pimville Four, Mookho expressed interest in rejuvenating and operating the Carlton through a consortium. This ambitious idea exemplifies her attitude toward the opportunities for entrepreneurs in post-apartheid South Africa, and the Pimville Four often use their partnership to share ideas about expanding their operations, from investments in their neighborhood to grander ideas about investing in Johannesburg and beyond. Mookho registered her business in 2003, but noted that "I had to attend to the legalities, like, attending to SARS matters, and then being on the database, GTA, JTC[1], you know, and getting

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[1] SARS is the South African Revenue Service; the GTA is the Gauteng [provincial] Tourism Authority; the JTC is the Johannesburg Tourism Council.

myself acquainted with other B & Bs. I would say it started being really functional in 2006."

The fourth member of the group is Lizz, who owns Chanza's B & B. I heard about "Ma Chanza" from Robby, who owns a pub close to the Pimville Four. When I met Ma Chanza for the first time she was delighted that I called her "Ma"; a term of respect and endearment and one that is often used when addressing an older person of stature. Ma Chanza has held many jobs over the years. She has worked as a cook at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE); she was a singer in the *apartheid* days; she worked for the author Valerie Rosenberg[2], and now she owns and operates her B & B around the corner from the other women in the Pimville Four. Despite knowing Ma Chanza for four years, having stayed in her home, eaten her fabulous food, meeting her friends and family, and conducting, listening to and transcribing hours of interviews, I'm still not exactly sure when she started her B & B or the exact chronology of her working life. But that is Ma Chanza, as much as anything. Operating a business that welcomes people into her home and her life is fundamental to her character and personality, and the details of how the business operates are secondary to the experience she provides.

Stories of entrepreneurs like the Pimville Four are the heart of this book: how they got started in their business, the challenges and opportunities open to them, and their experiences with success and failure. The stories are framed on one side by technologies such as mobile phones and other ICTs that have enabled a new

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[2] *Sunflower to the Sun, 1976; The Life of Herman Charles Bosman, 1991; The Von Veltheim File, 1997.*

generation of businesses to flourish in Soweto. On the other side are issues of identity, theirs and my own; for them as they create and maintain an identity that serves them as business owners and as members of post-*apartheid* South African society, and mine, as I present their stories from my perspective as an American white male. I gathered these stories when I travelled to South Africa in July of 2009 to start this research in Soweto, an *apartheid* era township southwest of Johannesburg. For nine weeks in 2009, a month in 2010, and again in 2011, I spent every day in Soweto, driving around, trying the food in different restaurants, staying at B & Bs, meeting business owners and having conversations about how they used ICTs. In the process, I heard stories about how they got their start, their challenges, what they saw as their opportunities, and how their business in this one very large suburb fit into the larger picture of entrepreneurship in South Africa. I also heard stories about what it was like to live in Soweto during the dark days of *apartheid*; I saw firsthand the statues and monuments, and heard some of the history of the anti-*apartheid* struggle from the perspective of people who lived through it in Soweto and elsewhere.

The research I did in Soweto in 2009 led to the completion of my dissertation in 2010. I went back to Soweto later that year, after the World Cup had come and gone. I met with many of the people whose stories I knew so well from hearing and writing them into my dissertation. This time, I wanted to know about how the World Cup had gone for them. Prior to the event, expectations for the benefits of the World Cup were high, and for some business owners, capital investments in their operations bore significant fruit during the Cup. Many were disappointed by the

results. In addition to following up on the results of the World Cup, I wanted to get a deeper understanding of the ways in which communication networks in Soweto functioned to create support systems for entrepreneurs, a complicated question that I was unable to fully answer in my initial research. I also wanted to understand more about the concept of identity in the new South Africa, a process and performance that is consistently influenced by the legacy of apartheid and the realities of globalization.

Many of the conversations I had with people on this follow-up trip were over beers or tea rather than the more formal interviews I conducted in 2009. In addition to reconnecting with old friends, I met new people who had their own stories to share. Presenting their stories in this book continues the conversations I started in 2009, some of which are still in progress; their stories also contribute to the ongoing conversation about the role of small business in a globalized economy, particularly regarding job creation and employment. Despite South Africa's nominally socialist economic status, with powerful unions and labor protection laws, the entrepreneurs I write about here operate in an extremely competitive neo-liberal economy that lacks formal safety nets. They are ambitious risk-takers who acknowledge that their success rests only with themselves and their communities, not their government or agents of the international community. Many have overcome significant odds to build businesses that provide consistent income, and to a lesser extent, security for themselves and their families, jobs for the neighbors, and stability in their communities.

The Pimville Four are four of almost 60 small-scale entrepreneurs I have come to know over the three years since I began this research in Soweto. I have had conversations with these entrepreneurs about everything from the history of South Africa to the present day challenges of doing business in Johannesburg and nearly everything in between. One example was the afternoon I sat down with Rapper, who owns a nightclub, to talk about how he got his start. Rapper worked on a delivery truck for Sasco, a bread company, but hosted an annual birthday party that was sponsored by Bacardi, the rum company. He told me "Each and every year I was hosting my birthday like a Bacardi party bash. I was bringing top DJs, and people were coming and responding well. So I realized that, no, this is what I am capable of, I left [*his delivery job*] and started doing this from last year." Rapper's story is not necessarily very different from other entrepreneurs; an idea, a realization of a skill or talent that people respond to; a willingness to take a risk and leave a more secure job for the chance to do something they love. But my interest in the stories of these entrepreneurs is connected to their experiences starting in business in Soweto, where South Africa's history is ubiquitously on display.

Reconciliation

Generally, Johannesburg's Saturday traffic moves briskly. But today, when I'm on the way to a meeting, the rain and flooding ahead continue to frustrate my progress to getting to Soweto to see the Pimville Four. The line of stopped cars seems at least a mile long. After I call Florence to let her know I'll be late, I tune the radio in my rental to SAFM, the South African Broadcasting Corporation's FM talk station. This

particular morning during the Morning Talk program, the topic of conversation is the Day of Reconciliation and its meaning for South Africans. The host, Ashraf, is someone I've heard quite a lot during the time I've been in South Africa, and I'm curious to hear about how the audience will respond to the question of reconciliation.

December 16[3] in South Africa is the annual Day of Reconciliation, the day when South Africans have historically commemorated two events: the day the Voortrekkers[3] vowed to build a church and observe a day of thanksgiving should they be successful in the Battle of Blood River against the Zulus in 1838; and more than a century later in 1961, the day Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC) was formed (Government of South Africa, 2012). This historical dichotomy between traditional Afrikaaner culture and *apartheid*-era resistance is symbolized in the present Day of Reconciliation and epitomizes the complexity of post-*apartheid* South Africa. Sixteen years after the end of *apartheid*, the democratically elected government of South Africa must promote reconciliation and national unity among previously divided racial groups and ethnicities, while acknowledging the atrocities that occurred under *apartheid*, reduce poverty by creating opportunities for previously disadvantaged groups, and maintain South Africa's position as the continent's economic leader and birthplace of the African renaissance.

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[3] Pioneers; "fore-trekkers"; Dutch settlers who journeyed from the Cape Colony to the Transvaal in the 1830s.

Lofland and Lofland (1995) suggest that the researcher "start where they are" in the process of analyzing social settings (p. 11). My own experience in South Africa began in 2002, when I interned for a Durban-based media production company. Before this trip, I had worked for two years in rural Tanzania as a high school teacher, a completely different experience than urban South Africa. I returned from Durban interested in understanding more about South Africa's complex history and present-day challenges. Thus, in 2004, I applied for and received a Fulbright fellowship to conduct a research project in Durban's Indian suburb of Chatsworth. Chatsworth was formed during the *apartheid* era as part of the Group Areas Act and continues to be a primarily ethnically Indian[4] area, although there are no longer formal rules regarding this division. During this year, I taught at three Durban area high schools with the intention of understanding the ways in which Muslim youth and their parents perceived the influence of media. I interviewed more than 50 youth, parents, and religious and community leaders during this year while living in Chatsworth and performing what was essentially a form of ethnographic research. I observed the ways Muslim parents reacted to their children's exposure to western media and ideas and parents' strategies for dealing with the perceived influence of these media.

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[4] During apartheid, the government of South Africa divided people into four racial categories: Black (individuals of African descent); Coloured (individuals of mixed race); Indian (individuals of Indian descent); and White (individuals of "purely" European descent, and who, collectively, held power). I will provide information about the apartheid era in the course of this book as it was shared with me during the research. Regrettably, I must occasionally use the four racial categories to describe context or situations that were shared with me by people who participated in this research. My usage does not mean acceptance.

In 2006, I moved to the Sandton suburb of Johannesburg, where I taught high school mathematics to students who mainly came from the former township of Alexandra, still one of the most economically depressed areas around Johannesburg. All of these experiences contributed to my perception of South Africa as a complex place, struggling to break free of the "legacy of *apartheid".* This well-worn phrase is often used when discussing South Africa and its challenges, encompassing everything from the enrichment of Whites at the expense of most everyone else to the poor condition of public schools to the lack of rural infrastructure. Post-apartheid, Franz Fanon's (Fanon, 1961) descriptions of post-colonial societies seem apt, at least for residents of places like Soweto. Here, the benefits of a post-colonial society seem to have bypassed the majority and now reside in the prosperity of a relative few members of the formerly repressed class.

When the ANC was elected in a national, inclusive election in 1994, hopes for economic, political, and ethnic equality were high. But the ability of individuals in places like Soweto and elsewhere to participate in the new economy has been limited, in some cases by the inability to access capital to start a business of their own, in others due to lack of training in operating a business, and in others by lack of institutional or community support for business creation. These are issues that the government of South Africa and other organizations have been working to solve, through vocational training centers, known as SETAs[5], regional and local organizations supporting industry sectors, such as the Gauteng Tourism Authority

[5] SETA is an acronym for Sector Education and Training Authority; 23 SETAs were established in 2000 to provide vocational training oversight (Skills Education Training Authorities, n.d.).

(GTA), and through private initiative such as the "Adopt A Guesthouse" program undertaken by the Southern Sun hotel group to support B & B operators like the Pimville Four. The need for a successful small business sector is keen, as unemployment in South Africa remains high, at above 25% in the third quarter of 2012 (Statistics South Africa, 2012).

"What really is at the heart of reconciliation…what does it really mean? Who do we reconcile? Is it simply a case of Black and White or lots more than that?" (Garda, 2010). On the Day of Reconciliation, this is the opening question on SAFM's Morning Talk, which I'm listening to as I continue to sit in traffic on the N1 highway. The first guest on the show notes that "we are culturally divided. We are economically divided. We are socially divided. We are even politically divided" (Garda, 2010). As an outsider, I've been privileged in South Africa to be able to float above these divisions. As a white American, originally from Minnesota, I'm so culturally different from the majority of South Africans that I'm more of a curiosity than a divisive figure. While I have had the opportunity to learn some isiZulu, my ability to speak the language in practice is limited to very basic phrases at best. As a researcher in Chatsworth, I was welcomed into mosques and temples as a visitor and a potential "revert," the term for someone from a different religious tradition who becomes a Muslim later in life. While I did hear the occasional racial epithet directed my way as I walked through Chatsworth, I believe that in general I was and continue to be perceived as an outsider with little or no historic connection to *apartheid* or racial

politics and no axe to grind in South Africa (except, perhaps, an anti-colonial

perspective on corporate interests). I would characterize my position as a

researcher in South Africa as a naïve and curious outsider.

But like many outsiders, I have my own interests and hope for the progress of

South Africa, including increased economic and political equality, the potential to

resist or reshape global corporatization, and admiration for the enduring example of

the country's constitution. Like others, I was inspired by the resistance to *apartheid*,

and the eventual end of tyranny in South Africa. At the same time, I have tried to

comprehend the position of the architects and proponents of *apartheid*, including

the most strident voices such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)[6]. For

these reasons and others, I am curious about how the Day of Reconciliation is

perceived among South Africans, a topic being debated vociferously on the radio this

particular rainy morning.

As Morning Talk continues, Ashraf brings up the issue of the 2010 FIFA World

Cup and whether a mega-event can "[promote] reconciliation in a better way than

even government can do" (Garda, 2010). One caller, Funani, notes pointedly that

> ...as black people, we have had to apologize for almost everything. We had to
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> apologize for not having land. We had to apologize for being dropped in this
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> country. It continues. Other people, like I am listening today, people say we had

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[6] The AWB is the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, a far-right group that continues to
advocate for a separate boer-Afrikaner republic. The group was founded by Eugene
Terre'Blanche, who was murdered in 2010. Terre'Blanche was the subject of
discussions with participants in this research in the context of resistance to
apartheid-era policies in Soweto and elsewhere.

some reconciliation during the FIFA World Cup. I honestly cannot understand

why is it when black and white people are sitting in one place we should think of

it as reconciliation. Why is it that when white people and black people join in

Pick and Pay [a grocery store], and those kind of places, we don't think of it as

reconciliation? Because they are in the same place, and talking to each other,

complaining of the prices like they are cheering a soccer team or a rugby team or

whatever.

As I continue listening to Morning Talk, it seems to me that structural issues related

to reconciliation, such as the legacy of *apartheid* and unequal access to resources

will remain thorny problems. However, as Mutalla later notes:

Paying money to few does not reconcile those who are even now suffering

economically and otherwise under the present government. Their situation has

not changed by the results by the past oppression, by the results of the past

policy. So, at the moment, what [is happening] is those who forgave, who died,

whose who died…are still economically and socially suffering. They are not truly

liberated.

Although national unity and social justice are important components of

reconciliation for South Africa, I believe the ongoing critical issue in South Africa

centers around the disparity of wealth. In 2009, the last time it was measured, South

Africa's GINI coefficient of income inequality was the highest in the world at .63

(World Bank, 2012). In some cases, this is connected to the racial categories of

apartheid; but as many have indicated, the new form of apartheid is class-based

discrimination between those who have economic means and those who do not (Bond, 2004). The difficulty in finding formal employment leads many South Africans to attempt to start their own business, with all of the associated challenges and hoped-for opportunities.

The business owners who participated in this study, including the Pimville Four, epitomize entrepreneurship. They consistently seek opportunities to find clients, improve their knowledge of their chosen field, and take financial risks to grow their businesses. In preparation for the 2010 FWC, the Pimville Four each took language lessons – two took German and another two took Spanish. Together with Afrikaans, which they already speak and which is mostly mutually intelligible with Dutch, they were prepared for visitors from a wide swath of Europe and the Americas. But whether these investments paid off, financially or otherwise, is the question I'm hoping to discuss at the meeting for which I am now at least 30 minutes late. It is a chance for me to talk to the Pimville Four about how they and their businesses were affected by the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and a chance to follow up on our discussions and meetings during my first trip in 2009.

What were the ways in which small and micro-scale entrepreneurs in Soweto were affected, both positively and negatively, by South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup? Prior to the event, expectations were high, and many made investments in their homes or businesses in anticipation of a country overflowing with foreign tourists looking for somewhere to sleep between matches. As it turns

out, answering this question from a numerical perspective was less complicated than expected: disappointing (for example, see Malan, 2010). But many have argued that there is more to the measure of success than the bottom line, and that an increased sense of national unity, pride, and a prominent place on the global stage made up for the cost of hosting the event. I am not convinced that this simple answer is the most appropriate response, and will return to this discussion in a later chapter.

When this study began, I was interested in the ways in which Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) contributed to the ability of these entrepreneurs to form strong networks around Soweto in order to capitalize on relationships and economies of scale that would help them compete with South Africa's corporate hospitality sector. Small businesses such as B & Bs, taverns, tour operators, and other hospitality sector played a key role in accommodating tourists during the World Cup. These entrepreneurs were under intense competition from the big players in tourism – the hotel chains, the large tour operators, the restaurant chains that enjoyed exclusive access to the stadiums during the event, and other corporate players in South Africa's tourism sector. If part of reconciliation is reducing South Africa's wealth gap, then entrepreneurs such as the Pimville Four are a bellwether, as their success or failure is indicative of the impact of a range of policies intended to improve their ability to compete in the sector. These policies include opportunities for grants, increased training and mentorship opportunities, and increased access to ICTs.

In many ways, the South African conception of small business – an operation that provides some kind of household income, and perhaps creates a job for someone outside of the household – is encapsulated in the combination of formal and informal businesses that dot the landscape of the country. From construction and auto repair, to hospitality, to commercial sex work, small businesses of all kinds are particularly visible throughout the metropolitan areas of South Africa. Drivers encounter an entrepreneur at every traffic light in Johannesburg, selling electronics, souvenirs, gadgets, or providing services like windshield washing or garbage collection.

Many of the entrepreneurs who start businesses do so with little more than an idea, a mobile phone, and the dream of selling their idea to their neighbors. Often they do so because they have no other option but to try to sell something to support themselves and their families. If it succeeds, the business itself becomes more than a regular income; the entrepreneur and the establishment overlap, their identities mix and one becomes indistinguishable from the other. In Soweto, this mix of identities is literally reflected in the names of small businesses: Robbie's Place, a tavern, owned and operated by Robbie; Mookho's Bed and Breakfast, started and run by Mookho; Flossie's, Chanza's, Sakhi's, and Wandie's are other examples. For those entrepreneurs who choose a different naming scheme, sharing an identity with their business is no different; the day-to-day operation of a small business

requires a whole scale personal investment in activities ranging from cleaning the floors to conducting marketing on the Internet.

These small businesses, both formal and informal, are a common feature of the South African landscape. The stories of Sowetan entrepreneurship include both formal and informal establishments, although informal employment includes some specific characteristics that differentiate it from formal employment. Statistics South Africa, the government data collection agency, states that the concept of informal employment:

> [i]dentifies persons who are in precarious employment situations irrespective of whether or not the entity for which they work is in the formal or informal sector. Persons in informal employment therefore consist of all persons in the informal sector; employees in the formal sector; and persons working in private households who are not entitled to basic benefits such as pension or medical aid contributions from their employer, and who do not have a written contract of employment...the informal sector has the following two components: i) Employees working in establishments that employ less than five employees, who do not deduct income tax from their salaries/wages; ii) Employers, own account workers and persons helping unpaid in their household business who are not registered for either income tax or value-added tax. (Statistics South Africa, 2009a, p. xv)

This broad definition of informal employment includes many of the entrepreneurs in this study, and all of their employees. While this definition of informal employment highlights the number of workers who do not have the access to the benefits connected to formal employment, and it describes the nature of the informal sector in South Africa, which one finds in settings from the most upscale to the most dilapidated, and all of which exist around the Johannesburg metropolitan area. Of course, describing employment in South Africa is much more complicated than the binary of employed/unemployed, or formal/informal. Ceruti (2013) describes nine distinct categories of employment and unemployment in Soweto; the majority of participants in this study would fall into the category she labels "petty bourgeoisie" (p. 108) who work for themselves and may employ one or two other individuals.

In contrast to Soweto, in the northern suburb of Johannesburg called Sandton, the South African stock exchange is located across the street from one of the most expensive hotels in the country, the Balalaika. At the end of the same street is the Sandton City shopping complex, which houses boutique shopping establishments such as Gucci, Bally's, and other high-end department stores catering to tourists and the newly-minted South African upper class. When I was teaching high school in Sandton in 2006 – 2007, the area was a forest of cranes working on the construction of new condominiums and office buildings, and during my walks I was often passed by Ferraris, Bentleys, and other luxury automobiles.

But walking around Sandton's financial district is an entirely different experience than driving into it and parking at the mall. My normal route passed a small food cart, which was brightly painted in red, with a hand-lettered sign advertising traditional "African" food such as *pap*, a maize-meal dish usually served with meat gravy, and *boerewors*, a traditional South African sausage. Following the same street past the Balalaika, I encountered four or five stalls in which South Africans sell art or other typically tourist items. At almost every corner during rush hour, air-conditioned drivers are offered the aforementioned small items like sunglasses, hangars, socks, and cell phone accessories carried by an overburdened individual who braves the scorching sun or the rain to try to eke out a living five rand (approximately 60 U.S. cents) at a time. In addition, 16-passenger mini-buses known as "taxis" in South Africa stop at numerous corners in the financial district to pick up the people who work in the shopping malls or hotels and who do not own a car. Passengers who use these taxis often do so to travel to their homes in the former townships of Alexandra and Soweto. Without all of these individuals and industries, the financial district would grind to a halt, for the cleaners, retail clerks, and construction workers who cannot afford the exorbitant rent of a Sandton apartment or a car would not be able to arrive in the morning, eat lunch, or do productive work in the district. The combination of formal and informal small-scale business activities are necessary for the survival of South Africa's economy, and individuals participating in them do so not only in wealthy areas like Sandton, but all over the country, and in fact, all over the continent, a feature of African economies that has been studied for several decades.

The study of informal economies began in the 1970s, when Hart (1973) described the characteristics of informal employment in Ghana, suggesting that "the distinction between formal and informal income opportunities is based essentially on that between wage-earning and self-employment...the key variable is the degree of rationalisation of work - that is to say, whether or not labour is recruited on a permanent and regular basis for fixed rewards" (p. 68). It is also useful to think of the informal economy in terms of deSoto's (1989) description of informality in labor, housing, and transportation as a reaction to an overly regulated formal sector unable to provide opportunities for recently urbanized peasants. Portes and Castells (1989) define the informal economic activity as "otherwise legal and regulated forms of income generation that are not regulated by the legal/political institutions of society" (p. 12). Defining the boundaries of the informal economy is often difficult, because the sector is not created from "intrinsic characteristics of activities" (Portes & Castells, 1989, p. 32) but rather from an agreed upon definition of the role of the state in a particular economy, and economic sector. The informal sector has been suggested as an important contributor to development and opportunities for previously disadvantaged people whose access to legal activities are limited (Marsden, 1990; de Soto, 1989).

Others suggest that the informal economy benefits certain groups more than others, disputing the power of the sector to affect lasting social change (Kingdon & Knight, 2004, McKeever, 2006; Mitra, 2005). The numerous empirical studies of the

informal economy since Hart's first writing have suggested that informal economic activity is a lasting characteristic in all markets (Fortuna & Prates, 1989; Portes, 1994); that it is a "constructed response on the part of civil society to unwanted state interference" (Portes, 1994, p. 445); that in many cases it functions as a 'survival strategy' (Mingione, 1983) while in others informal economic activity means "people participating in the development process, not just responding to an intervention promoted by an outside agency" (Howard, 1987, p. 267). In the case of South Africa, the high unemployment rate, although an improvement over the previous quarter and over the statistics from previous years, in which it has been as high as 41% (Kingdon & Knight, 2004), suggests that those who cannot find work in the formal sector will take part in informal economic activity, either legitimate or illegitimate. Notably, Statistics South Africa (2009a) reported that the largest growth in the informal sector in the 4th quarter of 2008 occurred in construction as South Africa started building infrastructure in preparation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup (p. viii), suggesting that informal activity is an essential component of South Africa's economy, even within the thoroughly structured and organized process of preparing for the World Cup. In general, the informal sector continues to be an important component of the country's economy, and understanding the parameters of informal activities is critical in developing an understanding of small and micro-scale entrepreneurship in South Africa, where I often found myself involved in conversations with entrepreneurs who simply set up shop on the corner of a busy road.

There are numerous opportunities to provide services to tourists visiting South

Africa within the boundaries of the informal sector. Hospitality, in the form of hotels

and short-stay accommodations, restaurants, shebeens[7], and street vendors of food

and non-food products, form a large part of South Africa's informal sector (Devey,

Skinner, & Valodia, 2003). For these individuals, the consequences of failure can be

more significant than for the casual laborer, and the barriers to entry may also be

higher, since stocking a bar or a mobile food operation requires an initial capital

outlay. However, Chandra, Moorty, Nganou, Rajaratnam, and Schaefer (2001) note

that "for roughly half of Black SMMEs[8], lack of access to formal bank credit is a

critical problem" (p. 37), suggesting that even entering the informal sector may be

difficult, especially for Black entrepreneurs. Kingdon and Knight (2004) support this

argument by noting other barriers which also affect entry into the informal

economy, such as "the legacy of *apartheid*, the prevalence of crime and associated

insecurity, the relative inadequacy of government support for the informal sector,

and the lack of informal credit" (p. 404). In the construction sector, particularly

among unskilled labor, the economic activity connected to the 2010 FIFA World Cup

was expected to reduce barriers to entry into the informal sector (Bohlmann and

van Heerden, 2005). However, the barriers mentioned previously for already

established informal businesses, particularly limited access to capital, prevented

many of them from benefiting significantly from the event.

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[7] A shebeen is essentially a home-based tavern. The name connotes a hidden place
and is associated with clandestine meetings in opposition to apartheid.
[8] SMME is an acronym for "small, medium, and micro-enterprises" commonly used in South
Africa.

The other side of the employment sector in South Africa and elsewhere is referred to as the formal sector. Formal employment is defined by Stats SA as:

> [e]mployment that takes place in a business or organization registered in any way, or in the public sector, or in a nongovernmental organisation. A person in formal employment can be self-employed, an employer, an employee or a working family member. (Statistics South Africa, 2004)

Formal employment tends to be better understood and easier to measure, particularly in terms of its contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and overall employment, than informal employment. A small-scale entrepreneur participating in this study may be a formal, registered business, while their employees are part of the informal sector. In other cases, the entrepreneur remains part of the informal sector, as they have not registered their business and are therefore unrecognized by the government.

The entrepreneurs who participated in this study are from both the informal and formal sectors of South Africa's economy. They were not chosen for their affiliation to one sector or another, but in order to get a broader representation of the experiences of entrepreneurs across the spectrum of hospitality-related industries in Soweto. They have in many cases only recently formalized their businesses by registering with the government, and many are actively pursuing or have received funding from government organizations such as the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) or others. More recently formalized business owners perceived the

opportunities and challenges associated with the 2010 FWC differently from those who had been formalized for many years, and differently from those entrepreneurs who remain informal. However, these differences are not reflected in their use of ICTs, which as many of their stories show, are often used in specifically tailored ways by informal entrepreneurs. Uniting their experiences are their ties to Soweto, its history, and the interest it holds for visitors.

What makes Soweto such an important site for entrepreneurship is its connection to the political and social history of South Africa, its size (both geographic and population), and its reputation for resistance, danger, and as a realistic representation of township life. The name itself is an apartheid era legacy: Soweto is an acronym for South-Western Townships due to its location relative to Johannesburg. The 96 square kilometer region consists of 36 separate subdivisions and is home to between four and five million people. Daily, more than 60,000 minibus taxis transit the area, and there are 18 train stations in Soweto[9]. Other elements of transportation infrastructure, most notably the Rea Vaya bus system, were added for the 2010 World Cup. The FNB/Soccer City stadium is located only

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[9] This information comes from Oliver, who guides bicycle tours of Soweto. I was fortunate to be able to participate in one of these tours. At every stop, I pulled out my notebook and made a note about what I saw and what Oliver described. The bicycle tours are part of an entrepreneurial endeavor to involve tourists in the Soweto experience in a more immersive way; they include not only visits to Orlando West and the most developed parts of the area, but also to shacks and former hostels for migrant workers, as well as the chance to interact with residents, drink local beer, and ride a bike through three or four subdivisions, depending on the length of the tour.

minutes from Soweto, and was the site of the opening and final matches of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, in addition to seven other tournament matches.

Soweto is often perceived as the site of updated, modern South African culture. The official tourism authority of the province, the GTA, describes Soweto as "a lively, rich cultural area on the periphery of Johannesburg."[10] Participants in this study spoke of people "moving home" to Soweto from the sterile, high-walled northern suburbs of Johannesburg; the jazz scene; the celebrations in the streets during the World Cup. When deciding where to go to understand the impact of the World Cup on entrepreneurs in South Africa, Soweto's history, culture, and excitement were irresistible. I wanted to get some understanding of what it meant to live there, to operate a business, and to be a part of a community that had been the heart of the resistance to *apartheid*. As always, the reality on the ground was much more complicated than I could have imagined from a distance.

My expectations for Soweto were shaped in part by my experiences in Africa, which began in 1992 when I served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Tanzania. I lived primarily in a rural area of that country's southern highlands and taught math and English to secondary students. I also spent a great deal of time in Dar es Salaam, the country's major city and commercial capital (the national capital is the centrally located, landlocked Dodoma). Other volunteers described Dar es Salaam in those days as an overgrown village, with the suburbs being semi-rural themselves in terms of residents' access to resources such as clean water and sanitation. Having

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[10] www.gauteng.net/attractions/entry/soweto_and_the_mandela_family_museum/

grown up in rural northern Minnesota, the chaotic movement of people and vehicles around the city was intimidating and exciting; I always felt the possibility of creation rather than the lack of development in the city and its surroundings.

I expected something similar in Soweto, and these expectations were at least partially met: the suburb is vast, chaotic, and varies considerably in the amount and condition of infrastructure such as water, sanitation, and paved roads. However, as in South African society in general, the divisions between the wealthy and poor are almost incomprehensible. In wealthy subdivisions such as Diepkloof, located on the northeastern corner of Soweto, mansions are commonplace. Interviews with B & B owners in Diepkloof took place in opulent lounges with impeccable amenities. By contrast, other areas of Soweto lack roads, are home to what are somewhat colloquially known as "squatter camps" and consist of wooden and tin shacks. An enterprising tourist or interested researcher can take a bicycle tour of Soweto that consists of a ride through both areas, and an opportunity to drink locally brewed beer known as "umqombothi," in a wooden shack and the finest single malt whiskies in a comfortable tavern.

Like the country, entrepreneurship in Soweto is complex. Success or failure depends significantly on entrepreneurs' ability to capitalize on their location, skills, and connections to others. Reasons for starting a business vary from person to person, as does the definition of success. In addition to clientele, support for some businesses has come from a variety of sources. Provincial organizations such as the Gauteng Tourism Authority have done a lot to promote the ability of these small

scale entrepreneurs to compete and thrive in the competitive hospitality sector. Many of the B & Bs in Soweto have been adopted by the corporate hospitality giant Southern Sun, which has provided computers, technical assistance and marketing training (Pitschlitz, 2011). Of course, other entrepreneurs such as commercial sex workers do not benefit from these initiatives, but create and maintain their own strategies for capitalizing on the opportunities presented by, for example, the availability of inexpensive mobile phones.

Eventually, the traffic on the N1 eased and I continued on to Soweto and my meeting with the Pimville Four, where we continued the conversation we had begun prior to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In the next chapters, I share these conversations, and many others, and discuss my understanding of the relationships between starting a small business in South Africa, the use of technology, and an updated identity for African entrepreneurs, now 18 years after the end of apartheid. In Chapter 2, I introduce the participants in this study and describe the ways in which I conducted the research presented in this book. In Chapter 3, I provide a framework of communication-related theory that describes the networks in which they operate. In Chapter 4, I discuss the use of communication technology in starting and maintaining a small business, and in Chapter 5, I propose an updated model describing the use of ICTs. In Chapter 6, I develop and describe a communication research approach relevant to the experiences of entrepreneurs in Soweto, and in Chapter 7 discuss the ways in which entrepreneurial identity and South African

history are linked in the experiences of the participants. Chapter 8 contains final

thoughts and ideas about the ways in which future research on ICTs and

entrepreneurship could further explore the issues raised in the book. The challenge

of reconciliation and the economic upliftment and political empowerment of

formerly marginalized individuals bracket the content of these chapters. On

December 16th, 2010, Ashraf and the listeners to SAFM continued their discussion of

the ways in which reconciliation had done what they had hoped or had failed them

and the country, and I made my way to Soweto to continue these discussions with

the entrepreneurs who demonstrate the best of South Africa – the country's

hospitality, determination, and ambition. I hope readers of this book will leave with

a better understanding of their challenges, and perhaps be inspired by their

examples.

Chapter 2: The Entrepreneurs of Soweto

Typically, the starting point for ethnographic research of this type is the construction of a set of basic research questions, which are developed by examining the literature related to the topic, and subsequently seeking areas in which the situation is not well understood. In chapter three, I will return to the literature and present a detailed, academic consideration of communication-related theory, and the ways other researchers have examined sports mega-events, information and communication technology in entrepreneurship, and issues of identity. In this chapter, I will first describe the broad research questions that guided this research, and then introduce the participants in the study: those people who were generous enough to invite me into their homes and places of business. The research questions were revised and adjusted based on the discussions I had with entrepreneurs and participants in the research process, as I came to better understand the issues of importance to them.

First, I was interested in the ways in which small and micro scale entrepreneurs, both formal and informal, understood the impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on their economic opportunities and challenges. In 2009, this question was a way to start a dialogue about issues ranging from investments to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) as they related to the entrepreneur's plans to capitalize on the opportunities connected to the World Cup. At the time, the 2010 event was considered by many to be the catalyst for a host of social and economic changes in South Africa. The historic first African soccer World Cup suggested that researchers

should take the opportunity to understand the meaning of the event to those

individuals who had the most to gain from it, and who, according to the political

rhetoric surrounding the event, would have taken the opportunity to create, expand,

or formalize a business opportunity. My interest in South Africa made this area of

inquiry a logical starting point.

Second, I explored the role of mobile communications in developing and

reinforcing networks among small and micro scale entrepreneurs in Soweto, and

the characteristics of the relationships between members of these networks. By

asking how mobile communication functions in the process of creating and

reinforcing networks, I intended to begin moving toward the investigation of how

economic decisions are made among the entrepreneurs in this study. Some

participants had complete access to and ability to use cellular phones and the

Internet, while others did not, for a variety of reasons. This type of "technological

capital", which is really a reframing of Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital,

could cause significant variation in their ability to engage with and benefit from

networks. Being able to quantify experiences with mobile technology using concepts

such as technological capital can lead to improved outcomes for users of technology,

as better policies can provide greater opportunities for their use. I'll return to a

detailed exploration of this concept in chapter six.

Third, I considered the ways in which the networks created by the use of

communications technology influenced entrepreneurs' decision making. Within the

context of the relationships between individuals within a network, and individual

perceptions of the business opportunities that inevitably present themselves in

Soweto, I explored the ways in which decisions are made, how individuals engaged in micro-enterprise operate, and how networks influence this process. This was particularly evident in the months prior to the 2010 FWC, but relationships among members of networks are continually influenced by new ideas.

Finally, after I had completed the analysis of the data from the first year of the research, I became interested in the ways in which a contemporary South African identity is related to South Africa's apartheid history. Unlike other places in South Africa, where tourism might be based on the location's flora, fauna, or other scenic beauty, Soweto's attraction for tourists is based in large part on its historical opposition to apartheid – the struggle – that is both a source of inspiration and, less positive, sympathy or even pity. Soweto tours usually show visitors the impoverished subdivisions as well as the most affluent, and always include Vilikazi Street, the world's only street that boasts the homes of two Nobel Peace prize winners, Nelson Mandela and the Archbishop Desmond Tutu. In later chapters I return to this question and, based on discussions with participants, explore it from a post-colonial identity perspective.

A significant challenge for any researcher is to develop ties to members of a community and through them, develop a broader understanding of experiences as they relate to a particular issue, such as starting a business or using technology. In my case, the process was aided by two things: first, a team of four individuals who had strong ties to Soweto and were willing to act as "research assistants" for the much of the time I spent there, and second, my own naiveté and willingness to be

surprised, which continually propelled me to meet new people and ask what must have seemed like a series of obvious questions. I approached the research process and getting to know people in Soweto with the belief that each of them has an important story to tell. Their stories of entrepreneurship are often steeped in South Africa's political history; some included personal tragedy like the death of a family member during the anti-apartheid struggle, or descriptions of the violence that plagued South Africa prior to and just after the 1994 democratic elections. My chance to get to know them came from contacts I made prior to travelling to Soweto.

Before I began this project in 2009, I contacted a number of individuals whose names had been provided by an advisor working at Soul City in Johannesburg. Soul City is an organization that works primarily in communication for social change, and the individuals who assisted me in my research had responded to her email requesting research assistance. There were four individuals who responded to these emails, and rather than limit myself to the experiences and contacts of one, I engaged all of them, and together we travelled around Soweto – sometimes all together, and sometimes with only one of them and myself. They also contributed to the study as "subject matter experts" or "key informants" (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988, p. 51). The key informant concept is discussed in much of the qualitative literature; for example, Fine & Sandstrom (1988) suggest that key informants "have access to persons and knowledge" (p. 51) and that their role may be of "*sponsor* and…of *source*" (p. 51, emphasis in original). Although I lived in South Africa prior to this research for more than two years, I had only visited Soweto on one occasion, and that as a member of a pre-arranged tour. Thus, the experiences and contacts of these

individuals were invaluable in opening doors and making contacts with small and micro-scale entrepreneurs. The research team, as I liked to collectively call them, consisted of two men and two women, all of whom were originally from Soweto. At the time of the original research, three of them still resided there, and the fourth was residing in another suburb of Johannesburg. Now, one has gone on to work for a major South African company; another is completing a degree in project management. I generally refer to them as guides, because they provided direction in both locating entrepreneurs and also guided the research itself, by providing feedback on the process and on the interview process. I avoid the phrase "research assistant" because their participation in the project did not involve transcription, translation, or other activities normally reserved for assistants. There were originally found of them, and three agreed to allow their names to be used in this work. The fourth asked me to use the pseudonym "Freddy."

The first of the guides with whom I worked is Moshisi, a graduate of a Master's program in International Affairs from a university in Singapore. Shisa, as I called him, had recently returned to Soweto after completing his degree. At the time, Moshisi lived in Orlando East with his in-laws, a division of Soweto we mapped together on foot. My intention was to work with each guide for at least two days a week; however, as the project went on, I soon found that I was able to navigate Soweto on my own. I thus reduced the contact with each of the guides, and Moshisi and I generally met on Tuesdays, for between 6 – 8 hours per day. Moshisi's in-laws, specifically his father, provided a number of useful contacts around Orlando East. Moshisi himself is a soccer fan, and his input into the meaning of soccer for

Sowetans was an important contribution to the project, since no description of small business and identity in Soweto would be complete without discussing the rivalry between its two main football clubs.

Soccer in Soweto is characterized by the decades-old feud between the Orlando Pirates and the Kaizer Chiefs, two clubs that were founded in 1937 and 1970, respectively. Details of the competition between the two clubs is heard in discussions with football fans around the area, and one cannot help but notice the paraphernalia of either club in nearly every establishment one enters in Soweto. With the headquarters of the South African Football Association, and the gigantic Soccer City complex located just 15 minutes from what is arguably the heart of Soweto, Orlando, the 2010 FIFA World Cup could not have been more salient to football fans in every division of Soweto. While some people I met over the course of this research eschewed ecstatic support of one football club, Moshisi is a proud fan of the Kaizer Chiefs. During the project, this led to a number of animated discussions with individuals in a variety of establishments around the area, during the days in which we found ourselves occupied by discussions over beers in a pub or tavern. I continue to maintain contact with Moshisi, and when I am in South Africa we usually meet for lunch and discuss our families and work.

The second member of the team, Phetheni, resides with her father in the Pimville division of Soweto. This division is home to the Pimville Four, of course, as well as other bed and breakfasts, taverns, and restaurants. Phetheni is in her late 20s and as a single woman is quite involved in Soweto's vibrant social scene. This led to

contacts with many entrepreneurs who were involved in running nightclubs or taverns, in addition to the bed and breakfasts mentioned previously. Phethi and I continue to be in touch and generally connect when I am in South Africa. She is currently finishing a degree in project management. Because she still lives in Soweto, she always has a wealth of information on what's happening, from hearing about the death of a notable newscaster to the happenings in the clubs and bars. My contact with Phethi during the original research project diminished as I found myself able to navigate Soweto with less and less assistance, but I am fortunate to be able to draw on her expertise whenever I come back. Pheti also introduced me to her friend Juliette, whose circumstances were somewhat different than her own.

Juliette is a resident of Soweto who finished high school and went on to work for Woolworth's, one of South Africa's most prominent department stores. During the project, she was unemployed, and therefore often accompanied me during the days on which Phetheni was working for Soul City. At the time, Juliette was living in a division of Soweto known as Meadowlands. Her work experience was typical of many working people in Johannesburg, and Soweto in particular. Because the branch of Woolworth's at which she worked was quite far from her home in Soweto, when she was employed she travelled for more than an hour each way in a minibus taxi to Fourways, the Johannesburg suburb where she had been employed. This geographical and logistical division between Soweto and other suburbs of Johannesburg can be a significant barrier for people who live there and work elsewhere. For example, the high cost of petrol means that driving between Soweto and a northern suburb can cost R500 – R600 per week, depending on the amount of

driving done, or that a person must use public transportation to get to work, which can take hours each way. The newly built Gautrain is also prohibitively expensive for most people who live in Soweto and work elsewhere. This situation is partially a historical relic of the *apartheid* era, when Black laborers lived in places outside the city centers and travelled there to work for White people. At present, there are few large corporations with headquarters or operations in Soweto, although this is changing; I met a salesperson at Soweto Toyota, the first dealership of its kind there; and a number of other organizations are rumored to be considering moving in. But the primary businesses are small and micro-scale, relying on visitors or those who work outside for their support. Juliette knew many of the same individuals Phetheni knew, and several times the three of us conducted interviews together. One of the ongoing considerations during the course of this research was to try to find a way to address the issue of gender in entrepreneurship, and in the use of communications technology. Both Phetheni and Juliette assisted in this process by providing information regarding their own use of technology, and further by providing feedback on the process of conducting interviews.

Finally, Freddy was the only member of the research team who did not reside in Soweto. However, he had previously lived there and provided me with numerous contacts and experiences in the suburb. We met each Thursday and Friday, and while the other members of the team were not always available during their scheduled days, Freddy and I spent each of these two days during the eight weeks of the project driving around Soweto, having discussions about the research, the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and the prospects for entrepreneurs. As a micro-scale

entrepreneur himself, Freddy's insights into the contribution of the World Cup to small business were crucial to the project. He also brought a critical view, both of my own research methods, and of the South African government and FIFA, to our weekly discussions.

In addition to meeting frequently with each of the team members, I held a group meeting at the end of my 2009 trip to discuss the results of the project with the research team. At this point in the process I was primarily interested in whether the team members had found the project to be a useful slice of the experiences of entrepreneurs in Soweto. While it is perhaps inappropriate to draw conclusions from this meeting, members of the team expressed skepticism about the ability of the participants in the project to benefit significantly from the 2010 FIFA World Cup. To a certain extent, the results of interviews with participants supported this skepticism, although entrepreneurs were by no means universally negative regarding the potential of the 2010 event to help their business prospects. The goal of the team was originally to recruit at least 30 participants; at the end of the project we had met 57. Team members had also gained experience in qualitative research, and while their future careers may not involve studies of perceptions and experiences, they expressed their satisfaction with the results of the project and their participation in the process. Without the participation and assistance of these four, it would not have been possible for me to meet the people I did, whose experiences are the subject of this book. Before I turn to them, I will briefly describe the methods I used in conducting this research.

Research Design

This project relied heavily on face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with entrepreneurs. Intensive or in-depth interviews are "guided conversation[s] whose goal is to elicit from the interviewee…rich, detailed materials that can be used in a qualitative analysis" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 18). Intensive interviewing attempts to "*discover* the informant's *experience* of a particular topic or situation" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 18, emphasis in original). I began the process of interviewing by creating an "interview guide" as described by Lindlof and Taylor (2002), consisting "of groupings of topics and questions that the interviewer can ask in different ways for different participants" (p. 195). Using interview guides rather than a more formalized questionnaire (an interview schedule) maintains the researcher's ability to develop an understanding of events as they unfold and also allows participants somewhat more ability to participate in the research agenda by guiding the conversation in directions they like. While I relied on the interview guide heavily in earlier interviews, by the end of the project I was comfortable with the topics and more focused on commonalities and experiences relevant to participants. In addition, this approach was especially appropriate for this project because I interacted with entrepreneurs involved in different types of businesses, which required a somewhat fluid approach to interviews.

Alderson (2004) suggests that "*active participants* willingly take part in research that has flexible methods: semi-structured interviews with scope for detailed personal accounts" (p. 100, emphasis in original). While my intention in this project was initially to observe the operations of specific businesses and then interview the

owner, in practice I found that participants were generally open to my questions almost immediately after I explained the project, and in fact, some of their initial or immediate responses to my questions turned out to be more useful than those which occurred in subsequent meetings. Interviews were to a large extent participatory and interactive, and participants sometimes refused to answer questions, changed the questions, and redirected the process.

Although there are many benefits to the use of interviews, there are some weaknesses involved in interviewing as opposed to observing. When interviews are recorded, transcribed, and interpreted, the researcher's decisions about what to keep and what to leave out, how to interpret elements of the discussion, and what meaning to ascribe to elements of the interviews may not accurately reflect the experiences and perceptions of participants. What's more, "interviews allow access to what people say but not to what they do" (Darlington & Scott, 2002, p. 51). In this study, the combination of participant observation and interviews, together with ongoing member checking of results with both participants and key informants outside of the study helps mitigate these problems with interviews. I am aware of the possibility that my own reactions and understanding of participants' experiences may not reflect their own, and that the "re-presenting" of individual perceptions, thoughts, and feelings in a research paper is by its very nature problematic. I believe the problems have been minimized by conducting research which was at least partially participant-driven, and by engaging participants who I already know and who have been referred by other individuals in their network.

Another way in which I addressed the problem of my position in the research was to engage the guides in discussion of my interpretation of interviews and observations.

I approached interviews as systematically as possible, given the variety of businesses included in the project. After requesting basic information about the business, including the number of employees, the years in business, and the challenges the owners faced, the next section dealt with questions regarding the 2010 FWC, and included discussing participants' plans for the business prior to and during the event, whether they had received assistance from the government of South Africa to prepare for the event, and their expectations for June and July of 2010 and beyond. Later interviews included more detailed discussions of their impressions about the event; their successes and failures, and their overall assessment of the event's impact on their business and the community at large.

I also included questions regarding participants' perceptions of their connections to other entrepreneurs in and around Soweto. This discussion included questions about the use of telephony, including mobile and fixed lines, the use of the Internet, and how these networks and connections contributed to the success of their business. I also made certain to allow participants to ask questions of me and the research team, and in some cases this led to interesting discussions regarding how the information collected in the study could be used to improve the ability of participants to benefit from events like the 2010 FWC, from government grants, or from new or existing connections to other businesses in Soweto.

In addition to interviews with entrepreneurs, the study also relied on my own observations. Participant observation is "research that involves social interaction between the researcher and informants in the milieu of the latter, during which data are systematically and unobtrusively collected" (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p. 15). It includes interaction with community members in one of a number of roles, such as friend, supervisor, observer, or leader (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988) and includes "looking and listening, watching and asking" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 18). During this process I kept field notes, as described by Lindlof and Taylor (2002), which are a "permanent record signifying – and verifying – that field events did in fact occur in particular ways" (p. 160). In this book, these notes are part of an ethnographic description, which as Geertz (1973) notes, has "three characteristics…it is interpretive, what it is interpretive of is the flow of social discourse; and the interpreting involved consists in trying to rescue the "said" of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms…but there is, in addition, a fourth characteristic…it is microscopic" (p. 21). The theoretical understanding I have built in this research is reinforced by Geertz's discussion of intrinsic understanding and fixed (and thick) description; participant observation is one method for creating the ethnographic account to which Geertz refers. This detailed account can later lead to greater usefulness of time spent conducting in-depth interviews, because interview guides and questions can be developed taking into consideration the researcher's experiences during this process. Observation was particularly useful in understanding some of the relationships between businesses; in interviews, participants were sometimes reluctant to single out a relationship

with other businesses and this was something that I occasionally observed. I dictated field notes, which included my observations, into same handheld recorder I used for recording interviews with participants, together with a number of small notebooks I jotted in during the day. Observation was facilitated to a certain extent by my choice of where to stay while conducting the research.

Depending on where I stay in Johannesburg, which has varied over the years this project has been underway, there can be a rather lengthy community (greater than 100+ km round trip) each day to and from Soweto. This can have a number of unexpected benefits. First, as I demonstrated in Chapter 1, I was able to listen to South African Broadcasting Corporation's talk radio station, SAFM, every day for at least an hour. In addition to the discussion of reconciliation I recounted there, it was during one of these broadcasts that I heard an interview with a commercial sex worker who was discussing what had occurred during the Confederations Cup, which had ended just before my arrival in South Africa in 2009. This sparked the realization that I should try to include members of this community in the research I did regarding expectations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Second, the extended drive time meant that I had sufficient time to reflect on what had occurred during the day while I was driving home. I used the 1 – 2 hour trip north to dictate field notes nearly every day. Finally, anyone who has driven in Johannesburg understands the true nature of slow traffic. Not only did my driving skills improve, but I was connected to the city in a way that I wouldn't have had I stayed in one place. In retrospect, had I had the appropriate contacts prior to my arrival, I may have attempted to arrange lodging in Soweto. However, at least in 2009 and 2010, my

familial connections in Sunninghill, a northern suburb of the metro area, made it necessary to stay outside of Soweto, with some unintended benefits. On later trips I stayed in Soweto and therefore did not have the benefit of a three-hour commute.

In addition to interviews and observation, I also collected secondary documents. These include copies of pages of guestbooks from B & Bs and pubs, maps of Soweto and Johannesburg, and photographs of participants and Soweto. Including commercial sex workers in the project led to a rich set of secondary documents from a number of activist organizations promoting decriminalization and the rights of sex workers. These documents provide background to the discussion of the experiences of sex workers.

Another component of the research was to map the location of all working public phones in the suburb of Orlando East. As I have discussed in previous sections of this paper, the "phone shop" has been an important component of the telecommunications landscape in South Africa. These shops make low cost access to telephony available to anyone who can walk to a shop; however, one of the criticisms that has been leveled against the program of implementing phone shops, which was originally part of the government's mandate to provide communications services to rural areas of the population, was that the program did not appropriately incentive providers to increase access to these services in rural areas. To determine the number of phone shops in the Orlando East subdivision, we mapped every street and coded each working phone shop by its network provider: Telkom, Vodacom, Cell-C, MTN, OneCell, or other. We were thus able to count the number of each type

and categorize based on provider. While this did not directly provide information related to the research questions, follow-up interaction with a sample of the owners or employees of these phone shops allowed us to ask questions about who used them and how the business had been affected by the tremendous influx of low cost mobile devices, coupled with ever smaller increments of pay-as-you go airtime for sale. Our follow-up was conducted on foot, which was suggested by Chambers (2008) in discussions of transect walks and surveys. This walk around Orlando East yielded observations for field notes and some quantitative data about the number and distribution of phone shops.

This research benefited significantly from timing, meaning that participants and the country in general were already engaged, to a certain extent, in a dialogue about the role of sports mega-events in promoting development and entrepreneurship. For example, in 2009, South Africa was host to three major international sporting displays: in soccer, the Confederations Cup; in cricket, the Indian Premier League tournament; and in rugby, the British & Irish Lions tour. Each event had some benefits for some entrepreneurs, while others were discouraged by the results, thereby allowing me to contextualize the expectations and experiences of small-scale entrepreneurs for the 2010 FWC. Discussion of the Confederations Cup was often used as an opener for discussions about the 2010 FWC in interviews and casual conversation around Soweto. Discussions after the 2010 FWC often centered around the event and what opportunities it had provided for entrepreneurs; since then, I have a much better understanding of the situation in Soweto and how business owners there function.

While much of this study has been iterative and adaptive, the focus on the principles of doing business in Soweto, and discussions of ICTs and mobile communication in the context of the research questions guided the process and ensured continuity in the inquiry. The combination of data gathering methods led to a rich set of data that included interviews, field notes, and secondary documents, in addition to what I brought to the research from my prior experience in South Africa.

The Entrepreneurs

Although there are no specific risks to this research for those who took part, I use pseudonyms for most of the participants[11]. In general, participants were not compensated for an interview. However, I did give a token gift to the commercial sex workers who participated, and I have stayed with the Pimville Four on multiple occasions over the years I have known them. I also occasionally ate or drank at the restaurants or pubs whose owners took part in the project. I did this to get a better sense of being a customer at the establishment, or in order to spend a few nights in Soweto, getting a feeling for what it was like to wake up in the townships. The overnight stays with B & B owners who I knew or was to come to know well provided an invaluable opportunity for observation, as did the occasional drinks or meal with tavern or restaurant owners.

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[11] This study conforms to the ethical guidelines specified by Ohio University's institutional review board (IRB). Because all participants, including members of the research team, were over eighteen, a waiver of consent for all participants was obtained prior to the start of the project. Every participant received a document describing the purposes of the study, the potential risks and benefits, and contact information. I have used the first names of the Pimville Four, per their request, and the first names of the research assistants.

Not including the four guides and translators, 58 people have participated in this research since its start in 2009, twenty-two of whom are female and thirty-six male. Of these, thirteen were involved in accommodation (including B & Bs and hotels), twelve in restaurants, seven in tour guiding, seven in commercial sex work, seven in pubs, taverns, and nightclubs, five in communication services, specifically phone shops, two in transportation, one in running an NGO, one an independent artist, one a television producer, one a satellite television installer, and one in construction. The 58 participants represent 49 separate businesses, because in some cases interviews were conducted with more than one employee at the business, either individually or in a group. Categorizing businesses in this manner is somewhat misleading, because every entrepreneur must simultaneously compete against their neighbor by providing a service that is different, but also be similar enough that tourists and tour guides feel comfortable bringing their clients to the establishment. Thus a restaurant may have many of the same characteristics as a pub; nightclubs may provide food, or even rent a room for those customers who would like to stay after having too much to drink. Among restaurants there are cafés, eateries, and take aways; tour guides include both those who go by car and those who guide bicycle tours. Commercial sex workers in this study also vary in their practices: some work mainly in a hotel, while others prefer the street. Still others only operate using the Internet and classified ads. Despite these variations in business practice among individual entrepreneurs, communications technologies play a huge role in attracting and interacting with customers and connecting to other businesses for support.

The participants included entrepreneurs from 12 subdivisions within Soweto, in

addition to areas around Johannesburg, as indicated in table 1, with the majority

located in Orlando East, West, Pimville, and Diepkloof. For commercial sex workers,

although several identified a familial connection to Soweto, business was conducted

outside the area. I specifically focused on areas of Soweto that would allow tourists

and visitors relatively easy access to specific sports venues, such as the Soccer City

stadium or the Orlando stadium. Furthermore, Orlando West's cultural and

historical status, with the presence of the Mandela House, the Hector Pieterson

museum, and Vilikazi Street, suggested to me that many international visitors may

visit this area as part of a trip that might have included Soccer City or other

attractions in Johannesburg. Other participants were chosen based on referrals from

others or from contacts within the research team. Table 1 indicates the pseudonym

of the participant, their main business activity, gender, location, and status as a

formal or informal business. Participants in the table appear in the order in which I

met them during the course of the study.

The research began with the input from members of the research team who

were familiar with hospitality establishments in Soweto. Following these

introductions and explanatory discussions, we asked participants for the names of

others who would be interested in participating. The research team followed up on

most of these referrals, and we allowed ourselves the freedom to approach any

business owner we thought would be interested in the study and who could

contribute, thereby avoiding a hierarchical approach to the sampling process. This

led to our recruiting of individuals who are outside a strict definition of small or

micro-scale entrepreneur, but still part of Soweto's hospitality scene, including a participant from the community television station, Soweto TV, as well as several nightclub owners who mostly provided services to locals, but who were able to provide important information regarding their own use of communications to advertise and find new customers. Together, the two techniques generated so many contacts that it was impossible to interview them all in the eight weeks of this study.

Recruiting commercial sex workers presented some particular challenges; one participant was recruited through my response to a classified advertisement. Many commercial sex workers in South Africa use the classified section of the most prominent newspapers to advertise their services, and I used these advertisements to attempt to recruit participants from this community. Needless to say, this approach was not entirely successful. When I explained the project, people were generally reluctant to meet me; although everyone was very polite, they responded that they were too busy to meet for discussions, or that they were not interested, or, as one noted before cutting our call, "the Confederations Cup was shit, the World Cup will be shit!" However, persistent calling led to one commercial sex worker who was willing to meet for a short interview. This occurred at a mall in a northern Johannesburg suburb. This individual originally invited me to her place of business, which was an upscale home she shared with a number of other sex workers in the suburbs, but when I arrived, suggested that we move our meeting to the mall in order to avoid observation from other members of the household. Other commercial sex workers were recruited thought contacts at Soul City and the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), who referred me to individuals who were connected to the

community and who arranged interviews with others. As noted by Wojcicki (2002), sex work in places like Soweto is referred to as "ukuphanda" and women are less likely to identify as sex workers in order to avoid stigma within the community. Thus the commercial sex workers in this study, all of whom self-identified as such, did not conduct business in Soweto.

Table 1: Participants' pseudonyms, business, gender, location, and status

Contact	Business	Gender	Location	Business Status
Sobukwe	Restaurant	M	Orlando West	Formal
Londi	Restaurant	M	Orlando West	Formal
Kwanele	Restaurant	M	Orlando West	Formal
William	Restaurant	M	Dube	Formal
John	Restaurant	M	Orlando East	Formal
Jabu	Accommodation	M	Orlando East	Formal
Simosihle	Accommodation	F	Orlando East	Formal
Sandile	Restaurant/Nightclub	M	Meadowlands	Formal
Phila	Restaurant/Nightclub	M	Meadowlands	Formal
Hlengiwe	Construction	F	El Dorado Park	Formal
Nabeela	Transport	F	El Dorado Park	NGO
Vuyiswa	Transport	F	El Dorado Park	NGO
Thulani	Accommodation	M	Kliptown	Formal
Richard	Pub/Tavern/Nightclub	M	Pimville	Formal
Jonah	Tour Operator	M	Protea South	Formal
Sela	Tour Operator	F	Protea South	Formal
Titus	Tour Operator	M	Protea South	Formal

Adam	Accommodation	M	Pimville	Formal
Gary	Pub/Tavern/Nightclub	M	Meadowlands	Formal
Sifiso	Restaurant	M	Diepkloof	Formal
Lindiwe	Restaurant	F	Diepkloof	Formal
Franklin	DSTV Installer	M	Protea	Formal
Isabelle	Accommodation	F	Pimville	Formal
Grace	Pub/Tavern/Nightclub	F	Westcliff	Formal
Nandi	Accommodation	F	Pimville	Formal
Lindani	Tour Operator	M	Orlando West	Formal
Oswald	Tour Operator	M	Orlando West	Formal
Gavin	Restaurant	M	Orlando West	Formal
Duduzile	Accommodation	F	Pimville	Formal
Fikile	Accommodation	F	Pimville	Formal
Ntombazi	Accommodation	F	Orlando West	Formal
Stanley	Tele Services	M	Orlando East	Formal
Happiness	Tele Services	M	Orlando East	Formal
Shep	Tele Services	M	Orlando East	Informal
Gerald	Tele Services	M	Orlando East	Informal
Thoko	Tele Services	F	Orlando East	Formal
Ronald	Tour Operator	M	Kliptown	Formal
Geraldine	Accommodation	F	Orlando East	Formal
Precious	Accommodation	F	Diepkloof	Formal
Davis	Pub/Tavern/Nightclub	M	Pimville	Formal
Paris	Commercial Sex Work	F	Joburg North	Informal
Emma	Restaurant	F	Orlando West	Formal
Reggie	Pub/Tavern/Nightclub	M	Tladi	Formal

Jack	Television	M	Orlando West	Community
Kevin	Pub/Tavern/Nightclub	M	Diepkloof	Formal
Don	Pub/Tavern/Nightclub	M	Diepkloof	Formal
Sampson	Artist	M	Diepkloof	Informal
Msizi	Commercial Sex Work	M	Joburg Center	Informal
Penelope	NGO	M	Rosettenville	NGO
Jeremy	Tour Operator	M	Joburg South	Formal
Nhlaka	Accommodation	M	Orlando East	Formal
Justin	Tour Operator	M	Joburg	Formal
Sibusisiwe	Commercial Sex Work	F	Joburg Center	Informal
Zanele	Commercial Sex Work	F	Joburg Center	Informal
Busi	Commercial Sex Work	F	Joburg Center	Informal
Zake	Commercial Sex Work	M	Joburg Center	Informal
Jacob	Commercial Sex Work	M	Joburg Center	Informal
Phumzile	Accomodation	F	Pimville	Formal

Participants in this study are generally residents of Soweto, the majority having grown up in the area. It is difficult to overstate the magnitude of and importance of Soweto in South African history and culture. Besides these cultural factors, participants also generally perceive that the area has developed a commercial appeal it did not always have. One participant stated, "you know, Soweto is becoming a very big international brand;" another said, "it's gotten very commercial…like the sign says, if you think making money is a sin, welcome to hell." Unfortunately, the suburb retains a reputation as a high-crime area, despite recent statistics suggesting that crime in Soweto has decreasing compared to the rest of

Johannesburg (South African Police Service, 2006). Entrepreneurs in the hospitality industry understand the importance of making visitors feel comfortable and safe, and this seems to be reflected in the attitudes of many people there. In my own experience, Soweto is one of the most welcoming places I have visited in Africa.

One of the biggest challenges in beginning this book has been to think about how to deal with the 100+ interviews, the field notes, the secondary data, and my general impressions of the situation I have collected over the years since I began this project. I use several tools and techniques for this, and I will share them briefly here.

First, together with a research assistant in the U.S., I have transcribed all of the interviews completed since the project began in 2009. Although all the interviews were conducted in English, there was the occasional sentence or phrase in Afrikaans or isiZulu which I translated to the best of my ability. This process resulted in more than 1500 pages of text, which was then subject to textual analysis, specifically, coding, using *Atlas.ti* qualitative management software. The process of coding contributes to what Glaser and Strauss (1967) refer to as "grounded theory" which is intended to allow the researcher to create theories explaining ethnographic and sociological phenomena from data collected. It is an inductive process, moving from the very specific experiences of individuals described in interviews and observations, and moves toward broader theories or themes created from grouping or categorizing data. Social scientists and qualitative researchers used to do this by hand, marking transcriptions and documents with Post-It notes or in the margins. I

prefer to use computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS); specifically, a tool called *Atlas.ti.* I use the tool to do open coding, an iterative process in which I read through transcriptions, identify ideas and concepts, and link these together across documents. I coded transcriptions by selecting important quotations and assigning a short, two or three word code to the quote, which is intended to represent the meaning of the quote. The created codes represent a container in which quotes from many participants can fit. In practice, this means coding several interviews, examining the codes I had created, refining the codes as necessary, and then returning to the previously coded interviews to check the fit of the refined codes with the selected quotations. Gradually patterns emerge from this process and I can draw some tentative conclusions about the ideas present in the transcriptions.

In *Atlas.ti* software, quotations from individuals are assigned to codes, which can then be organized into "families" which represent themes, constructs, or concepts (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). These families can eventually be placed into larger containers, or categories, which can then be grouped into important themes expressed by participants. The initial step in this process, moving from quotations to codes, is the most difficult, as it requires the researcher to assign the abstraction of a code to a participant's quote. In the process, the researcher removes himself from the direct experiences and perceptions expressed by the participants, and as codes are collected and grouped, the connection to these quotations becomes more and more distant. One of the benefits to the use of software to accomplish this is that the connection to quotations is always maintained. Selecting a specific code allows the

researcher to display each of the quotations connected to it, thus reinforcing the connection to the participants' words. Upon completion of the coding process, there were nearly 3000 quotations from participants, and nearly 500 codes. Having completed the process, I acknowledge that there may be some opportunities to further refine and eliminate redundant codes; however, I believe the codes I have created adequately represent the data. It is generally preferable to create a greater number of finely nuanced codes rather than a smaller number of codes into which quotations with widely varying meanings are assigned, especially since the use of software allows the researcher to easily group codes while continually referring to the assigned quotations. Once codes are created and grouped, themes start to emerge from the data.

I'm going to end this chapter with five broad themes that I believe characterize the experiences of small and micro-scale entrepreneurs in Soweto as they relate to ICTs, their experiences starting businesses, and the issue of identity in South Africa.

First, and perhaps most obvious, is the fact that entrepreneurs rely on both mobile and fixed communication in their businesses. Mobile communications in the form of cellular telephones are a critical component of business strategies for participants, and differences in their ability to use the devices affects participants' perceptions of the potential of the 2010 FWC. Discussion related to this theme explains some of the ways in which participants use different forms of communication and strategies to maintain and develop relationships with clients, other business owners, and family and friends.

Second, mobile and fixed communication are key components of building and maintaining social capital. Social capital essentially refers to trust, or reciprocity, among members of a social network, and there are several ways in which participants use mobile and fixed communication to build beneficial relationships with other entrepreneurs. Ownership of a mobile device is the "cost of entry" to running a micro-business in Soweto, and because everyone knows how to use the devices for voice calls, participants' stores of social capital are not differentiated by the use of the cell phone. In the next chapter, I propose two ways to consider social networks in places like Soweto: in one, I describe how Rogers' (2003) work on Diffusion of Innovations might apply; in the other, I describe the ways in which Deleuze and Gauttari's (1987) concept of rhizomatics may also be accurate. Each approach to analysis and consideration of the issues has merit in its own way.

Third, the characteristics of mobile communication require updated conceptions. Using Bourdieu's (1986) descriptions of social, cultural, and economic capital as a starting point, I outline four components of technological capital, a phrase that represents an individuals' ability to use and benefit from communications technology. Technological capital connects social capital and economic capital and consists of an individual's awareness of the technology's potential, knowledge of how to use the technology, access to the technology, and qualities of the individuals to which the technology connects them.

Fourth, a post-modern South African identity is created and complicated by mobile communications. The ready availability and common knowledge of mobile

communications among participants serves to bridge previously separated cultural spaces. At the same time, for some participants, mobile communication facilitates the maintenance of multiple identities. Participants negotiate divisions between work and their personal lives, ethnicity and "race," and gender, sometimes this negotiation is facilitated by mobile communications, and other times it is the catalyst that causes a reexamination of identity.

Fifth, effective use of mobile communications is related to participants' perceptions of their entrepreneurial opportunities. Discussions with participants regarding previous mega-events which South Africa has been host to, together with their perceptions of the 2010 FWC, suggest many factors which influence their perception of the benefits of these events. One factor is an individual's store of technological capital, suggesting a relationship between participants' ability to use mobile communications and their perceptions which types of opportunities they might seize in order to develop business opportunities.

As I go forward in this book, I will use many direct quotations from participants to illustrate the themes presented here. I generally add quotes as they occurred in conversation, although when appropriate, I have added words to clarify or removed my own question, if it is not necessary to the meaning of the quote. In descriptions of Soweto and entrepreneurs, I have tried to avoid naming individual establishments. Despite my efforts to take care of this, it may be unavoidable that a reader familiar with Soweto will recognize the characteristics of some of the businesses described here.

During the process of data collection and analysis, I have tried to remain cognizant of the contribution of critical methodology to ethnographic and sociological research (for example, see Madison, 2005; Charmaz, 2006; Smith, 1999), in which the importance of research does not necessarily pertain to the ability of a researcher to write about the participants, but rather in the ability of participants to speak for themselves, both in the design of the research and in the presentation of the results. As much as possible, I have tried to preserve the voices of individual entrepreneurs in the stories and conclusions I draw in this book.

To me, entrepreneurship as it exists among participants in this study (and everywhere, to some extent) is fundamentally about overcoming adversity and creating something that extends beyond the individual entrepreneur to family, community, and, hopefully, country. These are lofty concepts that are often betrayed by the day-to-day reality of running a business. Furthermore, the small-scale entrepreneurs whose voices appear here are not islands operating independently of national level structural constraints and policy. They compete against larger, better funded, and more influential organizations, many of which operate internationally, and bring with them the corresponding power that international reach and scope provide. Despite these challenges, they persevere, many becoming very successful both in terms of their finances, and in their impact on their communities.

Chapter 3: Communication Theory at Work in Soweto

I started thinking about this research in 2007, when I began to understand the implications of South Africa's hosting on the 2010 FWC for entrepreneurs and the country in general. I had returned from South Africa in 2007 after living in Durban and Johannesburg for the previous two years. At the time I left, construction had begun on the Gautrain, the stadiums for the World Cup, and other infrastructure and social projects related to the event were well underway. South Africans were busy discussing what would happen during the Cup, and an article from *The Star* of October 17, 2007, piqued my interest. In the article, the reporter presented three individuals – Sello Rapulane, Raymond Mphiko, and Thembile Tshabalala – who all had plans to capitalize on the World Cup. Rapulane planned to "open a neighborhood bar in Soweto with giant plasma screens" (Seale, 2007, para. 5); Mphiko saw himself "ferrying tourists from OR Tambo International Airport to destinations such as hotels, stadiums, fan parks, and tourist attractions" (Seale, 2007, para. 10); and Tshabalala was "already renovating her house to rent out during the 2010 spectacle" (Seale, 2007, para. 18). All of these ideas caught my attention, but Seale (2007) also noted that Rapulane added that "while a successful cup will tremendously boost SA's economy, the true success will be judged on how it benefits ordinary people" (Seale, 2007, para. 4). This was essentially my question: how would the 2010 FWC benefit people on the street? Nothing is as simple as it seems, and this question led me to start collecting information on issues ranging from economic analyses of stadium construction (Noll & Zimbalist, 1997) to post-colonial analyses of global systems (Appadurai, 1996) to the political economy of

sports mega-events (Alegi, 2007). In addition, I began to think about the importance of entrepreneurship in South Africa more generally, and as a scholar in the field of mass communications, about the role of ICTs and telecommunications in entrepreneurship in places like South Africa and Soweto in particular. In this chapter, I'll share some of the most significant academic sources that informed my thinking about the issues under discussion in this book. There's a lot here, because the issues are complex. Some of it is theory, and describes what I expected to see; some of it is data, collected by other scholars about the situation in South Africa. In one way or another, theory informed my thinking about what I saw in Soweto and it helps frame the issues in research done by other scholars and thinkers.

When scholars, particularly those in the social sciences, begin a research project, we tend to think of our research in terms of either testing a theory or developing a theory. We might think about this as either an inductive, from specific to general, or deductive, from the general to specific, process. In this project, and as is customary in much ethnographic research that works on the principles of grounded theory I discussed in the last chapter, I began from the specific experiences of entrepreneurs in Soweto and built a theoretical description of the phenomena they described. I worked from their experiences forward because I wanted to let the people who took part in this research drive the outcomes and the conclusions. Personally, I wanted to be able to remain open to the experiences participants and the many ways in which these experiences could be written about here. Starting with them allowed me to do this.

When I began putting together the set of academic sources that would frame the research, what stood out to me most prominently was the fact that although there had been a lot written about the social and political implications of the 2010 FWC and the post-*apartheid* experience in South Africa in general, I found little research conducted at the level of the grassroots, sports fans and entrepreneurs; people who represent "the masses of [South African] society [who] would fill up every stadium" (Kohler, 2004, May 10, para. 7). Given the rhetorical importance of individual entrepreneurs and "people on the street" in the country's bid for Cup, and in South Africa's development plan more generally, I found it somewhat surprising that no one had written qualitatively about their experiences. This research contributes to filling the gap in this area and will, I hope, further a conversation about what it takes to start and maintain a small business in the South African context, and elsewhere. Thinking about academic sources and communication theory was a starting point for this process.

In Soweto, informal business activities are visible on nearly every street. Informal entrepreneurs operate phone shops, sell vegetables or vetkoeks[12], fix cars, or collect scrap. In chapter 1 I discussed the definitions of formal and informal businesses, and the challenges that informal entrepreneurs face in getting access to capital and operating their businesses. Although most participants in this study operated their businesses formally in the sense that they had registered with the

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[12] Afrikaans for "fat cake." A deep-fried doughy bread eaten with a filling or plain.

government and operated in a fixed location, their status as micro-scale enterprise (StatsSA, 2013) (Statistics South Africa, 2012) with perhaps one or at most two employees and limited access to banking services suggests that they share many of the same features as informal businesses. They also have the ability to supplement their income from their formal business with informal earnings, through, for example, the sale of pre-paid phone cards, Internet access, or other services. These small and micro-scale business play an important role in addressing the economic problems, particularly unemployment, present in the country. South Africa has an overall unemployment rate of about 25% (Stats SA, 2013), and to address this issue, the government of South Africa has long recognized the importance of small and medium enterprises in its economic plan (see Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003; Bhaktawar & Burger, 2011). In January 2013, the renewed its commitment to supporting SMMEs, noting that the Department of Trade and Industry would facilitate the "provision of business-development support to increase the current number of SMMEs...and to increase the contributions of SMMEs and cooperatives to GDP from the current estimated 40% to 45% by 2014" (South African Government Communication and Information System, 2013). For the small business owners in this study, the facilitation of the "provision of business-development support" is a long way from assisting with credit or providing actual services, but is it does indicate that the government recognizes the role of SMMEs in creating jobs and household security. In addition to, at least rhetorically, committing to the support of SMMEs at home, the South African government has also tried to

gain a foothold in the global economic system, through membership in two key economic and trading organizations.

South Africa became a member of the G20 in 2007 (G20, n.d.), an organization promoting global cooperation on international trade issues. In addition, as of 2010, South Africa became the "S" in the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), a group of developing countries working together to promote their mutual economic interests (BRICS, n.d.). Membership in these organizations is intended to promote large-scale trade among member states[13], among other things. But the South African government has been criticized since the end of Nelson Mandela's first term in office for betraying the country's socialist history, privatization of basic services like electricity and water, and for promoting a capitalist agenda at the expense of the poorest members of society (see, for examples, Bond, 2006; Saul, 2001; Desai, 2002). Despite these criticisms and the associated social problems, the country has been relatively succesful, both economically and in terms of human development. The country ranks 121st on the UNDP's Human Development Index (UNDP, 2013), higher than most of its immediate neighbors, with the exception of Botswana (119th). Despite this relative economic success, South Africa is confronted by a number of internal challenges, including one of the highest HIV/AIDS infection rates in the world, a serious problem with the perception, both internally and externally, of crime, and unequal

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[13] I am simplifying the role of the G20 and the BRICS organization in global economic systems. A detailed discussion of the implications of membership in these organizations is beyond the scope of this book. I would encourage interested readers to review the sources mentioned.

division of resources among racial groups, formerly segregated under apartheid. I

mentioned the country's GINI coefficient in chapter 1; some of the most pernicious

problems for the South African government have been the creation of a sustainable

Black middle class, cutting unemployment, and reducing poverty among the

majority Black members of society. As Ceruti (2013) has noted, however, at least

33% of Sowetans remain either unemployed or partially working. The 2010 FWC

was hoped to ameliorate some of these problems, in conjunction with support for

SMMEs and other job creation schemes, such as the Expanded Public Works

Programme (Bhaktawar & Burger, 2011).

South Africa began lobbying to host the Fédération Internationale de Football

Association (FIFA) soccer World Cup from 1998 onwards, initially failing in its bid to

host the 2006 FIFA Finals, which were instead awarded to Germany (Cornelissen &

Swart, 2006). According to Cornelissen and Swart (2006), South Africa's activism in

the mega-events arena has been marked by "a strong developmental thrust to the

country's bidding campaign and a characteristic attempt…to infuse political

discourse and common understanding of mega-events with a developmental

philosophy" (p. 113). In fact, government estimates suggested that 77,400

permanent jobs would be created, together with increases in tax income of

approximately US$550 million (Cornelissen, 2004, p. 1297). However, studies I

reviewed prior to the event noted that the benefits of sports mega-events for local

non-construction businesses are often disappointing, as locals stay away from

downtown business districts while athletes and visitors purchase at the game sites (Chalip & Leyns, 2002, p. 134).

Development was a key issue in the choice of South Africa as the World Cup tournament host. Previous football World Cups have been connected to charitable campaigns; the 2006 Cup was connected to a campaign called "six villages for 2006" (FIFA.com, 2006, September 27). This project linked donations from fans, organizations, and FIFA itself to fund six children's villages in Africa. Likewise, the 2010 tournament was connected to a charity project to assist with African development, called "20 Centres for 2010" (FIFA.com, 2007, November 25). FIFA President Jospeh Blatter noted that "this campaign emphasizes the power of football far beyond the boundaries of the pitch. With the help of football fans, celebrities and sponsors, we want to achieve the building of 20 Football for Hope Centres and make a leave [*sic*] a lasting legacy for the benefit of African youth after 11 July 2010", (FIFA.com, 2007, November 25). The goal of the project is to raise 10 million USD to fund the construction of 20 Football for Hope Centres across Africa, five of which are to be located in South Africa. In fact, the issue of the impact of the World Cup was often mentioned in news articles. Blatter mentioned that "the World Cup is intended to…generate social change" (SAPA, 2008, March 12), and that "soccer is an antidote to Africa's long fight against disease, famine and poverty and centuries of slavery and racial discrimination" (Millward, 2007, November 24, para. 5). These were lofty aspirations for the event, and clearly the 2010 FWC did not solve Africa's problems, and indeed, added to the country's debt burden in multiple ways. Cape Town residents, for example, are now footing the bill for maintaining the Green Point

stadium after the original leaseholder, Sail Stadefrance, walked away from the lease

(SAPA, 2010). The government is also planning to implement tolling around the

major metropolitan areas to repay a 10-year loan provided by the Austrian firm

(XX) to repair and upgrade the country's roads prior to the event (CITE). Hindsight

is always 20/20, however, and prior the event, economic expectations were high.

Hospitality was an important component of the broader economic expectations

for the 2010 FWC. A plea from Danny Jordaan, South Africa's 2010 FWC organizer,

for 200,000 more beds (Booysen, 2009), along with FIFA's claim in 2009 that it

needed more beds (Wessels, 2010, June 8) caused many homeowners, including one

participant in this study, to invest in upgrading their properties. However, Darkey

and Horn (2009) reported that at the end of 2008, only 14 B & Bs had joined with

FIFA's official accommodation partner, MATCH, to provide accommodation.

However, once the event began, disappointing reports began to emerge, suggesting

that FIFA and the local organizing committee had overestimated the number of

visitors, either intentionally or otherwise (Wessels, 2010). Regardless of the ways in

which the FWC 2010 played out, I was interested in the ways in which individual

entrepreneurs made economic decisions related to their business. I used several

theoretical frames to consider this, including economic sociology (Granovetter,

1995), social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), and social network theory (Valente, 1996;

Rogers & Kincaid, 1981). I also considered the ways in which new ideas

(innovations) such as use of email and the Internet to get clients, were adopted

among members of the community. The remainder of this chapter will explain how I

incorporated these theories into the research.

Economic Sociology

Understanding the choices of individuals within the micro-enterprise sector or the informal economy does not lend itself easily to an orthodox economic analysis. Before the 2010 FWC began, the media played a role in encouraging entrepreneurs to invest in upgrades to their businesses; at other times, the motivation for investing in or starting a new business is less clear. Relationships, access to information, and other external influences all play a role in the decision making of an entrepreneur, both in the formal and informal economies. Portes (1994) explains this by noting that "although the informal economy is a universal phenomenon, its form is not universal…variations in the timing, size, and modus operandi [of the informal economy] are all traceable to its *social* underpinnings" (p. 444, emphasis mine). Zelizer (1988) notes the problems with pure macro- or micro-economic models and proposes a market model which is the "interaction of cultural, structural, and economic factors" (p. 618). Given the heterogeneity of the South African economy, understanding the decisions made by entrepreneurs in the hospitality sector requires the researcher to consider applicable historical, social, cultural, and political factors. To address this issue, I originally turned to economic sociology to provide another framework for examining economic choices. Economic sociology suggests that people's economic decisions are not made on an entirely individual basis, but are rather the result of an individual's consideration of the relationships and networks in which they are situated. In one of the most important works on economic sociology, Granovetter (1985) argues that individuals' attempts at "purposive action are…embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations"

(p. 487). Therefore, when considering economic choices of individuals, it is as important to avoid the "*under*socialized conception of human action" (Grannovetter, 1985, p. 483) in which economic decisions are considered made separately from social relations, as it is to avoid the "oversocialized" conception (p. 485), in which relationships predetermine the choices of individuals. Granovetter (1985) argues that if we are to examine economic activity from a social point of view, then the realization that human behavior is "closely embedded in networks of interpersonal relations…avoids the extremes of under- and oversocialized views of human action" (p. 504). Interpersonal relationships among entrepreneurs in this study play an important role in day-to-day business decisions, as well as more important choices, such as entering into partnerships, making hiring decisions, or deciding to invest in a new venture.

Although it is a useful way to think about economic decisions among social networks, a criticism of economic sociology is the existence of divergent threads of network study, which, unlike the simplicity of orthodox economic analysis, can lead to findings that have little consistency or reliability. Network analysis can be quantitative, as proposed by Powell and Smith-Doerr (1994), who suggest that researchers should endeavor to build quantitative knowledge of network characteristics such as "the size, shape, and profile of network linkages" (p. 392). In addition, network analysis can measure the quality of relationships within the network, as suggested by Fligstein (1996), who notes that "networks are at the core of markets to the degree that they reflect social relations between actors…the major limitation of the network approaches is that networks are sparse social structures,

and it is difficult to see how they can account for what we observe in markets" (p. 658). Thinking about how relationships among entrepreneurs is therefore a complicated question; in this research I addressed this complexity in a rather simple way: I asked participants to talk about partnerships in which they were involved, if any; I asked entrepreneurs about how whether they received referrals from others in Soweto; and when these partnerships or relationships were present, I asked qualitative questions about how the relationship functioned. As this book is mainly concerned with qualitative understanding of the ways in which Sowetan entrepreneurs do business, a detailed analysis of market forces present in the relationships created between individuals with communications technology is not within its scope. However, in chapter 4 I discuss the ways the social relationships within the members of an economic network influence decision-making, thereby partially addressing the problem of sparsity noted by Fligstein (1996). This approach also fit within later conceptions of economic sociology.

Granovetter (2002) later revised his 1985 position, arguing that merely considering networks of relationships between individuals within the economy lacks full power to explain economic agency and decisions. He admits that "a focus on the mechanics of networks alone is not sufficiently distinctive theoretically from instrumentalist theories to lead us toward the more complex synthesis that we seek for understanding the economy" (p. 54). For me, this meant developing a qualitative understanding of relationships between entrepreneurs, rather than focusing on numerical network analysis. Granovetter (2002) goes on to argue that "large-scale" (p. 53) sociology should step into this theoretical and conceptual gap, using the

field's emphasis on "the intersection of social networks and institutional arrangements and on the intricate interplay of structure and agency through coupling and decoupling" (p. 54) to provide the complex theoretical positions necessary to explain economic outcomes. To me, this means thinking about individual decisions as part of a system of relationships, and just as other decisions, such as whether to adopt a particular behavior or to become part of a social movement, are influenced by a number of factors external to the individual, economic decisions are not simply a question of maximizing utility. Bronfenbrenner's (1977) socio-ecological model is another way to consider the ways in which individuals operate within social systems or ecologies, and takes into account the influence of families, peer groups, religious institutions, policy environments, and social structures. All of these factors affect the participants in this research, and whether or not they decide to, for example, begin using the Internet to seek international clients, or adopt specific strategies for the use of mobile technologies in the business endeavors. Both of these theoretical approaches provide strong explanatory power for the ways in which entrepreneurs in Soweto make decisions, but they leave out a key factor: place.

Whether we adopt either Granovetter's ideas about economic sociology (1985, 2002), or Bronfenbrenner's (1977) socio-ecological model as a framework for thinking about entrepreneurs' decisions, the issue of place, or space, is almost tangential to the issues of social structures and policy environments. Peck (2005) addresses this issue by noting that "explorations of instituted, unevenly developed, and hybrid economic phenomena...the 'thick geographies' of spatially constituted

economic formations…have both an analytical and political role to play" (p. 166) in explaining economic decision-making. Peck criticizes economic sociology's "strategy of intellectual coexistence with orthodox economics…[which]…tends to produce decontextualized and depoliticized readings of the economic" (2005, p. 133), which suggests that it is unproductive for individuals interested in critical or post-structural study of the choices of individual economic actors to try to insert the square peg of the "variegated economic landscape" into the round hole of the "flat-earth theory of a unified market economy" (Peck, 2005, p. 167). In other words, consideration of economic decisions must take into account the meaning of place, or the spatial formation of economic decision-making. Practically, the specific characteristics of Soweto, its political, historical, and geographical significance, influence the economic decisions of those who decide to start a business there. Beyond the influence of relationships and geography on economics, gender is also an important factor in the ways in which entrepreneurs in Soweto function.

Elderly Woman Behind a Counter in a Large Township

In addition to the considerations of social networks and spatial issues discussed previously, gender often dictates which type of business an entrepreneur will choose to operate. This can be reflected in statistics; for example, in South Africa, the unemployment rate for women is significantly higher than that of men, at 27.5% compared to 23.4% (Statistics South Africa, 2013), and women in the informal sector in South Africa are primarily involved in wholesale and retail trade, and in work in private households, which may be formal or informal (Statistics South Africa, 2009b). However, this type of data only scratches the surface of

understanding the role of gender in the decisions made by individuals, since gender itself is simply presented as another variable in a long list of other variables. A number of factors suggest that women occupy a larger portion of the informal sector than do men, which is reinforced in literature examining the informal economy in developing areas (see Castells, 1983, for example). In addition to the current situation, in which women often find themselves operating typically "female" enterprises such as bed and breakfast and catering establishments, the system of migrant labor among Black South Africans suggests that women bore the brunt of household maintenance while their husbands were away in the mines or elsewhere. Lund (2006) reports that apartheid-era policies of "residential segregation and the migrant labour system did lasting damage to South African family life" (p. 166). A 2002 study in one district in KwaZulu-Natal found that between 76% and 80% of fathers are absent from their households, leaving the mother to raise the children, or in the worst case, leaving the children orphaned (Lund, 2006). The requirement to care for children often means the women are unable to engage in wage work, but instead remain at home to work, and they may do this through typically "female" activities such as cooking (catering), hosting guests, or through commercial sex work or transactional sex.

In addition to historic and legacy issues that affect women's economic decision making, South African institutions themselves play a role in controlling women's choices. One study which has analyzed the institutions which affect gender equality in South African land reform has been undertaken by Rangan and Gilmartin (2002). The authors report on the role the country's Constitution and traditional power

structures have played in providing for land rights and state that there are three ways in which the new South African Constitution creates "contradictory positions for pursuing gender equity in land reform" (Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002, p. 638). They note that the Constitution first, "continues to protect the status of 'traditional' authorities"; second, "enshrines a democratic Bill of Rights based on governance through elected representatives"; and third, "accords equal rights to women and men…[but]…simultaneously endorses the exercise of traditional customary law in former *bantustan*[14] areas" (Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002, p. 639). The result of these contradictions for women living in formal "tribal" areas is an inability to have grievances heard, primarily about the issue of land reform and rights. In terms of women's engagement in economic activities, "access to land remains the critical factor that provides households with a modicum of security and some degree of flexibility for seeking permanent or seasonal employment" (Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002, p. 647). Women in urban areas such as Soweto are not necessarily subject to the imposition of traditional law because they are not living in a former *bantustan* area, but are nonetheless subject to the contradictions between the Bill of Rights in the South African constitution and the will of traditional authorities, whose influence does not stop at the boundaries of the city.

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[14] The word Bantustan refers to geographical areas of South Africa under the apartheid regime that were designated or reserved for Blacks only, separated by ethnicity or language group. They were nominally independent and ruled by traditional leaders, who were generally subservient to the apartheid government. In 1959, the original eight Bantustans were established, consisting of approximately 14% of South Africa's land, and containing approximately 3.5 million people. This was later expanded to ten.

Understanding the ways gender functions in the decision-making process of individual economic actors embedded in relationships with others requires a much deeper consideration of the social norms and barriers which participate in gendering work and the workplace. Milkman and Townsley (1994) suggest that economic sociology reconsider the role of gender in economic decision making, noting that "the ways in which those institutions and processes constantly reproduce gender relations, and are reproduced by them, must be analyzed and theorized as well" (p. 615). In this book, then, I have endeavored to report on some of the specific challenges female entrepreneurs face in building their businesses, making connections to other entrepreneurs, and in negotiating an entrepreneurial identity. Economic sociology and its counterpart economic geography as I have described it in this section are key aspects of the ways in which I framed this study. I also built in Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of social and cultural capital in considering the use of ICTs by entrepreneurs in Soweto.

Simply put, social capital is "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Bourdieu's (1986) suggests that capital, be it economic, social or cultural, is a way to explain the nonrandom, accumulative effects of the social world's "accumulated history" (p. XX). Bourdieu (1986) notes that capital exists in three forms: economic, cultural, and social; these three forms of capital encapsulate the range of human transactions, or as Bourdieu suggests, removes the problematic dichotomy between economically "interested" and "disinterested" transactions (p.

XX). Trustworthiness, or the connection between individuals that allows them to either share resources or ask for favors, are an essential component of many of the transactions that occur among entrepreneurs in Soweto.

Bourdieu describes social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (1986, p. XX). These resources represent the connections that individual entrepreneurs have with each other, sometimes facilitated by familial connections, but more often created by membership in an organization. Bourdieu goes on to note that "the volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he [sic] can mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he [sic] is connected" (1986, p. XX). In other words, Bourdieu proposes that the more connections an individual has, the more social capital they possess, although this also depends on the capital possessed by those in a network. I argue that these two aspects of Bourdieu's definition make social capital something measurable in both scope and volume.

Bourdieu also notes that the "network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (1986, p. XX). In Soweto, these investments may occur more easily than in other places; the sense of community increases the likelihood that

participants will become connected to others. However, these investments in social capital are also influenced by relationships within families, sometimes positive, sometimes negative; people who start a business and are successful may experience envy or rejection from others in their social networks who have not been as successful. In addition, gender plays a role in social capital; a female entrepreneur may have a more difficult time developing reciprocal relationships among men.

For women involved in informal economic activities, connections to members of peer networks can have potentially significant impact on entrepreneurial success. However, Norris and Inglehart (2006) note that in the United States and elsewhere, women's involvement in organizations, which is a measure of social capital, tends to be limited to those that reflect "traditional female roles" (p. 74), while men's tends to be more closely connected with economic opportunity and efficiency. Considering gender in the analysis of informal economic activity, relationships among entrepreneurs, and the use of technology can allow the researcher to understand more about "the importance of context – the very places in which networks and norms of trust are developed" (Gidengil & O'Neill, 2006, p. 4) as well as a host of other factors which influence the ability of women to participate in social networks that might improve their ability to participate in economic activities. What's more, the ability of individuals to access and utilize technology such as the Internet or cellular phones can also affect their connection to others, either increasing or diminishing their stock of social capital. How innovations such as mobile communication or other ICTs are adopted among a network of entrepreneurs is a

question that has been studied extensively, particularly around the theory of diffusion of innovations (see Rogers, 2003). The social networks in which the participants in this study are a part are large and complicated, and sometimes defy attempts to conduct social network analysis or to identify people who introduce new ideas into the community. Therefore, in this book I have considered two somewhat different approaches to considering this issue.

Networking, Innovations, and Micro-Enterprise in South Africa

Diffusion of Innovations

Literature from communication and development studies has long focused on the role of networks in spreading new ideas, or "innovations" among communities and individuals. This process has been studied in fields as diverse as health and farming under the paradigm of the "diffusion of innovation" a phrase coined by Rogers (1962). Diffusion is "the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time and among the members of a social system" (Rogers, 2003, p. 5). Roger's (2003) extensive bibliography reflects this focus, and contains literally hundreds of studies that have investigated the role of networks in a variety of settings. One of the key factors in these studies is identifying the types of relationships among people within communication networks; individuals in *heterophilous* networks tend to have greater exposure to new ideas that those individuals in networks that are *homophilous* (Rogers, 2003). This is a key aspect of the theory that reflects ideas put forward by Putnam (2000) about "bridging" and "bonding" social capital, and Rogers (2003) notes that "evidence

suggests…interpersonal diffusion networks are mostly homophilous" (p. XX). In Soweto, as elsewhere, it is often challenging for micro-scale entrepreneurs to travel, to meet individuals outside of their subdivision, and to get information on new ideas related to their business, which supports this generalization. While there are many studies that have used diffusion of innovations as a framework, I will focus on two here: one that focuses on communication networks, and another focusing on how characteristics of network members can function to categorize adoption of innovations. Subsequently, I will contrast diffusion theory with an alternative approach.

Rogers and Kincaid (1981) define communication network analysis as "a method of research for identifying the communication structure in a system, in which relational data about communication flows are analyzed by using some type of interpersonal relationships as the units of analysis" (p. 82). At the time (1981) interpersonal communication networks were not viewed as they are today – essential, abstract concepts that have a lot of explanatory power for the ways in which people in numerically large, often geographically distributed groups communicate. Mathematical social network analysis was part of social science, but from a quantitative that often hid the actual communication among members of the network. The idea of "networking" as an interpersonal communication tool did not gain a foothold in social science research until the latter part of the 20th century; in fact, as late as 2004, Castells wrote that "networks appear to be the organizing form of life, including social life. If this is the case, why is it only in recent years that networks have come to the forefront of social practice?" (p. 221). Rogers and

Kincaid's (1981) work pioneered the idea of looking at relationships, rather than individual behaviors, in interpersonal communication systems, and their intention was to discuss methods for conducting communication network analysis without heavy mathematical lifting. For this research, I focus on the interpersonal relationships present within groups that allow individual entrepreneurs to take risks, share ideas, and gain support in the day-to-day operation of their business.

Valente (1996) notes that the process of studying networks has evolved from counting the "number of times an individual was nominated as a network partner" (p. 70) to Liu and Duff's (1972) conception of "weak ties" (p. 362) to *threshold models* of collective behavior" (Valente, 1996, p. 70). Valente argues that "low network threshold individuals are those who adopt [an innovation] before many others in their network adapt, whereas high network threshold individuals are those who adopt after most of their network have adopted" (p. 73). The threshold model is a useful way of measuring innovativeness, or, "early adoption of innovations" (Valente, 1996, p. 73) among individuals with respect to personal or social networks. The study provides insights into the possible methods for quantitative analysis of adoption of innovation among members of a network and is linked to Grannovetter's (1973) use of the "weak ties" conception of the relationships between individuals in a network.

The idea of a "weak tie" in a network refers to a relationship that exists between individuals (or nodes) in a network that are not directly connected with a strong tie. Granovetter (1973) suggests that relationships between individuals in in a network can be quantified by the strength of their relationship – based on the amount of time the individuals have interacted, the emotional intensity of their interaction, their intimacy, and reciprocal services they may have provided each other. According to Granovetter (1973), in a triad in which person A is strongly tied to person B, and person A is strongly tied to person C, there must exist a tie (either weak or strong) between persons B and C. If persons B and C do not know each other well, this "weak tie" functions as a bridge between their social networks, and in the spread of innovations, these weak ties are a critical component of the diffusion process. This is supported by research in diffusion that has been conducted since then; weak ties are related to Rogers' (2003) concepts of heterophily and Putnam's (2000) idea of bridging social capital. But by definition, making contact with acquaintances (weak ties) requires greater effort than getting together with friends (strong ties). Professional organizations, therefore, are critical for entrepreneurs in Soweto, as they allow individuals who are members of small groups to make connections to other small groups, thus allowing for the diffusion of new ideas or techniques.

All of these studies are based on an objective approach to the analysis of social networks, one that quantifies a social network or seeks to describe the relationships between individuals in a network. In addition, diffusion of innovations seeks to identify and characterize individuals who adopt a new idea – in terms of the speed

at which they adopt and their relationship to the innovation and their community.

Another approach to thinking about the ways in which innovations are adopted

among community members might also be needed, and that is where I drew on the

concept of the "rhizome" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) as a model for the adoption and

spread of things like use of ICTs and mobile communication strategies. The rhizome

contains concepts that are appropriate for the analysis of complex relationships

within groups of people.

Rhizomatics

Roger's (2003) conception of diffusion of innovation includes opinion leaders,

early adopters, late adopters, and laggards, all who play a role in adopting a

particular innovation at a particular time based on their inclination for change or

continuity. This is an arboreal conception of the way information spreads and is the

most widely accepted among the development community (indeed, diffusion of

innovations is the widely cited theory in fields from organizational communication

to health care). However, the theory has been criticized for being overly linear,

hierarchical, and culturally euro-centric (see Arroyave, 2006, for example). An

alternative consideration of the spread of information among individuals is to be

found in Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) description of the rhizome, which, as an

underground tuber or collection of grasses, has essentially no start and end; as

opposed to the theory of diffusion of innovations it is both non-hierarchical and

non-discriminatory in its ability to explain the connections between individuals. To

consider the rhizome as an explanatory method for the spread of information is to simultaneously acknowledge the position of every individual in a network while avoiding the tendency of the diffusion of innovation model to recreate or re-present power differentials in communities. Bosch (2008) has used the rhizomatic conception to explain the structure of Bush Radio in Cape Town, including the non-hierarchical structure of connections among employees and the heterogeneity of programming. Conceptually, relationships between entrepreneurs in Soweto are similar; business owners generally make connections without consideration of titles or economic status, and these connections bridge business categories. When I began this study, I entered Soweto with the idea that the beginning of the network, or the root of the tree, was a person who could be located with enough investigation into the community. But the myriad of experiences and perceptions of entrepreneurs, coupled with their own consciousness and agency, suggests that the existence of any one person who could function as opinion leader or early adopter from which an innovation flows is an unlikely scenario. Relationships among entrepreneurs in the community, as well as the flow of information and knowledge, are more accurately described by a map of connections than then they are by a root and branch tracing. Mobile communication is a key component of this map, because the basic knowledge to use the devices is possessed by nearly everyone in the community, facilitating connections and building stocks of social capital. The complex media environment influences the knowledge and expertise of individuals. I return to the rhizome, or rhizomatics, as a framework for the discussion of the use of ICTs and mobile communications in chapter 5.

Before going on to discuss some specific aspects of South African media relevant to this book, I'd like to summarize the macro-scale theoretical position(s) I've adopted in thinking about entrepreneurship in Soweto. My intention has been to try to unify the ideas in five major theories or theoretical approaches: economic sociology and geography, acknowledging the role of relationships and place in economic decision making; social capital, the process by which reciprocal relationships of trust are built; diffusion of innovations, which explains how, why, and what rate new ideas spread through communities; and rhizomatics, a post-modern approach to thinking about the relationships between members of communities. A mentor of mine once asked me whether I was working to become a "renaissance" man; a jack-of-all-trades, theoretically speaking. As it turns out, I'm writing this chapter on theory having already done the fieldwork, and what I found makes it difficult to place the work squarely in one camp. I hope the reader might see some commonalities between them: the relationship, for example, between "weak ties," "bridging capital," and "heterophily;" or the ways in which specific aspects of gender might function (or not function) within these theories. As always, my intention is to prioritize the experiences of participants, rather than circumscribe them within a box of theory. I'd like to shift gears a little here, and describe some details of the South African media relevant to the participants' experiences.

The Media Environment in South Africa

There are four main sources of information for members of grassroots constituencies – radio, television, print media, and mobile communication, in the form of cellular telephone and mobile Internet access. While the Internet is becoming an important part of the ICT landscape in South Africa, its use remained essentially flat at less than 10% in the first decade of the 21st century, although the percentage of South Africans who regularly access the Internet has now increased to 41% (ITU, 2013). However, only 2% of people in South Africa are connected to fixed Internet (ITU, 2013). The remainder access the Internet using mobile devices, particularly mobile phones (as opposed to mobile modems connected to laptops). Community media is also playing an important part in South Africa, and Soweto presently has its own television station (Soweto TV) and a radio station (Jozi FM). The run-up to the 2010 FWC provides useful information about the role of the media in spreading ideas of interest to participants in this study.

There are two main ways in which the media have been considered to influence society. First, McCombs and Shaw (1972) suggest that the media plays a role in "agenda-setting" (p. 177) which refers to the idea that while the media may present an unbiased opinion about events of interest, the focus on certain happenings to the exclusion of others means that the public's attention and therefore its opinions on particular issues are either brought to the fore or left behind. McCombs and Shaw's (1972) study was concerned with the 1968 presidential election in the United States, and the concept of agenda setting has been applied to any number of political and social events in subsequent years. Because broadcast spectrum, hours in the

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day, and print space are all limited quantities, media organizations must continually make decisions about what to broadcast or share with audiences. Relationships with PR agencies and other organizations that provide press releases on a regular basis may influence how the decisions about "what to talk about" are made. Lewis, Williams, and Franklin (2008) suggest that the reliance on public relations information in the writing of news stories has "significantly affected…the quality and independence of the British media" (p. 18). Source selection is an important component of story writing, and in the case of South Africa, where many different newspapers are owned by only three large media houses, the potential for non-verified public relations information to be reproduced is significant and could, together with agenda setting, affect the public's access to corroborated information about the costs and benefits of the 2010 FWC. In my own research on South African English newspapers coverage of the event in the years 2005 – 2009, I found that the vast majority of sources for stories related to the 2010 FWC were government or industry representatives, and that 40% of the stories concerned economic activity and transportation/travel (Carlson, 2009). At least in the South African English press, journalists were talking about the economics of the event with government officials and industry representatives who, having gained the Cup, were interested in promoting its opportunities rather than its costs, which turned out to be about double original projections, at R30 billion (Malan, 2010, Jul. 10).

Together with agenda setting, the concept of "framing" suggests that the media actively influences consumers' perceptions of news events. Overlaid on story topics

or themes are a number of "frames" which are "central organizing idea[s] or story line[s] that provide meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). Further, according to Gitlin (1980) a frame "organize[s] the world both for the journalists who report it and...for us who rely on their reports" (p. 7). Goffman (1974) has suggested that the use of "primary frameworks" (p. 24) or "interpretive schemas" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11) provide a useful way for individuals to interpret the world around them. The frames used in South Africa, particularly after the 2010 FWC was over, reflected FIFA and the Government' desire to promote the benefits of the event: the "intangible legacy of pride and unity" (SAPA, 2012), which, unfortunately, had to substitute for financial success for many SMMEs (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, 2011).

For many South Africans, the role of the media in today's society does not reflect the potential inherent in the transition to multiracial democracy, a process marked by fully inclusive elections in 1994. The complex relationships between journalists and media houses, media consumers, and the government all changed overnight as a democratically elected government assumed control of the state broadcaster, laws controlling reporting were changed, and a new constitution was written. However, the majority of journalists were still White, male, and middle class (Wasserman & De Beer, 2005), which meant that many of the hoped-for transformations in the media did not occur. More importantly, many of the expected changes in the country's economic systems did not happen (Jacobs, 2002), and the media contributed to this problem by avoiding "hard hitting analysis" (Jacobs, 2002, p.

287). Politically, media messages are still often charged with the tension of racial politics, often thinly disguised as economic class issues (Foster, 2004), leading to skepticism and cynicism among some audiences. If South Africa's media has had a difficult time transforming itself as suggested by these studies, mobile communication has stepped into the gap, providing individuals access to news sources outside the country, and giving rise to new use strategies that capitalize on the structures that govern payment and utilization.

Mobile Communication

Cellular technology is the other major piece of the South African media puzzle, and acts as a link between other media in the country. There are currently five major cellular service providers in South Africa: Virgin Mobile, Vodacom, MTN, Cell C, and Telkom's 8ta. All provide the same basic services: prepaid and contract voice and SMS communication on mobile devices, and users can also use cellular networks to access data on their mobile device. The ITU reports that South Africa has 134% mobile subscription rate, which indicates that individuals have either multiple phones or multiple SIM cards that they swap out of phones (ITU, 2013). As a point of contrast, the United States has a 98% penetration rate; South Africa's high penetration rate and growing availability of Internet-capable handsets suggest that "mobile technology could offer Internet potential to South African users not offered by computer based technologies" (Hyde-Cark & Van Tonder, 2011, p. 264).

One aspect of the vibrant mobile communication landscape in South Africa is the connection between users within communities or organizations to facilitate business transactions or further entrepreneurship. While this phenomenon has not been studied in the South African context, Overå (2006) has investigated the role of the cell phone in small scale trading in Ghana. There are two initial aspects of Overå's research worth mentioning here. First, Overå mentions the importance of traders developing a number of different forms of capital, including economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital. Second, Overå refers to Granovetter's (1985) work on economic sociology as a backdrop for understanding the role of the cell phone in creating functioning economic networks among the traders. In Overa's study, the cellular phone has been shown to be a useful tool in connecting members of business networks, even, or especially, at the informal level. In general, the cell phone has become a useful way for small business owners in Africa, for example, to arrange transportation and reduce unnecessary travel. Participants in the present study use mobile devices within the structural constraints associated with the cellular service providers and implemented by the country's communication regulation authority, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA). In some cases, these structures have led to strategic opportunities for small and micro-scale entrepreneurs.

The Structure of ICTs and Communication Strategies

Probably the most important structural issue related to the use of mobile communication in South Africa has to do with who pays for a call or text message. South Africa uses the "Calling Party Pays" system for cellular billing, which means

that the individual initiating a call or sending a message bears the entire cost of the interaction (Katz, 1997 & 2007). While CPP has not been adopted in the United States, it is used in South Africa and has certain implications for the use of cell phones. CPP helps pre-paid users maximize their cell phone utility by permitting any phone to receive calls or SMS messages, even without air time; it also allows users to send several free "please call me" messages each day. Through these characteristics, CPP creates space for those with limited (or no) cash to be part of a network. In general, pre-paid phones are an important component of mobile communication in non-U.S. countries, and in South Africa pre-paid cards are sold in extremely small denominations, the smallest being R5, or about 50 U.S. cents, which allows more people to have access the wireless network without having a contract. Interestingly, the penetration rate of fixed-line telephones has declined in the past decade, down from about 11% to 8% in 2012. However, for some participants in this study, the landline remains an important part of their communication strategy, for reasons I will explain in the next chapter.

As suggested earlier, mobile communications includes access to the Internet, which in the era of smartphones is most often done directly on the device. However, it can also be achieved by tethering a mobile device to a laptop or with a cellular modem connected to a USB port on a laptop. In addition, Internet Service Providers (ISPs) include terrestrial wireless IP services such as iBurst and Neotel, as well as wired ADSL connections provided by Telkom. These are the most commonly mentioned ISPs among participants in this study; however, the ISP Directory notes 192 ISPs providing dial-up and ADSL services (ISP Directory, 2007). Smart or semi-

smart phones also allow the user to access social networking sites like Facebook,

engage in low-cost chatting through the MXit service, check email, and surf the web.

Donner and Gitau (2009) have identified three categories of mobile internet users;

those who access the Internet using a cell phone are categorized as mobile only,

mobile primary, or PC primary, depending on their use of other devices. Scholars

have focused their attention on the use of the devices among teens, students, and

socially excluded populations (Bosch, 2008; Chigona, Kamkwenda, & Saffia Manjoo,

2008; Chigona, Beukes, Vally, & Tanner, 2009); these studies have often included

analysis of the use of MXit[15], although presently there are other low-cost chat

options, such as Blackberry Messenger (BBM) and Skype. Regardless of which

options a mobile user decides to adopt, some research has indicated that phone

service in general has a positive effect on social networks.

On a similar note, Barendse (2004) uses South Africa as a case study for

telecommunications policy, concluding that the greatest contributor to increasing

people's access to ICT was not policy developments or the creation of a

"convergence regulator" but the establishment of "phoneshops" which are

essentially modified cargo containers with phones people can come inside to use at

a discounted rate (p. 65). Indeed, in Soweto, these phoneshops are visible on nearly

every street and while some just allow users to make inexpensive calls, others have

expanded into providing what might be considered office services – copying, faxing,

and occasionally, Internet access. Arguably, these types of businesses have

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[15] MXit is a chat utility which allows users to send hundreds of short text messages (SMS) at a very low cost (around 1 South African cent per message)

increased access to telecommunications at every economic level of South African

society, but access to telecommunications, particularly the Internet, remains out of

reach for many in places like Soweto.

Makhaya and Roberts (2003) address this issue in the context of the South

African experience in the post-*apartheid* development of telecommunications

infrastructure and a cellular system in particular. They note that "the combination of

private ownership and regulation has not addressed the greatest challenge in South

Africa: extending affordable telecommunications to the population as part of

redressing entrenched inequalities" (p. 57). As evidenced by several entrepreneurs

in this book, affordable telecommunications has changed the dynamic of the social

networks created around mobile communications, and the opportunities for

starting new businesses.

Mobile Communication and Business Networks

Lightfoot, Gillman, Scheuermeier, and Nyimbo (2008) have explored the role of

the cell phone in connecting smallholder farmers to markets. In particular, they

highlight the way that the cell phone is used to spy on other members of the market

in order to adjust prices. Lightfoot et al. suggest that "fair trade for remote

communities can be realized only if…time sensitive, locally relevant market

intelligence is accessible via ICTs; and if reliable servicing for the ICT equipment is

available" (2008, p. 16). Their extensive research on the use of ICTs in rural

Tanzania helps inform our understanding of some of the possibilities for use of

these devices in other countries such as South Africa. Overå (2006) reports that

when traders are involved in commodity chains that are "geographically extensive" (p. 1309), the cell phone allows them to avoid unnecessary travel and maximize profit based on better information. Bayes (2001) suggests that the introduction of phones in the rural setting can lead to strengthened kinship networks, increased knowledge among women, and positive changes in both economic and social status. Based on these studies, I began this research with the understanding that mobile devices created opportunities for entrepreneurs to strengthen their networks; whether the device was used intentionally for this purpose, or functioned as a complement for face-to-face interactions, was not clear at that time. Many participants talked about the ways in which they used mobile phones to make connections to others, and I'll explore this in detail in the next chapter. It is sufficient at this point to say that mobile phones are an essential part of the South African entrepreneur's toolkit, and the presence of cellular technology in South Africa (and elsewhere) is a prime example of sustainable development. Not only does mobile communication facilitate the development of social capital, as discussed earlier, for many individuals the technology itself provides the foundation for a business.

Conclusions

As I suggested in the beginning of this chapter, my intention in building a framework for this study was to examine contributions to theory and literature that would open the field and site to the research process and which would allow investigation into and description of participants' experiences in the most

appropriate ways suggested by the process itself. While sociology and communication theory, particularly informal economy studies (Portes & Castells, 1989), economic sociology (Granovetter, 1985, 2002), social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000), and diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 2003), are critical components of the theoretical framework of this study, the inclusion of post-modern and post-colonial theory from Appadurai (1996) and Deleuze and Guattari (1987) provide alternative ways to consider the relationships between entrepreneurs in Soweto. Ultimately, the macro-scale theoretical framework I have put forward in this chapter is intended to serve as to acknowledge the complex relationships between individuals, institutions, and technology. Mobile communication is an available entry point into these relationships, because not only does it facilitate communication within horizontal networks, it also allows individuals to connect vertically, to institutions and other individuals in different social and economic classes. Mobile communication technologies are networking devices, a unifying force among a variety of economic and social groups, and one of few arguably appropriate technologies for facilitating long-term sustainable development. Unfortunately, mobile communication is also one of the least-researched phenomena in the under-researched and often neglected African development scenario. Awareness of the paradigms of economic sociology and economic geography, taken together, provides the theoretical grounding for the consideration of the economic issues at hand. While there are a multitude of useful, quantitative economic reports available on South Africa, this book is devoted to the exploration of the "socially situated economic processes" and "the essential diversity of

economic phenomena" (Peck, 2005, p. 132) that exist within the infinitely variable entrepreneurial landscape of Soweto.

What unites the macro-scale theory in this chapter with the specific research on the case of South African is mobile communication. As Castells (2004) notes, however, "only under the conditions of the recent wave of information and communication technologies could networks…address their fundamental shortcoming: their inability to manage coordination functions beyond a certain threshold of size, complexity, and velocity" (p. 221). Indeed, many entrepreneurs in this study are members of multiple professional organizations, partnerships or cooperatives, and in addition, are highly connected to family members who are often living far away from home. Mobile communication allows these individuals to manage more and more complicated networks, and as it does so, is displacing fixed communication, both PC and telephonic. Networks supported by mobile communications include all of the aspects of theory I discussed earlier – strong and weak ties, heterophily and homophily, and bridging and bonding social capital. Talking on the phone or the Internet is no longer a poor proxy for face-to-face contact; it complements relationships that may have been developed over many years of face-to-face interaction, or it may serve to start new relationships when face-to-face contact is impossible. If networks are the structure that define our lives (Castells, 2004) then mobile communication, at least in South Africa, is the tool used to navigate them.

Chapter 4: Entrepreneurship and ICTs in Soweto

The first time I went to Soweto as a researcher was on July 7th, 2009. Three members of the "research team" came along: Moshisi, Phetheni, and Juliette. I met Moshisi at a mall close to the University of Johannesburg, which is located in the southern part of Johannesburg. We drove from there to his in-laws' home where we waited for Phetheni and Juliette. Because Moshisi had recently returned from Singapore, his contacts were initially limited to friends of the family and other neighbors. In contrast, Phetheni and Juliette had extensive contacts among a variety of businesses in Soweto, and their input led us to our first contacts among entrepreneurs. Some of these initial contacts proved more fruitful than others; actually, I think the sight of a four-person team approaching the front door of a B & B may have been a little intimidating for some potential participants. Later, we travelled in pairs, or alone, rather than as a group, and I believe we were more approachable or at least less imposing. Prior to this trip, I had visited Soweto only once, on a pre-arranged trip on which I was driven directly to the destination and back to where I was staying. On my first trip as a researcher, I took pains to observe my surroundings and document what I saw.

A typical house in Orlando East, where Moshisi's in-laws resided, is a brick building with a small yard in the front and rear of the house. Generally there would be an outbuilding with a shower and toilet, or perhaps garage space, in addition to the main structure. When we arrived at Moshisi's home, we went to the rear and climbed a short set of stairs to the kitchen. A dining area is connected to the kitchen,

and from there are two or three bedrooms, depending on the house. Other houses in

Soweto, especially in the older areas such as Orlando East and Orlando West, are

described as "matchbox" houses: one story brick buildings with corrugated tin roofs.

In contrast to much of Johannesburg, the fences surrounding the houses in most of

Soweto are short. Neighbors can speak to each other across the fence. In some cases

the fence might be nothing more than a short wire construction, while in others it

could be a three to four foot wall. This is in contrast to the northern suburbs of

Johannesburg, where the walls tend to be higher: ten feet with an electrified wire

running around the top. Participants noted that these short fences contributed to a

sense of community. For some, this meant an increased sense of security and safety,

while for others, this observation affected their business practice. One participant

generalized this phenomenon geographically: "As you move further south in

Johannesburg, the fences get shorter and people's wealth gets smaller. The further

north you go, the higher the fence, the more people have, and the more afraid they

are." It is a simple statement, and a stereotype to be sure: there are plenty of people

with wealth in Soweto. However, this has not always been the case. Before the end

of apartheid, White people lived in the northern suburbs, and Black people lived in

Soweto. At that time, Soweto functioned as a reservoir of cheap labor for industries

operating in the city. The legacy of this division still exists, however, and arguably,

this affects the ways in which entrepreneurs make decisions, particularly in the

informal sector. A micro-scale vending business, such as a small stand set up on the

side of the road, or in part of a house, can't function when the walls are ten feet high.

However, in places like Soweto where there is a lot of foot traffic and the neighbors

are aware of new ventures, this type of "survival" entrepreneurship can be effective. Of course, the entrepreneur who starts such as business is still challenged by the market, and although there may be more customers who pass the place of business, there amount of available cash may be low.

On this first day, my impressions were influenced by the subdivisions in which the team moved, which included Orlando East and Orlando West. These two subdivisions are in some ways the heart of Soweto; one short street in Orlando West, Vilakazi Street, is home to the Mandela family museum and the archbishop Desmond Tutu. The Hector Pieterson museum, commemorating the 1976 youth uprisings in Soweto, is about a block away. Justin, a participant who is also one of the longest-running Soweto tour guides, told me the "lingo starts, the townships there, starts. The shacks, started with Orlando. Soweto, is there, because of Orlando. If it wasn't for Orlando, there would be no Soweto." Despite the caché of Orlando, there are many who suggest that those who only visit Orlando miss the true experience of Soweto. Subsequent discussions with entrepreneurs in tourism from subdivisions such as Pimville suggested that the importance and reputation of Orlando meant frustration in attracting customers to their own establishments. In any case, on this first day, I was unaware of these issues. Our intention in the first few days was to introduce ourselves and explain the project to potential participants, leave a project description for the participant to read, and return later for the opportunity to observe the business and conduct an interview with the

owner. Initially, we expected business owners to be somewhat reluctant to speak to us, both because they tend to be quite busy running their establishments, but also because of my own status as a White person in Soweto. In fact, we generally discovered the opposite to be the case. Often participants began discussing their impressions of the 2010 FWC or conducting business the moment we described the project, without having read or concerned themselves with the consent document. It was rare that an individual was reluctant to participate; it happened twice throughout the entire project, and for the first time on this first day.

When the research team left Moshisi's home, we drove through the border of Orlando East to Orlando West, and arrived at a restaurant on Vilakazi street. After the research team had a conversation with and arranged a subsequent meeting with the owner of the restaurant, we moved on to a B & B across the street. We knocked on the door and the owner allowed us in, asking us whether we had seen the dogs outside when we had come through the gate. Dogs in South Africa are not generally friendly pets but more often fierce territorial animals, who are sometimes more than a little racist[16], and the four of us expressed shock that we had not been chased or attacked. We never saw these dogs, but from then on we were more cautious about opening a gate without calling the owner of the house first. This being only the second business the team had visited, we haltingly explained the project to the

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[16] Having lived in areas of South Africa in which I was a minority, I have experienced hostility from dogs not directed at my colleagues, who were of the majority in the area. I have also seen dogs owned by those of European descent attack a Black female while ignoring a passing White male. I only mention it here because my impression of a dog in Soweto, especially a dog guarding a house, was that it might not look kindly on me.

somewhat imposing owner, who was discussing a replacement hard drive for her computer with a technician working on the machine and concurrently over the phone with the computer supplier. When we had finished our description, she suggested that we phone her later to arrange an interview; however, when I did so, she declined, which was unfortunate, because subsequent interviews with others suggested she is an important person in the history of B & Bs in Orlando West and Soweto. Although she declined to participate in a later interview, she did note during our first short meeting that one of the difficulties that she faced as a B & B owner was the tendency of larger tour operators to direct overseas visitors to lodging in the north of Johannesburg, particularly hotels in Sandton or Rosebank. She commented that the 2010 FWC was "white people's business" and that the perception of crime in Soweto affected the ability of those people running B & Bs and other tourist businesses to attract customers. Interestingly, one of the "intangible" benefits referred to post-2010 has been the fact that the World Cup came and went with few reports of serious crime (Smith, D., 2010). Somewhat daunted by the prospect of another eight weeks of research, with potentially reluctant business owners, we moved on.

Our next stop was a well-known restaurant in Orlando West. The manager of this establishment told us that the owner was out, but informed us that the owner had purchased the lot next door in order to expand the business in anticipation of business from the 2010 FWC. Intrigued, we explained the study and arranged an interview with the manager for the following week. Ultimately, this interview was cancelled and replaced with an opportunity for me to sit down alone with the owner

of the restaurant, who described his plans for expansion, not only of his core business, but of the telecommunications capacity in the area, through the installation of a wireless access point and a terminal from which visiting tourists could book activities. He told me:

> This will then become the nerve center, it's gonna be the information center, where people can, tourists come, you want to book in, whether you phone or through the Internet, ah, at least for Soweto, the tourism activity will be handled from this center…so they don't have to have stress, we, follow up, and, make sure we get the availability, confirm with client, if, they need a shuttle from the airport, ah, you know, all should be done, you know, as a similar, a, service. (Kwanele, July 20, 2009)

I mention Kwanele's statement here to suggest that a complete description of communications technology in Soweto is not simply about mobile communication. Certainly, every entrepreneur uses mobile communication to facilitate entrepreneurial opportunity, but participants also use fixed line telephony, home access to the Internet, sale of pre-paid access cards, and, in Kwanele's case, the establishment of specific telecommunications infrastructure, to build their businesses. Telecommunications provides opportunities for entrepreneurs who may have no technical expertise in the field to start businesses exploiting the need for access to information.

Having established a number of positive contacts in Orlando West, the research team moved to another Soweto subdivision known as Dube, where we stopped for

lunch at one of the oldest and best known restaurants in Soweto. This restaurant

provides visitors with a "traditional" African lunch, buffet style. Such a buffet would

typically include mogodu (tripe), boerewors (sausage), mutton, chicken, and oxtail,

together with pap (corn meal mush), samp (stamped corn kernels), rice and salad.

The content of the buffet might vary slightly from restaurant to restaurant, and from

day to day, but generally a typical buffet would display at least two of these meat

dishes and all of the starches. While there is some debate among participants about

the definition of a "traditional" African luncheon, the inclusion of such repast in any

Soweto tour is mandatory. Like the other businesses we visited on the first day in

Soweto, this establishment relies heavily on tourism revenue and there were many

tourists present. After being seated for lunch, we met the owner, who I will call

William, who invited me to phone him for an interview any time during my stay in

South Africa. This was the team's final stop of the day.

At the end of the team's first day in Soweto, we were confident regarding our

ability to recruit at least 30 participants for the study. I believe all of us had

expected more resistance from entrepreneurs to being observed and interviewed;

as I have previously mentioned, this was not the case. I was not disappointed

regarding my own expectations of Soweto; it is enormous, hectic, and incredibly

interesting for a visitor like me. With 60,000 taxis transiting the area, driving a car

was a daily adventure. At first I could not imagine driving myself around without

assistance. On my first trip in 2009, I often found myself the target of surprised

stares, although when I returned in 2013, during the writing of this book, I found

this to be less the case. In the four years that have passed since this first trip,

Soweto, or at least many of the hospitality-based entrepreneurs there, have been host to visitors from around the world. The transportation system has been upgraded, with the Rea Vaya bus system, and many new roads. Participants report that more and more people are choosing to commute from Soweto to their jobs in other parts of the Metro, an ironic gentrification of the former townships that oddly reflects *apartheid*–era policies of labor concentration and reservoirs. The streets in Soweto are busy with people engaged in informal and formal trading, in addition to those just waiting for something to happen. Having spent much of my first day on the street where Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu had lived during apartheid, with at least three participants already recruited, I was excited about the possibility of gaining access to the experiences of people living and working in Soweto. What I came to understand later, that I couldn't know after one day, was the importance of the concept of *community* to most of the people I met, and how welcoming they would ultimately be to a stranger hoping to ask questions about something I had previously considered somewhat personal: their communication and connections to other members of the entrepreneurial community. The eventual success of the team in conducting research there had a lot to do with the ability of members of the research team to recruit participants, but also had to do with the willingness of individual entrepreneurs to participate.

Experiences with Mobile Communication

Participants in this study rely on communications technology in nearly all aspects of their business. For all, the cellular phone provides mobile voice

connection to suppliers, customers, and other businesses, while for some, the Internet and email are an essential component of the day-to-day operation of their business. Others combine the use of a landline with a mobile handset; some have multiple mobile devices they use for a variety of purposes, depending on the circumstances. In some cases entrepreneurs use multiple phones to camouflage their identity from friends, family, or customers. However, in 2009, the pay-as-you-go cell phone was the common denominator communications device among participants; Jeremy, a successful tour operator, told me that when he was starting his business he preferred to buy airtime rather than a loaf of bread. He stated:

> ...when I started, I had, nothing, I remember, I managed to get myself a laptop, and I was always moving around with the laptop. Calling a friend, pick me up in Southgate, pick me up there, drop me there. With the laptop, and, I had a SIM card, so that I could connect to Internet....I think they call it 3-G...what I needed, when I started, was, to connect to Internet, because people send emails. And what I needed was a cell phone. And at that time I was not getting any income. It was a bit, very hard for me. And my Mom used to say to me, go look for a job. She was getting angry, as, I'm always, calling and saying, please load me airtime. And when she would give me money, before I would go buy food I must first buy airtime. So, if I've got, 30 rand, to buy food, I'd rather go to sleep without eating but have airtime, because I believe that if I miss a call, I should return the call, because it could be potential business.

The combination of a pay-as-you-go phone, with a removable SIM card or a cellular phone that can be tethered[17] to a laptop allows entrepreneurs like Jeremy to avoid investing in office space and other expensive telecommunications infrastructure and still access essential services like email and phone.

In addition to cellular phones, many of the participants also used a landline. My own experiences with landlines in South Africa have been expensive, in the case of a billed account, or inconvenient to use, in the case of pay-as-you-go calling time. However, a number of participants noted that their customers' expectations were such that having a land line was essential. For example, Simosihle, a B & B owner, discussed the most common ways customers made bookings.

Simosihle: I have a landline. Because most of our transactions are done by that, and then I've got email as well.

Researcher: OK. But most of your clients book, using the landline?

Simosihle: Landline and email.

Cable theft or other problems related to infrastructure are often a problem for those customers who prefer to use the landline for their business. Some entrepreneurs expressed frustration regarding the reliability of Telkom's infrastructure. For example, Davis, who owned a pub in Pimville, told me "when Telkom wants to, we have a landline." During an interview with Sela, a tour operator, I discovered that Telkom had not been able to provide landline or Internet service for some time due

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[17] Tethering refers the process of connecting a cellular phone to a laptop and using the phone as a wireless modem.

to cable theft. To gain access to the Internet and email, she purchased a prepaid wireless modem. In this scheme, the consumer is charged for the amount of data they use; for example, 150 megabytes of data might cost the user approximately R100; this data package could be sufficient for many days of email communication, depending on the user's habits and email content. The modem itself is small and relatively inexpensive, depending on the vendor the user chooses. While the speed of these connections is faster than dial-up, the limited data and connection speed would not allow the user reasonable access to, for example, a website with "rich" content, such as video or audio clips.

While a cellular phone might be sufficient for an entrepreneur like Jeremy who is just starting out, as a business grows, especially a tourism business, the need for a landline and access to the Internet increases. For other entrepreneurs, like nightclub owners and commercial sex workers, cellular phones may be the only type of communications technology they require. In adopting cell phones as their primary communications device, entrepreneurs also develop specific strategies for their use.

Mobile Voice Communication

I refer to mobile voice communication when describing the use of a cellular handset for making voice calls. At the time of this writing, none of the participants I met use satellite phones or VOIP services such as Skype on their mobile devices. However, given the rapid adoption of smart phones, with increasingly widely available wireless Internet access, the use of mobile devices for VOIP communication seems just around the corner, although arguably Skype and other

social networking services are better for maintaining already-established

relationships than developing new ones, at least for those in the hospitality industry.

In this section I will detail the ways in which participants use mobile voice

communication, the ways in which pay-as-you-go phones differ from contract

phones, participants' reasons for choosing pay-as-you-go over contract, and some of

their strategies for maximizing their use of the phone at the least cost. The

characteristics of the cellular phone, and the associated payment structures in South

Africa, make this device a critical component of every entrepreneur's toolkit.

Many participants in this study use only a mobile phone for all their

telecommunications needs. In fact, the rapid rise in availability of cell phones and

the ITU statistics I cited earlier indicating a greater than 100% penetration rate of

the devices in South Africa, coupled with the associated business opportunities for

micro-scale entrepreneurs, make cell phones a development success story in South

Africa. Participants used the cellular phone to connect to clients, other businesses,

and suppliers. Some clients, who had been in business for more than five years,

were able to comment on this issue of the changes in their business brought about

by the availability of cell phones. When I asked her whether she had seen a change

in her business, Sela, a tour operator, noted:

> We did actually…it does play a very great role. For instance, right now our
>
> landline is not working due to cable theft in the area. Fortunately, there's voice
>
> message with the thing on our cell phone numbers. Sundays, I don't normally sit

in the office. Even if I'm at church, I don't switch off my cell phone, I just put it on silent.

In this case, not only does the cell phone function as a substitute for a landline that is out of service, it increases the mobility and connectivity of the entrepreneur. This is illustrated by a quote from Justin, a tour operator who has been in business since 1984. He reports that since he started using a cell phone, customers have a greater expectation of speaking to him personally. Rather than arranging a tour through his administrative assistant, who he has worked with for 14 years, Justin notes that "people feel better when they speak to the owner of the business…I am not objecting, because once I'm done I know the job is in the bank. When they talk to [her], it could have been the same quotation, but it's the third party. That's where cell phones have improved my business."

Besides the connection to customers, using cellular phones allows business owners to "hyper-coordinate" their activities (Ling & Yttri, 2002, p. 139). This is critical for tour operators in particular, who use the cell phone to coordinate their connections with clients. Because of the large distances between Johannesburg's airport, O.R. Tambo International, and hotels or other lodging in the city, not to mention Soweto, which is at least 35 km from the airport[18], it is important to make

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[18] In my experience, distances in South Africa are nearly always measured in time, not kilometers. If you ask 5 residents of Johannesburg how far it is from say, Sandton to Rosebank, answers will vary from 10 – 20 minutes. Even an overland journey, from Durban to Capetown, for example, would be expressed in terms of days or hours. In Johannesburg, this makes sense, because the density of traffic makes the actual distance driven irrelevant. For example, my own daily journey from Sunninghill to Soweto, a distance of less than 50 km, generally took at least an

sure that drivers are meeting clients when they promised to. I occasionally observed this during interviews with tour operators; for example, during my discussion with Jonah, Sela, and Titus, who run a tour company based in Protea, Jonah received a phone call from a client who had previously scheduled a tour; the content of this brief conversation is below.

> Jonah: "You're talking to [Jonah]. Speaking. Hi Betty. What are we doing tomorrow. Sorry. Ten o clock. Oh, Betty, I can see it 083, 0835643050. Soweto, 4 people and 2 children. 14 Amber Field, 11th Avenue, Fairlands, 50th birthday, okay, now we, we have got a 10 clock. You're more than welcome." [to me: There's the phone-it's working.]

Prior to the cell phone, this was done using public phones, whenever a driver could stop and check in with the office. Justin recounted the following story.

> All I could do [before I had the cell phone], wherever I was, I was on tour, go, quickly there, pay phone, yes, what's up, how far are we? No, there's another four, they need to be picked up at the airport, so that tells me, make a quick job with the others. What time did you give them, 2 o'clock rather I hope? Yes, I gave them 2 o'clock but there's another three in Sandton, I gave those 1 o'clock. Oh shit. No, you know what, next time, hold on, next time you give the ones in the airport one o'clock and the ones in Sandton, because coming from the airport, to still Sandton, this one has sightseeing to do. Then we pick up airport, 1 o'clock,

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hour. Although the speed limit is 120 km/hr, the density of morning or afternoon traffic, together with construction, makes the distance = speed x time equation basically useless.

by one thirty, two, a quarter to 2, I'm picking those in Sandton and I'm moving straight to Soweto.

Clearly having access to a cellular phone has made Justin's and other tour operators' lives much easier, in addition to improving the experience customers have when visiting South Africa. Jeremy uses the cell phone to communicate with the people he refers to as "subs" or subcontractors, who are individuals he used to provide transportation or tours when his regular fleet is fully booked. When I asked how he reached other businesses on his regular subs list, he noted that "it's always phone…like, what happens is maybe, I've already spoken to him, we've got confirmation, then I use SMS, and say, let's say he's got to pickup at Rosebank Hotel…then I say, 7 o'clock pick up from Rosebank Hotel…by SMS." The use of SMS is an important communication and marketing strategy for all participants which I describe in a separate section. The use of cell phones while driving is strictly forbidden by South African law[19]; however, this does not stop many drivers from talking on their phones and using them to send SMS messages. While tour operators use mobile phones to interact directly with clients and hyper-coordinate their activities, other entrepreneurs use it to mask their identity while searching for new customers.

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[19] National Road Traffic Act regulations, section 308A. (1) states "No person shall drive a vehicle on a public road…while holding a cellular or mobile telephone or any other communication device in one or both hands or with any other part of the body".

For commercial sex workers, the cellular phone is an indispensable tool for communicating with clientele. Jacob provided the following information about the importance of the cell phone in his business strategy.

My main approach, my friend, has been the cell phone. With my cell phone I do wonders, my friend. I connect, even there, on the net, I connect. And once you can have clients, like 10, they will, they will remain in that circle with you for a long time. Because you know, once I have the number for this, contact number for this one, the business can go on, long and long, years and years, with the same person. Depending on your, how you satisfy the person, how you do a business with them. So, I've got that level number of people who I know, when I want to do something, they can always contact me, then I do it with them.

Researcher: So tell me about that, the cell phone. Exactly how have you used it to get yourself out there?

Jacob: I pick up things from the computer, my friends phone me, I've got, I had a phone that has got Internet, and email and everything…so, I communicate, we arrange to meet somewhere, even in the newspapers in South Africa, you can check inside, there are some columns there where you can, have contact with somebody that, is, you even know, then, you can, the relationship can start. Even business can start that way. But, things have been easy with the net, recently, and with my phone.

Commercial sex workers rely heavily on the cell phone for finding customers, strengthening the relationship with existing clients, and for communicating with other CSWs for protection and information. Msizi reported:

> We communicate within ourselves for our safety and protection…so that, if there is a violent client in Yeoville, I can inform my, fellow sex workers in Braamfontein, that hey, there is this guy who's driving in this car, this car certain number plate, registration number is this and this, don't go out with that guy, you know? So that, ah, you know, we cannot be exposed to violence and exploitation of clients.

The willingness to share personal information is not universal among the CSWs I spoke to for this research. In contrast to the generally accepted view of the cell phone as a useful tool in connecting with clients and other commercial sex workers, Sibusisiwe said,

> Well, I'm that type of girl, you know. You get different girls, you know, the girls who use their phones, as a, a way of business. Well, I wouldn't want to get personal with my clients. So I never give them a phone number…I do those, those ones which are valuable. You get what I am saying? They give me money, and stuff like that. But not everyone. You get those girls who work, only with their phones, and maybe on the computer and something like that. But I'm not that girl, you get what I'm saying?

Among the seven participants in the study who were working in the commercial sex industry, only Sibusisiwe and Zanele were using a single cell phone, and Zanele

intended to begin using a second phone in the near future. The use of multiple cell phones or SIM cards in one handset is a strategy which addresses the problem of keeping distance between their work in the commercial sex industry and their other identities, such as mother, brother, or member of the community. Coupled with their ability to use the Internet to advertise their services, the mobile phone becomes an essential step in developing a relationship with a client and protecting one's identity.

The use of cellular telephones is also important to B & B owners, who sometimes use their mobile to coordinate the movement of guests. Due to the limited number of beds in their establishments, B & B owners are often compelled to divide large groups of guests among several houses. While they sometimes prefer to use the landline, some report that using the cell phone is also an important component of their communication strategy. Duduzile noted that "I think my cell phone it's not so much personal…it's always something about a business, talking about the business, whatever, or maybe the training, or, ah, the people, booking. Like now I've got two people in my cell phone [who are booking]. The one they want to book. Let's say, in my cell phone, more business than personal."

The Pimville Four, who I introduced in chapter 1, have grouped together to form a cluster in which they share business when appropriate and meet often to strategize about marketing and how to reach new South African and international clients. In a focus group discussion with these participants, they noted that the telephone conversations among them almost always concern business. In the four

years that I have known them, the Pimville Four have almost fully adopted the use of email as a communication tool, and they continue to use their mobiles in conjunction with landlines to coordinate their operations, especially when it comes to coordinating transportation or room arrangements. This type of hyper-coordination does not require a smart or Internet enabled phone, and is supported by the relatively low cost of sending an SMS or making a call to someone using the same mobile network. More complicated coordination activities, such as advanced scheduling and planning for large groups, might require an entrepreneur to send email or interact on the web with a client. Information would then be shared with others in the network after the arrangements had been made, generally with one point of contact via email. At this point in the evolution of their businesses, most B & B owners would not find a mobile phone sufficient to operate a business. They require access to the Internet, email, and in some cases, social networking sites such as Facebook to stay in contact with potential clients overseas and within South Africa. However, at the time many of the B & B owners in this research started their businesses in the mid-2000s, the mobile phone, together with a landline, was all they had. For those who participated in this research, it was enough. However, at times, maintaining and growing their businesses continues to be challenging.

Maintaining a level of business that supports the household and the ability to continue to market the operation to new clients can be difficult for micro-scale entrepreneurs. Those involved in hospitality are subject to external shocks such as

economic downturns abroad; the conditions within South Africa also affect their ability to find clients. During certain parts of the year, particularly the winter months, some B & B owners may go for several weeks without guests. However, many have developed alternative methods to supplement their income. For example, members of the Pimville Four often provide catering services, and some provide housing for University of Johannesburg students who attend classes on the Soweto campus. When I spoke to Mookho about this issue, she reported that in the early years of the business, there were months in which there were "no bums in beds." Now, however, she reports that it is rare that she has more than a week without guests. Whether the changing technoscape of Soweto and South Africa more generally will contribute to this remains to be seen. Mobile phones, once the critical component of starting a business, are now part of a much more complicated media landscape. Of course, the impact of the mobile phone on entrepreneurs and the ways in which they communicate within networks continues.

Among some participants in this study, mobile phones have created an alternative set of communication customs, separate and different from the typical communication patterns used when speaking to individuals not involved in their business groups. One participant, a member of a women-in-transportation

organization, told me that often before even greeting her colleague properly[20], she would begin discussing business issues.

> Vuyiswa: Um, in terms of calls, for business, today, I only had one personal call which is the one I just took. And since this morning, all of them were business calls. If I speak to Nabeela, we're talking business. Before we even think of saying how are the kids. We never even go down that line.

> Nabeela: Mm hmm.

> Vuyiswa: We never, really, ah, I don't even ask Nabeela how did you sleep. She says hello how are you, you know, this, this, this, this, this, this. You see. That's, how it happens. And I think we take advantage, of, of that. We never ask, how are you doing.

The cost of conducting mobile voice calls, together with the use of the mobile phone in a variety of circumstances, means a greater likelihood that those who know each other will dispense with the pleasantries and get to business without the traditional communication customs of long greetings and inquiries about the family. On the landline, which is located inside the home and often in a comfortable place, these customs are more likely to occur.

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[20] In the community of Soweto, especially among members of more senior generations, a proper greeting would include inquiring about family members, children, and other important news about social and community connections. There is some agreement that this is changing among younger members of the community, but in the case of these women, this is a significant change that they acknowledged. Members of the African community might agree that this is fairly common across the continent.

Participants' experiences with mobile voice communication illustrate not only the necessity of the devices in the day-to-day operation of the business, but the variation in the ways they are used. From hyper-coordination to exchanging information about dangerous clients, entrepreneurs rely on mobile communication and have developed specific strategies for their use. The development of strategic ways in which to take advantage of the constraints and structures of the system depends on whether a user is using pre-paid minutes, a contract, or in some cases, both. Each method has advantages and disadvantages and structural characteristics that lend themselves to strategic use.

Pay as You Go

The relatively low cost of a handset, coupled with the ability of the user to "top up" the minutes on a pay-as-you-go phone almost anywhere in South Africa, has made participants in this research more likely to prefer to use this method of paying for airtime as opposed to signing a contract in which they are billed monthly for the minutes they have used or limited to a specific number of minutes. Besides the convenience of this strategy, participants report that it is less expensive overall than buying a contract. This perception may be due in part to users' ability to purchase very small denominations; presently, the smallest available pre-paid denomination is R5, on the Cell-C and Vodacom networks, while MTN's smallest denomination is R10. Depending on the price plan and whether the dialed network is in or out of network, a user may pay between R1.20 and R2.89 per minute for voice calls. In

addition, SMS messages cost between 35c and 80c each, depending on the time of day.

Pay-as-you-go phones were mentioned by all participants in this study as being a convenient way to monitor and control their spending on telecommunications. Don and Kevin, managers of a tavern in Diepkloof, explained their reasons for using prepaid phones.

Kevin: You know what. We are avoiding, debts, and...

Don: Expenses.

Kevin: Expenses, yeah. We are avoiding that.

Don: It's not easy to really monitor. You understand. But if you pay as you go then you can actually control the expenditure going forward. You know exactly how much you spent. But now, they tend to be, an, abuse. In terms of the contract, you understand. I've got my personal contract, and a prepaid [phone].

Researcher: Oh, OK.

Don: But I don't use this contract [phone], so much. Because I don't want to be paying a thousand, or two, a, two thousand [rand] a month.

Although he has a contract phone, Don prefers to use the prepaid phone in order to control costs and avoid an expensive surprise at the end of the month. Other participants also mentioned they preferred to use a prepaid phone for this reason.

One of the reasons mobile customers are able to use prepaid phones effectively is the structure of cellular charges in South Africa.

The CPP (Calling Party Pays) convention within South African telephony allows the users to create communication strategies which exploit the characteristics of the system, thus increasing the usefulness of pre-paid airtime. The most important advantage of CPP is that it is possible to receive calls and SMS messages when one has no credit left on their phone. Cellular users without airtime can also send "please call me" messages, five to seven of which are given free by the cellular service provider each day. "Please call me messages" can be personalized, which allows the user to share information five to ten characters of information at no cost. Since it is possible for third party to send airtime to another cellular phone, this means that some participants can make arrangements and receive additional minutes without ever having bought airtime themselves.

While 'please call me' messages are a popular method for cell phone users to communicate with members of their network, some mobile users find them offensive. Vuyiswa suggested that sharing the cost of calls was a good thing, because it would discourage the use of 'please call me' messages.

Vuyiswa: I think [sharing the cost of calls] is fantastic, let me tell you why I say so. We will have less "please call me's". Because, if you wanna find out how I am, you must be part of the payment.

Nabeela: Mm hmm.

Researcher: I guess so, but on the other hand…I always thought the "please call me" was a good thing.

Vuyiswa: It's not a good thing. No, let me be really honest.

Juliette: We tend to abuse that. I personally am one of those people. I would send three.

Vuyiswa: You see. And now, now for me, let me be honest with you. I look at it, and then, I have three girls, the two are still at varsity and I have the young one. And I look and I see which number it is, oh, it's my daughters, OK, no, let me call because I know her budget is low. And I will call her. But when I look and I say I don't know you, heh, I'm not gonna phone you back. You can do it, 20 times, unless it is, I know, this is a business partner, and she knows, I can't phone back, and I won't call.

Vuyiswa's statement is rare; most cell phone users in South Africa exploit the characteristics of the CPP system to their advantage and either ignore or tolerate the disadvantages. In any case, they are a feature of the system and are particularly useful for those who use pay-as-you-go phones. For contract users, they may be less useful, because there are always minutes available as long as the bill is paid and the contract is in force.

Contract Phones

Several participants mentioned that a contract was dangerous because they would be unaware of the costs incurred until they received a large bill at the end of

the month. However, there are a number of participants who use multiple mobile phones, and at least one with a contract, to assure their ability to be in contact with customers. For example, Precious, a B & B owner in Diepkloof, reported that she had a contract phone for the business that was only used to make outbound calls. In other words, she mainly used a prepaid cell phone, but reserved a contract mobile number for making outbound mobile-to-mobile calls. This seemed counterintuitive to me, but she explained:

> It's a bit cheaper, because, you know, we have to be clever sometimes. Because they, say, they give you, you pay, we pay, I think 120 [rand], and then we get free airtime of R100, and I think 100 SMSs. So we make use of the, SMSs and that airtime, which I think it works out much cheaper, in terms of talking, using cell phone to cell phone.

Although he generally used a contract phone, Jeremy explained that he kept a pre-paid phone in addition to a contract phone for the following reasons.

> Because, contract, business maybe goes down, I didn't pay, I still must be reached, I still must have that, ah, I must, I must still be able to make calls. It happened a lot that, I didn't pay the bill, they suspend outgoing calls. And when they do that, I'll buy airtime, I load in the other phone and still make calls, because on the contract you can't load airtime. If I owe three thousand rand, which is a lot of money, and, they've suspended outgoing calls, then I'm able to make calls from the other phone as well.

Hlengiwe, who owns a construction company in El Dorado Park, reported on her contract strategies.

> What I did, I took a contract, for the business one. And then, the old phone, it's my old phone, the one that you phoned me on. Now, this, this one, this is now the contract one. So what I did with this one, I can't phone out, I only receive. Because now how am I going to pay the contract again? So I had to play wise there, I am just paying the phone, itself, I can't phone out. I can make a 'please call me' but now because it's a business phone, I don't make the 'please call me'.

Hlengiwe's experience with a contract typifies the experience for participants. Generally, the contract phone is relied upon in an emergency but not used for day-to-day communication, although one participant, Sobukwe, noted that the inconvenience of running out of airtime and being unable to recharge a pre-paid phone outweighed the potential costs of a contract phone. For some entrepreneurs, the cost of a cellular contract can easily be rolled into the operation of their business. For others, whose businesses are smaller or have less revenue, it is more important to control the cost of telecommunication carefully, and they tend to therefore choose to use prepaid cellular phones. As I have mentioned, many entrepreneurs have more than one handset or SIM card, each of which they use for specific purposes.

Nearly all cellular phones in South Africa are "unlocked;" in other words, not tied to a particular service provider's network, so a mobile user may use the same handset

to access any of the networks. Because calls within a network are generally cheaper, a user might replace a SIM prior to calling a member of their network who is using a particular network, and change it again to call someone on a different network. SIM cards are very inexpensive, generally less than R5, and often include some free SMS messages, and they are generally considered disposable. Others prefer to buy a second or third handset and avoid changing SIM cards, but this is a more expensive option that simply swapping the cards when necessary.

Entrepreneurs have many reasons for using multiple mobile devices. In the case of commercial sex workers, multiple devices help to conceal their work from their families or friends, thus facilitating multiple identities. In the discussion from Busi and Zanele, commercial sex workers who primarily work on the street in downtown Johannesburg, I asked Busi why she used two cell phones. She replied:

> Because, I have a lot of clients, like, during the day from now, and my phone can ring anytime, right now, that the client needs me. He will come to a hotel, or, in his office. So, and then the other one, is for, because I am attend, we are attending school, actually, we joined the, the program, that they are training us for skills, maybe like, for knitting, and English, so, the other one is for school and for family.

> Researcher: OK. So you make, that's how you keep it separate. So your family doesn't accidently…

Busi: Yes. Because sometimes my brother can call me and he'll be like, joking, and then I'll be thinking that I'm talking to a client, when I'm talking to my brother.

Although some commercial sex workers carry or use multiple handsets, others carry multiple SIM cards and exchange them in the same handset. This provides access to a new number and a new set of contacts in the associated address book. Msizi noted that "sometimes, when I'm out, I don't want to mix, my, personal communication and my business communication. That's why I'm using that, underworld, cell phone card." In addition to providing camouflage, this strategy also allows a commercial sex worker to sever ties with clients who are considered undesirable.

Zake: I've got just, two, two SIM cards.

Msizi: If, it happens sometimes that our phones are not stable, SIM cards, numbers, I can change anytime. If you are having boring clients, you know, sometimes there's those clients…

Zake: You just change the SIM card, then you change the number. Like the other one, they, they don't pay you, much money. Ah, you just cancel them, change the SIM card, then…

Researcher: And then you give the new number to the good clients.

Zake: New number to the new clients.

For commercial sex workers, the ability to use multiple handsets or multiple SIM cards is an essential component of preserving the division between their work and personal lives.

In addition to commercial sex workers, other entrepreneurs often utilize multiple mobile devices. While Precious, a B & B owner, has a specific SIM card tied to her contract phone number, which she exchanges in her single handset, other business owners generally did not report swapping multiple SIM cards; instead, they had two or more handsets. One exception was the restaurant owner Joe in Orlando East who used a handset that accepted two SIM cards; he kept one set of contacts for business in the address book associated with one SIM card, and personal contacts in the address book associated with the other. For those entrepreneurs who used more than one mobile handset, the reasons were to keep business and personal accounts separate, for tax or other reasons, to keep the clients from having access to their personal cell phones, and to make it easier for clients to reach them. Lindani, who runs a backpackers and bicycle tour company in Orlando West, has two mobiles that he uses to connect to two different groups of people. His company also has two landlines in the office, and as a business which primarily caters to international tourists, the land lines are the main method for his customers to make bookings.

Lindani: So we try also to, make sure that, um, when it's more like family and stuff we can give that line, but when it's friends and just, you know, you'd rather not, let them have another, cell phone number, that they can [call]. So that when

I have a phone with me I don't have, even have to have people who are just gonna, speak about something else, we, let them not call me directly here.

Researcher: OK. So you, so you're saying…

Lindani: So I would have two cell phones. One is my personal, and one is for the, two landlines, two cell phones.

However, maintaining separation between multiple devices is complicated, just as it is complicated to manage two identities. Kwanele's quote suggests how difficult it is to keep two mobile devices separate.

Kwanele: Right now, I have, I have a business and, I've got two phones. Cell phones. Um, this one is business, the other one is personal.

Researcher: OK.

Kwanele: So I try and, although they eventually they…[laughs].

Researcher: Wind up mixed.

Kwanele: But, I have, yeah, tried to separate it.

Mookho, one of the Pimville Four, was in the process of activating a second phone when I spoke to her in 2009. At that time, she found the idea of using two phones a bit daunting, partially because she was afraid that in the change from one to another she would lose touch with her customers, and because she perceived that it would be inconvenient to carry two handsets, both important considerations. She noted:

Actually, Cell-C, gave me two phones. But, which means now, I'd have to use the contract one to make calls, maybe...my worry was, if now, I use the contract one, especially for the business, eh, most, my contacts, and whoever might want to book, are familiar with my prepaid, number...so, I thought if I moved to, Cell-C, I might lose business...[and] now it's a question of carrying two phones.

Her comment demonstrates how important it is for an entrepreneur to constantly maintain one cell phone number for regular clients. To a certain extent, this is the value of a landline, which most people, once they have installed, would be reluctant to change. However, a recently passed law in South Africa allows cell phone users to carry their number if they change service providers.[21]

For other participants, carrying two phones is useful because it allows them to have access to some of the latest technology. Sobukwe, who owns a restaurant in Orlando West, carries an iPhone and a Nokia e90, each of which he uses for different purposes. Rather than keeping business and personal calls separate, the two phones allow him to access other information. For example, the iPhone allows the user to access wireless networks, which Sobukwe uses to obtain information prior to meetings. When I asked him how he used the wireless functionality, he provided the following example: "Sometimes I have to go and meet government officials, we need

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[21] Number portability was introduced into the South African cellular marketplace in late 2006. It was expected to allow customers to more easily change networks and improve competition as established customers could move from MTN or Vodacom to Cell-C or Virgin Mobile. Results have reportedly been mixed (www.cellular.co.za. (2007, January 23). *Number portability in South Africa takes off.* Retrieved from http://www.cellular.co.za/news_2007/jan/230107-number_portability_in_south_afri.htm)

business from them, because other government departments they come and dine here. So, while I am waiting for the government official to see me, I normally Google the guy." Of course, this is only one example of the use of wireless functionality. No doubt as wireless networks become more prevalent around Soweto, business owners will find more uses for wireless access. Between 2009 and 2013 there were some signs that this was occurring – restaurants in the Maponya Mall, for example, offer free wifi to their customers; Florence now has a wireless network available for guests of her B & B. Of course, those who can afford it can also access data using the cellular network, but this requires a smart phone and relatively expensive data access. And for many residents of Soweto, access to these types of telecommunications services remains out of reach. For this reason, the container phone shop mentioned by Barendse (2004) remains an important part of the landscape.

Given the importance of these phone shops to many residents of Soweto, I dedicated several days to mapping their locations around one of Soweto's 36 subdivisions, Orlando East. As of 2001, this subdivision was home to 66,285 people (Statistics South Africa, 2001) in an area of approximately 5 km^2. Orlando East has a reputation among many participants as the place where Soweto started. One notes "Another, lingo starts, the townships there, starts. The shacks, started with Orlando. Soweto, is there, because of Orlando. If it wasn't for Orlando, there would be no Soweto." The famous Orlando Stadium, home to what is perhaps the most famous rivalry in South African soccer between the Orlando Pirates and the Kaizer Chiefs, is located in this area. In addition, several of these businesses were later selected for follow-up

interviews. It was during on of these interviews that I met Shep, a former inmate

who had used telecommunications to build a small business, and later to expand it

to include other services, such as a car wash and spaza[22] shop. Before I describe

Shep and the ways he used the concept of the container phone shop to his

entrepreneurial advantage, I'll outline how I mapped all of the phone shops in the

subdivision.

During July of 2009, Moshisi and I drove every street in Orlando East, noting the

location of phone shops and public telephones. Unlike some cities, Soweto's streets are

not laid out in a grid; there are hubs and spokes, main streets and side streets, and street

names are not always present and if they are, they are not always readable. In order to be

sure we had viewed every street, I printed and enlarged a section of a Soweto map, which

turned out to be accurate. We marked the locations of phone shops and public telephones

on this map, coded by their network provider: Telkom, Vodacom, Cell-C, MTN,

OneCell, or other. This process took the better part of a day, and the next day, we

selected several phone shop franchises for follow-up interviews. This portion of the

research was conducted on foot, which was suggested by Chambers (2008) in discussions

of transect walks and surveys. Interviews were informal, conducted mostly in English

with occasional phrases in isiZulu included, and lasted between 10 minutes and one hour.

Because we were mainly interested in the experiences of business owners or

managers, rather than employees, we had to approach several phone shops before we

were able to find one in which the owner or manager was present. This was not the case

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[22] A "spaza" shop is generally an informal business that operates from a room
attached to a house. What's for sale can vary from a small number of items to a huge
variety of things from laundry soap to matches to snacks to sweets.

for informal operators, who in general operated the phone shop on their own. Once we found shops in which the owner was present, we requested an interview, which was then conducted on the spot. In interviews, I attempted to ascertain participants' impressions of doing business in Soweto, why they had chosen to open such a business, their impressions of the competition in the business, especially from cellular phones, and some details about the operation of the business. I was also interested in the how these entrepreneurs perceived the 2010 FWC, but this turned out to be a less important component of their business planning than for someone in, say, a B & B.

Orlando East could be looked upon as a slightly downscale sibling to Orlando West, where the homes of Mandela and Tutu are located, and where the youth uprising of 1976 started. The two subdivisions are divided by a major thoroughfare called the Klipspruit Valley Road that cuts through Soweto from the northern border to Kliptown, the place where the 1955 Freedom Charter[23] was signed. Orlando East is less tourist-y, more residential, and generally less busy than its western neighbor, which has been the focus of a significant amount of development around Vilikazi Street and the Hector Pieterson museum. However, businesses in Orlando East benefit from the large amount of foot traffic generally present, and there are many small businesses such as taverns, repair shops, tuck shops, and car washes operating in the area and this subsequently increases the number of customers for phone shops. Unlike other Johannesburg suburbs, which tend to have high walls, little pedestrian traffic, and few businesses on the street, Orlando

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[23] The Freedom Charter was adopted in Kliptown on June 26th, 1955. Three thousand people of all races gathered in a Congress of the People to put forward a document calling for democratic rule and equality in South Africa.

East is a busy Soweto subdivision, with heavy foot traffic, many micro-scale businesses, and plenty of opportunities for entrepreneurs to connect to customers.
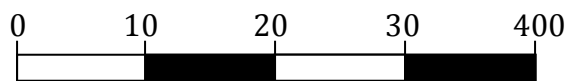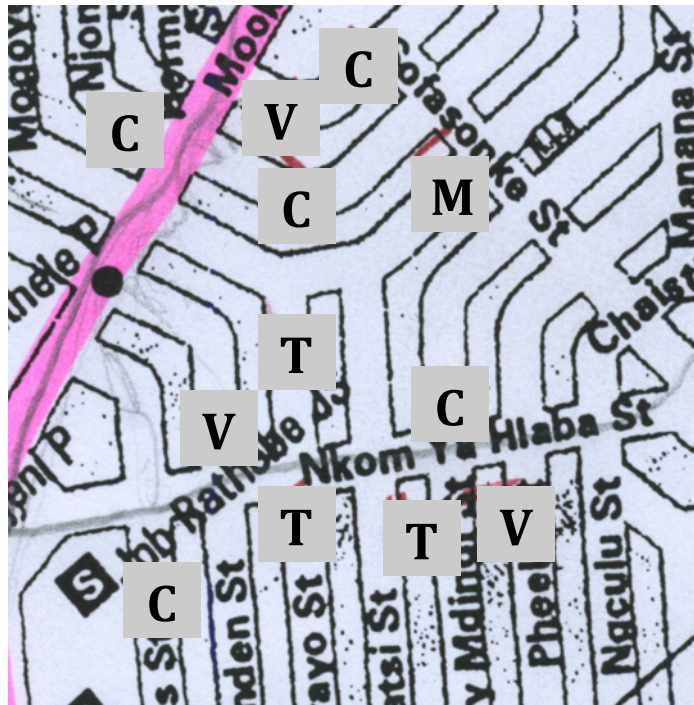
Our survey of Orlando East found 97 operating phone shops and public phones. We did not include in this count a small number of phone shops that were clearly no longer in business, nor did we include public telephones which had been damaged and were visibly unusable. Of these 97, the greatest number (27) were Telkom public phones, which are not located in a phone shop but are simply a free-standing, coin or card operated, unattended public phone. Following Telkom, of the remainder, which are container-based or otherwise attended phones, Cell-C had the largest number (25), followed by Vodacom (23), MTN (15), One Cell (2), and New Cell (1). We also found four phone shops in which we could not identify the franchise or service provider. Among these businesses, some locations house more than one phone line; for example, at Stanley's Vodacom phone shop, there are four phones, while at the MTN shop managed by Happiness, there are five. When a customer requires the use of a phone, they enter the shop and drop a few rand on the counter, depending on how long they would like to talk. They then proceed to make their call at one of the phones in the shop. From the owner's perspective, the phones operate like pay-as-you-go phones; they add minutes or airtime to them through a mobile handset, and the customers then use those minutes when they make calls. While the phones resemble a landline, in that they are fixed to the container, they are in fact cellular, which means that the container can be installed anywhere the entrepreneur can find space.

Given that many phone shops contain more than one handset, the 97 locations I mentioned do not represent all of the available public phones lines in Orlando East, but

the number of individual phone shops. During our short survey, it was not possible to enter every phone shop to count the number of phones installed; furthermore, in some cases not all phones in a particular shop are operational. Our primary intention in this mapping was to gain some understanding of the density of phone shops in Orlando East and to subsequently find a few phone shop owners with whom we could conduct further research. However, examining the map we created suggests that no one in Orlando East is more than a few minutes' walk from a public telephone. One busy corner in the northeastern area of the subdivision hosts 10 phone shops or free standing phones within a 10 block radius, as indicated in Figure 1, and this occurs at other intersections throughout the subdivision.

Figure 1: Selected Phone Shops, Orlando East, Soweto

C = Cell-C
M = MTN
T = Telkom
V = Vodacom

In the process of wandering around Orlando East, Moshisi and I stopped at a small wooden stand on the corner of one of the busier streets. We were looking for

an owner to speak to about the phone shop business, and this particular stand, and an accompanying tent, was owned by Shep, who had opened his business on June 30th, 2008, about a year before we met. At that time, the business was little more than the wooden stand; in the year since it opened it expanded to include the tent and all of the small items. But the phone was the start – and Shep told us that his original goal was to help the community to connect using the public phone, because most phone shops closed at 7 PM, and he would stay open until 8:30.

We spoke to Shep for about an hour about the ways in which the business functioned, and his expectations for the 2010 FWC. At that time, the business consisted of this particular stand and one or two racks of snacks and other spaza items. In addition to providing phone service, selling snacks and other small items, Shep sells airtime. Generally, when a person purchases pre-paid airtime in South Africa, he or she receives a slip with a PIN number, that can then be entered into the phone to recharge. In Shep's case, while he does sell these slips, he also sells airtime to remote clients. In other words, someone who has a working relationship with Shep can contact him anytime to request a recharge, which he then sends to that person's phone from his own. Our conversation about his mobile phone ownership and use went as follows:

Moshisi: And, personally, do you own, personally do you own a cellphone?

Shep: Yeah, I am owning two…why I am owning two, as personal for me? To answer you…you are working far away, you are needing airtime desperately…I

must, you send me SMS, please give me, get two 30 rands. I know you are far

away with a job, you see. I use that one, I transfer airtime with, to you. And after

all when you're coming to the location[24] you give my money back. You see. It's

like I'm saving, from that airtime, you see?

 Using one cell phone to transfer airtime to another is common in South Africa

and very easy. The question that Moshisi and I asked Shep regarding this practice

was whether they could guarantee that the person to whom they had transferred

the airtime would pay them later. As an informal business, they do not have access

to some of the resources that might facilitate the collection of debt from customers,

so this strategy seemed risky. Shep mentioned that he had around 80 customers

who used this service, and while he sometimes experienced problems with

payment, the customers usually paid him after a certain amount of time, which

varied depending on the customer. He considers this strategy an effective way to

save money, as the individual will generally pay their account upon their return to

Soweto. While this might not be a service that an established, formal company could

offer, an informal entrepreneur like Shep has the ability to use his ties to loyal

customers to provide a useful service that functions almost solely on trust. To a

certain extent, the strategy is facilitated by the prevalence of SMS messaging among

participants and cellular users as a whole.

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[24] Former townships like Soweto are sometimes referred to by residents as the
"location," the "lokshion," or "lokasie," which is the Afrikaans translation.

When Shep and I talked about the 2010 FWC in 2009, he told me that he was expecting the event to benefit his business, and that his long term goals were to expand his business into a nearby garage and subsequently open a carwash. He noted that there were many people who passed by his particular corner and purchased sweets, cigarettes, and other small items on their way to the stadium. He also told me that he remained open until 8:30 every night, while those around him closed at 7, and often this left people who had an emergency or needed to make a call without the ability to do so. At that time, Shep did not use the Internet and had no plans to; his use of SMS and voice service was enough to drive his business and provide income. Other entrepreneurs use mobile messaging and SMS differently, but in general it is perceived as an effective way to maintain contact with customers and publicize events.

Mobile Messaging and SMS

There are many ways in which entrepreneurs use SMS messaging to promote and develop business contacts. For example, business owners use SMS to inform their clients about special events and promotions at their establishments. Broadcasting a short, tailored message to a list of regulars is effective because every mobile user in South Africa can receive such as message whether or not their phone has airtime. In addition, the business owner bears the entire cost of sending these messages, so there is no resentment from the receiver regarding the cost. SMS bundles are sold by cellular service providers and make the cost of sending hundreds of the messages reasonable. For example, a bundle of 500 SMS messages

on the Vodacom network can be added to either a pre-paid phone or contract phone, and will cost the user R113. At 22.5 cents per SMS, this is some of the least expensive, most targeted marketing a business owner can do, and the practice was widely reported by participants. John, a restaurant owner in Orlando East, travels to clubs across Guateng province to connect with jazz fans. In the process, he collects mobile numbers and other information, such as preferred drink, favorite music, and age. He keeps these details in an Excel database in his business computer. Partnering with liquor suppliers, John subsequently targets the appropriate segment of his market when he has arranged, for example, a whisky tasting or an appearance by a favorite jazz artist, sending them an SMS to inform them of the details. He reported that this type of market segmentation had been very effective in increasing visits from regulars and in bringing new customers into the business. At the time of our discussion, John had more than 1000 people in his database.

Besides restaurant owners like John, who host music or other events, this technique was mentioned by B & B owners. For example, Florence, one of the Pimville Four, told me that she used her business cell phone for a variety of things, including sending SMS messages to regulars.

Florence: Well, like for instance, if, if I have to follow up with people, that they, they said they were coming, because some they phone, and then maybe just to find, send emails, SMS's, to say, what's going on at [my place], so that they can come back or something like that. Yeah, I do my promotion through the phone, actually.

Researcher: So, you send your, local customers, you send the SMS's.

Florence: That's right. Like for instance it's Women's Day coming. Come spoil yourself at [my place] for Women's Day.

Researcher: And, how do you keep track of those, all those local customers, do you have a database?

Florence: Well, it's, well, yeah. Whenever a person comes, they've got a guestbook that they have to sign on, yeah. So, that person will give a cell phone number, contact number, email address, I always insist on that, because it's cheaper to send emails than to use, cell phone, you see.

This technique was also mentioned by Reggie, who owned a nightclub in the subdivision of Tladi. I met with Reggie late in the study and I asked him specifically about whether he used SMS in his marketing program.

Reggie: Yes, my personal SMS and like, maybe if we are having, a promotion, I distribute my, to my, my customers. So I've got a data, let me just say that I have a data[base], then where I can just distribute, distribute my SMSs, through the end of month, we've got this, and maybe a Red Bull party, or Hennessy, or whatsoever.

This technique was also mentioned as something used by other pub/tavern/restaurant owners. On the other hand, the tour operators I spoke to generally do not communicate with clients via SMS; I suggest that it is too informal for use between individuals without having met prior and made arrangements to

exchange text messages. Prior to doing so, it is typical to say something like "I'll send you a text when I'm outside" or "send me a text when you're ready." An SMS message requires little in the way of greetings or pleasantries, and among business owners building relationships among international clients, it is less likely to be an appropriate communication channel. However, it is used extensively within networks among people who know each other.

Commercial sex workers use SMS messages to communicate amongst themselves and with clients; my own experience arranging an interview with Paris required us to send multiple messages to arrange time and location. Sibusiwe and I also discussed the use of SMS.

Researcher: To your regulars, you SMS them?

Sibusisiwe: Yeah, they SMS me, I SMS them, yeah.

Researcher: Do you ever, let's say you were just having a slow week or, slow couple of days, do you get in touch with someone?

Sibusisiwe: Yeah. You see, it's all about, um, I mean, thank God they made the phone. You know, the cell phone, because right now, the person can just get me at any place.

In addition to using SMS messages to contact clients, female sex workers who prefer to work on the street suggested that using SMS is a more secure way to communicate within their network. My discussion with Zanele and Busi regarding this issue went as follows:

Researcher: Do you SMS, or do you phone, if it was, like, 2 in the morning, would you send her an SMS, or would you phone her?

Zanele: We SMS…

Busi: We SMS.

Zanele: …and phone.

Busi: Mostly we do SMS, because it's dangerous to pick up the phone at night.

Zanele: Yeah.

Busi: You can kind of hide.

Researcher: So if you were to look at your SMSs, would they be mostly to other sex workers, or to clients, or, mixed?

Zanele: To sex workers.

Busi: Mostly, ah, sex workers and clients both. Both. Because we are so connected. We are working, we are working in Sandton, and they are, we have friends downtown, we have friends here in Hillbrow because, sometimes we work here in Hillbrow.

The ability of entrepreneurs to use SMS messaging to connect with customers and with each other is a key component of marketing strategies, and also strengthens networks by providing an alternative mode of communication without the need for another device. Sending SMS messages is quick, minimally intrusive and obtrusive,

and knowledge of the use of the technique is well understood among participants.

During the first year of the research (2009) few participants were using mobile

Internet. However, at the time of this writing, mobile Internet use has become much

more common, having increased from 9% to 39% between 2009 and 2012[25] (ITU,

2013).

Mobile Internet

For many Internet users, the cellular phone is the key component of their

Internet access strategy, either by tethering or direct access using a mobile browser.

However, following Donner and Gitau's (2009) classification of mobile Internet

users, the majority of participants in this study are PC-primary users, who are more

likely to use a fixed device or a laptop to access the Internet. Several examples

among participants in this study stood out to me as typical examples of mobile

device use cases. As mentioned previously, Sobukwe uses his mobile device to

access the Internet prior to meetings with important officials, and another

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[25] The ITU estimates that in 2012, 41% of South Africans had access to the Internet. It also estimates that in the same year, 2% accessed the Internet with "fixed (wired)" broadband subscriptions. Therefore, I estimate that 39% are using non-fixed, or mobile devices to access the Internet. I should point out that the ITU notes that these data are based on its own estimates; data was collected for fixed Internet access and Internet access in general in 2010 and 2011, respectively. I should caution readers that this interpretation of data remains fuzzy. For example, a user can buy a USB modem from Vodacom, MTN, and Cell-C for about R300 and plug it into a desktop PC or a laptop. Does the user qualify as a fixed line user in that case, or as a mobile user (the application driving the Internet connection in this case is called "mobile broadband") even though the device may never move? In my opinion, drawing the conclusion that 39% of South Africans are using mobile devices such as cell phones to access the Internet is high; there are many strategies for connecting to the Internet that appear mobile to research but in fact would be considered fixed in practice.

participant, Sampson, a freelance artist, uses his mobile device to update his Facebook status and access the Internet. Other participants who access the Internet with their mobile device include Jacob and Msizi, commercial sex workers, who use WAP-enabled cell phones to access the Internet and check email. Jacob reported that "things have been easy with the net recently, and with my phone." He reported that he had a cell phone that he used to access email and the Internet, although at the time of our discussion it was under repair. These participants may be considered mobile primary users, but generally, participants in the hospitality industry were more interested in having the Internet available at a PC in their home or business and did not generally report using their mobile device for Internet access. While mobile Internet access has been reported as a significant feature in the communication strategies of young people (Kreutzer, 2009) and among low-income urban South Africans (Chigona et al., 2009) in this study, it was not often mentioned and its use was limited to younger male participants. In fact, for several participants, mobile or fixed Internet was something they rarely or never used.

In December 2010, after the World Cup had come and gone, I returned to Orlando East to try to reconnect with some of the phone shop owners who had assisted Moshisi and I in our mapping project. After driving around for nearly an hour, I was able to locate the corner on which Shep had established his business in 2008. I had driven by it several times prior to locating it; it had been 18 months since I had been there, and in that time Shep had succeeded in his goal to move the

business into a garage close by. In fact, the entire shop had changed; it was almost entirely inside, and Shep sat behind a counter from which he operated the business. The wooden stand that had held the phones that had started everything nearly three years ago was still there, outside; Shep, for his part, expressed happiness that I had managed to come back and find him to talk about what had happened in the intervening year and a half since I had been back. He noted that things had not gone the way they were expecting. The number of tourists who came to Orlando East were fewer than many entrepreneurs had hoped for. He pointed out that many entrepreneurs who made investments in their businesses were disappointed, and he discussed the ways in which his own small business, which saw several people enter and make small purchases in the short time I was there, was able to grow. As I as leaving his shop, Shep told me something that I saw as profound: he told me that he had been in prison, prior to starting this business. When he finished his term, he came out and decided to open this small business. One of the things that came out in both of our interviews was the idea that the community was supportive of him, and other entrepreneurs. In our first interview, Shep told me that he started the business to support the community – to allow people to access telephones when they needed them. In the second interview, he noted that it has been the community that supported the entrepreneurs, when the hoped for numbers of tourists did not materialize. I think this is what surprised me most of all about my discussions with Shep. His business appears very small, and perhaps not capable of providing much economic support, but in fact, small phone shops such as his can often function as gathering places for members of the community, and as he says, can support the

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community by providing connectivity. And through a series of hundreds of small purchases – less than one rand at a time – a business expands and eventually adds an employee or two to assist with washing cars or stocking the shelves. On the surface, it appears almost as subsistence entrepreneurship. But clearly there is more to the story than eking out a living through selling individually wrapped candies. In Shep's case, the impetus for this growth curve, if I may call it that, was telecommunications, and specifically the container phone shop that was implemented to equalize access in former townships. Once this happened, other service providers entered the market, and Shep capitalized on this opportunity to start something for himself and the community. Though the mobile phone may be the cost of entry for entrepreneurs in the hospitality business, telecommunications itself offers opportunities for entrepreneurs, and contributes to the connectedness and complexity of networks in places like Soweto.

Mobile communication, which includes voice, SMS, and mobile Internet, occupies a critical niche in South Africa's telecommunications portfolio. However, those entrepreneurs who operate tourist businesses, in particular B & Bs and tour operators, also report that they require fixed-line telephones (land lines) in order to communicate with international and local clients.

Fixed-line Telephony

Some participants mentioned that corporate clients in South Africa prefer the use of land lines, and these corporate customers can often be an important source of income for restaurants and tour operators. While using a fixed-line phone has the

reputation of being inconvenient and expensive in South Africa, for some entrepreneurs it is an essential component of their business strategy. Jeremy outlined the reasons for a land line as follows:

Researcher: And, what's the purpose of the, of the land line, mainly, how do you use it?

Jeremy: Ah, the land line, the local corporate people they like land lines, because they are always based in the office. It's easier on the land line.

Researcher: OK.

J: So they, even when they call me here, they, do you have a land line? It's also cheaper, to communicate with the land line. It's also cheaper. So, and, I think you must, I think every business must have a land line.

Thulani, the manager of a hotel in Soweto, explained to me that in fact using the land line was generally less expensive that using mobile phones, especially if the caller was phoning from a land line.

Thulani: Definitely, if you do, mobile, if you do mobile to landline, then it's expensive. It is really really expensive. Yeah. So, mobile to mobile is cheaper.

Researcher: Right.

Thulani: [And] landline to landline is cheaper. Because of different networks.

A B & B owner, Duduzile, supported this assertion, noting that her customers used the land line as a place to leave messages if they were unable to reach her.

Researcher: So, between the cell phone and the land line, do most of your customers book…

Duduzile: On the land line. Yes. And when, say maybe I'm not here they leave the message there.

Researcher: OK.

Duduzile: Then I can return their message.

Grace, a pub owner who did not have a landline in her business, suggested that there were advantages to a landline over a cell phone.

Grace: Yes, but I would love to have a, a landline as well. Because it's very costly, especially the locals now, around here, they would not phone you on a cell phone.

Researcher: It's more expensive.

Grace: They, yeah, they prefer on a landline, yeah.

Precious, who runs a B & B in Diepkloof, often interacts with other businesses, especially tour operators, to help move her clients from place to place. For this purpose, she generally prefers the landline over email or cellular phones.

Researcher: And there's never, you don't email, either, or do you…

Precious: Email, ah, email not really, no, no, not really. Because when you talk to them, you have to have a diary with you. The dairy has the dates and all that, yeah.

Researcher: And, do you find it less expensive as a business person to use the land line or to use the cell phone, to make those kinds of calls.

Precious: I think the land line it's much cheaper. Because it's local, the land line.

Researcher: So that's the way you would normally do it if you had to book with Jonah, or Jeremy, or…

Precious: The land line. Depending if they are, because now they said they have a problem with their land line. So now it's a cell phone.

Adam also noted that most of his customers made bookings using the land line, "they phone, they phone, usually they phone, on the land line. And sometimes they [the office] do refer them to my phone. Sometimes they book directly. But most of my clients they know my number, they, phone directly." Isabelle, a B & B owner, also reported that most of her clients booked on the land line, as did the majority of the accommodation owners in the study. However, she noted that the cost of the landline was a burden.

Isabelle: Hey. Landline is killing me. I'm sure it's because, ah, [my husband's], ah computer, he's also using Telkom. And there is this phone, last month I paid one thousand two hundred.

Researcher: Oi.

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Isabelle: It's too much. So I'm thinking, if, all goes well, I want to change this phone, and make it rather a wireless phone if there is something of that sort.

As I have suggested in the literature review, the fixed-line telephone business in South Africa is dominated by Telkom. In addition, Telkom also provides dial-up Internet service, which is billed to the user's fixed line account. Competition in the fixed line industry is improving with the arrival of Neotel, which is South Africa's "first converged communications network operator" (Neotel, n.d.), meaning the company provides voice and data services to homes and businesses through their network.

Some entrepreneurs who do not make use of land lines include commercial sex workers and, generally, nightclub owners. The degree to which commercial sex workers rely on the mobility provided by the mobile phone, as well as their ability to dynamically connect to clients, precludes the need for a land line. In fact, using a land line might increase their risk of being found out by family or others who may inadvertently contact them through a work device, prompting an unexpected response. Nightclub owners also typically reported not using a land line. Both Gary and Reggie reported that they hadn't installed land lines at their place of business, and unlike Grace, who reported the advantages of having one, neither of these two nightclub owners perceived an advantage to having a land line.

These qualitative discussions with business owners support Hamilton's (2003) findings that land lines and mobile phones are complements, not substitutes. As I have shown in this section, land lines and cell phones provide access to different

members of an entrepreneur's network, and serve very different communication purposes. Fixed-location Internet also functions as a complement for some participants, but generally, most entrepreneurs in this study who have access to the Internet tend to use it on a PC rather than their mobile device. As I have mentioned before, the telecommunications landscape in South Africa is changing quickly, and as smart phones become available to more and more people, fixed-location Internet may become less important to entrepreneurs like those in this study. However, there are barriers to accessing the Internet on a mobile device, such as the availability of mobile web pages, the cost of a smart phone, and the paradigm shift from physical to virtual input devices.

Fixed-location Internet

Participants generally reported that their use of the Internet is limited to checking email, and in a few cases, using social networking like Facebook or Twitter. Among participants in this study, it is most common to use the Internet to check for bookings from customers. A few business owners noted that they use email to reach certain members of their business networks; for example, I asked Jeremy about using email to reach subcontractors.

Researcher: And how about your other contacts, do you use SMS to reach them, or is it always phone, do you email any of these, of your subs [subcontractors]?

Jeremy: No, most of them don't have emails.

Researcher: OK.

Jeremy: Yeah, but [Jonah and Sela] have email…so, we, we do write them email.

The likelihood of an entrepreneur to use email within their business network depends primarily on the ability of all members of the network to use it. Even when some members of the network have access to email, the tendency is to use telephony. Although both Precious and Jeremy noted that they check their email multiple times a day, and although they both separately report having a close business relationship, Precious noted in our conversation that she rarely emailed the tour operators with whom she worked.

Precious: Email, ah, email not really, no, no, not really. Because when you talk to them, you have to have a diary with you.

Researcher: Right.

Precious: The dairy has the dates and all that, yeah.

Researcher: So that's the way you would normally do it…if you had to book with [Jonah], or Jeremy, or…

Precious: The land line. Depending if they are, because now they said they have a problem with their land line. So now it's a cell phone.

By the time I spoke to Precious, late in July 2009 and several weeks after my first trip to Soweto, I had a much better understanding of the relationships between B & B owners and tour operators in particular. When I spoke to Jonah and Sela about the use of email, Jonah reported that the company's use of email was very good.

Researcher: Do you, do clients reach you by email as well, do they email from overseas and book a tour?

Jonah: Let me tell you. [Sela] doesn't move from that seat…I tell you, she's so much obsessed. You can send her an email now and it takes one hour to respond.

I found this to be the case when I sent an email to Sela later to ask a follow up question about something they had told me during our initial interview. The experiences of Precious, Jeremy, and Jonah and Sela suggest almost constant access to email. However, I was left with the impression that they would prefer to use the phone to make business arrangements. I followed up with Sela about this issue, and she noted,

[o]n my side, I normally contact colleagues by phone first to check if there is availability. It's easier that way. Maybe also because we are familiar with each other, especially [Precious]. So each time I phone her for business, we end up having a social conversation. Jonah and Jeremy are members of GATOA [the Gauteng Tour Operator Association] and , so Jonah would phone Jeremy to chat and talk business. Mostly with Jeremy we end up sending an email for confirmation (personal communication, January 19, 2010).

The telephone is easier for a quick check on availability, but also, the relationship these participants have inform their communication strategy, and also facilitate their business arrangements. Email would be used for confirmation, but not to make arrangements.

Even when their land line is unavailable, Precious still prefers to make telephonic arrangements with Jonah and Sela. Jeremy noted that when making arrangements with "subs" that most of them did not have email, which is why they don't make arrangements that way. He did suggest that he would sometimes email Jonah and Sela, but later in the interview said that "it's always phone" when contacting subs, which would include Jonah and Sela, and as Sela suggests above, it's related to their connection to GATOA. Because they all use email constantly, I suggest that cost is not a significant reason for not using email to contact each other. In addition to the social aspect of telephonic communication, there is some resistance to the use of email among businesses because not everyone in the network has access to the technology. In other words, members of the network have a particular mode of communication that does not change easily. Connections with clients are driven by customer preference, but within a business network, members are more likely to be constrained by the least common denominator, which in this case, is the telephone, either mobile or fixed line.

Although these three participants suggested they had constant access to email, other members of the network had different experiences with the technology. For example, Mookho, who Precious mentioned as someone to whom she would occasionally refer clients, was in the process of getting the Internet installed in her place, and so usually used the Internet café to check email. She reported going to the Maponya Mall to check her email, since she was not fond of the Internet café in Pimville, although it is closer. Mookho doesn't have a car, so would have to walk or take a taxi to the café, about a 20 – 30 minute commitment in either case. Members

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of Mookho's imnmediate network include Ida, who, although she has Internet at home, is not entirely comfortable with the technology. We spoke about her use of the Internet and email when I stayed at her B & B.

Researcher: And, how about Internet? Do [your clients] use email?

Ida: You know, email, I, I think the fault is with us here at home. We are still learning how to, use computers…as it is, I didn't know how to, look for emails. Fortunately my daughter, when she, when she comes I just say, just show me, again, how do you go here, when you want to find, or, to Google, in order to see if the websites are still showing the previous, ah, home photo or the new one…now, I am able to do that, at the moment.

Researcher: OK.

Ida: Mm hmm. Now that is why, maybe people do book, through emails. I am not aware.

There is a significant difference between the experiences of participants like Ida and Mookho compared to Jeremy and Precious in their use of email. This difference and the relationship that some members of these networks have with each other may mean that communication within the network is restricted to the method accessible to members of an extended network, even if the sender and the receiver of the message have access to and are comfortable with email. Perhaps participants anticipate the need to later share information with those members who do not generally use email, and therefore restrict their communication to channels they

know will be accessible to all members. However, in some cases, access to the Internet has changed among participants. For example, Florence now offers free wi-fi to guests, something she did not do when we first met in 2009. While Mookho did have Internet access at home during the 2010 World Cup, her modem was recently stolen and she is back to using the Internet at a café. She reports that she's waiting for a technician to come re-install the Internet, a process that apparently takes some time.

Email and the Internet are also important to other participants, such as commercial sex workers, some of whom use the Internet to find new clients and to make connections to sex workers in other places. Among them, the use of email and Internet includes the communication that occurred between sex workers in South Africa and those in other countries who intend to travel to South Africa during the 2010 FWC. In terms of using the Internet to make arrangements for the 2010 FWC, Msizi reported that using the Internet was a key component of his communication with outsiders.

> Msizi: And I think the business will be booming. And we have our, fellow counterpart sex workers abroad, we are communicating through emails…emails, we are sending each other emails, telling them the environment here, how is it going to happen, what will be happening. So we know we are also having our people who will be coming, who are doing the same business that we will be doing.
>
> Researcher: Hmm.

Msizi: And they will gonna [make it] easy for us, to, get to the people from their countries, like my friends in Argentina, when they come here with the Argentineans, it will be a client exchange. It's gonna be easy for us, it's a client exchange, and client interaction. They tell me how to approach the Argentinean people, and I tell them also how to approach our people you know?

For commercial sex workers, the ability to access email is an important component of their overall communication strategy, with clients in particular, and less regularly with other sex workers. When I asked Sibusisiwe whether she used email to reach clients, she replied, "Yeah, some…some are quite nice guys who help me out, a lot." This was not the case for other female sex workers, who either did not use email at all or restricted the use of email to friends and family, such as Paris.

Researcher: OK. Do you use email also? Do you, do you email your friends, or, do you use Facebook?

Paris: Yeah, I'm on Facebook, and I've got an email address.

Researcher: OK, cool. But you have a website as well, for yourself?

Paris: Yeah for my like, personal stuff, yeah.

Researcher: And that's not Facebook, that's something else?

Paris: Yeah, that's like for, friends, and family, yeah, yeah, my boyfriend, and stuff.

Like in the cell phone, commercial sex workers keep their email and Internet communication between clients and friends and family completely separate. Maintaining this boundary is facilitated by the use of a mobile device for Internet access, because it is possible to control access to the device. However, using a computer that others can access can be problematic.

> Researcher: Do clients contact you by email? Do they email you and set, appointments, or…
>
> Msizi: Yes, they do, they do. Sometimes, I have my junk mail, because…yeah, we send our pictures…
>
> Jacob: Only if you have a personal computer in the house, that way, not here.
>
> Msizi: Yeah, not here…we don't do that.
>
> Jacob: Anybody can use it and, yo[26]. I, I mean, I'm aware that people know me and some idea of the work that we are doing. But it's kept under the carpet, also, it's not something spoken, unless if you see me doing it.

Jacob's comment illustrates one significant advantage to using a mobile device to access the Internet. For some participants, getting access to a private computer is expensive and can be logistically challenging. Using a mobile device for email solves these problems, at least in terms of the initial cost of a computer. For many B & B owners, however, a computer has been provided for their business as part of their

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[26] It's difficult to accurately translate the South African "yo" completely. This exclamation suggests, basically, it would be very bad, not only for the person accidentally viewing the image but for the intended recipient of the image or email.

adoption by the Southern Sun chain of hotels. They are therefore unlikely to have the same incentive to use their mobile device to access the Internet as, for example, a freelance artist who may not have an office for a computer.

For the participants in this study, email serves two purposes. First, it functions as a complement to telephonic communication, allowing entrepreneurs to confirm arrangements made telephonically. Second, it allows them to connect to clients, particularly those located outside South Africa, who generally prefer to use email to make accommodation arrangements before their arrival in the country. Email is not a particularly useful technology when it comes to strengthening network ties, as participants have suggested, because it's not available to all members of a network. While some participants mentioned using Google for various tasks, the Internet is not widely used as a source of information. Partially because screen time in an Internet café is billed per minute, and therefore expensive, and partially because of their busy schedules, participants' access to the Internet does not include most of the serendipitous discovery which has been suggested to characterize the use of the Internet in many other countries (Mislove, Gummadi, & Druschel, 2006). This is changing, fortunately, as more and more service providers are offering unlimited monthly data packages for less. Generally, participants still rely on telephonic communication within their Sowetan networks, and particularly on mobile devices, which allow them to use both voice and text communication.

Conclusions: Communication Technology in Soweto

Many participants reported that they perceived competition to be one of the most important business challenges they faced. For example, Davis, a pub owner, noted that "there's too many of us, in one area, so to speak, doing the same thing." Gavin, the owner of a coffee shop in Orlando West, noted that "it's somehow competitive. You charge your prices according to the way somebody else does." Ida reported that "I think there is strong competition." While many also note that entrepreneurs in Soweto cooperate with each other, competition in terms of the number of businesses and the density of small business in general, both formal and informal, is one of the most important factors in the decision to open and operate a tourism – related business in Soweto. Access to communications technology is only one component of a business plan, but perhaps one of the most important, because it allows the entrepreneur to present themselves to international, and more and more frequently, local clients. In practical terms, I found in 2009 that a participant's level of proficiency with technology was qualitatively related to their expectations for the 2010 FWC.

Some participants, such as Sobukwe, had high expectations for the 2010 FWC. He reported that "the 2010 it's gonna be a bomb. It's gonna happen, because we're no sitting, doing nothing." Sibusisiwe said "people will definitely come for the World Cup." Zake agreed, noting that "the World Cup, there are many, many, many clients will come here to South Africa." Jeremy was also optimistic about the 2010 FWC, saying that: "At the moment, for 2010, I'm expecting and I'm very very confident that, that one, it's gonna profit." Other entrepreneurs had lower expectations. Geraldine noted that "I'm a bit [of a] sceptic…I'm not that excited about 2010." Adam

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also noted that "I'm afraid, that's why I'm saying I don't want to, to, you know, put my heart so much to the World Cup, because it might disappoint us." Those participants who had consistent access to and knowledge of the Internet, for example, tended to have higher expectations for the 2010 FWC, while those participants who use only voice communications tend to report lower expectations for the 2010 FWC. I emphasize that this relationship is not causative, in the sense that using particular communication technologies cause optimism or pessimism about mega-events, but that the two are connected through factors affecting participants' ability to utilize varied forms of communication technology related to digital divide issues such as age, gender, and to a lesser extent, socio-economic status. These factors influence participants' ability to use a variety of communication technologies to promote their business interests and gain information about new opportunities, and therefore influence their perception of the event. At the same time, their connections to other members of the network may be strengthened by the use of mobile and fixed line voice communication, but this does not necessarily increase access to external information. Practically, this seemed to be the case: those entrepreneurs who reported high expectations for the event, and who were proficient in the use of ICTs also reported that they were satisfied with the results of the 2010 FWC.

Did these entrepreneurs market themselves better using their proficiency in ICTs? Perhaps. I think it's more likely that established entrepreneurs in the hospitality industry are able to capitalize on their success to get access to new technologies, and subsequently discover new opportunities in their sector, whether

restaurants, B & Bs, tour operators, or commercial sex workers. What are the factors that contribute to their ability to capitalize on their use of the technology? In the next chapter, I'll explore a concept I refer to as technological capital, and the ways in which it applies to the use of ICTs in Soweto, and elsewhere.

Chapter 5: Considering Technological Capital

In traditional economic terms, small-scale entrepreneurs might think about capital in terms of the funds they have to expand their business – to build an addition on their B & B, or open another location of their restaurant. In some cases, they may also consider human capital, which refers to the people who work for them. This is less common among the entrepreneurs who I'm writing about here, because many of them operate their business on their own. Together with these traditional economic definitions of capital, success in business (and in being a member of a community) can be argued to also depend on other forms of capital, such as social capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000). Thinking about the concept of capital more broadly allows us (me, the researcher, and you, the reader) to think about ways in which entrepreneurs can use non-financial investments, in relationships, for example, to build their business or increase their standing among the community. In addition, technological capital, which is a new form not previously well-defined, allows us to think about the ways in which entrepreneurs might benefit (or not) from the rapid changes in the techno-scape (Appadurai, 1996). In this chapter, I use Bourdieu's (1986) discussion of the forms of capital, particularly cultural capital, to describe some of the factors that influence an individual's ability to benefit from the presence of communication technology. For entrepreneurs, this may be a critical component of sustainability, particularly among those who work with international clientele. Subsequently, I borrow from Rogers (2003) to delineate the definition of technological capital, which I argue would be a useful part of an updated conception of cultural capital.

Forms of Capital

Bourdieu (1986) suggests that capital is a way to explain the nonrandom, accumulative effects of the social world's "accumulated history" (p. 241). Bourdieu notes that capital exists in three forms: economic, cultural, and social; these three forms of capital encapsulate the range of human transactions, or as Bourdieu suggests, removes the problematic dichotomy between economically "interested" and "disinterested" transactions. Social capital is a particularly important concept for small and micro-scale entrepreneurs, because relationships between business owners in Soweto facilitate exchanges of information and clients, which not only assists growing businesses but reinforces Soweto's reputation among visitors. Cultural capital, on the other hand, describes an individual's stores of cultural experiences, and examples include education, knowledge of the use of machines, and possession of objects such as musical instruments. I am proposing the concept of technological capital to explain the ways in which individuals use of inexpensive communication technology, something that Bourdieu's (1986) conception of capital does not sufficiently describe. In order to do this, I first need to outline Bourdieu's definitions of economic, cultural and social capital.

Social capital revisited. Bourdieu describes social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (1986, p. 248). These resources represent the connections that individual entrepreneurs have with each other, sometimes facilitated by familial connections, but more often created by membership in an organization like GATOA, as Sela mentioned in an email she sent me in reply to a question about her preferred way of contacting other business owners. Bourdieu goes on to note that "the volume of the social capital possessed by a given

agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he [*sic*] can mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he [*sic*] is connected" (1986, p. 249). In other words, Bourdieu proposes that the more connections an individual has, the more social capital they possess, although this also depends on the capital possessed by those in the network. We can think of social capital, therefore, as a measurable commodity. Furthermore, Bourdieu goes on to note that the "network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (1986, p. 249). In previous chapters I have described the ways in which mobile communication contributes to entrepreneurs' stores of social capital, particularly the ways in which mobile communication facilitates the investment strategies Bourdieu suggests, mainly through interaction with other entrepreneurs. However, as Bourdieu (1986) notes, another conception of capital is necessary to account for individuals' other non-economic investments, which he called cultural capital.

Cultural capital. Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital includes three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (1986). In the first two cases, Bourdieu notes that these refer to, respectively, "long-lasting dispositions of mind and body;" and "the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.)" (1986, p. 243). In the more complicated case of institutionalized cultural capital, Bourdieu suggests "social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time. It institutes cultural capital by collective magic."

(1986, p. 248). This "collective magic" is what gives a Ph.D. degree from a respected institution its power in the academic job marketplace, or a star ranking for a B & B its meaning among potential international visitors who have never visited. For participants in this research, the possession and use of communication technology are primarily described by Bourdieu's (1986) definition of the objectified form of cultural capital.

Mobile devices function as objects of cultural capital, as indicated by Bourdieu (1986) in that they can be appropriated both materially, by simply purchasing the device, and symbolically, or to use them "in accordance with their intended purpose" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 2XX). As I indicated in the previous chapter, use of mobile devices is almost always subject to revision and innovation; a user's ability to benefit from, for example, the CPP system to communicate information using "please call me" messages is an example of what Bourdieu describes as a "coherent universe which…has its own laws" (1986, p. 2XX). These laws transcend the use habits of any particular individual to form what I think of as a mobile culture. Unlike culture, and cultural capital, however, the history of mobile communication is quite short. The traditions of use, if we can call them that, are created by the limitations and opportunities imposed by the technology itself, and the strategies users develop to exploit them. Further, the barriers to entry, or as Bourdieu describes, the "the period of embodiment needed to acquire the means of appropriating [the cultural good]" (1986, p. 2XX) continue to shrink, rather than grow, suggesting that communication technology requires a revised conception.

The Limitations of Cultural Capital

Although users of communication technology possess cultural objects in the form of handsets or other material objects, describing all communication technology as an

objective form of cultural capital does not adequately describe its position or function among participants in this study. First, mobile and fixed communication technology bridges the division between social and cultural capital, providing users with the ability to increase their stock of social capital through the use of the device. In Bourdieu's description, the primary method through which individuals increase their volume of social capital is through an "unceasing effort of sociability…which implies expenditure of time and energy and so, directly or indirectly, of economic capital" (1986, p. 250). As the cost of telecommunications decreases, or as users invent strategies to use the technology to communicate for lower cost, stores of social capital can increase with smaller and smaller outlays of economic capital. Some of the communication strategies I have described allow participants to use communication technology to build stores of social capital without necessarily possessing any economic capital at all, such as the "please call me" message. In addition, the use of MXit, especially among young people in South Africa, clearly illustrates one way in which low-cost communication protocols may contribute to high levels of social capital. Rather than considering the impact of expenditures of economic capital on a user's stores of social capital, widely adopted forms of mobile communication suggest that a user's cultural or technological capital may be the most important contributor to building stores of social capital, as suggested by Figure 1. As indicated in the figure, as an individual's store of technological capital increases, building stores of social capital requires less economic capital.
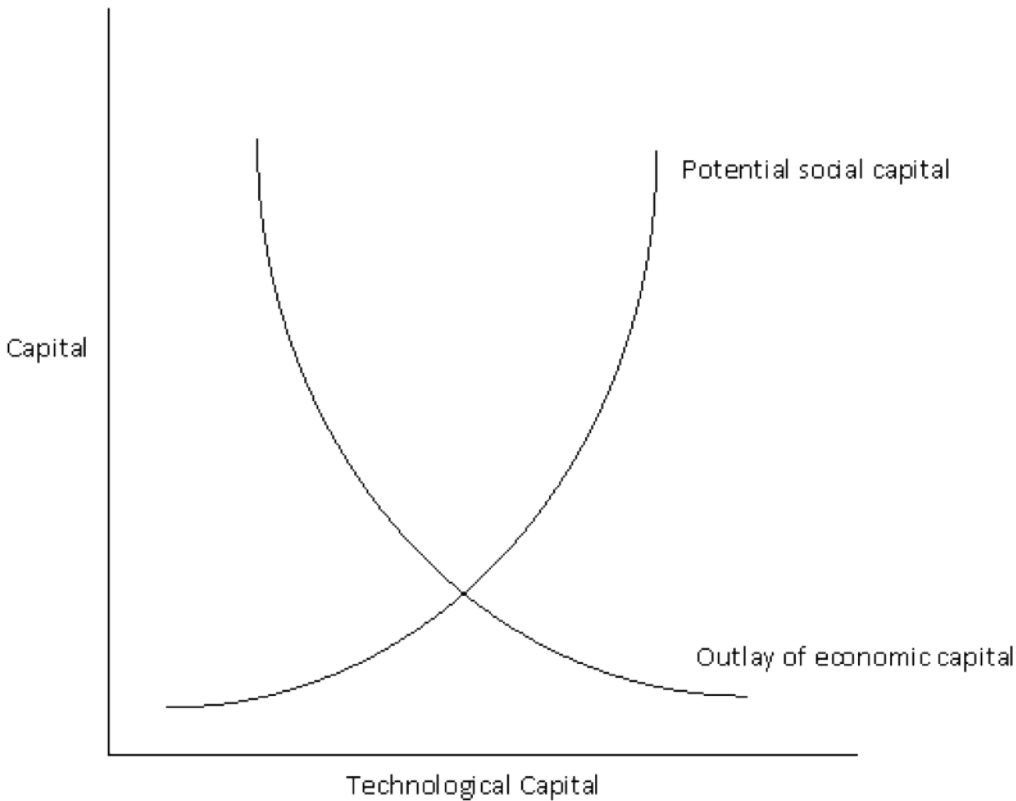
Figure 1: Relating Technological and Social Capital

Second, participants who do not have the knowledge necessary to utilize
communication technology may access their own stores of social capital to operate the
devices, by employing someone who does have the embodied capital necessary to do so.
An example of this might be Ma Chanza employing her grand-daughter to send an SMS
message or Ida requesting the services of a family member to log in to her email for her.
Bourdieu's definition of the objectified form of cultural capital refers to embodied capital
that individuals have incorporated at a time cost. This is essentially the knowledge
necessary to operate the device, and in Bourdieu's (1986) conception, this form of
cultural capital "cannot be done at second hand (so that all effects of delegation are ruled
out)" (1986, p. 244). If an individual has the ability to temporarily delegate the function

of the device to another person for their own benefit, the need to incorporate the cultural capital necessary for the operation is gone. Yet, the user's awareness of the importance of the delegated function is still present.

Third, communication technologies, particularly mobile devices, are used by nearly everyone in South Africa. As I have shown in the previous sections, owning and operating a mobile handset is essentially the cost of entry for an entrepreneur of any sector, not to mention the predominant way in which non-entrepreneurial communication occurs. This means that an entrepreneur who uses a mobile device does not possess a competitive advantage; there is no distinction between those who use the device and those who do not. Thus, it is impossible to distinguish between "dominated" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 247) users, those who use their embodied capital to sell services and products which derive from the device, and the "dominant" (p. 247) users, those who use their embodied cultural capital to gain profit from the device.

While the possession and use of communication technology may not fall neatly into Bourdieu's description of cultural capital, there are aspects of participants' engagement with the devices from an entrepreneurial perspective that suggest characteristics relevant to the capital framework. For example, participants are generally aware of the necessity of engaging with their clients through email or telephone, even if they do not presently possess the knowledge or skills necessary to do so. This awareness presupposes a desire to make the sacrifice Bourdieu (1986) describes as the requirement to embody the knowledge necessary to operate the device, which subsequently implies an economic or social opportunity or actual cost to the user. In addition, owning and operating a mobile device implies ongoing economic considerations on the part of the user, either through

the purchase of airtime or maintenance of a contract. Bourdieu's (1986) description of

cultural capital is useful in considering the ways in which entrepreneurs in this study

make decisions about its use. However, given the technology's ability to bridge economic

and social capital, its disembodied nature, and its relative lack of associated competitive

advantage, I propose borrowing from Rogers' (2003) description of knowledge of an

innovation to build a more nuanced description of the position of communication

technology as a component of cultural capital.

Technological Capital: A Contribution to Cultural Capital

As Bourdieu (1986) suggests, the ability to use a machine or device to generate profit

depends both on the user's ownership of the device and the "embodied" cultural capital

possessed by the user. I have already explained a number of important characteristics of

the use of communication technology by small and micro-scale entrepreneurs, which

contribute to their ability to make business decisions and connect with other

entrepreneurs. I have also suggested that Bourdieu's (1986) conception of cultural capital

does not adequately explain the use and function of mobile devices among small-scale

entrepreneurs in the South African, or specifically Sowetan, context. Addressing this

shortcoming requires an updated consideration of the concept; I suggest it can be partially

addressed by redefining the phrase "technological capital," a term which has been

primarily used in development agriculture and intellectual property and copyright

analysis (see Mohapatra & Suar, 2008; Muina & Pelechano-Barahonabut, 2009; Chang &

Hsieh, 2008), but which is equally applicable to the use of communication technology in

small and micro-business. Resnick (2001) has developed a concept he refers to as

"sociotechnical capital" that describes the ways in technology can support the creation of

social capital. This concept does not address the more fundamental question I address

here, which is to provide a conceptualization and scale for the ways in which technology

carries its own "accumulated effects" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. XX) that influence personal,

social, and in the case of this book, entrepreneurial outcomes. My definition of

technological capital could be folded into Bourdieu's cultural capital, but the phrase has

the advantage of differentiating the possession and use of discrete devices from the

concept of cultural capital, which is broadly inclusive of a variety of embodied, objective,

and institutional components. Discriminating among a greater number of more narrowly

defined conceptions of capital provides more explanatory power for the decision making

of entrepreneurs.

   In a competitive, capitalist system, which as I have demonstrated, characterizes the

small and micro-scale business climate in South Africa, gaining capital, primarily

economic, is the ultimate goal. Other forms of capital, whether social, cultural, or

technological, facilitate the accumulation of economic capital among entrepreneurs.

These forms of capital also facilitate the increase of each other among entrepreneurs, as

they share information or skills. However, gaining capital is not the end of the story.

Capital is a measurable commodity, especially in its economic form, but in a competitive

market, what matters most about the forms of capital is having more than others. When

capital is used to differentiate a business from competitors, what is important is not solely

the possession of capital, but the difference between the amounts possessed. In other

words, if everyone in South Africa possesses a mobile phone and the minimum amount

of knowledge necessary to operate the device, no entrepreneur who enters the

marketplace can use this knowledge for competitive advantage. Capital in its technological and other forms is most beneficial to those who have greater stores when it is possessed in varied amounts, although it is arguable that having less capital than one's peers may also result in opportunities in the form of access to training, government and NGO assistance, and occasionally, international aid.

In order to address the discriminatory power of the possession of varied amounts of technological capital, its definition must include aspects that differentiate the knowledge that is possessed by everyone from other components that set certain users apart from their peers. Unlike technological literacy, which means "computer skills and the ability to use computers and other technology to improve learning, productivity, and performance" (Department of Education, 1996, p. 7), the definition of technological capital includes the user's awareness of the potential of the technology, the knowledge of how to use it, the ability to access the technology when and how most beneficial to the user, and the ability of interpersonal or inter-organizational connections to use the technology which the devices allow the user access. Thus, an entrepreneur such as Ma Chanza, who knows how to use the Internet to check her email and access the Internet, may be technologically literate, but have a lower level of technological capital than another entrepreneur, because she is unable to access the Internet on demand, in her home. Each of these four components is explained in the following sections.

Awareness: We can See that Technology has Taken Over

This component of technological capital is similar to Rogers' (2003) definition of "awareness-knowledge" (p. 173) in which individuals are aware of an innovation (technology). In addition to the awareness of the existence of certain communication

technology, participants in this study expressed awareness of the usefulness of particular forms of communication technology for their business. In some cases, this resulted in the use of the technology, while in others, circumstances made it difficult for participants to capitalize on this awareness. Most frequently this is expressed by participants as a lack. For example, Hlengiwe, who owns a construction company, notes:

> As I said, last time, I don't have, the, um, the computer, this is what I must work towards now…to, to have the computer, because you know I was using my friend's computer, and then she took it away, because she was running a business at home. But now that computer it's broken, I don't know how, she doesn't have a computer also…that is my priority, to buy a computer, just to have my own laptop. Wherever I go, then, you know, it's easy to do your presentation also.

Gary, who owns a restaurant/tavern, suggests:

> So I've identified maybe ah, maybe because of, I'm a little bit behind, technology wise, you know, ah, if, if I could maybe get a proper office…you know, maybe whereby, because the medium of instruction[27], when you're saying email, and, email and, I'm saying Internet in general, you know, I think it's going to be like, if I can organize that, for my own, it's going to be like, the sharpest medium…of, instruction. Because, it helps in terms of marketing, and publication.

For Sobukwe, who owns a restaurant in Orlando West, awareness of the potential of the Internet extends to social networking using technologies such as Twitter and Facebook, in addition to a relatively static website. Other participants, like Precious, note that for her, the Internet is a key component of the business marketing strategy.

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[27] In this context "medium of instruction" is a euphemism for communication channel or method.

Precious: Yes, we do have a website. I would say both, marketing and, as I said, ah, bookings and all that. I think [the] Internet, it's one of the most important things to run a business…[customers] Google, hey, most of them, many, many, many people. I would say, most of them because I, for them to confirm their booking they have to use, to email me…to make sure that the booking is confirmed, and all that. Yeah. I would say, 10%, 20% of them, we find them on the Internet.

Like Precious, other B & B owners mention the advantages of using email and the Internet to complete bookings. For example, Geraldine mentions that although she receives all her bookings through the phone, she would prefer email. She notes that, when using email for reservations:

…it works out easier. Because if a person, if I had it here, then someone books, I am able to, answer him, you know, write him on the rates, and he sends back, the confirmation. You know, telephonically, we discuss, and then the person books, then, you wait to see that person coming in. If he doesn't bother himself to say no, I am cancelling, or doing what, no. But you understand, with an email, he, he can, because he has, bound himself, yes.

Researcher: Right.

Geraldine: Yeah. So now, telephonically, aiee. We are suffering, that's one department that now, makes us, whew, fail here. We're having people, phoning, making reservations. If they don't turn up, they don't let you know on time. You turn other people away, to say no, I'm fully booked, you send them to another B n B. At the end of the day you end up not having anyone.

Mookho also expressed a desire to learn how to benefit from technology, suggesting an awareness of its potential.

> Mookho: I feel I really need, eh, an extensive training…not like, to be a program, a programmer. But, just to be able to attend, to the, you know, to the needs of basic, basic Internet, because, we can see that, technology has taken over.

These examples demonstrate the importance of participants' awareness of the potential of technology in their business. However, being aware of the potential benefits of a particular technology does not necessarily indicate a connection to an individual's store of technological capital. Developing the capital necessary to benefit from a particular technology requires the individual to possess other knowledge about the devices.

Knowledge: I Need to be in a Position to do this by Myself

In this definition to technological capital, knowledge is similar to Rogers' (2003) description of "how-to knowledge" which he defines as "the information necessary to use an innovation properly" (p. 173). In order to develop her store of technological capital, an individual must cultivate the ability to operate the device or technology. This corresponds to Bourdieu's conception of embodied state of cultural capital. In the acquisition of this knowledge, the user invests time, which "must be invested personally by the investor" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244). According to Bourdieu's conception, the longer the investment of time, the greater the associated cultural capital (1986). However, in the case of technological knowledge, which also may be thought of as literacy, skills can be transferred and exchanged. Among older participants it was common to ask a family member for assistance with a technical problem. For example, I discussed this issue with Ma Chanza.

Researcher: Are you, happy with technology, I mean, are you pretty comfortable emailing and web surfing, and SMSing and everything?

Ma Chanza: I think, no, I think I'm lazy and I haven't got time to do that. I've got, my, and she's [her granddaughter] my secretary…she's 16 years.

Researcher: Yeah.

Ma Chanza: She loves to do that. And what else? She says, and what else, what do you want? Can I do it?

In the case of businesses that are run within a family, one person's knowledge of how to use a particular technology like email or the Internet can improve the ability of the whole business to increase its store of technological capital. For example, in Jonah and Sela's tour operations, Sela is the primary user of email and the Internet. Jonah started the business while Sela was working at the bank, and when the business began to grow, Sela joined. Jonah acknowledges his own lack of experience with the technology: "you know that computer, I'm not okay. It is because an experience that I have, that in terms of forward thinking, I'm not as good as they, as they can be, and I need to acknowledge that." On the other hand, Sela has become the business's main user of email, the Internet, and phones. Her skills are easily transferable to the business, and her ability to utilize email or the Internet allows her to essentially translate important information into a form with which Jonah is comfortable, the cellular phone. Jonah can then phone customers or other members of the business network. In this way, Sela's translation allows Jonah to increase the social capital he and the business possess, and the business is able to increase its store of technological capital, which, through customer bookings and fulfillment, leads to economic capital.

Other participants noted the importance of knowledge in terms of their own requirements for training or information. For example, when I asked Mookho about her satisfaction with the communication technology she used, she noted:

Yeah, they are working OK, but, it's only, for instance, I have a problem. In, if I need to send, let's say an SMS. I have to engage, one of the kids, one, one of the kids, please do this for me. [laughs]. If I need to send a, you know, there are small technical issues, I, maybe it's my fault, I really haven't given myself time, to learn…I've always been passing it over to the kids, just do this, and which is totally not right…I need to be in a position to do these things myself.

This statement suggests both a lack of knowledge and an awareness of the potential of the technology. Her statement regarding the time required to learn the technology affirms Bourdieu's (1986) statement that embodied cultural capital implies "a labor of inculcation and assimilation" (p. 244). At the same time, Mookho's requirement to learn the technology is postponed by substituting the knowledge and skills of an immediate family member for her own. Others mention that they lack the knowledge to consistently use the technology on their own. Even though Ida has the Internet in her home, she notes that "maybe people do book, through emails. I am not aware…because I don't check my email, sometimes I've forgotten, how do I open this." The ability to access email consistently is an important part of operating an accommodation business like Ida's B & B, because customers from overseas frequently use email to make bookings.

It is apparent that the nature of communication technology in South Africa allows individual users to substitute the skills of others for their own, which promotes either directly, in the case of Ma Chanza's granddaughter accessing email for her, or indirectly,

in the case of Sela's translation for Jonah, the user's ability to increase their own stores of other forms of capital, primarily social or economic. However, the ability to use the technology is not more than literacy and does not necessarily contribute to technological capital, especially if all users possess this level of knowledge. The individual must have access to the device or technology to benefit from the potential.

Access: I wish I Could Have my Own Internet

Access to and the knowledge of how to use technology are critically linked. In the case of the mobile phone in South Africa, gaining access is not a significant challenge for entrepreneurs, and as Jeremy suggested in a previous chapter, is the cost of entry for starting a business. Without consistent access to technology, it is difficult for the user to develop the knowledge and skills necessary to benefit from the technology; likewise, limited access suggests limited ability to consider the ways in which the technology might contribute to the business. Access to the Internet is closely linked to the concept of the digital divide, which suggests that individuals possess varying degrees of access to technology depending on their status (Norris, 2001). Observation and discussions with entrepreneurs in this study suggested large discrepancies in their ability to access technology. For example, Sobukwe has virtually constant access to the Internet through either of his phones or the Internet connection at the restaurant. The same could be said for Kwanele, who uses a USB modem with access to his cellular service provider's network. Jacob and Sampson both use cell phones to access the Internet and their email; for Sampson this extends to the use of Facebook via his cell phone. For others, such as Geraldine and Mookho, getting the Internet at home is a top priority, but for now, they must travel to an Internet café to access their email. Geraldine's statement regarding the

problems with telephonic reservations corresponds to the statement she made regarding her own ability to access the Internet. When I asked her if she had the Internet at home, she said she hadn't had it installed, although it was one of her priority tasks. In order to access the Internet and email, she is therefore required to travel to an Internet café. There are many such cafés located around Soweto, but several participants mentioned preferring the café in the Maponya Mall, the largest shopping center in Soweto. For Geraldine, this would mean a 10 minute drive in her own car, or slightly longer by minibus taxi. She noted that it had been "over two weeks" since she had been able to check her email.

Access to the Internet is also determined by its cost. Some participants consider the cost at Internet cafés to be prohibitory; for example, Nhlaka, who did not have access to the Internet at home, told me:

You know, I wish I can have my own, Internet, am I right…I wish. Because, when you go to the café, they charge you, I think, per minute, you, you buy units there…every unit is about 5 rand.

Researcher: 15, I know at the one at Maponya it's, 15 min, 15 minutes for 10 rand.

Nhlaka: For 10 rand.

For a person who is familiar with the Internet and who may have an established routine which includes checking email and accessing a couple of favorite sites, 15 minutes might seem like enough time. But for someone who does not typically access the Internet and who may or may not have the skills necessary to quickly send emails or access required information, 15 minutes is likely too few to adequately use the Internet. Since access to the Internet is sold in blocks of 15 minutes, this person would be required to purchase multiple blocks, which Nhlaka and others perceive as expensive. Those who have the

Internet at home sometimes note that they do not perceive it as expensive, especially compared to the costs of fixed-line telephony, which is generally perceived as being particularly expensive. For example, Ida reports that her monthly bill for fixed-line telephony has been more than R1200, about $150. Since she has installed iBurst Internet at home, she reports "I pay [iBurst] every month but it's not much."

Access and knowledge reinforce each other among participants in this study. Better access suggests better knowledge of the technology; increased knowledge leads to greater opportunities to access technology, especially the Internet. After an individual knows how to use a cellular phone to access the Internet, their awareness of the opportunities connected to the technology also increases. Likewise, a lack of access suggests that the individual is less likely to be able to learn the skills necessary to use the technology on their own. When I report that access and knowledge are critically linked, I am referring to what is essentially a virtuous or vicious cycle. In addition to awareness, knowledge, and access, an individual's ability to benefit from communication technology also depends on their connections to other individuals who either use the technology themselves or provide them with links to other beneficial members of the network.

Connections: Critical Mass

As I have discussed earlier in this paper, participants' decision to use a particular technology depends at least partially on whether members of their network, including indirect connections, have adopted the use of the technology. Therefore, the ability of an individual to increase their store of technological capital depends to some extent on the willingness of members of their network to do the same. As I have previously suggested, this process may be dependent on the most commonly used technology among members

of a network. To a certain extent, this reflects Rogers (2003) discussion of "critical mass" (p. 349), which refers to the idea that once a certain number of individuals have adopted a new technology, others in their networks will shortly follow suit. However, in the definition of technological capital, this also refers to the qualitative benefits other users provide, such as their willingness to use an adopted technology with the user, which entrepreneurs are in their extended networks, and their own awareness, knowledge, and access to a particular communication technology.

Because communication is such a critical part of the operation of a small or micro-business, the adoption of new methods of communication within networks, such as email, is not necessarily driven by early adopters. Instead, those who are slow to learn a technology like email or the Internet may be the most influential in affecting technological change among participants in this study, because other members of their network are more likely to use the technology which is most accessible (mobile voice communication). In addition, some participants simply prefer to speak; Sela reports that generally when she calls Precious to make arrangements, they will wind up speaking about social issues before they make business arrangements. To a certain extent, this characteristic of communication among participants reinforces Grannovetter's (1973) discussion of the strength of weak ties. Close relationships within the entrepreneurial community depend not on new communication technology like email or Facebook, but on well-established communication channels. These channels reinforce communication patterns among participants, especially regarding the use of mobile voice communication. The weak ties, some of whom find participants' establishments through word of mouth, and many of whom are international, require the use of channels like email.

Entrepreneurs who are connected to others who have relationships with weak ties therefore benefit from their experiences accessing these weak ties.

These four factors, awareness, knowledge, access, and connections, form a basis for considering technological capital among this study's participants. As the "accumulated history" of participants' experiences with communication technology, technological capital addresses the ways in which participants use communication technology as a substitute for economic capital, the ability of many to use the accumulated knowledge of others to benefit from the devices, and provides a detailed consideration of the reasons, despite their nearly ubiquitous adoption by entrepreneurs, mobile and fixed communication technology benefit some entrepreneurs more than others. I view technological capital not as a proxy for the adoption of a particular innovation, but a way to consider the accumulation of individual experiences with communication technology and their power to differentiate entrepreneurs in the competitive Soweto marketplace. Furthermore, although the use of communication technology among participants may be an important component of their ability to connect with clients and other entrepreneurs, sometimes, non-technological methods are the most appropriate.

Measurement

Research is needed to determine the best ways to measure technological capital, but a reasonable starting point for a comparative study might focus on the level of each of the four components possessed by an individual. Aggregated, responses to questions about awareness, knowledge, access, and connections could be used to develop a technological capital index, that would compare individuals within communities, and potentially, among different communities. In the next paragraphs, I will propose a few modest ideas

for the ways in which technological capital might be measured, and some ideas about how data on each of the four components could also be used to improve individuals' and communities' stores of technological capital.

The first component of technological capital, awareness, determines whether an individual would seek to develop knowledge of, and access to, a specific technological innovation. Therefore, awareness of the existence of a certain technology is foundational to the presence of technological capital. I would supplement the awareness of existence with the additional awareness of the technology's potential role in the individual's life. What will it do for me is as fundamental a question as what exists, and awareness of purpose fits within the capitalist/entrepreneurial landscape of present-day South Africa and elsewhere, in which consumer goods are sold as solutions to problems.

Knowledge of how to use a particular technology might be considered part of technology literacy, a concept that has been used extensively in education. For example, the ST^{2}L, or Student Tools for Technology Literacy, is an interactive, performance-based tool that gauges students' existing level of technology skills (Florida Department of Education, 2009) and such a tool could be easily adapted to the measurement of ICT knowledge among adults. Although this tool requires the use of a computer, the level of knowledge could be assessed through surveys or interviews with participants – this type of "quick and dirty" (Chambers, 2008, p. 72) assessment could yield some insights into the challenges perceived by individuals using, or attempting to use, communication technology.

Access to technology could also be measured using appropriate rapid appraisal techniques. Do you have a mobile device, and if so, what kind? Is there a computer in the

house? Is it connected to the Internet? Where is the nearest Internet café? Researchers could also consider the barriers to access, such as cost of entry to Internet access; transportation, if required, to an Internet café; the cost of owning and operating a mobile phone; and other factors such as the ability of people with disabilities to access technology.

Finally, assessing technological capital requires examining an individual's connections, and perhaps this is the most challenging component of the concept. The likelihood that an individual will adopt a particular innovation, use it, and benefit from it depends to some extent on what others in that individual's network are doing. The "critical mass" I mentioned earlier may provide the tipping point for everyone in a network to replace an old technology with a new one, such as the use of Twitter in place of text messaging. Until a certain number of individuals makes this change, the network will continue to use the old technology, or put another way, when a certain number of individuals adopts the new innovation, the diffusion of the innovation becomes self-sustaining (Rogers, 2003). In terms of technological capital, thinking about the ability of others in the network to use and benefit from technology has both qualitative and quantitative components. How many people are using a particular technology, and how do they perceive that it contributes to their personal utility are both important questions for consideration in the measurement of technological capital.

Research into technological capital can assist in addressing digital divide issues, as data from each of the four components of the concept can assist in identifying areas in which interventions, such as training programs, business incubators, or marketing, can be most useful in leveling the playing field for entrepreneurs and individuals. Technology

itself creates new opportunities, and individuals and groups with high stores of technological capital are arguably better placed to take advantages of these innovations. Those with lower stocks are more likely to be left further behind, and although increasing one component such as access may assist in addressing these issues in the short term, I argue that the others are equally necessary for long-term growth of technological capital and the benefits it can provide for entrepreneurs and others.

Conclusion

The four components of technological capital I have discussed, awareness, knowledge, access, and connection, taken together, represent a measurable store of capital that an individual can exchange or utilize to gain other forms of capital. It facilitates the maximization of social capital for the smallest expenditure of economic capital, and as new communication technology are adopted by users, the economic cost of building social capital is gradually exchanged for the technological capital necessary to exploit the devices. Technological capital suggests a participant's familiarity with a specific communication technology and their likelihood to use it to accomplish business-related goals. For some, attaining technological capital is based on an interest in the device itself; these individuals spend the time to learn a new technology because they enjoy it or because they are fascinated by the devices. Others use the technology from a practical point of view, in which they use the device as a means to an end, be it contacting customers or reaching out to suppliers. This difference between individuals' willingness to invest in their incorporated knowledge is much more prominent when one considers email or the Internet, since using a cellular phone for voice calls is the de facto cost of entry to a business. However, the advent of phones that can access the Internet, as

well as advanced smart phones like the Apple iPhone, suggest that the mobile handset will eventually become a repository of technological capital. In the years prior to the 2010 FWC, entrepreneurs were more likely to consider the ways in which they communicate with international clients, and in interviews, were often focused on the adoption of new technologies like email, suggesting that those with higher stores of technological capital would be able to better capitalize on the economic possibilities connected to the event. To a certain extent, I found this to be true, although there are so many variables involved in determining what "success" meant and why it occurred for some and not others, that it is at this point too early to think about the relationship between technological capital and entrepreneurial success.

Although I have defined the concept of technological capital as it relates the use and adoption of communication technology, I have avoided comparing participants' levels of technological capital in this chapter. This is partially because I did not begin the project with the purpose of measuring stores of technological capital, but to examine the contribution of communication technology to participants' stores of social and, to a lesser extent, cultural capital. Without using specific measurements for each of the four components of technological capital, comparison is difficult. Future studies could, however, easily begin to examine technological capital as a measure of individuals' use of communication technology, with both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the four components of the definition.

Another methodological and theoretical question that stood out to me during this research was my conception of the ways in which new ideas are transmitted among

entrepreneurs in Soweto. Originally, I believed that the diffusion of innovations model

(Rogers, 2003) would be a reasonable entry point for thinking about how specific

knowledge and strategies for use of mobile communication would be transmitted within

and among the community. However, upon arrival in Soweto, and throughout my

continued work there, I have developed a better understanding of the complexity of the

relationships between entrepreneurs and of the field itself. In the next chapter I describe

the ways in which this complexity manifests itself, and a potentially better, or at least

more fitting, approach to considering entrepreneurial networks in the Sowetan context:

the rhizome.

Chapter 6: Thinking Rhizomatically

In the previous chapter, I proposed the theoretical concept of technological capital, which can be used to describe individuals' and communities' ability to benefit from the presence of ICTs. In this chapter, I describe the relationships among entrepreneurs in Soweto and Gauteng, some of the organizations that facilitate these relationships, the rhizomatic nature of the entrepreneurial community, and explain another emergent theme from the data, how social capital within the community is built and maintained by the use of mobile and fixed communications technology.

It is worth noting that asking questions related to networks among entrepreneurs was not always a fruitful line of inquiry. What was particularly difficult to glean from participants was specific information related to their connections to other businesses, something that is also often obscured from observation.   For example, an early question in the interview guide asked participants to provide the "five most important contacts" in their mobile phone's address book. Answering this question proved difficult for a number of reasons. First, ranking business contacts can be difficult or not meaningful to entrepreneurs; importance may be based on a particular situation rather than fixed. Second, five contacts are far too few to represent some entrepreneurs' networks, while for others five may be too many. Third, for some entrepreneurs, providing the names of their contacts was uncomfortable. This could have been due to the nature of the business they were in, for example, in the case of commercial sex workers, or

because an entrepreneur was reluctant to mention one contact at the expense of another. In order to address this problem, the research team reframed the question in terms of businesses around Soweto that referred customers to the participant; we also sometimes asked owners about suppliers and how they were contacted. During data analysis, I also tracked the mentions of other business owners in order to determine some of the most frequently mentioned businesses. These strategies led to some understanding of the nature of social capital among the study's participants.

Social Capital Revisited

Like Bourdieu (1987), Putnam (2000), describes social capital as "connections between individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 19), and notes two types of social capital – bridging capital, which refers to connections individuals maintain to those outside their usual networks, and bonding capital, which serves to reinforce already existing connections between individuals who share particular characteristics. Putnam (2000) views bridging capital as generally positive, as it serves to connect individuals with diverse experiences and views, while bonding capital can be either positive or negative, depending on the characteristics within the group it reinforces or promotes. The concept of bridging capital is analogous to the "weak ties" described by Granovetter (1973), which connect individuals and network segments, and to Rogers' (2003) heterophily, or the attributive differences in "beliefs, social status, education" (p. 36) between individuals, which is essential for new ideas to appear and diffuse among communities. In this study, a significant challenge for

participants is to make connections to those outside their bonding groups; in other words, accessing weak ties in order to find business opportunities and new customers. In Soweto, the strength of ties, and participants' ability to benefit from their connections to others are also influenced by people's perceptions and expectations of their community. Despite its size, the area maintains the reputation of a cohesive community, in which neighbors watch out for one another's interests, entrepreneurs cooperate by sharing information and customers when possible, and outsiders, especially tourists, are generally welcomed.

Characteristics of Community among Participants

Part of the charm of visiting Soweto for those from outside is the sense of community they feel when they arrive, something which was mentioned by several participants. For example, Lindani, the owner of a guesthouse in Orlando West, noted several aspects of Sowetan community.

Researcher: So your network over here is pretty strong, I mean, you have connections to other B n Bs...

Lindani: Yes...we have connections to other B n Bs, to other businesses, to other service providers, and, you know, and, to, also, you know, community police forums, to our police stations, to...to our hospitals, ah, you need to have all the connection there, so that people know what you are doing.

Researcher: Right. Yeah. And the people are secure...

Lindani: That's your security, that's your security. People know you, the more people know, the more people understand that your business, ah, is about developing the community, not just developing an individual...and they will support you.

Lindani went on to discuss his relationship to the community.

I make sure that my community feels that it's, they are part of it. I make the kids, around the area, feel, that they are part of it, so, that, when you come here, you see that, and, I think when you [a tourist] leave, you can take that with you, and share it with other people.

Another aspect to this sense of community is the willingness of some participants to share customers with each other. Ntombazi, a B & B owner on Orlando West noted that she often sent clients to other B & Bs who might be struggling.

Ntombazi: It's like if you can say to me, eish, you know [Ntombazi] I don't have guests, since from, 2 months ago. If I am fully booked, I will [send customers to you]. But if I am not fully booked, no.

Researcher: Yeah, you must take care of yourself.

Ntombazi: But, the first person, who, who I will contact, it's you because you told me that since from when you don't have guests.

Stanley, who owns a phone shop in Orlando East, provides storage space for one of his neighbors who is an informal entrepreneur selling fruit and vegetables on the

same corner as his shop. We spoke about the situation and what he did for these entrepreneurs.

> Stanley: OK. These people eh, they are from, Maputo, Mozambique...so they are selling, they, they, I grew up, their mother was selling...so, they grew up selling here, so, what I help them, if they, if it's late, they took their stock and put it here.
>
> Researcher: Oh, I see.
>
> Stanley: Yeah. Then, so that it won't be stolen...the other one, she's, she's selling there, but she hasn't arrived yet.
>
> Researcher: By storing...you help them out.
>
> Stanley: By storing, yes. Their stock.

Stanley's arrangement with his neighbor, who has been selling on the same corner in Orlando East since he was growing up, is an important contribution to his own social capital, but also to the community at large. In addition, in the context of the devastating xenophobic violence which occurred in July of 2008 in the Alexandra township of Johannesburg, his assistance to someone who he notes is from outside South Africa suggests a community in the area which extends to those outside of one's ethnic group or national identity.

The community can be both a help and hindrance to an entrepreneur. For commercial sex workers, strong community tends to be problematic. Sibusisiwe described her concerns about doing business in Soweto:

Sibusisiwe: There, ai, you know, of course, there is money there [in Soweto], but I wouldn't do this, I wouldn't do what I am doing where I'm staying, you get what I am saying? I wouldn't do it in front of everyone who knows me…you get what I am saying, I gotta have respect there, come and do whatever I gotta do this side and go back and have respect, there, and dignity there, and stuff like that, you get what I am saying. Here, here anybody is just, you can do whatever you want. It's, it's different.

Researcher: There…everybody's watching you.

Sibusisiwe: Yeah. Everybody's watching you, come on now…so I grew up there, they know me as a baby…and ah, my parents wouldn't want to see me do this…although, yeah, my parents, are, are deceased. But um, you know, I gotta do what I gotta do.

Sibusisiwe's experience with community has a chilling effect on her ability to do business in Soweto, something supported by other research that describes "sex for money" exchanges that take place outside of commercial sex work in Soweto (Wojcicki, 2002). In Sibusisiwe's place of business, a downtown Johannesburg hotel, commercial sex workers are able to do business without fear of being ostracized from their communities. In part, this is due to the fact that many of these hotels have been abandoned by their owners, leaving them to be taken over by business people from other countries in a process known as "hijacking." These people are sometimes pimps for the female commercial sex workers, sometimes drug dealers, and sometimes both, as Sibusisiwe suggests:

I've said I don't do this. It's like that. Most of the girls, they, they do like that.

You know. But then you get junkies, especially this place. Filled with Nigerian

guys who sell drugs and shit. Plenty of girls are getting hooked with this stuff.

You get what I'm saying. Plenty of girls are dying each and every, single

day…you see Jozi is not safe anymore. It wasn't safe then, but now I'm talking

about you know, something that can kill you. You know, you're taking it and it

kills you. And you're working for that thing…here, it's just not like the States,

you know, with that thing. You've got people pimping you out, and shit, you

know. They are there, especially those girls who take drugs and stuff, they get

pimps, because they owe those guys shit, money…they want drugs and shit, but,

ah, when you've got your head on straight, you can be totally independent and

do your thing.

Commercial sex workers like Sibusisiwe, who work primarily in hotels, have little

opportunity to develop strong networks or connections to other CSWs who work on

the street, because they tend to be isolated. Sibusisiwe noted the condition of the

hotel in which she works:

Sibusisiwe: This is not a, a brothel. Ha ha…this is a hotel, you get what I am

saying. It's a fucked up hotel at that.

Researcher: Yeah…

Sibusisiwe: …you know what I'm saying. If you really wanna see how things

work, eh, you go, there are plenty of places here…you see there are different

standards, like, here the Summit, there's this shitty place called Ambassador, it's just a couple of blocks from here…Diplomat, Royal Park.

Those CSWs who work on the street, despite the risk of harassment by the police and the riskier environment, do benefit from the connections to other sex workers. For example, Zanele and Busi noted that they generally worked as a group.

Researcher: Is it usually that there's two of you together?

Zanele: No.

Busi: In our corner, in our corner, we are five…because sometimes, she can be my friend, and she's not there. Like, maybe like, let's say tonight, she's not there.

Researcher: Mm hmm.

Busi: But then, there is another one that I can give money to.

The connections to members their network was also mentioned in our discussion of their use of SMS.

Researcher: So if you were to look at your SMSs, would they be mostly to other sex workers, or to clients, or, mix, or…

Zanele: To sex workers.

Busi: Mostly, ah, sex workers and clients both. Both. Because we are so connected. We are working, we are working in Sandton, and they are, we have friends downtown, we have friends here in Hillbrow because, sometimes we work here in Hillbrow…in the hotels, in the bars, in the clubs.

Those CSWs who work in hotels, like Sibusisiwe, or rent rooms in houses, like Paris, are not as well connected to other CSWs as are those who are working in downtown Johannesburg. This is partially due to geography, but also due to advocacy programs which encourage sex workers to communicate proactively with each other. Msizi described this practice as "each one, teach one" in our discussion.

> Researcher: And this network that you use to help each other out, I mean, how well established is it, I mean, does everybody use it, does only a few people know about it?

> Msizi: It's a few people but eh, the, we are using the thing that each one, teach one, each one, teach one. Since we have undergone this, Population Council, they have trained us, mentally for a lot of things, how to protect each other, so we are doing this on SMS bundles, you know SMS bundles, sending the SMS bundles. If something is happening that side, I say hey, the police are raiding there, it doesn't only help us male sex workers. It also helps our sisters, female sex workers, we also, we do also inform them. If I'm in a certain spot and the police are raiding for sex workers, I can send a message on that side, whereby they have not yet arrived there, to let them be alerted, that hey, on this side, the, the police are coming. It is like that.

Without the ability to use their phones to connect, sometimes surreptitiously, commercial sex workers on the street would be at significantly greater risk from police in particular but also to violence from clients. Their networks are an important part of sex workers' ability to work on the streets.

Many entrepreneurs rely heavily on social capital for the success of their business. Gary, who owns a pub/restaurant in Meadowlands, described how the connections his friends possess allow him to capitalize on one phone call.

> Gary: Yeah, but you know, it's like, ah, you know, the way things, the way I push it, is a, because people around here chill in groups. You know, the groupies. Like I know when I call Mungu, for instance, ah, Mungu will bring her friend…I know Mungu definitely will bring Pheti…will bring Victor. You know, along. You know, if I can just give you one call, hi Pheti, how are you, fine, ah, what's up, no, I'm here, I'm chilling, you know? They will say, ai, I'm gonna come and pass through, you know? That's how they bring people around.

Gary, therefore, uses his networks to expand his connections to other individuals, at least for the sake of selling food. Whether this continues to the development of a different type of relationship or to the sharing of information connected to other business opportunities, as Granovetter (1973) suggests, was not clear from discussions with participants. However, it seems likely that an entrepreneur like Gary would be able to benefit from weak ties to other individuals, especially since his establishment is not only a restaurant but a nightclub.

Other entrepreneurs benefit significantly from their already-existing stock of social capital. For example, Gavin, who owns a coffee shop in Orlando West, noted that,

> Basically, whoever, whoever is giving business, is automatically tending to be a friend. I could even, um, um, they could even phone me to ask for tickets…phone

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me to ask for tracksuits. Phone, I'll phone them to ask for other things. And, not only business, hey.

Researcher: Yeah.

Gavin: But, the core of our meeting, it's, it's coffee shop.

At the time of our first meeting, Gavin's coffee shop was located under the Hector Peterson museum; I would have expected most of his customers to be tourists visiting the memorial. I found it interesting that his business relied heavily on friends. In Pimville, one well-known tavern was consistently mentioned by participants as being an important component of their business. This tavern has been in operation since 2002, and through its prominence in the suburb, often attracts tour buses to the area. In addition, the owner, Richard, often sends people to other restaurants when he is unable to serve them. When it comes to sharing information with competitors, he noted that

> I must be honest, eh, we do share, information but not the complete
> information…I refer people to Ma Chanza, I refer people to Sobukwe, Sakhi, ah, a
> bus will come and say Richard we want food, I say no, let's make a booking.
> Then I will phone William I say William, there's a bus here you know I just took
> up the booking. Just look after them.

Richard's attitude towards other businesses in Pimville and Soweto in general was that he would support them when possible. He perceives that this relationship is often one-way, however.

So, we don't share ah, ah, customers. I must not talk bad, but I had a friend, a

cousin, friend of mine, he stays around here, he's got the same frame of mind.

These people, they come from Pretoria, they say man, we've heard about a place

called Richard's Place. And then we'd like to go and, after having drinks here,

we'd like to go and see Richard's Place, just to pass. Can you tell us where

Richard is staying, around here. He said, I don't know, this guy. This lady is my

cousin's sister, he says to me, I don't know Richard[28]. And this is the same boy

when I was in the, I don't know Richard, who is Richard? I don't know that man.

Maybe he's new. Then they came around here they, they, hey where's Richard.

Oh, the other guy knows. Hey Richard. How[29]. Are you here? I said yes. I said,

what's wrong? We went there to [his friend's place], and he said, he doesn't

know you. I said no, he's afraid because once you come here, you won't go there

anymore.

Richard's example illustrates two sides of social capital: there are opportunities to

assist other entrepreneurs by sharing clients and information. Others, while

connected either through familial or other connections, don't necessarily

reciprocate this sharing. Unfortunately, some participants perceived this to be a

cultural characteristic of the new South Africa. To a large extent, this sentiment

stems from the frustration small and micro-scale entrepreneurs feel regarding

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[28] This is a perfect example of Bourdieu's suggestion that family has a lot to do with
increasing one's stock of social capital, except that in this case, it didn't work
because the cousin denied knowing Richard.
[29] "How" is an exclamation which loosely translated means "wow."

ability to access capital and information that would benefit their businesses.

Hlengiwe reported her feelings on the issue:

> The thing is, about us, Black people. If I drive the best car, I've got the best home,
> I've got the best of this, the best of that. Somebody's low, is nobody, in my
> eyes…and even if you've got the information that can help them, the next person,
> you don't want to let it go. Because now that person might overtake you. It's like
> a teacher. If you're a teacher in a class, you teach the children but you expect
> them to be the better, the best.

> Researcher: Mm hmm.

> Hlengiwe: You know? For, for others also. You don't want the child to be always,
> underneath. That child, you teach the child, to have more knowledge, to be, of
> his or her best…but now, with, with us, we don't want, we don't want to let go. I
> will keep this for myself, even if I had to, die, I will die with it.

The concept of community and social capital in Soweto is multidimensional and
complicated. Community consists partially of connections to family and friends, and
partially of a concept known in South Africa as ubuntu. Thulani described the
concept during our discussion.

> Thulani: We've got this called, this called, it's something we call it *ubuntu*…it
> means it's our culture, we are hosting, we are hosts.

> Researcher: Right.

Thulani: Because, in the olden days, our grandfathers, someone could travel from, Cape Town, coming to Johannesburg. But along the way, he sleeps at different places, and they would offer accommodation. Oh, I'm coming from Cape Town, it's now, late at night, yes, welcome, you can have a nice bed, they give him the best bed, the best sheets, and all that. He sleeps, and in the morning he's gone. That's the culture that has been existing for years.

Thulani's concept idea of ubuntu fits for those who provide accommodation to their customers, although is inadequate to describe how entrepreneurs interact with one another. I suggest a more complex description. Ubuntu in isiZulu means, basically, "humanity" but in a practical sense refers to the connections that individuals have to each other that allow them to assist in times of need, share joy and sorrow, and generally look after each others' interests. But upholding the spirit of ubuntu becomes more difficult in a crowded, competitive marketplace. I discussed this issue with many business owners, and to a large extent, the competition was described as intense. For example, I asked Ma Chanza, one of the Pimville Four, about how many B & Bs there are in Soweto.

Researcher: How many [B & Bs] do you think there are?

Ma Chanza: No, there are too many...no, there, mmm, that Orlando has got B n Bs. Not only Vilakazi, neh?

Researcher: Right.

Ma Chanza: Because Orlando East they got, Rockville they have bed and breakfast, deep in Soweto they got bed and breakfast, Diepkloof they got bed and breakfast, Noordgesig, in the, coloured, area, on the side of Orlando East, they've got bed and breakfast…only Soweto…Lenasia, Lens, they got bed and breakfast.

Researcher: Hmm.

Ma Chanza: There's too much bed and breakfast here.

Participants in all businesses acknowledge the competition which is part of doing business in Soweto. One of the ways in which entrepreneurs benefit from the density of businesses in Soweto is by belonging to a business organization that connects them to other entrepreneurs, either in their own sector or in a complementary sector. Those who do not belong to a business organization, such as commercial sex workers, may benefit from their connections to organizations like the RHRU or SWEAT.

Business Organizations

Belonging to organizations such as the Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA) or the Johannesburg Tourism Company (JTC) allows business owners to connect with other entrepreneurs in the tourism sector. Thirteen professional or business organizations were mentioned in the course of interviews. Some of these organizations provide opportunities for entrepreneurs to network, some are intended to facilitate financing for new or established businesses, and others are mentioned as being presently defunct. In the course of discussions I asked

participants the purpose of these organizations and the ways in which they

contributed to their businesses. One of the most frequently mentioned

organizations in the GTA, which coordinates tourism activity in Gauteng province.

The GTA's homepage (www.gauteng.net) is a portal for tourists considering travel

to the province. Geraldine, a B & B owner, reported that the GTA had assisted her

during the annual tourism *Indaba*, or exhibition, in Durban. She noted that "they

once assisted me when I was going to exhibit in Durban…they paid for, all transport

and accommodation there." Precious, also a B & B owner, noted that there were

several organizations, including the GTA, which had helped her business by

financing the printing of marketing materials and travel.

Other business owners were frustrated by government organizations, including

the GTA, which had not responded to requests for assistance or information. Ida

reported:

> …we were relying too much on these, government organization, that they will
>
> help us…there are those, who benefitted. But the majority of us, we just filled
>
> the forms and asked to be helped here and there, they were just, chucked, out of
>
> the way, just burnt, I don't know, what happened to them.

Ida's experience is not unique; other entrepreneurs mentioned that they did not

receive funding or assistance from the GTA or other organizations like it. However,

besides financing, entrepreneurs view the organizations as having other functions.

Organizations may serve to facilitate connections between entrepreneurs.

Another organization mentioned by several participants is the Gauteng Tour

Operators Association, or GATOA. I asked Jeremy how the organization helped his

business.

> Researcher: What do they do for you guys?

> Jeremy: Nothing.

> Researcher: (laughs) OK.

> Jeremy: They're not supposed to do anything I think…but it's just to get us
>
> together. To get, all the small businesses to belong to an association…so that's
>
> the good thing there. Because, we are able to meet, and as we meet, then you
>
> will see new faces.

Sobukwe noted that his restaurant's membership in SATSA and RASA allowed him

to meet tour operators, people who are running hotels and travel agencies, and

others who run restaurants. He also mentioned a Soweto-based organization,

SOTODA, which is intended to concentrate on the promotion of tourism in Soweto

only. Most entrepreneurs accept the utility of belonging to an organization that can

facilitate networking opportunities. However, some were frustrated with their

participation in these organizations, such as Hlengiwe, who reported that her

membership in a professional organization had been fruitless. Although

information may have been shared within the organization and she had met new

people, the sharing of information had not led to results in terms of receiving work.

> Hlengiwe: …everybody um, in this consortium, I'm building, the bridges, I'm
>
> doing this I'm doing that, I'm doing that. But they don't say, OK, ladies, because

we're all together in this, come and subcontract under me. And then let's talk about the money.

Researcher: OK.

Hlengiwe: So they didn't do that…now it's of no use to go to organizations like that, because now, the thing is, you take out your money, and give it to them, because now you know that OK, they already know, the way, so when you jump in, you will get something. You don't need money from them. What you need is the information and the correct information.

Entrepreneurs like Jeremy and Precious, who have slightly larger, more established businesses, generally report greater satisfaction with their experiences in organizations than those entrepreneurs like Hlengiwe, who are in an early growth phase in the development of their business and may not have the capital, expertise, or customer base to be able to reciprocally contribute to other members of the organization. For SMME owners, building stores of social capital depends not only on their membership or connections to others, but what they can offer the individuals in their networks.

Given the importance of community in Soweto, communication facilitated by membership in organizations is not the only way in which entrepreneurs interact. Relationships initially facilitated by organizations may grow into partnerships and formal or informal collaboration between entrepreneurs. Complementing businesses, such as accommodation and restaurants, often share customers and information based on their proximity, rather than any organizational relationships.

In the remainder of this chapter, I first explore the ways in which these interactions

may be described using Rogers (2003) discussion of the diffusion of innovations,

and subsequently consider the ways in which Deleuze and Guattari's (1987)

rhizomatics apply to the entrepreneurial networks in this study.

Diffusion of Innovation within Entrepreneurial Networks

Rogers (2003) suggests that "the main elements in the diffusion of new ideas

are: 1) an *innovation* (2) that is *communicated* through certain *channels* (3) *over*

time (4) among members of a *social system*" (p. 36, emphasis in original). In this

section I qualitatively examine the innovations of importance to participants, how

information about these innovations is communicated, and the systems or

relationships among them that facilitate this communication. Entrepreneurs

involved in accommodation are the most homogeneous of the business sectors in

this study, in terms of ownership and size, and the most varied in terms of their

adoption of communications technology. Their contributions to this discussion are

particularly valuable and a focus of the discussion of the diffusion of innovations

among Soweto entrepreneurs.

Innovations

In the years prior to the 2010 FWC, many business owners were concerned with the

most effective way to attract customers during the event. For some, such as B & B

owners, this means using the Internet to connect with customers and check on their

status with MATCH, the hospitality company of FIFA; for others, such as

restaurateurs, it means developing an effective marketing campaign to attract and

retain customers, while still others, such as the commercial sex workers who participated in this study, were participating in strategies to share information on the street in real time. Because each business sector has its own particular characteristics, the most important innovations vary, but I have chosen these three as examples because of their connection to the use of new or updated communication strategies.

Among pub and tavern owners, an innovation which is spreading among participants include the use of specific marketing strategies by pub, tavern and restaurant owners, in which they use a database to segment customers and sending SMS messages to them in advance of a particular promotional event. Sobukwe, for example, reported that he used mobile communication to maintain contact with a network of customers.

Researcher: Do you use the phone to SMS your regular customers?

Sobukwe: Yes, to some of my clients who normally come here, when we have an event, maybe we've got a live band, I normally SMS them that, there will be a live band [here] playing, and, our house DJ will be playing as well.

Researcher: OK. How many customers do you have that you SMS?

Sobukwe: Ah, plus/minus 100.

Researcher: OK. Are they all in the phone?

Sobukwe: Yes.

While Sobukwe reports using his phone to inform clients about promotions or events at his restaurants, he has also expressed interest in other social media tools, such as Facebook and Twitter[30]. In fact, he asked me to assist one of his employees in setting up a Twitter account, which the employee later did. The idea of using mobile communication or the Internet to broadcast marketing messages has been adopted by most of the restaurant owners who participated in this study.

For commercial sex workers, the idea of using mobile devices to share information about violent clients or police presence in a particular part of Johannesburg is being adopted through the concept of "each one, teach one" previously described by Msizi. Because being arrested in South Africa can result in abuse at the hands of police, prolonged detention due to the inability of the sex worker to see a magistrate, or other inconveniences, sharing information about police presence is a crucial component of commercial sex workers' communication strategies.

B & B owners repeatedly acknowledged the importance of the use of the Internet, and especially email, to communicate with visitors from overseas who are considering a visit to Soweto. Those who use email most effectively check it multiple times per day, while those who do not generally acknowledge their shortcomings and the need for them to be more rigorous about doing so. However, being able to check email frequently is contingent upon having the Internet at home,

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[30] Twitter is an internet-based messaging service that allows a user to broadcast messages to anyone who is following them. The messages, also known as "tweets" are 140-characters long and received by all of a user's followers either on the Internet or on their mobile device.

or available on a device the user owns and has access to when they need to check email. Several B & B owners who participated in this study have not yet had the Internet installed at home, although all of these participants expressed a desire to have it done as soon as possible. Other participants choose not to use the Internet themselves, but to employ a person who checks email and makes arrangements with international visitors. Lindani described the arrangement he had in our conversation.

Researcher: How often do you check email?

Lindani: Ah, we check our emails every day. I have someone who's employed to look at that…it will be until, if it's something that needs me, that I will attend to it, um, but ah, I try to stay away from the computers. Often. Yeah. I'm not this person, like brrrrrrrrrrrr [*typing sound*].

Researcher: Yeah.

Lindani: So, I have people who are responsible for that. Two people that run the office there…every day, would you know, be checking emails. Are responsible.

Precious, on the other hand, checks her email constantly throughout the day, on a laptop she carries with her. Concerning bookings made by overseas clients, she noted that for "90% of them its Internet." Unlike Lindani and Precious, who either check their email themselves or have made arrangements to do so, Geraldine noted that, when it comes to emails, "I am so bad. I think it's now over two weeks now that I'm not checking…wanting [the] Internet, it was one of my priority things, that I

needed." All of the participants involved in accommodation acknowledge the importance of having the Internet at home, but several have been unable to arrange for its installation. Although they may not yet have managed to arrange for its installation, these B & B owners have become aware of the necessity of the Internet to their business.

Communication Channels

Information about innovations may be spread among participants through word of mouth, specifically through collaboration with other entrepreneurs in similar businesses. Such is the case for B & B owners and the adoption of the Internet in their homes. Because a B & B is only able to accommodate a relatively small number of guests, they are likely to share customers and information so that they can benefit from hosting a large tour group. Ma Chanza reported that "sometimes, you can have so many people then you have to send them somewhere." Discussions with other B & B owners supported this idea; Ntombazi noted that "we understand each other, my house it's full, I give another one… if I'm fully booked I take, if ever I know that you, you said to me you know, [Ntombazi], I've never had guests, if ever I'm fully booked, then I'll give it to you." Thulani, who manages a larger accommodation establishment, described the situation as follows.

> Thulani: Because what happens is that there could be a bus full of tourists. There are more than, I've got, I've got 48 rooms. So, 48 by 2 that's 96. And there are then, there are 2 buses. Where do I keep the other people? Because my [place] is small.

Researcher: Right.

Thulani: I can put, I can take only 96 people. So I, so what I do then, I'm now

going to distribute them to the B n Bs. All over to the B n Bs. That's what I do.

The relatively limited capacity of accommodation establishments in Soweto,

combined with the characteristics of tour operators, who generally prefer to make

arrangements for large groups of tourists, requires owners to cooperate. This way,

information about innovations, including the need to check email and use the

Internet for marketing, is shared. Membership in organizations is therefore

particularly important, as are collaborations based on proximity or the location of a

cluster of establishments in one Soweto subdivision. Figure 1 shows the

communication network and relationships among B & B owners who participated in

this study, together with their adoption of the use of the Internet at home.

Restaurant, pub, and tavern owners are much less likely to share information

about novel marketing strategies, and instead, may hear about them from someone

in their extended network outside the restaurant business. The majority of

participants acknowledged the competition among businesses in Soweto; however,

in some cases, such as B & B owners, cooperation can lead to benefits in the form of

increased capacity. For restaurant owners, the situation is somewhat different.

Most of the restaurants have the capacity to accommodate a tour bus. If a bus

arrives and finds one restaurant full, they simply drive up the street to another one.

Only one restaurant owner mentioned collaborating with another restaurant; this

was because she did not have a liquor license and occasionally she had a customer

who wanted her food but also wanted to drink. I asked Emma, who had recently opened her business, whether she collaborated with other restaurants in the area.

> Yeah, I do, we the, there is another lady down there, she opened there, you know, she does sometimes, when she doesn't have anything, she sends us the customers to ask. Same as us this side, when, people have finished eating they will like their, to have, like liquor…we do organize something else, or send them to the places where we know that, they are selling liquor.

However, since Emma does not presently use marketing strategies such as direct SMS messages to regular clients, information about this innovation is unlikely to be shared among them, although they may share other information, such as favorite suppliers, ideas about how to market, or opportunities for government funding. Generally, participants in food or liquor establishments perceive the atmosphere to be competitive, rather than collaborative. Gary noted "if maybe someone has no beer the other side, they won't send them over to you. You know, I think that's one of the things which causes like, we're more like on a, we're more like on a competitive level rather than, a networking level." This intense competition precludes collaboration with other restaurants, although entrepreneurs who operate these businesses often have strong collaborative relationships with accommodation owners and tour operators. Some, like Sobukwe, acknowledge the competition but note that the atmosphere may be starting to change. He noted that "Sowetans have too much competition, or, we can say, so-called Blacks…but, we are starting to learn that, we need to work with one another…it's only coming to our

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minds now that if we can work together, we can be stronger as well in our businesses instead of competing." Those who own restaurants, nightclubs, and taverns are some of this study's most capable participants in terms of innovative use of communications technology; however, the competition in the sector means these innovations are not shared directly, but circuitously, via connections to those in other sectors.

The commercial sex workers I spoke to in this study also acknowledged the competition in their business, but are aware of the risks, especially when working on the street, and are therefore likely to share information that can help to prevent them avoid interaction with the police. Sex workers share information through relationships with other sex workers, through connections to organizations like the RHRU and SWEAT, and through their proximity to other sex workers, depending on where they are working. Sex workers who do business on the street tend to do so in groups; the minimum is two, but Zanele and Busi report that they usually work in a group of five, so that they can support each other by holding money, keeping watch, and assisting in evaluating clients.

Information about the police or clients may be transmitted within and among these clusters of commercial sex workers. Other information, such as that related to HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention, is also communicated among commercial sex workers. Jacob noted near the end of our discussion that "we are going out to the clinic to do an outreach to the guys... we teach them, we do health education with the guys in the bar." While this information can be transmitted among commercial

sex workers who participate in clinics run by organizations like the RHRU, others, like Paris, who works exclusively in a private home, are unlikely to have access to or need immediate information regarding the police or violent clients.

Researcher: What about police? Does it ever happen?

Paris: No, police, no…every, the police don't know, that like our house, and like, our habits. We try to like, be quiet, you know, to, be quiet and discreet, like over time. You know. Not to attract attention, and stuff.

At least partially due to her relative insulation from problems associated with the police, Paris also notes that the ongoing debate about decriminalization of sex work in South Africa is not important to her. She said "it doesn't matter. Because, like, legal or illegal, we'll still make our money, so…"

In addition to receiving information from each other and organizations like the RHRU, regular clients may also facilitate communication among commercial sex workers. Regulars are often called on for tokens like airtime, which they can transfer to another's phone. Busi and Zanele report that this is one benefit they often receive from their regular clients.

Busi: And some of the clients they will send you airtime. Like, top 5, top 10 [clients].

Zanele: You call them, can you buy me airtime?

Busi: …ask for airtime, they send it.

Zanele: And then they send the airtime.

Communication channels that facilitate the diffusion of innovation among sex workers need more study. There are a host of individuals who provide information, connections to clients, and assistance with security, including registration clerks and doormen at hotels, taxi drivers, suppliers to brothels and individual sex workers, and researchers. Understanding the ways in which these channels function was not my intention in this research. Besides the communication of an innovation, adoption of a new idea depends on the person to which it is communicated. Much of this research is being done in and around Johannesburg, where organizations such as the RHRU and researchers at the University of the Witwatersrand continue to ask questions and develop greater knowledge of how, for example, commercial sex workers can play a role in HIV prevention.

Adopters

Having explained many of the characteristics of the diffusion of innovations among B & B owners, restaurateurs, and commercial sex workers, this section focuses on the differences among B & B owners in the adoption on the Internet in their home or business. This group of entrepreneurs is the most homogeneous, in terms of size and ownership, of all the businesses; with the exception of one establishment, they are managed by the owner, who generally funds the operation. B & Bs and other accommodation in Soweto rely heavily on international customers, and this requires them to maintain communication channels accessible to overseas guests. Despite their homogeneity and their reliance on communication with

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international customers, which would seem to suggest nearly universal adoption, these entrepreneurs vary considerably in their use of communications technology. Rogers (2003) notes that there are five categories of adopters: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. These individuals begin implementing new ideas or technologies at different rates, depending on their characteristics, which include socio-economic, personality, and communication variables. Among the 12 entrepreneurs in this study operating accommodation establishments, seven have access to the Internet in their home or place of business. Of these seven, four report using it themselves, while three report that someone else manages the business's Internet use. Of the five who do not have Internet access at home or in their place of business, four access the Internet themselves at a café, and one reports not using the Internet at all. In this group of entrepreneurs, the strength of ties between participants varies based partially on their proximity and partially based on the length of time they had been in business; those individuals who had been in business longer were mentioned by more participants, but this does not necessarily indicate a stronger relationship. Participants who own or operate accommodation establishments are linked to others who, as Rogers (2003) suggests, are "close to them in physical distance and who are relatively homophilous in social characteristics" (p. 341), as shown in Figure 1. B & Bs also tend to be owned and operated by women, many of whom are retired from other work, and many of whom are single, although this is not true in all cases.

Legend:

- ☐ Has and uses the Internet
- ▽ Does not have and does not use Internet
- ◇ Does not have but uses Internet
- ⬭ Has but does not use Internet
- → Mention or discussion of participant
- ━ Collaborative relationship observed or discussed
- ---- Physical proximity (within subdivision)

to others

Precious   Subdivision

to others

to others

Nhlaka

Geraldine

Subdivision

to others

Lindani   Ntombazi

Subdivision

Simosihle

Subdivision

Thulani

Mookho   Ma Chanza

Adam

to others
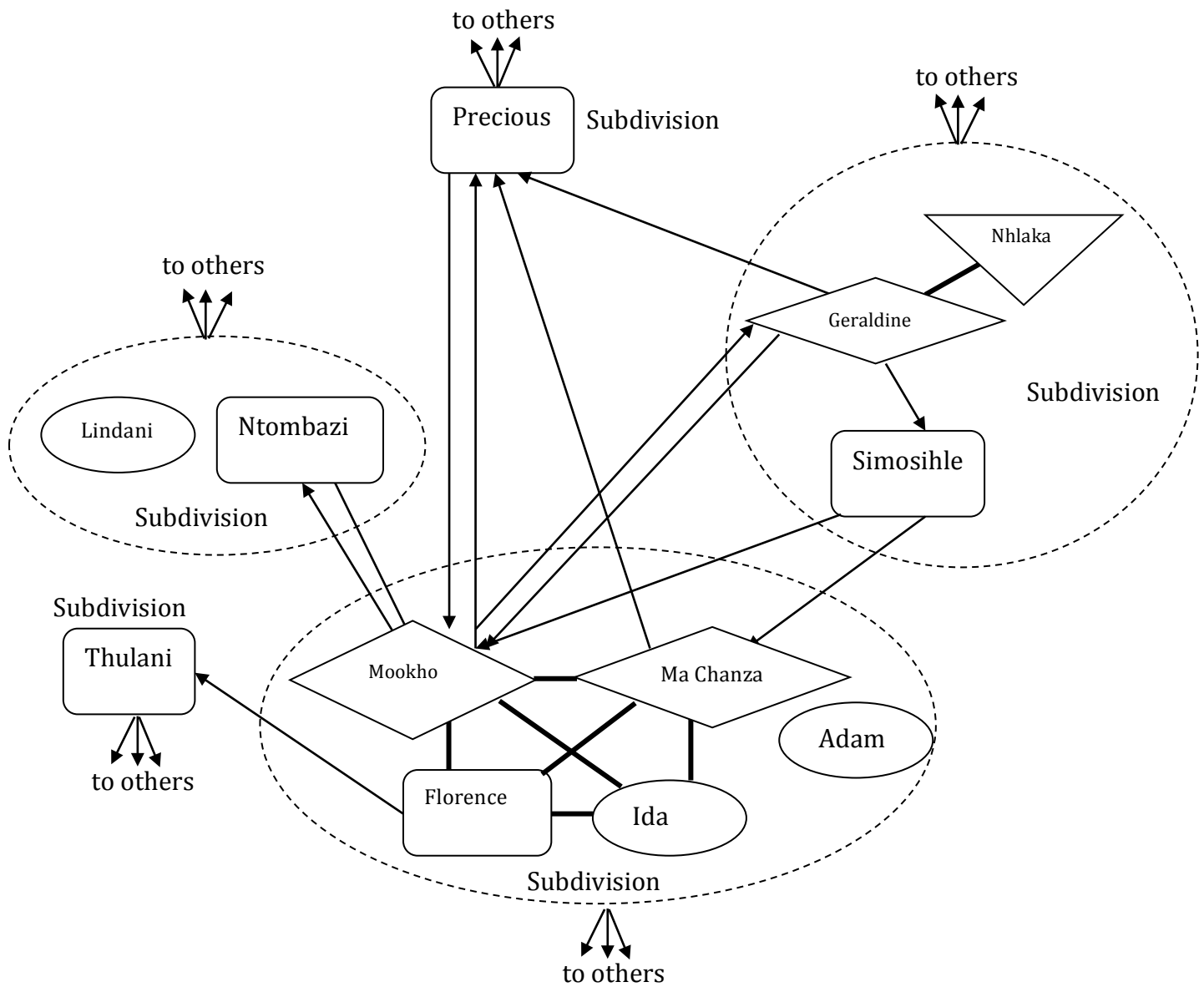
Florence

Ida

Subdivision

to others

Figure 1: Relationships Among Entrepreneurs Across Soweto Subdivisions

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In this group, those who have the Internet installed at home and who use it themselves are female. Three of them are younger than others in the group, while the fourth, Simosihle, is older and retired. Precious, Florence, and Ntombazi appear to operate their business without assistance from a male partner, although they report working closely with other B & B owners (who are also female) in their subdivision.

All but one of these B & B owners has been adopted by the Southern Sun hotel chain, which, upon adoption, provides a computer. The business owner must then arrange for Internet service and pay the cost of installation and the monthly fees. Participants who have not been adopted include Adam, Thulani, Nhlaka, and Ma Chanza. Of these, only Ma Chanza is a B & B establishment; she chose not to be adopted in order to maintain her ability to operate her business independently. She reports that she is able to do her own marketing, noting "I didn't like it because what are they having from being adopted, since they gave them only once, a computer, two years now, and what else?" The other three who have not been adopted operate accommodation establishments that would not be eligible for adoption, either due to their size or to being very new businesses.

In contrast to Mookho, Florence, who collaborates closely with three other B & B owners in Pimville, uses the Internet, especially email, constantly to maintain contact with her customers. Florence also passes on email messages to the other three B & B owners in the Pimville Four. However, she does this using voice communication, as illustrated by this reply to one of my emails:

I read your e-mail over the phone to Mookho…the business has improved but we still have a long way to go. [In 2009] for the first time we had guest during December, a thing that has never happened.

The reasons for some accommodation owners' delay in adopting the use of the Internet vary. For Geraldine and Mookho, their decision to begin using the computer at home depends on their ability to arrange for installation and to learn how to use it. During the 2009 research, Mookho mentioned that she was planning on installing having the Internet installed. She did this, but in the time between then and 2013, her modem was stolen by a tenant and she was again without Internet at home. Geraldine also acknowledged the importance of having the Internet at home, but had been delayed in having it installed because of some familial constraints. Ma Chanza, who chose to forego being adopted by Southern Sun, must raise the necessary funds for a computer and arrange for installation of the Internet. Therefore, she presently uses the Internet at a café. She reports "I always check my email, once a day, twice, I go for my, I'm going to look what's in my email." Ida has the Internet installed at home, but reports some difficulty using it and sometimes relies on family members to show her how to access her email account. Adam and Lindani both make extensive use of the Internet in their business, but generally do not use it themselves, preferring to employ someone for this purpose. Finally, Nhlaka does not use the Internet at all, partially because he is heavily involved in building his business, and partially because he has not had much opportunity to use it. He plans to enlist his 16-year old daughter to help teach him how to use the Internet, because she uses the Internet at school, and "she's used to these,

computers…you know these youngsters." For these entrepreneurs, the Internet is a tool for reaching customers, but not necessarily something they enjoy using. In fact, Mookho noted during the course of our discussions that in the future, she is planning to have "an operations manager, so…we can like, maybe rest, and leave everything to, our line of managers, to do the jobs that otherwise are difficult for us." Email and the Internet are presently more of a business requirement than a sustainable communication tool, and for these participants, this is because it is used to communicate with customers rather than family or friends, who generally do not have access to the Internet, but do have mobile or fixed-line telephones.

Voice communication facilitates connections between participants who operate their businesses in different Soweto subdivisions and different business sectors. As figure 1 indicates, Mookho and Precious are the participants most frequently mentioned by B & B owners during discussions about relationships between businesses. Precious notes that, for communication with her business contacts in Soweto, "it's always phone, it's better to phone." Because not everyone checks their email frequently, using it to communicate among accommodation owners is risky. A message may not be acknowledged for a number of days, depending on who has received it, and therefore, an opportunity to host a large group of visitors might be lost. Voice communication mitigates this risk, and until all members of the network use email regularly, it will not be adopted as a channel for intra-network communication. In any case, other channels provide perfect communication within the network; although all of these participants acknowledge its importance, its purpose is to communicate outside of Soweto, and mainly internationally.

Relationships among B & B owners connect them to entrepreneurs in other business sectors. For example, Precious has a close relationship with both Jonah and Sela and Jeremy, who operate tour companies. She reports "I think the most important people in this industry are tour operators." The relationship between tour operators and accommodation establishments is mutually beneficial, as each provides the other with clients, and the connection Precious has to these tour operators can occasionally provide other B & B owners with clients. For other accommodation owners, the relationship between them and restaurants is important. Lindani, who is not connected to another accommodation business in this group, is nonetheless strongly connected to a number of restaurants proximate to his location. These restaurants benefit from the tourists he brings to them and support his business by providing n authentic experience for visitors, since their menus generally include the African food I discussed in a previous chapter.

Among participants in this study, the adoption of innovations related to communication technology varies not only because of the personal characteristics suggested by Rogers (2003), which include variables like intelligence, empathy, dogmatism, rationality, or fatalism, but because of the substitutes which are available, financial factors in their business, structural factors, and characteristics of their immediate entrepreneurial network. Rogers (2003) acknowledges many of these factors in the discussion of the characteristics of adopters, especially related to the influences of networks on adoption of innovations, but noted that "further research is needed on network influences on individual's [*sic*] (and organizations') innovativeness" (p. 297). The diffusion of innovations model provides an adequate

description of the spread of ideas among entrepreneurs in Soweto. However, the

model has been criticized for its reliance on hierarchical categorization of adopters,

the premise that the introduction of an innovation would lead to some kind of social

change, not accounting for factors outside of the individual, and its founding in the

dominant paradigm. In this research, the variety of ideas that may be spread, the

heterogeneity of adopters, and the difficulty in identifying opinion leaders among

the community suggest that other conceptions of the relationships among

entrepreneurs are also appropriate. In practice, it is quite difficult if not impossible,

to identify the origin of an innovation in a community as large and connected as

Soweto. For this reason, I propose another conception of the entrepreneurial

networks in Soweto, and the position of ICTs within these networks. Deleuze and

Gauttari's (1987) rhizomatic model suggests horizontal rather than hierarchical

relationships among entrepreneurs, and for the researcher, prioritizes the role of

ICTs in creating and maintaining relationships among entrepreneurs.

Rhizomatic Characteristics of Soweto's Entrepreneurial Community

The entrepreneurial community in Soweto consists of businesses related to

everything from tourism to vegetable sellers to auto repair. It includes formal and

informal businesses, legitimate and illegitimate, and is connected to the wider South

African society and economy through what is essentially an infinite number of

relationships between those within and outside the community. While participants

occasionally mention the origin of Soweto the place (Orlando), this origin consisted

of an already-established network of people and places, which grew out to become

the Southern Western Townships. There is no going back to find, as Deleuze and Gauttari (1987) suggest, the "One that becomes two" (p. 5), because there is not and never was a One. Among entrepreneurs, the One that becomes two does so not by splitting (branching) but by radiating, connecting, and multiplying. Justin, a tour operator, says, "the other businesses I started in Soweto, well, you know when you're an entrepreneur, you don't even know what you're doing….but your best bet is to do a lot of things." The young tour operator takes his first guests to a Soweto shebeen, which might have been the first in the townships, or the latest. This entrepreneur later hires an assistant, who goes on to start a business, maybe a different business, or maybe a competitor. There is no root of Soweto business, and therefore, there is no starting point for us to trace the development of entrepreneurship in the community, no one at the top who commands the view of its history, and no one whose experiences are more or less important than any other's. Businesses in the community develop rhizomatically, building on or connecting to each other. Participants in every sector refer to the competition in their business; no one reports being the only one in the restaurant business, the only tavern in a subdivision, or the lone B & B in Orlando West or any other subdivision. At the same time, while acknowledging the competition, entrepreneurs forge connections with businesses who may be direct competitors or with those in other sectors who can support them. If one business fails, another one springs up to fill a gap which may or may not exist. As Deleuze and Gauttari (1987) note, "the rhizome includes the best and the worst: potato and couchgrass, or the weed" (p. 7); in this case, fierce competition and useful collaboration. The entrepreneurial

community in Soweto is simultaneously competitive, collaborative, and indifferent. Using Deleuze and Guattari's framework, it displays the characteristics of a rhizome, as described here.

Connection and Heterogeneity

Deleuze and Gauttari state that "any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be" (p. 7). Bosch (2008), writing about Bush Radio in Cape Town, interprets this connection to mean "the rhizome is not hierarchical as no point comes before another" (p. XX). In contrast to the diffusion of innovations model, in which entrepreneurial innovation is spread from opinion leaders to early adopters and eventually picked up by the laggards, in the rhizomatic model information is spread through a weave of connections between businesses. When considering the entrepreneurial community, these connections are demonstrated by the non-hierarchical relationship between, for example, restaurants and B & Bs. When a B & B has customers, the owner might take the clients to a nearby restaurant or tavern for drinks or a meal. Likewise, when a tavern has a customer who has had too much to drink, they often send them to a nearby B & B to spend the night. The relationship between the two entrepreneurs does not start at one and end at the other. In addition, the tavern owner and the B & B owner "ceaselessly establish connections between…circumstances relative to…social struggles" (Deleuze & Gauttari, 1987, p. 7). Among these entrepreneurs, there is no one partnership that functions for all time and in all circumstances. Instead, as Richard, a tavern owner notes, "what I do is that, my B & B, an average of 30-40 couples per

week, you know what, I spread them all over. [Ma Chanza] and [Ida]." What's more, as Deleuze and Gauttari (1987) suggest, "language stabilizes around a parish" (p. 7). Around Soweto, the stabilizing language is entrepreneurship; the establishments and locations that represent a particular subdivision's particular charm, be it the high-end B & Bs in Diepkloof, the historical context of Orlando West, or the "true" Soweto of Meadowlands or Pimville. The subdivisions are the nodes, and the connections within and outside of each subdivision are fascicles connecting the nodes of the rhizome that is the community as a whole.

Multiplicity

Deleuze and Gauttari's (1987) next principle suggests that the rhizome is not controlled by a central actor, but is in fact a weave of lines, connections, and ultimately nerve fibers that provide the driving force behind the rhizome's expansion. Among entrepreneurs, multiplicity is expressed particularly among informal entrepreneurs, who do not operate under the control of the government and who expand to fill in the space in which they operate. For example, as we have seen, Shep is an informal entrepreneur who occupies one of the four corners at an Orlando East intersection. He began his business selling mobile airtime and phone services, and has expanded to offer a wide variety of other products, such as chips, sweets, and other food products. In 2009, he was planning to expand into a neighboring garage and did so once he had the necessary funds to do so (in 2010). As Deleuze and Gauttari (1987) note, "all multiplicities are flat, in the sense that they fill or occupy all of their dimensions" (p. 9); for Shep, what he has to offer fills his

capacity. He never has more to offer than he has in his particular space and he can always add another dimension to his products. For formal traders, this also occurs. Mookho told me that she has also started to offer airtime (global calling cards) and would like to expand into an internet café or other communications business. Throughout the time I have known the Pimville Four, they have worked to expand their business, from providing housing to University of Johannesburg students to attracting more local (South African) visitors, although this has continued to challenge their capacity. What happens most of all, as Florence told me in 2013, is that they must respond to all requests for business – be it a small catering job or a large group of people staying for the weekend. Outside the realm of formalized business, these small contributions to a business's bottom line are outside the control of the government that has issued a license for only one operation (accommodation).

Asignifying Rupture

A rhizome may be broken or shattered at any point in its structure and then "start up again on one of its old lines or on new lines" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p.9). Businesses in Soweto start and fail constantly. While the loss of a business can be traumatic for the owner, rather than give up on entrepreneurship, they tend to start another business shortly after. Ida reported that her first business was an NGO that was intended to provide information about nutrition for children in the community. When this "fizzled out," she and her partner became involved in operating a taxi; later, they registered a B & B. Patterns like these repeat themselves

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over and over among entrepreneurs. Jeremy began his career as a janitor on a

cross-country tourist train, and he later started a tour company with a partner,

which he subsequently disbanded before starting his present business. In addition,

in terms of the rhizomatic structure itself, the failure of one business means nothing

to the operation of the community as a whole. The gap is simply filled by another

entrepreneur, and the endless over-and-under tracing through time, like couchgrass

or burrows, continues unaffected.

Mapping Multiple Entry Points

Deleuze and Gauttari (1987) suggest that the rhizome "has multiple entryways"

(p. 12); for participants who took part in this study, the operation of their business

and the connections they maintain to others in the community are not traced from

one to another along a single line and back to the origin. Instead, these operations

and relationships are better represented by maps, which constantly reproduce a

multitude of connections and entries into the community. Consider one Soweto

subdivision: Orlando East. Finding a connection to the entrepreneurial community

is easy; one visits the BP garage on the corner, stops by a shebeen for a drink, or

uses a corner phone shop. If one asks a few questions about other businesses, the

connections become visible. Visiting a restaurant recommended by the phone shop

owner illuminates the connection between them and leads to another, and another,

and now the visitor has traced the connections. But these connections were here

before the illumination; they are a map, not the tracing that the visitor perceives,

and they don't return to the phone shop, unless the visitor needs to make a call after

dinner. The map, with its complicated abstract links between individuals, institutions, and places, can show the "massification, bureaucracy, leadership, fascization, etc., [and] which lines nevertheless survive…continuing to make rhizome in the shadow" (Deleuze & Gauttari, 1987, p. 14). And yet, each map is only one representation of reality. The maps that show the relationships between B & B owners, restaurateurs, commercial sex workers, tavern operators, and construction companies are part of a larger map [rhizome] and are still maps [rhizomes] on their own.

Communication Technologies and the Rhizome

In the rhizomatic model I have described, communication technologies like mobile devices and the Internet are the electrons which flow between synapses, the pheromones which guide an insect colony, or the water which flows among the cells of a tuber. Without these essential elements, the rhizome stops growing and becomes arborified; among entrepreneurs, without the instantaneous communication which is facilitated by mobile devices and the Internet, the relationships begin to wither, and the growth of the community, especially the mutually beneficial collaboration some participants mention, slows or becomes obstructed. The more communication channels individuals utilize effectively, the faster their connections to others multiply, and in this way the entrepreneurial community grows.

Establishing the role of communication technologies in the rhizome (the entrepreneurial community) allows the researcher to focus on the ways in which

the technologies contribute to the development of business, rather than the ways in which they are propagated among members of the network. Doing so prioritizes the people in the network, as the interest lies in the devices' utility rather than their spread; this addresses the historical criticism of diffusion of innovations, which prioritized the innovation (usually information) over its impact on the people who might ultimately use it.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have outlined the ways in which mobile and fixed communication contribute to the development and maintenance of social capital and networks among participants. Using Rogers' (2003) and Deleuze and Gauttari's (1987) conceptions of the diffusion of innovations and rhizomatics, this chapter has illustrated the ways in which communication technologies play a part in developing and maintaining social capital, in the form of connections to other entrepreneurs and in the adoption of new technologies, such as home-based internet, among some of the study's participants.

Each approach has positive and negative aspects. Using diffusion of innovations to consider the adoption of new technologies can indicate a reliance on the dominant paradigm, in which more immediate use of new technologies implies more intelligence, better development, or other attributes of individual and collective adopters, which may or may not be accurate, appropriate, or useful. Also, the inability to pinpoint one particular idea as having some kind of universal appeal for adoption requires inconsistent application of the theory. Finally, the

competition among many businesses suggests that the barriers to diffusion are many and not easily theorized. However, the diffusion of innovations model does provide useful consideration of the possibilities inherent in the "weak ties" which exist among the community and in addition, allows the researcher to develop a framework to consider the ways in which a variety of innovations move throughout the community.

Considering entrepreneurial communities rhizomatically avoids the problem of the hierarchies inherent in the D of I model, but leads to the possibility of other criticisms. For example, theorizing the community from this perspective suggests little opportunity for unity among individuals or constructive networks. Many business organizations with the possibility of benefits for members are reportedly defunct; some have been replaced by larger organizations like Southern Sun, while certain others have simply fallen by the wayside. When considering specific interventions from the government or other trade organizations, the rhizome does not provide much assistance in determining the best way to spread this knowledge among the community. There are some offshoots of entrepreneurial communities which societies would prefer to control: drug dealers, numbers gangs, commercial sex work, and other presently informal and illegitimate activities. In the rhizome, the existence of these businesses is part and parcel of the model, and not easily analyzed *in situ.* Finally, the model also leaves out many of the complicated relationships between individuals based on their identification as members of specific ethnic groups, a hierarchical system and something that has been an important part of the history of South Africa and Soweto.

Each of these models does make a contribution to the understanding of the ways in which entrepreneurs relate to each other within their communities and sectors. Together with the concept of technological capital from Chapter 5, rhizomatics and diffusion of innovations provide explanations or models for the use of technology by individuals and within or among communities. While these models contribute to our understanding of the ways in which entrepreneurs use ICTs, they leave out the important impact of South Africa's complicated history on entrepreneurial decision making and individual and collective identity. In the next chapter I come full circle, back to reconciliation with the past and present, the creation and negotiation of identity in Soweto, and the role of ICTs in this process.

Chapter 7: The Creation and Maintenance of South African Identity in the

Mobile Age

In this chapter, I shift from the consideration of the ways in which the use of

communication technology impacts the operation of small and micro-scale

businesses in Soweto to considering how communications technology influences the

negotiation and creation of personal identity in South Africa, focusing mainly on

ethnicity and gender, and considering the impact of tourism on the process. In an

analysis of the construction of race in South African schools, Dolby (2001) notes

"categories of identification (i.e., race, gender, class, sexual orientation, etc.) are not

pre-given, essential traits, but constitute and array of available cultural meanings

and identities into which one places or sutures oneself" (p. 9). Regarding these

meanings and placement, Bhabha (1994) suggests that culture and identity exist at

least partially in the "'interstices', the in-between hybridity" (p. 20) of individuals. I

explore these interstices in this chapter.

As an outsider to Soweto, I feel as though this chapter is the most difficult of all to

write. While I may bring a valuable outsider's perspective to the issue of identity

among participants, I also acknowledge that writing about identity concretizes it in

a way that is unrealistic. The snapshots I provide in this chapter are only that –

snippets of discussions with participants whose lives I interrupted for a very small

amount of time, and in some cases, with whom I continue to interact, either

electronically when I am at home in Minnesota or when present in Soweto. In

addition to the inevitable problems of representation raised in discussing identity, the concept raises many thorny theoretical questions, and the choice of frame determines the edges of the snapshot I present. Nonetheless, as Gilroy (1996) suggests, "identity can be used to query the quality of relations established between superficial and underlying similarities in human beings, between their similar insides and dissimilar outsides" (p. 39). My discussions with participants were not ostensibly about identity, but in the process of data analysis, issues of race, globalization, differences between generations, and women's struggles to secure a living in the often male-dominated world of business emerged, and for this reason I consider it in this book.

Globalization also provides much fodder for considering the ways in which identity is created. The majority of participants in this study consider themselves part of South Africa's tourism industry, which during the 2010 was expected to bring 10 million arrivals to the country (SouthAfrica.info, March 3, 2010). Statistics suggest that since 2003, the number of foreign tourists entering the country has grown from 6.6 million to more than 9 million in 2007 (StatsSA, 2009). As Appadurai (1996) suggests, it is in the global disjunctures between the media, finance, ethnicity, and technology that the post-modern, postcolonial identity is developed. Mega-events like the 2010 FWC are a nexus for these disjuncutures as they provide the sponsoring organization (FIFA) with a gigantic audience commodity, deliver hundreds of thousands of tourists[31] to the host country's shores,

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[31] The 2010 FWC was originally expected to bring an additional 450,000 tourists to South Africa in 2010, but this figure was revised to 150,000 (Bartis, 2010) just prior

require immense financing, and, in some cases, change the technological landscape.

All of these are certainly true of South Africa's turn at hosting the event: In addition

to the tourist figures, the event was expected to draw 26 billion worldwide viewers

(SouthAfrica.info, 2009, April 23); as of 2008, stadium upgrades alone totalled more

than R13 billion (Hartley, 2008, Dec. 2); and a new undersea fiber optic cable,

SEACOM was officially connected to South Africa on July 23, 2009 (Stones, 2009, July

24), which facilitated interconnection to the rest of the world during the 2010 FWC

and after. All of these events have implications for the creation and maintenance of

identity among participants, which, as Bhabha (1994) suggests, "is never the

affirmation of a pre-given identity…it is always the production of the image of

identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image" (p. 64).

Stores of social capital, which as I have shown in the previous chapter are

developed at least in part through one's store of technological capital, influence the

creation of identity, because, as Putnam points out, they are the "connections

between individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and

trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 19). These connections give participants

access to others in extended networks, or from a rhizomatic perspective, foster what

are essentially heterogeneous, non-hierarchical connections between individuals

and organizations. Thus, through technological capital, one's awareness, knowledge,

and access to communications technology affects one's identity. Among participants

in this study, identities are complicated and multiple, intersecting languages,

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to the event; the final tally was approximately 201,000 additional visitors (Malan,
2010).

ethnicities, gender, and nationalism. Typically, entrepreneurs who participated in this research speak at least four languages – their mother tongue language, typically an African language; English; Afrikaans; and usually an additional African language. Some speak (or at least can understand) several African languages. In addition, participants navigate complex relationships between their identities as entrepreneurs and family members, between themselves and those of other ethnicities, between themselves as post-apartheid majorities and apartheid era oppressed, and a host of other divisions, some imposed and some willingly adopted. Discussion of identity opens the door to further exploration of the relationships between participants' use of communication technology, the effects of global vents and mega events such as the 2010 FWC, and their decision to become involved in operating a small or micro-scale business.

Identity and Work

On my most recent trip to South Africa in 2013, I sat down for a discussion with Mookho, who by this time I know well enough to ask questions about complicated issues such as identity and history. [32] She related a story about her own experience as a Black woman during *apartheid* that illustrates the complexities of a South African identity, both during those years and even now, and my own challenges as a researcher in really comprehending the meaning of a South African identity. As a top-performing member of the housekeeping staff of the Carlton hotel between

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[32] I shared the first chapter of this book with all of the Pimville Four, who provided additional information and clarification about specific events that I discussed in chapter 1.

1972 and 1976, Mookho was often assigned to maintain the mayoral, premiere, and presidential suites. As she related the story, she reminded me that the Carlton was the only hotel in South Africa that accommodated "Blacks"; at the Carlton, she was supervised by a White woman, who recruited her from her previous position to become a part of, and develop, the housekeeping team there.

On one particular occasion in 1973, Mookho was assigned to prepare the Presidential Suite for a special guest. Flowers, food, and other amenities were provided, and a White porter was assigned to this guest's arrival. Mookho told me "I gave it my utmost, to be sure that the room was done accordingly." Knowing Mookho as I do, and understanding South Africa in the way that I do, it's often difficult to picture what downtown Johannesburg looked like in 1973. At that time, non-Whites were required to carry their "dompas", or passbook, which could be demanded at anytime by the police. Furthermore, the authorities could expel a person from their place of work for technicalities related to the passbook, essentially exiling them to a "Bantustan" without explanation or details. Employers could decline to endorse a passbook, putting the worker's ability to stay in the area at risk. Facilities were segregated; Whites and non-Whites had separate benches, drinking fountains, and transportation. A Black person was forbidden to assist a White person with first aid, as Mookho reported occurring in the hotel on occasion. But she had been working in the city for many years; after matriculating, she went to work as a "hat check girl" in a nightclub connected to the President Hotel[33], and

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[33] Located at the intersection of Eloff, Plein, and de Villiers streets, the President is no longer operating as a luxury hotel.

later in a furniture shop under the supervision of a "meticulous German lady, Mrs. Berghoff."

After working to prepare the Presidential suite, Mookho and other members of the staff waited for their guest to arrive. I don't know what they expected, but Mookho's next statement was, "To my dismay, a Black Malawian was ushered upstairs into the Presidential Suite." What I heard was her dismay at a Black person being in the hotel; what she meant was her dismay that the man was not from South Africa, but Malawi; the government discriminated against Black people from South Africa but not other countries. Clearly, the man was a high-ranking official from Malawi; there's no way to know who he was. Black, but not South African; a special standard not applied on the grounds of race alone but on the combination of citizenship and race. Mookho's brother Steven Lebelo was killed three years later in the Soweto riots of 1976. His name is on the wall in the Hector Peterson museum. More than 35 years after this event, it still resonates with Mookho; the losses, both personal, for those who lost family or friends to the anti-apartheid struggle, and larger, as the talent of generations of non-Whites went to waste. Then there are the idiosyncrasies of the system; the promotion of certain Others over others, the deliberate creation of contested space, both physical and of identity, for different non-White ethnicities. As an outsider, I generally bemoan the legacy of apartheid and its effects on today's South Africa, but for many entrepreneurs in this study, it also represents an opportunity to tell their stories and to have those stories mean something economically and emotionally, as visitors to Soweto gain an appreciation for what happened during those days.

Especially for tour guides and accommodation owners, identity is a hybridized, multi-dimensional blend of tradition, business imperatives, and negotiation with social realities. Entrepreneurs in tourism inhabit the in-between space of public and private, occupy the place between the production of a material good and the provision of a service, and show tourists an 'authentic' Soweto, which re-presents the anti-apartheid struggle, but with all the comforts of home. Operating a tourist business has many of the same characteristics Hochschild (1983) describes in her study of airline flight attendants, who carefully manage their feelings in order to present a positive face of their airline to passengers. Hochschild notes "*emotional labor*…requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (p. 7).

Entrepreneurs in the tourism business regularly open their homes to strangers, sometimes welcoming them in at odd hours, and, like flight attendants, provide an emotionally fulfilling experience to customers, sometimes in spite of their own difficulties. For example, Florence reports that she changed the way she viewed local customers when she realized their potential importance to her business.

> …but when he's late, like ah, you know the local guys, they've got this tendency, they will phone at, half past 9, 9 o'clock…yeah, thinking that maybe they just starting, in the shebeen there, or wherever they are. You know. "Hey have you got a place?" You know. And they, that's how my weekend are, almost occupied…almost. Ha, because I get these guys, and they, I, before, I used to

ignore them, because I was somewhat afraid, I mean, who, who can phone me at

9 o'clock, ten o'clock, all this time, didn't even know where he's gonna sleep.

Researcher: Yeah.

Florence: And then I would just ignore it. And then I realized, no, these are the

people that they could be helping me…oh, no. Now, I don't play. I sleep 'round,

11, 12. Because I'm waiting for these guys, you know? And they're sure they get

me. And ah, then I have to have customers, Friday to Sunday, I'm OK.

Jeremy recounted a story about how he got his start working in the tourism

industry:

I [first] got employed by a touring company…my duty there was to do the

cleaning…very funny, I was doing all the cleaning, the showers, the toilets, the,

everything, and I also worked in the scullery. So, but at that time I was a young

boy, I was 20, and what I needed was a job…within 2 years they looked for a

driver and I was there…that's when I started having that interaction with the

tourists. Understanding, why they're touring, because the tourist guide was

always doing, giving the co, commentary. And that's where I learned, tourism.

Then, a dream, came, of becoming a tour operator.

Researcher: Hmm.

Jeremy: And then I ended up writing assignments, with some company in

Durban, and, soon I was a qualified tourist guide. But after I came into, to,

qualified tourist guide, most tour companies don't employ tourist guides full

time...so then I said, I'm a tourist guide, here I am, mac, and they did not want to sign me, a contract as a tourist guide, so, it wasn't healthy, I had to live without a job...and when that happened it really broke my heart...the way I was hurt. I told myself, I think, I went through a lot, when I was still doing the cleaning, I felt, I was being humiliated, by, my bosses, I felt, I think I was, at times, I was, right, but they accused me that I was doing this wrong. And, then, I became a driver, still things were not so very nice, and, now I'm a tour guide, and I can't do this, no, I don't want to work anymore, I want to start my business.

Florence and Jeremy's experiences are part of the entrepreneurial experience, connecting to customers and making the decision to become self-employed, which is its own 'in-between' space.

Nowhere is the dichotomy between the public and private more stark than for commercial sex workers. In South Africa, commercial sex work is illegal, although many stakeholders view decriminalization positively (Bird & Donaldson, 2009). Besides criminalization of the industry, sex workers are stigmatized in South African society. Busi, who prefers to work on the streets of Johannesburg city central, is originally from KwaZulu-Natal. She reports on the separation she maintains from her family.

So, my family knows that I'm working in Johannesburg. They don't know that I am a sex worker...they only know that I'm a waitress.

Researcher: OK.

Busi: Because I'm putting food at home, on the table. Because no one is working. So I wouldn't like, for them to find out, because it would be pain for my mother, will even have a heart attack.

Sibusisiwe describes herself as a "very private person," and has been resistant to using the Internet to promote herself. When discussing the issue of separation, she reported:

Researcher: Do you, is it tough to keep, the people back at home, ah, separated?

Sibusisiwe: Well, it is, because you can't say, ah, people back home, will obviously come this side. There are naughty boys who always come this side, who've seen me doing this shit and I have to bribe them not to talk. You get what I'm saying?

Researcher: Mm hmm.

Sibusisiwe: I do that shit. And ah, well, it's tough, because you always have to have, ah, two different, ah, you know, you, you just have to separate, everything. You go home, this person will come here and this person, it's fucked up.

For male sex workers, this separation is both liberating and problematic. Jacob reports that male sex work is so hidden, that it is possible for him to operate completely under cover.

And the other thing is that it's under cover. You cannot pick it up easily in the society, that there are guys, who are doing that…you, you'll never know us. We are picked up via the phone…one thing strange, in the three years that I have

done this, started, I never thought that, within my own Black community, these things are happening. I'm telling you that, these four big men, old men, who are my clients, the other one has got a garage in Soweto, the other is somewhere in Thembisa, they are businessmen, they are my clients. I picked them, for something like...yeah. I picked them up, there, they are doing it, within the community. Our own community...but it's happening, and, I mean, if I do it, I keep it discreet, under the carpet, and nobody knows about it.

Researcher: Right.

Jacob: Even the women. I can go to that guy's house, inside the house, and be there for a weekend, with the wife being there, just to visit. I don't sleep there. The woman does not know anything.

This anonymity also protects male commercial sex workers from harassment by police. During a discussion with male sex workers, I asked whether they had experienced violence at the hands of the police.

Researcher: Well what about, I mean, are you guys at risk from the police? Of violence?

Jacob: Not even, a single one. They don't know what is happening.

Msizi: They don't know what is happening. They just see us as people on the park, cruising, going out.

Zake: They just, they just see the guys, like there.

Jacob: I don't even think they suspect anything about that…it's a topic that they cannot discuss.

Researcher: They can't believe…

Msizi: Nah, they can't.

Jacob: They probably don't think there's something like that.

The hidden identity of commercial sex work, together with its illegality, requires sex workers to continuously monitor their communication behaviors in particular, but also their movement, as Sibusiswe suggests in her discussion of the possibility of being spotted by people from her community.

Paris, who is a commercial sex worker who operates from a suburban Johannesburg home, is an immigrant from a neighboring country. In addition to maintaining separation between her identity as a sex worker and a friend or family member, she also negotiates the border between her identity as an immigrant in South African society. Like the other commercial sex workers in this study, she became involved in the work because of financial difficulties, which are often exacerbated for immigrants.

Paris: Yeah, so when I came here, I was like living with my sister and stuff, you know, things were not easy and stuff. So, I saw this ad in the newspaper, it said ladies required, you know, and I decided to call, and, then I went to the interview, and yeah, I was employed that same day…I started and I had like, um, four clients that day.

Researcher: OK. And what do you think, I mean, are you, how long, would you do this?

Paris: I've been doing it for about 3 years now...but then I take like, long breaks. I took long breaks in between, I didn't work, like maybe 5 months break, or, two months, or something.

During these long breaks, Paris has the chance to reestablish herself; she makes enough money during her work period to be able to afford to take long breaks. When she is working, she separates her business from her private life by switching her phones off when she is out with friends, and maintains a separate web space on Facebook and elsewhere for personal relationships. While there has been significant ethnographic research done on the status of commercial sex workers in Cape Town (Gould & Fick, 2008) many questions raised in this project regarding identity among CSWs in Johannesburg remain unanswered. Paris was the first of the CSWs I interviewed, and unfortunately a follow-up interview was not possible. More discussion of the ways in which she negotiated identity, especially in the 'in-between' times of not working, is needed.

"Race" and Ethnicity

Overlaid on the division between work and personal life, together with the struggles of building a sustainable business, participants' identity is also formed by the post-apartheid social and economic conditions in which they operate. Describing the post-colonial condition of a hybrid identity, Bhabha (1994) writes:

Private and public, past and present, the psyche and the social develop and

interstitial intimacy. It is an intimacy that questions the binary divisions through

which such spheres of social experience are often spatially opposed. These

spheres of life are linked through an 'in-between' temporality that takes the

measure of dwelling at home, while producing an image of the world of history.

This is the moment of aesthetic distance that provides the narrative with a

double edge, which like the coloured[34] South African subject represents a

hybridity, a difference 'within', a subject that inhabits the rim of an 'in-between'

reality. (p. 19)

Perhaps one of the most important disjunctures for South Africans is the apartheid-

era classification of individuals into four race groups, the remnants of which still

linger in places like Soweto, in the shape of the houses, the presence of the Hector

Pieterson museum, and the gigantic cooling towers which dominate the Orlando

skyline. The "legacy of apartheid" is a well-worn phrase that encapsulates the

country's present economic divisions and its discriminatory past, something

presently manifest in the fact that white South Africans still earn considerably more

than other race groups (Mail & Guardian, 2009, November 24). Although the

economic leftovers of apartheid are important, living in the new South Africa

presents other challenges to the self. In a study examining the racial perceptions of

young South Africans, both Black and White, Durrheim and Mtose (2006) report

"the legacy of oppression continues to be felt not only in the economic sphere, but

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[34] Bhabha is referring to Gordimer's (1990) novel, *My Son's Story*, in which she describes the experiences of coloured South Africans, who in the apartheid era occupied a hybridized, in-between racial space.

also at the level of identity…the problem…was that the terms of identity – the discourses of racial difference – that people can employ to think and talk about themselves as being black echo the language of white supremacy" (p. 168). Even the location of the Soweto townships, 50 km from the posh northern suburbs of Johannesburg, serves to reinforce the division, and Soweto's spatiality influences participants' daily experiences. Freddy, one the guides who assisted me during the research, remarked one day that Soweto still functions as a labor camp, providing workers for businesses located in Sandton and elsewhere around Johannesburg. These individuals fill the trains and the 60,000 minibus taxis that transit the townships every day as they travel to work in the financial district or elsewhere around the city. Entrepreneurs who remain in Soweto to run a small or micro-business, especially in the accommodation sector, compete with better funded and better established chains and organizations in other parts of Johannesburg. For example, Soweto itself presently has only one hotel with 48 rooms, although a Formula One budget hotel is located just north of the townships in Southgate. Justin, a tour operator, noted that in regards to accommodation:

> Our day will still come, to make the cash. It hasn't come yet. How can it come?
> Tourism is vital, vital to who? To those guys with exclusive hotels, that's why you
> see, in Sandton, the white man is building, more hotels. There's over 35 hotels in
> Sandton. There's a new Radisson open, in the next 300 meters, there's another
> one coming up.

Enloe (1989) frames the issue of the tourism economy when she says "tourism is not dependent upon busboys…owners make money and governments earn tax revenues to the extent that they can keep down the cost of wages and benefits of the relatively large numbers of workers they must hire" (p. 34). The new hotels in Sandton illustrate Enloe's point, and stand in opposition to the micro-scale accommodation establishments in Soweto. Justin's sentiment was echoed by a B & B owner from Orlando West who I met on my first day in Soweto. When I asked her about her perceptions for the prospects of her business for the 2010, she said very simply, "this is white people's business." Her frustration was rooted in large part in the disappointing results of the 2009 Confederations Cup, which brought relatively few tourists to the B & Bs around Soweto and to her suggested a poor showing for the 2010 FWC. Indeed, the Pimville Four continue to struggle to maintain their businesses in the off-season; the ups and downs of the business often require them to operate subsidiary businesses in the side.

Another issue related to "race" includes the ways Black entrepreneurs in the tourist industry are perceived. Justin commented on the way Black tour guides are automatically connected to the township experience:

On my day, I have to start moving my butt, to show why, next time, you must come with me. I can pick you up from the airport too, I've got busses. I can, also take you to Kruger park because I, am doing the same as Springbok [tour company]. Just rent the company with their open vehicles, and they take you in the bush, and it's the same thing as [my company] is doing…why do you look at

me, and see Black and think only of the township? Because that's what is the perspective, perspective people always get about Black people.

At the same time Blacks are perceived to be limited to operating township tours, White guides are more frequently bringing tourists into Soweto. I noticed this myself when I had lunch or meetings at some of the more popular restaurants on the tour routes. In one of these restaurants, I happened on a White bus driver describing the traditional African food on the buffet. Justin remarked on this issue when we discussed some of the provincial training programs operating for tour guides.

> ...now when you teach Black people to be national guides, what for, which job are they gonna get? The only job, it's what you yourself are already fighting for, just to take people to Soweto. I'm happier, with Soweto. Now guess what, all big companies are making more money taking people to Soweto.

Other participants looked more positively on the issue of "race." For example, Jonah said:

> We come from the past whereby, White people were our masters and we used to extend receiving hands from there. Things have changed around, we've got opportunities in our hands. You've got to work, I copy, I tell you what, I tell them every day: Copy from White people. White people, you tell him be there seven o'clock, half past six, he's there...we come from the past whereby the legacy whereby Black people were down, down, were looked down upon. We, therefore, we have more White people who, more White people who are skilled.

But, there's nothing we can do. Take that skill, copy it from the last dot, and it

works for us…but now if White, White skill leaves the country, then there's going

to be, there's going to be a big gap, there's going to be a big gap.

In these quotes lies the tension in creating an identity as a "Black" member of the

new South African society. People adopt, appropriate, and assimilate from outside

what is necessary and abandon what is not, while deciding what about themselves

to accept or reject as unneeded. This hybridity in the individual is akin to what

Braidotti (1994) describes as "the figure of the nomad, as opposed to the exile,

[who] allows us to think of international dispersion and dissemination of ideas not

only on the banal and hegemonic model of the tourist or traveler, but also as forms

of resistance" (p. 24). The distinction between the exile and the nomad is even more

poignant in South Africa, where many of the leaders were exiled during apartheid, in

opposition to participants in this study, who, with few exceptions, remained in

Soweto. In remaining, these entrepreneurs adopted and adapted, like Mookho, or

Justin, who brought international tourists to Soweto in the 1980s, thus finding

themselves inhabiting the "liminal space" between apartheid South Africa an what

was then, the ghetto of Soweto. Hybridity includes defending one's territory from

the encroachment of White tour guides who see a newly accessible Soweto as a

business opportunity, and co-opting the most useful aspects of perceived White

identity, which includes punctuality and work ethic[35]. Many of the business

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[35] Suggesting that "work ethic" lies in the construction of race is absurd; I'm referring here to Jonah's comment regarding copying work patterns and habits of Whites.

transactions in Soweto include cultural exchange as well as a ride, a bed, or a meal, and literally transforms cultural capital to economic capital.

In addition to negotiating a position of identity based on former racial classifications and choice of work, some participants still carry apartheid-era remnants of ethnic divisions among those classified as "Black" by the government. During the anti-apartheid struggle, these divisions appeared most often in violence which occurred in the townships. Mookho and Grace discussed these divisions during one afternoon in the pub. Mookho reports on a story which she heard while she was working at her previous job.

Mookho: And Terre Blanche[36] would approach, you know, like, Inkatha[37].

Grace: Yeah.

Mookho: Call them together to say, people, they were looking for jobs, and then we promised them, you, you came for jobs. Now this guy was relating. Yeah, Terre Blanche would come and ask us, if we, he took us from Natal…and then, promised us jobs. They will be all loaded in the truck. The truck full of them, are you looking for a job, yes we are, then they, they'd be loaded on, onto the trucks and when they get here, in Joburg, in Gauteng, they will be, a, assigned to, various locations, go to, to, kill. And for each person, that they have murdered, there's a price.

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[36] Eugene Terre Blanche was the leader of the right wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) movement, which was violently opposed to the end of apartheid and the liberalization of South Africa. He was killed in April 2010, prior to the World Cup.
[37] The Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

These experiences recur for members of the older generation. Mookho and Grace also spoke about the ways in which young people in the townships protested against the government:

Mookho: ...young kids, as old as 12, yeah, as young as 12 years old, they would like provoke them and say, Dutch, shit, to hell with you, man.

Grace: Yeah.

Researcher: Mm.

Mookho: To where you think that...

Grace: All hell will break loose then.

Mookho: Then they will throw rocks...and they guys will come, with machine guns.

Grace: Live machine, live machine guns.

Mookho: Live machine guns. And our kids would come with dustbin lids...fighting.

Grace: Fighting with the dustbin lids, really. Ooh, it used to be terrible.

Mookho: It used to be so scary. You, no matter how much you try to stop them, they would have this, enough is enough...we've had enough. A 12-year old, eh, facing a machine gun...shielding, in a dustbin lid.

Grace: In a, yeah. So many people just disappeared without even knowing what happened to them.

Today the most popular place for international tourists to visit in Soweto is Orlando West, the site of the uprising of June 16, 1976 and the subsequent massacre of more than 300 school children. As I have suggested, this has led to opportunities for entrepreneurs in the area. I brought this up during my discussion with one restaurant owner, who I avoid naming in order to maintain confidentiality.

Researcher: How do you feel being on this street? This is an important street, in history.

Owner: No, it really feels great. I'm really thankful to my parents to buy this house…because now it is an asset. I'm making a living out of this.

Researcher: Right.

Owner: Because the location, yes, it's nice, but with the people that are working here also, we've got great people who are working here.

Unlike business owners in many other places in South Africa, those who operate tourist establishments in Soweto share the townships' violent history with their visitors and reconcile this operation with their own present-day identity as the majority of South African society.

In terms of communication, during the apartheid era, having a telephone could connect its user to the government. Thulani notes:

...in the days of Apartheid, if you had a telephone, obviously you will suspected of being a spy, for the Apartheid regime...so people got rid of telephones, so that mentality is still there, that, I don't like to use the telephone, why should I use the telephone?

Especially among members of the older generation, face-to-face methods of communication are still preferred. Shebeens facilitated this type of communication during apartheid, allowing people to meet and engage in banned political discussions. They remain an important part of Soweto's history, and, when I asked John about how many shebeens there are in Soweto, he replied:

There's a lot man. There's a lot. One, two, three, that house, from the corner, is a shebeen. My next door is a shebeen. Um, um, down and opposite there's a shebeen. Um, I mean I think we've got about 7 shebeens on this street.

While walking through Orlando East to meet operators of phone shops, Moshisi and I passed some small passages between houses, no more than a meter wide, and often transecting long distances through the township. When I asked about them, Moshisi reported that they were used by protesters during the apartheid era to hide and escape from the police, who would enter Soweto by car and of course be unable to drive through these passages. They were also unable to walk through the townships safely, which meant that those on foot could avoid them.

The physical signs of its apartheid past, which permeate Soweto culture, together with the challenges of the present's economic realities, are what create the interstices of culture Bhabha (1994) speaks of. These spaces, in which individuals

carve out a living, are not so much defined by the past as they are described by it. Describing the past includes all of the following quotes from participants, and many more unsaid and unreported.

"Scary. Yeah, we've been through, eh, we've been through hell" (Mookho);

"I'm one of those in 1976 who was an activist; I'm one of those who was throwing stones" (Jonah);

"My parents were removed from Sophiatown" (Grace);

"Lots of Black people didn't have an opportunity to go to school" (Justin).

These things are known, written about, visited in the Apartheid Musuem or the Hector Pieterson Museum, but for many, they are lived.

Gender

In South Africa, negotiating the intersection between gender, race, and business creates yet another set of interstices upon which a shifting identity finds itself moored. In this discussion, I avoid the pitfalls of what Mohanty (2003) describes as the "production of the 'Third World woman as a singular, monolithic subject" (p. 17) by presenting the views of participants, acknowledging my own inability to fully contextualize their experiences as entrepreneurs who happen to be women.

Hlengiwe is the female owner of a construction company, who sets the stage by explaining some of the reasons why women were entering this previously male-dominated profession.

You know, when this construction started, it was done by, by men, mostly. So, when the government changed, OK, everybody can do this, everybody, so, we, we, we, just joined the thing. To be in the construction companies. In the construction business. So, there are many people that are doing that. There are many people who are doing that…it is not me myself, you know, Nabeela herself is also in this construction business…and, the sister in law, you know, you understand my point. It's just, because now, ah, I don't know where is the lack, but now I think there is a lot of people who are doing it.

Researcher: …what do you, how do you feel about being, a woman in an industry that's very traditionally male. Construction is, you said it was men, first.

Hlengiwe: Um, it's tough, again. Because men don't want to let go. Number one. You know. They just, maybe, they feel insecure, that, OK, the women are doing it, and blah blah, I don't want to work for a woman.

Besides the issue of breaking in to a male-dominated field like construction, those women operating B & Bs also confronted stereotypes and discrimination regarding their ability to operate their businesses. I asked Mookho about this, particularly regarding the ways in which she dealt with issues of maintenance and repair.

Ah, the issue of, of maintenance, and manning…well. As, it is, normally, maintenance is, is you know, sort of a heavy duty job. You, sustain by maybe getting someone, to do the maintenance for you. But now in this instance, because, ah, with the money being so scarce…you are not in a position to hire anyone, to do the maintenance. We end up doing the maintenance, the main,

whatever manual jobs, which are, which could be done by women. Maybe like painting. You end up doing the painting yourself…you end up doing all your own gardening. For instance, if I want to, change, you know, a, the shape of my [garden], I do it myself. And many cases, like, fitting in the globes, you know, the manual things. I have to attend them myself.

Researcher: Right.

Mookho: So, the question of maintenance is like, ah, it's no longer an issue…it's no longer an issue. We, we, have proven to be self sufficient in that angle also. Unless if it's something now which needs, let's say, expertise…expertise, then you can, like, call the duties of a maintenance, but, otherwise, we do things ourselves.

Most B & Bs in Soweto are operated by women. Although Mookho mentions that money is scarce and that this is the reason she would not hire someone to assist her with maintenance, she now has no need to hire a male maintenance person. But being a female operating a business alone influences the perceptions of the community and contributes to what one participant suggests are feelings of insecurity.

Florence: I just think that, if there was a man, even if I've hired that person, things would be much better. Ah, because, ah, issues of insecurity, for instance, because, as a woman, sometimes you are, you've got that fear, you know…and then issues of, of maybe, allowing strangers in your house, and not knowing, you know.

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Researcher: Yeah.

Florence: You are taking risks, you know? Whereas, a man, is stronger than you are. You know? I, I always think about that. That, maybe a man was…because, other, other guests, maybe arrive at, 12 o'clock, during the night…can you imagine…opening your house to a stranger at 12 o'clock? And, eh, also, in our culture, people they like to see a man, as well. Ah, to ensure that, this is a really serious business. Because there's a man there. So this business is, is genuine. It's right, you see. And, that, authority, when, when you've got your, your do, do's and don'ts, men, stand a chance of making sure that, those do's and don'ts…they are observed, they are respected. You know. And that, that's something that one thinks, maybe, when you've got enough money, you can have a, a male, employee…who can play that role. You know. To ensure that things are going right, you know…because sometimes you are not taken serious, taken seriously. Especially with our local folks, you know?

As Florence's quote indicates, women who operate a business negotiate the intersection between their entrepreneurial selves and their gender. Especially in tourism, businesses are perceived as gender specific; I discussed this issue with the Pimville Four, specifically asking why women generally operate B & Bs. Nandi reports:

Mookho: Like, as I said to you, that, it's been, it's been a known factor that a woman's is, has always been in the kitchen.

Florence: Yeah.

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Mookho: Yeah. So if, if I'm in hospitality, and I'm running a breakfast, being a woman, it's a known. You know, oh, she runs a B & B. Or, she, she owns a restaurant. It's a known. But if I go into construction, for instance…they will say what are you doing in a man's world?

As Enloe (1989) notes, "since World War II, planners, investors, and workers in the tourist industry, and tourists themselves, have been weaving unequal patterns that are restructuring international politics. And they depend on women for their success" (p. 20). The "restructuring" of international politics is played out locally through the competition between the hotels of Sandton and the female owners and operators of B & Bs in Soweto, who are rewriting their position in the entrepreneurial community. In this study, female participants were involved in every aspect of entrepreneurship in Soweto and Johannesburg; many had retired or been retrenched and decided to start businesses, while others had begun their business at a young age and therefore never worked for anyone besides themselves. Their access and use of communications technology is not different from that of men. The demands of their businesses weigh as heavily on them as they do on men. In addition, they care for children, grandchildren, and spouses while they run their businesses, they consider the legacy of their own children and the business, and at the same time run their households. Yet, as Florence notes, should they not have the financial wherewithal to hire a male for security or other purposes, they are not taken seriously by their community.

Vuyiswa and Nabeela, women who are involved in a women's organization which attempts to empower women who are involved in transportation businesses, spoke to Juliette and I about the challenges facing women as they attempted to enter businesses or participate in tenders or bids for government contracts.

Vuyiswa: To be honest, to be honest with you, our problem is still that South Africa is male dominated…throughout. We come from a, a cultural background, where there is still that male-domination…I don't know, I think it's something that is still inborn in our, in our, our ah, culture. It's inborn in it.

Juliette: That the male is the head.

Vuyiswa: Yes. And it's still happening that way. You know, who you, you won't, OK, let me give you an example. Go into the, um, FNB stadium, offices. You know who are seated there, on the glossy chairs? There are mostly males. You'll find one, two women. What are they doing? The one is a secretary. What's the other doing? She is placed there, because it is strategic.

Economic empowerment, which is intended to redress former racial and gender based inequalities, has in some cases been manipulated by organizations in order to maintain government requirements and thereby compete for tenders, for example.

Vuyiswa: Do you understand, yeah. Ladies only, I'm asking for, this, because we need to do that. Say we have identified [a tender] like, the last one we had, transporting of coal…you see, so, then, we, we would go around looking for it. So then this is where we are talking about the shrewdness of male…they'll know

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when you are, trying to hold on, and you don't know, and that's when they whip you very hard.

Nabeela: That's what happens to us, yeah.

Vuyiswa: And we learn, from our mistakes, we just don't go back again…so it's a difficult, very difficult road for a South African female. Because firstly you must understand that, the background here in South Africa is that, males are senior, especially Black…to, the female. So there's still that kind of thing. There's a lot of males that need people on board, women, to be on board. But they manipulate you. That's the problem…that's why we don't go on board.

Women do what they need to do to achieve their goals, or at least support themselves, with little or no assistance from men.

Disjunctures between male and female business owners also extend to commercial sex workers. Male sex workers reported that they felt secure in their work; they were not likely to be physically threatened by their clients, for example.

Jacob: Because we are working mostly during the night. Difficulties, that, we don't have, what is happening to many female sex workers is just they sometimes experience abuse, physical abuse, and ah, rape, and exploitation…I've never had a guy like that I fought with, I've never had a guy that has been a bully to me, they have all just…

Msizi: No, never.

Jacob: Never.

Msizi: People who are rendering services from male sex workers tend to have that respect, of people…and, they don't want to be exposed, and so that's why they don't wanna get involved in violence…

Researcher: Yeah.

Jacob: Because imagine going to the police station, going to report that the guy who bang banged you last night, now he doesn't want to pay you. Charrr. You would be a disgrace in front of the police. Man. They can even beat you up.

I acknowledge that male sex workers are likely to underreport violence and problems with clients, as the last part of Jacob's statement above might suggest. These perceptions of relative security among male sex workers are in contrast to those of female sex workers, who worry about police harassment, about violent clients, about condoms breaking, and about being caught by their families.

Busi: …what I have experienced once that, I went with the client and they like, we were in the hotel, in his hotel. Then from there he told me, I don't want the condom. And I'm telling you I've got power…he was putting a gun there, everything. And I just said to him, can I at least go to the bathroom? He said go, quickly. Then when I got to the bathroom, I had a female condom with me…then I just put it inside. Then he didn't notice.

Researcher: He didn't notice?

Busi: Yeah.

Zanele: …you make sure when, you, you start to do business, you hold that condom…and, insert the, the, the, penis…yeah. Not for that condom to make noise. Because once he hears that noise, oh, you will be dead.

Female sex workers who work on the street can get into a car and be dropped far from town; they sometimes find themselves without clothes, walking on the side of the road, hoping for a truck to come by to give them a ride; having to either bribe or sleep with police to be able to make a phone call; the list of challenges which face female commercial sex workers goes on. Sibusisiwe noted that "I worry about AIDS, each and every single day…you just don't know. And, obviously the condom is not 100%." Paris expressed the same concern: "Yeah, there's lots of difficulties. Like, getting sick…because, you know, sometimes, you know, like, mistakes happen." For male sex workers, they perceive that the condom they use is more secure than that used by females; Msizi noted that

…mostly we are using these Rough Riders condoms, you know, it's not as easy like in, females.

Jacob: We are very safe when it comes to that.

Msizi: We don't take chances, only Rough Riders condom. Even if you are a smooth rider, I will give you a Rough Rider condom.

Jacob: Other guys like to do, it here on the thighs, so, sometimes, yeah, it's safe.

Sex workers, particularly females, maintain the border between their work and personal lives; they maintain and negotiate the border between themselves and

clients; and they negotiate an identity which often encompasses motherhood and commercial sex work. All but one of the female commercial sex workers I spoke to had children whom they supported through their work. They also negotiate an identity in a society that, like many societies, makes use of their services but punishes them for the delivery, through stigma or criminal sanctions.

Conclusions

I have written in a previous chapter about the ways in which mobile and fixed communication technologies, especially cellular phones, facilitate connections among participants. In this chapter, I conclude that these technologies participate in the creation and maintenance of identity by contributing to the creation of stores of social capital, which entrepreneurs use to facilitate some aspects of the operation of their business, such as the exchange of customers and information. Metaphorically, one way communication technologies bridge the 'in-between' space in which identity is created by connecting entrepreneurs of different generations, whose experiences with the apartheid struggle are entirely different. As Titus, a tour operator, noted:

> Just to add on to that as well, you know, the whole thing of er, skills, you know, I would say, normally- this is what I say to people as well, you know from where we're from, I think we still have about a generation or two to go. Where, then, when it comes to skills, then we'd know at least how far we've come, you know. Cos, you notice, the group that's coming through now, they very much know what's happening, you know. So, just to add on to that like I said...I would say,

more a generation or so, I think things would would be looking much brighter then.

Mobile communication also bridges the interstices of gender, as female entrepreneurs adopt technologies at the same rate as male entrepreneurs, sometimes functioning, as Sela, as the most important interface between the technological and human world in which international tourism operates. Haraway (1994) might suggest that Sela operates as a "cyborg," in a merging of identities which includes and is facilitated by a connection to the World Wide Web. In any case, perhaps it is sufficient to allow participants to speak for themselves in this chapter. My own interpretations of the implications of the echoes of apartheid in day to day life are destined to be woefully inadequate re-presentations of reality, which I believe have been told here by the speakers themselves. I also avoid giving technology too much deterministic power. Doing so supplants the role of the individual and the community in identity, minimizing the impact of the struggle against apartheid and the ongoing struggle of identity in the new South Africa. As Douglas (2006) notes, technologies are "both socially constructed and society shaping" (p. 635), meaning that participants subvert while they are subverted, change and are changed, by communication technology.

Chapter 8: A Few Final Thoughts about the Entrepreneurs of Soweto

When I concluded my first trip to Soweto and wrote the report, there were about 100 days left before the World Cup began[38]. A lot has changed since then, both for me and for the people who graciously took part in this research. Some businesses have closed, some have grown, and others have managed to keep their businesses open despite significant challenges. I offer here some final thoughts on the position of SMMEs in Soweto and South Africa as they prepared for, took part in, and ultimately, reflected on the experience of the 2010FWC, and the ways in which they perceive the relationship between entrepreneurship, their identity as Sowetan businesspeople, and their uses of technology.

Participants in this study included entrepreneurs from several sectors of the economy, but this dissertation focuses primarily on those involved in hospitality, which includes B & B owners, restaurateurs, pub/tavern owners, and commercial sex workers. Entrepreneurs in businesses such as these are the ones most likely to report perceiving the 2010 FWC as an important business opportunity. These entrepreneurs also rely heavily on the use of communication technologies in their businesses to interact with international clients, local suppliers, and other members of the entrepreneurial community in Soweto, with whom they share information and sometimes, customers. In the process of conducting this research, I also relied heavily on these devices, using mobile communications to interact with participants, and upon my return to the United States. In this way, I have continued to engage with ethnographic approaches,

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[38] A countdown clock was available at http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/index.html, showing the days, hours, minutes, and seconds until the kickoff of the opening match at the Soccer City complex just outside of Soweto.

supplementing participant observation and in-depth interviewing with ongoing dialogue with entrepreneurs who I now consider friends and colleagues, in whose houses I have slept, restaurants I have dined, pubs I have drank, and all of whom were generous enough to share their experiences. I relied on four guides and translators, whose ongoing collaboration and input allowed me to refine the research questions, gain entrée into Soweto, build within myself a greater understanding of the issues facing small and micro-scale entrepreneurs.

Furthermore, the book has cast a wide theoretical net. In considering the ways in which entrepreneurs in Soweto operate, I have drawn on theories of informal economy studies, economic sociology, diffusion of innovations, rhizomatics, postcolonial studies, and multiple approaches to the description of social and cultural capital. In rhizomatic fashion, this book attempts to draw theoretical connections between these disciplines, choosing the appropriate pieces to describe the situation for small and micro-scale entrepreneurs. In addition, I have attempted to present the results of the research in a way that will be accessible to participants, who are its true creators.

While the economic and social benefits for hosting countries have been explored in the literature review of this dissertation, many entrepreneurs have no illusions about the role of the institutions which organize such events. Regarding FIFA Justin reports:

I said to you, FIFA is running a business. That will see them going again in the next 4 years…FIFA at the moment has done the highest pocket ever since the World Cup. They have netted, just for themselves, 3.2 billion. No, no, not for the entrepreneurs, excuse me. This is for FIFA…3.2 billion, in America, they got 2.4 billion, in Tokyo

and what's the bill, 2.6, the draft went up. In Germany last year they got up to 2.6.

For the first time, in their entire history, in South Africa, they got 3.2 billion.

Researcher: Dollars.

Justin: Yes sir. Ha. That's good money, for any organization. Until the next 4

years…after this we can take a holiday. Leave the staff here, just to run things, we are

on holiday. FIFA flies, exclusively first class, Sepp Blatter, they eat well, they stay in

five star hotels, some FIFA folder is paying for all that.

FIFA is a non-profit organization according to Swiss law, which in 2008 had a financial

result of $184 million in after-expense revenue (FIFA.com, 2008a). The organization is

charged with promoting "the game of association football in every way it deems fit"

(FIFA.com, 2008a, p. 63), and as a non-profit entity, is charged with using its financial

means to accomplish this mission. Since the organization is based in Switzerland, it is

taxed and organized according to Swiss law, all of the capital generated from the

organization's activities passes through Europe, and is then redistributed to Africa and

elsewhere in support of football-related activities in such ways as FIFA determines

appropriate. In terms of Africa, FIFA heavily promoted the "Win in Africa with Africa"

program (FIFA.com, 2008b), which in 2008 has a budget of $13 million for equipment,

classes, and information technology investments on the continent. Considering the 2008

net result and FIFA's net worth of more than $900 million, the less than 10%

reinvestment into Africa in terms of the development of the game seems low, especially

considering the role of the African states in the governance of the organization. From a

postcolonial perspective, the opportunity and actual costs of building gigantic stadiums

such as Green Point, which are later used in the global broadcast of scenic backgrounds

and iconic geography such as Table Mountain, represents a clear shift of resources from Wallerstein's (1974) periphery to the core. Of course, South Africa's entry onto the world stage is also another opportunity for the developed countries to access the most powerful market on the continent. Future mega-events, such as the Olympics, are likely to be subject to the same scrutiny from scholars and informed entrepreneurs, especially since the International Olympic Committee (the IOC) is also based in Switzerland; broadcast rights are owned by the United States-based NBC, which as of 2010, is jointly owned by General Electric and Comcast. With the understanding that many entrepreneurs do benefit from events like the 2010 FWC and the Olympics, it is also clear that these mega-events entail significant transfers of capital from the hosting countries to the organizing institutions.

Opportunities for Further Research

This dissertation has explored in significant detail the ways in which Soweto entrepreneurs use communication technologies, the ways in which this contributes to their ability to make connections to others, and their experiences with the 2010 FWC. As such, it is probably the most comprehensive examination of the ways in which previously disadvantaged small and micro-scale entrepreneurs, who have been proposed as key grassroots beneficiaries of the 2010 FWC, perceive the opportunities and challenges of the event. However, in this study as in many others, opportunities for further research are suggested at nearly every turn; the study is by no means complete. As more and more small and micro-scale entrepreneurs gain access to email and the Internet, investigating the ways in which this technology complements the use of mobile communication will shed light on the ways in which businesses in South Africa connect to international

markets. This may suggest less expensive alternatives for entrepreneurs to interact with clients; one participant who interacts extensively with international clients, Jeremy, recently emailed to ask me about how to install and use the VoIP software Skype to make international calls. If this technology becomes available and adopted by other entrepreneurs, it may change the way in which they choose to communicate. In a related enquiry, future research should also consider the ways in which small and micro-scale entrepreneurs use mobile devices to access the Internet, as opposed to home- or laptop-based access, which appear to be the most commonly used methods at present. Some investigation into the use of mobile devices for Internet access has been done (see Donner & Gitau, 2009) but not among entrepreneurs.

In addition to further investigation into the ways in which entrepreneurs use communication technologies, this dissertation's description of entrepreneurial networks bears further research. In terms of the diffusion of innovations model, one of the aspects of Rogers' (2003) model which I was unable to apply was the time component of the adoption of the idea of email, for example. A longitudinal study of the adoption of communication technologies such as this would no doubt assist in illuminating further the reasons why such innovations are adopted more quickly by some members of Soweto's entrepreneurial community. Also, the results of the application of this model which I presented in chapter 5 seem to suggest that those who adopt a new idea later may be a more important factor in the diffusion of innovations than the model suggests, particularly in the sense that those opinion leaders or early adopters seem to defer to the "least common denominator" when it comes to the use of communication technology. This certainly indicates that more research is necessary into these phenomena. If, in fact,

some entrepreneurs limit their use of certain communication technologies in order to make sure that all members of their network will have access to content, then the top-down approach of the diffusion of innovations model, which highlights the role of opinion leaders, innovators, and early adopters in promoting social change, should be reconsidered. More research is necessary to determine if this could be the case.

The rhizomatic approach I used in chapter 5 to describe the ways in which entrepreneurs in the community interact and form connections would benefit from further examination of the relationships between individuals in the community, especially in terms of culture and ethnicity. While I observed that members of the community interact with each other in basically non-hierarchical ways, important aspects of relationships between people, such as their ethnic affiliations, were not part of my research agenda. More research may suggest that these issues, especially given the history of inter-ethnic violence in Soweto, may play a role in determining the nature of the relationships between entrepreneurs. However, as Deleuze and Gauttari's (1987) model suggests, the rhizome is a sufficiently flexible concept to incorporate and benefit from investigation of such parameters, as is the diffusion of innovations model. In this dissertation, I have avoided the use of quantitative network analysis models, but with the data I have collected, such an analysis would be a possibility in a future project. Such a study could serve to reinforce Granovetter's (1973) discussion of the strength of weak ties, and its manifestation among this community.

The description of technological capital I provide in chapter 6 suggests several avenues for investigation, which could include both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Further research could develop ways in which to measure users' levels of

awareness, knowledge, and access to certain types of communications technology, and would help to refine the concept of technological capital. Inquiry into users' networks to measure the quality of their connections is slightly more complicated, but certainly possible. As a concept including several quantifiable components, technological capital may be easily expanded to include other innovations outside the realm of communications. Technological capital borrows heavily from both Bourdieu (1987) and Rogers (2003) and therefore, needs continued refinement if it is to become a useful measure of individuals' ability to use technology effectively. More research may suggest this is not the case, or may highlight its utility.

The concept of identity in South Africa as I describe it in chapter 7 is always changing. As generations of young South Africans grow up and continue to create and negotiate the idea of "Black" identity, what it means to be a female entrepreneur in Soweto, for example, will take on new meanings. However, given South Africa's position in what is essentially a neo-liberal, globalized economic landscape, culture and identity will always find themselves created in the in-between spaces Bhabha (1994) describes, or in the more formalized disjunctures in the intersections of media, finance, ethnicity, and technology described by Appadurai (1996). It is apparent that any discussion of South African identity can benefit from further research, and in terms of the 2010 FWC, only after the event itself will we know whether the much-hoped for strengthening of South African unity has occurred. As Smith and Kim (2006) remind us, South Africa already enjoys relatively high levels of national unity, which improved during and immediately after the 2010 FWC.

More discussion of the hopes and expectations of small and micro-scale entrepreneurs would further inform the investigation of the ways in which the political rhetoric connected to attracting the hosting rights for global mega-events shapes and is shaped by the experiences and expectations of the grassroots, who, at least in South Africa, have been an important component of such bidding processes. As I and others (Alegi, 2007) have mentioned, the South African press have mainly played a role as boosters for these events, rather than providing significant critical analysis of the mega-events, something which continues (see Gillingham, 2009, May 28 for example). Further research will help to ground these reports in the reality of the experiences of individuals most likely to be affected by the country's hosting of such events. In addition to these opportunities for future research, the process of conducting research and writing this dissertation had several important limitations, which I mention in the next section.

Limitations

One of the advantages of recording detailed field notes and conducting analysis with *Atlas.ti* is the opportunity to return to my own impressions of the research process, which I coded along with participants' discussions during data analysis. I note in my field notes for the 30th of July, 2009, that "it was kind of a useless day today…I didn't actually accomplish seeing anybody which was a disappointment." I noted several instances of missed interviews, most of which were rescheduled, but at least two of which never took place. At times the interviews I conducted with participants did not yield any useful or what I perceived as significant insights into the ways in which they used communications technology or how they expected the 2010 FWC to impact their business. Finally, while it occurred rarely, some individuals declined to speak to me. In two cases this occurred

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among entrepreneurs who owned B & Bs, but mostly with the commercial sex workers who I contacted through advertisements in the classifieds section of The Star newspaper. Perhaps having a disappointing day in terms of meeting participants is not necessarily a limitation, but certainly the ethnographic approach I took in this project, especially in terms of recruiting participants, made it likely that I would at times encounter difficulties.

In addition to these instances of my own frustrations with and within the research process, an important limitation of this study may be the participants themselves. By this I mean that these individuals were recruited with assistance from the guides and their participation led to opportunities to contact other participants. In this sense the methodology was rhizomatic; I made a multitude of connections in what was essentially a non-hierarchical approach, and for the most part let the recommendations of participants guide me in my selection of others. Within the ethnographic method I chose, this approach to recruitment is logical; however, I do not know which other entrepreneurs in Soweto would have made significant contributions to the discussion of the 2010 FWC or their own use of communications technology. Some of the entrepreneurs whose input I believe this study would have benefitted from are those employed as car guards and other informal, mobile occupations. Car guards are both male and female, and I noticed when I parked at the Maponya Mall, for example, that many of them are also immigrants who speak French. With the benefit of this experience in Soweto, I would propose that a study of the informal sector in South Africa could easily begin with car guards, whose occupations are easily observable. While I did manage to include some members of the informal sector, including some phone shop operators and commercial sex workers, I

believe other informal entrepreneurs might have provided additional perspectives not included here.

There are many topics which arose during discussions which I have not included. For example, most participants noted that they were entirely self-financed, and that generally they preferred to avoid the use of banks for loans to start their business. Even though she could access capital for improvements from the bank, Ntombazi reports being afraid to do so because of the inconsistent nature of her business:

Researcher: Are you able to, access money from the bank, in the form of a loan, is that something you would do?

Ntombazi: You know what, yes, I can, I can, but I'm afraid. Because um, you know this thing, this, ah, bed and breakfast thing. Ah, people are not simply being, are not sleeping, regularly…you can stay, three months having, a, a guest, you can stay 2 months, you can stay, you know, it, it depends.

Researcher: So you don't, yeah.

Ntombazi: So, that is why I am saying I am afraid to take the loan because of that.

The only entrepreneurs who mentioned accessing capital from a bank were those who operated tour companies, because they usually did not have access to sufficient capital when they started to purchase vehicles. Some entrepreneurs tell of opening their business with R200; others just decided one day to quit their job and open their own business. Sobukwe reports:

It was more of a calling of our former president, Nelson Mandela. When he was in power, people were asking, ever since there's Black government, there's unemployment. Ever since there's Black government, there is crime, and, the former

president, Nelson Mandela said, people must stop blaming the government…people

must start doing things for themselves. Without complaining. He was asking, what is

each and every individual doing in his or her own capacity, to create jobs. To curb

crime. And that touched me. That's when I thought, what am I doing, because I'm

only working for an IT company, I don't have to go to work, I sleep the whole day. I

only wake up when I get a call from work and I'll go and work and come back. Then

I've got this big house here. That is not an asset anymore, instead I must put nice

lounge, nice dining room, so, if I open a restaurant, I will be able to make a difference

in my community, and create jobs, and curb crime. That's when I started thinking

along those lines and, we started with 4 people in 2001, today we have employed

almost 40 people. And, when it's peak season as it's gonna be here from next month,

we'll employ 10 more people, so, we'll be having plus minus 50 people.

One could write volumes about the reasons entrepreneurs decide to open businesses; in

Soweto, everyone has a story to tell. My discussions with participants and time spent

getting to know Soweto provided me with many more stories and experiences than I am

able to report in this relatively short dissertation.

Conclusions

Sandile, the manager of a nightclub in Meadowlands, said that as a lifelong resident

of Soweto and a soccer fan, the 2010 FWC would be something very special for

residents. Precious, responding to a recent email, said, "It is like we are preparing for the

wedding of the year; both young and old are having high expectations about the FIFA

World Cup" (personal communication, March 18, 2010). As home to the rivalry between

the Orlando Pirates and the Kaizer Chiefs, Soweto is already a hotbed of soccer fanaticism. Geraldine reports:

> Yes, when the, there are matches, locals do come, and it becomes a houseful, up there…yes. And, what, I, don't know, is just that, how, because, we, we've seen, being a houseful, because of the teams, because of the local teams. Especially, the giants, when they play against the other one. That's when you find your place, being full.

The excitement about soccer in Soweto is palpable in the discussions that take place in shebeens, pubs, and taverns. Fans argue about the nuances of coaching, player selection, history, and other trivia about the game and their favorite Soweto club. There is no doubt that this intense interest in the game made the 2010 FWC a meaningful event for residents of Soweto, no matter the economic outcomes.

What is most clear from the interaction with small and micro-scale entrepreneurs is that there is a wide variation in the perceptions of the 2010 FWC. Those who anticipated the greatest gain were those who had relatively well-established businesses, not those who were hoping to invest in or improve their business to capitalize on the event itself. Several mentioned that had an entrepreneur not begun the process of preparing for the 2010 FWC by the time this research occurred, it was effectively too late for her to benefit. John, a restaurant owner in Orlando East, told us, "I'll tell you the truth, if you, if you haven't benefited now, it's 2009, eh? If you haven't benefited now from 2010, forget it…it's too late. Those will be crumbs, you know. They will be just getting crumbs." Others expressed the idea that there are structural or other constraints that will block entry to participation in the event by SMMEs. A tour operator, Justin, said "yes, tourism

is money. But for who? For the newcomers, for the SMMEs, forget it. SMMEs will have to fight, and think beyond 2010. It's a good hype, by the press, to get things going, to have something to talk about." While many reported doing construction or making other physical changes to their premises, rarely did participants report that the 2010 FWC motivated them to change some aspect of their interaction with communication technology. One, a pub owner, reported hoping to have a website ready by the time the 2010 FWC starts; another restaurateur started a Twitter account and a Facebook page. But for the most part, entrepreneurs view these technologies as an essential part of their business, not something that they should have developed just for the 2010 FWC.

Participants in this study are generally positive about their own abilities to operate a business and capitalize on opportunities, but are also realistic about what such events can do for their bottom line. As Jonah notes, regular customers are the most important part of any business:

> We do have other businesses, who'll be, buying, bosses, like from Europe from UK, who they're buying hotels or buildings, converting them into accommodation. So, in that you don't think we are the *only* one. We, and mind you after 2010, we still want to re, to main, to retain our old customers. If we can lose focus, we are going to lose our customers.So we need to treat them with great respect because they are the one who put us where we are today, not the 2010 hype.

Regarding the impact of the 2010 FWC on his business, Lindani says "yeah, we, we're doing something, but, you, not like, you know, it's not, the beginning of the world, it's not the end of the world. So that's how we look at it, yeah." While everyone hoped to benefit in some way from the event, entrepreneurs in Soweto and across South Africa

continued to operate their businesses and to use communications technology to interact

with each other, their suppliers, and with luck and hard work, a larger group of clients. At

the same time, running a business will continue to be a part of the process of creating and

negotiating identity, motivating for equality, and contributing to the community.

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